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*Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen: a contextual
study of sculpture created in Gloucestershire between
1135 and 1154*

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RECONSIDERING THE REIGN OF KING STEPHEN

**A CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF SCULPTURE CREATED IN
GLOUCESTERSHIRE BETWEEN 1135 AND 1154**

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**MASTERS BY RESEARCH
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
DURHAM UNIVERSITY**

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Abstract: A contextual study of Romanesque sculpture in Gloucestershire has never been completed. This thesis identifies and analyses sites in the county with surviving sculptures that can be dated to the reign of King Stephen (1135–54), focusing on the patronage, style and historical background of individual case studies. The material findings are juxtaposed with documentary evidence in order to reconsider Gloucestershire during the reign from a cultural perspective, exploring political, religious, social and economic experiences and developments. In particular, the thesis explores regional secular lordship and the roles of churchmen in learning, reform, and local politics from the perspective of sculpture, raising a number of issues regarding the practice of local governance and lay contributions to the church reform movement. These findings demonstrate that many areas of Gloucestershire were culturally vibrant and economically prosperous throughout Stephen's reign and challenge ongoing perceptions that the region was severely disrupted and devastated by endemic warfare.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies</i> .
ASC	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , also known as <i>The Peterborough Chronicle</i> , ed. H. A. Rositzke (New York, 1951).
CRSBI	<i>The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland</i> , www.crsbi.ac.uk .
DB	<i>Domesday Book: Gloucestershire</i> , ed. J. S. Moore (Chichester, 1982).
DNB	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , eds. H. C. G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford, 2004).
EEA Heref.	<i>English Episcopal Acta 7: Hereford 1079–1234</i> , ed. J. Barrow (Oxford, 1993).
EEA Worc.	<i>English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062–1185</i> , eds. M. Cheney et al. (Oxford, 2007).
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
GS	<i>Gesta Stephani</i> , eds. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976).
HH	Henry of Huntingdon, <i>Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People 1000–1154</i> , ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 2002).
Hist. et Cart.	<i>Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri, Gloucestriæ</i> , ed. W. H. Hart, 3 vols. (London, 1863–7).
HN	William of Malmesbury, <i>Historia Novella: The Contemporary History</i> , eds. E. King and K. R. Potter (Oxford, 1998).
HSJ	<i>The Haskins Society Journal</i> .
JBAA	<i>Journal of the British Archaeological Association</i> .
JH	<i>The Chronicle of John of Hexham</i> , ed. J. Stevenson, in <i>The Church Historians of England</i> , vol. 4, part 1 (London, 1856).
JW	<i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , ed. P. McGurk, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1998).
LCGF	<i>The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot</i> , eds. Z. N. Brooke, A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (Cambridge, 1967).
OV	Orderic Vitalis, <i>Historia Æcclesiastica</i> , vol. 6, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1978).
Pipe Roll 31	<i>The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty First Year of the Reign of King Henry I, Michaelmas 1130</i> , ed. J. A. Green (London, 2012).

- RH *The Chronicle of Richard of Hexham*, ed. J. Stevenson, in *The Church Historians of England*, vol. 4, part 1 (London, 1856).
- RRAN *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, eds. H. W. C. Davis, C. Johnson, H. A. Cronne, and R. H. C. Davis, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913–69).
- TBGAS *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*.
- VCH Glos. *The Victoria History of the County of Gloucester*, 12 vols. (1907–2010).
- WANHM *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*.
- WM, GR William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, eds. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998).

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The reign of King Stephen has been well-studied, particularly by scholars of the last forty years who have succeeded in offering greater clarity to a complex period of Anglo-Norman history. Besides reinterpreting chronicles and charters, historians have looked to pipe rolls, coinage and hagiography for new answers to pressing questions about the political, social and economic conditions of England between 1135 and 1154.¹ There are two glaring omissions: archaeology and material culture. While sporadic excavations of both ecclesiastical and secular sites have yielded some interesting findings, there is yet to be a systematic archaeological survey of the reign. Fortunately, two projects are underway and these promise to address this issue.² Material culture from this period has received greater interest. There have been monographs on individual manuscripts, surveys of sculpture, and even an exhibition and catalogue of English Romanesque art that encompassed artefacts created between 1135 and 1154.³ Historians are aware of these material survivals and some have alluded to them in their discussions of socioeconomic conditions during Stephen's reign, however it is striking that there has been minimal effort to contextualise individual case studies and use these findings to inform historical narratives.⁴

¹ For example, J. Green, 'The last century of the Danegeld', *EHR*, 96 (1981), pp. 241–58; E. King, 'The anarchy of King Stephen's reign', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), pp. 133–53; G. J. White, 'Were the Midlands "wasted" during Stephen's reign?', *Midland History*, 10 (1985), pp. 26–46; E. M. Amt, 'The meaning of waste in the early pipe rolls of Henry II', *Economic History Review*, 44 (1991), pp. 240–8; M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and currency', in King (ed.), *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994); H. M. Thomas, 'Miracle stories and the violence of King Stephen's reign', *HSJ* 13, (1999), pp. 111–24.

² O. Creighton, *Anarchy? War and Status in Twelfth-Century Landscapes of Conflict* (forthcoming); S. J. Prior, M. D. Costen and K. Dray, *The Archaeology of Anarchy: The First English Civil War, 1139 to 1153 AD* (Woodbridge, forthcoming 2015).

³ For manuscripts, see F. Wormald, *The Winchester Psalter* (London, 1973); K. E. Haney, *The Winchester Psalter: an Iconographic Study* (Leicester, 1986); C. Donovan, *The Winchester Bible* (London, 1993); K. E. Haney, *The St. Albans Psalter: an Anglo-Saxon Song of Faith* (New York, 2002); J. Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter: a Book for Christina of Markyate* (London, 2005); D. M. Shepard, *Introducing the Lambeth Bible: a Study of Texts and Imagery* (Turnhout, 2007). For sculpture, see G. Zarnecki, *Regional Schools of English Sculpture in the Twelfth Century: The Southern School and the Herefordshire School* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1951); G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140* (London, 1951); G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140–1210* (London, 1953); CRSBI, various authors; G. Zarnecki et al., *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (London, 1984).

⁴ T. Callahan, 'The Impact of Anarchy on English Monasticism, 1135–1154', *Albion*, 6 (1974), p. 224; D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154* (Harlow, 2000), p. 312; D. Matthew, *King Stephen* (London, 2002), pp. 234–7.

Sculpture is a case in point. Despite some excellent studies, there has been a tendency to study carvings purely from the perspective of style. Only in the past couple of decades have scholars begun to more closely explore the context in which these sculptures were created.⁵ Even so, these studies have been inclined to ask how historical narratives can inform sculptures rather than treating sculptures as independent sources that can be used to augment or challenge historical perceptions of the period. This issue will be addressed by conducting an in-depth, multi-disciplinary study of sculptural case studies and applying these findings to culturally map local conditions, experiences and mentalities.

There is a vast corpus of surviving Anglo-Norman sculpture and for this reason it would be unrealistic and unproductive to attempt a broad survey. The most viable approach is a regional study as this will facilitate a detailed comparative analysis of sculptures within a set geographical area. That is not to say that this geographical corpus of sculpture will be studied in isolation since rigorous style analysis demands comparison to sculptures and artworks in other regions and even other countries. This study will focus on the traditional county of Gloucestershire, as defined by Domesday Book, for several reasons. First, and most importantly, there has never been a systematic study of sculpture within Gloucestershire for Stephen's reign or the Anglo-Norman period as whole, although there have been some studies that feature isolated examples of sculpture from this region.⁶ Second, there is a relatively large documentary record for Gloucestershire during Stephen's reign. Three of the major chronicle sources for this period were composed in the South West and include detailed accounts of events within Gloucestershire, while a number of monasteries in the region kept annals.⁷ Besides these narratives, there are many surviving

⁵ Most of this contextual work has focused on Herefordshire, see J. King, 'The Parish Church of Kilpeck Reassessed', in Whitehead (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford* (British Archaeological Association, 1995), pp. 82–93; J. Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: Dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *Antiquaries Journal*, 84 (2004), pp. 185–222; J. Hunt, 'Kilpeck Church: a window on medieval 'mentalité'', *The Historian* (2006), pp. 30–3; S. Wood, *The Eardisley Font* (Eardisley, 2012); M. Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston, 2013); *CRSBI* reports feature a discussion of the historical context.

⁶ E. Gethyn-Jones, *The Dymock School of Sculpture* (Chichester, 1979); J. F. King, 'Possible West Country Influences on Twelfth-Century Architecture and its Decoration on Normandy before 1150', *JBAA*, 139 (1986), pp. 22–39; J. F. King, 'The Old Sarum Master: A Twelfth-Century Sculptor in South-West England', *WANHM*, 83 (1990), pp. 70–95; King, 'Kilpeck', pp. 83–88; J. F. King, 'Sources, Iconography and Context of the Old Sarum Master's Sculpture', in Keen and Cocke (eds.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral* (British Archaeological Association, 1996), pp. 79–84; E. Chwojko and M. Thurlby, 'Gloucester and the Herefordshire School', *JBAA*, 150 (1997), pp. 7–26.

⁷ *GS*, see pp. xviii–xxxviii for the possible authorship by Robert bishop of Bath (1136–66); *HN*; *JW*, which includes the interpolation and continuation by someone in Gloucester; *Annales de Theokesberia*, in ed. H. R. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, vol. 1 (London, 1864); *Winchcombe Chronicle*, in

charters relating to Gloucestershire as well as the significant letter collection of Gilbert Foliot, abbot of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, from 1139 to 1148. And finally, the region was of great political importance during this period. From October 1139 Gloucestershire was effectively controlled by the Empress Matilda, daughter of King Henry I, and her supporters, and became the heartland of the opposition to King Stephen.

There are many surviving examples of Anglo-Norman sculpture in Gloucestershire but it is important to recognise that these are not representative of the original corpus. The reality is that the vast majority of sculptures in Gloucestershire are to be found on ecclesiastical sites, with the only surviving examples of secular sculpture to be found at Berkeley Castle.⁸ There were many other important secular buildings in Gloucestershire during Stephen's reign that have since been lost, including the castles of Bristol, Gloucester and St Briavels, and the 'magnificent' residence of Robert earl of Gloucester at Tewkesbury which was burnt down in 1140. Based on the fragmentary sculptures at Berkeley it is reasonable to suppose that these structures were enriched with decorative carvings.⁹ Even at the ecclesiastical sites where most sculptures are to be found, the sculptural schemes tend to be fragmentary or else they have been damaged beyond recognition by erosion or mutilation. In some circumstances, sculptures have been obscured by later structural alterations or furnishings. There are other cases where documentary evidence indicates that a church was constructed during Stephen's reign but none, or very little, of the twelfth-century fabric remains.¹⁰

The focus of this study will be on stone sculpture for the simple reason that carvings in other media are rare. Wooden sculptures were presumably once very common, either as integrated decoration on timber architecture, interior furnishings or ornaments, however the poor durability of the material means that few examples survive.¹¹ Ivory and metalwork are other media that fall outside the scope of this study, again because few examples survive and because those that do are difficult to incorporate into a regional study as they tend to be portable artefacts with unknown provenances. The major

P. A. Hayward (ed.), *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 2 vols. (Tempe, 2010); *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, pp. 15–9.

⁸ R. Baxter, 'Berkeley Castle, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (2008), www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/3258, has suggested that some of these sculptures may originate from elsewhere and all may date to the start of Henry II's reign. See appendix.

⁹ JW, pp. 282–3.

¹⁰ One example is Alvington church which was commenced c. 1140 and granted to Llanthony Priory. The only surviving mid-twelfth-century features are a window and part of the south wall, see 'Alvington', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 5 (1996), pp. 5–14.

¹¹ Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 160.

exceptions are six closely related lead fonts that were almost certainly produced in Gloucestershire and are dispersed across the county, but there are methodological issues related to the casting process which mean they cannot necessarily be dated with precision.¹² Nonetheless, these issues serve to highlight that the material culture of the mid-twelfth century was richer and more diverse than the surviving corpus might suggest.

A considerable amount of thought has been given to the structure of this study. Ideally the reader would be presented with a series of thematic chapters, however it soon became clear that this would not be a viable approach. The reason, as mentioned above, is the lack of an existing systematic study of Anglo-Norman sculpture in Gloucestershire. Without a preliminary analysis of individual sculptural case studies the reader would find themselves in a wilderness of names, dates and sculpture with little introduction or justification. This study is therefore divided into two parts. The first, consisting of chapters two and three, seeks to outline the distinctive characteristics of sculptural repertoires between 1135 and 1154 and then explore individual case studies with the primary purpose of identifying the patron, or patrons, the period of execution and the local historical context. These findings will be applied in part two as part of a small collection of thematic chapters that will explore secular lordship, the church and local experiences of the succession dispute between Stephen and the Empress. As well as informing the wider historical debate on Stephen's reign, the conclusions from these chapters will contribute to understandings of lay involvement in ecclesiastical reform and cultural expressions of piety and political authority.

¹² G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture: Lead Fonts of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1957), pp. 32 – 4, dated these to the third quarter of the twelfth century but later revised this time bracket to c. 1130–40, see Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 243. However C. Oman, 'Review: *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture, Lead Fonts of the Twelfth Century* by George Zarnecki', *Burlington Magazine*, 100 (1958), p. 103, noted that this dating applies to the creation of the die, which may have originally been used for a different purpose, and not the casting of the font.

PART ONE

CHAPTER TWO

SCULPTURAL REPERTOIRES: STYLES AND MOTIFS

Sculpture created in England during the twelfth century is generally termed ‘Romanesque’ on the basis of its relationship to a wider architectural movement in western Christendom which saw the popularisation of certain features associated with buildings from Roman antiquity, such as rounded arches and columns with sculpted capitals and bases. ‘Romanesque’ implies homogeneity in design and style across a large geographical area but besides a small number of shared characteristics this was not the case. In twelfth-century England especially, it is common to find many local and regional peculiarities in sculptural styles and motifs.¹

Variations in sculpture within Gloucestershire are understandable considering the abundance of connections to the Continent and to the artistic traditions of the Anglo-Saxon past. William of Malmesbury, writing shortly before Stephen’s accession, described the River Severn as the source of ‘a flourishing foreign trade’ with ‘ships coming from Ireland, Norway and other lands overseas’.² Another contemporary source, *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (c. 1148), implies that there were well-established maritime links between the South West of England and the Mediterranean, presumably augmented by crusading.³ Besides these, prelates frequently journeyed between England, France and Rome and Anglo-Norman magnates usually possessed lands on both sides of the English Channel. Surviving pre-Conquest artworks indicate that there were vibrant indigenous artistic traditions from which post-Conquest craftsmen could draw inspiration.

On many occasions during this study, sculpture from this period will be described as ‘Anglo-Norman’ to account for both insular and Continental influences. Where the term ‘Romanesque’ is applied, the same principles apply and the intention is to denote rough chronology (c. 1066–c. 1200) rather than suggest inclusion within a monolithic cultural movement.⁴

¹ The utility of ‘Romanesque’ has been rejected by some scholars. For an outline of the debate, see E. Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture: The First Style of the European Age* (Yale, 2014), pp. 5–9; ‘What is Romanesque?’, *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/about/defining-romaneseque/.

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. D. Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 197.

³ *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi: The Conquest of Lisbon*, eds. C. W. David and J. Phillips (New York, 2001), pp. 12–7, 52–3.

⁴ Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, p. 147.

BEAKHEAD

Beakhead is one of the most peculiar and mysterious ornaments found in Romanesque sculpture. Both its origins and iconography remain uncertain after decades of rigorous study.⁵ The general characteristic is a head of human, animal or grotesque form that has been carved over a moulding to give the illusion that it is gripping the roll with its jaw or beak. Otherwise beakhead ornament is diverse in form. In Gloucestershire, especially around the Cotswolds, it is common to find beakheads in the shape of birds' heads, a design unique to England and Ireland (fig. 1a). Another common form is the 'truncated beakhead' where the beak or jaw is separated from the head by a chiselled edge or carved strap (fig. 2a), and sometimes there are whole animals complete with body as well as head (fig. 3a).⁶

Beakhead ornament can play a central role with respect to the dating of Romanesque sculpture. While its ultimate origins might be unknown, scholars generally agree that beakheads were first employed in England at either Old Sarum Cathedral or Reading Abbey during the 1120s. Reading has been preferred by some scholars and the beakheads found there dated to as early as 1125.⁷ Stalley, however, has highlighted that the Abbey was not founded by Henry I until 1121 and that the beakheads probably adorned the arcades of the



Fig. 1a. Bird beakhead, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 2a. Truncated beakhead, nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 3a. Crouched hare beakhead, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

⁵ Most recently R. A. Stalley, 'Diffusion, Imitation and Evolution: The Uncertain Origins of 'Beakhead' Ornament', in Franklin, Heslop and Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 111–27, has asserted that beakhead probably had no single source or iconographic purpose and we must embrace multiplicity.

⁶ J. Newson, 'Beakhead Decoration on Romanesque Arches in the Upper Thames Valley', *Oxoniensia*, 78 (2013), p. 76.

⁷ G. Zarnecki and F. Henry, 'Romanesque Arches decorated with Human and Animal Heads', in Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1979), p. 22; Zarnecki et al., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 174.

cloister which would not have been commenced until late in the building campaign.⁸ It is possible that early forms of truncated beakhead were being carved on voussoirs at Old Sarum around 1125 as it was then that William of Malmesbury commented on the magnificence of the new east end of the cathedral commissioned by Bishop Roger. However, the only surviving bird beakhead appears on a roof corbel and since the new roof of the cathedral was unfinished in 1139 this form may not have been developed until after 1130.⁹ Regardless of which site was the first to employ beakhead ornament, a precursory study of surviving beakhead sculptures in Gloucestershire reveals influence from both sites. Some exhibit the skewed almond-shaped eyes of the Reading birds, others have accentuated pointed ears like the Sarum heads, and a few examples fuse elements from both (figs. 4–6a). Ultimately, it appears that the patronage of both Henry I and Bishop Roger of Salisbury popularised the beakhead and during Stephen’s reign this motif began to be employed in churches and chapels within Gloucestershire.



Fig. 4a. Bird beakhead voussoir from Reading Abbey, Reading Museum and Art Gallery.



Fig. 5a. Bird beakhead corbel from Old Sarum Cathedral, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.



Fig. 6a. Bird beakheads, nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

The popularity of beakhead did not last. In the Cotswolds the last known application was at Iffley church, Oxfordshire, between c. 1150 and c. 1160.¹⁰ The presence of beakhead at a church is therefore a strong indication of a commission between c. 1130 and c. 1160. A simplified form of the beakhead, known as the ‘beaker clasp’, also emerged in Gloucestershire churches built during this period. While the beaker clasp functions much like the beakhead in that it extends over the roll moulding

⁸ Stalley, ‘Beakhead’, p. 126.

⁹ WM, GR, pp. 736–9; JW, pp. 278–9; GS, pp. 96–9.

¹⁰ Newson, ‘Beakhead’, p. 85.

of an archivolt, its design is purely geometric. The earliest known example in England is at Norwich Castle where beaker clasps in the form of plain wedges were applied to the west doorway and arches of the south façade in the 1120s.¹¹ However, there is no evidence of a direct connection between the Norwich beaker clasps and another type found at two churches in the Gloucestershire Cotwolds. The latter are more elaborate clasps, each with a central band of beading and foliate strands projecting from the outer terminal, which have been likened to pea pods (figs. 7–8a).¹² Baxter has speculated that this new type of beaker clasp was transmitted to Gloucestershire from Reading Abbey but in the absence of any surviving example from Reading it may be that the Gloucestershire beaker clasps were later simplifications of beakhead ornament, probably not emerging until the 1140s.¹³



Fig. 7a. Beaker clasp, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 8a. Beaker clasps, nave south doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

CHEVRON

The most prolific ornament found in Anglo-Norman sculpture is chevron. It first emerged in England at the end of the eleventh century and rapidly spread during the early twelfth century while producing many variant forms.¹⁴ The form of chevron applied to an archway can provide important clues as to when a building and its other accompanying sculptures were created. Frontal chevron, where the three-dimensional zigzags project outwards at ninety-degree angles, can be found in several churches within Gloucestershire. It appears to have been first employed in the nave of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, between c. 1100

¹¹ T. A. Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep: Romanesque Architecture and Social Context* (Norwich, 1994), pp. 33–7.

¹² Newson, 'Beakheads', pp. 78, 84.

¹³ R. Baxter, 'Beakhead Ornament and the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture', *Building Conservation* (2004), www.buildingconservation.com/articles/beakhead/beakhead.htm (viewed 10/09/13); Newson, 'Beakhead', p. 84.

¹⁴ E. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 276–7; Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, p. 155.

and 1120, however the earliest known example of its usage in a parish church is at Kilpeck, Herefordshire, which was granted to Gloucester Abbey in 1134 (figs. 9–10a).¹⁵



Fig. 9a. Frontal chevron, nave north arcade, Gloucester Cathedral.



Fig. 10a. Frontal chevron, nave south doorway, SS Mary and David, Kilpeck,

There are two distinctive forms of lateral chevron found in Gloucestershire that are thought to have been in use during Stephen's reign. Cogwheel chevron, so-called because of the 'pyramidal spur' between the lower part of the face chevron and the soffit, is commonly found around the Gloucestershire-Herefordshire border and is associated with the Dymock School of sculpture (fig. 11a). It is thought to have been first used in this area around 1125 and there is little evidence for its usage after c. 1150.¹⁶ The other type is point-to-point chevron where there are adjoining lateral zigzags on both the face and the soffit of the voussoir (fig. 12a). This form is unknown in ecclesiastical sculpture produced in Gloucestershire before the middle of the twelfth-century and appears to have been a development in the later years of Stephen's reign.¹⁷



Fig. 11a. Cogwheel chevron, nave south doorway, St Mary, Dymock, Gloucestershire.

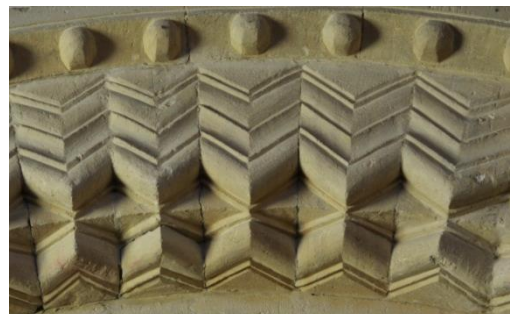


Fig. 12a. Point-to-point chevron, chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

¹⁵ Fernie, *Norman*, p. 277; R. Moss, *Romanesque Chevron Ornament* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 18–9.

¹⁶ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*; Moss, *Chevron*, p. 15.

¹⁷ Moss, *Chevron*, p. 18.

FLOWERS

Examples of flower ornamentation are most common around Cirencester. There are three variant forms: simple flowers with round centres, knop flowers and interlocking flowers that combine both of these types (figs. 13–15a). A common characteristic of most examples is that they possess eight petals. Both Stalley and King have suggested that the eight-petal motif was derived from early twelfth-century churches in western France and transmitted to the South West of England during the 1120s by the Old Sarum workshop of sculptors. Fragments carved with four-petal and interlocking flowers have been found at Old Sarum and the simple eight-petal flower motif can be found in the chancel of the Sarum-inspired church at Avington, Berkshire.¹⁸ The distinctive knop flower motif closely resembles those on the doorway of the early twelfth-century church at Mesland, Loir-et-Cher, and this supports the notion that styles were being imported from France (fig. 16a).



Fig. 16a. Beakheads and knop flowers, nave south doorway, Mesland, Loir-et-Cher.



Fig. 13a. Flower, nave south doorway, All Hallows' church, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 14a. Knop flower, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 15a. Radiating flower with knop flower centre, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

¹⁸ R. Stalley, 'A twelfth-century patron of architecture: a study of the buildings erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102–1139', *JBAA*, 34 (1971), pp. 76–9; King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', p. 82.

There are examples of flower ornamentation at Gloucester Cathedral, formerly Gloucester Abbey. The imposts in the north-west arcade of the nave are decorated with interlocking flowers and plain flowers with large centres (fig. 17–18a). This part of the church is thought to be roughly contemporary with the rebuilding of Old Sarum Cathedral during the 1120s thus making it difficult to discern whether flower ornamentation was first employed at Salisbury or Gloucester.¹⁹ Either way, these flower motifs appear to have



Fig. 17–18a. Imposts decorated with flowers, nave north-west arcade, Gloucester Cathedral.

entered Anglo-Norman sculptors' repertoires at the end of Henry I's reign and began to be employed in parish churches during Stephen's reign.

DRAGON-HEADS

Sculpted dragon-heads were not an Anglo-Norman innovation, they had been employed in Gloucestershire prior to the Conquest and several famous ninth-century examples can be found at Deerhurst (fig. 19a). The motif appears to have been dropped from sculptural repertoires after the Conquest, only to be revived during the second quarter of the twelfth century. The reason for this renewed popularity in Gloucestershire is unclear, although Galbraith and King have hypothesised that it was the Old Sarum Master who was responsible thus placing the period of revival during the 1120s (fig. 20a).²⁰ At Gloucester Cathedral there is a



Fig. 19a. Dragon-head label stop, nave, St Mary, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 20a. Dragon-head label stop attributed to the Old Sarum Master, east crossing arch, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

¹⁹ D. Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991), p. 63; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 68.

²⁰ K. J. Galbraith, *The Sculptural Decoration of Malmesbury Abbey* (unpublished MA thesis, University of London, 1962), p. 168; King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', p. 87; idem, 'Sources', p. 83.

loose fragmentary dragon-head label stop that resembles those attributed to the Sarum Master and this raises the possibility that Gloucester Abbey was influential in popularising the motif within parish churches throughout Gloucestershire.²¹

Another important intermediary in the spread of dragon-head label stops across Gloucestershire may have been Cirencester Abbey, founded in 1117. This is suggested by the concentration of surviving dragon-head label stops in churches around Cirencester and the fact that Cirencester Abbey's first abbot was a canon from Old Sarum Cathedral. Unfortunately very little survives of the twelfth-century abbey and not enough sculpture to prove this hypothesis.²² A further possibility is that there were sculpted dragon-heads already at Cirencester in the ninth- or tenth-century Anglo-Saxon minster. Excavations of the area have demonstrated that the minster was still standing while the new abbey church was being constructed and any pre-Conquest decoration may have provided a ready source of inspiration.²³ Regardless, dragon-heads carved within minor Gloucestershire Anglo-Norman churches appear to be post-c. 1130 phenomena.

THE DYMOCK SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

Sculptures that have been attributed to the Dymock School, alternatively known as the Bromyard School, are generally found around the border region between Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. The activity of the school has been dated from the late eleventh century until the middle of the twelfth and many associated styles and motifs appear to have influenced other sculptors who worked in Gloucestershire during Stephen's reign. These motifs include the Tree of Life, the *Agnus Dei*, volutes, stepped pattern, saltire crosses, scale pattern, rams' heads and cogwheel chevron (figs. 11a, 21–5a). A common and distinctive technical feature associated with the school is where the lintel of a doorway is carved from the same stone as the tympanum. With the exception of cogwheel chevron, the discovery of any one of these motifs is unlikely to suggest a precise date for the

²¹ Welander, *Gloucester*, p. 82, illustration.

²² A. K. B. Evans, 'Cirencester Abbey: the first hundred years', *TBGAS*, 109 (1991), pp. 99–102; D. Wilkinson and A. McWhirr (eds.), *Cirencester Excavations IV: Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey* (Cirencester, 1998), pp. 7, 11, 15–16; King, 'Kilpeck', p. 88.

²³ Wilkinson and McWhirr, *Cirencester*, esp. pp. 7, 16.

execution of the sculpture in question, however they can help identify Anglo-Norman sculpture where there may be ambiguity.²⁴



Fig. 21a. Tree of Life tympanum, nave south doorway, St Mary, Dymock, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 22a. Agnus Dei tympanum, St John the Baptist, Preston near Dymock, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 23a. Double volute capital with step pattern, nave south doorway, St Mary, Dymock, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 24a. Capital with step pattern, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 25a. Scale pattern tympanum and saltire cross decorated lintel, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

²⁴ Zarnecki, *Regional*, pp. 223–7; Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 73–8.

THE HEREFORDSHIRE SCHOOL OF SCULPTURE

The Herefordshire School is undoubtedly one of the most famous and renowned schools of Romanesque sculpture and has received a disproportionately large amount of attention from scholars. The school appears to have developed from the workshop employed at Hereford Cathedral in the early twelfth century and recent studies have concluded that the school was active for a relatively short period between c. 1130 and c. 1160.²⁵ Due to the proximity of Herefordshire to Gloucestershire and the fact that many of the school's secular patrons had connections or landholdings in Gloucestershire, it is unsurprising that there are ecclesiastical sculptures in Gloucestershire which exhibit influence from the Herefordshire School.

Carvings attributed to the Herefordshire School tend to be high in plasticity and relief. There are also several distinctive recurring styles and motifs. Human figures have disproportionately large hands and feet, 'egg-shaped heads' with 'cap-like hair' and bulbous eyes, and ribbed draperies (fig. 26a). Common animal motifs include serpents with thick looping bodies and open mouths and lions that have their background forelegs raised and their tails crossing through their back legs (figs. 27–28a).²⁶ Herefordshire School influence on Gloucestershire sculptures is generally self-evident and, where present, can be an indicator of craftsmanship during Stephen's reign.

Fig. 26a (below). Font, St Michael, Castle Frome, Herefordshire.



Fig. 27a (left). Serpent, nave south doorway, SS Mary and David, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 28a (below). Lion, font, St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley, Herefordshire.



²⁵ Hunt, 'Sculpture', pp. 185–222; M. Thurlby, 'A Note on the Romanesque Sculpture at Hereford Cathedral and the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *Burlington Magazine*, 126 (1984), p. 233–6; idem, *Herefordshire*, pp. 93, 259.

²⁶ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 43–54.

CHAPTER THREE

SCULPTURES, PATRONS AND DATES

Essential to any contextual study of art is the ability to identify the dates, provenances and patrons of the artefacts in question. Typically the least problematic in relation to Anglo-Norman sculpture is provenance since carvings are often integrated with architecture that has stood in the same location for almost a millennium. There are exceptions. It is common to find that doorways and chancel arches have been dismantled and reset during later rebuilding and restoration works, sometimes obscuring their position in the original structure, but fortunately these were rarely moved off-site. There are documented cases of stone-sculpted fonts that have been moved to other sites but again this is rare. Ultimately, it is important to be aware that any free-standing or loose sculptures could have originated from elsewhere.

There is a general consensus that most parish sculpture can be attributed to the patronage of the lord of the manor.¹ This approach has faced criticism on the basis that a large body of contemporary documentation is absent or fails to record the names of patrons, and that when a patron can be identified they may have been assisted and influenced by individuals who are not recorded. Where sculptures are attributable to secular patronage but demonstrate unusual theological complexity in their iconographies, it can be assumed that they were designed with the assistance of clerics. Support in the form of donations or labour may have come from the patron's family, associates and tenants.² Nonetheless, surviving charters, letters and chronicles from this period indicate a strong correlation between landownership and sculptural patronage with the main financial impetus coming from the seignorial individual or religious community who held the land.

¹ J. K. West, 'Architectural Sculpture in Parish Churches of the Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century West Midlands: some problems in assessing the evidence', in J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 159–60; E. R. Hamer, *Patronage and Iconography in Romanesque England: The Herefordshire School in Context* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1992), pp. 93–4; C. F. Davidson, *Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy, and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c. 1125–c. 1250* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 87–93; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*.

² F. Bond, 'On the comparative value of documentary and archaeological evidence', *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 6 (1898), pp. 17–35; Davidson, *Written*, pp. 87–93, 106; Hunt, 'Herefordshire', p. 211.

Dating sculpture is often the most difficult task and relies on a dual approach of style analysis and documentary investigation. While style analysis is a subjective process, the preceding chapter has demonstrated that there are a range of distinctive styles and motifs that are attributable to sculptural repertoires of Stephen's reign. The chronology in which sculptures were created can be refined by comparison to similar styles and iconography in the other art mediums such as manuscript illumination and ivory carvings. These comparisons are particularly appropriate in light of scholarly opinions that there were close interactions between different art media and that sculptors may have been trained to work in other materials besides stone.³ Since sculptures are often integrated with architecture, studying the fabric of a building can also aid the dating process. There are, however, a number of limitations. In some cases sculptures have been heavily restored or recut at a later date and there are neo-Romanesque sculptures that could be mistaken as medieval by an untrained eye. Besides style analysis, these can be detected by studying the appearance of the stone and the extent of weathering in relation to other features of the building. In terms of style chronology and development, a motif that appears to belong to a post-1135 tradition could in fact be an early prototype, while a motif that lost popularity after c. 1154 may still have been commissioned by a later patron. Similarly, a higher quality of carving is not necessarily an indication of a later date, and vice versa.

For this reason it is important to consult documentary evidence where it survives. When a church was granted to a religious community by a secular patron this was typically recorded by a charter of confirmation. Since dates were rarely supplied by scribes, they must be deduced from named individuals and supplementary contextual information. Yet even when a precise date can be established, charters do not always indicate whether the church and its sculptures were complete, part-finished or yet to be commenced at the time of composition.⁴ Suger's famous account of the rebuilding of St-Denis demonstrates that even the dedication ceremony might precede the building campaign.⁵ For contemporaries the answer was self-evident and the primary interest of the parties concerned was to record that a transaction had taken place.⁶ As a result, the dates presented by documentary sources must be taken as general indicators of the chronology in which

³ For example, Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 91–4, who also notes the famous contemporary multi-disciplinary artist Master Hugo of Bury St Edmunds.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 96; Davidson, *Written*, p. 93.

⁵ Suger, *Liber de Rebus in Administratione sua Gestis (De Administratione)*, in E. Panofsky and G. Panofsky-Soergel (eds.), *Abbot Suger: On the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1979), XXVI, pp. 44–7.

⁶ Davidson, *Written*, pp. 92–3.

sculptures were created. The detailed account of the construction of Shobdon church, Herefordshire, during the early years of Stephen's reign indicates that a small parish church with a series of elaborate sculptures could be completed within five years if work was uninterrupted.⁷

By using a multi-disciplinary approach it is possible to date many sculptural case studies, sometimes with remarkable precision. Unfortunately there are a number of sites with sculptures that may date from Stephen's reign but for which the evidence is too slender to offer a timeframe with confidence. As a matter of interest, these can be found listed with accompanying notes in the appendices.

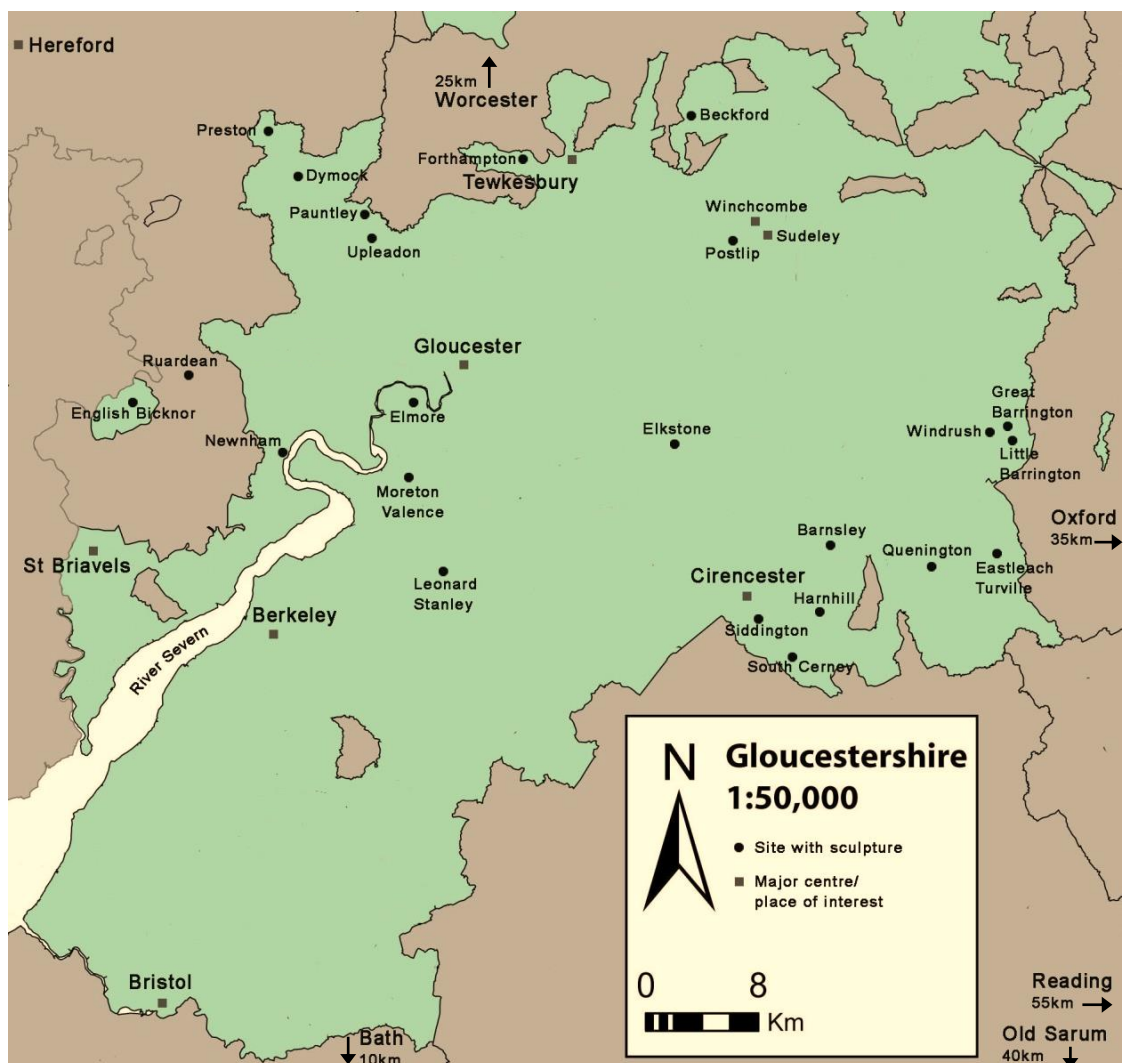


Fig. 29a. Map of locations in Gloucestershire with Romanesque sculpture datable to the period 1135–54.

⁷ *The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey*, ed. J. C. Dickinson and P. T. Ricketts, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 39 (1969), pp. 421–5.

THE PATRONAGE OF ROBERT AND WILLIAM, THE EARLS OF GLOUCESTER

According to Crouch, Robert earl of Gloucester, the illegitimate son of King Henry I, 'was not the greatest patron of the church of his day'.¹ As a patron of ecclesiastical architecture, he is best known for founding the Benedictine Priory of St James in Bristol between 1124 and 1137.² Immediately before his death in 1147 he founded another monastery, Margam Abbey in Wales, which he granted to the Cistercians of Clairvaux. He also became the patron of Tewkesbury Abbey after the death of its founder, his father-in-law Robert fitz Hamon, in 1107.³ As the dominant member of the Angevin party during Stephen's reign, most of Robert's activities after 1138 were concerned with advancing his half-sister's claim to the English throne, protecting his possessions and strengthening the fortifications of Bristol which included constructing a large keep from Caen stone.⁴ There are, however, two minor churches in Gloucestershire that are enriched with sculpture and appear to have been founded by Robert and perhaps completed through the patronage of his son and heir, William. In this respect, Robert and William made contributions to the Church and sculptural patronage that have been overlooked.

EASTLEACH TURVILLE

Eastleach Turville belonged to Roger de Lacy in 1086 and was held from him by a certain William. Although a relatively prosperous manor of five hides with five slaves and seven ploughs in total, there is no mention of a priest or a church.⁵ The first known reference to Eastleach Turville church was in 1114 when King Henry I confirmed that it had been granted in free alms to Tewkesbury Abbey along with the church at Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire.⁶ A later charter issued by William earl of Gloucester in January 1148

¹ D. Crouch, 'Robert, first earl of Gloucester (*b.* before 1100, *d.* 1147), magnate', *DNB*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23716 (viewed 7/11/13).

² R. Jackson, *Excavations at St James's Priory, Bristol* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 6, 8, prefers a foundation date around 1129; R. Baxter, 'St James's Priory, Bristol. South clerestory capitals' (private site report, 2006), has dated several surviving clerestory capitals to the period c. 1130–50.

³ Crouch, 'Robert'.

⁴ Jackson, 'St James's', p. 6.

⁵ *DB*, 167 d.

⁶ *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1069, p. 119; there was another church of Eastleach in the adjacent manor of Eastleach Martin but this was granted to Malvern Abbey.

records that the church had originally been given to Tewkesbury by Robert the chaplain on behalf of Robert fitz Hamon, therefore the church had been commenced, and possibly completed, through the patronage of Robert fitz Hamon before 1107.⁷

The elaborate south doorway of two orders is of sculptural interest (fig. 1b). The first order is characterised by a continuous order of lateral chevron, while the second has an arch of lateral chevron supported by two jambs enriched with beaded spirals and zigzags, respectively, and topped with scallop capitals. Large beads have been carved on the chamfer of the abaci and the label is decorated with billeting. At the centre is a worn tympanum representing Christ in Majesty (fig. 2b).

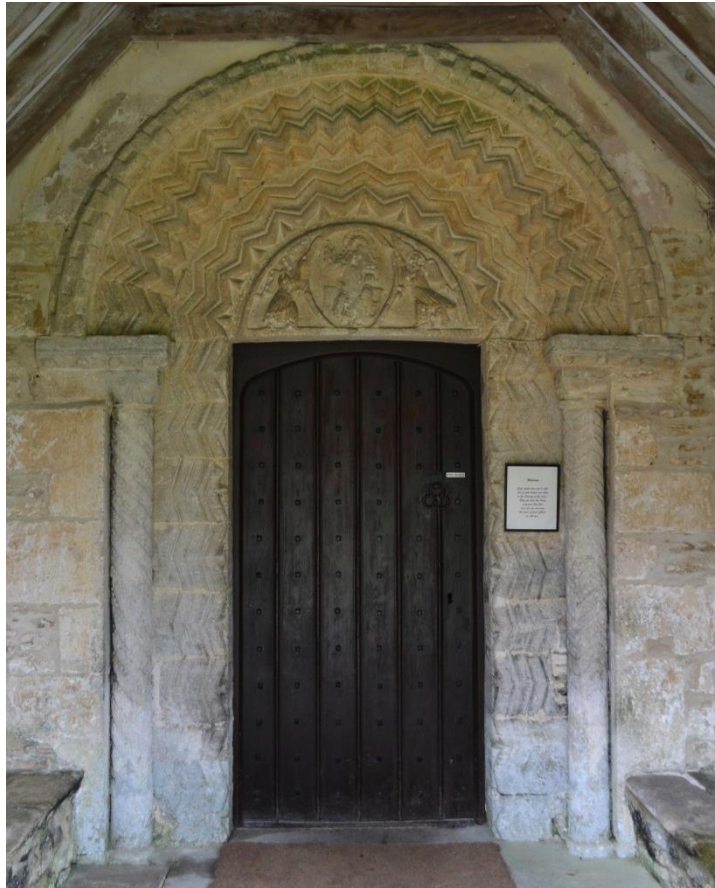


Fig. 1b. Nave south doorway, St Andrew, Eastleach Turville, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2b. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Andrew, Eastleach Turville, Gloucestershire.



⁷ *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to AD 1217*, ed. R. B. Patterson (Oxford, 1973), no. 179, pp. 161–2; *EEA Worc.*, no. 85, pp. 60–2.

Christ is depicted with a cruciform nimbus and rope-like hair, his right hand raised and a book in his left, while seated on a rectangular arcaded throne. He is framed by a mandorla supported on either side by a winged angel.⁸

The closest demonstrated parallel to the tympanum is an analogous relief above the prior's doorway at Ely Cathedral carved during the 1120s.⁹ Christ is shown in the same posture and seated within a mandorla supported by a pair of winged angels who have been similarly carved in profile (fig. 3b). There are three surviving mid-twelfth century tympana in nearby Herefordshire that also depict Christ in Majesty, however all of these show four flying angels in contorted positions and the draperies are ribbed in characteristic Herefordshire School style.¹⁰ It is possible that there is a direct connection between the Eastleach and Ely tympana in the form of Nigel, bishop of Ely (1133–69), who fled to Gloucester in January 1140 after his failed rebellion against King Stephen. There he joined Earl Robert and the Empress and was a close attendant at their courts over the next year and a half where his presence may have had some bearing on Earl Robert's church patronage and art commissions.¹¹ Modelling the Eastleach tympanum on a sculpture from the rebel bishop's cathedral church might have been regarded as a fitting insult to King Stephen.

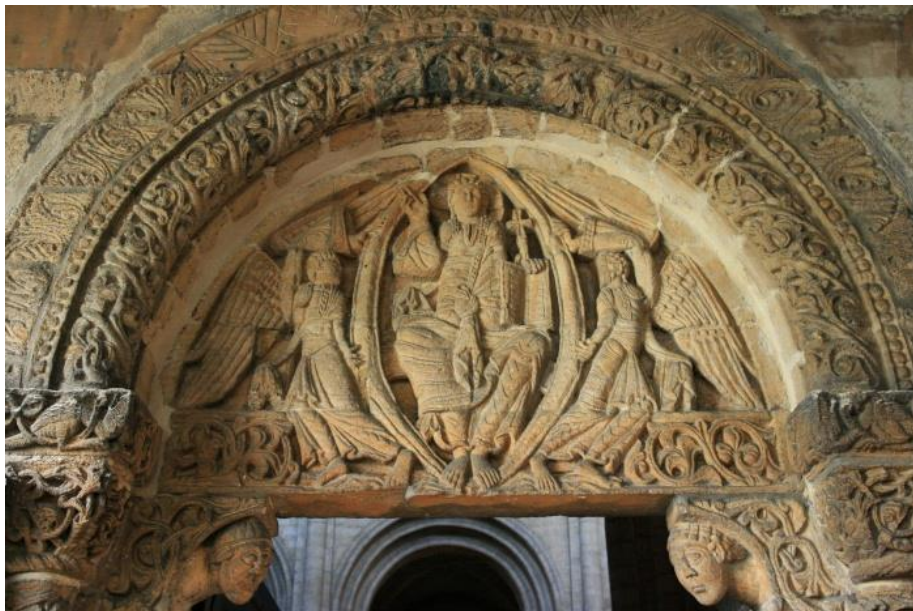


Fig. 3b. Prior's doorway, Ely Cathedral.

⁸ J. and G. Gardiner, 'St Andrew, Eastleach Turville, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (unpublished report, 1998).

⁹ R. Baxter, 'Holy and Undivided Trinity, Ely, Cambridgeshire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/1238/.

¹⁰ These are at Shobdon, Rowstone and St Giles, Hereford; see Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 133–50, 169–76.

¹¹ *GS*, pp. 98–101; *JW*, pp. 280–1, 294–5; *HH*, p. 74; J. Hudson, 'Nigel (c.1100–1169)', *DNB*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20190 (viewed 29/01/14).

The iconography is related to other nearby examples of sculpture. In Worcestershire there are two significant sculptural representations of Christ in Majesty, a tympanum at Romsley and a fragment of a tympanum at Chaddesley Corbett, from the first half of the twelfth century. At Romsley Christ is shown seated within a mandorla held by two flanking angels like the analogous relief at Eastleach (fig. 4b). The most notable differences are that the Romsley Christ wears a crown, his right hand is exceptionally large and there is an interlacing pattern with three dragon-heads along the upper edge. When



Fig. 4b (above).
Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Kenelm, Romsley, Worcestershire.



Fig. 5b (right). Sculpted fragment, St Cassian, Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire.

complete, the Chaddesley Corbett tympanum was perhaps closer in style and iconography. The fragment, dated c. 1150, shows the lower half of Christ's seated figure (fig. 5b).¹² To the right is a portion of the mandorla with a zigzag enrichment and beyond that, between the mandorla and the outer band of beading, there appears to be a hand and a leg. Presumably these limbs belong to one of a pair of

flanking angels who would have once been seen supporting the mandorla. The manor of Chaddesley Corbett was held by Earl Robert, although it was tenanted to the Foliot family, which could explain the link between the fragment and the Eastleach tympanum.¹³ Alternatively, the aforementioned similarity to the Ely tympanum might be the result of influence from a common source found in pre-Conquest art. It has been observed that the iconography of the Ely relief is comparable to a miniature of Christ in Majesty found in a Winchester psalter produced c. 1050, Cotton Tiberius C. VI, a possible sign that some sculptors were looking to late Anglo-Saxon illuminations of Christ in Majesty for inspiration.¹⁴

¹² G. L. Pearson, 'St Cassian, Chaddesley Corbett, Worcestershire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/308/.

¹³ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 229–32.

¹⁴ Baxter, 'Ely'.

Technically the Eastleach doorway is very similar to the south doorway at Quenington church.¹⁵ The dimensions of the openings are almost identical and at both sites the tympanum and first order of the arch are carved from the same stone. These similarities extend to style. Both exhibit an inner continuous order of lateral chevron that is rare within Gloucestershire and England as a whole.¹⁶ While the tympana appear to have been carved by different sculptors, it seems that there was at least one mason who worked at both sites and was perhaps responsible for carving the geometric patterns.

Verey and Brooks have dated the Eastleach doorway to c. 1170, however this is untenable considering the stylistic and technical parallels to sculpture produced in the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁷ The close connection to the architecture and sculpture of the south doorway at Quenington, dated between 1140 and 1150, suggests a period during the 1140s and it is possible that the whole church was renewed at this time. Earl William may have issued a confirmation charter in 1148 to mark the consecration of the new church while reaffirming its status as a dependency of Tewkesbury Abbey and his hereditary right as the lay patron. Regardless, the available evidence suggests that the project was initiated by Earl Robert earlier in the decade.

FORTHAMPTON

According to Domesday Book Forthampton was a large and prosperous manor held by the king. Although the manor contributed tithes, no church or priest was recorded at that time and it is thought that a church was not constructed until the twelfth century.¹⁸ Robert fitz Hamon received the manor from the Crown and after his death in 1107 King Henry granted the land to Tewkesbury Abbey, presumably in alms for the deceased man.¹⁹ Chwojko and Thurlby have speculated that the construction of a chapel was commenced in, or shortly after, 1107.²⁰ However the earliest reference to a chapel can be found in the period 1140 to

¹⁵ D. Verey and A. Brooks, *Gloucestershire 1: the Cotswolds* (Yale, 2002), p. 349, noted that the two doorways are similar but did not elaborate. For the discussion of Quenington church, see below pp. 65–75.

¹⁶ Newson, 'Beakhead', pp. 82–4.

¹⁷ Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 349, provide no justification for assigning this date.

¹⁸ *DB*, 163 c, E1; 'Forthampton', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 8 (1968), pp. 196–208.

¹⁹ *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 847, pp. 73–4.

²⁰ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 70.

1150 when Simon bishop of Worcester issued a charter confirming it as a dependency of Tewkesbury Abbey.²¹

Only one feature of the Romanesque chapel survives, an incomplete and damaged label that has been reset above the south doorway of the present-day church (fig. 6b). The right label stop is carved with a dragon-



Fig. 6b. Label, nave south doorway, St Mary the Virgin,

is carved with a dragon-head that is relatively well-preserved except for damage to the right-hand portion of the face (fig. 7b). On the left-hand side it has a small pointed ear at the top of the head, a diagonally skewed almond-shaped eye with accentuating incisions and a long tapering roll moulding for a snout. The bottom portion of the face is decorated with ribs that project from the snout and these are enriched with drilled beading. When viewed from the side some beading is visible on the broken lower jaw (fig. 8b). By contrast, the left label stop is in a terrible condition. The four surviving segments of the label are simple roll mouldings, of which two are enriched with a central beaded strap and the others are decorated with beaded medallions. Unfortunately the medallions are so badly damaged that it is



Fig. 7b (left). Right-hand label stop, nave south doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Forthampton, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 8b (right). Right-hand label stop profile, nave south doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Forthampton, Gloucestershire.

²¹ *EEA Worc.*, no. 85, pp. 60–2.

impossible to discern the design at their centres. At the apex of the label is the best preserved carving, a mask with a beast-head design (fig. 9b). The creature is almost cat-like with a pair of pointed ears at the top of its head, almond-shaped eyes with shallow drilled pupils, and what appears to be a snub nose with a convex philtrum below. A band of beaded interlace and a band of cable moulding decorate the creature's forehead while the slack jaw is enriched with undulating grooves.



Fig. 9b. Label mask, nave south doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Forthampton, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 10b. Label mask from Old Sarum Cathedral, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

In terms of style, these sculptures look to date to the 1140s. It has been noted that the apex mask corresponds with that above the north-west nave arcade at Gloucester Cathedral. If the Gloucester apex mask did inspire the one at Forthampton, the fact that it appears to have been added after the fire of 1122 would undermine Chwojko and Thurlby's dating.²² A more convincing source of inspiration is Old Sarum Cathedral. A label mask that was recovered from the Old Sarum site bears a closer resemblance to the Forthampton apex mask with its pointed ears, snub nose, projecting philtrum and grooves around the jaw (fig. 10b). Beaded medallion carvings have been recovered from Old Sarum and can also be seen inside the nave of Hereford Cathedral and at the Hereford-inspired cathedral of Llandaff which raises the possibility of influence from the west.²³ The construction of the Hereford Cathedral nave has been dated after 1120,²⁴ while Llandaff Cathedral was commenced in 1120 or 1121.²⁵ Further comparisons have been drawn to the Kilpeck south doorway, dated c. 1134, where the label is decorated with

²² Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', pp. 18–9.

²³ Ibid., p. 19; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 59–60, 70; M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), p. 79.

²⁴ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 261–2.

²⁵ Thurlby, *Wales*, p. 75.

beaded medallions and masks that have almond-shaped eyes and undulating grooves like the Forthampton label mask (fig. 11b).²⁶ The presence of dragon-head label stops is a final convincing indicator that the Forthampton sculptures date to Stephen's reign.



Fig. 11b. Label, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Presumably the label was once part of a sculpted arch or doorway, a sign that a large quantity of sculpture may have been lost. In the absence of any voussoirs, jambs or other fragments it is impossible to tell how the chapel might have compared to other contemporary churches in Gloucestershire. Perhaps most frustrating is the inability to establish whether there were once any stylistic or technical parallels to the doorway at Eastleach Turville as this could make it possible to gauge whether Earl Robert and his son were the patrons of the chapel. Neither Earl Robert nor his son feature as witnesses of the confirmation charter issued in the 1140s, however all of the men listed are churchmen or diocesan officials and the charter looks to be an ecclesiastical document designed to summarise the recent acquisitions of Tewkesbury Abbey rather than record respective lay patrons.²⁷ Although Forthampton was given to Tewkesbury at the start of the twelfth century, the manor remained associated with the honour of Gloucester long after and the earls may have consecutively held the status of lay patron.²⁸ Research into patterns of lay patronage has shown that secular benefactors and their successors usually retained an interest in family lands that had been alienated to a monastic foundation and would not hesitate to make commissions on behalf of the mother house.²⁹ Considering the familial connection to Tewkesbury Abbey it is all the more likely that Earl Robert provided some financial impetus for the construction of the chapel.

²⁶ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 70.

²⁷ *EEA Worc.*, no. 85, pp. 60–2.

²⁸ *VCH Glos.*, vol. 8, pp. 196–208.

²⁹ S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 683–9.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE BERKELEY FAMILY

LEONARD STANLEY

A parish church existed in the manor of Leonard Stanley by 1116 since it was around that time that Roger de Berkeley II was recorded giving the church of St Leonard to his clerk, Sabricht, with the approval of Bishop Theulf of Worcester (1113–23).¹ At first Sabricht appointed a number of clerics to assist him in serving the church but by 1130 he had established a community of regular canons on the site and appears in the 1130 pipe roll of King Henry I as ‘Sabricht the canon’ suggesting he himself had embraced the common life and Rule.² Before his death, however, he apparently urged Roger de Berkeley III, Roger II’s son, to grant the church to St Peter’s Abbey, Gloucester, and Roger complied by asking Simon bishop of Worcester to oversee the transaction in 1146.³

From the outset it is worth noting that the parish church of Leonard Stanley extant in 1116 is not analogous with the priory church that was granted to St Peter’s Abbey in 1146. There are a number of architectural and sculptural features in the present-day church that indicate construction after 1130, and these will be discussed in detail below. The fabric of a stone building constructed in pre-Conquest style survives immediately south-west of the church. An excavation in 1914 revealed that the original building was rectangular and had an apse at the east end.⁴ These findings suggest the remains of an earlier church, presumably the parish church that was given to Sabricht by Roger de Berkeley II in c. 1116. Revd Swynnerton, who oversaw excavation and restoration work on the church in the early twentieth century, labelled this smaller church an ‘Anglo-Saxon chapel’ based on the presence of herringbone masonry and the style of an arched

¹ *The Original Acta of St Peter’s Abbey, Gloucester c. 1122 to 1263*, ed. R. B. Patterson (Gloucester, 1998), no. 375, pp. 285–6; this letter, written by Roger de Berkeley III to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, in c. 1146 provides the fullest account of the formation of a community of regular canons at Leonard Stanley after 1116 but has been overlooked by scholars concerned with the history of Leonard Stanley Priory.

² *Ibid.*, ‘*Qui licet clericos sibi assumerit quandoque in habitu religioso quandoque in alio*’; *Pipe Roll 31*, p. 61.

³ *Acta St Peter’s*, no. 375, pp. 285–6; *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, p. 113.

⁴ C. Swynnerton, ‘The Priory of St. Leonard of Stanley, Co. Gloucester, in the light of recent discoveries documentary and structural’, *Archaeologia*, 71 (1921), pp. 222–23; ‘Proceedings at the Spring Meeting at Frocester, Stanley St Leonard, Sapperton and Miserden, 28th May, 1923’, *TBGAS*, 45 (1923), p. 5.

doorway.⁵ However Middleton's opinion that the chapel is post-Conquest in date may be closer to the truth since there were masons trained in pre-Conquest technologies who continued to work during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.⁶ This conclusion is perhaps supported by the fact that Domesday Book makes no mention of a priest or church at Leonard Stanley.⁷

The larger church, which is still in modern use, can be identified as the priory church built for the community of regular canons after 1116.⁸ It retains its original aisleless cruciform plan which is a strong indicator of Augustinian patronage. This layout was rarely used by other religious orders in England during the first half of the twelfth century and was favoured by Augustinian canons on the grounds that it evoked the early Christian basilica.⁹ The foundation of the priory has been speculatively dated between 1121 and 1130, with Swynnerton preferring a date closer to 1121.¹⁰ In fact, a date after 1128 is demonstrable. A dispute between Gloucester Abbey and William prior of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge in Calvados, Normandy, arose soon after 1146 with the Augustinian canons of Sainte-Barbe claiming rights over Leonard Stanley Priory. Evidently Leonard Stanley had been populated by regular canons connected to Sainte-Barbe Priory.¹¹ The chronicle of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge does not record canons being settled at Leonard Stanley, however it does describe the foundation of a cell in the manor of Beckford, then at the northern extreme of Gloucestershire, c. 1128.¹² It would follow that Augustinian canons from Sainte-Barbe were established at Leonard Stanley via Beckford. Since Sabricht was a canon by the time that the 1130 pipe roll was composed, the formation of the Augustinian community can be dated between c. 1128 and Michaelmas 1130.

⁵ Swynnerton, 'St. Leonard recent discoveries', pp. 222–23.

⁶ J. H. Middleton, 'Stanley St. Leonard's: The College of Canons and the Collegiate Church', *TBGAS*, 5 (1880–81) pp. 131–32; R. Gem, 'The English Parish Church in the Eleventh and Early Twelfth Centuries: A Great Rebuilding?' in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, pp. 24–5, 28–30.

⁷ *DB*, 168 a.

⁸ *Acta St Peter's*, no. 375, pp. 285–6; *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, p. 113.

⁹ Middleton, 'St. Leonard's', p. 121; Fernie, *Norman*, p. 188; M. Thurlby, 'Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England', *ANS*, 24 (2002), p. 251; J. A. Franklin, 'Augustinian and other Canons' Churches in Romanesque Europe: The Significance of the Aisleless Cruciform Plan', in Franklin, Heslop and Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie* (Woodbridge, 2012).

¹⁰ Swynnerton, 'St. Leonard recent discoveries', p. 200, based his dating on a hypothetical conversation between Roger II and King Henry I. HH, p. 56, records that the king spent Easter at Berkeley Castle in 1121 but there is no evidence that the king convinced Roger to found a priory for Augustinian canons.

¹¹ *LCGF*, no. 91, pp. 125–6; B. Kemp, 'The Churches of Berkeley Hennesse', *TBGAS*, 87 (1968), p. 99.

¹² *Chronique de Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge*, in M. Arnoux (ed.), *Des Clercs au Service de la Réforme* (Turnhout, 2000), p. 277; *Calendar of Documents preserved in France, A.D. 918–1206*, vol. 1, ed. J. H. Round (London, 1899), no. 568, pp. 197–8.

It is unclear whether Roger II was involved in the establishment of Augustinian canons at Leonard Stanley since he may have been dead by 1128.¹³ The 1130 pipe roll records Sabricht in possession of money from Roger, a possible sign that the latter had planned to construct a priory church and donated resources to fund the building programme on his deathbed.¹⁴ Even if Roger II had conceived plans to found an Augustinian priory on the site, he certainly did not live long enough to oversee its construction and the task must have fallen to William de Berkeley, his nephew, who assumed lordship of the honour after his uncle's death. Animosity has been suggested between Roger III and William de Berkeley. While speculative, this observation is plausible considering William appropriated land and property to which Roger III had the strongest hereditary claim.¹⁵ The fraught relationship combined with William's position as founder of the priory may explain why Roger III omitted to mention the construction of the new church at Leonard Stanley in his letter to Archbishop Theobald (c. 1146).¹⁶

King has argued that the main sculptor at Leonard Stanley had previously worked as the chief sculptor on the rebuilding of Old Sarum Cathedral during the episcopate of Roger of Salisbury (1102–39). The accuracy of this identification is apparent once sculptures from the two sites are compared. The sculptor's carved figures are characterised by round bulging eyeballs with carefully drilled or scooped pupils, often at an angle to convey direction of vision; indented foreheads and philtra; kidney-shaped ears; delicately shaped noses, mouths, fingers and toes; and the application of beading ornament around the edge of draperies. Since work on the rebuilding of Sarum Cathedral had begun before 1125 the Old Sarum Master was evidently employed there before he began working at Leonard Stanley.¹⁷

Dating the Leonard Stanley sculptures on the basis of the surviving Sarum sculptures is not a straight-forward process for a number of reasons. It is unclear when the Sarum Master finished working for Bishop Roger, largely because the dating of the rebuilding of Sarum Cathedral is contentious. Attention has been drawn to William of Malmesbury's description of the cathedral written in c. 1125 which implies the new east

¹³ Swynnerton, 'St. Leonard recent discoveries', p. 200, believed that Roger II was the patron of the new priory and died there as an Augustinian canon, however there is no evidence that Roger joined the community and it is unlikely that construction of the new church commenced until after his death.

¹⁴ *Pipe Roll 31*, p. 61.

¹⁵ N. E. Stacy, 'Henry of Blois and the Lordship of Glastonbury', *EHR*, 114 (1999), p. 12.

¹⁶ *Acta St Peter's*, no. 375, pp. 285–6.

¹⁷ King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', pp. 70–95.

end with its lavish sculpture was far advanced, and perhaps even completed, by this year.¹⁸ The emergence of sculptural motifs associated with Sarum Cathedral in Ireland by c. 1130 supports this observation.¹⁹ However the *Gesta Stephani* records that on Bishop Roger's death in 1139 the roofing of the structure was incomplete. It has been argued that the author of the *Gesta Stephani* was referring to the re-roofing of the old nave rather than Bishop Roger's additions, but the available evidence cannot substantiate this hypothesis.²⁰ As a result, it is possible that the Sarum Master remained at Sarum throughout the 1130s. Yet even if an exact date could be discerned for the completion of the cathedral sculptures it is possible that the sculptors were allowed to work on other projects between building phases. The Sarum Master was employed at other sites; his craftsmanship has been identified at Lullington church, Somerset, and he could have worked on other ecclesiastical and secular buildings that have since been lost.²¹ This raises the further issue of where the Leonard Stanley sculptures fit within the unknown itinerary of the Sarum Master. It may be that he did not begin carving at Leonard Stanley for many years after leaving Old Sarum.²²

A study of sculptural iconography proves more enlightening for dating the Leonard Stanley sculptures. The most unusual is a relief depicting two confronted quadrupeds set in the south wall of the chancel above the aumbry (fig. 1c). Both quadrupeds have large bulbous eyes and drilled pupils with those of the left-hand creature angled to give the impression that it is warily eyeing its companion, much like the left-hand lion on a sculpted gable from Sarum Cathedral (fig. 2c).²³ The same creature has small pointed ears, an indented brow and a heavily drooped mouth or moustache, and stands above a serpent which it appears to crush with its right hind leg. In contrast, the right-hand creature lunges forward aggressively, all four limbs extended, and it has a kidney-shaped ear and square jaw which are characteristic of further figural carvings by the Sarum Master at Sarum

¹⁸ WM, *GR*, pp. xvii–xviii; Thomson's analysis shows that William must have finished writing this section between 1124 and 1126; Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', pp. 71–2; King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', pp. 85–6; M. Thurlby, 'Sarum Cathedral as rebuilt by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102–1139: the state of research and open questions', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, 101 (2008), pp. 130–7.

¹⁹ Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', pp. 79–80; Thurlby, 'Sarum: state of research', p. 137.

²⁰ Thurlby, 'Sarum: state of research', p. 137.

²¹ Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', p. 76; King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', p. 72.

²² King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', pp. 77, 85, roughly dates the construction of Lullington church to the 1120s or 1130s and argues that the Sarum Master began working at Leonard Stanley by c. 1130. The absence of any documentary evidence for Lullington church makes it impossible to conclude whether the sculptures pre- or post-dates those at Leonard Stanley.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 80.



Fig. 1c (above). Relief above aumbry, south chancel interior, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire



Fig. 2c (left). Gable from Old Sarum, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.

Cathedral and Lullington. In its right paw it proffers a round object to its wary companion and in its left it grips the tail of the serpent. King and Givans have likened one or both of the beasts to anthropomorphic apes, but looking at their strange and grotesque hybrid forms it is uncertain whether the Master modelled them on a single animal.²⁴

This relief has long been interpreted as a representation of the Temptation in the Garden of Eden, and details of the sculpture confirm this identification.²⁵ The right-hand creature is evidently Eve offering the forbidden fruit to Adam and by depicting her clutching the tail of the serpent the implication is that she is has embraced evil and is

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 80–2; D. Givans, *English Romanesque Tympana: A Study of Architectural Sculpture in Church Portals c.1050-c.1200*, vol. 1 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warwick, 2001), p. 248.

²⁵ Middleton, 'St. Leonard's', pp. 128–29.

responsible for original sin. The representation of Adam crushing the head of the serpent appears to have been drawn from the passage in Genesis where God curses the serpent: 'And I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between your offspring and hers; he will crush your head, and you will strike his heel' (Genesis, 3:15). The four palmettes that run horizontally across the lower section compare favourably with those on a frieze section at Berkeley Castle and may be an allusion to the exotic vegetation described within the Garden of Eden.

Nevertheless, the complexity of the iconography is such that it cannot have been adapted solely from Genesis. Givans has noted that the scene's composition magnifies Eve as the cause of original sin whereas the Bible and most writings of the twelfth century are more sympathetic, blaming the cunning of the serpent.²⁶ More unusual is that Adam and Eve are presented in bestial guises, a representation for which there is no known parallel in medieval art. The origin of this peculiar iconography can be traced to the contemporary and highly influential writings of the Augustinian canon and theologian Hugh of St Victor. In the first book of his *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei* he discusses the Creation and Fall of mankind at length, stating that after sin God 'destroyed the integrity of the human body' and mankind entered a ruined state.²⁷ This theme of human degradation and deformity as a result of original sin is prominent in some of his other works, notably the *Didascalicon* composed in the late 1130s.²⁸ Greater still, *De Sacramentis* poses the question of whether Adam or Eve sinned more, with Hugh answering Eve since she had been completely seduced by the devil and ate the fruit whilst consumed by pride.²⁹ It is this idea that is mirrored in the sculptural representation of Eve.

Hugh composed *De Sacramentis* at St Victor, Paris, in c. 1134, and from there it appears to have spread rapidly to various religious centres in England.³⁰ Henry of Blois ordered that a copy be made for Glastonbury Abbey and others were acquired by York, Reading-Leominster, Hereford, Llanthony and Cirencester. The concentration of copies in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire is manifestly significant and it is worth noting that Cirencester Abbey acquired its early copy from the secular canons at Hereford Cathedral, presumably through the agency of Bishop Robert de Bethune, an Augustinian canon and

²⁶ Givans, *Tympana*, vol. 1, p. 272.

²⁷ Hugh of St Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, ed. R. J. Deferrari (Eugene, 2007), pp. 101, 130; *Hugonis de Sancto Victore, De Christianae fidei Sacramentis*, ed. B. Rainer (Münster, 2008), book 1, 6.IX, 7.XIX.

²⁸ B. T. Coolman, *The Theology of Hugh of St. Victor: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, 2010), pp. 60–62.

²⁹ *On the Sacraments*, pp. 124–5; *De Sacramentis*, book. 1, 7.X.

³⁰ *On the Sacraments*, p. ix.

former prior of Llanthony.³¹ Moreover, it is perhaps no coincidence that the first English Victorine cell was founded at Shobdon, Herefordshire, in c. 1140 through the support of Bishop Robert.³² Since there is no evidence that Gloucester Abbey had any copies of Hugh of St Victor's writings, it seems that the impetus for the dissemination of *De Sacramentis* in Gloucestershire came from Herefordshire.

The identification of the Leonard Stanley relief with the theology of Hugh of St Victor and the composition date of *De Sacramentis* provides stronger grounds for dating the Leonard Stanley sculpture after 1134, while also confirming that the surviving art and architecture should be associated with the Augustinian community rather than the Benedictine monks who replaced them in 1146. However, Hugh's text first had to be copied and transmitted making it possible that his ideas did not gain currency in Gloucestershire until later in the decade. The sculpture is embedded in the chancel wall above the aumbry which was designed to hold remnants of the consecrated host, one of the sacraments made necessary because of original sin. Consequently, the relief may be structurally and symbolically integral to this position and therefore *in situ*.³³ Alternatively, there is a blocked twelfth-century round-headed doorway in the north wall of the north transept with arch dimensions that equate to the dimensions of the Adam and Eve relief.³⁴ It is therefore possible that the relief is a former tympanum that was situated above this doorway. Since the chancel and transepts of a church were invariably constructed first, it follows that the building programme could not have commenced until the mid-1130s.

Dating the completion of the church is more problematic. The arches of the north and west doorways of the nave are both characterised by two orders of chevron, with inner orders of frontal chevron and outer orders of point-to-point lateral and frontal soffit chevron; billeted labels; and carved dragon-head label stops (figs. 3–4c). Based on style

³¹ R. Sharpe (ed.), *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues* (London, 1996), pp. 165, 855; R. Sharpe and J. Willoughby (eds.), 'List of Identifications', *British Medieval Library Catalogues*, www.history.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/ohf/documents/projects/List-of-Identifications.pdf (viewed 14/03/14), p. 400; R. Sharpe and J. Willoughby (eds.), 'Key to Medieval Documents', *British Medieval Library Catalogues*, www.history.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/ohf/documents/projects/Key-to-corpus.pdf (viewed 14/03/14); *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, eds. R. A. B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 41, 93.

³² *Wigmore Chronicle*, pp. 420–25, records that Bishop Robert set his seal to a letter written by Oliver de Merlimond, the patron of Shobdon church, requesting the abbot of St Victor send canons to serve the church. These two Victorine canons may have brought with them a copy of *De Sacramentis*.

³³ Givans, *Tympana*, p. 248.

³⁴ The width of the doorway opening is approximately 68cm and the relief measures 65cm at its widest point.

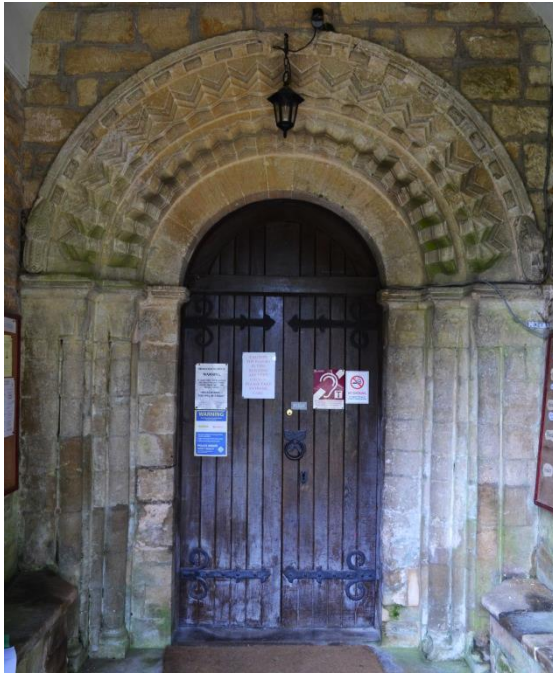


Fig. 3c. Nave north doorway, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 4c. Nave west doorway, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

analysis alone these doorways could date anywhere between the 1140s and the later twelfth-century.³⁵ However the continuity of style between the dragon-head label stops above the east crossing arch leading to the chancel and those on the north doorway suggests building work continued unbroken into the 1140s and 1150s. The north doorway



Fig. 5c (left). Right-hand dragon-head label stop, east crossing arch, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 6c (right). Left-hand dragon-head label stop, nave north doorway, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

dragon-heads differ from those on the crossing arch in that they have almond-shaped rather than rounded eyes, a possible sign that they were carved by an associate rather than the Master himself, but otherwise they each have identical features: drilled pupils, long flattened ears, an indented ridge running along the top of the head, a long raised nose and reeding enrichment all over (figs. 5–6c). If a well-managed small-scale construction programme could take about five years to complete, a relative estimate for the duration of the Leonard Stanley project would be ten to fifteen years since it is a grander structure than most parish

³⁵ Moss, *Chevron*, pp. 18–20.

churches with a large central crossing tower and originally had a cloister.³⁶

There are two other surviving sculptures in the chancel. Both are historiated capitals atop of central piers that were originally intended to support a vault. The north capital depicts a knelt female figure on the left with a nimbus washing the feet of a second reclined figure with her long hair (fig. 7c). This reclined figure has a cruciform nimbus; a beard with a long triangular moustache;



Fig. 7c. Capital, north chancel interior, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

and disproportionately large hand and feet, the former being raised in a gesture of blessing towards the female figure. The carving is undoubtedly a representation of Mary Magdalene washing the feet of Christ, distinguished by his cruciform halo, as described in the New Testament by Luke (7:36–50) and John (12:1–8). Both figures have been treated in the characteristic style of the Sarum Master and comparison has been drawn to a sculpture of Christ from Sarum Cathedral.³⁷ This particular Biblical scene is not represented in any other surviving sculptures attributed to the Master, nor is it represented in the surviving corpus of English Romanesque sculpture as a whole. A famous early medieval precedent is the analogous scene depicted on the Ruthwell Cross, although the composition is markedly different. The closest contemporary examples are to be found within manuscript art. Mary is depicted in the context of a larger feasting scene at the house of Simon the Pharisee, or Simon the Leper, knelt below the table washing Christ's feet in both the St Albans Psalter

³⁶ This estimate is based on the construction of Shobdon church, *Wigmore Chronicle*, pp. 421–5.

³⁷ King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', pp. 77–9.

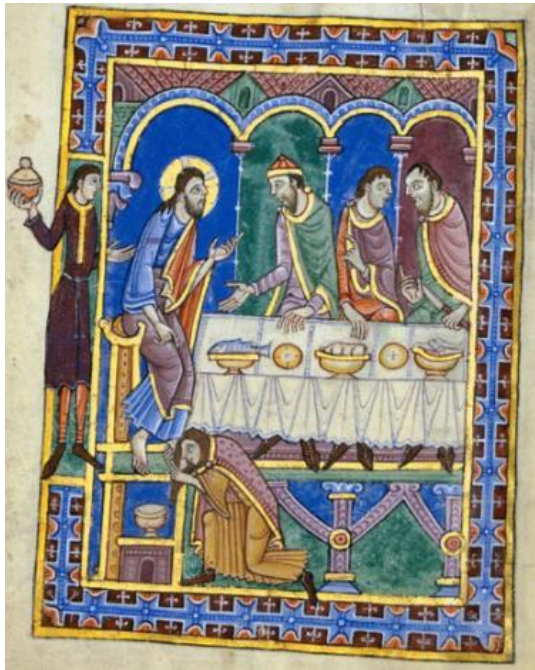


Fig. 8c. St Albans Psalter, f. 36v.

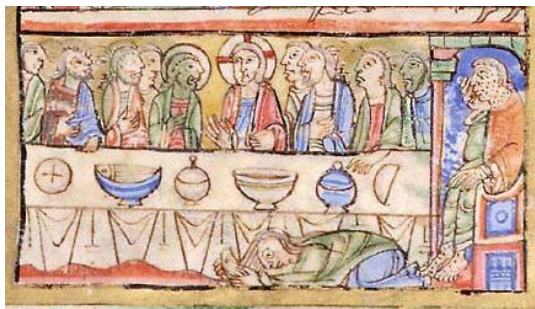


Fig. 9c. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 521v.



Fig. 10c. Winchester Psalter, Cotton MS Nero C IV, f. 24r.

(c. 1130) and an illuminated leaf from a Canterbury Psalter (c. 1140) (figs. 8–9c).³⁸ A miniature from the Winchester Psalter (c. 1150) is closer in composition; Mary is knelt on the left with a nimbus and Christ is shown on the right, although he is painted standing rather than reclined, and holding a staff in his right hand (fig. 10c).³⁹ None of these manuscripts can be considered directly related to the sculpture, although they do show that this particular scene featured in artistic repertoires of this period.

The second capital, also by the Master, depicts a figure reclined on a bed within an architectural setting as denoted by the stylised pillars at each corner (fig. 11c, 15c). On the east face a crouched angel with halo and wings holds back the curtain to reveal the frontal scene, while on the west face there is a small figure lying horizontally with a cruciform nimbus, and a star and horned animal overhead. This capital must represent the Nativity. The figure on the front face can be identified as the Virgin Mary while the west face depicts the infant Christ in the crib being licked by the ox, a motif characteristic of Byzantine ivory

³⁸ Geddes, *Albans Psalter*, p. 20; J. Geddes, 'Page 36 Commentary', *The St Albans Psalter*, www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/commentary/page036.shtml (viewed 17/03/14); Zarnecki et al. (eds.), *Romanesque*, pp. 93, 112.

³⁹ London, British Library, MS Cotton, Nero C.IV; Zarnecki et al. (eds.), *Romanesque*, pp. 118–19; T. S. R. Boase, *English Art 1100–1216* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 172–73; Wormald, *Winchester Psalter*; Haney, *Winchester Psalter*, pp. 7–8.



Fig. 11c. Capital, south chancel interior, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

carvings and Ottonian manuscript art, with the star of Bethlehem overhead.⁴⁰ The Nativity appears in many surviving contemporary artworks of various mediums, including manuscripts and ivory carvings.⁴¹ However the closest comparison is a stone font at West Haddon, Northamptonshire, dated to the 1120s or 1130s (fig. 12c).⁴² Like the Leonard Stanley sculpture, Mary is reclined horizontally on a bed

with her head resting on a pillow at the left-hand side and Christ is shown in the crib, though he is observed by two animals rather than one and another figure is seated to the right of Christ's head who presumably represents Joseph. As well as being carved within a stylised architectural setting, the West Haddon font also parallels the Leonard Stanley capital in the profusion of beading, particularly the beaded strap running horizontally across the top edge, and the band of cusps carved below the Virgin. Although the West Haddon font is far less accomplished, the similarities in composition and the application of motifs is so striking that it is possible both were inspired by a common source of some prominence.



Fig. 12c. Font, All Saints, West Haddon, Northamptonshire.

⁴⁰ Geddes, *Albans Psalter*, p. 20.

⁴¹ Including a leaf from a Canterbury Psalter (c. 1140), New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M 724 verso; and an ivory liturgical comb from St Albans (c. 1130), 'Liturgical Comb', *Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O94330/liturgical-comb-liturgical-comb-unknown/> (viewed 10/01/14).

⁴² Zarnecki, *Romanesque 1066–1140*, p. 33, dates the font to c. 1120; R. Baxter, 'All Saints, West Haddon, Northamptonshire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/1279/ (viewed 12/08/14).

One major style consideration that has been overlooked is the relationship between the Leonard Stanley sculptures and those created by the sculptors of the Herefordshire School. The characteristic Herefordshire School features of large hands and feet, and egg-shaped heads with bulbous eyes and cap-like hair are all found in the Leonard Stanley sculptures, particularly on the capital depicting Mary Magdalene and Christ. Here the large raised hand of Christ mirrors the figures on a number of early twelfth-century capitals at Hereford Cathedral, a tympanum at Fownhope and the south doorway at Kilpeck, among other examples. The angel depicted on a capital from the Hereford Cathedral presbytery arch, carved c. 1115, has an egg-shaped head, bulbous eyes and cap-



Fig. 13c. Former capital of the presbytery arch, Hereford Cathedral.



Fig. 14c. Font, St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley, Herefordshire.

like hair much like the Leonard Stanley Christ (fig. 13c).⁴³ Later sculptures of the Herefordshire School are even more alike, such as the figure of Christ on the font at Eardisley, date c. 1142, which not only has cap-like hair and large round eyes, but also a cruciform nimbus, moulded eyebrows, prominent cheekbones and a long drooping moustache like its counterpart at Leonard Stanley (fig. 14c).⁴⁴ Chwojko and Thurlby have pondered whether Hereford influenced the style of the Sarum Master and his associates.⁴⁵ The demonstrated relationship between the Leonard Stanley sculptures and those attributed to the Herefordshire School appears to confirm this.

A close examination of the sculpted chancel capitals reveals something more startling. Both appear to be fragments of larger capitals and are not in their original positions. This is best demonstrated by the Nativity capital. The side face depicting the infant Christ cuts off abruptly with part of the manger missing and a disembodied shape on

⁴³ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 61–62, 261–2, illustrates and discusses the Herefordshire sculptures.

⁴⁴ Wood, *Eardisley*, p. 10, suggests the date of c. 1142 on the basis of documentary evidence and style.

⁴⁵ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 24.

the far right which could be the remnants of another carved animal or perhaps the figure of Joseph as he features in other contemporary artworks (fig. 15c). The fact that Christ occupies an obscured side position and the presence of a heavy mortar line beneath the capital are further tell-tale signs that this sculpture is *ex situ*. Similarly, the Mary Magdalene capital has an incomplete scene on the east face where only a figure with a nimbus can be discerned (fig. 16c).

Whereas the present-day capitals have side faces that are shorter than the front face, the original capitals were presumably equilateral.



Fig. 15c. Capital, west face, south chancel interior, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 16c. Capital, east face, north chancel interior, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

Their original location may have been the arcades of the lost Romanesque cloister where the capitals would have been visible from all angles. Here the arrangement may have been similar to the cloister of Reading Abbey where elaborately carved capitals were fixed on single piers. In this context the sculptures could have been part of a cycle of historiated capitals depicting scenes from the Bible, comparable to cycles of miniatures



Fig. 17c. Sculpted fragment, niche above nave north doorway, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

found in contemporary psalters. This notion is supported by a loose sculptural fragment now located in a niche above the north doorway. Three bearded men wearing crowns and holding a long scroll are seated beneath an arched canopy with animal-heads (fig. 17c). They appear to represent the Holy Trinity holding the book of life which is mentioned at

length in the Book of Revelation (3:5, 13:8, 17:8, 20:12–15, and 21:27).⁴⁶ Evidently this is not the sculpture's original position and its shape suggests that it is also a former capital. Since it cannot have belonged to one of the Anglo-Norman doorways, a position in the cloister is plausible. A programme of historiated cloister capitals was not unprecedented in western Christendom during this period, although it would be the first known example in an English Augustinian priory. William de Berkeley clearly had grand designs; he commissioned an imposing priory church and employed one of the most eminent sculptors in the South West. An excavation of the cloister site would allow this hypothesis to be formally tested, but until then there is evidence to suggest that there was an elaborate programme of sculptures in the cloister and some of these were salvaged after the cloister was destroyed.

A final enigma that has largely been overlooked is a carved stone high on the west wall of the tower. It depicts an animal's head with deeply drilled ears, eyes and nostrils. The reeding enrichment is comparable to the dragon-head label stops while the slack mouth, drilled pupils and deep nostrils are akin to sculpted heads on corbels from Sarum Cathedral (fig. 18c). It is surely the work of the Master or an associate, and on the basis of its shape and form the stone could well be the remains of a corbel. Corbel tables were a common feature of Romanesque churches big and small and it is likely that Leonard Stanley church was no exception.



Fig. 18c. Sculpted fragment, west side of central tower, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.

The history of Leonard Stanley Priory can be summarised as follows. A community of Augustinian canons connected to Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge were established at Leonard Stanley between c. 1128 and 1130 through the agency of Sabricht and William de Berkeley, although it is possible that they were following the wishes of the late Roger de Berkeley II. The canons must have taken up residence in some form of temporary accommodation and used the existing small parish church for services until the chancel of the new priory church was completed. The building of the latter appears to have been commenced in the mid- to late 1130s with a group of craftsmen connected to Sarum Cathedral. Based on the

⁴⁶ Swynnerton, 'St. Leonard recent discoveries', p. 221.

continuity in style, construction of the nave and cloister would have taken place during the 1140s, the latter presumably taking priority. Whereas the cloister could have been completed before 1146, work on the nave probably continued after the Augustinian canons were replaced with Benedictine monks from St Peter's. The surviving sculptures are of particular note since the Adam and Eve relief suggests connections to Victorine theological thought while the three *ex situ* capitals could be evidence of an unprecedented Augustinian cycle of historiated cloister capitals.

THE PATRONAGE OF MILES AND ROGER, THE EARLS OF HEREFORD

In Walker's opinion, Miles of Gloucester, the earl of Hereford from 1141 to 1143, 'had never been a generous patron of the church'. Besides helping to relocate the Augustinians of Llanthony and founding the priory of Llanthony Secunda at Gloucester in 1137, it is thought that Miles made few benefactions to religious communities before his life was cut short by a hunting accident on Christmas Eve in 1143.¹ His son and successor, Roger, has received a more positive appraisal for his contributions to the church during the last decade of Stephen's reign. As well as being the formal protector (*advocatus*) of Gloucester Abbey, a position that his father may have held before him, he has been described as 'a generous patron of Brecon and Hereford priories' and was responsible for founding the Cistercian abbey of Flaxley in 1151.²

Both men's contributions to ecclesiastical sculpture, though Miles's in particular, have been severely underestimated. There are several churches in Gloucestershire with Romanesque carvings that can be attributed to the patronage of Miles and Roger. The implication is that the earls of Hereford were active patrons of art, learning and culture, and it will be seen that they may have encouraged the spread of ecclesiastical reform in the region.

BARNSLEY

The manor of Barnsley was part of the Bibury Hundred and Domesday Book records that it belonged to the bishop of Worcester. Durand of Gloucester held the majority of the manor from the bishop, bar seven virgates that were held by a certain Eudo, and this tenancy descended to Miles (c. 1123) and then Roger.³ In 1151 the church of Bibury was transferred to Oseney Abbey along with all of its dependent chapels.⁴ Blair has identified these as the

¹ D. Walker, 'Gloucester, Miles of, earl of Hereford (d. 1143), magnate', *DNB*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10820 (viewed 04/04/14).

² *Hist. et Cart.* vol. 1, p. 311; Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 158; D. Crouch, 'Roger [Roger fitz Miles], earl of Hereford (d. 1155), magnate', *DNB*, www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47203 (viewed 04/04/14), incorrectly attributes the re-founding of Llanthony Priory at Gloucester to Roger instead of Miles.

³ *DB*, 164 d, WoA 1, WoB 17; 'Barnsley', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 7, p. 15.

⁴ *Cartulary of Oseney Abbey*, vol. 5, ed. H. E. Salter (Oxford, 1935), pp. 1, 26-7.

chapels of Aldsworth, Barnsley and Winson. In contrast to Aldsworth and Winson, Barnsley chapel enjoyed a degree of autonomy from Bibury church and this might suggest that it had not been founded by the mother house.⁵ Since the earls of Hereford were tenants of the manor, it is likely that one of them commissioned the chapel and later granted it to Bibury.

The original Anglo-Norman church that was completed by 1151 appears to have been a two-cell structure comprising of a chancel and nave. On the north side of the nave is a simple round-headed doorway with two continuous orders of roll mouldings (fig. 1d).⁶ There was once another doorway on the south side of the nave but this was removed at a later date.⁷ The interior entry to the chancel has a thirteenth-century pointed arch, however the splayed jambs of two orders appear to date from the mid-twelfth century (figs. 2–4d).⁸ Each of the four



Fig. 1d (above). Nave north doorway, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2d (left). Chancel arch, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

⁵ J. Blair, 'Introduction: from Minster to Parish Church', in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, p. 11.

⁶ J. and G. Gardiner, 'St Mary the Virgin, Barnsley, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (unpublished site report, 1998).

⁷ *VCH Glos.*, vol. 7, p. 20.

⁸ The whole arch appears to have been cleaned, probably during the mid-nineteenth-century restoration project. See *ibid.*, p. 20; A. de Courcy, *A Short History of the Church and Village of Barnsley* (second edition, 2009), p. 2.

nook shafts is topped with a roll necking and capital. The two left-hand capitals are simple double scallops, although the scallops of the inner capital are sheathed, with plain shields. Those on the right-hand side are more decorative. The inner capital is a double scallop with shields that are outlined by concentric semi-circular incisions and filled with carved leaves and volutes. Both faces of the outer capital are enriched with acanthus scroll and a pair of volutes at the top which are comparable to foliate designs on the capitals in the north-west nave arcade of Gloucester Cathedral. The large balls with drilled centres that decorate the impost above can also be traced to the capitals in the north nave arcade of Gloucester Cathedral (fig. 5d), although King has suggested that this motif was popularised by Old Sarum Cathedral.⁹



Fig. 3d (top left). Chancel arch, north-west capitals, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 4d (bottom left). Chancel arch, south-west capitals, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 5d (below). Impost decorated with balls, nave north-west arcade, Gloucester Cathedral.



The most interesting sculptural feature of the church is the corbel table that decorates the north and south side of the chancel. Due to the addition of the organ chamber to the south of the chancel in the nineteenth century, some of the corbels on this side of the church are only visible from the interior while others are obscured by the organ pipes or have been built into the new walls. Several of these exhibit influence from Old Sarum Cathedral. There is a bird beakhead inside the organ chamber that has round eyes

⁹ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 29n; King, 'Twelfth-Century Sculptor', p. 82.

with drilled pupils and a ridged beak that grips the roll and a worn female face on the north side with rope-like hair, drilled pupils and a thin-lipped mouth that resemble corbels found at Old Sarum (figs. 6–9d). The most striking style parallel is between a male face in the organ chamber and a male humanoid corbel from Old Sarum. Both have the same round, bulbous eyes with drilled pupils, prominent noses, small mouths and beards composed of rope-like strands, although the strands on the Barnsley face are much thicker (figs. 10–11d). The ram’s head corbel on the south side of the chancel may have been inspired by Hereford Cathedral, at the heart of Miles’ and Roger’s earldom, where there is a surviving ram’s head capital with the same flat jaw and spiralling horns (fig. 12d).¹⁰



Fig. 6d. Corbel, organ loft interior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 7d. Corbel, north chancel exterior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 8d. Bird beakhead corbel from Old Sarum Cathedral, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.



Fig. 9d. Female head corbel from Old Sarum Cathedral, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.



Fig. 10d. Corbel, organ loft interior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 11d. Humanoid head corbel from Old Sarum Cathedral, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum.



Fig. 12d (left). Corbel, south chancel exterior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

Many of the corbels suggest connections to other nearby churches in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds. At Quenington there is a carved ram’s head above the north doorway, perhaps originally a corbel, which resembles the Barnsley corbel (fig. 13d). A lone corbel at Siddington church features a female face with round eyes, drilled pupils and a

¹⁰ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, plates 26. a and b.

thin-lipped mouth like some of the human faces at Barnsley (fig. 14d). One of the north chancel corbels at Barnsley depicts a male face with cabled hair, almond eyes and a wispy beard that is remarkably similar in appearance to a face on the second order of the south doorway at South Cerney (figs. 15–16d). Another carved ram’s head with spiralling horns can be seen on the south arcade at Windrush, along with corbels featuring a bird beakhead, a grotesque head with a projecting tongue and a male face with handlebar moustache like three of the corbels at Barnsley (figs. 17–22d). Many of the corbels on the chancel at Withington look to have been carved by the Barnsley sculptor, or sculptors. The bird beakheads at both sites are similar, as are two corbels each depicting a grotesque face with small pointed ears, almond eyes and a slack grooved jaw (figs. 23–25d). There is a corbel at Withington which depicts a male face with handlebar moustache like the one at Barnsley and, perhaps most notably, there are two grotesque corbels where the almond eyes, drilled pupils and tapered noses with upper ridges have been modelled in exactly the same way (figs. 26–28d). With the exception of Withington, it will be seen that all of these stylistically related church sculptures can be traced to the patronage of the earls of Hereford.¹¹



Fig. 13d. Ram’s head corbel, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 14d. Corbel, south-east chancel exterior, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 15d. Corbel, north chancel exterior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 16d. Voussoir, seventh from right, second order, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 17d (left). Ram’s head, nave south arcade, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 18d (left). Reset corbel, nave interior, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

¹¹ The sculptures of Withington church appear to date to the twelfth century, however there is no documentary evidence to suggest a more precise time bracket. See appendix.



Fig. 19d (left).
Reset corbels,
nave interior, St
Peter, Windrush,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 20d (left).
Reset corbels,
nave interior, St
Peter, Windrush,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 21d (left).
Corbel, south
chancel exterior,
St Mary, Barnsley,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 22d (above).
Corbel, north
chancel exterior,
St Mary, Barnsley,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 23d. Corbel, south
chancel exterior, St
Michael and All
Angels, Withington,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 24d (above).
Corbel, south
chancel exterior,
St Mary, Barnsley,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 25d (above).
Corbel, north
chancel exterior, St
Michael and All
Angels, Withington,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 26d (left).
Corbel, south
chancel exterior,
St Mary, Barnsley,
Gloucestershire.



Fig. 27d (far left). Corbel, organ loft interior,
St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 28d (near left). Corbel, north chancel
exterior, St Michael and All Angels,
Withington, Gloucestershire.

The surviving sculptures at Barnsley and their relationship to Old Sarum, Hereford Cathedral and other parish churches in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds certainly support the charter evidence that the Romanesque church had been completed by 1151. When the church was commenced is another question less easily answered, although the manifest influence from Sarum and the style of the sculptures suggest that they cannot have been

carved earlier than 1135. As the sculpture and architecture of other Gloucestershire parish churches are viewed and discussed below, it will become apparent that the Barnsley sculptures are characteristic of styles and repertoires of the 1140s.

GREAT BARRINGTON, LITTLE BARRINGTON AND WINDRUSH

The large manor of Great Barrington was held by Walter of Gloucester, Miles's father, in 1086, by which time there was a priest and presumably already a church. Between July 1141 and December 1143 Earl Miles granted the church and half of the manor to Llanthony Priory with the assent of the Empress and Bishop Simon of Worcester.¹² This grant appears to have anticipated a major rebuilding campaign which continued after Miles' death and was completed shortly after Roger's death when Bishop Alfred of Worcester dedicated the church in August 1158 or August 1159.¹³ Unfortunately little of the mid-twelfth-century fabric survives and while the chancel arch may be original, the carved chevron, scallop capitals and cable mouldings appear to have been heavily restored and recut at a later date (fig. 29d).



Fig. 29d. Chancel arch, St Mary, Great Barrington, Gloucestershire.

¹² *EEA Worc.*, no. 71, pp. 51–2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, no. 150, pp. 105–6.

There is no mention of Great Barrington church having any dependent churches by 1143, yet it possessed two chapels in the manors of Little Barrington and Windrush as early as 1151.¹⁴ A charter issued by John bishop of Worcester between 1151 and 1157 confirmed the chapels of Little Barrington and Windrush as dependencies of Great Barrington and, by extension, Llanthony Priory.¹⁵ Another, the aforementioned dedication charter of Bishop Alfred, records Prior Clement of Llanthony being ceremonially invested with the keys to the chapels in 1158/9.¹⁶ Neither manor is recorded in Domesday Book as having a priest or a chapel, and based on the surviving twelfth-century charters it can be concluded that both chapels were built between c. 1143 and 1157 through the patronage of Roger fitz Miles. Windrush, an old Lacy manor, could be claimed through Roger's marriage to Cecily, while lordship over Little Barrington may have been connected to Roger's dominance over the Barrington Hundred.¹⁷

WINDRUSH

Windrush church retains a number of twelfth-century features, the most notable being the elaborately carved south doorway which is adorned with two orders of beakheads (fig. 30d). The style and ornament is characteristic of sculpture produced during the 1140s. Newson has noted that the bird beakheads with their upturned almond-shaped eyes bear a remarkable resemblance to the bird beakheads from Reading Abbey (figs. 31–32d).¹⁸ What has



Fig. 30d. Nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 128, p. 91.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 128, p. 91.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 150, pp. 105–6.

¹⁷ *DB*, 167b, 167d; *RRAN*, vol. 3, no. 312, pp. 118–9; D. Walker, 'Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford', *TBGAS*, 77 (1958), p. 70; D. Walker, 'The 'Honours' of the Earls of Hereford in the Twelfth Century', *TBGAS*, 79 (1960), p. 186.

¹⁸ Newson, 'Beakhead', p. 75.

not yet been appreciated is the relationship of the Windrush sculptures to Old Sarum Cathedral. There are nine grotesque beakheads at Windrush which are comparable to a label mask from Old Sarum. One in particular has the same pointed ears, indented forehead, oval eyes, rounded jaw with defining grooves, and short snout with projecting philtrum (figs. 10b, 33d). The left scallop capital has a distinctive shield design consisting of



Fig. 31d. Left-hand jamb, nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

two semi-circles with a downward facing trifoliate plant in the centre which is similar to a capital of the crossing tower at Leonard Stanley where the Old Sarum Master is known to have worked (figs. 34–35d). Another comparative motif is the palmette which appears in rows on the imposts at Windrush and along the bottom edge of the Leonard Stanley tympanum (figs. 36–37d). Rather



Fig. 32d. Voussoir from Reading Abbey, Reading Museum and Art Gallery.



Fig. 33d. Beakhead, left-hand jamb, nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 36d (near right). Palmettes, right impost, nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 34d (far left). Left-hand capital, nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 37d (far right). Palmette on lower edge of relief above ambry, south chancel interior, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 35d (near left). West capital, north transept crossing arch, St Swithun, Leonard Stanley, Gloucestershire.



than suggesting a direct connection between the sculptures of these sites, it is possible that both emulate designs once prominent at Old Sarum. Further influence from Old Sarum can be identified on a number of sculpted corbels that are reset inside the nave. One is a badly damaged bird beakhead which grips a roll moulding with its beak in identical style and fashion to biting bird beakheads from Sarum and Roger of Salisbury's castle at Sherborne (figs. 8d, 18d). Another, a grotesque humanoid head with an open mouth, protruding tongue and rows of individually carved teeth, bears some resemblance to a Sarum-carved voussoir (figs. 19d, 38d).

Several motifs at Windrush relate to sculptures found in regional parish churches. At English Bicknor there is a grotesque beakhead with almond-shaped eyes, small pointed ears and a fluted jaw on the reset chancel arch that is almost identical to a beakhead found on the far left jamb of the Windrush doorway. Both of these are similar to a carved hellmouth found on the base of a jamb at Shobdon, Herefordshire (figs. 39–41d).¹⁹ On the same arch at English Bicknor is a truncated beakhead with a beaded



Fig. 38d. Voussoir from Old Sarum Cathedral.



Fig. 39d. Beakhead voussoir, nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 40d. Beakhead, left-hand jamb, nave south doorway, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 41d. Base, second column of the left arch, Shobdon, Herefordshire.



Fig. 42d (far left). Beakhead voussoir, nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 43d (near left). Reset corbel, nave interior, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

¹⁹ Oliver de Merlimond, patron of Shobdon, joined the retinue of Earl Miles in 1143, *Wigmore Chronicle*, pp. 424–5.

nose strap like that on a sculpted corbel at Windrush (figs. 42–43d). These similarities can be explained by the fact that the churches of Windrush and English Bicknor shared common patronage from the earls of Hereford.²⁰ Corbel heads with nose straps and cylindrical jaws are present at other contemporary churches, namely Temple Guiting in north-east Gloucestershire (fig. 44d). There is no evidence that Temple Guiting church was patronised by either Miles or Roger, therefore this motif must have enjoyed a wider currency among sculptors and patrons.²¹



Fig. 44d. Corbel, south chancel exterior, St Mary, Temple Guiting, Gloucestershire.

The last remaining Romanesque features at Windrush are six jambs with scallop capitals which once supported the chancel arch. Two of the columns are enriched with chevron and nailhead, and another two are carved with spirals (figs. 45–48d).



Fig. 45–6 d. North-west and south-west chancel arch splayed jambs, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 47–8d. South-east and north-east chancel arch splayed jambs, St Peter, Windrush, Gloucestershire.

²⁰ See below, pp. 61.

²¹ Temple Guiting will not be discussed at length due to ambiguity over the chronology of the sculptures. See appendix.

Evidently these geometric patterns were employed to visually demarcate the sacred space of the chancel.²² Identical chevron and spiral patterns can be seen on the jambs of the south doorways at the disused chapel of St Mary Magdalene in Wotton, Gloucester and Begbroke church, Oxfordshire (figs. 49–50d). A leper hospital was founded at Wotton in the early twelfth century by Walter of Gloucester and the chapel may have been constructed c. 1150 following a large endowment by Earl Roger, while Begbroke church can similarly be attributed to the patronage of Roger or his father.²³ The parallels between these jambs and those at Windrush could be a sign that Roger favoured such geometric enrichment or else he employed the same craftsmen.

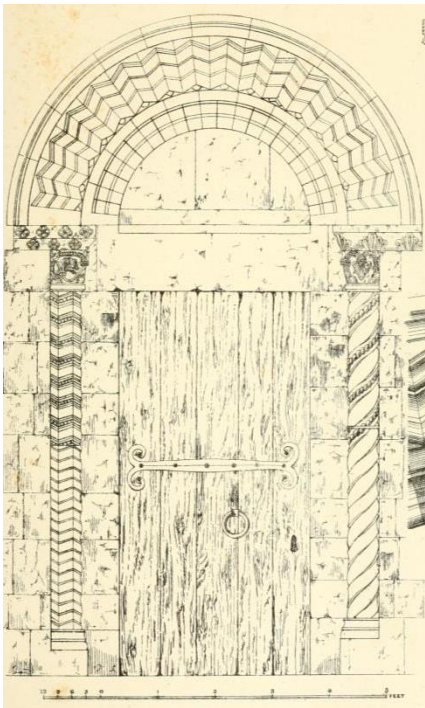


Fig. 49d. Nave south doorway, St Mary Magdalene, Wotton, Gloucester (after R. and J. A. Brandon).

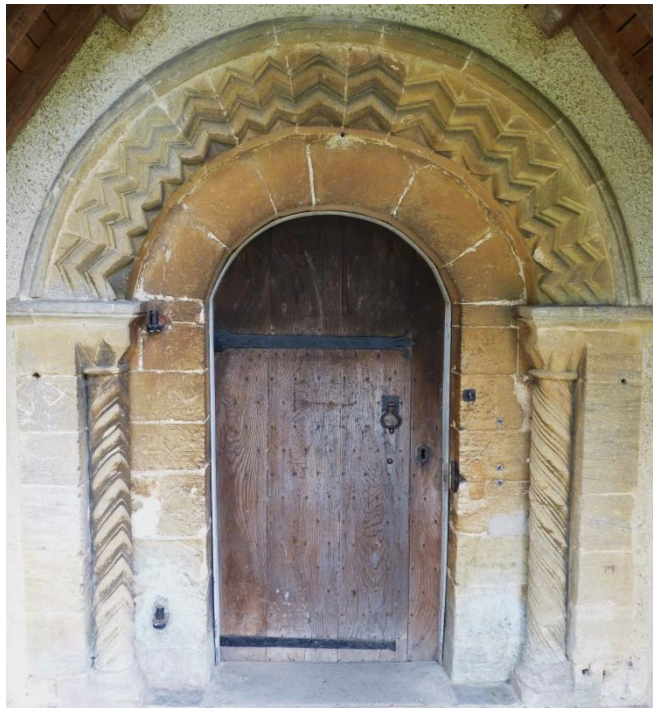


Fig. 50d. Nave south doorway, St Michael, Begbroke, Oxfordshire.

²² Fernie, *Norman*, pp. 284, 286.

²³ 'Medieval Gloucester: 1066 – 1327', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 4, pp. 13–8; 'Begbroke', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 12, pp. 5–8.

LITTLE BARRINGTON

Despite evidence that Little Barrington chapel was founded in the mid-twelfth-century, the fabric of the present-day church is predominantly of the late twelfth century.²⁴ For example, the round-arch south doorway is of Transitional style and includes dogtooth ornament which was popular around 1200. However, there is a large semi-circular relief, presumably a tympanum, set in the north wall of the nave which may date from the original mid-twelfth-century church.²⁵ It depicts Christ in Majesty flanked by two crouched angels with wings (fig. 51d). Christ is seated at the centre with a cruciform nimbus, his right hand raised in blessing and a book in his left hand. While the faces of the three figures are badly worn, the draperies and wings retain their naturalistic folds and the whole composition is in high relief. These features led Verey and Brooks to date the creation of the sculpture to the late twelfth century.²⁶ However it is worth noting that such naturalism is not unprecedented in sculpture from the second quarter of the twelfth century as demonstrated by the fragmentary sculpture of Christ from Old Sarum and the reliefs at the cathedrals of Lincoln and Chichester.²⁷ The worn Lincoln relief depicting the saved in the



Fig. 51d. Former tympanum, north nave exterior, St Peter, Little Barrington, Gloucestershire.

²⁴ Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 448.

²⁵ U. Daubeny, *Ancient Cotswold Churches* (Cheltenham, 1921), p. 97, suggested that it was originally the tympanum of the north nave doorway.

²⁶ Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 448.

²⁷ G. Zarnecki, *Romanesque Lincoln: The Sculpture of the Cathedral* (Lincoln, 1988), pp. 16–89; G. Zarnecki, 'The Chichester Reliefs', *Archaeological Journal*, 110 (1953), pp. 106–19, dated the Chichester reliefs to the second quarter of the twelfth century. More recently, D. Park, 'The "Lewes Group" of Wall Paintings in Sussex', *ANS*, 6 (1983), p. 235, has suggested that they could have been carved as early as 1108.

Bosom of Abraham is a case in point; the draperies are plain yet realistic and the angels' wings are carefully segmented and incised much like those on the Little Barrington tympanum (fig. 52d). Just as a crude carving is no guarantee of early craftsmanship, it should never be assumed that an accomplished piece is the work of a later sculptor. There is no doubt that a magnate of Earl Roger's standing would have been capable of employing a highly accomplished sculptor. Whether the tympanum is a creation of the mid-twelfth century is a matter open to debate.



Fig. 52d. Section of frieze, Lincoln Cathedral.

ENGLISH BICKNOR

In 1086 the manor of English Bicknor was held by William son of Norman. At that time it was a very small landholding of half a hide with only six smallholders and no apparent church or priest.²⁸ It then passed to Uluric de Dena but in c. 1131 King Henry granted the manor to Miles of Gloucester.²⁹ The present-day church, which retains several Romanesque features, is situated within the outer bailey of an Anglo-Norman castle. Early commentators dated the construction of the castle to the late eleventh century, however it is now thought that the motte-and-bailey was a later development contemporary with Miles' possession of the manor.³⁰ The close proximity of castle and church and the fact that the latter was actually enclosed by the fortifications, suggests common patronage during the same phase.³¹ In other words, the church appears to post-date 1131.

²⁸ *DB*, 167 c.

²⁹ *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1723, p. 255.

³⁰ G. Rushforth and W. H. Knowles, 'Proceedings at the Spring Meeting at Micheldean, Goodrich, English Bicknor and Newland, 4 May 1931', *TBGAS*, 53 (1931), pp. 7-8; D. Walker, 'Gloucestershire Castles', *TBGAS*, 109 (1991), p. 6; E. Amt, *The Accession Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored, 1149-1159* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 44.

³¹ O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002), pp. 110, 123-5, 131-2.



Fig. 53d. Nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 54d. Beakhead voussoir, second order of the nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney.



Fig. 55d. West capitals, nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.

This deduction is supported by the style of the surviving sculpture. Most notable is the former chancel arch, now inside the north-east part of the nave, which has a second order decorated with beakheads (fig. 53d). Similarities have already been noted between two of these motifs and carvings found at Windrush. The truncated beakhead with a nose strap is comparable to a beakhead on the south doorway at South Cerney church (fig. 42d, 54d). This beakhead has the same almond-shaped eyes and inverted T-shape strap that parts in a V-shape on the forehead. Different sculptors appear to have worked at all three sites, however the churches are connected by common patronage and this would explain the recurring motifs. Some of these designs were probably chosen by Miles to emulate sculptures from Old Sarum Cathedral. This notion is reinforced by the scallop capitals

with semicircles on the shields that support the arch. They are similar to a capital of the

crossing arch at Leonard Stanley and this design is believed to have originated from Old Sarum (figs. 35d, 55d).³² Moreover, there is a previously unnoticed fragment reset in the exterior north wall of the chancel carved with a concave diamond enclosed within a roundel that is identical to a motif found at Old Sarum (figs. 56–57d). Whether this motif was copied directly from Old Sarum is unclear since similar examples can be found at Gloucester Cathedral and Leominster (figs. 58–59d).³³ A connection to Leominster Priory, the daughter house of Reading Abbey, would complement Zarnecki’s opinion that the English Bicknor beakheads were inspired by those at Reading Abbey.³⁴



Fig. 56d. Fragment, north chancel exterior, St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 57d. Fragment from Old Sarum Cathedral.



Fig. 58d. Fragment, Gloucester Cathedral.



Fig. 59d. North capital, nave west window, Leominster Priory, Herefordshire.

Similarities have long been noted between the English Bicknor sculptures and those at the famous church of Kilpeck. The second orders of the English Bicknor arch and the Kilpeck south doorway have identical roll mouldings with the same unusual lateral chevron on the soffit.³⁵ A wolf-like head with pointed ears, almond-shaped eyes and reeding enrichment on the muzzle appears on the same order of both arches (figs. 60–61d), while the truncated bear-head on the English Bicknor arch resembles a corbel on the apse at Kilpeck (figs. 42d, 62d).³⁶ Scholars have been unable to explain the connection between the two sites, but it can surely be attributed to the fact that Hugh de Kilpeck, the patron of Kilpeck church, was an associate of Miles and supplied him with one and a half knights’

³² King, ‘Twelfth-Century Sculptor’, pp. 82–5; similar trefoil scallop capitals were created at Reading Abbey.

³³ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 222–3.

³⁴ Zarnecki and Henry, ‘Romanesque Arches’, p. 24.

³⁵ Zarnecki, *Regional*, p. 290; Zarnecki and Henry, ‘Romanesque Arches’, p. 24.

³⁶ Zarnecki, *Regional*, p. 290; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 85–6.



Fig. 60d. Beakhead, nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 61d. Beakhead voussoir, second order of the nave south doorway, first from left, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.



Fig. 62d. Corbel, exterior of apse, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

fees.³⁷ Although Kilpeck priory was given to Gloucester Abbey in 1134, there is no indication that the architecture and sculptures were completed by this date.³⁸ The grant may have taken place once the chancel was complete and the church became functional to the Benedictine monks, or else it could have anticipated the entire rebuilding project. These issues remain a matter of intense debate, therefore it is difficult to comparatively date the English Bicknor carvings.³⁹ The latter have been described as of inferior quality but this does not prove that they were created at an earlier date.⁴⁰ In King's opinion, the English Bicknor carvings are later imitations of those at Kilpeck.⁴¹

The political events of the 1130s prove more enlightening in dating English Bicknor church. As noted above, the manor was an unimportant holding of little value with a tiny population, hardly the ideal place to expend substantial resources building a castle and church complex.⁴² However the Welsh uprising of 1136 and Welsh incursions into Archenfield, south-west Herefordshire, around 1139 may have convinced Miles of the expediency of upgrading the manor into a fortified settlement.⁴³ The completed fortifications would have offered additional defence against any Welsh raids from the north-west and protected Miles's lands and possessions in the Forest of Dean.

³⁷ Walker, 'Honours', pp. 209–10.

³⁸ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 96.

³⁹ R. Baxter, 'St Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/810/ (viewed 15/07/14).

⁴⁰ S. Jónsdóttir, 'The Portal of Kilpeck Church: Its Place in English Romanesque Sculpture', *Art Bulletin*, 32 (1950), p. 176.

⁴¹ King, 'Kilpeck', p. 83.

⁴² *DB*, 167 c.

⁴³ *GS*, pp. 18–23; *JW*, pp. 216–21, 228–9; *LCGF*, no. 13, pp. 49–50.

QUENINGTON

Domesday Book records that Quenington was served by a priest, making it likely that a church was present on the manor by the end of the eleventh century.⁴⁴ It was presumably this church, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which was given to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, by Hugh de Lacy during the abbacy of Serlo (1072–1104) and later confirmed by Theulf bishop of Worcester (1115–21).⁴⁵ Quenington passed to Payn fitz John on the death of Hugh at an unknown date between 1115 and 1121, and the manor was then acquired by Roger fitz Miles in 1137 following his marriage to Payn's daughter.⁴⁶ The main fabric of the present church is constructed from coursed rubble with ashlar quoins, a technique used by masons from the eleventh century and throughout the twelfth, and the squat proportions of the structure are characteristic of post-Conquest architectural developments.⁴⁷ Based on the style of the architecture, the church looks to be the product of a major rebuilding campaign during the mid-twelfth century.⁴⁸



Fig. 63d. Nave north doorway, St Swithun, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

⁴⁴ *DB*, 167 d.

⁴⁵ *Hist. et Cart*, vol. 1, p. 109; *EEA Worc.*, no. 31, pp. 26–7. The grant cannot have taken place until after 1077 because the manor was held by Evesham Abbey during the abbacy of Æthelwig (1058–c.1077). It was his successor, Abbot Walter (1077–1104), who alienated Quenington to the Lacy family according to Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, eds. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), pp. 174–9.

⁴⁶ *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, p. 63; W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 175–6.

⁴⁷ Gem, 'Great Rebuilding?', p. 25; the two surviving late Anglo-Saxon stone churches in Gloucestershire, St Mary's priory and Odda's chapel, both at Deerhurst, have much higher elevations in relation to their widths.

⁴⁸ Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, pp. 569–70, dated the main fabric to the twelfth century and noted that the original structure probably had a central tower.



Fig. 64d. Nave south doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 65d. Bird beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

This notion is reinforced by the two elaborately sculpted doorways on the north and south sides of the nave (figs. 63–4d). These doorways have been consistently dated between 1140 and 1150, and this time bracket is supported by the presence of several distinctive motifs that were characteristic of regional sculptural repertoires during the 1140s.⁴⁹ The second order of the arch and jambs of the south doorway are carved with a series of beaded beaker clasps and these are

accompanied on the arch by ten beakheads. Fourth from the left is a bird beakhead with almond-shaped eyes like those from Reading Abbey but accentuated ears like the one excavated at Old Sarum (figs. 8d, 32d, 65d). Further influence from Old Sarum is suggested by the profusion of eight-petal flowers on the jambs of the north doorway, a motif that is thought to have been transmitted from western France to England by the atelier of sculptors who worked at Old Sarum.⁵⁰

The knop flowers at the centre of the larger flowers and on the label of the north doorway are almost identical in design to

⁴⁹ G. Zarnecki, 'The Coronation of the Virgin on a Capital from Reading Abbey', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 13 (1950), pp. 3–6, 11; T. A. Heslop, 'The English Origins of the Coronation of the Virgin', *Burlington Magazine*, 147 (2005), p. 791, accepts this dating; C. E. Keyser, 'Supplementary Notes on the Norman Tympana at Quenington Church', *Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1905), p. 156, more generally attributed the sculptures to Stephen's reign.

⁵⁰ Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', p. 76; King, 'Sources', p. 80.

those that appear on the church portal at Mesland, Loir-et-Cher (figs. 16a, 66–67d).



Figs. 66–67d. Knop flowers, left-hand outer jamb and label, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Many of the motifs that adorn the Quenington doorways appear at other churches known to have been patronised by the earls of Hereford. The band of crosses that decorates the label of the north doorway is mirrored on the inner order of the former chancel arch at English Bicknor

(figs. 68–69d). Most striking are the parallels between the sculptures of Quenington and



Fig. 68d. Label, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 69d. Inner order of the arch, nave north arcade (former chancel arch), St Mary, English Bicknor, Gloucestershire.

South Cerney. Beaded beaker clasps and eight-petal flowers are carved at both sites (figs. 66d, 70–72d), and there is a beakhead in the shape of a crouched hare on each of the south doorways (figs. 73–74d). There can be little doubt that at least one sculptor was employed at both churches.⁵¹



Figs. 70–71d. Beaker clasps, nave south doorways at Quenington (left) and South Cerney (right).



Fig. 72d. Flower motif, label of the nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney,

⁵¹ Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 24, were the first to argue that the Quenington sculptor and South Cerney sculptor were synonymous; West, 'Architectural Sculpture', p. 161, compared the beaded clasps to those at South Cerney.



Fig. 73d. Crouched hare beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 74d. Crouched hare beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 75d. Coronation of the Virgin tympanum, nave south doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

The most famous sculpture of the church is the tympanum of the south doorway which has long been recognised as an early representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 75d).⁵² Positioned at the centre are the Virgin Mary and Christ who both share a long plain throne. Christ on the right has a beard and nimbus, and raises his right hand to anoint the Virgin with a crown. The Virgin is veiled, her body subtly orientated towards Christ, and she clutches an obscured object in her hands which a late eighteenth-century observer

⁵² Keyser, 'Quenington Church', p. 155.

identified as a dove.⁵³ The closest Biblical precedent for this iconography is a passage in the Book of Revelation (12:1–6) which alludes to the crowning of Mary in Heaven, although the imagery was embellished by later Christian writers. Flanking Christ and the Virgin are six celestial beings with haloes and wings: a large bird, an angel, a horned ox or bull, a lion, another angel, and a human half-figure enclosed within an oval aureola with its right hand raised in blessing. The three animals and one of the angels are evidently the four evangelists' symbols and relate to a further passage in Revelation (4:6–8) which describes them surrounding the throne of God.⁵⁴ Identification of the unusual half-figure immediately right of Christ is more problematic, although it most probably represents God the Father thus completing the Trinity with Christ and the dove of the Holy Spirit. The final feature of the tympanum is a domed structure with tiers of arcades and a spire in the bottom right-hand corner. Since the other iconography appears to have been adapted from Revelation, the structure presumably represents New Jerusalem (Revelation, 3:12 and 21:2–21).⁵⁵

This tympanum is significant because it is one of only two known sculptural depictions of the Coronation of the Virgin produced before 1150. The other is a damaged capital from Reading Abbey thought to have been originally positioned in the cloister and dated c. 1130 (fig. 76d).⁵⁶ There are several parallels with the Quenington sculpture. Mary and Christ occupy a single long throne and Mary is seated on the left facing Christ with her body half in profile. She wears a veil and holds a dove while Christ crowns her with his right hand. A direct connection between Quenington and Reading is possible. During the reign of Henry I, Miles was the recipient of extensive royal favour and served the king as sheriff and justiciar of



Fig. 76d. Coronation of the Virgin capital from Reading Abbey, Reading Museum and Art Gallery.

⁵³ S. Lysons, 'Description of the Church of Quenington in the County of Gloucestershire', *Archaeologia*, 10 (1789), p. 129; Zarnecki, 'Coronation', p. 5, noted the similarity of Mary's veil and garments to women depicted in the St Albans Psalter.

⁵⁴ Heslop, 'Coronation', pp. 790, 796–7.

⁵⁵ L. A. Smith, *A Short Guide to St. Swithin's Church, Quenington* (Quenington, 2010), p. 2, identifies the building as a representation of the 'Heavenly Mansion'.

⁵⁶ Zarnecki, 'Coronation', pp. 3–6, 11; Heslop, 'Coronation', p. 791, accepts this dating; Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 157, amended the date of the capital to c. 1125 without explanation, but considering Reading Abbey was only founded in 1121 his original dating seems most plausible.

Gloucestershire. He was surely familiar with the sculptures at the new royal foundation of Reading and appears to have employed a sculptor who could emulate those designs.

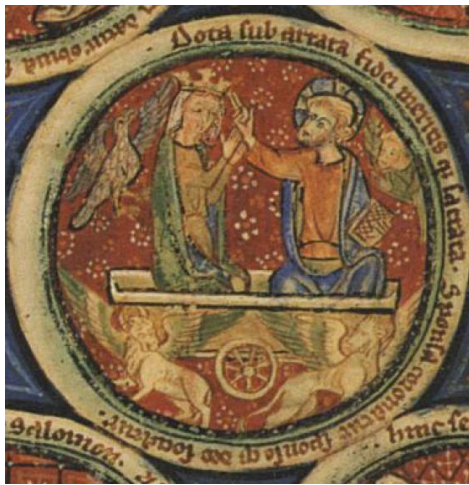


Fig. 77d. Coronation of the Virgin, Eton College Library, MS 177, fol. 7v.

The one notable difference between the two sculptures is the absence of any flanking celestial figures on the Reading capital. A scene of the Coronation incorporating the evangelists' symbols is known to have featured as an early twelfth-century fresco inside the chapter house of Worcester Cathedral from a copy in a mid-thirteenth-century manuscript (fig. 77d).⁵⁷ Mary and Christ are shown surrounded by the four evangelists' symbols in the same arrangement as found at Quenington and like both the Reading and Quenington scenes Mary is positioned in half-

profile on the left-hand side wearing crown and veil while Christ anoints her with his right hand. Where the miniature differs is that it presents the Virgin and Christ in an open chariot rather than sat on a throne.⁵⁸ The Quenington tympanum looks to fuse two different iconographic models whilst introducing several new elements. Zarnecki postulated that a second more elaborate, and now lost, tympanum sculpture of the Coronation was created at Reading to honour the Virgin as the patron saint of the church and this could have been the ultimate model for the Quenington tympanum.⁵⁹ This theory remains plausible, although non-proven.

The equally elaborate north doorway is carved with a range of motifs that do not feature on the south doorway, namely flower ornamentation, and there is a lack of any beakheads or beaker clasps. These differences have led Abel Smith to suggest that the doorways were created by different workshops, however there are certain technical and stylistic similarities that reveal this not to be the case.⁶⁰ The openings of both doorways have equivalent dimensions and each of the tympana is carved from a single stone with an integrated lintel that rests upon the inner jambs. An identical type of lateral chevron has been applied to jambs of both doorways and the figural sculptures of Christ have similar

⁵⁷ Heslop, 'Coronation', p. 790, 793; T. A. Heslop, 'A Virtual Tour of Worcester Chapter House and its Pictorial Programme', www.uea.ac.uk/~t042/ (viewed 20/03/14).

⁵⁸ Heslop, 'Coronation', p. 796.

⁵⁹ Zarnecki, 'Coronation', pp. 10–11.

⁶⁰ Smith, *Quenington*, p. 1.

egg-shaped faces with beards and long rope-like hair. The decision to create two visually distinct doorways could reflect the different liturgical functions or symbolism of each entrance.⁶¹

Carved upon the face of the north tympanum is the Harrowing of Hell (fig. 78d). Christ stands on the left with a cruciform nimbus and holds a cross-head staff in his right hand. Below is a prostrate grotesque hybrid with a human face and hooved hands and feet that are bound with rings. This creature presumably represents Satan. Similar depictions of the devil as a humanoid creature with bound limbs appear in contemporary artworks such as the St Albans Psalter (c. 1135), the Winchester Psalter (c. 1150) and the Lincoln Cathedral frieze. At Quenington Christ is shown plunging his staff into Satan's mouth while three naked figures with long hair issue from a serpentine hellmouth in the bottom right-hand corner. Overhead is a sun with petal-like rays and a human face in half-profile at the centre, perhaps a representation of God the Father, and the whole scene is framed by a stylised arch with scallop capitals.⁶²



Fig. 78d. Harrowing of Hell tympanum, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

⁶¹ Keyser, 'Quenington', p. 155, noted that the Harrowing of Hell is commonly found on the north side of Anglo-Norman churches.

⁶² J. and G. Gardiner, 'St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (unpublished report, 1998).

Allusions to the Harrowing of Hell feature in both the Old and New Testaments, and the most appropriate verses can be found in the first Book of Peter (3:19), '[Christ] preached to those spirits that were in prison', and the Book of Isaiah (9:2), 'The people that walked in darkness have seen a great light'. This apocryphal tradition was not new to England, it had been the subject of Anglo-Saxon homilies and poems, and by the first half of the eleventh century it had entered the media of manuscript illumination and sculpture.⁶³ A comparison of the Quenington tympanum with a miniature from a mid-eleventh-century manuscript produced at Winchester, Cotton Tiberius C. VI, shows the tympanum to be indebted to the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Christ is stooped, though his posture is more



Fig. 79d. British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. VI, fol. 14.

exaggerated than the Quenington Christ, and he tramples Satan who is bound with rings while a sun blazes overhead (fig. 79d).⁶⁴ The tympanum also compares favourably with a miniature in a late tenth-century manuscript from Mont-St-Michel, Avranches 50.⁶⁵ Here the subject is St Michael defeating Satan, however the iconography and composition is similar to the tympanum in that the devil is presented as a naked human figure and is being pierced through the mouth with a spear.⁶⁶ Serlo, the abbot of Gloucester (1072–1104), had previously been a monk of Mont-St-Michel and manuscript art from Mont-St-Michel may have entered the abbey and its dependencies through his agency.⁶⁷

Another possibility is that the sculptor of the tympanum looked to the

⁶³ Wood, *Eardisley*, pp. 3–6; M. Q. Smith, 'The Harrowing of Hell Relief in Bristol Cathedral', *TBGAS*, 94 (1976), pp. 101–106; R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume VII: South-West England* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 145–6.

⁶⁴ J. Knowles, 'Symbolism in Norman Sculpture are Quenington, Gloucestershire', *Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1905), pp. 150–4.

⁶⁵ See J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman Illumination at Mont St Michel 966–1100* (Oxford, 1970), plate 17b.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁶⁷ *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, p. 10

renowned artistic centre of Winchester for inspiration. The Harrowing of Hell miniature in the Winchester Psalter contains all of the features seen in the tympanum (fig. 80d). Most striking is that the sun in the right-hand corner has a human face in half-profile. Christ is stood on the left holding a cross-head staff and he uses it to pierce the head of Satan who is depicted in human form with hooved feet and bound with rings. However the posture of Christ in the tympanum is most akin to the angel stood on the far left who diagonally pierces the mouth of a demon with a spear like the St Michael miniature in Avranches 50. Two naked figures, who appear to represent Adam and Eve, emerge from the hellmouth in the Winchester Psalter. The style of the Winchester miniature indicates that a fusion of Anglo-Saxon and Norman models had taken place at Winchester by the mid-twelfth century, and probably much earlier, which could have been responsible for the revival of interest in artistic representations of the Harrowing of Hell.⁶⁸



Fig. 80d. Winchester Psalter, British Library, Cotton Nero C. IV, fol. 24.

Mounted on the walls inside the nave are a series of sculpted fragments discovered during restoration work. These range from vousoirs decorated with lateral chevron and beakheads to carved capitals and bases (figs. 81–84d). Evidently there was once a third elaborate doorway, probably a priest’s door that was removed when the vestry was added to the north side of the chancel. Other fragments appear to be former corbels. One depicts an animal head with large ears, bulbous almond-shaped eyes with drilled pupils and a short snout (fig. 85d). Another is carved with the head of a king wearing a crown with foliate crosses pattée (fig. 86d). The hair and beard are composed of strands which terminate in volutes and the eyes are delicately moulded and defined with incisions. Both appear to date from the twelfth century and could indicate that a corbel table was commissioned at the same time as the nave doorways as part of the rebuilding campaign.

⁶⁸ C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London, 1975), pp. 11, 18, noted that there were cultural interchanges and artistic links between England and the Continent before the Conquest.



Fig. 81–82d (left). Former voussoirs, nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 83d (far left). Former capital nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 84d (near left). Former base, nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 85–86d (left). Former corbels, nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

In the late eleventh and twelfth century Quenington was a chief administrative centre with its own reeve.⁶⁹ The ambitious sculptural programme of the church aptly reflects this status. Patronage has been attributed to the Lacy family, however the preceding discussion has established that the new church must have been commissioned by Earl Roger, perhaps with support from Cecily.⁷⁰ In this context, the semblance of the

⁶⁹ *DB*, 167d; Wightman, *Lacy*, pp. 148–9.

⁷⁰ West, 'Architectural Sculpture', p. 162; and Smith, *Quenington*, p. 1, have attributed patronage to the Lacy family.

sculptures to those of Henry I's foundation at Reading can be appreciated as statement of Roger's elite status and perhaps his support for the Empress's claim to the throne.

The surviving sculptures also conform to contemporary theological trends. Having been suppressed after the Conquest, the cult of the Virgin Mary experienced a monastic revival in England during the 1120s, particularly in Worcester diocese where the feast of the Immaculate Conception was being observed at Worcester Cathedral and the abbeys of Gloucester and Winchcombe. Impetus presumably came from the former where the monks were committed to preserving certain Anglo-Saxon traditions and the fresco of the Coronation of the Virgin had been in existence since c. 1100. In 1129 the feast of the Immaculate Conception was ratified by the Council of London and from the mid-1130s Bernard of Clairvaux began writing his sermons on the *Song of Songs*, renowned for their interpretation of the Virgin as the bride of the Church. Presumably it was the growing interest in the cult of the Virgin that sparked sculptural depictions of the Coronation in England; the Quenington tympanum can be understood within this context.⁷¹

More broadly, the sculptural representations of the Virgin and the Harrowing of Hell at Quenington can be considered part of an early twelfth-century movement to reinvigorate pre-Conquest artistic traditions and integrate them with the new styles and techniques of the post-Conquest period. Models for the Virgin Mary and the Harrowing of Hell are to be found in Anglo-Saxon art and twelfth-century artists apparently looked to these for inspiration. For example, the Harrowing of Hell scenes at Quenington and in the Winchester Psalter may well be indebted to earlier Anglo-Saxon representations as exemplified by the miniature in Cotton Tiberius C. VI. This atmosphere of artistic fusion would complement the findings of architectural historians who have suggested that Anglo-Norman masons deliberately revived pre-Conquest techniques and styles after c. 1100.⁷²

⁷¹ Zarnecki, 'Coronation', pp. 11–12; Heslop, 'Coronation', pp. 796–7, suggests that the Quenington tympanum is a visual representation of Mary as bride and mother of the Church.

⁷² Gem, 'Great Rebuilding?', pp. 27–30.

RENDCOMB AND ELMORE

The lone Romanesque feature of Rendcomb church, the elaborately carved stone font, did not actually begin life at Rendcomb. It originated from the medieval chapel at Elmore Court in north-west Gloucestershire and was brought to Rendcomb in the nineteenth century.⁷³ The font is a cylindrical bowl with a slight taper, or *bombés*, and set on a modern base (figs. 87–88d). It is carved with twelve arcades, each with carefully moulded piers that reflect Anglo-Norman architecture of the twelfth-century. All of the stylised capitals are double scallops, some sheathed and others plain with recessed shields. However the most interesting features are the columns which are variably enriched with spirals, chevron, lozenges and nailhead. There are local examples of columns enriched with these patterns at churches connected to the patronage of the earls of Hereford at Windrush, Wotton (Gloucester) and Begbroke (Oxfordshire) (figs. 45–50d). Under each arcade there is a standing male figure, except for an arcade on the north face which is empty but for a pair of carved feet (fig. 89). All eleven complete figures are bearded, and their egg-shaped heads, cap-like hair and ribbed draperies betray influence from the Herefordshire School of



Fig. 87d. Font, west face, nave, St Peter, Rendcomb, Gloucestershire.

⁷³ 'Rendcomb', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 7, p. 227.



Fig. 88d. Font, east face, nave, St Peter, Rendcomb, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 89d. Font, north-east face, nave, St Peter, Rendcomb, Gloucestershire.

sculpture. Most of them hold a book, perhaps representing the Gospels, and for this reason they have been identified as the twelve apostles with the blank space signifying Judas.⁷⁴ The rim of the font is decorated with Greek key ornament and leaves between the arches while the base of the bowl is enriched with palmettes that are tied with double cords and have interlacing stems. This same tied

palmette motif can be seen in the north nave arcade of Hereford Cathedral.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ A. C. Fryer, 'Gloucestershire Fonts, Part III', *TBGAS*, 33 (1910), p. 303; C. S. Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 15 and n.

⁷⁵ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 59, fig. 13.



Fig. 90d. Font, nave, Hereford Cathedral.



Fig. 91d. Font, St Peter, Newnham-on-Severn, Gloucestershire.

The font appears to be the work of a sculptor who was responsible for carving two other round stone fonts that can be seen in Hereford Cathedral and Newnham church in the Forest of Dean.⁷⁶ These are stylistically and compositionally similar in that they depict male figures, presumably representing the apostles, beneath arcades (figs. 90–91d). A Herefordshire School-influenced cylindrical stone font at Orleton church in north-west Herefordshire, most recently dated to the mid-twelfth century, also features male figures holding books and standing beneath arcades, although there are obvious stylistic differences to the Rendcomb font (fig. 92d).⁷⁷ There are six related lead fonts in Gloucestershire at Frampton, Oxenhall, Siston, Tidenham, Sandhurst and Gloucester Cathedral that show male figures holding books beneath



Fig. 92d. Font, St George, Orleton, Herefordshire.

⁷⁶ Drake, *Fonts*, p. 15.

⁷⁷ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 156.

arcades. These figures are all seated and are noted for their relationship to figure paintings in pre-Conquest manuscripts (fig. 93d).⁷⁸



Fig. 93d. Font, nave, St Anne, Siston, South Gloucestershire.

When Domesday Book was compiled Elmore was held from the Crown by a royal thane called Edward but by 1095 it was a possession of Walter of Gloucester and the tithes had been given to St Owen's church, Gloucester.⁷⁹ Elmore chapel is first mentioned in a retrospective confirmation

charter by Simon bishop of Worcester issued between 1144 and 1148 from which it can be inferred that the chapel was part of the original endowment of Llanthony Secunda in 1137.⁸⁰ The documentary evidence therefore suggests that Miles of Gloucester was the patron of Elmore chapel. The font may have been carved c. 1137 when the chapel was constructed or it could have been a later commission of Miles or his son since lay interest in a foundation did not typically diminish after a grant had taken place.⁸¹ It is unfortunate that the Romanesque chapel of Elmore does not survive as it could have provided important clues as to whether the font was contemporary with the construction project. However the manifest influence from the Herefordshire School could be a sign that the font was commissioned in the 1140s as this was the decade when the school was in wide employ among the associates of the earls of Hereford.

⁷⁸ Zarnecki, *Lead Fonts*, pp. 10–13; Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 247.

⁷⁹ *DB*, 170 c; 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095–1201', ed. D. Walker, *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (London, 1964), no. 60, p. 38.

⁸⁰ 'Charters Hereford', no. 11, pp. 16–7; *EEA Worc.*, no. 75, pp. 54–5.

⁸¹ Wood, *Proprietary*, pp. 683–9; idem, *Eardisley*, pp. 13–4.

SIDDINGTON

There are three separate entries for Siddington in Domesday Book, however it has been demonstrated that the church in question, that which is dedicated to St Peter, is situated in what was the manor of Lower Siddington.⁸² In 1086 Lower Siddington consisted of six hides and was held by Emma the mother of Roger de Lacy as part of her dowry.⁸³ At that time the manor was served by a priest and it is reasonable to assume that a church was already in existence. The church was evidently rebuilt since the fabric of the present-day church is predominantly twelfth century, although the north aisle, south porch and tower are all later additions. There is, however, no record of the rebuilding campaign. The manor probably descended to Hugh de Lacy at the end of the eleventh century, although it was not recorded again until after 1160 when Agnes de Lacy granted the land to the Hospitallers.⁸⁴ Since Agnes was the sister and heiress of Cecily, it follows that Lower Siddington had been inherited by Sybil de Lacy and Payn fitz John and then passed to Cecily and Earl Roger in 1137.⁸⁵

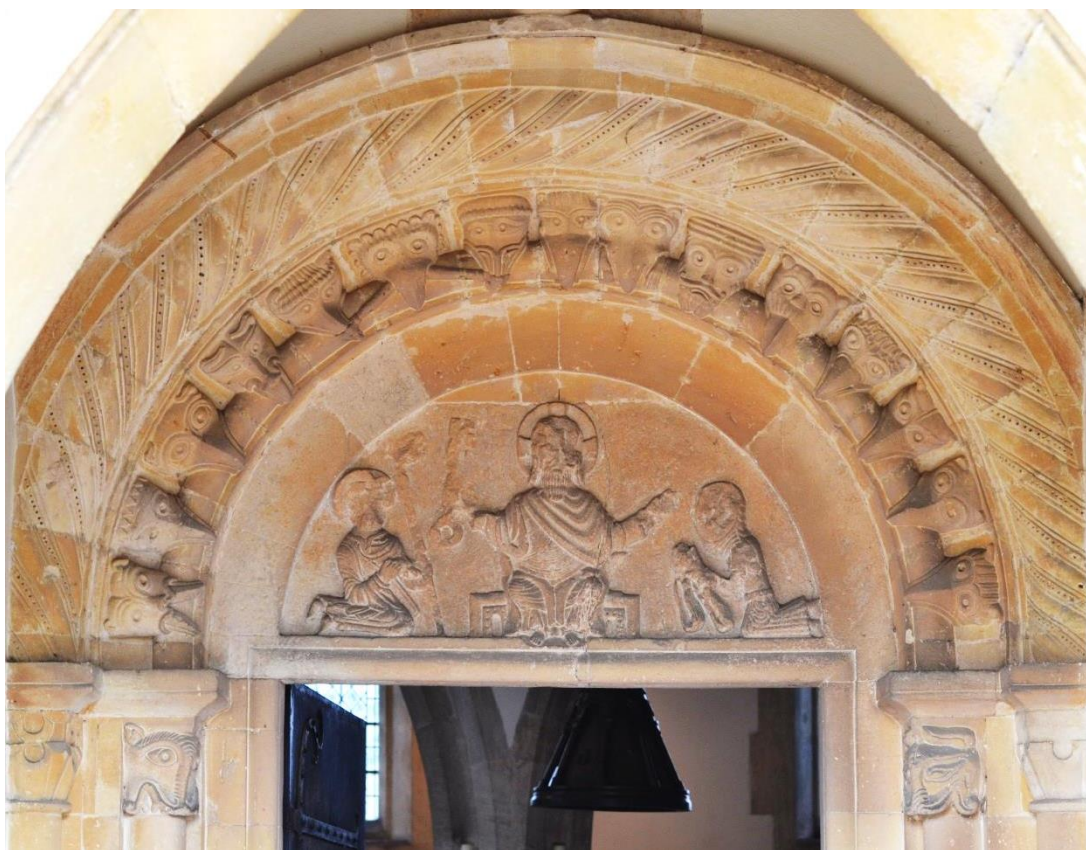


Fig. 94d. Nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

⁸² J. S. Moore, 'The Gloucestershire section of Domesday Book: geographical problems of the text, part 4' *TBGAS*, 108 (1990), pp. 117–20.

⁸³ *DB*, 168a.

⁸⁴ 'House of Knights Hospitallers: The preceptory of Quenington', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 2 (1907), p. 113.

⁸⁵ Wightman, *Lacy*, p. 207.

On the south side of the nave and protected by the porch is an elaborately sculpted round-arched doorway (fig. 94d). The second order of the arch is adorned with fifteen beakheads carved on individual voussoirs in a style characteristic of mid-twelfth-century sculpture. Several depict biting bird-heads with round eyes, drilled pupils, pointed ears, indented brows and ridged beaks that closely resemble those found at Old Sarum Cathedral and Sherborne, while the enrichment on their foreheads appears to have been inspired by the beakheads at Reading. Others, both bird and truncated beakheads, have teardrop-shaped eyes like the heads found on early sculpted voussoirs from Old Sarum (fig. 38d).⁸⁶ The plasticity of the carvings recalls the sculptures at Kilpeck and those on the south doorway at Elkstone, discussed below. Two of the Siddington beakheads, one a truncated head with sabre-teeth and the other a bird-head with extended arms that grip the beaks of the neighbouring heads, are so close in design to two beakheads on the Elkstone south doorway that it is clear they were carved by the same sculptor (figs. 95–98d).



Fig. 95d. Sabre-tooth beakhead, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 96d. Beakhead with projecting arms, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 97d. Sabre-tooth beakhead, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 98d. Beakhead with projecting arms (rotated 90 degrees anti-clockwise), nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

⁸⁶ Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', plate XVIII.

Three features of the Siddington doorway are positive indicators that the church was patronised by Earl Roger and Cecily. The pair of innermost capitals are carved with slack-mouthed biting beast-heads. That on the left is accomplished and was surely carved by the sculptor responsible for the beakheads whereas the right-hand capital is roughly finished, the tool marks being clearly visible, and looks to be the work of a less-skilled associate (figs. 99–100d). In terms of design, the left-hand capital is remarkably similar to the pair of outermost voussoirs on the second order of the south doorway at South Cerney (figs. 101–102d). Although heavily worn, these are similarly carved with biting beast-heads that have identical crimped ears, almond-shaped eyes, drilled pupils, slack jaws and long pointed teeth. Another comparative motif is the bird beakhead with a ridged and sheathed beak, drilled pupils and layered cusping enrichment on the forehead that appears on the second order of both doorways, although the beak of the South Cerney bird has been partially broken off (figs. 103–104d). The relationship between South Cerney and Siddington presumably reflects the fact that South Cerney was patronised by Earl Roger after his father’s death.⁸⁷

Fig. 99–100d (top). Inner left- and right-hand capitals, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 101–102d (middle). Outer left- and right-hand beakheads, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 103–104d (bottom). Bird beakheads, second orders of the nave south doorways at St Peter, Siddington (near right), and All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire (far right).



⁸⁷ See below, pp. 86–7.



Fig. 105d. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

The third feature is the tympanum, a semi-circular relief that depicts Christ in Majesty (fig. 105d). Christ is carved at the centre dressed in long flowing robes with a cruciform nimbus and seated on a small rectangular throne which is decorated with arcading. His hair and beard are composed of long delicately carved strands but unfortunately his face is badly damaged. In his right hand he holds a key, the key of heaven, which he hands to a knelt figure with a nimbus, St Peter. The identity of the kneeling figure on the right is more ambiguous. Verey and Brooks have suggested is that it could be St Paul but the figure is veiled and has extended sleeves like the women depicted in contemporary

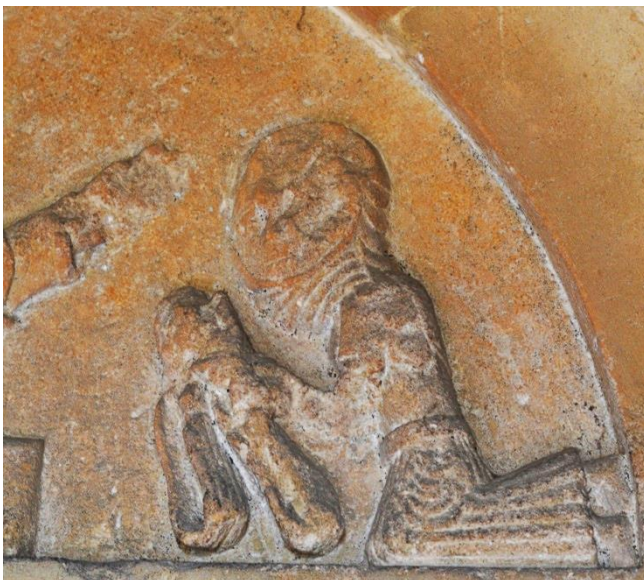


Fig. 106d. Detail of female figure, tympanum, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

illuminated manuscripts such as the St Albans Psalter.⁸⁸ Another suggestion by the same authors is that it is a representation of the patron, however this would be unprecedented in the context of Anglo-Norman tympanum iconography.⁸⁹ On close inspection it appears that this part of the tympanum is a hitherto unnoticed representation of the Coronation of the Virgin (fig. 106d). Christ's left

⁸⁸ Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 610.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 610.

arm is outstretched and his hand hovers above the woman's head. Although his hand appears to be empty, there is in fact a slight relief in the outline of a crown and the left cross pattée is visible to a keen viewer. The thematic connection to the Coronation tympanum at Quenington is unsurprising considering that the manors were only eight miles apart and both were held by Earl Roger and Cecily from 1137. There are obvious contrasts between the two sculptures in composition and style, and this can be attributed to the difference in sculptor. The Siddington tympanum is most stylistically akin to the Reading Coronation capital with regards to the folded draperies and the arcading decoration on the throne and this seems to confirm Roger's interest in emulating the sculptures at the royal abbey.

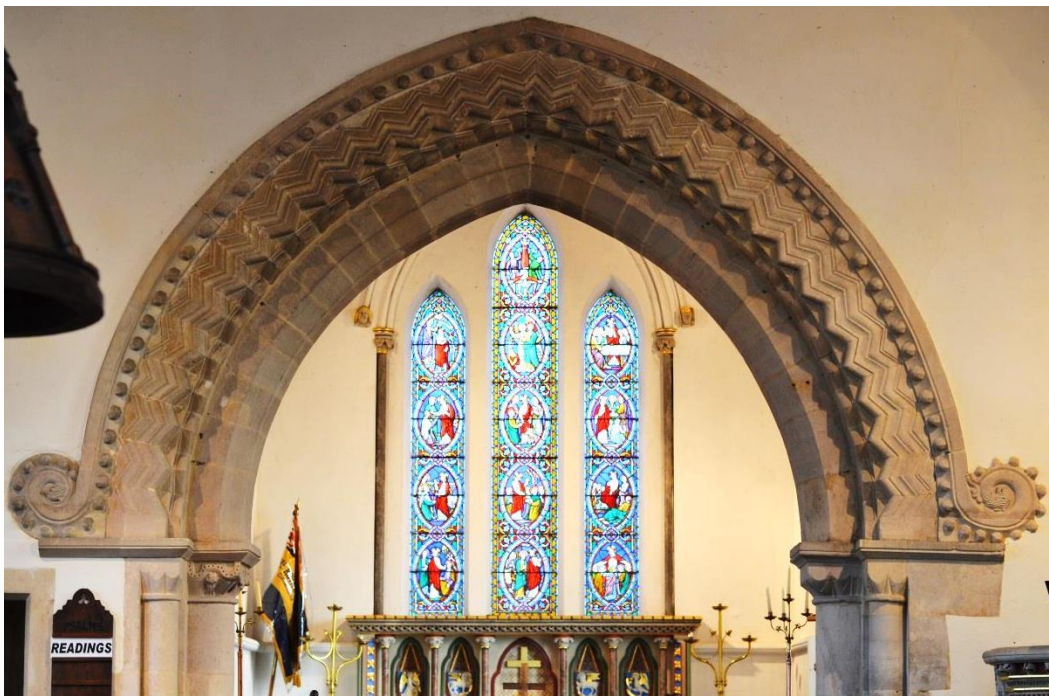


Fig. 107d. Chancel arch, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Inside the church is a pointed chancel arch with elaborate carvings and a tall cylindrical sculpted font (figs. 107–108d). The chancel arch is certainly Transitional, presumably constructed in the late twelfth-century when the chancel was enlarged, whereas the font looks to be contemporary with the south doorway.⁹⁰ At the base is a thick band of double-strand cable moulding like that which decorates the third order of doorway. The main body is decorated with diagonal interlaced three-strand straps while there is a band of acanthus scroll near the rim and bands of beading and saw-tooth ornament either side of the double-strand cable moulding at the base. All of these motifs

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 610.



Fig. 108d. Font, nave, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

were in use during the mid-twelfth century.⁹¹ The carvings are less controlled than those on the doorway and were presumably executed by an associate, perhaps the same sculptor responsible for the inner right capital of the doorway.

Ultimately, the style of the south doorway with its profusion of beakheads and rare sculptural depiction of the Coronation of the Virgin indicates that a rebuilding programme took place in the mid-twelfth century, while the Coronation tympanum and its relationship to the one above the south doorway at Quenington suggests that the Siddington south doorway was created c. 1150 through the patronage of Earl Roger and Cecily. Finding a second sculptural

representation of the Coronation of the Virgin in the Gloucestershire is significant as it reinforces the notion that the cult of the Virgin was becoming ever popular in the county during the second quarter of the twelfth century. Even more striking is that both examples are found at parish churches connected to the patronage of Earl Roger, a possible sign that he and his wife were advocates of the cult and actively promoted its revival in the localities. Although no documentary evidence survives, it is probable that the church was granted as a dependency of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. This can be inferred from the fact that Gloucester Abbey was one of the first English monastic centres to reintroduce the feast of the Immaculate Conception to its calendar and because the Siddington tympanum features the unusual and prominent depiction of St Peter, the patron saint of Gloucester Abbey. Such a grant would also accord with Earl Roger's status as the advocate of the abbey.⁹²

⁹¹ Drake, *Fonts*, p. 12.

⁹² *Hist. et Cart.* vol. 1, p. 311; Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 158.

SOUTH CERNEY

According to Domesday Book the manor of South Cerney was held by Walter of Gloucester. At that time the locality was served by a priest and presumably a church was already present.⁹³ The manor passed to Miles of Gloucester after his father's death and by 1139 he had built a small castle there, apparently 'to excite a rebellion against [King Stephen]'.⁹⁴ Remains of the castle earthworks show that these fortifications were built only a couple of hundred metres from the church.⁹⁵ At the start of October 1139 the castle was stormed and captured by Stephen's men but it was quickly retaken by Miles, possibly with the assistance of Robert earl of Gloucester.⁹⁶ South Cerney was a key administrative centre for Miles and conveniently bordered Oxfordshire and Wiltshire.⁹⁷

After his father's death Earl Roger inherited the manor but within a few years faced difficulties asserting his lordship. In an undated letter of privilege to Abingdon Abbey, Pope Eugenius III (5 February 1145–8 July 1153) responded to an appeal by the abbot and monks and agreed to place South Cerney church under papal protection.⁹⁸ According to Domesday Book Abingdon Abbey had claimed rights over South Cerney manor after the Conquest but these had been rejected and the land was subsequently given to Roger de Pîtres, the father of Walter of Gloucester.⁹⁹ Evidently the monks of Abingdon had not forgotten their claim. The decision to make a case to the papal curia presumably came at a time when Earl Roger's control over the area was weak and this would accord with the political climate in Gloucestershire during 1146. Philip, son of Robert earl of Gloucester, defected to King Stephen at the end of 1145 and led several successful military campaigns around central Gloucestershire that would have isolated Earl Roger from his possessions in the Cotswolds.¹⁰⁰ Around the same time Henry and Ralph Caldret, two Flemish brothers and

⁹³ *DB*, 169 a.

⁹⁴ *GS*, pp. 92–3. There has been some debate over the identity and location of 'Cerney' castle. D. F. Renn, *Norman Castles in Britain* (London, 1973), p. 314, has suggested the remains of the castle are at nearby Ashton Keynes (Wiltshire); D. J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, vol. 1 (New York, 1983), p. 181, notes other misidentifications and confirms that the castle was located in South Cerney.

⁹⁵ Personal survey of the earthworks at location SU 0470 9767.

⁹⁶ *GS*, pp. 92–5; *HN*, pp. 62–3, 72–3. There are slight discrepancies between the accounts in the *GS* and *HN*. The *GS* records that Miles retook the castle within two months, while William of Malmesbury thought that the castle had been captured by Earl Robert during a campaign early in 1140.

⁹⁷ Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 111 and n.

⁹⁸ *Historia Ecclesie Abendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, vol. 2, ed. J. Hudson (Oxford, 2002), pp. 266–7.

⁹⁹ *DB*, 169 a.

¹⁰⁰ *GS*, pp. 186–7, 190–1; Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 218.

former mercenaries, captured a number of unnamed castles in Gloucestershire and began exacting labour from their neighbours.¹⁰¹ The precariousness of Earl Roger's position is revealed by his decision to have Roger de Berkeley III imprisoned in 1146, a move criticised by the author of the *Gesta Stephani*. Although Roger de Berkeley appears to have remained politically neutral, the possibility of him declaring for King Stephen threatened to isolate Earl Roger from the support of Earl Robert in Bristol. The pressure on the Angevins was undoubtedly lessened when Philip departed for Jerusalem later in the same year.¹⁰² Once Earl Roger was able to reassert control over South Cerney the dispute was settled in his favour and Henry fitz Empress oversaw the grant of the church to St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol, in c. 1153.¹⁰³



Fig. 109d. Nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

¹⁰¹ *GS*, pp. 188–91.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 190–1; R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen* (London, 1990), p. 90.

¹⁰³ *RRAN*, vol. 3, no. 128, p. 48, Henry fitz Empress is styled duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and count of Anjou which indicates a date between 1152 and 1154. There has been a tendency to confuse the churches of South Cerney and North Cerney. Walker, 'Honours', p. 198; West, 'Architectural Sculpture', p. 162; J. and G. Gardiner, 'All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (unpublished report, 1998); and Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 617, all assert that South Cerney was a dependency of Gloucester Abbey, but a careful study of the surviving charters indicates that it was in fact North Cerney church that was given to Gloucester Abbey by Walter of Gloucester early in the twelfth century, see *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, p. 69. South Cerney church may have remained a proprietary church of the earls of Hereford until Roger made the decision to grant it to St Augustine's Abbey in c. 1153.

The present-day church preserves a number of sculptural features which have been consistently dated between 1130 and 1140 on art historical grounds, including an elaborately carved south doorway and the rare remains of a wooden crucifix.¹⁰⁴ On the arch of the south doorway are three orders of frontal chevron, animal beakheads and a complex interlacing foliate pattern that has been compared to Ringerike style (fig. 109d).¹⁰⁵ One of the beakheads is crowned with a splay of foliage like those found at Mesland, Loir-et-Cher (fig. 16a, 110d), while the label is decorated with eight-petal flowers of the style found at Mesland and early twelfth-century churches in western France (fig. 72d).¹⁰⁶ The bird-head with the broken beak has almond-shaped eyes with drilled pupils and cusping enrichment on the forehead like bird beakheads from Reading Abbey, while the ridged beak is akin to the bird-heads produced through the patronage of Roger of Salisbury (fig. 104d). The label terminates on either side with dragon-head label stops similar to the Anglo-Saxon dragon-head sculptures at Deerhurst (figs. 111–112d). Ornamenting the second order of jambs are beaded clasps with cusps projecting from their terminals and further foliate designs are carved on the capitals and abaci.¹⁰⁷



Fig. 110d. Beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 111–112d. Left- and right-hand dragon-head label-stops, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

As noted above, the master sculptor of the doorway appears to have been employed at Quenington and English Bicknor. The beaded clasp motif found at Quenington is repeated at South Cerney, however those at the latter are of inferior quality and vary in

¹⁰⁴ Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 618; Smith, 'Harrowing', p. 103; Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 160.

¹⁰⁵ Verey and Brookes, *Cotswolds*, p. 618.

¹⁰⁶ Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 24; Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', pp. 76–8.

¹⁰⁷ Gardiners, 'South Cerney'.

size. This is either a sign that the South Cerney doorway is a much earlier commission of the master sculptor or, more likely, the beaded clasps were carved by a less skilled craftsman under the master sculptor's direction. Further parallels have already been noted between motifs found on the South Cerney doorway and the later doorway at Siddington. It is worth



Fig. 113d. Left impost, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 114d. Male human beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

adding that the same type of acanthus scroll is found on the impost at South Cerney as on the Siddington font (figs. 108d, 113d). The Siddington doorway is certainly not the work of the South Cerney sculptor, the former being much more plastic in style,

and thus the impetus to copy motifs must have come from Earl Roger, the patron of both churches. It may have been Earl Roger's influence that led to other motifs associated with the South Cerney Master being absorbed by the workshop that was employed at both Siddington and Elkstone. For example, there is a beakhead in the shape of a bearded man with a curled moustache on the second order of the arch at South Cerney that is almost identical to another found on the analogous order of the Elkstone doorway (figs. 16d, 114d).

Above the South Cerney doorway is a round-arched niche containing a relief which depicts two vertically juxtaposed scenes (fig. 115d). That at the top is a representation of Christ in Majesty framed by a mandorla that is held by two flanking bearded figures who could be saints Peter and Paul or Moses and Elijah.¹⁰⁸ Christ is seated on an arcaded throne like the Siddington tympanum and the Reading Coronation capital. His right hand is raised and in his left hand he holds a book, presumably representing the Gospels. Below is a depiction of the Harrowing of Hell that is similar to the analogous scene on the tympanum of the north doorway at Quenington. Christ is shown trampling a hooved and chained devil which he pierces through the mouth with his staff, two souls rise with their hands clasped

¹⁰⁸ R. Bryant (ed.), *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Volume X: The Western Midlands* (Oxford, 2012), p. 249.

in prayer, a sun shines overhead, and the whole scene is framed by a stylised round arch with column supports. Christ's stooped posture is reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon representations of the Harrowing of Hell and both scenes are found in pre-Conquest art. For this reason, Bryant has argued that the relief is a pre-Conquest sculpture created during the first half of the eleventh century and later reset in its current position.¹⁰⁹ However he has overlooked the similarity of the relief to the Quenington tympanum and the fact that the Harrowing of Hell experienced a resurgence in English art during the second quarter of the twelfth century. Consequently the alternative view that the relief was created during the mid-twelfth-century by a sculptor from the workshop employed at Quenington is surely correct and would accord with the fact that the earls of Hereford held both manors.¹¹⁰



Fig. 115d. Niche relief above the nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Bryant has further suggested that the dragon-head label stops on the South Cerney doorway are eleventh-century carvings that probably date from the pre-Conquest period because they 'sit most uncomfortably in their present positions' and 'are not quite in line with the hood-moulding above the door', while stylistically they do not complement the

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 247–9.

¹¹⁰ D. T. Rice, *English Art, 871 – 1100* (Oxford, 1952), 21, 79–80; Smith, 'Harrowing', p. 103; Gardiners, 'South Cerney'; Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 618.

other doorway carvings.¹¹¹ The first observation can be explained by the fact that the doorway was moved and reset in 1861–2 and the latter is unfounded since the slack jaws and pointed ears of the dragon-heads compare favourably with the outer beakheads on the second order of the arch (figs. 101–102d, 111–112d).¹¹² It has already been mentioned that dragon-head label stops experienced a resurgence during the second quarter of the twelfth century and appear at several sites in Gloucestershire including the aforementioned church of Leonard Stanley. The fact that the South Cerney dragon-heads and niche relief can be mistaken for pre-Conquest sculpture is a possible sign that the twelfth-century sculptors were consciously emulating Anglo-Saxon models.



Fig. 116d. Carved wood fragments (polyester resin copies), All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Two rare wooden fragments, originally part of a crucifix, were discovered within the north-east wall of the nave in 1915. Polyester resin copies are exhibited inside the church and the originals are held by the British Museum (fig. 116d). The first is the head of a man thought to be Christ. His long face is carved with large closed eyes, a small down-turned mouth, a triangular moustache, a curly beard and rope-like hair that is parted at the centre. The second fragment is a disproportionately large foot with delicately carved sinews, joints and toe-nails. Zarnecki drew comparisons to eleventh-century German art and German-influenced Anglo-Norman stone sculptures such as the Chichester reliefs and the head of Christ from Old Sarum.¹¹³ The South Cerney head is very similar to that of the Leonard Stanley Christ who also has an elongated head, small down-turned mouth, beard with triangular moustache, and large but naturalistic jointed feet.¹¹⁴ This raises the

possibility that the South Cerney Christ is the work of an Old Sarum sculptor, perhaps even

¹¹¹ Bryant, *Corpus*, pp. 264–5.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 247; Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, pp. 617–8.

¹¹³ Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 160.

¹¹⁴ Zarnecki, 'Chichester', p. 117.

the Master himself. It has been dated to c. 1130 by Zarnecki, although it could be later considering there were craftsmen from Old Sarum active in Gloucestershire during the 1140s.¹¹⁵ Its original position was presumably above the altar where it would be visible to the assembled congregation. One possibility is the large, round arched niche above the chancel arch (fig. 117d).



Fig. 117d. Niche above the chancel arch, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

It remains unclear when the rebuilding of South Cerney church commenced, however it may be that building was renewed around the same time that the castle fortifications were built. This would certainly tie in with patterns of seigneurial behaviour. From an economic perspective it would have been more cost effective to have craftsmen work on both sites simultaneously.¹¹⁶ In this scenario we can envisage Miles commissioning the church in the late 1130s. It would also explain why Miles acted so swiftly to retake the castle and manor after it was captured by royal soldiers in October 1139; the loss of the unfinished church, a bad portent from medieval perspectives, would have dealt a heavy blow to his image and reputation. The church and its accompanying sculpture could have been completed prior to Miles' death, although the brief disruption experienced at the end of 1139 may have extended the project.

CONCLUSION

Eleven churches have been identified in Gloucestershire that retain sculptures attributable to the patronage of the earls of Hereford. The case studies discussed above do not promise to represent all commissions undertaken by the earls and there were evidently other ecclesiastical sites, such as Llanthony Secunda, as well as secular buildings in Gloucestershire that may have been commissioned with elaborate sculptural programmes during this period that have since been lost. One limitation connected with efforts to date the sculptures and architecture is that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the individual commissions of Miles and Roger. The possibility of joint commissions and

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

¹¹⁶ Creighton, *Castles*, pp. 110–32.

cooperation cannot be ruled out, while Miles's untimely death must have left a number of projects incomplete that were subsequently finished through the patronage of his son. Nevertheless, there are several interesting patterns that can provide further insights into the lives and personalities of these two men.

Both Miles and Roger were active patrons of the Llanthony canons and made numerous grants to the community during their lives. Miles's decisions to found Llanthony Secunda at Gloucester and grant Elmore chapel to the canons were presumably motivated by the fact that his father had died and been buried at Llanthony Priory.¹¹⁷ The lack of extant documentation for other churches with sculptures attributable to the patronage of Miles, namely English Bicknor, means that it is unclear whether these were granted to Llanthony or other religious communities. Miles did make small grants to the Cistercian monks of Tintern and the Knights Templar, but otherwise his patronage appears to have been reserved almost exclusively for Llanthony.¹¹⁸ Roger's support for the Llanthony canons is evident from the grant of Great Barrington church with the dependent chapels of Little Barrington and Windrush, a decision that effectively gave the canons spiritual hegemony over the whole Barrington Hundred. As demonstrated above, all three churches appear to have been founded soon after 1143 in the aftermath of Miles's death. In light of Miles's commitment to Llanthony and the fact that he was buried at the new priory, Roger's grants were surely designed to honour his father's soul and perhaps make reparation for the controversies that surrounded the last years of his father's life, namely the dispute with Robert, bishop of Hereford and former prior of Llanthony.¹¹⁹

Yet Roger also granted churches to other religious centres. The newly rebuilt and lavishly decorated churches of Quenington and Siddington were probably given to Gloucester Abbey, a reflection of Roger's status as the lay advocate of the monastery, and there was his Cistercian foundation at Flaxley of which none of the original fabric survives. He favoured other communities of regular canons besides Llanthony, granting Barnsley church to Oseney Abbey and overseeing the transfer of his father's church at South Cerney to St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol. Roger was certainly a more active and diverse patron of the Church than his father, however this comparison should not detract from Miles's contributions to ecclesiastical sculpture and architecture.

¹¹⁷ *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 6, eds. W. Dugdale et al. (London, 1846), p. 136.

¹¹⁸ Walker, 'Charters', nos. 8 and 9, pp. 15–6.

¹¹⁹ *GS*, pp. 158–61; *Wigmore Chronicle*, pp. 424–5.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE CORMEILLES FAMILY

ELKSTONE

The sequence of Romanesque sculpture at Elkstone church is one of the most complete and visually appealing in the county. No church or priest was recorded for Elkstone in Domesday Book and there is no record of when a church was first founded on the manor.¹ A charter issued by Henry II before 1175 confirmed that the tithes of the manor belonged to Cormeilles Abbey, Normandy, and, although caution should be exercised, this could imply that a church was present.² The manor was given to Ansfrid de Cormeilles after the Conquest and is known to have descended through the male line of the family until the thirteenth century, thus the grant of the manorial tithes to Cormeilles Abbey seems to confirm that the Cormeilles family took an active interest in religious patronage within their manor.³

The aisleless nave, chancel and sanctuary are manifest survivals of the twelfth century of which the corbel table, south doorway, chancel arch, sanctuary vault and sanctuary window are the most interesting sculptural features. There has been a tendency to date these carvings and their accompanying architecture to the later twelfth century. In one of his early works, Zarnecki dated the sanctuary vault to c. 1180, although he later assigned all of the Romanesque fabric to the third quarter of the twelfth century, while more recently the Romanesque sculptures have been dated between c. 1160 and c. 1170.⁴ When considered alongside other regional examples of sculpture and architecture, however, a period in the middle of the century seems more appropriate.⁵

¹ *DB*, 169 d.

² Dugdale et al., *Monasticon*, vol. 7, no. 2, p. 1076; the death of Reginald earl of Cornwall in 1175 provides the *terminus post quem*, however this charter may have been issued soon after Henry's accession in 1154 when there was a flurry of scribal activity as religious houses sought written confirmation of their rights and possessions.

³ *DB*, 169 b; 'Elkstone', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 7, p. 212.

⁴ Zarnecki, *Romanesque 1140–1210*, p. 62; Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 25; Verey and Brooks, *Cotswolds*, p. 356, suggested c. 1160–70; Moss, *Chevron*, p. 18, opted for a date closer to 1170; Anon., *Elkstone Church, Gloucestershire* (2000), p. 1, preferred c. 1160.

⁵ J. F. King is in agreement with me in dating the Romanesque fabric to the mid-twelfth century, personal communication; also see idem, 'West Country', pp. 22, 32; idem, 'Kilpeck', p. 88.



Fig. 1e. Nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

The elaborate south doorway with its tympanum depicting Christ in Majesty, second order of beakheads and apex mask bear a remarkable resemblance to the corresponding features on the south doorway at Siddington (figs. 1–2e). Zarnecki recognised that both are the work of the same sculptor, an identification that is supported by the comparable plasticity of the carvings and the recurring bird beakheads, sabre-

toothed head and head with extended arms that grip the neighbouring beakheads (figs. 95–98d).⁶ The most notable differences at Elkstone are that the third order of the arch is enriched with beaded frontal chevron and the tympanum scene is more complex. Christ is similarly seated at the centre with the hand of God above but the throne is an intricate structure of intersecting arcades and he holds a book in his left hand. Instead of being venerated by St Peter and the Virgin Mary, Christ is flanked by the four Evangelists' symbols, three of which hold scrolls inscribed with their names, and the *Agnus Dei* to which Christ gestures with his right hand.⁷ In this way the iconography closely mirrors the passage in the Book of Revelation that describes the heavenly throne flanked by the Evangelists and the sacrificial Lamb, and the opening of the sealed book of judgement (4:2–5:14).



Fig. 2e. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Several further sculptural features at Elkstone relate to carvings at other churches in the Cirencester area. On the South Cerney south doorway the label is enriched with eight-petal flowers like those on the Elkstone sanctuary window and the beakhead seventh from right on the second order of the arch, a male head with round eyes and wispy beard, closely resembles the beakhead sixth from left on the second order of the south doorway arch at Elkstone (figs. 16d, 72d,

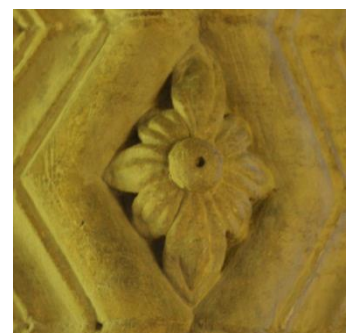


Fig. 3e. Flower motif, sanctuary window interior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

⁶ Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 25.

⁷ C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels* (London, 1927), p. xxx, lxviii.



Fig. 4e. Obscured corbel, organ loft, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 5e. Corbel, north chancel exterior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

114d, 3e). Two corbels at Barnsley, one of which is obscured by the organ pipes, depict heads with thick beards and unusual radiating rolls, resembling hair, that are conceptually very similar to a corbel on the north exterior of the Elkstone nave (figs. 4–6e).



Fig. 6–7e. Corbels on the north nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Ram's head corbels with spiralling horns like the one on the north side of the Elkstone nave can also be seen at Barnsley and Quenington (figs. 12–13d, 7e) The north doorway at Quenington features many motifs present at Elkstone including the flowers on the responds and, on the inner

capitals, a pair of grotesque heads with foliage issuing from their mouths like the head on the right-hand side of the Elkstone tympanum (figs. 66d, 8–10e). The interrelationship between these sculptures around Cirencester suggests interaction between different local craftsman and workshops.



Fig. 8–9e (left). Left- and right-hand capital, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 10e. Detail of tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



There were evidently wider influences at work when the Elkstone sculptures were commissioned. The apex mask above the south doorway and balls around the label of the chancel arch have been compared to carvings at Gloucester Cathedral: the apex mask above one of the north-western nave arcades and the balls on the impost of a capital in the north nave arcade (figs. 5d, 11–13e).⁸ Perhaps more significant is the relationship detected between Elkstone and the Herefordshire School.⁹ A voussoir of the south doorway and corbel in the sanctuary at Elkstone each feature a lion with its tail between its hind legs and crossing its body, a distinctive motif that can be seen on many of the Herefordshire School sculptures (figs. 28a, 14–16e).¹⁰ There are particularly close relationships between certain carvings at Elkstone and Kilpeck. At both churches the boss of the sanctuary vault is carved with the unusual design of four grotesque biting heads (figs. 17–18e) and there is a motif of a head with two serpentine creatures issuing from its mouth that appears on the inner right-hand capital of the Elkstone south doorway and on the second order of the Kilpeck south doorway (figs. 19–20e).¹¹ The theme of hunting is similarly prominent on the corbel tables



Fig. 11e. Apex mask, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 12e. Apex mask, nave north-west arcade, Gloucester



Fig. 13e. Label decorated with balls, chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 14e. Lion voussoir, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 15e. Lion corbel, north-east sanctuary, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 16e. Lion, font, St John the Evangelist, Shobdon, Herefordshire.

⁸ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 71–2.

⁹ Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', pp. 24–5; King, 'Kilpeck', p. 88; Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19; M. Thurlby, 'Reflections on 'The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture'', *Journal of the Ecclesiological Society*, 40 (2008), p. 22; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 71–2, 111.

¹⁰ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19.

¹¹ King, 'Kilpeck', p. 88; Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19; J. Bailey, *The Parish Church of St Mary and St David at Kilpeck* (Hereford, 2000), p. 18; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 72; there are also many other voussoirs and corbels at Elkstone depicting heads with projections and biting serpents that find counterparts at Kilpeck.



Fig. 17e. Sanctuary vault boss, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

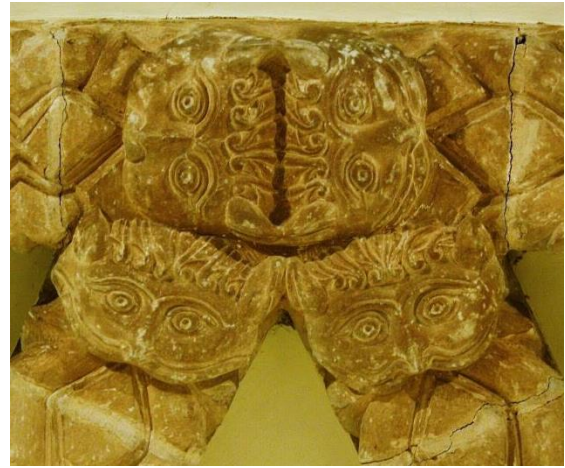


Fig. 18e. Sanctuary vault boss, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.



Fig. 19e. Inner right-hand capital, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 20e. Voussoir, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.



Fig. 21e. Mounted knight corbel, south nave exterior (above the south doorway), St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 22e. Corbels, south nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 23e. Corbels, apse exterior, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

of both sites. At Kilpeck there is a corbel depicting a dead stag and another featuring a hare and hound, while at Elkstone there is a hound and knight on horseback charging towards a stag (figs. 21–23e).¹²

The presentation of seigneurial leisure activities on the Elkstone corbel table seems to confirm that the Romanesque church was commissioned by a member of the Cormeilles family and this patron identification could explain the remarkable relationship to Kilpeck. Thurlby and Chwojko dismissed the possibility of any direct connection between the two churches and speculated that the similar motifs were drawn from a common source, perhaps the lost cloister or west front of Gloucester Abbey.¹³ However this conclusion overlooks the fact that Richard de Cormeilles, the successor and grandson of Ansfrid de Cormeilles, and Hugh de Kilpeck, the patron of Kilpeck church, were both prominent members of the earl of Hereford’s retinue and close associates.¹⁴ If Richard de Cormeilles was the patron of Elkstone church, a notion that is certainly convincing based on the available evidence, it is plausible and indeed likely that the sculptures were directly influenced by those at Kilpeck.¹⁵

Whereas Thurlby has emphasised influence from Gloucester and Herefordshire, King has brought balance to the picture by demonstrating that certain motifs at Elkstone are indebted to Old Sarum. The bird beakheads of the south doorway appear to be Sarum, and perhaps also Reading, influenced, as are the bestial masks with long pointed teeth on the south doorway apex and sanctuary vault boss.¹⁶ Further evidence for Sarum influence are the eight-petal flowers on the sanctuary window and a pair of corbels depicting griffons with sharp beaks, scaly necks and curved



Fig. 24e. Corbels, south nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 25e. South-west chancel capital, All Saints, Lullington,

¹² Anon., *A Tour 'Round the Corbels* (2012), p. 2; Baxter, 'Kilpeck'; Thurlby, 'Reflections', p. 22; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 111, 118.

¹³ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', pp. 19–20; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 72.

¹⁴ For example, *Convention of Earl Roger of Hereford with William de Braose (1148–54)*, in Brooke and Brooke, 'Hereford Cathedral – Supplement', p. 185; Walker, 'Honours', p. 210; B. Coplestone-Crow, 'The Anarchy in Herefordshire', in Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 19.

¹⁵ Anon., *Elkstone*, p. 1, suggests that the founder of Elkstone church was Richard de Cormeilles but offers no supporting evidence.

¹⁶ King, 'Kilpeck', p. 88.

wings that resemble the Sarum Master-attributed basilisk carvings at Lullington (figs. 24–25e). The prominent dragon-head label stops on the chancel arch may be Sarum-inspired and compare favourably with those on the tower crossing arch and north doorway at Leonard Stanley (figs. 5– 6c, 26e).¹⁷

The Sagittarius motif on one of the Elkstone corbels could also be indicative of influence from western France via Old Sarum. Like the carving of Sagittarius on a capital at Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, the Elkstone centaur is shown in profile holding a bow and galloping forwards (figs. 27–28e).¹⁸ However, there may have been other sources for this design in Anglo-Norman manuscript art, metalwork, ivory carvings, and stone sculpture.¹⁹ A capital from Winchester (c. 1150) depicts a galloping centaur with drawn bow and splayed tail like its counterpart at Elkstone (fig. 29e).²⁰ Sarum influence on Elkstone is nonetheless perceptible and King has posited that Cirencester Abbey played an intermediary role since its first abbot was a former canon of Old Sarum.²¹ Recent findings place the construction of Cirencester Abbey after c. 1130 meaning the sculptural decoration could have been modelled on Old Sarum Cathedral and may have subsequently influenced local sculptors' repertoires.²²



Fig. 26e. Left-hand dragon-head label-stop, chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone.



Fig. 27e. Sagittarius corbel, south nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 28e. Capital depicting Sagittarius, Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Deux-Sèvres.



Fig. 29e. Capital attributed to the patronage of Henry of Blois, Winchester Cathedral.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁸ Saint-Jouin is one of many examples in surviving early twelfth-century western French sculpture.

¹⁹ Examples include the illuminated Sagittarius on the calendar page in Cambridge, St John's College, MS B 20, believed to have been produced at Worcester c. 1120–40, see Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 98; a centaur on the famous Gloucester Candlestick; and two centaurs on an ivory box from St Albans (c. 1130), 'Box', *Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O92776/box-unknown/> (accessed 03/02/14).

²⁰ Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 186.

²¹ King, 'Kilpeck' p. 88.

²² Evans, 'Cirencester Abbey', pp. 99–116; Wilkinson and McWhirr (eds.), *Cirencester*.

This extended discussion of the Elkstone sculptures and their relationship to other contemporary artworks reveals that there are strong grounds for dating the construction of the Romanesque church to c. 1150. The parallels with the sculptures at Siddington church are particularly marked and it can be presumed that they are roughly contemporary.²³ The lord of the manor at this time appears to have been Richard de Cormeilles, a prominent member of Earl Roger's



Fig. 30e. Two human beakheads, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

retinue, and the identification of him as the founder of the church is supported by the grant to Cormeilles Abbey, the seigneurial themes on the corbel table and the fact that many of the carvings seem to have been deliberately modelled on the earlier sculptural commissions of earls Miles and Roger and their associates. The anonymous author of the *Elkstone Church* pamphlet has speculated that the two human heads on the arch of the south doorway, one male and the other female, could represent Richard and his wife, a theory that is highly intriguing although it cannot be confirmed (fig. 30e).²⁴

²³ It is unclear which sculptures were commissioned first. Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 25, thought that the Elkstone sculptures were the earlier of the two sites.

²⁴ Anon., *Elkstone*, p. 1.

THE PATRONAGE OF ROGER PARVUS

MORETON VALENCE

When Domesday Book was compiled Moreton Valence was a medium-sized manor with no priest. It was formally held by Durand of Gloucester but had been tenanted to the Parvus family by the early twelfth century.¹ It is fortunate that a charter survives describing the grant of Moreton Valence church to Hereford Cathedral between 1148 and 1154. Together with the church of Whaddon it formed a prebend that was given to the cathedral when Roger Parvus's brother, William, became a canon.² The wording of the charter indicates that the church was completed by the time of the grant which would suggest that construction was commenced in the early to late 1140s.

Parts of the church fabric certainly date from this period, including a small round-arched light and an unelaborate chancel arch with chamfered imposts and a pair of cushion capitals (fig. 1–2f). The north doorway is of especial interest (figs. 3–4f). It is certainly contemporary with the chancel arch, having a pair of cushion capitals and identical roll mouldings of the arch and label. The doorway is of two orders with an enriched tympanum and lintel. Two bands of scale pattern decorate the lintel with a single band of saw-tooth



Fig. 1f. Round-headed window, north chancel, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 2f. Chancel arch, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.

¹ *DB*, 168 d; Walker, 'Honours', pp. 203–4.

² *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral, 840–1421*, ed. W. W. Capes (Hereford, 1908), p. 12.



Fig. 3f. Nave south doorway, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 4f. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.

separating them. Depicted on the tympanum are two confronted figures, a winged angel battling a dragon. The seraph presumably represents Archangel Michael who is shown with a nimbus and long rope-like hair that is partially concealed by a round helmet. His robes are long and ribbed, while both wings are fluted and terminate in volutes. It is a dynamic composition with Michael striding to the right holding a lance horizontally in his right hand and a conical shield in his left. With his lance he pierces the dragon through the mouth.

The dragon has a pair of smaller wings in a similar style to Michael's and its serpentine head is twisted towards the archangel while its body is orientated in the opposite direction. Its lower body appears to terminate in a trilobed palmette and its front paws grip a towering cluster of foliage. These tendrils are associated with the dragon alone and appear to be of symbolic importance, perhaps representing the entangling forces of evil as suggested for several similar representations of foliage in sculptures attributed to the Herefordshire School.³ To the left of Michael are five raised circular shapes. Keyser, writing over a century ago when the carvings may have been in better condition, observed these as 'several figures, probably intended for rescued souls'.⁴ If this is the case, these figures most likely represent the heavenly army rather than rescued souls: 'And there was a great battle in heaven: Michael and his angels fought with the dragon, and the dragon fought, and his angels.... And that great dragon was cast out, that old serpent, who is called the devil' (Revelation, 12:7–9). In any case, the Book of Revelation is surely the scriptural basis for the tympanum.

Alexander has demonstrated that the iconography of Michael fighting the dragon is unique to Western Christendom. In Carolingian representations the archangel is shown triumphant above a small vanquished dragon, whereas by the early eleventh century the dragon had been enlarged and Michael given a more aggressive pose. The Moreton Valence composition of Michael lunging to the right with a shield belongs to the later Northern tradition, although the lance is more typical of Continental iconography.⁵ There are many other examples within the surviving corpus of Anglo-Norman sculpture where Michael is shown on the left with a shield, including reliefs at Harnhill, discussed below,

³ Wood, *Eardisley*, p. 6; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 104, 195.

⁴ C. E. Keyser, 'Notes on a Sculpted Tympanum at Kingswinford Church, Staffordshire, and Other Early Representations in England of St Michael the Archangel', *Archaeological Journal*, 62 (1905), p. 145.

⁵ Alexander, *Norman Illumination*, pp. 88–98.

Kingswinford (Staffordshire), Southwell, Hoveringham (Nottinghamshire),⁶ Hallaton (Leicestershire) and Garton-on-the-Wolds (Yorkshire). Only the latter two depict Michael with both a conical shield and lance, and both differ from the Moreton Valence tympanum in that they show him trampling the dragon. Hunt and Stokes have compared the Moreton



Fig. 5f. Fragment at the former Bell Inn, Alveley, Shropshire.

carving to a Herefordshire School inspired relief found at Alveley (Shropshire), suggesting that the latter was once part of a relief that showed Michael fighting the dragon with a spear (fig. 5f). Unfortunately the piece is fragmentary, only the bottom half of the archangel's body and the dragon's tail survive, therefore it is impossible to tell whether Michael once held a spear and a shield.⁷

One possibility is that the Moreton sculptor was inspired by other sculptures associated with the regionally influential Herefordshire School and personally adapted the iconography of St Michael and the dragon. Two contemporary tympana depicting St George defeating the dragon appear at nearby Ruardean, discussed below, and Brinsop (Herefordshire). In both examples, George is positioned on the left and pierces the dragon through the mouth with a lance. The Ruardean tympanum is particularly akin to that at Moreton in terms of composition. Both figures are in dominant positions with their heads at the apex of stone, Michael's wings mirror the position of George's cape and the dragons turn their heads to receive the lance blow. Both reliefs are also technically similar being carved from single stones and surrounded by plain voussoirs.

⁶ The Southwell and Hoveringham reliefs are both dated c. 1120; Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 123; S. Kirsop, 'St Michael, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire', *CRSBI*, <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/651/> (viewed 27/06/14).

⁷ J. Hunt and M. A. Stokes, 'Sculpture and Patronage in a Shropshire Manor: A Group of 12th-Century Sculptures from Alveley', *JBAA*, 150 (1997), p. 30.

Alternatively, the Moreton sculptor may have modelled the tympanum on representations in other art media, namely ivory carving. A walrus ivory tau-cross head believed to have been made at Winchester between c. 1140 and 1150 features a carving of Michael battling the dragon (fig. 6f). The archangel is shown in half-profile with a pair of wings and holding a conical shield in his left hand. There is some visible damage to his right arm and wing, and based on his posture it is likely that he originally held a lance which he plunged into the dragon's open mouth.⁸ Today this piece is a rare example, however it raises the possibility that there may have once been many ivory and wood carvings of St Michael in the South West that have since perished. The Moreton sculpture is unusually delicate and detailed, and we should not rule out the possibility that the sculptor was accustomed to working in the medium of ivory.



Fig. 6f. Walrus ivory tau-cross head, Victoria and Albert Museum.

⁸ Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 223; 'Tau-cross head', *Victoria and Albert Museum, London*, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O73082/tau-cross-head-unknown/> (viewed, 10/01/14).

THE PATRONAGE OF BADERON OF MONMOUTH

Baderon of Monmouth is a shadowy historical figure. His father, William fitz Baderon, was of Breton descent and had been installed as castellan of Monmouth before 1086. William was an active patron of St Florent Abbey in Saumur; he founded a dependent priory at Monmouth during the reign of William I and over his lifetime he granted successive churches, land and property to the monks of St Florent.¹ Baderon must have been born early in the twelfth century and had succeeded his father by 1135. He evidently inherited his father's zeal for the abbey of St Florent, having founded a dependent chapel at Monmouth Castle, augmented the endowment of Monmouth Priory and encouraged members of his family to grant land and churches to the monks of St Florent.² It has emerged that Baderon was a prominent patron of sculpture. As well as the surviving sculptures at Ruardean church that will be discussed below, he may have added sculptural enrichment to Monmouth Priory and the castles of Monmouth and Goodrich. Most interesting is a fragment of a tympanum depicting two armoured knights in battle that is thought to have once belonged to the chapel of Monmouth Castle.³

The majority of Baderon's lands lay within Gloucestershire and he was listed as a supporter of the Empress in 1141.⁴ He was certainly a chief associate of Roger earl of Hereford and, based on his early allegiance to the Angevin party and the circumstances of land tenure in the Forest of Dean, it is relatively certain that he had previously been a close associate of Miles.⁵ The nucleus of Marcher lords surrounding the earls of Hereford has been described as an affinity and it has already been noted that several of its members were patrons of the Herefordshire School of sculpture.⁶ As will be seen below, these connections appear to have influenced Baderon's own sculptural commissions.

¹ *Calendar Docs.*, nos. 1133–8, pp. 406–9.

² *Calendar Docs.*, nos. 1139, 1142, 1148, pp. 409–10, 412–4.

³ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 209–14.

⁴ H. W. C. Davis, 'Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count', *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), p. 302; E. King, 'The Memory of Brian fitz Count', *HSJ*, 13 (1999), p. 90.

⁵ For example, he was recorded as a witness to the *conventio* between Earl Roger and William de Braose (1148–9), see Brooke and Brooke, 'Hereford Dignitaries – Supplement', p. 185; and in a confirmation charter of Roger to Brecon Priory, see Walker, *Hereford Charters*, no. 48, pp. 32–3; Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 158.

⁶ D. Crouch, 'The March and the Welsh Kings', in E. King (ed.), *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 280–1; Crouch, *Stephen*, pp. 166–7.

RUARDEAN

According to Domesday Book, Ruardean was held by William fitz Baderon with a certain Solomon as tenant. There is no mention of a church or a priest.⁷ Thurlby has suggested that a church was in existence by the time that William and Guihenoc granted Monmouth Priory to the abbey of St-Florent, Saumur, as this charter records several unnamed churches being granted along with the priory.⁸ However the charter in question was issued during the reign of William I and unless the compiler of the Domesday entry for Ruardean unwittingly omitted the priest and church it is unlikely that the manor had a church by 1087.⁹

There are two surviving Romanesque sculptures at the church, a tympanum over the south doorway depicting St George defeating the dragon and a small carved panel that was discovered in a local home in 1956.¹⁰ Scholars have been in agreement that the Ruardean tympanum is a simplified imitation of the Herefordshire School tympanum of the same scene at the nearby church of Brinsop, Herefordshire (figs. 1–2g).¹¹ Both reliefs show the mounted saint in profile wearing a helmet and flowing ribbed cape, and holding the horse's reins in his left hand while he pierces the dragon through the mouth with a lance.



Fig. 1g. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Ruardean, Gloucestershire.

⁷ *DB*, 185 c; twelfth-century Ruardean was technically an enclave of Herefordshire but it is considered in this study because of its immediacy to Gloucestershire.

⁸ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 211.

⁹ *Calendar Docs.*, no. 1133, pp. 406–7.

¹⁰ G. Zarnecki, 'A Newly Discovered Relief at Ruardean', *TBGAS*, 76 (1957), p. 70.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72; G. Zarnecki, 'St George, Brinsop, Herefordshire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/1092/ (viewed 17/07/14); Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 41, 211.



Fig. 2g. Reset tympanum, nave interior, St George, Brinsop, Herefordshire.

held in his right. The dragons are serpentine with no limbs or wings and their scaly bodies extend the full length of the tympanum where they are trampled by the horses' hooves. Their heads, which have almond-shaped eyes, accentuating incisions and open jaws, similarly loop backwards.

The Brinsop tympanum has been dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century, and presumably the Ruardean tympanum is roughly contemporary.¹² This can be

refined to the 1140s on the basis that the dragons are stylistically identical to carved serpents at Kilpeck (c. 1134) and Shobdon (1136–43) which have the same almond-shaped eyes, facial incisions, open mouths and scaly bodies (figs. 27a, 3–4g). Direct connections



Fig. 3g. Corbel, south nave exterior, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.



Fig. 4g. Label of the right arch, Shobdon, Herefordshire.

¹² Zarnecki, 'Brinsop'.

are likely, especially since Hugh of Kilpeck and Oliver de Merlimond, the respective patrons of Kilpeck and Shobdon, were adherents of earls Miles and Roger. The Brinsop tympanum has been attributed to Oliver of Brinsop. However, the manor was owned by Earl Miles and this raises the possibility that he influenced the commission or was the main patron if Oliver was merely the steward of the project.¹³ Baderon, another close adherent of Miles and Roger, may have commissioned a tympanum that emulated the Brinsop iconography in order to express visually his affiliation with the earl of Hereford.

The scene of St George defeating the dragon was probably of allegorical significance to both patrons. Inspiration for such equestrian tympana has been traced to western France but surviving regional Roman tombstones with equestrian portraits may have provided a more immediate model.¹⁴ Allusions to imperial art may have been seen to enhance the grandeur of the church and reflect the patrons' own seigneurial and aristocratic status, just as King Stephen and Earl Miles had seals depicting themselves on horseback and other barons had coins struck with equestrian self-portraits.¹⁵ Equally, a military saint such as George would have been a perfect exemplar for aristocrats such as Miles and Baderon; they were warriors as well as regional administrators and would have surely welcomed parallels between themselves and the soldier of God. The scene implies a personal and local interest in the cult of St George, the obvious impetus being the vision of the saint at the Battle of Antioch during the First Crusade that was being popularly recounted during the twelfth century and features in Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*.¹⁶ Whether Baderon or Miles had any personal or familial ties to crusading is unclear. It may be that they were simply inspired by the message and imagery of crusade and the motif of St George chosen because of its popularity and symbolism.¹⁷ The more general theme of the tympanum is the battle between good and evil, a message that is fundamental to the Christian faith.¹⁸

¹³ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 203, and Hamer, *Patronage*, pp. 235–40, have attributed the Brinsop tympanum to the patronage of Oliver of Brinsop, although Thurlby has demonstrated that Hamer was mistaken in thinking that this Oliver was synonymous with Oliver de Merlimond.

¹⁴ Zarnecki, 'Ruardean', p. 72; Zarnecki, 'Brinsop'; Hamer, *Patronage*, p. 243; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 206.

¹⁵ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 206; Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, pp. 331, 336.

¹⁶ HH, p. 45.

¹⁷ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge, 1998), pp. 196–246.

¹⁸ Hamer, *Patronage*, p. 246.

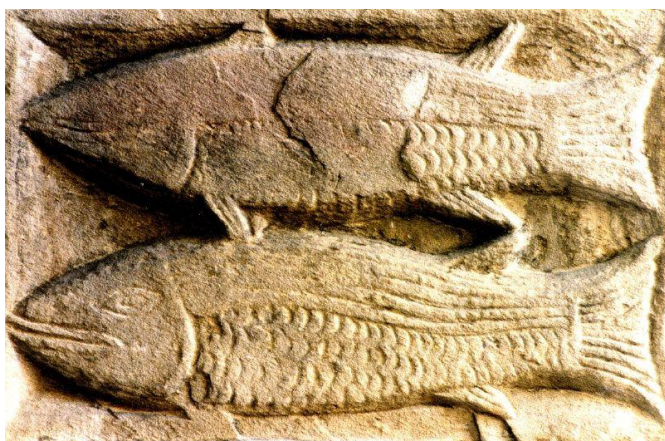


Fig. 5g. Reset relief, south nave interior, St John the Baptist, Ruardean, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 6g. Corbel, north nave exterior, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

The panel discovered in 1956 depicts a pair of unidirectional fish (fig. 5g). Each is naturalistically carved and the sculptor has made the effort to include individual scales and fins. They are akin to native freshwater fish such as trout, roach and bream which raises the interesting possibility that the sculptor was representing species

that were part of the local diet. This relief appears to be the work of the same sculptor who created the tympanum and is presumably contemporary.¹⁹ Inspiration for the iconography can again be traced to the Herefordshire School. A pair of unidirectional fish appear on a voussoir at Brinsop, two adjacent voussoirs at Shobdon, now heavily weathered, and a corbel at Kilpeck (figs. 2g, 6g). It has been suggested that the Ruardean panel represents the Zodiac sign of Pisces, however the iconography does not conform to standard depictions where the fish are shown in opposite directions and connected at the mouths by a cord.²⁰ Hamer has suggested that they represent saved souls rather than Pisces, an interpretation that is

supported by Christ's remark that his disciples would be 'fishers of men' (Matthew 4:19) and a letter from Gilbert Foliot to Robert bishop of Hereford that discusses the fish as a symbol of the souls that St Peter was ordered to catch.²¹ Scholars now appreciate that images within medieval Christian art were probably designed with multiplicity of meaning in mind,²² thus the Ruardean relief may have been interpreted as Pisces by some

¹⁹ Zarnecki, 'Ruardean', p. 73.

²⁰ For example, the calendar page of Cambridge, St John's College, MS B 20 (Worcester Cathedral Priory, c. 1120–40) and the label of the Kilpeck south doorway.

²¹ Hamer, *Patronage*, pp. 244, 249; *LCGF*, no. 6, p. 41.

²² R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', in idem, *Studies in Early English Christian Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), p. 149; and most recently Stalley, 'Beakhead', p. 127.

contemporaries while others could have associated it with the many references to fish in the New Testament as part of Christ's teachings and miracles.

The original position of the relief is unclear. Thurlby has argued that it was probably part of an interior frieze, however Zarnecki's original theory that the carving was part of a series of panels that once decorated the flat jambs either side of the south doorway remains convincing since this type of architectural decoration appears at other Gloucestershire churches, notably Eastleach Turville and Quenington.²³ In this position, the pair of fish as a symbol of saved souls would complement the triumph of good over evil as displayed on the tympanum.

²³ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 212; Zarnecki, 'Ruardean', pp. 73–4.

THE PATRONAGE OF WILLIAM DE SOLERS

POSTLIP

The manor of Postlip was held by Ansfrid de Cormeilles when Domesday Book was compiled but by accession of Stephen the lord of the manor was William de Solers.¹ Since there was no church or priest serving the community, William founded and constructed a chapel between 1139 and 1151, dedicated it to St James and granted it to Winchcombe Abbey with the arrangement that the abbey would supply a priest to perform services on certain days.²

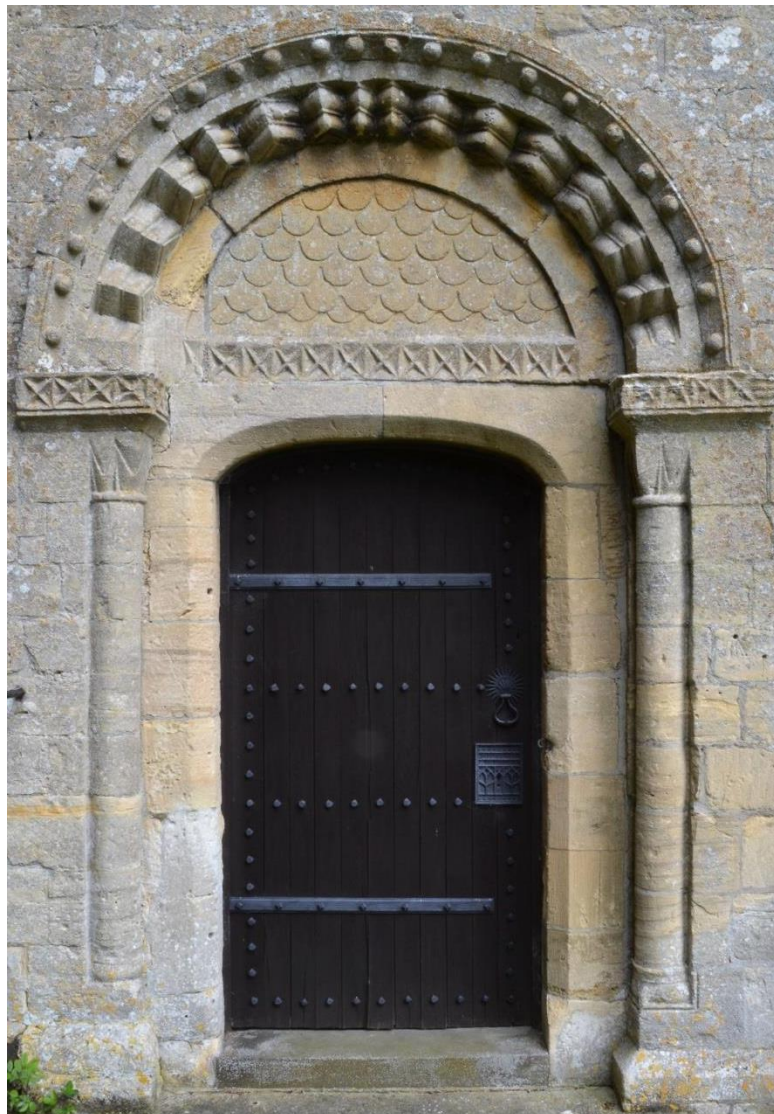


Fig. 1h. Nave south doorway, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

¹ *DB*, 169 d.

² *Landboc sive Registrum Monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cenhelmi de Winchelcumba*, vol. 1, ed. D. Royce (Exeter, 1892), pp. 82–3.

The chapel is a two-cell structure comprising of aisleless nave and chancel. It retains most of its original architectural fabric and sculpture, including the nave south doorway and chancel arch which are both of two orders. The south doorway has a tympanum carved with fish scale ornament and a bottom row of saltire crosses (fig. 1h). More saltire crosses adorn the abaci which are supported by a pair of coursed columns topped with sheathed double scallop capitals. The second order of the arch is decorated with frontal chevron and the label is carved with large beads. There was originally a west doorway but this was blocked at a later date, presumably when the west Perpendicular window was added. Two jamb bases remain *in situ* and provide a clue that the doorway may once have been carved with similar motifs to the south doorway (fig. 2h). The chancel arch is



Fig. 2h. Blocked west doorway, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 3h. Chancel arch, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

constructed of two pairs of coursed cylindrical columns with spur bases, scallop capitals and abaci carved with single rows of saltire cross ornament (fig. 3–4h). Whereas the east side of the arch is unadorned, the west side has a first order of inner roll moulding with an outer band of saltire crosses, a second order of frontal chevron and a label decorated with billeting.

Both fish scale and saltire cross ornament are prominent features of the corpus of sculpture attributed to the Dymock School.³ Other church south doorways with saltire crosses carved on the abaci can be found at Kilpeck,



Fig. 4h. North-west chancel arch capitals, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

Siston and Winstone. However the only other church where there is tympanum carved with fish scale and a bottom row of saltire crosses is at Pauntley (fig. 5h).

Postlip may have been affected by intermittent hostilities after 1138. The manor lies only a few miles west of Sudeley Castle which was held by John fitz Harold at the start of Stephen's reign. John defected to Robert earl of Gloucester at the end of 1139 and at the beginning of December Sudeley was sacked by Waleran of Meulan.⁴ The castle was subsequently garrisoned by royal troops. At the end of January 1140 Miles of Gloucester plundered Winchcombe, three miles north-east of Postlip, and then planned an assault on Sudeley but was forced to retreat when his men were attacked by the garrison.⁵ In the following months Earl Robert led a campaign in the Cotswolds and recaptured the castle.⁶ For the next four years the castle appears to have been garrisoned by Miles of Gloucester and then his son, Roger, before it was stormed by Stephen's forces.⁷ There is no further mention of Winchcombe or Sudeley in the chronicles, although it is likely that Sudeley was retaken by Earl Robert in the following year.⁸ It can be deduced that William de Solers allied

³ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, pp. 4–6, 10, 17, 20, 25, 36, 46, 50, 68; R. Wood, 'Geometric Patterns in English Romanesque Sculpture', *JBA*, 154 (2001), pp. 9, 20–1.

⁴ *JW*, pp. 274–7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 282–3; *GS*, pp. 94–5.

⁶ *HN*, pp. 72–3.

⁷ *GS*, pp. 172–5.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 178–9.

himself with the Empress at the end of 1139 considering the proximity of Postlip to Sudeley and the fact that he also held the manor of Pauntley in the Angevin-dominated Botloe Hundred.

Within this context it is possible that Postlip experienced some unrest, a view that has been advocated by a number of historians on the basis of an introductory gloss to the charter of Postlip chapel.⁹ This records that the chapel was built by William at the insistence of his tenants who sought a place of refuge, fearing the incursions of robbers and unnamed evil men.¹⁰ However, there is reason to believe that the gloss is an unreliable account of William's motives. It was written by a monastic scribe several decades after the original grant, apparently soon after a confirmation charter issued by William's son, Roger, between 1193 and 1195. The language of Roger's charter is less colourful and records in simple terms that his father built the chapel from fear of war, a sign that the monastic scribe took liberties in embellishing the story of the chapel's origins.¹¹ Moreover, anticipation of hostilities is no clear indicator that Postlip was directly attacked. Nonetheless, Roger's charter is also problematic. The transcription of the original charter issued by William makes no mention of warfare and records that he founded the chapel for the good of his soul and those of his wife, his ancestors and his descendants, while emphasising the duties of Winchcombe Abbey.¹² White has demonstrated that Stephen's reign was mythologised by Henry II and his court to the extent that it was desirable for administrators to retrospectively label the period as 'the time of war' and exaggerate levels of disruption.¹³ This process of mythologisation may be reflected in the late twelfth-century charter of Roger de Solers and the monastic gloss. Alternatively, it may have been advantageous for the Winchcombe monks to retrospectively invent that the chapel had been constructed in a state of emergency. The tithes of the manor traditionally belonged to Gloucester Abbey but were subverted to Winchcombe Abbey after the chapel was constructed, therefore the Winchcombe monks may have sought justification for the transfer in order to avoid litigation.¹⁴

⁹ E. Dent, *Annals of Winchcombe and Sudeley* (London, 1877), pp. 78–9; Daubeny, *Cotswold Churches*, p. 39; Amt, *Accession*, p. 31; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 258.

¹⁰ *Landboc Winchelcumba*, vol. 1, pp. 82–3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 83–5. The date of Roger de Solers' charter can be determined from the fact that it was confirmed by Henry bishop of Worcester (1193–5).

¹² *Landboc Winchelcumba*, pp. 82–3.

¹³ G. J. White, 'The Myth of the Anarchy', *ANS*, 22 (1999), pp. 323–37.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

The Postlip sculptures possibly confirm that the manor was relatively tranquil during the 1140s. Although purely geometrical, they are integral features of the architecture and reveal that William de Solers was prepared to expend additional time, manpower and resources on decoration during the construction programme. This decision does not accord with a man motivated by fear to rapidly construct a church for refuge. It could be argued that such geometric sculptural decoration had a perceived symbolic and spiritual importance, for example it has been suggested that fish scale ornament represented heaven.¹⁵ There is a consensus that Romanesque churches were painted, therefore a quicker and more economical approach would have been to minimise the amount of sculpture and introduce decoration with pigments after the building was completed.¹⁶ If William and his tenants did experience any episodes unrest, these were presumably intermittent and short-lived since the chapel was completed with no perceptible breaks between building phases.

PAUNTLEY

Like Postlip, Pauntley is recorded in Domesday Book as a manor of Ansfrid de Corneilles but had passed to William de Solers by the reign of Stephen.¹⁷ The earliest known record of Pauntley chapel appears in 1181 when Henry II confirmed it as a possession of Corneilles Abbey, however parts of the present-day structure are evidently much earlier.¹⁸ Originally the chapel was a two-cell building with aisleless nave and chancel similar to that at Postlip. There are two surviving sculpted features, the south doorway and the chancel arch, which bear a remarkable resemblance to their analogous pairs at Postlip chapel, a sign that William de Solers employed the same workshop and perhaps favoured particular motifs.¹⁹

The south doorway, of two orders, has a tympanum ornamented with fish scale and a lower band of saltire crosses (fig. 5h). It is technically identical to the Postlip tympanum in that the two outer voussoirs of the first order are carved from the same stone as the tympanum. It has been pointed out that the upper part of the tympanum is carved from two stones but this may be the result of later damage and restoration

¹⁵ Wood, 'Geometric', pp. 20–1.

¹⁶ For example, the extensive wall paintings on the interior of Kempeley church, Gloucestershire.

¹⁷ *DB*, 170 a; *VCH Glos.*, vol. 12 (2010), pp. 287, 298.

¹⁸ Dugdale et al., *Monasticon*, vol. 7, p. 1076.

¹⁹ These similarities have been noted by Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 77.



Fig. 5h. Nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

rather than the original design.²⁰ The voussoirs of the first order that surround the tympanum are each carved with a band of beading sandwiched between two rolls. Two coursed columns topped with volute capitals support the second order of lateral chevron and the label is cut with billets.

The chancel arch of two orders is technically identical to that at Postlip, although larger in scale, and the first order of the arch is similarly carved with a single band of saltire crosses (fig. 6h). The remainder of the arch differs stylistically. A pair of volute capitals

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 75.



Fig. 6h. Chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

support the first order whereas the capitals of the second order are carved with unusual figural sculptures. That on the left-hand side depicts a grotesque face with pointed ears, large almond-shaped eyes, a bulbous nose and wide mouth with protruding tongue and foliage issuing from both corners (fig. 7h). The design of the right-hand capital is identical, although the protruding tongue is less pronounced (fig. 8h). Cusps decorate the abaci, the second order is carved with lateral chevron like that on the south doorway, and the label is a simple roll moulding with a central groove.

The sculptures at Pauntley have long been



Fig. 7–8h. Outer north-west and south-west chancel arch capitals, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

attributed to the Dymock School due to the characteristic volute capitals with step pattern, cogwheel chevron and saltire crosses.²¹ Thurlby has suggested that the volute capital was popularised by its use at Hereford Cathedral and has identified a capital in the presbytery of Hereford Cathedral that depicts a face with a protruding tongue and foliage issuing from the mouth like the outer capitals on the Pauntley chancel arch.²² There are certain similarities between Pauntley and Dymock south doorways, namely the stepped volute capitals, cogwheel chevron and beading on the inner order of the arches (figs. 11a, 23a, 5h). The same workshop appears to have been employed at both sites. Both King and Thurlby have suggested a relationship between Pauntley and Kilpeck on the basis that the impostes of the chancel arches are similarly enriched with cusps and the right capital of the Kilpeck south doorway has an angle head issuing foliage like the Pauntley chancel capitals (fig. 7–10h).²³



Fig. 9h. Chancel arch impostes, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck,



Fig. 10h. Right-hand capital, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

A range of dates have been suggested for the construction of Pauntley chapel on the basis of style. Gethyn-Jones placed the sculptures within the period c. 1125–45, with one recent commentator opting for the earlier part of this time bracket.²⁴ Unlike Thurlby, however, they failed to appreciate the direct patron and style connections between Pauntley and Postlip. It has been established that Postlip chapel was built during the 1140s and this provides grounds for dating Pauntley chapel between c. 1140 and c. 1150.²⁵ It has already been suggested that William de Solers allied himself with the Empress and this is possibly confirmed by the relationship of the sculptures at Pauntley to those at Dymock and Kilpeck. The south doorway at Dymock has been attributed to Miles of Gloucester while the Kilpeck carvings were certainly commissioned by Hugh of Kilpeck.²⁶ These

²¹ Zarnecki, *Regional*, p. 225; Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, pp. 17–20, 25, 36–7, 44–51, 58, 68–72.

²² Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 74.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 75–6; King, 'Kilpeck', p. 84

²⁴ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, pp. 69–71; *VCH Glos.*, vol. 12, p. 299.

²⁵ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, pp. 69–71.

²⁶ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 77; R. Baxter, 'St Mary, Dymock, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/3315/ (viewed 31/07/14).

sculptures appear to pre-date those at Pauntley and the implication may be that William was inspired by the commissions of his associates.

THE PATRONAGE OF RALPH DE BASKERVILLE

HARNHILL

Domesday Book records that Harnhill belonged to Ralph de Tosny but was held by a certain Roger, identified as Roger de Baskerville by Moore. There was no priest serving the manor at this time so presumably there was no church.¹ The manor remained in the possession of the Tosny family at the end of the thirteenth century but there is no documentary record of who held the manor during the twelfth century.²

The present-day church retains a twelfth-century aisleless nave, whereas the chancel, tower and porch are later additions. On the south side of the nave is a plain doorway with a rectangular carved tympanum depicting Archangel Michael fighting the dragon (fig. 1i).³ Some of the surface detail has been lost through weathering, particularly Michael's face, and the whole relief is covered in moss. Both figures are carved in profile and are shown confronted in the midst of battle with Michael stood on the left and the dragon on the right. Michael has a large fluted wing and wears a tunic and round helmet. Although difficult to discern, his face is carved with a large bulbous eye. In his right hand, which is disproportionately large, he wields a sword above his shoulder as if ready to strike



Fig. 1i. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Michael and All Angels, Harnhill, Gloucestershire.

¹ *DB*, 168 b.

² J. S. Moore, 'The Gloucestershire section of Domesday Book: geographical problems of the text, part 3' *TBGAS*, 107 (1989), p. 133.

³ Keyser, 'Kingswinford', pp. 143–4.

and in his left he holds a conical shield. The dragon has a large almond-shaped eye, two pointed ears and an upturned snout. A long tongue protrudes from its open mouth, which is carved with a row of sharp teeth, and licks the archangel's shield. It has two large front paws, the right one raised as if to swipe at the archangel, a large upper body that tapers into a long looping tail and a fluted wing. A band of rope moulding decorates the bottom edge of the relief.

The subject matter corresponds with the Book of Revelation and relates to the aforementioned tympanum at Moreton Valence (fig. 4f). As well as being less accomplished than the Moreton tympanum, the Harnhill relief differs in that Michael is shown with a sword rather than a spear and the dragon is carved in a different, more dominant position. In these respects the iconography of the Harnhill relief bears a closer resemblance to the tympana at Southwell Minister and St Michael, Hoveringham (Notts.), and the relief at St Michael, Ipswich (Suffolk) (figs. 2–4i).⁴ In terms of style, however, the Harnhill tympanum is



Fig. 2i. Relief, Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire.



Fig. 3i. Reset tympanum, north doorway, St Michael, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire.

⁴ See Zarnecki et al., *Romanesque*, p. 165, for illustrations of the Southwell and Ipswich reliefs.

unrelated to these reliefs from eastern England.

The Gardiners' identification of influence from the Herefordshire School is convincing. Human figures with disproportionately large hands and creatures with their background forepaw raised are characteristic features of the distinctive Herefordshire School style.⁵

There are remarkable parallels between the Harnhill tympanum and the Herefordshire School font at Eardisley. The font shows two fighting men in profile with bulbous eyes and helmets like Michael (fig. 5i). Most striking is that the left-hand knight holds a sword in his right hand and wields it over his shoulder in exactly the same fashion as Michael. The lion on the other side of the font has paws with three claws and a raised right forepaw like the Harnhill dragon (fig. 16e). A similar composition can be seen on the tympanum at Stretton Sugwas where the lion has a protruding tongue like the Harnhill dragon and there is a band of rope moulding along the bottom edge of the stone (fig. 6i). On the Kilpeck south doorway there is a serpent on

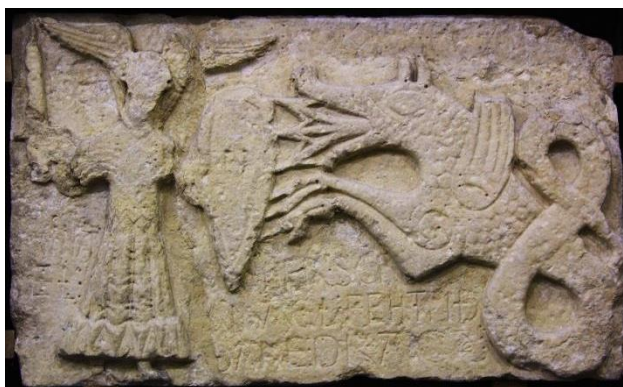


Fig. 4i. Relief from the former church of St Michael, Ipswich, Suffolk.



Fig. 5i. Font, St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley, Herefordshire.



Fig. 6i. Reset tympanum, north nave, St Mary Magdalene, Stretton Sugwas, Herefordshire.

⁵ J. and G. Gardiner, 'St Michael and All Angels, Harnhill, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (unpublished report, 1998); Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 47, 52.



the right-hand outer shaft with a large almond-shaped eye and protruding tongue, and a biped dragon on the left-hand capital with a looping tail and raised background forepaw which are both stylistically similar to the Harnhill dragon (figs. 7–8i).

The sculptor of the Harnhill tympanum looks to have been a witness to the Herefordshire School rather than a member of its workshop and for this reason they cannot have been working earlier than c. 1135. A charter suggests that the Eardisley font and Stretton Sugwas tympanum were carved c. 1143 through the patronage of Ralph de Baskerville and for this reason a date during the 1140s is preferable for the Harnhill tympanum.⁶ If the Baskerville family remained the tenants of Harnhill during the first half of the twelfth century it would follow that Ralph de Baskerville commissioned the new church. This would certainly explain the relationship between the Harnhill tympanum and the sculptures at Eardisley and Stretton Sugwas.

Fig. 7i (left). Serpents, right-hand outer jamb, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.



Fig. 8i (right). Biped dragon, left-hand capital, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

⁶ Wood, *Eardisley*, pp. 13–4; Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 195, 200.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE AUGUSTINIAN CANONS OF SAINTE-BARBE-EN-AUGE

BECKFORD

Domesday Book records that Beckford was a large royal manor comprising of the villages of Beckford and Ashton-under-Hill and had been given to William fitz Osbern after the Conquest.¹ There were two churches, the Anglo-Saxon minster and the church of Ashton, which were granted to Cormeilles Abbey by William prior to 1071.² The manor passed to Roger de Breteuil but returned to the Crown after he was disinherited and exiled in 1075. There were still only two churches in c. 1126 and it was around this time, or slightly earlier, that King Henry I gave the manor to William de Tancarville, his chamberlain. It was held by William's son Rabel, also a royal chamberlain, and in c. 1128 he granted the whole manor to the Augustinian priory of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge, Calvados, with the consent of the king and his father.³ The chronicle of Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge records that William de Beauchamp seized Beckford during the reign of Stephen and expelled the Sainte-Barbe canons twice.⁴ Although no dates are supplied by the chronicler, William probably laid claim to the manor soon after July 1141 when he defected to the Empress and was appointed sheriff and castellan of Worcester.⁵ When the canons resettled at Beckford after their first expulsion they decided to construct an oratory, apparently because the canons thought it inappropriate to have to leave the priory precincts to preach to the villagers. Once finished, it was dedicated to St Barbara and relics of the saint were translated there to bring protection.⁶

The present-day church of Beckford retains a small twelfth-century aisleless nave with two sculpted doorways and a sculpted chancel arch. Pevsner and Brooks dated the twelfth-century fabric and sculptures between 1160 and 1175 but even a cursory glance at the carvings reveals that this time bracket is far too late.⁷ Bond offered a more realistic date of c. 1150 based on the style of the south nave doorway.⁸ However no one has appreciated the proximity of the church to the former site of the Augustinian priory. They

¹ *DB*, 164 a–b; Beckford was part of Gloucestershire until 1931 when it was transferred to Worcestershire.

² *Ibid*, 164a–b, EvL 1

³ *DB*, EvL 1; *Calendar Docs.*, no. 568, pp. 197–8; *Chronique*, p. 277.

⁴ *Chronique*, pp. 279, 284

⁵ *RRAN*, vol. 3, no. 68, pp. 26–7.

⁶ *Chronique*, p. 281.

⁷ N. Pevsner and A. Brooks, *Worcestershire* (Yale, 2007), pp. 127–8.

⁸ C. J. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire', in Blair (ed.), *Minsters*, p. 150.

stand less than fifty metres apart and there can be little doubt that the nave is the remains of the oratory recorded by the Sainte-Barbe chronicler. This identification therefore confirms that the church was constructed during the 1140s and probably complete by the end of Stephen's reign.

The elaborate south nave doorway is constructed of four orders and has an unusual carved tympanum (figs. 1–2k). The semi-circular relief shows a cross flanked by two hooved quadrupeds, which have been compared to donkeys, with tails and extensions on their heads that could represent horns and ears.⁹ A bird is perched on the right-hand arm of the cross and there are two concentric circles above the left-hand arm. The concentric circles have been interpreted as a haloed star representing God the Father, the bird a dove representing the Holy Spirit, and the cross a representation of Christ: the Holy Trinity.¹⁰ As for the two quadrupeds, these could represent beasts adoring Christ as alluded to in the Gospel of Mark during the Temptation (1:13) or more explicitly in the Prophecy of Daniel:



Fig. 1k. Nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

⁹ G. L. Pearson, 'St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/824/ (viewed 02/06/14).

¹⁰ Wood, 'Geometric', p. 5.



Fig. 2k. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

'O all ye beasts and cattle, bless the Lord: praise and exalt him above all for ever' (3:81). Alternatively Wood has interpreted these creatures as harts, the hart being an allegory for the believer who desires to be with God (Psalms 41:2).¹¹ Beneath the pictorial scene is a lintel carved with a band of rope moulding and a band on intersecting circles, and the whole tympanum is supported by projecting human heads like the Prior's Doorway at Ely Cathedral (fig. 3b).¹² The two heads nearest to the viewer have beards while the furthest two have no facial hair and large chins. All of the heads have prominent noses and irregular round eyes with drilled pupils.

The first order of the arch is a continuous order of plain stones with inner roll mouldings and these roll mouldings terminate with carved stops. A humanoid head with a small gash for a mouth, a long nose, a pair of almond-shaped eyes and two small ears decorates the left-hand stop while the right-hand stop is gripped by a horizontal beakhead which has a long nose, almond eyes and an extended body with grooves and a central beaded strap. The second order has a frontal chevron-enriched arch supported by plain coursed cylindrical shafts topped with single scallop capitals. Inverted concentric triangles decorate the cones of the left-hand capital, the shields are enriched with stars and saltire crosses and the impost has a herringbone pattern with a lower band of rope moulding. On the right-hand capital the inner shield is decorated with overlapping circles and semi-circles and the outer shield is carved with a quatrefoil intersecting a circle, also known as a ringed

¹¹ Ibid., p. 5.

¹² Pearson, 'Beckford'.

square-knot. The second order of the arch is enriched with lateral cogwheel chevron similar to the type applied by the Dymock School. Beading, grooves and volutes enrich the left-hand single scallop capital and the impost is incised with zigzags and a lower band of rope moulding. The right-hand sheathed single scallop capital has shields decorated with a semi-circular band of beads and step pattern, and the impost above has a single band of rope moulding.¹³ Two bands of rope moulding decorate the fourth order of the arch but the supporting chevron jambs are slightly obscured by the walls of the porch. A small panel at the top of the inner face of the left-hand jamb is enriched with beaded saltire crosses and there is a corresponding panel at the top of the right-hand jamb which shows a trilobed plant with two beaded, scrolled leaves and a closed flower resting above three cusps.

The blocked north nave doorway is less elaborate and features a tympanum with a heavily worn depiction of the Harrowing of Hell (fig. 3k). Christ occupies the centre of the relief wearing long robes and with his head framed by a nimbus. In his right hand he holds a cross which he vertically plunges into the hellmouth, while in his left he holds a rope, or leash, attached to a human figure, presumably representing a saved soul although



Fig. 3k. Nave north doorway (blocked), St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

¹³ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, p. 18.

identified more specifically as Adam.¹⁴ The almond-shaped eye, pointed ears and razor teeth of the hellmouth are still visible, however the details of the two figures have been lost. A row of horizontal palmettes, or lilies, decorate the lintel beneath. A similar motif is found on the tympanum at the Sainte-Barbe related church of Leonard Stanley and on the imposts of the south doorway at Windrush (figs. 36–37d). Two imposts support the Beckford tympanum. The inner face of the left impost is carved with a beaded interlace design and a partially broken humanoid head with individually carved strands of hair and almond-shaped eyes (fig 4k). Carved on the inner face of right impost is a human head with almond eyes, small ears, a large drooping rope-like moustache and a small mouth (fig. 5k). Above there is a band of nailhead ornament. The label is carved with rope moulding, although the label stops are evidently missing. Two former corbels have been reset below and both are carved with bestial heads (figs. 6–7k). The corbel on the left has almond eyes, a long snout and a slack jaw, while that on the right is a truncated head with an inverted T-shape muzzle and circular eyes.

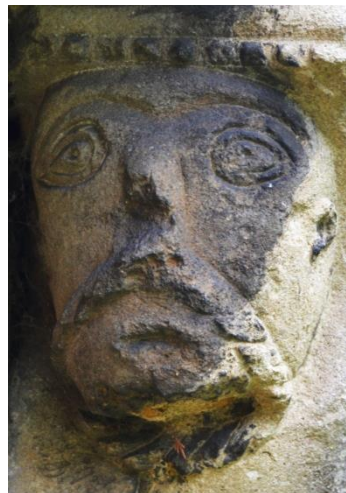


Fig. 4k (far left). Left-hand capital, west face, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 5k (near left). Right-hand capital, east face, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 6k (far left). Left-hand label-stop, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 7k (near left). Right-hand label-stop, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

¹⁴ Pearson, 'Beckford'.

Inside the church is the west tower arch of three orders, originally the chancel arch, with an elaborately carved west face (fig. 8k). Three notable figural carvings are arranged vertically on the left column of the second order. The upper carving is a goblin-like beakhead with pointed ears, almond eyes and a long nose which has two spirals issuing from the nostrils (fig. 9k). Its jaw is wide and slack with a projecting tongue that grips the roll of the column. Below is a hybrid creature, identifiable as a centaur, with the lower body of a horse and upper body of a human (fig. 10k). It has two long horns or plaits, a closed eye, open mouth and raised right hand which reaches towards a spear. At the bottom of



Fig. 8k. Chancel arch, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 9k. Beakhead, north-west jamb of the chancel arch, second order, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

the column is another beakhead with pointed ears, large round eyes and a long tapering nose. Most of the right-hand column of the same order has been removed and it is possible that this once had carvings to mirror those on the left-hand side.

The capitals of the first two orders are all of the same design, a variation of the scallop capital with V-shaped incisions, but with individually carved shields (figs. 11–15k). On the left-hand side, the inner capital has three volutes carved on the west shield, interlace on the south shield and a human face on the east shield, while the middle capital has a human face carved on the west shield and a string of beading on the south shield. On the opposite side the inner capital is carved with another human face on the west shield and a serpent on the north shield, and both shields of the middle capital are decorated with a double volute. The outer capitals are both plain single scallops and all of the impostes above the capitals are carved with an upper band of zigzag and a lower band of beaded rope moulding. Lateral cogwheel chevron has been applied to



Fig. 10k. Centaur and beakhead, north-west jamb of the chancel arch, second order, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 11k. North-west capitals of the chancel arch, west face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 12k. North-west capitals of the chancel arch, south face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 13k. North capital of the chancel arch, east face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 14k. South-west capitals of the chancel arch, west face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 15k. South-west capitals of the chancel arch, north face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 16k. Detail of chancel arch looking upwards, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

the arches of the first and second orders and the soffit of the former is enriched with incised crosses (fig. 16k). The arch of the third order has an angle roll with a hollow face.¹⁵

Influence from Hereford Cathedral is suggested by the trilobed plant on the right-hand panel of the south doorway which is very similar to a design on a window tympanum found at the cathedral and the incised crosses on the chancel arch, a design that looks to have been first employed in the chancel at Hereford (fig. 17k).¹⁶ Hereford Cathedral was served by Augustinian canons and this may explain the style connection to Beckford. The



Fig. 17k. Trilobed plant, right-hand outer jamb, west face, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

cogwheel chevron, step pattern and volute motifs found at Beckford also suggest at least one sculptor who was familiar with the sculptures of the Dymock School (fig. 18k). Aspects of both doorways imply influence from pre-Conquest art. The ringed square-knot motif on the inner right-hand capital of the south doorway is a common feature of late Anglo-Saxon sculpture.¹⁷ On the north doorway, the inwardly projecting impost and rope moulding bring to mind the Anglo-Saxon doorway at Somerford Keynes, Gloucestershire (fig. 19k), while the beaded interlace on the left impost compares favourably with designs in Anglo-Saxon metalwork. It should be



Fig. 18k. Right-hand outer capital, south face, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.



Fig. 19k. Pre-Conquest doorway, All Saints, Somerford Keynes, Gloucestershire.

¹⁵ Pearson, 'Beckford'.

¹⁶ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, plates 18. c, 34. a, 34. b.

¹⁷ Bryant, *Corpus*, p. 78.

remembered that the minster church of Beckford was still in existence c. 1126 and the architecture and sculpture there, which are now lost, could have influenced the twelfth-century craftsmen.

The most interesting style connection that has been noted by scholars is to the early twelfth-century sculptures at the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. Creatures are carved in low relief on the cylindrical columns of the west doorway at the basilica in a similar style to the Beckford chancel arch (fig. 20k).¹⁸ This relationship has not yet been understood. As noted above, Franklin has shown that the Augustinian canons of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries consciously modelled their own churches on early Christian architecture, particularly the basilica of Sant'Ambrogio.¹⁹ The fact that Beckford oratory was commissioned by Augustinian canons may prove the decisive link.

Further comment is required on the carvings of the Beckford chancel arch. It is rare to find beakheads in this position and it may seem all the more unusual considering the modern view that beakheads were intended to represent the evils of the world outside the church.²⁰ This interpretation has been recently challenged by Stalley on the grounds that beakheads can be found inside churches, with Beckford being a good example.²¹ Yet the serpent that occupies the north shield of the inner right capital is an overt symbol of evil and suggests that canons were not adverse to such imagery being inside the oratory. One possibility is that the carvings of the chancel arch were intended to visualise the division between the laity in the nave and the regular canons in the chancel.²² As well as demarcating the sacred space of the chancel, the fact that only the lay congregation would have been able to see the chancel arch sculptures during a service



Fig. 20k. Sculpted doorway jamb, Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, Milan.

¹⁸ Bond, 'Worcestershire', pp. 150–1; Pearson, 'Beckford'.

¹⁹ Franklin, 'Aisleless Cruciform', p. 98.

²⁰ M. Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992), pp. 72–4; Baxter, 'Beakhead'.

²¹ Stalley, 'Beakhead', p. 112 n.

²² Davidson, *Written*, pp. 189–91.

suggests that these were designed to warn the laity of the evils and temptations within the temporal world.

This notion is supported by the unusual centaur relief. Other centaurs found in the Gloucestershire corpus appear with bows as if to represent the Zodiac sign of Sagittarius, whereas the Beckford centaur holds a spear and appears to be unrelated to astrology. Beckford Priory was renowned for its scriptorium and it is possible that the canons were copying Latin classical texts.²³ As a result, they would have been familiar with classical literary depictions of centaurs; for example, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which was certainly being read in England during the second quarter of the twelfth century, tells the story of the battle between the centaurs and the lapiths. Here centaurs are presented as beings driven by the base passions of lust, gluttony and envy, and easily provoked into violence.²⁴ The carved centaur's closed eye, yawning expression and spear could be symbols of slothfulness and unrestrained violence, respectively, and thus it would complement the accompanying beakheads as a visual representation of the cardinal sins.²⁵ From the perspectives of the Augustinian canons, this message would have seemed all the more appropriate considering that they had previously been expelled from their priory by William de Beauchamp.

William's transgressions are described in greater detail by other contemporaries and are worth discussing briefly. The *History of Evesham Abbey* complains that he was responsible for seizing ecclesiastical property and destroying the walls of the abbey's cemetery (1149–54), while Gilbert Foliot wrote that he had stolen grain belonging to Gloucester Abbey (1139–43).²⁶ Whereas the ecclesiastical writers present these as unprovoked incidents, the situation was evidently far more complex. As the sheriff of Worcester, William would have needed a large pool of resources to maintain order and administer justice in the region and the available evidence suggests that he placed levies on monasteries and churches much like Earl Miles did in Herefordshire. The Evesham monks attempted to frustrate these efforts by garrisoning their abbey with knights and William

²³ *Chronique*, p. 281.

²⁴ For example, William of Malmesbury, *HN*, pp. 74–5, alludes to *Metamorphoses*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. M. M. Innes (Harmondsworth, 1967), pp. 274–80; see John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, in Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 199 (Paris, 1855), ch. 4, col. 0394A–B, for a mid-twelfth-century commentary on the unrestrained nature of centaurs drawing on Classical texts.

²⁵ According to G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford, 1961), p. 14, the centaur was 'used in Christian art to symbolize savage passions and excesses, especially the sin of adultery... and to show a man divided against himself, torn between good and evil.' This interpretation is supported by the reading in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

²⁶ *History Evesham*, pp. 182–5; *LCGF*, no. 3, p. 38.

proceeded to destroy the cemetery walls because they were presumably being used as fortifications. Rather than a defenceless victim, Abbot William of Evesham emerges as a belligerent character; his knights killed some of William de Beauchamp's men and he then ordered a direct attack on Beauchamp's castle at Bengeworth Bridge which was later captured and destroyed.²⁷ In this episode William de Beauchamp clearly came off worse.

At first glance the recorded events in Beckford suggest that the locality was destabilised by William de Beauchamp. When the Sainte-Barbe chronicler complained of unnamed men fortifying castles and seizing ecclesiastical property he was surely thinking of William de Beauchamp and his followers.²⁸ Yet there are passages within the chronicle that suggest William's exactions were not as severe as the chronicler would have us believe. The rough chronology of the text indicates that the regular canons were not expelled from Beckford for any lengthy period and were able to commence and complete the oratory without any reported break. In any case, William eventually renounced all claim to the manor and recognised the rights of the Sainte-Barbe canons.²⁹ More importantly, the chronicler remarks that Beckford Priory experienced economic prosperity throughout this period. Talented scribes were attracted to the scriptorium by the abundance of resources and the manuscripts being produced were of such high quality that they were exported to Normandy.³⁰ According to the land survey conducted c. 1126 the manor had forty-five ploughs and was capable of supporting at least sixteen cows, over one hundred pigs, seven hundred sheep and twenty beehives.³¹ The richness of the surviving oratory sculptures complements this documentary evidence and suggests that the manor experienced enough tranquillity to fulfil its economic capabilities.

²⁷ *History Evesham*, pp. 182–5.

²⁸ *Chronique*, p. 279.

²⁹ Round, *Calendar Docs.*, no. 572, p. 199.

³⁰ *Chronique*, p. 281.

³¹ *DB*, EvL.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE MONKS OF ST PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER

UPLEADON

Domesday Book attests that the manor of Upleadon belonged to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, having been granted to the monks by Roger de Lacy before 1085.¹ There was no church at this time and although it has been speculated that the monks commissioned a chapel soon after acquiring the land, the first record of a chapel does not appear until the reign of Stephen.² In c. 1148 Gilbert Foliot, then bishop of Hereford, reported that he had consecrated Upleadon cemetery as a refuge for the poor and confirmed that the chapel of



Fig. 1m. Nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Upleadon remained a dependency of Gloucester Abbey. The wording of the charter implies that the chapel had only recently been dedicated and this might suggest that the building project had only just been completed.³ The chapel still stands today, although altered in places, and the most interesting Romanesque features are the north nave doorway, a reset mask above the chancel arch and a stringcourse of billet ornament (figs. 1–3m). On the

¹ *DB*, 165 c; *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, pp. 92, 374–5; 'Upleadon', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 13 (forthcoming), www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/counties/gloucestershire/work-in-progress/upleadon (viewed 10/07/14), p. 1.

² Verey and Brooks, *Forest*, p. 787; 'Upleadon', *VCH Glos.*, vol. 13, p. 1.

³ *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, no. 386, pp. 375–6; *LCGF*, no. 301, p. 366.



Fig. 2m. Exterior stringcourse (original on the left and renewed on the right), St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 3m. Mask above the chancel arch, east face, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

basis of style analysis Gethyn-Jones dated these features to between 1140 and 1160.⁴ Foliot's charter lends support for the first half of this time bracket.

Unsurprisingly, a number of the carvings exhibit style influence from Gloucester Abbey. The frontal chevron on the second order of the doorway arch is identical in type to that on the doorway of the Gloucester chapter house (fig. 4m),

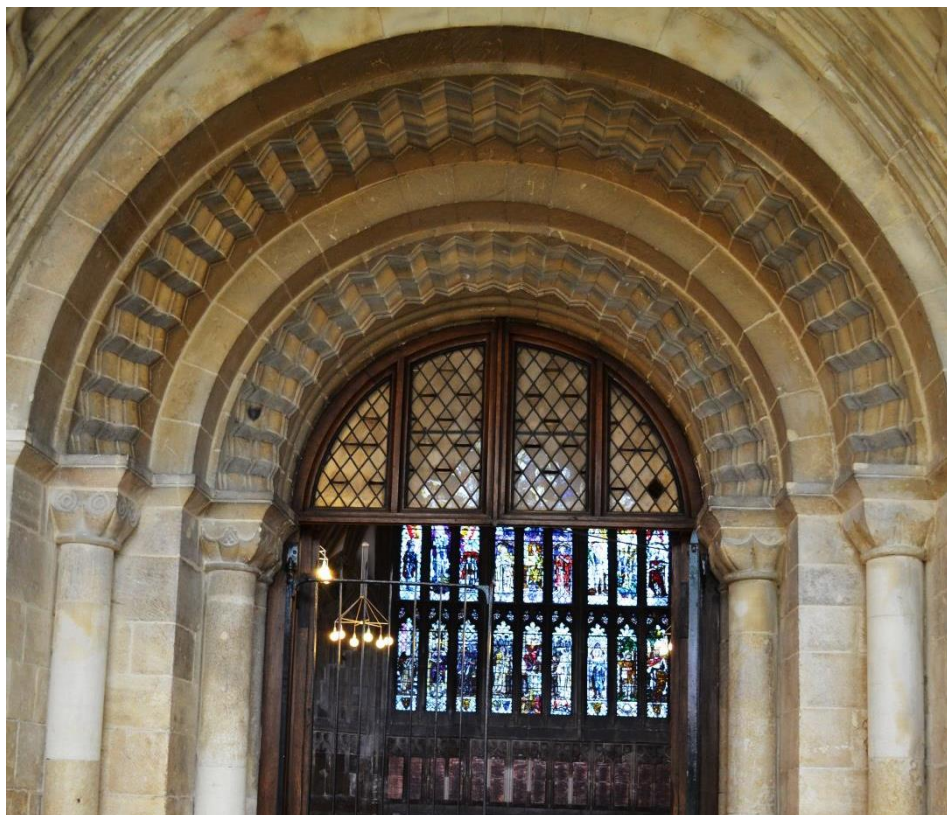


Fig. 4m. Chapter house doorway, Gloucester Cathedral.

⁴ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, p. 71.

while there are large balls in the concave mouldings of the inner jambs like those on the capitals in the north-west arcade at Gloucester (figs. 5d, 5m).⁵ There is a conceptual parallel between the mask above the Upleadon chancel arch and the north arcade apex mask at Gloucester; both are grotesque heads with an unusual pair of truncated cones locked in their jaws (figs. 13e, 2m).⁶ Chwojko and Thurlby have noted the similarity of the former to the masks on the label of the Kilpeck south doorway (fig. 6m), and a relationship between the two sites is further suggested by the confronted beasts motif that appears on the left-hand capital of both the Upleadon north doorway and the Kilpeck south doorway (figs. 8i, 7–9m).⁷ Considering Kilpeck Priory was a dependency of Gloucester Abbey the connection to Upleadon is not necessarily unusual.



Fig. 5m. Carved balls, inner left-hand jamb, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 6m. Label, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

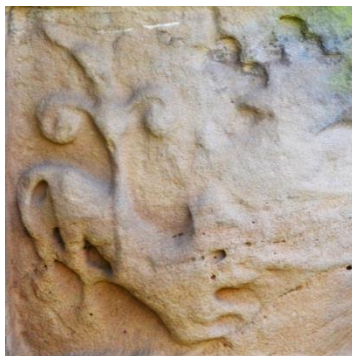


Fig. 7m. Left-hand capital, north face, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

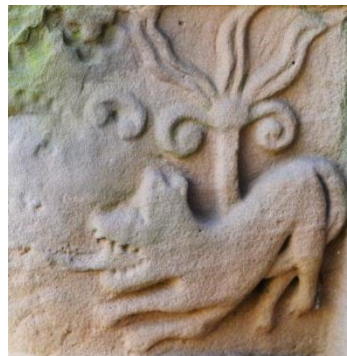


Fig. 8m. Left-hand capital, west face, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

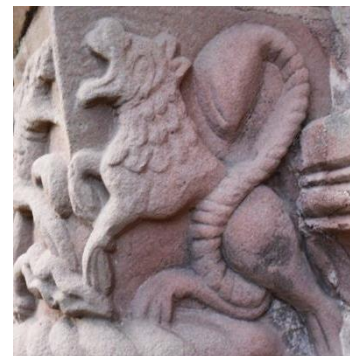


Fig. 9m. Left-hand capital, east face, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

⁵ The similar chevron was noted by Moss, *Chevron*, p. 19; the chapter house doorway was probably replaced after the fire of 1102, see C. Heighway, *Gloucester Cathedral and Precinct: An Archaeological Assessment* (Gloucester, 2003), p. 40.

⁶ Chwojko and Thurlby, 'Gloucester', p. 19.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 19; the similarity to the apex mask at Forthampton should also be noted.



Fig. 10m. Tympanum, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 11m. Tympanum, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Preston near Dymock, Gloucestershire.

The most interesting and potentially most contentious feature at Upleadon is the tympanum of the north doorway (fig. 10m). It depicts the *Agnus Dei* supporting a cross in its left foreleg and enclosed in a circle of double-strand cable moulding. This circle appears to act as a protective barrier against two flanking cat-like beasts that lunge towards the lamb with their forepaws outstretched. In comparison to the other parts of the doorway, the relief is lighter in colour and the carvings so crisp that there can be no doubt that it has been intensively cleaned and some areas recut. The area between the right-hand beast's forepaws is in shallower relief than the rest of the background, an indication that elsewhere the depth of the background has been increased to bring the figures into high relief. This is obviously problematic, however the composition appears to remain a faithful

representation of the original. The double-strand cable moulding is consistent in style with that which enriches the second order of the arch and the right-hand beast with its double-volute foliate tail is like those on the left-hand capital. It is possible that the tympanum has been protected from the worst of the elements by the projecting chevron voussoirs, label and stringcourse above.

Sculptural representations of the *Agnus Dei* were relatively common during this period.⁸ The motif of a lamb holding a cross can be seen on tympana at Preston near Dymock (fig. 11m), Elkstone, St Nicholas's church, Gloucester,⁹ and Castlemorton (Worcestershire);¹⁰ two corbels at Kilpeck, and a voussoir at Shobdon, but the closest iconographic example can be seen at Pipe Aston church, Herefordshire, where the *Agnus Dei* is encapsulated within a circle supported by two creatures, a griffon and an ox, and surrounded by four predatory beasts.¹¹ The *Agnus Dei* as a symbol of Christ and his redemptive sacrifice is expressed in the Gospel of John (1:29), however the iconography of the Upleadon tympanum is slightly more complex. The lamb is in a triumphant post-resurrection state, as presented in the Book of Revelation, yet it is still surrounded by the forces of evil as represented by the predatory beasts. One possibility is that the scene was intended as a message on the sin and evil that still populated the temporal world and continued to threaten Christians and the church. By trusting in God and Christ's sacrifice the believer could be empowered to overcome these dangers, as represented by the protective aura around the lamb. In this sense, the relief could have been imbued with both negative and positive connotations.

Foliot's decision to establish a cemetery of refuge at Upleadon combined with the local politics of the late 1140s indicate a period of turbulence on the Gloucestershire-Herefordshire border. Roger earl of Hereford was faced with a rival claimant to the lands he had inherited from Payn fitz John in the form of Gilbert de Lacy, the son of the dispossessed Roger de Lacy.¹² The earl's response in the late 1140s was to mitigate this threat by forming a series of alliances, including a *conventio* where William de Braose was given the earl's

⁸ See Keyser, *Tympana*, pp. lxi–lxiii.

⁹ N. Baker and R. Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Aldershot, 2004), p. 121, dated this sculpture to the first half of the twelfth century.

¹⁰ G. L. Pearson, 'St Gregory, Castlemorton, Worcestershire', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/667/ (viewed 08/07/14).

¹¹ The latter may be roughly contemporary with the sculptures of Shobdon, see Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 151–5.

¹² For a discussion, see Coplestone-Crow, 'Anarchy', pp. 2–5.

castle at Dymock and charged with defending Upleadon alongside William fitz Alan.¹³ The manor of Preston was even more exposed, being slightly north-west of Upleadon, and it is implied in Foliot's notification that the chapel and cemetery there had already been imbued with spiritual wards by Robert bishop of Hereford (d. 1148), Foliot's predecessor. The aforementioned *Agnus Dei* tympanum at Preston has been dated to the end of the eleventh century, however the lamb is stylistically similar to its counterpart at Upleadon and the two tympana are technically identical, having been carved from a single stone with false voussoirs, which suggests they are the work of the same sculptor and could be roughly contemporary (fig. 11m).¹⁴ This observation is supported by the fact that Preston was also a possession of St Peter's Abbey.¹⁵ It certainly seems no coincidence that *Agnus Dei* carvings can be found at two sites known to have been established as refuge points towards the end of the 1140s, and this raises the possibility that their iconography relates to the political environment in which they were created.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 29; *Convention Earl Roger and William de Braose*, p. 185.

¹⁴ Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, p. 71; a charter transcribed in *Hist. et Cart.*, vol. 1, pp. 250–2, records Preston chapel as a possession of Gloucester Abbey in 1100 but this is spurious, see *EEA Heref.*, no. 4, p. 4. The earliest surviving record of Preston chapel is therefore Foliot's c. 1148 notification and this implies that the chapel had only recently been dedicated, see *EEA Heref.*, no. 48, p. 47.

¹⁵ *DB*, 165 c.

PART TWO

CHAPTER FOUR

MANY LORDS, MANY KINGS: REGIONAL LORDSHIP AND SCULPTURE

Modern studies of Stephen's reign have demonstrated that the decline of royal authority forced lords and magnates to assert greater powers and sometimes appropriate royal prerogatives in order to maintain order and stability in their localities. There could be instances of localised violence as magnates sought to suppress rivals and assimilate lesser lords into their retinues but in many cases these episodes facilitated the long-term establishment of peace and stability.¹ With new powers and responsibilities there was evidently a greater impetus for lords to visually define their authority within the locality and this may partly explain the increasing patronage of sculpture. As the clerics of Stephen's reign watched the scope and efficacy of royal government decline in many regions after 1139, some complained of men in castles imposing their rule upon local communities. In their eyes each lord had become a little king who might demand scutage, impose levies or exact forced labour from the local population, actions that were regarded as illegal and nothing short of tyrannous.² For these clerical authors good government could only be delivered by a strong king who suppressed his enemies through fear, ruled with justice and allowed the church material security within which its spiritual lordship could flourish.³ In this sense the contemporary ecclesiastical narratives are misleading since mechanisms of local lordship were the foundation of royal government. The Anglo-Norman kings legitimised the administrations of regional aristocrats and subsequently augmented their own powers at the grass roots of society, but when Stephen's authority began to wane the legitimacy of local lordship could be disputed. Clerical writers were particularly vocal in their criticisms of independent governance by secular elites, but this does not mean that all practices of local lordship were ineffective.⁴

¹ King, 'Anarchy', pp. 134–5, 152; K. J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, warfare and government in twelfth-century England* (London, 1993), pp. 86–8; G. J. White, *Restoration and Reform, 1153–1165: Recovery from Civil War in England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 55–64.

² See ASC, pp. 159–60; GS, pp. 94–5, 138–9, 148–51; HN, pp. 40–1, 70–3; the title of this chapter is adapted from William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs, Book 1*, ed. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (Warminster, 1988), pp. 98–9, 'in England there were in a sense as many kings, or rather tyrants, as there were lords of castles'.

³ See JW, pp. 216–9, 268–9; OV, pp. 534–5; GS, pp. 4–7; LCGF, no. 26, p. 64.

⁴ W. L. Warren, 'The Myth of Norman Administrative Efficiency', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 34 (1984), pp. 113–32, demonstrated that the Anglo-Norman royal government was not as centralised or efficient as is sometimes assumed and the implication is that everyday governance

Some scholars have appreciated that ecclesiastical sculpture was commissioned as an expression of the patron's status and authority.⁵ The ability of the patron to organise the necessary resources and manpower was testament to their wealth and mastery over the local environment, while the finished building with its elaborate sculptural decoration would have dominated the landscape and been a constant reminder of their piety and hegemony.⁶ In some cases the sculptural imagery appears to have been carefully selected to celebrate the aristocratic status of the patron, most notably at Elkstone where the hunting scene on the corbel table is a reflection of seigneurial culture.⁷ The carving of the mounted knight at Elkstone is in a prominent position above the south doorway, the main entry point into the church, and there is also a direct spatial connection with the representation of Christ in Majesty beneath. One possibility is that the knight represents Richard de Cormeilles and celebrates his position as the founder and protector of the church. Human faces identifiable as aristocratic men and women from their fine moustaches and headdresses appear on the south doorways at Elkstone, South Cerney and Siddington, and on corbels at Barnsley. Such faces could have been imbued with other, even multiple, meanings, but one conjecture is that these portraits were designed to express the piety and status of the respective seigneurial patrons and their families.

A secular patron's effort to visualise their piety through church sculpture may, in some circumstances, have contributed to a process of *caput*-building and enhanced their lordship over a locality.⁸ In Gloucestershire there are two notable sites where a church was

rested upon relatively autonomous local administrations such as the honorial courts of aristocrats; King, 'Anarchy', p. 152, 'a failure of central control does not preclude the existence of effective control within the regions.'; S. M. Christelow, 'The Fiscal Management of England under Henry I', in Fleming and Pope (eds.), *Henry I and the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 158–82; S. M. Christelow, 'Anglo-Norman Administrations and Their Historians', *History Compass*, 9 (2011), pp. 525–36.

⁵ For example, Hamer, *Patronage*, pp. 93–4; Davidson, *Written*, p. 228; West, 'Architectural Sculpture', p. 160; Hunt and Stokes, 'Shropshire Manor', pp. 42–3; Hunt, 'Kilpeck', p. 33.

⁶ J. Howe, 'The Nobility's Reform of the Medieval Church', *American Historical Review*, 93 (1988), pp. 334–6, has demonstrated that piety, wealth and power were interconnected principles in the minds of aristocratic patrons.

⁷ Corbel tables have been interpreted in several ways and may have held a plethora of different messages for the medieval audience, see Hamer, *Patronage*, pp. 146–61, and Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, pp. 110–1.

⁸ Creighton, *Castles*, pp. 65–132; R. Liddiard, *Castles in Context: Power, Symbolism and Landscape, 1066–1500* (Macclesfield, 2005); C. Coulson, 'The Castles of the Anarchy', in King (ed.), *Anarchy*, pp. 67–92, and R. Liddiard (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Castles* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 179–202; Crouch, *Stephen*, pp. 146, 161; Hunt, 'Kilpeck', pp. 30–3; M. Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon (London, 1961), pp. 400–1.

constructed within the vicinity of a castle, at South Cerney and English Bicknor.⁹ Both were held by Earl Miles and were the chief places of their respective hundreds. To have seigneurial castle and church side-by-side would have been a potent symbol of Miles's authority over each area. It has already been noted that many of the motifs employed at South Cerney and English Bicknor are indebted to Old Sarum Cathedral and there is additional evidence to suggest that Miles was deliberately emulating the model of lordship established by Roger bishop of Salisbury. During his episcopate Roger oversaw major alterations to both the cathedral and castle and was responsible for constructing a large outer curtain wall that enveloped both structures as well as the old town.¹⁰ This same layout can be seen at English Bicknor, where the church is located in what was the bailey of the castle, and more loosely at South Cerney. At sites where there is a lavishly decorated seigneurial church but no evidence of a castle, it is possible that there was an alternative form of aristocratic residence adjacent to the church such as a hall, constructed of either wood or stone, without earthworks.¹¹ Evidently more archaeological studies are required for minor ecclesiastical sites and their immediate landscapes.

The decision by magnates and lesser lords to emulate the styles patronised by greater lords was charged with political meaning. Of all the major religious centres that influenced ecclesiastical sculptures in Gloucestershire, Old Sarum was the most prominent. The corbel and beakhead designs that were first employed at Old Sarum continued to be used throughout the 1140s on churches commissioned by Angevin patrons, even after Bishop Roger's very public and humiliating downfall in 1139. There were few doubts in contemporaries' minds that King Stephen, at the behest of his favourites, had engineered events so that he could seize the castles of the bishop and his two episcopal nephews.¹² From an Angevin perspective, then, the fate of Bishop Roger exemplified the treacherous character of the king and this wider sentiment may have contributed to a cultural and political environment in which motifs associated with Old Sarum enjoyed a wide currency among Angevin patrons. William de Berkeley, a member of Roger earl of Hereford's retinue, even employed the Old Sarum Master. The royal foundation of Reading Abbey

⁹ Another example is Hailes where Ralph of Worcester constructed a church adjacent to his castle during the 1140s, see *Winchcombe Cartulary*, vol. 1, p. 65. The castle was replaced by Hailes Abbey in the thirteenth century and little of the church's twelfth-century fabric remains.

¹⁰ E. J. Kealey, *Roger of Salisbury: Viceroy of England* (Berkeley, 1972), pp. 82–117; Stalley, 'Roger of Salisbury', pp. 68–9; J. McNeill, *Old Sarum* (London, 2006), pp. 20–1.

¹¹ For example, Quenington was a *caput* of the Lacy family with its own reeve and presumably possessed some form of aristocratic residence, *DB* 167 d.

¹² See *GS*, pp. 72–7; *HH*, p. 73; *HN*, pp. 44–9.

similarly influenced sculptural design in Gloucestershire, though to a lesser extent, and this may also reflect the efforts of patrons to represent their political sympathies visually. Miles of Gloucester and Earl Robert, as well as other Angevin supporters, were keen to legally justify their opposition to Stephen and they frequently invoked the oath that they had sworn to King Henry promising to support the accession of his daughter to the throne.¹³ In this context, emulating the sculptures at Reading could have been as much about expressing loyalty to the Empress and the late king as it was about conforming to contemporary fashions and making a display of elite status.

At another level, sculptural commissions may have served to visualise and reinforce regional affiliations. The affinity of Marcher lords centred on the leadership of Miles of Gloucester and later his son were particularly inclined to commission the same motifs and even the same craftsmen. Baderon of Monmouth appears to have ordered a sculptor to copy the tympanum at Brinsop, attributable to the patronage of his lord Miles or affiliate Oliver of Brinsop, while he commissioned the same sculptor who was presumably employed by Miles to create the Elmore font. The sculptures at Siddington and Elkstone are the work of the same craftsmen, a possible sign of cultural interaction between Earl Roger and his associate Richard de Corneilles. Some members of this affinity were patrons of the Herefordshire School, namely Hugh de Kilpeck and Ralph de Baskerville, and this may explain why there are strong Herefordshire School influences on a number of the Gloucestershire sculptures. Regional elites would certainly have been familiar with one another's commissions since the consecration of a church was usually a grand social event where lords and magnates would gather to watch the bishop perform the ceremony and feast together afterwards.¹⁴ It is possible that this ceremonial unveiling of new sculpture provoked a degree of cultural competition among elites, however the overriding indication is that ecclesiastical sculpture coupled with ceremony served to reinforce social and political bonds.

Within this context, Hunt and Stokes have urged caution against attributing common patronage to aristocratic affinities alone, citing other social bonds and 'neighbourhood' as potentially more influential factors while noting instances where the same decorative styles were commissioned by politically opposed patrons.¹⁵ In an Angevin-

¹³ *HN*, pp. 40–3, 60–1, 72–3; *HH*, pp. 74, 76; *JW*, pp. 252–3; *The letter of Brian fitz Count* in E. King, 'The Memory of Brian fitz Count', *HSJ*, 13 (1999), pp. 89–91; *LCGF*, no. 26, pp. 60–6.

¹⁴ See *Wigmore Chronicle*, pp. 422–3.

¹⁵ Hunt and Stokes, 'Sculpture', pp. 42–3.

dominated region such as Gloucestershire it is difficult to judge the extent to which other factors besides political and social affinities influenced patronage and style transmission. Locality, or 'neighbourhood', does look to have dictated which sculptors were available for employment in some circumstances. For example, the Quenington Master and Elkstone-Siddington Master do not appear to have taken commissions beyond the Cirencester area, a possible indication that their workshops were based in Cirencester. Yet there are also examples of sculptors who were able and willing to travel between regions for commissions, notably the Old Sarum Master. Crucially, most surviving sculptures are found in the north of the county and are attributable to members of the Hereford affinity, whereas there are few examples in the area around Bristol which was dominated by the earls of Gloucester and their associates. This pattern would suggest that Miles and Roger were highly influential in popularising sculptural patronage among members of their retinue and that affinity did play a central role.

The desire to construct an individual or family identity may also explain why the same craftsmen or motifs were employed at different sites. Sculptures attributable to earls Miles and Roger feature a number of recurring motifs, some of which are rarely found elsewhere, including geometrically enriched shafts, beaker clasps, bands of crosses and flowers, and distinctive corbel and beakhead designs such as the crouched hare at Quenington and South Cerney. The latter motif can be explained by the fact that the same sculptor was employed at both sites, but there are other instances of sculptures created by different craftsmen that feature the same designs such as the unusual grotesque biting heads on the stylistically dissimilar doorways at South Cerney and Siddington. William de Solers appears to have had a preference for scale pattern and saltire crosses and, as a result, the carvings of his churches at Pauntley and Postlip have a clear visual relationship. Whether such preferences originated from personal taste or connoisseurship is exceptionally difficult if not impossible to judge. The fact that Earl Roger commissioned the same styles and motifs as his father suggests that sculpture could be associated with family identity, while the application of imagery associated with an individual patron and their family may have been an expression of their connection and advowson to a particular church or group of churches.

An enigma of sculptural style in this period is why sculptors and aristocratic patrons of Norman origin began to revive and employ pre-Conquest motifs such as dragon-head label stops and representations of the Harrowing of Hell. Gem, on the basis of architectural

evidence, has argued that craftsmen of the early twelfth century sought to innovate and refresh their work by incorporating aspects of pre-Conquest style.¹⁶ However, it is worth pondering whether Norman patrons had specific motives for advocating the application of pre-Conquest motifs. According to Gillingham a sense of English identity and unity had emerged by the start of Stephen's reign, whereas Thomas has challenged this view by arguing that the speed of cultural assimilation between Anglo-Saxons and Normans has been overestimated and that divisions still existed by the mid-twelfth century.¹⁷ The re-emergence of certain pre-Conquest motifs in seigneurial church sculpture from the 1130s may suggest that a cultural shift had occurred and, in line with Gillingham's view, they could demonstrate that cultural divisions had already blurred. Yet it is interesting that the growing popularity of pre-Conquest motifs among the Gloucestershire elite coincided with the decline of royal power in the region after 1139. Just as historians have suggested that ecclesiastical writers used histories to promote cultural unity at a time of disputed succession, it is possible that sculptures which merged pre- and post-Conquest designs were designed to smooth any cultural divisions that still existed within local communities and help legitimise the authority of the aristocratic patron for the purposes of stability and security.¹⁸

Periods of local tensions and hostilities may have encouraged lords to divert resources into commissioning sculpture for the purpose of maintaining peace. If the writings of posterity are accepted as reliable accounts of William de Soler's motives for commissioning Postlip chapel, a lord's primary duty was to protect his followers and tenants and a church might be constructed if their safety was threatened. Protection in this context is open to interpretation. It could be argued that the stone structure was envisaged as a strongpoint from which to resist physical assault.¹⁹ There were, however, originally at least two, and probably three, doorways which would have undermined the defensibility of the structure if this was the intention. It is also clear that contemporaries were averse to building ecclesiastical structures that could be easily fortified for fear that they would be

¹⁶ Gem, 'Great Rebuilding?', p. 27.

¹⁷ J. Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 123–44; H. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity 1066–c.1220* (Oxford, 2003), esp. pp. 3–94.

¹⁸ For example, see P. Dalton, 'The Topical Concerns of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*: History, Prophecy, Peacemaking, and English Identity in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of British Studies*, 44 (2005), pp. 688–712.

¹⁹ This notion has been advanced by Creighton, *Castles*, p. 124.

seized and garrisoned by a rival.²⁰ It is more likely that the chapel was constructed for the purpose of spiritual protection, as a 'castle of prayer' to encourage peace, and this might explain William's interest in sculptural decoration and his insistence on the attendance of a priest at least three times a week and on holy days.²¹ The same notion could be applied to those churches and chapels that were built on the Herefordshire, Oxfordshire and Wiltshire borders, areas that were potentially more vulnerable to unrest, however there is no direct evidence to support this assertion. King and Dalton have noted cases elsewhere in England where religious houses were founded in order to pacify disputed areas by alienating the land from all secular claimants, yet no such examples emerge from Gloucestershire.²² The closest comparison is the conflict between Roger III de Berkeley and Roger earl of Hereford in 1146 which appears to have been placated by the grant of Leonard Stanley Priory to Gloucester Abbey.²³

For many lords, ecclesiastical sculpture was a central aspect of political display and acted as a bridge between their temporal activities and the divine, sometimes explicitly through the juxtaposition of seigneurial-themed carvings with those representing God, the saints and heaven. The increasing investment in ecclesiastical sculpture by local elites after 1139 came during a period when royal authority was declining and these elites were experiencing greater autonomy. In this context, increasing sculptural patronage appears to have been connected to the growing pressure to define aristocratic powers in the interest of maintaining regional stability. Commissioning sculpture was not just about expressing lordship over a manor and the resident population, it was also about expressing affiliations and status in relation to other elites, sometimes by commissioning the same craftsmen or motifs. This is yet another example of elites defining their powers and maintaining peace by creating visual symbols of their social ties and allegiances. Greater aristocratic autonomy could breed hostilities, but few examples of sculptural patronage appear to have been stimulated by the threat of conflict. Ultimately the proliferation of sculptural patronage,

²⁰ *History Evesham*, pp. 180–3, mentions a discussion between Miles earl of Hereford and Abbot Reginald where Miles dissuaded the abbot from digging a moat around the abbey in case it was seized and fortified by the king's men.

²¹ C. Holdsworth, 'The Church', in King (ed.), *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 227–8; P. Dalton, 'Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace in King Stephen's Reign', *Viator*, 31 (2000), p. 95; P. Dalton, 'Politics, Patronage and Peace: The Foundation and Endowment of Religious Houses in Northern England in the Reign of Stephen', *Anglo-Norman Anonymous*, 16 (1998), p. 3; *Landbooc Winchelcumba*, pp. 82–3.

²² E. King, 'The Foundation of Pipewell Abbey, Northamptonshire', *HSJ*, 2 (1990), pp. 167–77; Dalton, 'Churchmen', pp. 80, 94–5; Dalton, 'Politics', p. 3.

²³ Roger earl of Hereford was the advocate of Gloucester Abbey, so by transferring Leonard Stanley Priory to the abbey Roger III de Berkeley was effectively submitting to the earl.

particularly in border regions between rivals, appears to reflect the process by which mechanisms of local governance were being reshaped and publicly stated in order to ensure that law and justice continued to function.²⁴ Lordship in twelfth-century Gloucestershire was very much a sensory experience incorporating visual displays of piety, wealth, status and power.

²⁴ King, 'Anarchy', pp. 134–5; Stringer, *Stephen*, p. 87.

CHAPTER FIVE

HOLY WATCHDOGS: CHURCHMEN AND SCULPTURE

Within the ecclesiastical narratives of Stephen's reign, the church and its servants are frequently portrayed as the victims of tyrannous exactions and violence. There were apparently many churchmen who were struck ineffectual by fear, 'like a reed shaken in the wind', while only a handful of bishops acted as 'holy watchdogs' and bravely took up the sword of God against transgressors of the church.²⁵ It is now clear that more bishops played an active role in regional politics and peace negotiations than expressed by the contemporary chroniclers, and there were churchmen besides bishops who were major authority figures in their localities and took action to define the power of the laity, spiritually punish wrongdoers and maintain peace.²⁶ The legatine councils of London held in 1138, 1143 and 1151 each issued canons condemning violence and prescribed excommunication for those who laid hands on churchmen or ecclesiastical property, canons that were duly noted by Gilbert Foliot, abbot of Gloucester Abbey from 1139 to 1148, who can be found urging Simon bishop of Worcester (1125–50) and Robert bishop of Hereford (1131–1148) to censure transgressors of the church in his letters.²⁷ Recent studies of contemporary sculptures in Herefordshire have argued that churchmen, particularly bishops, were consulted on iconography by secular patrons and used their position to promote imagery that condemned secular violence.²⁸ However, more importantly, many of the sculptures produced in Gloucestershire during this period reveal a flourishing intellectual and cultural world that was undisturbed by political events.

The cases of Beckford and Upleadon exemplify the prosperity of some religious communities throughout the 1140s despite challenges by secular authorities and conflicts between rival lords. A cursory study of the Gloucester Abbey cartulary shows that the community received countless grants of land as well as many newly-built churches

²⁵ GS, pp. 154–9; JW, pp. 266–9.

²⁶ See S. P. Marritt, *The Bishops of King Stephen's Reign* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2002); S. P. Marritt, 'Reeds Shaken by the Wind? Bishops in Local and Regional Politics in King Stephen's Reign', in Dalton and White (eds.), *King Stephen's Reign (1135–1154)* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 115–38; King, 'Anarchy', p. 153; Dalton, 'Churchmen', pp. 79–119.

²⁷ RH, p. 55; JW, pp. 260–1; HH, pp. 82, 87; *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church, I, A.D. 871–1204*, eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, part 2 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 823–6; LCGF, nos. 2, 3, 5, pp. 36–40.

²⁸ Hunt, 'Herefordshire', pp. 211–5; Wood, *Eardisley*, pp. 14–5.

throughout Stephen's reign.²⁹ The Sainte-Barbe Chronicle mirrors the structure of the notorious Peterborough Chronicle in that the author laments the fortification of castles and violation of Church property, although in much less graphic terms, before describing the unprecedented economic prosperity enjoyed by the community.³⁰ It is unsurprising, then, that the Augustinians of Beckford were capable of constructing a richly decorated oratory on the edge of the priory precincts while at a similar time the Gloucester monks commissioned Upleadon church and perhaps also the nearby chapel at Preston. There were instances where laymen took ecclesiastical property, for example when William de Beauchamp seized grain belonging to the Gloucester monks, but if the letter of Brian fitz Count to Henry bishop of Winchester is given due consideration it is clear that the needs of secular leaders were often greater than those of churchmen and that without resources to sustain their men there was the immediate risk that regional order would break down.³¹

In a number of cases religious communities manipulated local conflicts for their own ends. The monks of Abingdon were able to exploit the hostilities between Philip, son of the earl of Gloucester, and Roger earl of Hereford during 1146 to assert a claim to South Cerney and seize the newly reconstructed church, even though this claim had been ruled invalid during the reign of William I. In the same year Gloucester Abbey benefitted from the conflict between Earl Roger and Roger III de Berkeley by receiving Leonard Stanley Priory and its appurtenances. Siston church, which lies just north-east of Bristol and retains a number of Romanesque sculptural features that appear to slightly predate Stephen's reign, was the site of a complex dispute between Glastonbury Abbey and the Berkeley family that began c. 1138 and continued until the end of the reign. The dispute, which is discussed in depth elsewhere, reveals an aggressive Henry of Blois, the abbot of Glastonbury, placing pressure on the widow of Roger II de Berkeley to grant the manor and church to Glastonbury Abbey. Henry succeeded and the grant was confirmed by his brother, King Stephen, in 1138 although Angevin dominion over Gloucestershire from the end of 1139 meant that the Glastonbury monks were not able to effectively claim their rights until 1153. As Crouch perfectly summarises, 'it was sometimes the Church which was the hunter, and not the hunted'.³² This situation was not unique to Gloucestershire; across the country religious communities were asserting perceived rights and demanding customs or services

²⁹ See *Hist. et Cart.*

³⁰ *Chronique*, p. 279, 281; *ASC*, pp. 159–61.

³¹ *LCGF*, no. 3, p. 38; *Letter of Brian fitz Count*, pp. 90–1; Crouch, *Stephen*, 160–1.

³² Crouch, *Stephen*, pp. 290–1; Stacy, 'Henry of Blois', pp. 11–4; *The Great Chartulary of Glastonbury*, vol. 1, ed. A. Watkin (Frome, 1947), pp. 129–30.

comparable to those exacted by laymen yet, unsurprisingly, it was the secular lord and not the churchman who was branded 'tyrannous' in the ecclesiastical chronicles.³³

Many churchmen did make efforts to limit conflict and there are indications that Gilbert Foliot and the monks of Gloucester Abbey were responsible for commissioning sculptures in Gloucestershire that promoted peace. The prominent carving of the *Agnus Dei* on the tympanum of Upleadon church appears to have been commissioned by the monks of Gloucester Abbey at a time when the security of the locality and the abbey's possessions were threatened by the hostilities between Roger earl of Hereford and Gilbert de Lacy. In this context the tympanum can be read as a message on the sinfulness of the knightly class, represented by the two predatory beasts, and their assaults on the Church, as symbolised by the Lamb of God. Alternatively, it could represent the intermediary role of the Church and churchmen like Foliot in resolving conflicts between rival lords since the *Agnus Dei* is shown separating the confronted beasts. The Lamb of God as an overt symbol of peace is demonstrated by the chant during the Eucharist which concluded with the invocation, 'Lamb of God, you who take away the sins of the world, give us peace.'³⁴ Considering Gilbert Foliot was a vocal supporter of measures that discouraged secular conflict it is not a major step of the imagination to suggest that he had a guiding role in constructing the iconography of the Upleadon tympanum. The *Agnus Dei* tympanum at the nearby chapel of Preston was perhaps part of the same programme of sculptural patronage initiated by Foliot to encourage peace and invoke spiritual protection in north-west Gloucestershire.

In comparative circumstances, the Augustinians at Beckford appear to have commissioned their highly decorative oratory partly for the purpose of bringing spiritual protection against the transgressions of William de Beauchamp. According to the Sainte-Barbe Chronicle the oratory was built soon after the Augustinians were first expelled from Beckford and that relics of St Barbara were translated there to bring protection.³⁵ Protection can be interpreted in a many ways, however there was clearly some anxiety over William's claim to the manor and it has already been suggested that certain carvings were intended as subtle criticisms of William's behaviour. There were of course liturgical

³³ King, 'Anarchy', pp. 138–9; C. R. Cheney, 'Church-Building in the Middle Ages', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 34 (1951–2), pp. 27–8, and Kemp, 'Berkeley Hennessee', pp. 109–10, have demonstrated that religious communities did not act purely for financial gain, there was spiritual pressure to protect rights and possessions on behalf of the patron saint and benefactors.

³⁴ Dalton, 'Churchmen', pp. 100–1.

³⁵ *Chronique*, p. 281.

motives for building the oratory, namely the desire of the Augustinians to create a clear division between themselves and the laity whilst they fulfilled their pastoral duties.³⁶ The notion that the conflict with William stimulated sculptural patronage at Beckford should not be overstated.

The Book of Revelation was a popular subject of sculptures produced in Gloucestershire during this period and notable examples can be seen at Elkstone, Harnhill, Leonard Stanley, Moreton Valence, Quenington and Siddington. Someone well-versed in the passages of the contemporary chronicles that describe England reduced to chaos and turmoil might conclude that the recurrence of Revelation imagery in sculpture was reflective of such conditions and growing anticipation of the Apocalypse. However it is significant that none of the ecclesiastical chroniclers draw a comparison between their experiences and those described in the Book of Revelation or mention the possibility of imminent Judgement. Henry of Huntingdon even theorised that the temporal world and time would still exist after another millennium.³⁷

Judgement was a terrifying prospect for those who followed the Rule of St Benedict and the many who believed in the perils of sin, yet awareness and preparation would ensure an eternal life with God.³⁸ This positive message, the promise of eternal life, is conveyed by the representation of New Jerusalem on the south doorway tympanum at Quenington, while the *Agnus Dei* accompanying Christ in Majesty on the corresponding tympanum at Elkstone is a symbol of salvation being attainable as a result of Christ's sacrifice. Complementing these messages are the representations of St Michael fighting the dragon at Moreton Valence and Harnhill which symbolise the defeat of Satan and the end of human suffering. Evidently these sculptures are to be read as general comments on sin and salvation that would have been sources of optimism for those attending church and following God's word, and they belong to a long-standing tradition of St Michael as a popular object of devotion.³⁹ In other words, representations of the saint are not peculiar to Stephen's reign and it would be contrived to suggest that they directly relate to experiences of secular conflict.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 281.

³⁷ HH, pp. 119–20.

³⁸ *Benedict's Rule*, ed. T. G. Kardong (Collegeville, 1996), p. 132, 135.

³⁹ The cult of the archangel was popular in England before and after the Conquest, see R. F. Johnson, *Saint Michael the Archangel in Medieval English Legend* (Woodbridge, 2005).

There has certainly been a tendency to study the Church during Stephen's reign from the perspective of conflict when in reality there were many ecclesiastical activities and developments in spite of political events. Clerics from the Continent continued to migrate to Gloucestershire, notably the Augustinians from Sainte-Barbe-en-Auge who settled at Beckford and Leonard Stanley. The increasing number of Augustinian canons in Gloucestershire reflects a broader trend across twelfth-century England for which there is little documentary evidence, therefore visual sources such as sculpture can be invaluable in revealing more about these communities.⁴⁰ The Victorine-inspired carving of Adam and Eve at Leonard Stanley is testament to the strong links between Gloucestershire and the Continent in this period and counters any notion that the region was a cultural backwater. In fact, the relief suggests that the Augustinian canons had adopted the Victorine technique of creating art to stimulate discussion and debate around a specific theological idea or topic, in this case original sin.⁴¹ The plausibility of this notion is strengthened by the discovery of several Romanesque sculptures from Augustinian churches in northern England with iconographies that appear to have been adapted from the sermons of St Augustine of Hippo and twelfth-century Augustinian writings, such as a font once at Everingham, East Riding, with imagery inspired by passages from Hugh of St Victor's *De Arca Noe Morali* (c. 1125–30).⁴² If the Adam and Eve relief was originally a tympanum positioned above the blocked doorway of the north transept it is possible that Hugh of St Victor's ideas on original sin were being relayed to the lay congregation. This should not come as a surprise since *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Ecclesia*, written by an anonymous Augustinian canon c. 1140, states that a primary role of the regular canons was to teach and provide pastoral care for the laity.⁴³

⁴⁰ J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), esp. pp. 91–153, is the only general survey of the Augustinians and relies on documentary evidence. See D. M. Robinson, 'The Augustinian Canons in England and Wales: Architecture, Archaeology and Liturgy 1100–1540', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 18 (2012), pp. 2–29, who seeks to broaden modern understandings by studying Augustinian architecture; J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000–1300* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 43–56.

⁴¹ See C. Rudolph, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 1–56; idem, "'First, I Find the Center Point": Reading the Text of Hugh of Saint Victor's *The Mystic Ark*', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 94 (2004), pp. 1–8, 71–82.

⁴² See R. Wood, 'Augustinians and Pastoral Work: The Evidence in Sculpture', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 15 (2009), pp. 37–41; R. Wood, 'The Augustinians and the Romanesque Font from Everingham, East Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 83 (2011), pp. 112–47.

⁴³ *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Ecclesia*, eds. G. Constable and B. Smith (Oxford, 1972), pp. 56–7, 82–5.

Learning was also a central focus of the Augustinian canons at Beckford. The evidence of the flourishing scriptorium is consistent with findings that Anglo-Norman manuscript production was most fertile and creative during the second quarter of the twelfth century, although it may come as a surprise that there was high demand for the Beckford manuscripts in Normandy.⁴⁴ It is certainly worth pondering whether the Leonard Stanley canons received a copy of *De Sacramentis* and other texts from the scriptorium at Beckford. Classical texts were still something of a rarity in early twelfth-century Anglo-Norman book collections but this was beginning to change in the 1130s and the unusual centaur carving on the Beckford chancel arch, which differs markedly from popular contemporary depictions of Sagittarius, may indicate familiarity with ancient Latin works.⁴⁵ This would suggest that the Beckford canons were broadly educated and may have imparted some of their learning to the lay congregation.

By contrast, the centaur on a corbel at Elkstone is galloping whilst holding a bow like many twelfth-century artistic depictions of Sagittarius. From c. 1120, Arabic scientific texts, including astronomical tables, were being imported to England and translated into Latin. For example, astronomical tables from Spain are known to have been copied with commentaries at Worcester Cathedral Priory between 1120 and 1140.⁴⁶ The implication is that the religious community installed at Elkstone church may have been familiar with texts and tables relating to astronomy, although the symbolism of this lone zodiac symbol within the setting of the corbel table is unclear. Within the related field of astrology, there were scholars during Stephen's reign who were observing the positions of stars and planets in an attempt to predict political events.⁴⁷ This practice appears to have been fairly widespread in the South West since both John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury recorded solar eclipses and interpreted these as political omens.⁴⁸ Although purely speculative, it is possible that the Sagittarius motif at Elkstone was commissioned in relation to such calculations.

The church reform movement was gaining impetus in England during the first half of the twelfth century and this atmosphere may explain certain sculptural and architectural designs at Leonard Stanley and Beckford. The Augustinian canons were intimately

⁴⁴ J. Alexander and M. Kauffmann, 'Manuscripts', in Zarnecki et al. (eds.), *Romanesque*, pp. 83–4; Matthew, *Stephen*, pp. 235–6; *Chronique*, p. 281.

⁴⁵ R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 25–6.

⁴⁶ C. Burnett, 'Scientific and medical writings', in Morgan, N. J., and Thomson, R. M. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume II 1100–1400* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 446–8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

⁴⁸ JW, pp. 284–5; *HN*, pp. 22–3, 74–5.

connected to, and actually emerged from, the Gregorian reforms of the eleventh century.⁴⁹ It has been noted that the aisleless cruciform plan of Leonard Stanley church and the architectural sculptures on the chancel arch at Beckford appear to have been modelled on the early Christian basilica of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan. The intermediary between Milan and Gloucestershire may have been York Cathedral, constructed in the last decades of the twelfth century, which is thought to have been modelled on Sant'Ambrogio to symbolise the instigation of church reform in northern England.⁵⁰ Not only was the archbishop of York the second largest landholder in Gloucestershire during the twelfth century, William of Sainte-Barbe, bishop of Durham (1143–52), was a canon at York from 1128 until 1143 and may have encouraged the Sainte-Barbe Augustinians at Beckford and Leonard Stanley to emulate architecture and sculpture derived from Milan.⁵¹ Presumably the Augustinian communities at Beckford and Leonard Stanley were aware of the reformist symbolism behind the designs of their churches and sculpture.

The wider implication is that some secular patrons were influential participants in the reform movement and actively sponsored sculptures which disseminated reformist ideas among the grassroots of society.⁵² William de Berkeley, the patron of the new priory church at Leonard Stanley, evidently supported the dissemination of new theological thought on the Creation and original sin and was committed to new forms of monasticism, as accentuated by the fact that he founded a Cistercian abbey at Kingswood c. 1139.⁵³ Roger earl of Hereford and his wife were patrons of another strand of the reform movement: the cult of the Virgin Mary. During the papal reforms there was growing emphasis on purity among clerics and it was this context that provoked revived devotion for the Virgin, with prominent sponsors of the cult including Anselm of Bec, archbishop of Canterbury, and the monks of Cluny.⁵⁴ It has been demonstrated in this study that there

⁴⁹ Dickinson, *Austin Canons*, pp. 26–7, 49–51.

⁵⁰ Franklin, 'Aisleless Cruciform', pp. 83, 92–8; J. A. Franklin, 'Iconic Architecture and the Medieval Reformation: Ambrose of Milan, Peter Damian, Stephen Harding and the Aisleless Cruciform Church', in J. McNeill and R. Plant (eds.), *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe* (Leeds, 2013), pp. 77–94.

⁵¹ *DB*; A. H. Thompson, 'The Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York in Gloucestershire with Some Notes on the History of the Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester', *TBGAS*, 43 (1921), pp. 85–101, demonstrated that the archbishop of York had spiritual and temporal jurisdiction in Gloucestershire.

⁵² For a similar interpretation of lay involvement in church reform, see Howe, 'Nobility's Reform', pp. 317–39.

⁵³ *Monasticon*, vol. 5, pp. 424–8.

⁵⁴ R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059–c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 288; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 110–1, 181–3; D. Elliott, *Fallen Bodies: Pollution, Sexuality, and Demonology in the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, 1999), pp. 107–16.

are two, rather than one, surviving mid-twelfth-century sculptural representations of the Coronation of the Virgin in Gloucestershire, at Quenington and Siddington, and that these are attributable to the patronage of Earl Roger. Both churches appear to have been granted to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and this suggests that the Gloucester monks had a special interest in the cult of the Virgin. Again, it is possible to perceive the influence of Gilbert Foliot who, significantly, was a monk and prior of Cluny before he was elected abbot of Gloucester in 1139. Earl Roger was a relative of Foliot as well as the advocate of Gloucester Abbey which means there was every reason why he would have sought Foliot's guidance when commissioning the sculptural schemes at Quenington and Siddington.⁵⁵ Whether the main impetus for patronising the cult of the Virgin came from Roger or Foliot is unclear, however Roger was both literate and a major supporter of the regular canons which suggests that he would have been well-informed about the reforms and in a position to make an independent decision to propagate the cult of the Virgin.⁵⁶

These developments reveal a rich and diverse ecclesiastical landscape within Gloucestershire where churchmen were scholars, teachers and reformers as well as regional authority figures and political negotiators.

⁵⁵ Foliot was Miles of Gloucester's cousin, see A. Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters* (Cambridge, 1965), p. 79.

⁵⁶ For evidence that Roger was literate, see Crouch, 'Roger'.

CHAPTER SIX

GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1135–1154: ANARCHY?

Unfortunately, the scholars responsible [for recent research on Stephen's reign] have also sanitized the reign, unduly minimizing the amount of violence and disorder in their efforts to prove that Stephen was not such a bad king, that magnates were not mindless feudal anarchists, and that the reign should not be labelled 'the Anarchy'.⁵⁷

Hugh Thomas's argument represents a twenty-first-century revival of the traditional interpretation of conditions during Stephen's reign and a vocal challenge to the academic *status quo*. This traditional interpretation, which dominated the historical debate from the nineteenth to mid-twentieth century, asserted that Stephen's reign was characterised by endemic warfare, disorder and devastation.⁵⁸ Round's famous study on Geoffrey de Mandeville, published in 1892, ensured that the period became synonymous with the epithet the 'Anarchy'. However, Round's arguments were more nuanced than some modern historians give him credit. While his definition of 'anarchy', which centred on 'the feudal and anarchic spirit' of the Anglo-Norman magnates, was heavily reductionist and deterministic, he recognised that outbreaks of violence were localised and that there was not a complete breakdown of government.⁵⁹

This notion of limited disruption was augmented by successive generations of historians who began to consider the chronicle and charter evidence in greater depth. Two important developments occurred in the third quarter of the twentieth century. In 1955 the missing portion of the *Gesta Stephani* was discovered and, for the first time, scholars had access to a detailed narrative of events from 1148 to 1154.⁶⁰ Then in 1968 R. H. C. Davis and Cronne published the long-awaited third edition of the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* which includes transcriptions of over a thousand royal and princely charters.

⁵⁷ H. M. Thomas, 'Violent Disorder in King Stephen's Reign: A Maximum Argument' in Dalton and White (eds.), *King Stephen's Reign (1135–1154)* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 139.

⁵⁸ W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1874); H. W. C. Davis, 'The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign', *EHR*, 18 (1903), pp. 630–41.

⁵⁹ J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Study of the Anarchy* (London, 1892), pp. v, 99–100, 219–20.

⁶⁰ E. King, 'The Gesta Stephani', in D. Bates, J. Crick and S. Hamilton (eds.), *Writing Medieval Biography 750–1250* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 195–6.

The culmination of this research was Davis's revised narrative account of the reign and Cronne's thematic study which emphasised the level of institutional continuity.⁶¹ Efforts to demonstrate that disorder and violence were not as severe or widespread as traditionally thought have since dominated the debate. Stringer's 1993 pamphlet emphasised the importance of baronial governance in offsetting the decline of royal authority and ensuring stability in the localities, while Crouch and Matthew's broad surveys at the turn of the millennium cemented criticism of the epithet 'the Anarchy' and attacked any persistent notions of endemic chaos and turmoil.⁶² Yet over the past few decades there has remained a vocal minority of scholars who have insisted that Stephen's reign *was* characterised by anarchy, whether in the broadest sense of frequent lawlessness and violence or, more specifically, as a breakdown of central authority that created disruption but did not preclude other forms of regional governance.⁶³ Thomas's argument, then, is the most recent and extreme manifestation of the opinion that violent atrocities and devastation were widespread throughout England, and consequently most other interpretations appear 'sanitary' by comparison.⁶⁴

In reality, even revisionists like Crouch have asserted that there were periods of civil disorder, areas that were wasted by warfare and experiences of chaos in border regions between rival lords.⁶⁵ Eastern Gloucestershire is a prime example of one of the 'fault lines of loyalty' that Crouch described and Amt has gone as far as to argue that this area was the site of continual conflict between Angevin and royalist forces after Stephen captured Oxford at the end of 1142.⁶⁶ Episodes of conflict were reported for South Cerney in 1139 and 1140, Cirencester in 1142, Tetbury in 1144, and Dursley in 1149, but these hardly constitute perpetual border warfare and suggest that hostilities were intermittent.⁶⁷ There were of course tensions in other Gloucestershire border regions, but again these were confined to particular localities at particular times. The Forest of Dean area was threatened by the Welsh Uprising during 1136 and 1137 and a period of Welsh raids during

⁶¹ Davis, *Stephen*; H. A. Cronne, *The Reign of Stephen 1135–54: Anarchy in England* (London, 1970).

⁶² Stringer, *Stephen*; Crouch, *Stephen*; Matthew, *Stephen*.

⁶³ For a pro-anarchy interpretation see C. W. Hollister, 'The Aristocracy', in King (ed.), *Anarchy*, pp. 37–66, and C. W. Hollister, 'Stephen's Anarchy', *Albion*, 6 (1974), pp. 233–9. The definition of 'anarchy' as a failure of central control is mentioned by King, 'Anarchy', p. 152.

⁶⁴ Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 139–70.

⁶⁵ Crouch, *Stephen*, pp. 116, 161.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 161; Amt, *Accession*, p. 30, may have taken her lead from GS, pp. 180–1, which describes skirmishes between Philip the son of Robert earl of Gloucester, who had garrisoned Cricklade Castle, and William de Chainai the royalist governor of Oxford.

⁶⁷ GS, pp. 92–3, 138–41, 172–3, 218–9; HN, pp. 62–3, 72–3.

Gilbert Foliot's tenure as abbot of St Peter's.⁶⁸ In north-eastern Gloucestershire, Upleadon was disturbed by hostilities between Roger earl of Hereford and Gilbert de Lacy during the late 1140s.⁶⁹ Finally, in northern Gloucestershire, royal and Angevin troops clashed at Sudeley and Winchcombe between the end of 1139 and the beginning of 1140 while Tewkesbury was raided by Waleran of Meulan, earl of Worcester, during Lent in 1140.⁷⁰ With the exception of 1144, when Sudeley Castle was held by royal forces, tensions in central northern Gloucestershire appear to have eased after the summer of 1141 when Waleran and William de Beauchamp transferred their allegiances to the Empress.⁷¹

The *Gesta Stephani* implies a period of widespread disruption within the county during 1146. This was the year when Philip, the son of Robert earl of Gloucester, defected to Stephen and supposedly 'raged in all directions with fire and sword, violence and plunder'.⁷² The imprisonment of his uncle-in-law, Roger III de Berkeley, by Walter of Hereford later in the year reportedly inflamed him 'to ravage the whole county'.⁷³ This last remark can be swiftly discounted as hyperbole for the reason that Philip's possessions were in south-eastern Gloucestershire and any efforts to push further north or west would have been checked by his father, Roger earl of Hereford and their associates. In any case, Philip's belligerent activities were short-lived and before the year was out he had repented, taken the cross and departed for Jerusalem.⁷⁴ Within the same year two Flemish brothers, Henry and Ralph de Caldret, are reported to have seized castles, exacted forced labour and plundered churches, but like other 'jackals' in England during Stephen's reign they were soon brought to justice by more powerful men and one brother was hanged while the other was cast into exile.⁷⁵

Whether these episodes described in the major contemporary chronicles constitute a period of 'anarchy' is a controversial question. The term is so pervasive that it continues

⁶⁸ *GS*, pp. 18–9; *JW*, pp. 216–21, 228–9; *RH*, p. 38; *JH*, p. 6; *LCGF*, no. 13, pp. 49–50.

⁶⁹ *Convention Earl Roger William de Braose*, p. 185.

⁷⁰ *JW*, pp. 274–7, 282–3; *HN*, pp. 72–3.

⁷¹ *GS*, pp. 172–5; *RRAN*, vol. 3, nos. 68, 115–6, pp. 26–7, 42–3; D. Crouch, *The Beaumont Twins: The Roots and Branches of Power in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 50–1.

⁷² *GS*, pp. 186–7.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 190–1; according to the author it was Roger earl of Hereford who had ordered the imprisonment of Roger de Berkeley and, as argued above, it was probably Philip's defection that motivated Earl Roger to capture the lord of Berkeley for fear that he would ally with his nephew-in-law.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 190–1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 188–9. The term 'jackal' was coined by Crouch, *Stephen*, pp. 162–5, to describe the minority of lesser elites or military men who exploited local power struggles for their own material benefits.

to be widely used by modern scholars and, precisely for this reason, it features in the title of this chapter as a term to be scrutinised rather than accepted without careful definition. Three decades ago, King made the astute remark that, 'As you define your terms, so you provide your answer', and it is evident from the above discussion that 'anarchy' holds different meanings for different people.⁷⁶ Unfortunately, some scholars do not make the effort to define what they mean by the term and its usage in this context can breed serious ambiguity.⁷⁷ G. J. White and Crouch have argued that the term should be abandoned altogether. Their admirable discussions on the origins and meaning of 'anarchy' have highlighted that it is an anachronism and cannot be empirically measured.⁷⁸ There are also problems with defining and measuring terms such as 'disorder' and 'devastation', however these are words that cannot be easily avoided in a discussion of conditions during Stephen's reign since they were used by contemporary clerical writers. Assessing the state of regional conditions during Stephen's reign is therefore a highly subjective process, but by informing documentary evidence and the present historical debate with sculptural evidence it is possible to construct a more nuanced analysis that accounts for the complexities and paradoxes that characterise the study of this period.

The most evident paradox is the disjunction between the damning narratives in many of the chronicles and the rich corpus of sculpture. The crux of this issue is whether art and architectural patronage were possible in atmospheres of severe hostility, and whether conflict could have actually stimulated cultural expression. These questions have already been raised in relation to Postlip and Beckford, but a fuller discussion is necessary. Scholars have been divided on these issues. Implicit within Thurlby's research on the Herefordshire School is that serious warfare did not halt sculptural commissions, 'even when circumstances may not appear exactly conducive to building work', and drawing on the case study of Postlip he argued that many churches were constructed as places of refuge.⁷⁹ By contrast, J. F. King's assessment of sculpture in Herefordshire concluded that the upheavals between 1139 and 1146 'do not support a suggestion for great building activity in this region' and that there were fewer religious houses founded in these years in comparison to the rest of the reign.⁸⁰ If this last notion is applied to Gloucestershire, it is clear that the opposite is true since there was a boom in building work and sculptural

⁷⁶ King, 'Anarchy', p. 152.

⁷⁷ Examples of recent scholars who have employed the term without any preliminary definition include Amt, 'Waste', p. 246; Dalton, 'Churchmen', pp. 81, 91; and Coplestone-Crow, 'Anarchy'.

⁷⁸ White, 'Myth', pp. 323–37; idem., *Restoration*, pp. 12–4; Crouch, *Stephen*, pp. 1–7.

⁷⁹ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 258.

⁸⁰ King, 'Kilpeck', p. 91.

patronage during the 1140s at precisely the time when castle warfare, wanton violence and devastation of land and property were reportedly rife.⁸¹ According to Amt, most new religious houses were founded 'in the western, more peaceful, part of the county', implying that eastern Gloucestershire was beset by warfare and cultural activity in the area declined as a result.⁸² In fact, over a third of the sites studied in chapter three are found in the eastern extreme of Gloucestershire and these churches have some of the most complex and elaborate sculptures in the whole county, findings that seriously undermine Amt's assertion (fig. 29a).

In Gloucestershire there are only four ornate churches with documentary evidence to suggest that they may have been commissioned directly in response to hostilities, these being the chapels at Postlip, Upleadon and Preston, and Beckford oratory. As already discussed, the retrospective composition of the charters relating to Postlip means that they may not be a reliable record of William de Solers original motives, while the motives of the Sainte-Barbe canons at Beckford are also open to interpretation. Regardless, these few case studies do not support the generalisation that most churches were founded as sanctuaries from violence, nor can they be taken as evidence that 'raiding was simply a fact of life'.⁸³ This is not to deny that tensions between rival lords stimulated patronage. After all, there was a remarkable concentration of new sculptures in eastern and north-western Gloucestershire after 1139. However, there is no written evidence that any of these sculptures were commissioned in response to experiences of violence or to neutralise disputes over land. A strong possibility is that they were motivated by considerations relating to lordship. As Stringer noted, the 1140s was a decade when regional governance came to the fore and lords had to assert their powers in their respective localities.⁸⁴ In this context, architectural sculptures may have been created to define the boundary of a lord's hegemony in relation to a neighbouring rival.

The profusion of sculpture in eastern Gloucestershire during this period is one of the main reasons for doubting contemporary reports that raids on communities, including their churches, were frequent and widespread in border regions. According to Cronne, 'Few soldiers hesitated for a moment when confronted with the military desirability of using or

⁸¹ For general accounts of oppression by castle garrisons, violence, pillaging and devastation between 1139 and 1146, see *GS*, pp. 92–5, 138–9, 152–7, 170–1, 192–3; *HN*, pp. 70–3; *HH*, pp. 74 – 5; *JW*, pp. 216–7.

⁸² Amt, *Accession*, pp. 32–33

⁸³ The arguments being challenged are those by Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 154–5.

⁸⁴ Stringer, *Stephen*, p. 87.

destroying a church', a view shared by Strickland and Knowles, and Hollister and Thomas rejected Callahan's findings that less than ten percent of religious houses in England suffered damages by asserting that silences in the documentary sources are a sign that most assaults on churches went unrecorded.⁸⁵ The flaws in this last argument are self-evident and it is worth noting that churchmen were typically very vocal when trespasses were committed against a particular church, for example Gilbert Foliot's strongly worded letter condemning the men who had fortified St Mary's church at Slaughter.⁸⁶ On the basis of modern research on secular piety, it is unlikely that most lords and knights were swift to physically violate a church.⁸⁷ Cronne argued that knights did so with the intention of repenting and making reparation at a later date, however charters of reparation are exceptionally rare across England and especially in Gloucestershire.⁸⁸ Strickland has noted that a severe psychological as well as a financial blow could be delivered to a rival by plundering and damaging their religious foundations, but this begs the question of why lords and magnates, particularly the earls of Hereford, invested so many resources commissioning sculptures in exposed border locations.⁸⁹ While the episode at Slaughter indicates that not all churches emerged from Stephen's reign unscathed, the sculptural evidence lends itself to the view that physical assaults on holy sites were not as frequent or widespread as a minority of scholars continue to assert.

This is not to suggest that the ecclesiastical authors of the chronicles were complete fantasists, rather their language and motives have sometimes been misinterpreted by modern scholars. For all their lurid descriptions, most of the contemporary narratives are exceptionally vague when it comes to transgressions against churches. Recurring words include 'plundered', 'pillaged' and 'violated', but these do not necessarily imply physical violence or damage.⁹⁰ For the author of the *Gesta Stephani*, 'plundering' was interchangeable with 'levies' and this implies that churchmen regarded

⁸⁵ Cronne, *Stephen*, pp. 2–3; M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 76–81; D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge, 1963), p. 269; Hollister, 'Anarchy', p. 236; Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 144–5; Callahan, 'Monasticism', pp. 218–32.

⁸⁶ *LCGF*, no. 5, pp. 39–40.

⁸⁷ See C. Harper-Bill, 'The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 2 (1979), pp. 63–77.

⁸⁸ Cronne, *Stephen*, p. 3; T. Callahan, 'Ecclesiastical Reparations and the Soldiers of "The Anarchy"', *Albion*, 10, (1978), pp. 300–18, although surprisingly he used these findings to argue that most transgressors actually refused to make reparation.

⁸⁹ Strickland, *War*, p. 90.

⁹⁰ Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 147–8, noted that tax collection could be a peaceful process even if it was common and widespread.

exactions by laymen as akin to physical violations against the church.⁹¹ Such levies or exactions were not unknown prior to Stephen's reign. William II imposed an 'intolerable tax' on churches in 1096 and some communities were reportedly forced to strip the precious metals and stones from shrines and ornaments.⁹² The vehement denunciation of such practices by the ecclesiastical chroniclers of Stephen's reign appears to have been provoked by the 1136 Oxford Charter which had ordered the abolition of all exactions against the church by laymen.⁹³ Yet for many secular elites these levies were considered a legitimate source of revenue, hence Miles of Hereford demanded taxes from churches 'under the yoke of his lordship' in 1143 and William de Beauchamp took grain from Gloucester Abbey in the face of fierce ecclesiastical opposition.⁹⁴ One possibility is that as agents of the Empress and later her son, the future Henry II, the 'true heirs' of Henry I, they believed that they had sovereign mandate to make such demands for the purposes of upholding civil order and justice.⁹⁵ Elsewhere, laymen who were patrons or advocates of religious houses may have felt entitled to regular payments or services from the clerics' tenants.⁹⁶

Such levies could provide an important clue as to how sculptural patronage was being financed. Ever a cynic of secular motivations, the author *Gesta Stephani* wrote that Miles was compelled by the expense of hiring knights, but in light of the several ornate churches that can be attributed to his patronage it is possible that a significant portion of the revenue was destined for the purchase of materials and the payment of craftsmen.⁹⁷ Similarly, the revenue from Robert earl of Gloucester's levies and his exactions of forced labour may have contributed to the new churches at Eastleach Turville and Forthampton, and the completion of St James's Priory in Bristol.⁹⁸ While churchmen resented the way in which their resources were being appropriated by secular elites, some of these resources were channelled into new foundations which were then granted to monasteries with accompanying lands and rights. In the long term, then, the Church appears to have benefited from the intervention of secular elites and those communities that received these grants, namely St Peter's Abbey and Llanthony Priory, must have found their

⁹¹ See *GS*, pp. 152–5, 158–9.

⁹² *WM GR*, pp. 562–3.

⁹³ *HN*, pp. 32–7.

⁹⁴ *GS*, pp. 158–61; *LCGF*, no. 3, p. 38; this idea was expressed by King, 'Anarchy', pp. 135–6.

⁹⁵ *GS*, pp. 148–51, describes Robert earl of Gloucester appropriating prerogatives and methods of taxation traditionally reserved for the Crown and establishing his own principality.

⁹⁶ See King, 'Anarchy', p. 137.

⁹⁷ *GS*, pp. 158–9.

⁹⁸ For a description of the earl's exactions see *GS*, pp. 148–51.

influence in the localities of Gloucestershire augmented by this expanded network of parish churches with elaborate sculptures.

The cost of commissioning church sculpture and its accompanying architecture can only be estimated on the basis of circumstantial evidence. Many scholars have suggested that founding a church was an expensive investment, although most recently Thomas has argued that foundations required minor initial investment.⁹⁹ These ideas should be qualified in relation to Knowles's findings that cost depended on the religious order being patronised, therefore an austere community of Cistercians was typically cheaper to establish than a community of black monks.¹⁰⁰ Few Cistercian houses were founded in Gloucestershire during Stephen's reign and all of the church sculptures that have been studied appear to have been granted to Augustinian canons or black monks. The emphasis placed on pastoral care and teaching by Augustinian canons presumably made them a particularly expensive group to support as exemplified by the fact that Rabel the chamberlain had to grant the prosperous manor of Beckford to establish the priory of Sainte-Barbe canons. Consequently, most new foundations in Gloucestershire during the period would have required considerable initial investment and this was before the patron made a decision to commission sculpture.

The economics and logistics of creating sculpture are crucial to understanding local conditions in this period, yet they are subjects that scholars have failed to address. Sourcing and transporting stone was evidently a major consideration for twelfth-century patrons and their sculptors. A comprehensive geological survey of building stones and their provenances is desperately needed, however it is possible to make a number of deductions from the few sites that have been analysed. Where possible, stone for carvings and building fabric would have been quarried locally in order to reduce transport costs. The stone used for the sculptures and architecture at Beckford appears to be high-quality oolitic limestone from nearby Bredon Hill.¹⁰¹ Unfortunately for some patrons, high quality stone suitable for carving was not available locally and they were compelled to source it from further afield, perhaps incurring additional costs if they used a quarry belonging to another lord. The stone used at Barnsley has been identified as Great Oolite limestone from Veizey's Quarry at Tetbury, located seventeen miles away, while the south doorway at South Cerney is

⁹⁹ Strickland, *War*, p. 90; Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 312; B. Holden, *Lords of the Central Marches: English Aristocracy and Frontier Society, 1087–1265* (Oxford, 2008), p. 81; Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', p. 156.

¹⁰⁰ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 246.

¹⁰¹ Bond, 'Worcestershire', p. 154.

carved from Taynton limestone which can be found twenty miles north-east at Windrush.¹⁰² Transporting stone even a short distance was an enormous feat requiring hundreds of hands, therefore twenty miles was a considerable distance by medieval standards.¹⁰³ The most economical method of transporting stone was by river but most rivers in the Gloucestershire Cotswolds would have been too shallow for this purpose and labourers would have been forced to transport stone over land using carts or sledges pulled by oxen.¹⁰⁴

Even when stone could be sourced locally, carving and building with this material was highly labour intensive. The wage of a craftsman must have reflected their skill and presumably an accomplished sculptor was paid more than a mason, although Thurlby has suggested that there may have been some overlap between these two roles.¹⁰⁵ A mason employed by Robert of Lorraine, bishop of Hereford (1079–95) was granted a hide and half a virgate of land, a substantial reward, and it must be wondered whether there were expert sculptors who received even larger remuneration.¹⁰⁶ Evidence of payment by land highlights that England in this period was not a monetary economy and transactions could be fulfilled in several ways. Silver coins and land grants might have been appropriate for a large payment to a single person, but for smaller transactions it can be speculated that patrons offered food, goods or accommodation.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, a patron would have needed to stockpile a variety of resources before initiating a large sculptural commission and this would have depended on the productivity of their lands and tenants.

Besides sculptors and masons, carpenters would have been required to build wooden falsework, scaffolding, interior furniture and the roof, while unskilled labourers would have been needed to dig foundations and carry materials on-site. To reduce costs, the latter could have been drawn from the patron's tenants in return for exemptions from obligations or rents. Some major religious houses mitigated expenditure by granting indulgences for labour but there is no evidence that this practice was available to secular

¹⁰² British Geological Survey, *Strategic Stone Study*, <http://mapapps.bgs.ac.uk/buildingStone/BuildingStone.html> (viewed 05/05/14); Bryant (ed.), *Corpus*, pp. 40–2.

¹⁰³ See Suger, 'De Consecratione', pp. 90–5.

¹⁰⁴ Bryant (ed.), *Corpus*, p. 25; *Domesday Book: Worcestershire*, eds. F. and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1982), p. 175 d.

¹⁰⁵ Thurlby, *Herefordshire*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 91–2.

¹⁰⁷ J. L. Bolton, 'What is money? What is a money economy? When did a money economy emerge in Medieval England?', in Wood (ed.), *Medieval Money Matters* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1–15; R. Britnell, 'Uses of money in Medieval Britain', in *idem*, pp. 16–30.

patrons.¹⁰⁸ There were other costs associated with commissioning sculpture. Most patrons would have been unable to manage their projects on a daily basis and presumably hired administrators.¹⁰⁹ Although rarely committed to writing, scholars are in general agreement that sculptures were originally painted despite the fact that the vast majority of carvings survive completely devoid of colour. Cost-efficiency would have dictated that pigments be sourced locally but certain colours would have necessitated the purchase of expensive foreign pigments. Wood has suggested that drilled holes were originally filled with colour and, to extend the boundaries of conjecture further, it is worth pondering whether some spaces were once inset with gemstones or precious metals.¹¹⁰ Besides the cost of purchasing these materials, those that were sourced from further afield would have been subject to tolls.¹¹¹ Evidently there were many hidden costs that could make sculptural patronage a highly expensive pursuit.

Even more expensive were the demands of warfare and the fact that secular elites in Gloucestershire were able to fund elaborate sculptural schemes hardly supports the view that the region experienced severe and prolonged military skirmishes. Leaders who faced protracted hostilities, such as Brian fitz Count in Oxfordshire, found that they did not have enough resources to feed and pay their knights, never mind commission sculpture.¹¹² Siege tactics were especially draining. The cost of garrisoning a large castle with knights for a year was roughly equivalent to half the amount that Miles of Gloucester's fee farms rendered to the Crown in 1130, thus making it unsustainable to fully garrison numerous fortifications at once.¹¹³ Even accounting for extraordinary levies and revenue that may have been raised from pillaging the lands of rivals, the many sculptures in Gloucestershire that are attributable to the earls of Hereford and members of their retinues suggests that their respective investments in warfare were limited.

A related and much debated issue is the extent to which towns and agrarian lands were devastated by raids and pillaging after 1139. All of the major contemporary chronicles

¹⁰⁸ *Salisbury EEA*, no. 54, p. 38; Saltman, *Theobald*, nos. 92–4, pp. 314–5.

¹⁰⁹ Oliver de Merlimond, the patron of Shobdon church, hired a knight as his administrator, see *Wigmore Chronicle*.

¹¹⁰ R. Wood, *Romanesque Sculpture*, www.rwromanesque.co.uk/, fn. 10. 5-6, 10. 14 (viewed, 02/04/14).

¹¹¹ For example, *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey*, vol. 1, ed. C. D. Ross (1964), no. 55/22, p. 47.

¹¹² *Letter of Brian fitz Count*.

¹¹³ Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', p. 147, noted that it cost over £150 to pay the knights who had garrisoned Worcester Castle between the death of Stephen and the first pipe roll of Henry I. *Pipe Roll 31*, p. 60, records that Miles of Gloucester's two fee farms rendered just over £300 to the royal treasury.

offer general accounts of areas being devastated or reduced to uncultivable wastes, although precise locations were rarely recorded.¹¹⁴ In his study of entries for *vastum* or *wastum* ('waste') in the first pipe roll of Henry II, H. W. C. Davis found that nearly a third of land in Gloucestershire was recorded as 'waste' and concluded that the chronicle accounts of widespread devastation are reliable.¹¹⁵ However, the meaning of 'waste' has been fiercely debated over the intervening century. Several scholars have argued that the word served as an administrative term to denote problems collecting tax, whether because of weaknesses in the machinery of government or disputes over ownership of land, rather than land that had been physically wasted by pillaging or fire.¹¹⁶ Most recently, however, Amt and Thomas have argued that the majority of entries for 'waste' must refer to economic damage sustained by warfare.¹¹⁷ While it would be inappropriate to wade into the technicalities of this debate, there is a potentially significant reference to 'waste' that has seemingly been overlooked. Within the last book of his *History of the English People*, written during Stephen's reign, Henry of Huntingdon describes 'waste' as land that was appropriated by the Crown, not land that was devastated or unable to yield tax.¹¹⁸

The economics and logistics of producing sculpture are consistent in casting doubt on the notion that Gloucestershire suffered severe and widespread devastation to agrarian land. If crops and livestock were being routinely destroyed by raiding parties, it is unlikely, if not impossible, that patrons would have been able to divert labourers and animals away from food production. The Domesday entry for Offenham, Worcestershire, records that the fields could not be ploughed because the oxen were being used to draw stone to Evesham Abbey, surely a sign that a community needed a stockpile of food before it could invest resources in the production of sculpture.¹¹⁹ Only the authors of the *Gesta Stephani* and Peterborough Chronicle describe food shortages, rising prices and famines, and even they do not specifically locate these troubles in Gloucestershire.¹²⁰ At Evesham Abbey, situated just north of Gloucestershire, there was a tale that during the abbacy of Reginald (1130–49) the monks were forced to strip their church of precious metals and stones so as

¹¹⁴ ASC, pp. 159–60; GS, pp. 64–7, 168–71; OV, pp. 534–5; HH, pp. 74–5; JW, pp. 304–5; HN, pp. 70–3.

¹¹⁵ Davis, 'Anarchy', pp. 639–41.

¹¹⁶ Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp. 43–53; Green, 'Danegeld', p. 252; King, 'Anarchy', pp. 143–7; White, 'Midlands', p. 33.

¹¹⁷ Amt, 'Waste', pp. 246–8; Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 150–1.

¹¹⁸ HH, p. 67; if this meaning is correct in the context of the early pipe rolls of Henry II, 'waste' could refer to royal demesnes that were lost during Stephen's reign and retaken after Henry II's accession.

¹¹⁹ *Domesday Worcestershire*, 175 d.

¹²⁰ GS, pp. 152–5, 232–5; ASC, pp. 159–60.

to avoid famine, however the thirteenth-century compiler of the *History of Evesham Abbey* evidently doubted this story and recorded that during the same period Abbot Reginald had a large kitchen constructed, extended the church and outbuildings, and made several art commissions. These were hardly the activities of a community on the verge of starvation.¹²¹ None of the annals written in Gloucestershire mention the onset of famine during this period and while arguments from silence should normally be avoided the absence of such evidence is consistent with the abundance of surviving sculptures.¹²²

Similarly the sculptural evidence undermines the notion that transport networks were disrupted by ambushes and kidnappings as a result of frequent raiding. Of the surviving contemporary narratives, it is William of Malmesbury and the author of the *Gesta Stephani* who describe the kingdom's highways becoming unsafe from 1138 onwards. The latter, who was overtly prejudiced against the Angevins in his entries up to 1147, blamed the people of Bristol for kidnapping and ransoming innocent civilians 'in every part of England'.¹²³ While Thomas has accepted this assertion, Matthew has dismissed it as a generalisation constructed from the author's localised experience of the hostilities between Bristol and Bath.¹²⁴ Regardless, the implication is that the highways of Gloucestershire were especially vulnerable. The logistics of sculpture production should urge caution against this view. Throughout Stephen's reign sculptors and other craftsmen were willing to travel across Gloucestershire and stone was transported from quarries to workshops by road, sometimes over large distances.¹²⁵ Evidently there was greater civil order in the region than some of the contemporary narratives suggest and incidents of kidnap must have been isolated rather than widespread.¹²⁶

These discrepancies between the sculptural and documentary evidence highlight a number of issues that must be addressed in future by specialists in other fields. Historians have debated the reliability of the contemporary chronicles and it has been proposed that ecclesiastical authors were prone to hyperbole.¹²⁷ The sculptural evidence supports this interpretation, although in some passages it is not always clear whether the chroniclers

¹²¹ *History Evesham*, pp. 182–3. Thomas of Marlborough's scepticism of the tale can be gleaned from the phrase, 'so they said', and the accompanying list of commissions.

¹²² These annals are *Hist. et. Cart.*, vol. 1, pp. 16–9; *Annales Theokesberia; Winchcombe Chronicle*.

¹²³ *GS*, pp. 62–5; *HN*, pp. 70–3.

¹²⁴ Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 152–3; Matthew, *Stephen*, p. 127.

¹²⁵ Crouch, *Stephen*, p. 312, advanced a similar argument in relation to churchmen who continued to travel around the country.

¹²⁶ This is in direct opposition to Thomas, 'Violent Disorder', pp. 152–3, who relies on select chronicle and hagiographical evidence to argue that kidnap, torture and ransom were widespread.

¹²⁷ Matthew, *Stephen*, pp. 127–33.

unwittingly exaggerated levels of violence and disorder as a result of hysteria or miscommunication, or whether there were specific motives for deliberately embellishing events. It is clear that these twelfth-century clerical authors were consciously emulating the historical writings of Bede and sought to convey messages on morality and divine retribution.¹²⁸ Passages of the *Historia Novella* read like a critical treatise on the knightly class as if William of Malmesbury wished to construct a caricature of sinful behaviour in order to encourage restraint.¹²⁹ At a more personal level, clerical writers were concerned with protecting the rights and possessions of their communities and grievances may have been penned in lurid prose so as to deliver a firm message to posterity. A related point raised by this study is that scholars might actually be misinterpreting some of the language that was used, the 'plundering' of religious houses being a case in point. In light of this, an extended study of the texts in question and history-writing in this period could prove enlightening.

Similarly, the sculptural evidence suggests that military engagements were not as widespread or destructive as the major chronicles suggest, yet military historians have relied on such narratives to reconstruct conditions of warfare. Strickland, for example, concluded that the ravaging of countryside was common and compared with the destructiveness of modern-day aerial bombings.¹³⁰ Scholars rarely consider the size of armed forces in this period yet this must have had a significant bearing on the damage inflicted on land by foraging or tactical destruction of crops and livestock. Walker has calculated that Miles earl of Hereford could only call upon the service of ninety to ninety-five knights from his own lands and those of his associates, and most of these men would have been needed to garrison castle defences in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Wales. Even accounting for the hire of mercenaries, the mobile fighting-force available to Miles must have been small.¹³¹ Within the major chronicles there are clues that when opposing sides did meet they commonly engaged in carefully orchestrated tournaments with the objective of capturing and ransoming rather than killing.¹³² Evidently principles of morality and restraint were exercised, a view that is consistent with the sculptural evidence, and this invites a reappraisal of warfare during Stephen's reign.

¹²⁸ For example, HH, p. 4; *HN*, pp. 2–3.

¹²⁹ *HN*, pp. 10–3, 32–3.

¹³⁰ Strickland, *War*, pp. 259–73, 334–6.

¹³¹ Walker, 'Honours', pp. 209–10.

¹³² *HN*, pp. 84–5; *JW*, pp. 252–5, 266–7; *OV*, pp. 546–7.

While the corpus of sculpture in Gloucestershire cannot rule out the possibility that there were localised experiences of violence and devastation, it does indicate that there was greater political, social and economic stability in this region than expressed by pro-anarchy scholars and many revisionists. A contextual investigation of visual sources demonstrates that local conditions were much more complex and varied than documentary sources alone suggest. Sculpture was recognised as a powerful and influential medium during this period. It was harnessed by some secular elites to express their piety, status and hegemony over the landscape. For churchmen, it might serve as a visual aid to learning with the capability of conveying complex theological concepts or easing local tensions. Within the context of church reform, it can reveal cooperation between reforming clerics and secular patrons in disseminating messages on sin and chastity to the laity. Instead of continuing to view Stephen's reign solely through the lenses of high politics and conflict, it is time to thoroughly investigate material culture and appreciate the cultural developments and experiences that truly embodied the character of this period.

APPENDIX:
OTHER SITES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE WITH ROMANESQUE
SCULPTURE THAT MAY DATE TO THE PERIOD 1135-54

The sites listed below represent only a small fraction of all the locations in Gloucestershire that retain Romanesque sculpture. Certain sculptures at these sites can be tentatively dated to Stephen's reign on the basis of style.

AMPNEY, ST MARY

Blocked north nave doorway with unusual irregular hexagonal tympanum depicting a confronted griffon and lion trampling to serpentine beasts. Cylindrical font with lateral chevron design carved around the bowl.

AVENING, HOLY CROSS

North nave doorway with the second order of the arch decorated with lateral chevron and supported by two columns enriched with spirals. Two capitals, the left depicting two confronted lions with a conjoined head and the right carved with a foliage motif comparable to designs at Gloucester Cathedral and Kilpeck. Fragments of a rectangular font reset in the interior north wall of the nave depicting human figures beneath arcades. Many sculpted fragments are reset in the interior west wall of the north transept, including scallop capitals and diagonal interlace. Voussoirs carved with frontal chevron reset in the interior east wall of the nave. West crossing arch has two pairs of capitals; the northern pair are carved with reeds and leafy foliage, respectively, the southern pair with sheathed scallops. Central tower vault supported by four scallop capitals. Round-headed east crossing arch supported by two scallop capitals.

BERKELEY CASTLE

East doorway of the Great Tower is badly mutilated. The outer arch is carved with frontal chevron, the left-hand shaft is enriched with lozenges and topped by a capital decorated with foliate designs on the shields, and five badly eroded geometric corbels are set above the inner arch. A round-headed doorway leading into the fourteenth-century Thorpe's tower is partly constructed from reused voussoirs decorated with point-to-point chevron. There are four loose sculptures inside the castle: a section of frieze decorated with palmettes, beading and recesses; a fragment carved with the upper torso of a human figure; a fragment carved with birds pecking at fruit that appears to be Herefordshire

School-inspired; and a filial decorated with a beading and foliage design. According to Baxter, these sculptures probably date to the 1150s or 1160s and may have originated from elsewhere.¹

BULLEY, ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS

Nave south doorway and chancel arch constructed from stones of alternating colours which are carved with frontal chevron.

COLN ST DENNIS, ST JAMES

Several corbels reset inside carved with grotesque faces that appear to have been influenced by corbels from Old Sarum.

CONDICOTE, ST NICHOLAS

Nave south doorway enriched with frontal chevron, lateral chevron, cable moulding and saltire crosses. The inner columns are carved with chevron and spirals.

DUMBLETON, ST PETER

Nave north doorway has a tympanum depicting a goblin-like creature spewing foliage with lozenges below. The first order of the arch is decorated with frontal chevron. There are remnants of a corbel table on the exterior of the nave.

EBRINGTON, ST EADBURGA

Nave south doorway of three orders is decorated with lateral and frontal chevron, and saltire crosses. The outer left-hand capital appears to depict a mermaid or a humanoid creature with raised legs.

FARMINGTON, ST PETER

Nave south doorway with volute capitals, an outer order of lateral chevron and a lintel decorated with interlocking beaded medallions. Chancel arch of three orders features three pairs of volute capitals, an outer order of lateral chevron and a second order of point-to-point chevron with flowers carved on the chamfered arris. Surviving corbels appear to be Old Sarum influenced.

GLOUCESTER, ST NICHOLAS

Nave north doorway has an outer order of frontal chevron supported by impostes carved with lozenges inset with four-petal flowers. The semi-circular tympanum depicts the *Agnus Dei* with a cruciform nimbus and supporting a cross while surrounded by foliage.

¹ Baxter, 'Berkeley Castle'.

NEWNHAM-ON-SEVERN, ST PETER

Font depicting the apostles beneath arcades, probably carved by the same sculptor responsible for the fonts at Hereford Cathedral and Rendcomb. A loose, damaged tympanum depicts the Tree of Life. Dated to c. 1125–45 by Gethyn-Jones on the basis of style analysis.²

TEMPLE GUITING, ST MARY

Corbel table on north and south exterior of the chancel. Reset fragments inside the porch include two grotesque heads.

TREDINGTON, ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

Blocked north nave doorway with worn semi-circular tympanum depicting a central figure flanked by two knelt figures, perhaps a representation of Christ in Majesty. A pair of beast-head label stops appear to be Old Sarum influenced. Nave south doorway of two orders has an arch decorated with balls and lateral chevron supported by columns enriched with chevrons and spirals.

WITHINGTON, ST MICHAEL AND ALL ANGELS

Nave south doorway of three orders with lateral chevron on the inner and outer orders of the arch. The second order of the arch is enriched with eight-petal flowers, more flowers decorate the label, and the label stops are bestial heads. Corbel table on the north and south exterior of the chancel compare to the corbels at the nearby church of Barnsley. Blocked north nave doorway has an outer arch of cogwheel chevron and an inner arch of frontal chevron.

² Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock*, p. 71.

GLOSSARY*

Abacus

The top part of a capital, not to be confused with an impost. Both of these terms have their roots in classical architecture. In a classical context the abacus is the upper part of a capital, while the impost is a heavy stone supporting an arch. Transferring the terms to medieval buildings has caused endless confusion and heated disagreements. For more information, see 'impost'.

Acanthus

A Mediterranean plant, with thick, fleshy, scalloped leaves. The Romanesque stylisation of the acanthus leaf, also called Winchester acanthus, is ultimately derived from that used in classical decoration, especially Corinthian and composite capitals, but bears little resemblance to the plant.

Apex

The highest point of an arch or gable.

Arcade

A series of arches supported by piers or columns. When applied to the surface of a wall it is called a blind arcade. When used ornamentally it is called arcading.

Arris

The sharp edge where two surfaces meet at an angle.

Ashlar

Squared blocks cut to an even face.

Aumbry

A cupboard or recess for sacred vessels, generally found in the north or south wall of the chancel.

Base

The moulded foot of a column, half-column, pier or pilaster, usually resting on a plinth.

Beading

An ornament resembling a string of beads. Not to be confused with nailhead.

* Adapted from 'Glossary', *CRSBI*, www.crsbi.ac.uk/glossary/ (viewed 30/07/14).

Billet/ Billeting

An ornament consisting of a band or bands of raised short cylinders (roll billet) or square blocks (square billet) placed at intervals.

Boss

A small ornamental projection.

Cable moulding

A moulding in the form of a rope, often applied to the neckings of capitals and the rims of fonts. Double-strand cable has two strands of different thicknesses twisted together.

Capital

The architectural member which surmounts a column and supports an arch. It often provides the visual transition between a round column or shaft below and a square impost block above, which in turn supports the springing of the arch.

Continuous order

In a doorway, window or arcading, an arch which does not rest on a column and capital, but is carried uninterrupted to the plinth.

Corbel

A corbel is a projecting block of stone or timber to support a feature above. A row of corbels, often carved, supporting a parapet, stringcourse or the eaves of a roof is called a **corbel table**.

Coursed masonry

A wall built with regular layers (courses) of squared stones (ashlar).

Coursed rubble

A wall built with irregular stones or flints levelled up in courses.

Crossing

The central space at the junction of the nave, chancel and transepts of a cruciform church.

Crossing tower

The tower over a crossing.

Cushion capital

Normally described as a capital formed by the intersection of a cube and a sphere. It has flat semi-circular faces below the abacus, and the triangular lower angles of the bell are all

that remain of the spherical form. The semi-circular faces are called shields. In variations of the cushion capital, the angles may be keeled or tucked. The shields and the bell may be decorated with carving.

Cusps

Cusping is a repeated design of curves (foils) meeting at points (cusps).

Dogtooth ornament

An ornament consisting of a series of four-pointed stars raised pyramiddally. Popular in sculptural repertoires c. 1200.

Embattled ornament

Consists of horizontal and vertical straight mouldings, repeated to form a band, and often used in the decoration of arches. Also known as 'fret ornament'.

Finial

An ornament at the top of a gable or pinnacle.

Fish scale ornament

A surface ornament resembling the scales of a fish, consisting of rows of overlapping semicircular discs.

Fluting

A series of shallow, concave grooves. In the Classical period fluting was applied to the surface of shafts and columns, but its use was more varied in the Middle Ages.

Foil

A lobe defined by the curve of the cusping in an opening or panel, trefoil (three cusps), quatrefoil (four cusps), cinquefoil (five cusps), multifoil.

Frieze

A horizontal band in the plane of the wall decorated with ornamental or narrative relief.

Gable

The triangular upper portion of a wall to carry a pitched roof.

Herringbone

Masonry laid diagonally along horizontal courses, each course laid in the opposite direction to that below it. The same term can also refer to a design in sculpture that gives the same

appearance. Herringbone is traditionally regarded as a pre-Conquest technique and style but it was still in use during the twelfth century.

Impost

Horizontal projection immediately below the springing of an arch, sometimes immediately above the capital, sometimes used instead of a capital. Not to be confused with an abacus. The commonest twelfth-century forms are chamfered, and hollow-chamfered. Either the upright face or the chamfer may be decorated, and there may be a quirk or an angle roll between face and chamfer.

Inclined jambs

Jambs arranged so they lean inwards towards the centre of the opening.

Jamb

The upright side of an archway, doorway, window or other opening.

Greek key ornament

Also known as 'meander' due to its shape, Greek key ornament is a decorative border consisting of a continuous line that twists and double-backs on itself at right-angles.

Label

A projecting moulding above an arch or a lintel to deflect water. Also called a hoodmould or a dripstone.

Label stops

Ornamental or figural terminations of a label.

Lintel

A horizontal beam of stone or timber, bridging an opening. Often used in conjunction with the tympanum.

Lozenge

A diamond-shaped ornament.

Nailhead ornament

Enrichment in the form of a small pyramid repeated as a band.

Necking

The circular moulding at the bottom of a capital.

Nook shaft

A shaft set in the angle of a pier, respond, jamb of a doorway or window.

Order

One of a series of recessed arches and supports on a doorway, chancel arch or window. The inner arch is the first order, the next arch the second order, and so forth.

Palmette

Classically derived foliate form, often with voluted outer leaves.

Pier

A square or composite pillar performing a similar function to a column.

Quoins

Blocks of ashlar forming the corners of buildings.

Reeding

An enrichment comprised of parallel convex mouldings (the opposite of fluting).

Ribs

Arches forming part of vault.

Roll moulding

A convex moulding of a semi-circular or greater section. If applied to the soffit of an arch, it is called soffit roll, if to the face of an arch, it is called a face roll. Composite roll mouldings are termed double or triple if the rolls are contiguous, or paired if they are separated by another feature.

Rope moulding

See 'cable moulding'.

Saw-tooth ornament

An enrichment in the form of a band of raised triangles.

Scale ornament

See 'fish scale ornament'.

Scallop capital

A development of the cushion capital, where the shields and cones are multiplied to form double scallop, triple scallop or multi scallop capitals. Scallop capitals are susceptible to a

large number of variations, of which the commonest include recessing the shields, or defining them with a groove; sheathing the cones, and carving wedges, fillets or rolls between the cones.

Shaft

The section of a column between the base and capital.

Soffit

The underside of an arch or lintel.

Splay

The term usually refers to the widening of doorways, windows or other wall openings by slanting the jambs.

String course

A horizontal course projecting from a wall, often moulded and at times richly carved.

Tympanum

The segmental field filling the head of an arch, generally over a doorway. It usually rests on a lintel.

Vault

An arched ceiling of stone.

Volute

A spiral scroll or curved ornament, usually found at the corners of capitals.

Vousoir

The wedge-shaped stones that form an arch.

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Fig. 80d. Winchester Psalter, British Library, Cotton Nero C. IV, fol. 24.

Fig. 81–82d. Former voussoirs, nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 83d. Former capital nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 84d. Former base, nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 85–86d. Former corbels, nave interior, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 87d. Font, west face, nave, St Peter, Rendcomb, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 88d. Font, east face, nave, St Peter, Rendcomb, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 89d. Font, north-east face, nave, St Peter, Rendcomb, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 90d. Font, nave, Hereford Cathedral.

Fig. 91d. Font, St Peter, Newnham-on-Severn, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 92d. Font, St George, Orleton, Herefordshire.

Fig. 93d. Font, nave, St Anne, Siston, South Gloucestershire.

Fig. 94d. Nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 95d. Sabre-tooth beakhead, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 96d. Beakhead with projecting arms, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 97d. Sabre-tooth beakhead, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 98d. Beakhead with projecting arms, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 99d. Inner left-hand capital, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 100d. Inner right-hand capital, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 101d. Outer left-hand beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 102d. Outer right-hand beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 103d. Bird beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 104. Bird beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney.

Fig. 105d. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 106d. Detail of female figure, tympanum, nave south doorway, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 107d. Chancel arch, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 108d. Font, nave, St Peter, Siddington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 109d. Nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 110d. Beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 111d. Left-hand dragon-head label-stop, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 112d. Right-hand dragon-head label-stop, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 113d. Left impost, nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 114d. Male human beakhead, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 115d. Niche relief above the nave south doorway, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 116d. Carved wood fragments (polyester resin copies), All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 117d. Niche above the chancel arch, All Hallows, South Cerney, Gloucestershire.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE CORMEILLES FAMILY

Fig. 1e. Nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2e. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 3e. Flower motifs, sanctuary window interior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 4e. Obscured corbel, organ loft, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 5e. Corbel, north chancel exterior, St Mary, Barnsley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 6–7e. Corbels on the north nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 8e. Left-hand capital, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 9e. Right-hand capital, nave north doorway, St Swithin, Quenington, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 10e. Detail of tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 11e. Apex mask, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 12e. Label decorated with balls, chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 13e. Apex mask, nave north-west arcade, Gloucester Cathedral.

Fig. 14e. Lion voussoir, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 15e. Lion corbel, north-east sanctuary, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 16e. Font, St John the Evangelist, Shobdon, Herefordshire.

Fig. 17e. Sanctuary vault boss, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 18e. Sanctuary vault boss, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 19e. Inner right-hand capital, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 20e. Voussoir, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 21e. Corbels, apse exterior, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 22e. Corbels, south nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 23e. Mounted knight corbel, south nave exterior (above the south doorway), St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 24e. Corbels, south nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 25e. South-west chancel capitals, All Saints, Lullington, Somerset.

Fig. 26e. Left-hand dragon-head label-stop, chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 27e. Sagittarius corbel, south nave exterior, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 28e. Capital depicting Sagittarius, Saint-Jouin-de-Marnes, Deux-Sèvres.

Fig. 29e. Capital attributed to the patronage of Henry of Blois, Winchester Cathedral.

Fig. 30e. Two human beakheads, second order of the arch, nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire.

THE PATRONAGE OF ROGER PARVUS

Fig. 1f. Round-headed window, north chancel, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2f. Chancel arch, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 3f. Nave south doorway, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 4f. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Stephen, Moreton Valence, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 5f. Fragment at the former Bell Inn, Alveley, Shropshire.

Fig. 6f. Walrus ivory tau-cross head, Victoria and Albert Museum.

THE PATRONAGE OF BADERON OF MONMOUTH

Fig. 1g. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Ruardean, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2g. Reset tympanum, nave interior, St George, Brinsop, Herefordshire.

Fig. 3g. Corbel, south nave exterior, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 4g. Label of the right arch, Shobdon, Herefordshire.

Fig. 5g. Reset relief, south nave interior, St John the Baptist, Ruardean, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 6g. Corbel, north nave exterior, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

THE PATRONAGE OF WILLIAM DE SOLERS

Fig. 1h. Nave south doorway, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2h. Blocked west doorway, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 3h. Chancel arch, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 4h. North-west chancel arch capitals, St James, Postlip, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 5h. Nave south doorway, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 6h. Chancel arch, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 7h. Outer north-west chancel arch capital, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 8h. Outer south-west chancel arch capital, St John the Evangelist, Pauntley, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 9h. Chancel arch imposts, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 10h. Right-hand capital, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

THE PATRONAGE OF RALPH DE BASKERVILLE

Fig. 1i. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St Michael and All Angels, Harnhill, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2i. Relief, Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire.

Fig. 3i. Reset tympanum, north doorway, St Michael, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire.

Fig. 4i. Relief from the former church of St Michael, Ipswich, Suffolk.

Fig. 5i. Font, St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley, Herefordshire.

Fig. 6i. Reset tympanum, north nave, St Mary Magdalene, Stretton Sugwas, Herefordshire.

Fig. 7i. Serpent, right-hand outer jamb, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 8i. Biped dragon, left-hand capital, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE AUGUSTINIAN CANONS OF SAINTE-BARBE-EN-AUGE

Fig. 1k. Nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 2k. Tympanum, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 3k. Nave north doorway (blocked), St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 4k. Left-hand capital, west face, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 5k. Right-hand capital, east face, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 6k. Left-hand label-stop, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 7k. Right-hand label-stop, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 8k. Chancel arch, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 9k. Beakhead, north-west jamb of the chancel arch, second order, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 10k. Centaur and beakhead, north-west jamb of the chancel arch, second order, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 11k. North-west capitals of the chancel arch, west face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 12k. North-west capitals of the chancel arch, south face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 13k. North capital of the chancel arch, east face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 14k. South-west capitals of the chancel arch, west face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 15k. South-west capitals of the chancel arch, north face, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 16k. Detail of chancel arch looking upwards, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 17k. Trilobed plant, right-hand outer jamb, west face, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 18k. Right-hand outer capital, south face, nave south doorway, St John the Baptist, Beckford, Worcestershire.

Fig. 19k. Pre-Conquest doorway, All Saints, Somerford Keynes, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 20k. Sculpted doorway jamb, Basilica of Sant'Ambrogio, Milan.

THE PATRONAGE OF THE MONKS OF ST PETER'S ABBEY, GLOUCESTER

Fig. 1m. Nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 2m. Exterior stringcourse (original and renewed), St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 3m. Mask above the chancel arch, east face, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 4m. Chapter house doorway, Gloucester Cathedral.

Fig. 5m. Inner left-hand jamb, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 6m. Label, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 7m. Left-hand capital, north face, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 8m. Left-hand capital, west face, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 9m. Left-hand capital, east face, nave south doorway, SS David and Mary, Kilpeck, Herefordshire.

Fig. 10m. Tympanum, nave north doorway, St Mary the Virgin, Upleadon, Gloucestershire.

Fig. 11m. Tympanum, nave north doorway, St John the Baptist, Preston near Dymock, Gloucestershire.

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