Landscapes of Patronage, Power and Salvation: A Contextual Study of Architectural Stone Sculpture in Northern England, c. 1070-c. 1155

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Abstract:

This thesis explores architectural stone sculpture produced in northern England between *c.* 1070 and *c.* 1155. It proposes an integrated interdisciplinary approach to sculpture, weaving together documentary sources, art history, architectural history and archaeology, in order to situate the visual material within its historical context and contemporary networks of patronage. In other words, establishing who commissioned sculpture and why. Patrons of sculpture included the secular elite, ranging from royal individuals to minor lords, and religious communities or individual prelates. It is argued that many patrons selected particular motifs and craftsmen to express their lordship, power, and affinities with other patrons. The spiritual functions of sculptural schemes are also explored, especially in relation to church reform movements of the later eleventh and early twelfth century.

The thesis demonstrates that the study of sculpture can contribute to a number of key historiographical debates, including the effects of the Norman Conquest, behaviours and conditions during the conflicts of Stephen's reign (1135–54), and experiences of 'church reform'. By establishing a close dialogue between sculptural case studies and written sources, it is possible to highlight discrepancies between the material evidence and historical narratives, and subsequently propose new questions and interpretations. Equally, the study of sculpture and patronage networks provides a wealth of new cultural information that can augment existing historical knowledge.

Part 1 charts the development of architectural sculpture from the Norman Conquest until the middle of the twelfth century, identifying patrons and relationships between different sites. Part 2 proceeds to apply these findings in order to explore how sculptural schemes were used to express lordship and power, and reform the behaviours of ecclesiastics and the laity.

LANDSCAPES OF PATRONAGE, POWER AND SALVATION:

A CONTEXTUAL STUDY OF ARCHITECTURAL STONE SCULPTURE IN NORTHERN ENGLAND, *c.* 1070–*c.* 1155

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Volume 1 of 2

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Abbreviations

CASSS	R. Cramp *et al*., *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, 12 vols (Oxford, 1977–).
CRSBI	*Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/.
DB Glos.	*Domesday Book: Gloucestershire*, ed. J. S. Moore (Chichester, 1982).
DB Yorks.	*Domesday Book: Yorkshire*, 2 vols, eds. M. L. Faull and M. Stinson (Chichester, 1986).
DCL	Durham Cathedral Library
DNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/.
EEA Durham	*English Episcopal Acta 24: Durham, 1153–1195*, ed. M. G. Snape (Oxford, 2002).
EEA York, 1070–1154	*English Episcopal Acta 5: York, 1070–1154*, ed. J. E. Burton (Oxford, 1988).
EEA York, 1154–1181	*English Episcopal Acta 20: York, 1154–1181*, ed. M. Lovatt (Oxford, 1988).
EYC	*Early Yorkshire Charters*, 12 vols, eds. W. Farrer and C. T. Clay (1914–65).
GS	*Gesta Stephani*, eds. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976).
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal*
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JH	John of Hexham, 'The History of the Church of Hexham', ed. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, vol. 4, part 1 (London, 1856), pp. 1–32.
JW	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, vol. 3, ed. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998).
OV	Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 6 vols, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969–80).
RH	Richard of Hexham, 'The Acts of King Stephen, and the Battle of the Standard', ed. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, vol. 4, part 1 (London, 1856), pp. 33–58.
RRAN	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, 4 vols, eds. H. W. C. Davis, R. H. C. Davis and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1913–69).

Symeon, *LDE*	Symeon of Durham*, Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius hoc est Dunhelmensis Ecclesie*, ed. D. Rollason (Oxford, 2000).
TCWAAS	*Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society.*
YAJ	*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*

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Introduction

In the British Isles, a wealth of sculpture survives from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. However, for all its abundance, this body of material evidence is relatively understudied and under-appreciated. The early seminal works of Edward Prior, Arthur Gardner and George Zarnecki laid the foundations for the modern study of English Romanesque sculpture.[1] Today, the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland* (*CRSBI*) marks the present culmination of Romanesque sculpture studies in the British Isles as it seeks to record and photograph all surviving examples in the region, and make these digitally accessible.[2] The value of the *CRSBI* lies in the vast quantity of data that it provides, as well as its ability to create photographic records of historic artworks that are often at risk of erosion, damage and theft. As the project nears completion, it is possible to deploy this data to understand various aspects of medieval life, address broader historical debates about medieval culture, religion and politics, and ask new historical questions.

This study proposes precisely such an approach, using an integrated interdisciplinary methodology that combines documentary evidence, art history, architectural history and archaeology to contextualise sculpture. The principal purpose of contextualisation will be to identify patrons and networks of patronage, revealing a wealth of political, social and cultural information that can be used to elucidate the sculpture. Contextualisation also involves positioning the sculpture within historical narratives, and this depends on the availability and use of written sources. There has been a tendency in past scholarship to ask only how historical narratives can inform sculpture, rather than how sculptural evidence can enable us to augment or challenge these narratives. In this respect, then, the field of Romanesque sculpture studies has too often positioned itself as the handmaiden to history, much like archaeology and other fields of material culture.[3] To the contrary, sculpture studies in their own right can help reshape the history of eleventh and twelfth-century England.

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[1] E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912); G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140* (London, 1951); idem, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140–1210* (London, 1953).

[2] *CRSBI*, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk.

[3] Cf. A. McClain, 'Rewriting the Narrative: Regional Dimensions of the Norman Conquest', in D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2017), p. 205.

It would be unrealistic to attempt a national survey of Anglo-Norman sculpture using this methodology, and for this reason the following study sets a number of geographical and chronological parameters. In the first instance, it explores stone sculpture in the modern counties of Yorkshire,[4] Cumbria, Durham and Northumberland, including Tyne and Wear,

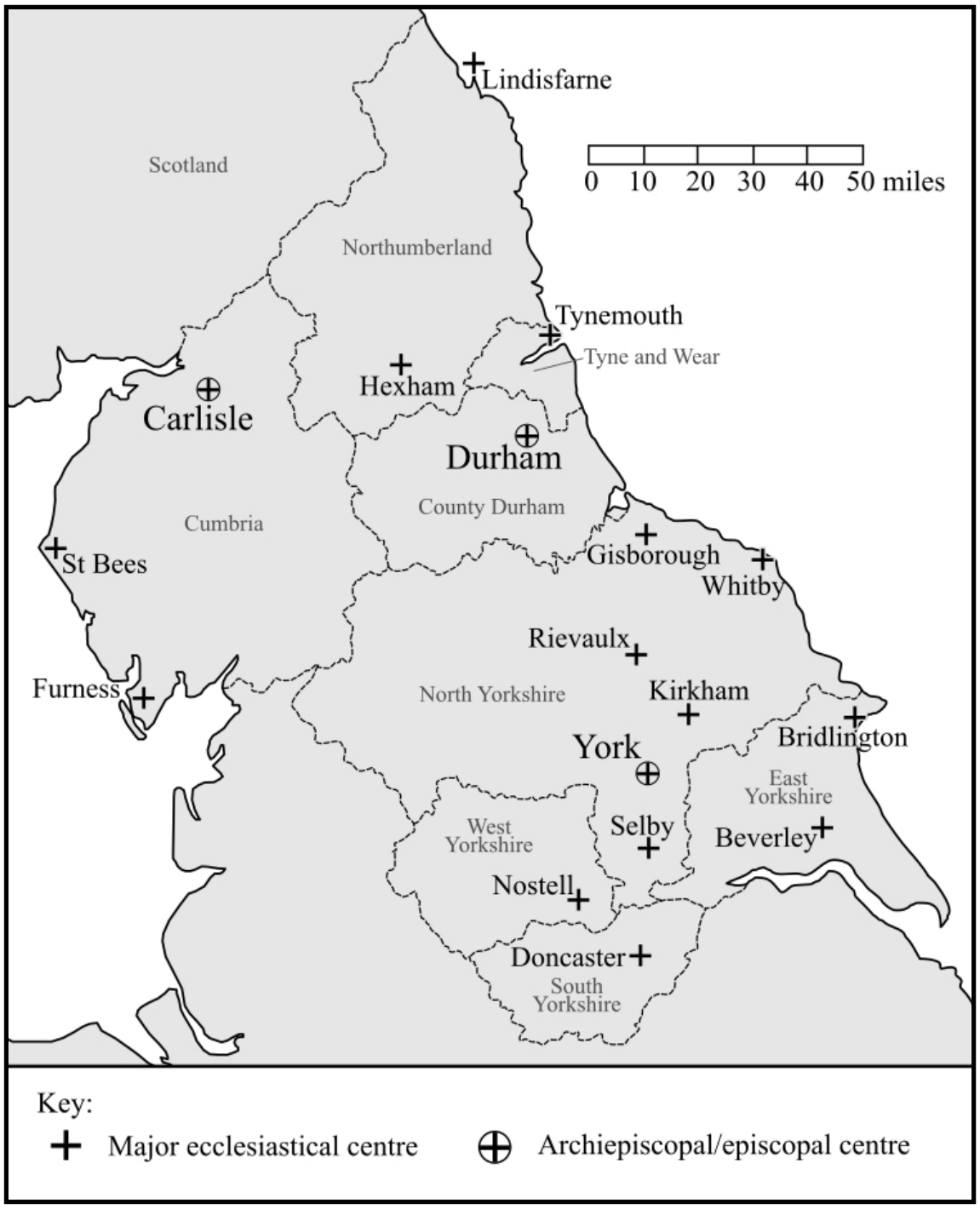

Fig. A.1. Modern county map of northern England.

[4] Yorkshire, which was formerly divided into three Ridings, now comprises the four counties of North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, West Yorkshire and South Yorkshire.

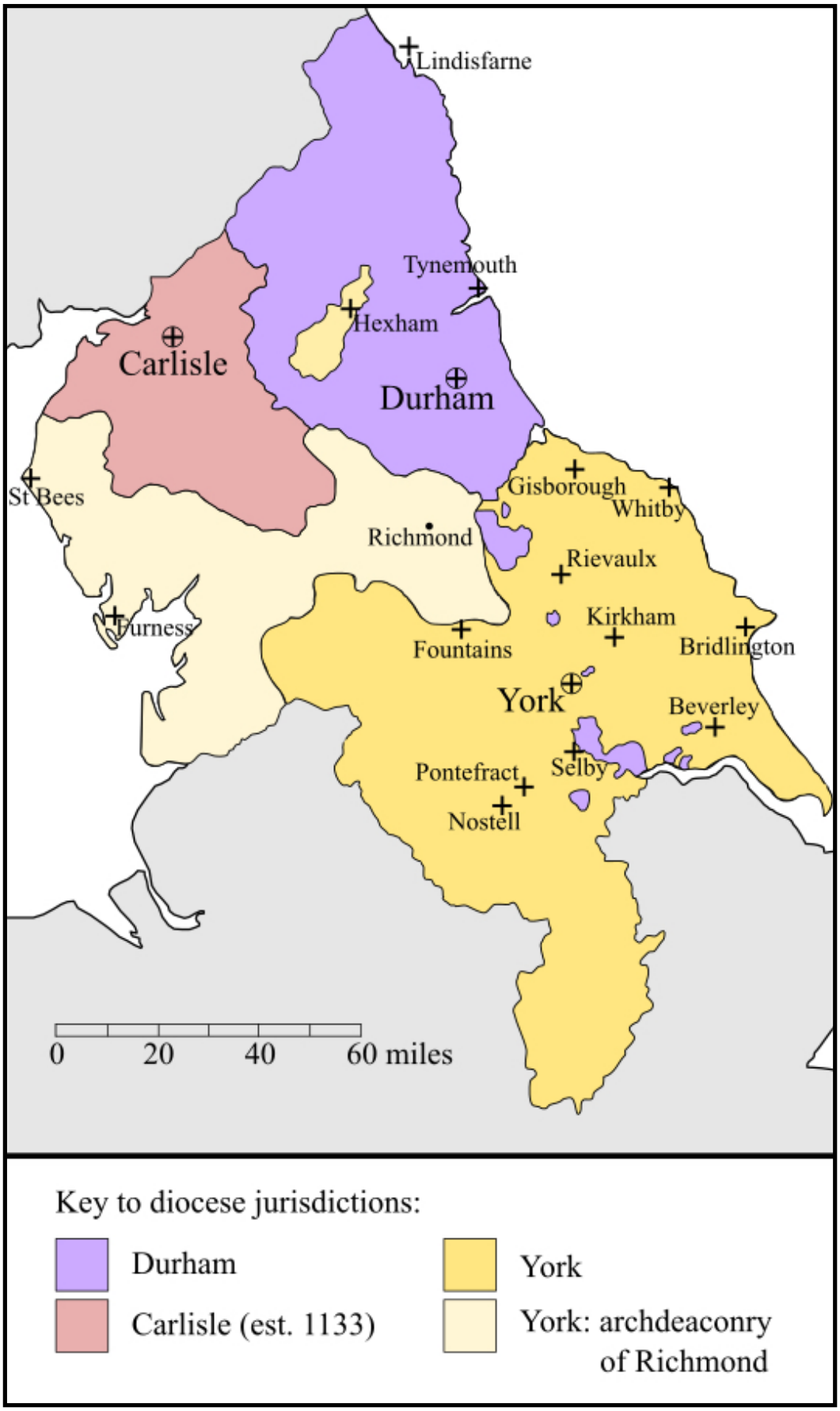

Fig. A.2. Diocese map of northern England in the mid-twelfth century.

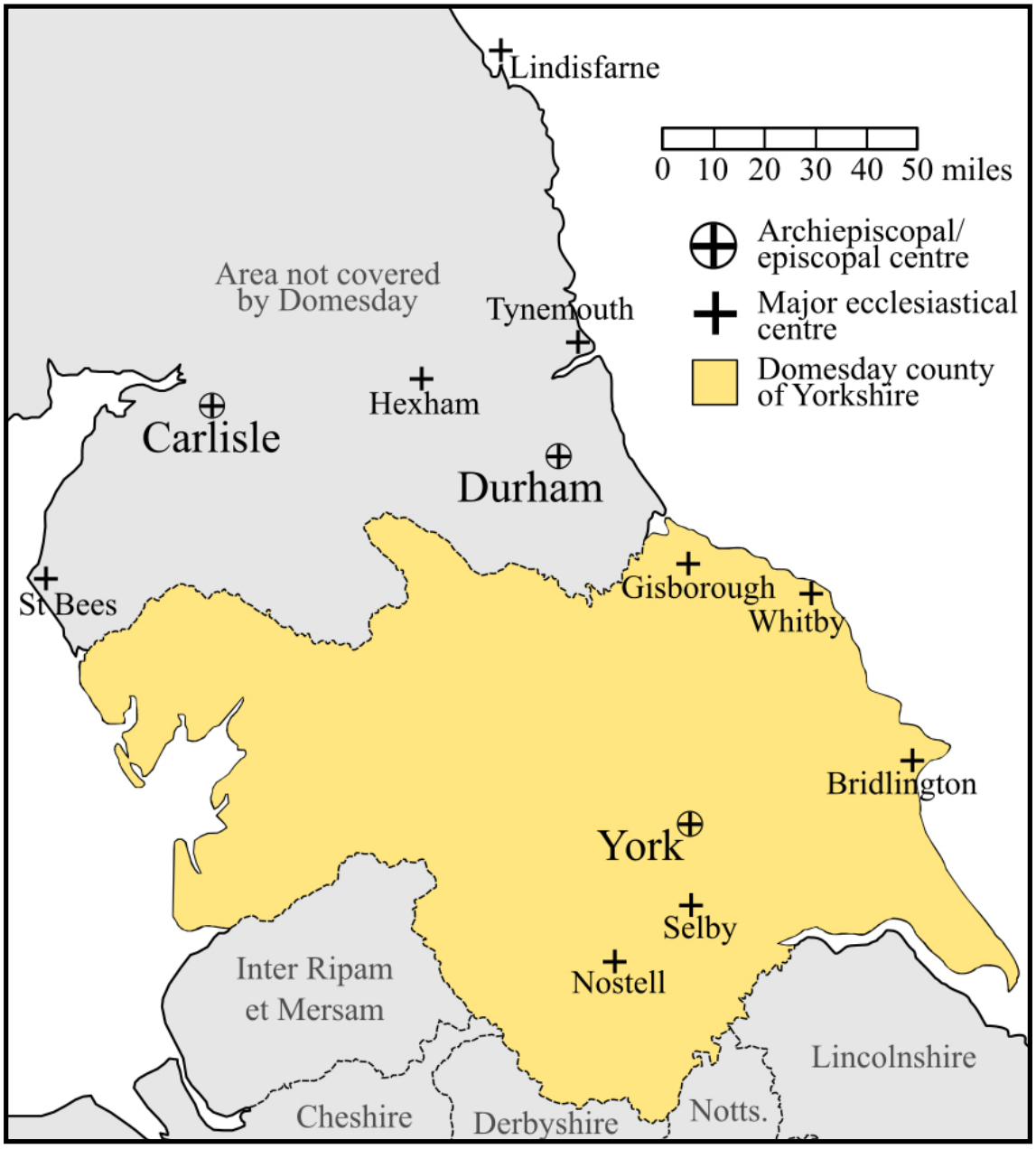

Fig. A.3. Domesday map of northern England.

broadly covering the later eleventh and twelfth-century dioceses of York, Durham, and Carlisle, the latter as it was established in 1133 (figs. A.1–3). A related caveat is that the term 'northern England' is used throughout this study as a geographical shorthand, and is not intended to suggest that this region was in some way clearly defined in terms of culture or identity by the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Politically speaking, the area around Carlisle did not come under the control of the English crown until 1092, and during Stephen's reign Cumberland and Northumberland were effectively annexed by David I,

king of Scots. These events underline that the northern border of England remained fluid during this period.[5]

In terms of chronology, this study explores those sculptural schemes that were created between *c.* 1070 and *c.* 1155. By adopting this timeframe, it is possible to chart the development of sculptural decoration against the backdrop of major political episodes, namely the Norman Conquest; the reforms of Henry I (1100–35), such as his decision to introduce new barons to northern England; and the conflicts of Stephen's reign (1135–54). There are also practical and stylistic reasons for selecting these dates. The earliest surviving post-conquest sculptural schemes in northern England that can be dated with precision were produced during the 1070s. Meanwhile, the second half of the twelfth century saw the introduction of Gothic architectural forms to northern England, principally through the commissions of Roger of Pont l'Évêque, archbishop of York (1154–81), and Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham (1153–95), and sculptural decoration began to change accordingly.[6] While the Romanesque style did persist during the later twelfth century, it was no longer the dominant style for new building programmes initiated at both major and minor centres.

Terminological issues connected to these larger chronological frameworks also require consideration and, where possible, resolution. The label 'Romanesque' is almost universally applied to architecture and sculpture produced in England between the Norman Conquest and *c.* 1155, although it is also used more broadly to describe buildings erected across Europe before and after this timeframe. In architectural circles, the term has been criticised for being an anachronism that is simultaneously vague and imprecise. Recently, Eric Fernie has defended the term when used as a stylistic label for medieval European

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[5] G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Anglo-Scottish Border', *Northern History* 1 (1966), pp. 21–42; idem, 'The Scots and the North of England', in E. King (ed.), *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 231–53; idem, 'King David I, Earl Henry and Cumbria', *TCWAAS* 99 (1999), pp. 117–27; W. M. Aird, 'Northern England or Southern Scotland? The Anglo-Scottish Border in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries and the Problem of Perspective', in J. C. Appleby and P. Dalton (eds.), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000–1700* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 27–39; R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092–1136', *Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Tract Series* 21 (2006).

[6] M. Thurlby, 'Roger of Pont l'Evêque, Archbishop of York (1154–81), and French Sources for the Beginnings of Gothic in Northern Britain', in J. Mitchell (ed.), *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale* (Stamford, 2000), pp. 35–47; S. Harrison and C. Norton, *York Minster: An Illustrated Architectural History 627–c. 1500* (York, 2015), pp. 30–3; J. A. Cunningham, *Buildings and Patrons: Early Gothic Architecture in the Diocese of Durham c. 1150–c. 1300* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1995).

buildings that have features rooted in classical Roman architecture, such as round-headed arches, columns and architectural sculpture, while recognising the importance and intensity of regional variations.[7] By definition, the identification of Romanesque sculpture is largely dependent on the architecture that it accompanies, and many leading scholars, including those involved in the *CRSBI*, have seen no problem in labelling sculpture as 'Romanesque' where it is an integral part of architecture exhibiting classically derived articulation and round-headed openings.[8]

On the other hand, arbitrarily labelling sculpture on the basis of architectural features can be a source of dissonance, especially when the sculptural motifs and styles cannot themselves be traced to antiquity. Also problematic is that some common 'Romanesque' sculptural motifs used in England during the later eleventh and early twelfth century also occur in earlier Anglo-Saxon sculpture and later Gothic architecture, yet these same motifs would rarely be termed 'Romanesque' in either of these other contexts. So, although the term represents a useful shorthand, and is used as such in what follows, it is clear that 'Romanesque' must be treated with added caution when used to label sculpture. For this reason, it will be used sparingly and largely in relation to architectural fabric.

There are of course other loaded and potentially ambiguous terms that impinge on the discussions that follow, such as 'Anglo-Saxon', 'Anglo-Norman', 'Saxo-Norman', and 'Norman'.[9] In this study, 'Anglo-Saxon' is typically applied as a chronological and stylistic term to denote the various motifs, styles and techniques that were in use before the Norman Conquest, but it is also used as a socio-political and ethnic term to denote people who were members of pre-conquest society and were probably born and raised in England before the Norman Conquest. Much debate exists regarding the persistence of 'Anglo-Saxon identity' after the conquest. John Gillingham has argued that cultural and ethnic

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[7] E. Fernie, 'The Concept of the Romanesque', in J. McNeill and R. Plant (eds.), *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe* (Leeds, 2013), pp. 283–9; idem, *Romanesque Architecture: The First Style of the European Age* (Yale, 2014), pp. 1–28. Here, Fernie ably summarises the views of scholars who have criticised or attempted to clarify the term, as well as highlighting that the origins of the 'First Romanesque' style have been, and still are, hotly debated. Also see idem, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), p. 318.

[8] See, for example, 'What is Romanesque?', *CRSBI*, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/about/defining-romanesque/ (accessed 16/07/2018); M. Thurlby with B. Coplestone-Crow, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston, 2013), p. 37.

[9] All of these terms are briefly addressed by Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 317–8, and his comments have influenced the discussion that follows.

divisions between the Anglo-Saxons and Normans had largely disappeared by the time of Stephen's reign (1135–54), whereas Hugh Thomas has maintained that such divisions still existed in the mid-twelfth century.[10] The term 'Anglo-Norman' is used in some circles as a cultural term to denote this blurring of boundaries between Anglo-Saxon and Norman identities, however in this study it is applied as a chronological and geographical label to refer to architecture and sculpture produced in England after the conquest until the mid-twelfth century. It should not be confused with the term 'Saxo-Norman' which is widely used by architectural historians and archaeologists to refer to the hybridisation of Anglo-Saxon and Norman material culture that occurred before and after the Norman Conquest. Meanwhile, the term 'Norman' is applied in two ways throughout this study: first, as an ethnic label to denote individuals who originated from Normandy and had interests in the region, whether territorial or familial, and second, as a geographic term to refer to art and architecture physically created or located in Normandy.

Another problematic term is 'church reform'. In the first half of the twentieth century, there was a tendency to conflate all types of reform with the papacy, leading scholars like Augustin Fliche to place a reductionist emphasis on the Gregorian Reform.[11] Subsequent ambiguity about the meaning of 'church reform' caused Gerd Tellenbach to remark that the term was 'an empty formula' that could refer to any number of different movements across western Europe that sought to alter attitudes and behaviours relating to religion and the church. Nonetheless, Tellenbach asserted the centrality of the papacy in church reform.[12] H. E. J. Cowdrey proceeded to highlight the role of Cluny in reform, principally by exploring the cooperation between the Cluniacs and the papacy.[13] Criticisms of these older models of church reform have since crystallised in the revisionist works of Steven Vanderputten and Jay Diehl, who have questioned 'reform' terminology while challenging any residual notion of a homogenous reform movement across Latin Christendom.

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[10] J. Gillingham, 'Henry of Huntingdon and the Twelfth-Century Revival of the English Nation', *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.

[11] Fliche, *La réforme grégorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1057–1123)* (Paris, 1940).

[12] G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1993), esp. pp. 157–8; idem, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. R. F. Bennett (Oxford, 1948).

[13] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970).

Crucially, their research has highlighted the unique characters of local and regional reform movements.[14] These findings are complemented by those of Alison Beach, whose study of monastic reform in south-west Germany has highlighted that change was not necessarily welcomed and could irreparably damage the cultural fabric of an institution as divisions emerged between its members.[15]

A cursory glance at the ecclesiastical history of northern England during the later eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century reveals a plethora of different movements that can be termed 'reformist', and which brought about a variety of changes and even 'traumas'. The monastic revival of the later eleventh century, characterised by the arrival of Benedictine monks from the south, sparked a number of monastic reform movements. This included the replacement of the secular community at Durham with monks from Jarrow in 1083, and the schism at Whitby that ultimately led to the foundation of St Mary's Abbey, York, *c*. 1086.[16] The arrival of Cistercian monks in the region during the second quarter of twelfth century brought a different strand of ideas, centred on a reinterpretation of the Rule of St Benedict, that called for a greater observation of simplicity and austerity. Cistercian reforms precipitated their own conflicts, such as the schism at St Mary's Abbey in 1132 which resulted in the foundation of the Cistercian abbey at Fountains, and the schism at the Augustinian priory at Kirkham, which occurred at some point in the 1130s in response to the foundation of the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx.[17] The rise of the Augustinian order during the same period led to another series of local reform movements, typically characterised by endeavours to augment existing networks of parish churches and provide

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[14] S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, 2013), pp. 3–8, 186–9; idem, *Imagining Religious Leadership in the Middle Ages: Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Politics of Reform* (Ithaca, 2015), pp. 1–6, 160–4; J. Diehl and S. Vanderputten, 'Cluniac Customs Beyond Cluny: Patterns of Use in the Southern Low Countries', *Journal of Religious History* 41 (2017), pp. 22–6.

[15] A. I. Beach, *The Trauma of Monastic Reform: Community and Conflict in Twelfth-Century Germany* (Cambridge, 2017).

[16] For the reform of Durham Cathedral Priory, see Symeon, *LDE*, IV. 2–3, pp. 226–35. For the schism at Whitby, see *De Fundatione Abbatiæ Sanctæ Mariæ Virginis Eboraci*, in W. Dugdale *et al*. (eds.), *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. 3 (London, 1849), pp. 544–6; J. Burton, 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire: Whitby and St Mary's, York', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 47–9.

[17] For the schism at St Mary's Abbey, see C. Wilson and J. Burton, *St Mary's Abbey, York* (York, 1988), p. 3; C. Norton, 'The Design and Construction of the Romanesque Church of St. Mary's Abbey, York', *YAJ* 71 (1999), p. 88. For the schism at Kirkham Priory, see J. Burton, *Kirkham Priory from Foundation to Dissolution* (York, 1995), pp. 7, 21.

better pastoral care for lay communities, sometimes with the aid of didactic sculptural schemes.[18] It is important to note that reform of pastoral care was not the sole preserve of secular canons, and it will be argued that there were communities of Benedictine monks who sought to reform the behaviours of the laity with the assistance of sculpture.

These local reform movements took place alongside, and sometimes in conjunction with, broader processes of change and reform across western Europe. The monastic reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were coupled with far-reaching intellectual changes, including the rise of the schools and the systemisation of theology and canon law.[19] Meanwhile, the papal reforms from the mid-eleventh century promoted widespread criticism of and legislation against various abuses within the church, including simony, clerical marriage and lay investiture. These issues were subsequently addressed by prelates in England; for example, the 1102 Council of Westminster, convened by Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury (1093–1109), prohibited clerical marriage and fornication, and condemned simony.[20] The papal reforms famously sparked the Investiture Contest, and the ripples of this were felt in England as evidenced by the disputes between Anselm and

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[18] For a general discussion of pastoral care, see S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900–1200* (Harlow, 2013), pp. 163–213. For evidence of the direct involvement of the Bridlington canons in pastoral care, see Robert of Bridlington, *The Bridlington Dialogue: an Exposition of the Rule of St Augustine for the Life of the Clergy*, ed. by a Religious of C.S.M.V. (London, 1960), pp. 31–3. For Augustinian canons and pastoral care with the aid of sculpture, see R. Wood, 'Augustinians and Pastoral Work: The Evidence in Sculpture', *Monastic Research Bulletin* 15 (2009), pp. 37–41.

[19] For the rise of the schools, see C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950–1200* (Philadelphia, 1994); S. C. Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and their Critics, 1100–1215* (Stanford, 1985). For the systemisation of theology in the twelfth century, especially by Peter Lombard, see M. L. Colish, 'Systematic theology and theological renewal in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 18 (1988), pp. 135–56; idem, *Peter Lombard*, 2 vols (Leiden, 1994); P. W. Rosemann, 'New Interest in Peter Lombard: The Current State of Research and some *Desiderata* for the Future', *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales* 72 (2005), pp. 133–52; R. van Nieuwenhove, *An Introduction to Medieval Theology* (Cambridge, 2012), esp. pp. 147–66. For canon law, see A. Winroth, *The Making of Gratian's Decretum* (Cambridge, 2000). Also see R. L. Benson and G. Constable (eds.), *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century* (Toronto, 1991); G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1996).

[20] *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, part 2, eds. D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), pp. 668–87; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085* (Oxford, 1998); idem, *Popes and Church Reform in the 11th Century* (Aldershot, 2000); Hamilton, *Church and People*, pp. 60–106.

Henry I, and later between Thurstan, archbishop of York (1114–40), and the same king.[21] Members of the secular elite increasingly donated their manorial churches and chapels to religious communities during the twelfth century, and this can be understood in relation to the papal reforms and concerns regarding investiture.[22] While this thesis is not a study of 'church reform' *per se*, it will highlight the role of sculptural schemes in various local movements relating to pastoral care and the reform of behaviours.

The corpus of stone sculpture that forms the backbone of this study is principally located at ecclesiastical sites, or else comprises fragmentary remains that have been found at ecclesiastical sites and are now stored or exhibited elsewhere. There is no escaping the fact that a disproportionately large amount of sculpture survives at churches, whereas most contemporary secular buildings, including castles and elite residences, have been destroyed over the intervening centuries. The emphasis on stone sculpture is similarly necessitated by the loss of all eleventh and twelfth-century timber buildings in the region. The first abbey church and claustral buildings at Selby are known, for example, to have been constructed of wood; the form and decoration of these structures are unknown.[23] Furthermore, there is little surviving sculpture in other media, such as ivory and metal.[24] There are also important examples of stone sculpture in the region that fall beyond the scope of this thesis, namely carved commemorative and funerary monuments. Fortunately, many of these artefacts have been discussed elsewhere.[25] Instead, the primary focus will be

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[21] For Anselm and Henry I, see S. N. Vaughn, 'St Anselm and the English Investiture Controversy Reconsidered', *Journal of Medieval History* 6 (1980), pp. 61–86; R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm: A Portrait in a Landscape* (Cambridge, 1990), esp. pp. 232–4, 264–9, 291–5, 302–3. For Thurstan and Henry I, see Hugh the Chantor, *The History of the Church of York, 1066–1127*, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1961), pp. 33–132, esp. pp. 34–75.

[22] S. Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006), esp. pp. 848–51.

[23] *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii: The History of the Monastery of Selby*, eds. J. Burton and L. Lockyer (Oxford, 2013), pp. 40–5.

[24] See Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art 1066–1200* (London, 1984), pp. 210–97.

[25] P. F. Ryder, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Cover in County Durham* (Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, 1985); idem, *Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in West Yorkshire* (West Yorkshire Archaeology Service, 1991); idem, *The Medieval Cross Slab Grave Covers in Cumbria* (Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, 2005); A. N. McClain, *Patronage, Power, and Identity: the Social Use of Local Churches and Commemorative Monuments in Tenth to Twelfth-Century North Yorkshire*, 2 vols (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2005); R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Memorial at Conisbrough', *YAJ* 73 (2001), pp. 41–60.

architectural stone sculpture in northern England, including church furnishings, specifically baptismal fonts.

The present state of research on architectural sculpture in the region is conspicuously uneven. At present there are no published gazetteers of Anglo-Norman architectural sculpture in County Durham, Northumberland or Cumbria, and the best selective studies are those by Eric Cambridge and Malcolm Thurlby.[26] In time, this void should be filled by the *CRSBI*. Until then, the present study offers an interim catalogue alongside a new interpretative framework. Yorkshire preserves the greatest quantity of sculpture, as well as much of the highest quality material, and has generally received the most scholarly attention. The publications of Rita Wood, both in print and on behalf of the *CRSBI*, are by far the most valuable resources for gaining a broad overview, as well as more detailed understandings, of Anglo-Norman sculpture in Yorkshire. For example, her recently published gazetteer provides a near-comprehensive survey of all Yorkshire sites that preserve sculpture she deems Romanesque, dating from the later eleventh to the early thirteenth century.[27] This work will continue to be supplemented by more detailed site reports uploaded to the *CRSBI* online database.

However, a weakness of past studies, and one that will not be readily addressed by the *CRSBI*, is the question of patronage. Rather than seeking to offer a comprehensive record and survey of Anglo-Norman sculpture in northern England, and therefore duplicating the eventual outcome of the *CRSBI*, this study is organised around an attempt to trace networks of patronage, specifically by identifying groups of churches that were commissioned by the same individuals, families or religious communities. By identifying these networks, it becomes possible to detect patterns and offer suggestions as to why sculptural schemes were commissioned. This task has become easier thanks to the publication of new critical editions of written sources, especially collections of charters, although older volumes offer much untapped information. In rare cases, inscriptions on the

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[26] E. Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England: A Style and its Patrons', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 141–60; M. Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Diocese of Carlisle', in M. McCarthy and D. Wilson (eds.), *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology* (Leeds, 2004), pp. 269–90.

[27] R. Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire* (Leeds, 2012). For a list of publications, see R. Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture', http://www.rwromanesque.co.uk (accessed 13/07/2018).

buildings themselves record the names of patrons, as at the churches of Weaverthorpe (North Yorkshire) and Bolton (Cumbria).

That said, ascribing sculpture to particular patrons is not without its challenges. Where lacunae exist in the written evidence, and they frequently do, it is impossible to attribute a building and its decoration with certainty. In these circumstances, it becomes necessary to look for records of landownership in Domesday Book, charters and other written sources, and project the general trend that most churches were founded or rebuilt through the patronage of the local lord, or lords. Where records of churches do survive, these almost always occur within the written documents of religious communities, specifically donation charters. These typically indicate the individual, often a secular benefactor, or group who granted the church to the community, although this is not always the case. From the religious community's perspective, a documentary record was designed to substantiate their claim to a church and its appurtenances; it was not intended to provide a detailed account of who commissioned the sculpture and why.

This raises another important point: where a secular patron or family granted a church to a religious house, it is not always clear who was responsible for the fabric and decoration. For example, the secular patron may have ordered and completed the rebuilding of the church before donating it to a religious community, or the church may have been granted when incomplete, or even before any building programme had taken place. None of these scenarios preclude the possibility that either party led the building campaign independently, or that both parties worked in cooperation at various points or from the outset. In most circumstances, it seems fair to assume that a secular benefactor retained an interest in the donated church, especially when they retained control of the manor in which it was located.[28] A comparative analysis of motifs and iconographies across different sites could potentially help to resolve some of these questions and uncertainties. For example, it is reasonable to suppose that theologically unusual and complex schemes were designed by educated churchmen, while the recurrence of the same unusual motif across different sites connected to the same patron is likely to indicate their involvement, provided the same atelier of sculptors was not employed across all sites.

[28] Cf. Wood, *Proprietary Church*, pp. 683–9.

Material evidence that a patron was involved in the design process or authorised particular motifs does not necessarily indicate that they took an active role throughout the building campaign. The often cited account of Oliver de Merlimond's decision to build a lavishly decorated stone church at Shobdon (Herefordshire) between 1135 and 1143 reveals that a patron might employ a steward to oversee a building campaign in their absence.[29] Presumably this practice was much more common than the silences in the documentary record suggest, especially in light of the fact that the most prolific secular patrons of sculpture in northern England tended to be magnates who controlled vast swathes of land, travelled widely and could be absent from the region on business. Similarly, prelates cannot have continuously overseen building programmes at their respective cathedral or abbey churches, never mind construction projects at the far reaches of their dioceses. Instead, episcopal servants and members of the prelate's religious community must have played a vital role in daily administration.[30]

The contributions of ordinary laypeople to church-building programmes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were probably more substantial than documentary sources suggest. There are accounts from elsewhere in England of prelates offering indulgences to members of the laity who laboured on large ecclesiastical construction projects.[31] Further afield, the writings of Suger, abbot of St-Denis (1122–51), regarding the rebuilding of his abbey church just outside medieval Paris reveal that broad sections of the laity, from common folk to nobles, were roused by religious fervour to haul stones from the quarry to the site of the new abbey church.[32] On smaller church-building projects, it is likely that unskilled labourers were recruited from among the local population in return for the promise of

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[29] *The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey*, ed. J. C. Dickinson and P. T. Ricketts, in *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club* 39 (1969), pp. 413–46.

[30] For example, the late tenth-century rebuilding of Orléans Cathedral was initiated by the bishop but overseen by '*custodes operis*', see W. Vroom, 'Financing Cathedral-Building in the Middle Ages: The Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries', in G. E. M. Gasper and S. H. Gullbekk (eds.), *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200: Practice, Morality and Thought* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 108–9. The rebuilding of Durham Cathedral (1093–*c.* 1133) was overseen by the monastic community when the see was vacant, see Symeon, *LDE*, pp. ?

[31] For the indulgences offered by Theobald of Canterbury (1138–61) and Joscelin of Salisbury (1142–84), see A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1956), nos. 92–4, pp. 314–5; *English Episcopal Acta 18: Salisbury, 1078–1217*, ed. B. R. Kemp (Oxford, 1999), no. 54, p. 38.

[32] Suger of St-Denis, '*Libellus alter de consecratione ecclesiæ Sancti Dionysii*', in E. Panofsky and G. Panofsky-Soergel (eds.), *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures* (2nd edition, Princeton, 1979), pp. 92–93.

spiritual gain or as a means of fulfilling the dues owed to their lord.[33] How far this directly contributed to the production of sculptural schemes is debatable.

Lay offerings and donations were potentially more significant in supporting the employment of the skilled craftsmen responsible for carved decoration. For example, Ranulf Flambard, bishop of Durham (1099–1128), is reported to have relied exclusively on offerings made at the altar and dues from the cemetery to continue the rebuilding of Durham Cathedral.[34] According to Jocelin de Brakelond, Samson the subsacrist of Bury St Edmunds, later abbot (1182–1211), was given money by the townsfolk for building the great tower of the abbey church. Later, he set a chest inside the abbey church so that members of the laity could make gifts to fund the completion of the work.[35] Likewise, Suger supplemented his building funds with offerings and collections from the laity, and also installed a collection box specifically for the building work.[36] In a late eleventh and early twelfth-century English context, such offerings could have taken many forms, including livestock, food and textiles, since England did not possess a monetary economy until the late twelfth century.[37] This study will emphasise the role of elite secular and ecclesiastical patrons in the creation of sculptural schemes, precisely because they are the ones named in documentary sources. However, the contributions of other unnamed individuals at the lower echelons of society should not be forgotten.

A further issue relating to the contextualisation of sculpture that has already been touched upon but deserves fuller consideration is the matter of dating. In the chapters that follow, it will be seen that very few sculptural schemes can be dated with precision on the basis of written evidence alone, and this can be problematic when attempting to attribute decoration to particular patrons and using sculptural case studies to reassess specific historical events.

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[33] J. L. Bolton, 'The Church and Money in Twelfth-Century England', in G. E. M. Gasper and S. H. Gullbekk (eds.), *Money and the Church in Medieval Europe, 1000–1200: Practice, Morality and Thought* (Farnham, 2015), p. 133.

[34] Symeon, *LDE*, 'Appendix B', ch. 2, pp. 274–7; D. Rollason, 'Durham Cathedral 1093–1193: Sources and History', in M. Jackson (ed.), *Engineering a Cathedral* (London, 1993), p. 8.

[35] Jocelin de Brakelond, *De Rebus Gestis Samsonis Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Edmundi*, ed. J. G. Rokewode (London, 1840), pp. 7–8.

[36] Suger, '*Libellus alter de consecratione*', pp. 102–3.

[37] C. R. Cheney, 'Church-Building in the Middle Ages', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 34 (1951), pp. 30–31; J. L. Bolton, 'What is money? What is a money economy? When did a money economy emerge in Medieval England?', in D. Wood (ed.), *Medieval Money Matters* (Oxford, 2004), pp. 1–15; R. Britnell, 'Uses of money in Medieval Britain', in idem, pp. 16–30.

Donation charters, for example, rarely indicate whether a new church and its sculptural schemes had been completed before or after the date of the gift. In theory, the granted church could have been a pre-existing structure and some years may have elapsed before it was rebuilt or modified. These ambiguities necessitate a synthesis of different analytical techniques. Style analysis is by far the most commonly deployed technique for dating sculpture, although it is also the most subjective and potentially problematic. There are some elements of style analysis that come only with growing experience of the eye - detecting sculpture that has been recut or reworked, for example - whereas other approaches are easier to quantify, such as chronological typology. It will be seen that the emergence of certain motifs, such as beakhead ornament, can be dated with remarkable precision and their popularisation was often the product of dissemination from a major centre. On the other hand, it is important to avoid a teleological interpretation where the chronological development of sculpture is regarded as a clear, linear process from primitive to more advanced forms. There are many sculptural schemes that have been deemed rudimentary and assigned to an early date accordingly, when the presence of particular motifs and a knowledge of the historical context actually indicate a later date of execution.[38] It is also important to analyse sculpture within its architectural context.[39] Breaks or inconsistencies in the church fabric can have a significant bearing on the dating of accompanying sculpture, while the architectural setting can provide clues as to the original function of a scheme.

Interpreting sculptural imagery and iconography is a key component of this study and will be used to address various questions relating to the function of sculptural schemes, particularly the role of carved decoration in experiences of lordship, power and religion. It should be acknowledged from the outset that reading sculpture is a subjective process. Early scholarship tended to oscillate between two extremes of interpretation. On one side there were those who regarded imagery that was not overtly religious in subject matter as mere decoration devoid of meaning, whereas other commentators were of the opinion that

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[38] R. Gem, 'The English Parish Church in the 11th and Early 12th Centuries: a Great Rebuilding?', in J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1200* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 23–30; O. H. Creighton and D. W. Wright, *The Anarchy: War and Status in 12th-Century Landscapes of Conflict* (Liverpool, 2016), esp. 119–21, 129–31.

[39] Scholars who vocally support the study of sculpture within its architectural context include M. Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, p. xi; and C. E. Armi, *Design and Construction in Romanesque Architecture* (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 4–5.

every detail carried some form of symbolism.[40] Recent scholarship has typically taken a more balanced approach, while arguing that some motifs and schemes may have carried multiple meanings.[41] A balanced approach is certainly advocated by this study, and where possible, relevant contemporary texts will be used to elucidate sculptural imagery.

It is important to realise that the sculptural schemes which survive today are rarely complete or reflective of their original appearance. In the first instance, all standing churches discussed in this study have undergone some form of modification or rebuilding in subsequent decades and centuries, and the extant sculpture is often a proportion of a once greater whole. There is also a general consensus that many sculptural schemes and their surrounding architecture were originally enriched with polychromy. Today, the vast majority of churches preserve no such painted decoration, however it will be highlighted throughout this study that residual pigments can be found on sculpture at both major and minor ecclesiastical sites. Analysis of architectural and sculptural polychromy is a developing field, although little work has been done on Romanesque stone sculpture in England.[42] By contrast, it is a moot point whether some sculptural schemes were further enriched with other materials, such as glass beads, metals, and precious or semi-precious stones.

Another unfortunate reality that hinders the ability to understand the development of architectural sculpture in northern England at this time is the loss of several major contemporary churches, particularly within Yorkshire. The Anglo-Norman churches of York Cathedral, St Mary's Abbey, Holy Trinity Priory (York), Gisborough Priory, Whitby Abbey, Kirkham Priory, Fountains Abbey, Drax Priory (North Yorkshire), Bridlington Priory (East Yorkshire), Pontefract Priory, Nostell Priory (West Yorkshire), Tynemouth

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[40] These differing viewpoints are succinctly summarised by Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, p. 55, and K. Hauglid, *Romanske Konsollfriser og en tolkning av konsollfrisen på Nidarosdomens oktogon* (unpublished thesis, University of Oslo, 2007), pp. 65–8.

[41] For example, see R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', *Studies in Early English Christian Medieval and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), p. 149; T. A. Heslop, "Brief in Words but Heavy in the Weight of its Mysteries", *Art History* 9 (1986), pp. 1–11; Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, pp. 55, 198; R. Stalley, 'Diffusion, Imitation and Evolution: The Uncertain Origins of "Beakhead" Ornament', in J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 127.

[42] See, for example, S. Bucklow, R. Marks and L. Wrapson (eds.), *The Art and Science of the Church Screen in Medieval Europe: Making, Meaning, Preserving* (Woodbridge, 2017); N. L. W. Streeton and K. Kollandsrud (eds.), *Paint and Piety: Collected Essays on Medieval Painting and Polychrome Sculpture* (London, 2014); J. Nadolny (ed.), *Medieval Painting in Northern Europe: Techniques, Analysis, Art History* (London, 2006).

Priory (Tyne and Wear), Hexham Abbey (Northumberland), Wetheral Priory, and Furness Abbey (Cumbria) have no or very few standing remains, and our knowledge of the sculptural decoration at these sites is limited as a result. By tracing networks of patronage, this study advocates a process of speculative reconstruction whereby recurring sculptural forms and motifs at dependent and affiliated churches are understood to potentially reflect lost sculptural schemes at a mother church. Such an approach rests on the well-worn view that new ideas and developments were typically transmitted from centre to periphery. Undoubtedly there were exceptions to the rule, but the fact remains that religious centres frequently had the resources to employ the most skilled and experienced craftsmen who, in turn, were capable of introducing innovations in design that were likely to prove attractive for emulation elsewhere in the region. Moreover, the same patron was often responsible for sculptural schemes at a major centre and a number of its dependent churches and chapels, making overlaps in sculptural forms and motifs, as well as craftsmen, all the more likely. Recently this approach has been advocated by Thurlby, and its efficacy will be demonstrated by applying it to a wider geographical area in conjunction with a more detailed analysis of patronage networks.[43]

What follows is organised in two parts. The first broadly addresses the development and patronage of architectural sculpture between *c.* 1070 and *c.* 1155. Alongside investigations of patronage, Chapter 1 analyses processes of continuity and change in the immediate aftermath of the Norman Conquest (until *c*. 1100) through the lens of sculptural decoration, thus offering a new way of interpreting the cultural effects of the conquest. Chapter 2 proceeds to chart networks of ecclesiastical and secular patronage in the first half of the twelfth century through a series of sub-chapters, each focusing on a particular patron or group of patrons and their respective commissions. By contextualising sculpture at minor churches in particular, it is possible to highlight important patterns across different sites and attempt to speculatively reconstruct the sculptural decoration of lost major churches. The second part presents two thematic chapters based on the findings of part one, specifically looking at how sculptural case studies can augment and challenge broader historical interpretations and debates. Chapter 3 explores the role of sculptural schemes in the visual expression of lordship and power, while Chapter 4 seeks to situate sculpture

[43] See, for example, M. Thurlby, 'The Abbey Church of Lessay (Manche) and Romanesque Architecture in North-East England', *Antiquaries Journal* 94 (2014), pp. 71–92; idem, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 269–90.

within experiences of faith and practices of church reform by weaving together material and written evidence. The chapters that follow will reveal the value of a historical application of sculpture, and the ability of sculptural schemes to reveal past interactions and experiences that are often absent from the written record.

Part I
The development and patronage of sculpture, *c.* 1070–*c.* 1155

Chapter 1

Continuity and change: early post-conquest sculpture in northern England, *c.* 1070–*c.* 1100

In order to understand sculpture in northern England at the turn of the twelfth century and beyond, it is vital to chart the development of this artistic medium in the last decades of the eleventh century. Sculptural patronage in this period stands against the political backdrop of the Norman Conquest and inevitably invites questions about the extent to which sculptural styles and techniques changed in the aftermath of the conquest, and whether this was a direct consequence of Norman rulership.

The scholarship on the effects of the Norman Conquest is vast and varied, and has been admirably summarised elsewhere.[1] Here, it is sufficient to point out that recent scholarship has challenged traditional interpretations of the conquest as a predominantly violent and antagonistic clash between two fundamentally opposed ethnic groups. Instead, it has been proposed that the conquest be regarded as a complex and protracted process of transition,

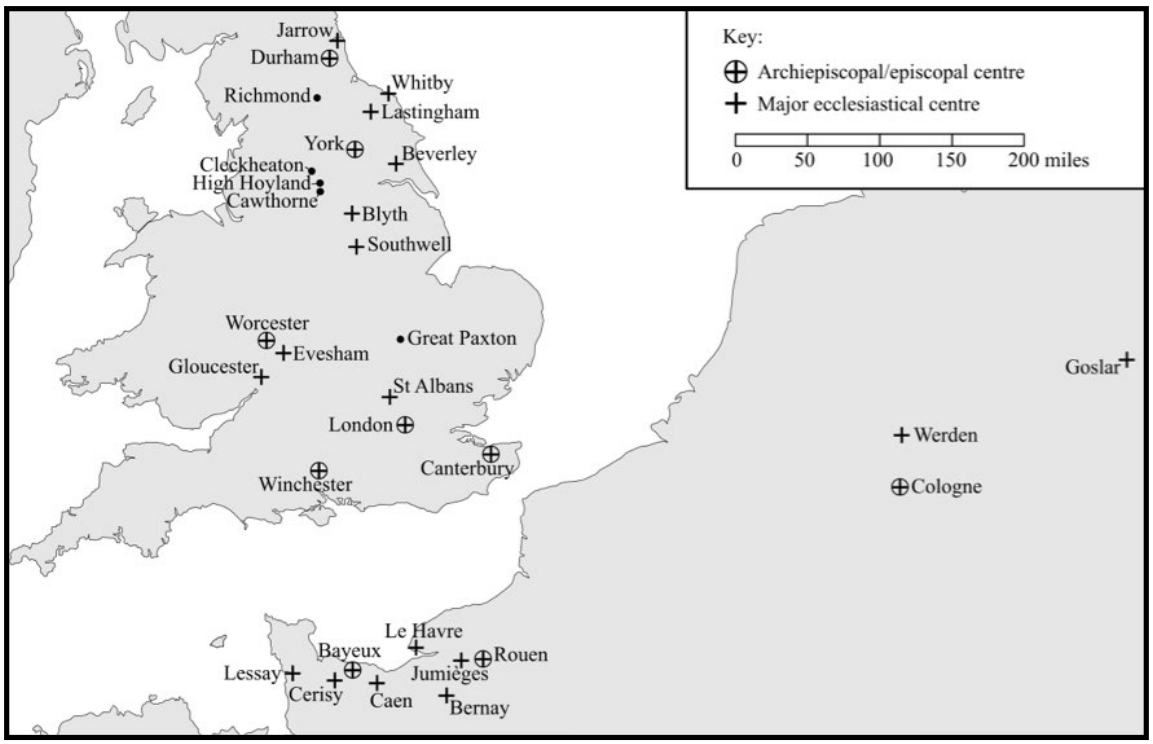

Fig. B.1. Map of relevant sites in north-western Europe.

[1] M. Chibnall, *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester, 1999); H. M. Thomas, 'History, Archaeology and the Norman Conquest', in D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 283–300.

negotiation and cultural amalgamation that varied between regions and continued into the twelfth century.[2] Within every field of history, whether it be political, legal, economic, religious, social or cultural, there is evidence of both change and continuity. Likewise, archaeologists, who are relative latecomers to the debate on the effects of the Norman Conquest, have collectively observed the persistence of some cultural practices and the disappearance or alteration of others.[3] It is also becoming apparent that studies of archaeology and material culture can be used to augment and challenge historical narratives of the conquest.[4]

Studies of ecclesiastical architecture in the early post-conquest period similarly straddle this dichotomy between change and continuity. There is no denying that the Norman Conquest brought sudden and highly visible changes to all major religious sites in England, to the effect that the pre-conquest fabrics of all cathedrals and large monasteries were systematically demolished and rebuilt in the Romanesque style.[5] Romanesque architecture was not new to England: Westminster Abbey was rebuilt in this style through the patronage of Edward the Confessor (1042–1066) and Fernie has coined the term 'Anglo-Saxon Romanesque' in recognition of the fact that there were pre-conquest masons and patrons who were inspired by buildings elsewhere in western Europe.[6] However, there can be little doubt that the conquest accelerated the adoption of the Romanesque style across all parts of England.[7] On the other hand, there were many minor churches and chapels founded after 1066 that were constructed and embellished according to pre-conquest traditions by native craftsmen.[8] In northern England, it will be seen that some of these buildings feature sculptural schemes that amalgamate pre-conquest styles and techniques with motifs that were introduced to England after the conquest through the

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[2] McClain, 'Rewriting the Narrative', pp. 204, 223–4.

[3] D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2017).

[4] McClain, 'Rewriting the Narrative', p. 205; Thomas, 'History, Archaeology and the Norman Conquest', pp. 290–4.

[5] E. Fernie, 'The Effect of the Conquest on Norman Architectural Patronage', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1986), p. 71.

[6] E. Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London, 1983), pp. 112–53.

[7] For example, ibid., p. 157, has noted that Westminster Abbey apparently had minimal influence on late pre-Conquest architecture.

[8] Gem, 'The English Parish Church', pp. 24–5.

agency of Norman patrons. Equally, decorative features with pre-conquest origins can be observed in major churches constructed after the conquest, including Durham Cathedral and Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire). The development of sculpture in the early post-conquest period was a complex process driven by a myriad of different attitudes and interactions.

Pre-conquest architectural sculpture

One of the main difficulties of charting the development of sculpture after the conquest stems from the fact that little is known about the decoration of late Anglo-Saxon buildings. This is unsurprising considering so many churches were demolished and rebuilt, especially in the later eleventh and early twelfth century but also throughout the later medieval period and beyond.[9] Nonetheless, there have been significant recent discussions of the types of sculptural motifs and capital designs that were employed in buildings prior to 1066. One approach has been to study pictorial representations of architecture, particularly those found in manuscripts, to reconstruct the appearance of Anglo-Saxon buildings. There is good evidence to show that illustrations of buildings in pre-conquest manuscripts can be reliable representations of real Anglo-Saxon architecture. For example, bulbous capitals of probable pre-conquest date occur at Great Paxton church (Cambridgeshire) and are also illustrated in various southern Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[10] That said, it is important to exercise caution and recognise that some illustrations could be stylised fictions.

Another point relevant to pre-conquest sculptural decoration is that England was not isolated from the rest of Europe prior to the conquest. There is ample evidence of cultural exchanges across the English Channel and North Sea during the tenth and eleventh centuries as a result of trade, pilgrimage, church councils, diplomacy and the Danish Conquest of 1016. This is echoed in late Anglo-Saxon manuscript illumination which was influenced by Norman, Carolingian, Ottonian and Byzantine models. A case in point is MS Avranches 50, an illuminated manuscript produced at Mont Saint-Michel (Normandy) in

[9] C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective* (Manchester, 1982), p. 6.

[10] The relevant literature have been admirably summarised by M. Thurlby, 'The Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture and Sculpture', in M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (eds.), *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 310–4. For pre-conquest bulbous capitals, see Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 133–4.

the late tenth century, which became the exemplar for a number of late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.[11] Further connections between England and the continent were established by Norman and Lotharingian churchmen who received prominent positions in the late Anglo-Saxon Church.[12] The effect that this could have on pre-conquest architecture is clearly illustrated by the rebuilding of Westminster Abbey, begun after 1042 and overseen by Robert, abbot of Jumièges and bishop of London (1044–51). This construction campaign ran parallel with the rebuilding of Jumièges Abbey (Normandy) which Robert had initiated in 1040. It is unsurprising, then, that the excavated remains of Westminster mirror the plan and base mouldings of Jumièges. Significantly, there are carved interlace and foliage designs at Jumièges that can be traced to late Anglo-Saxon artistic repertoires and suggest a mutual exchange of ideas between the two sites.[13] These observations demonstrate that late Anglo-Saxon architecture and sculpture were exposed to a panoply of influences, some of them from Normandy, and were therefore predisposed to change and variation. Moreover, the collective findings from the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* confirm that there was no clearly defined or homogenous 'Anglo-Saxon' style of carving, and, instead, there were many inter-regional and intra-regional differences.[14]

The evidence of these cultural exchanges combined with the lacunae in the material record makes it difficult to rule out the possibility that many sculptural motifs and designs associated with the post-conquest period were actually introduced to England before 1066. A more important consideration for the purpose of this study is whether these decorative features gained a wide currency in northern England before the conquest or whether they were, in fact, popularised by new Norman patrons. The main decorative forms in question are chevron and billet ornament, and capitals of the cushion, scallop, volute and Corinthianesque types.

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[11] J. J. G. Alexander, *Norman illumination at Mont St. Michel, 966–1100* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 91–2. For discussions of pre-conquest exchanges of manuscripts between England and Normandy, see G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England in the Eleventh Century', *Further Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1992), p. 206; Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, pp. 83–4; C. M. Kauffmann, *Romanesque Manuscripts, 1066–1190* (London, 1975), pp. 18–9.

[12] C. N. L. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), p. 114; Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 65.

[13] Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 154–7; idem, *Norman England*, pp. 17–8; G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England', pp. 206–7; M. Baylé, 'Interlace Patterns in Norman Romanesque Sculpture: Regional Groups and their Historical Background', *ANS* 5 (1982), pp. 4–5.

[14] *CASSS*, vols. 1–3, 6, 8–9.

Chevron ornament is a ubiquitous feature of stone churches constructed in England during the twelfth century. There are an array of different chevron types from this period, ranging from the most simple lateral zigzag and sawtooth forms to the more complex frontal and point-to-point types. Simple three-dimensional zigzag ornament was used as border decoration for seventh and eighth-century crosses at northern sites, including Hexham, Jarrow and Northallerton, and contemporary metalwork such as St Cuthbert's pectoral cross.[15] That said, there is limited evidence that chevron was applied as architectural decoration prior to the conquest. One of the north nave windows at Seaham church (County Durham) is incised with a loose form of zigzag ornament, dated between the seventh and ninth century, but this is the only known architectural example of 'chevron' in pre-conquest northern England besides a stylised depiction of a zigzag-enriched arch on the early eighth-century Franks Casket.[16] A further problem is the apparent hiatus in chevron as a sculptural motif between the ninth and the early twelfth century. One hypothesis is that precursors to chevron ornament existed in pre-conquest timber structures, however the evidence for this is questionable and there are also technical reasons why fully developed chevron of the twelfth-century kind are unlikely to have been produced in wood.[17] It is sensible to conclude that chevron ornament as architectural enrichment only became widespread in northern England after the conquest. Architectural chevron can be traced to later eleventh-century Normandy, specifically the abbey church of Cerisy-la-Forêt in the 1080s, which suggests the ornament was imported to England rather than revived from some pre-conquest tradition.[18]

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[15] E. Cambridge and A. Williams, 'Hexham Abbey: A Review of Recent Work and its Implications', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 23 (1995), pp. 108–12; *CASSS*, vol. 1, p. 109, vol. 6, pp. 180–1.

[16] *CASSS,* vol. 1, p. 135; M. Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium: Its Continuity in Norman Building', in N. Hiscock (ed.), *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 134; idem, 'The Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 333.

[17] R. Moss, *Romanesque Chevron Ornament* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 6–8, also rejects the possibility of a direct connection between pre-conquest herringbone masonry and post-conquest chevron ornament.

[18] Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England', pp. 212–3; M. Baylé (ed.), *L'architecture normande au Moyen Age*, vol. 2 (Caen, 1997), pp. 65–8; Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 276; Moss, *Romanesque Chevron*, pp. 4–5. The observation of chevron at Cerisy-la-Forêt undermines the suggestion by A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', *JBAA* 30 (1967), pp. 129–30, that 'the builders of Durham [Cathedral] were the first to use the ornament on a large scale in a major church'.

Billet, or chequer, ornament was certainly applied as architectural decoration prior to the mid-eleventh century. Notable examples of the motif can be found on late seventh and early eighth-century architectural fragments from Hexham Abbey and Bywell church (Northumberland).[19] More importantly, there is evidence that billet ornament was applied to late Anglo-Saxon buildings, namely Great Paxton church (Cambridgeshire).[20] The billet ornament at Jarrow church (County Durham), which occurs on imposts in the south claustral range and around the lowest window on the north side of the central tower, may be witness to a late Anglo-Saxon northern tradition of applying the motif to buildings (fig. B.2). These examples at Jarrow have been regarded as post-conquest features, added shortly after 1074, and there is no reason to challenge this dating.[21] Their significance relates to the fact that they are accompanied by contemporary architectural features that clearly derive from pre-conquest building practices and were presumably created by native craftsmen. These include a triangular-headed doorway in the south claustral range, comparable to mid-eleventh-century openings in the church tower of Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire), and another doorway in the same location that

Fig. B.2. Jarrow, St Paul (Co. Durham): lowest north window of the central tower.

[19] *CASSS*, vol. 1, pp. 168, 189. Chequer pattern also occurs on the famous eighth-century Bewcastle cross (Cumbria), see *CASSS*, vol. 2, pp. 61–72, ills. 93, 105.

[20] The pre-conquest fabric of Great Paxton appears to belong to a single phase and has been attributed to the patronage of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), see Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 129–34. Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 134, has attributed a reset section of billet to this late Anglo-Saxon phase. More contentious is Thurlby's suggestion that a loose fragment of billet ornament from Southwell (Nottinghamshire) originated from a pre-conquest church. This dating has recently been rejected by P. Everson and D. Stocker, 'Archaeology and Archiepiscopal Reform: Greater Churches in York Diocese in the 11th Century', in D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 178–9; *CASSS*, vol. 12, pp. 185–88.

[21] R. Cramp, *Wearmouth and Jarrow Monastic Sites*, vol. 1 (2005), pp. 166, 252; S. Harrison and C. Norton, 'Lastingham and the Architecture of the Benedictine Revival in Northumbria', *ANS* 34 (2012), pp. 70–1; Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 321.

Fig. B.3. Jarrow, St Paul (Co. Durham): south-west cloister doorway.

Fig. B.4. Jarrow, St Paul (Co. Durham): south base of the north-west cloister doorway.

has bulbous bases like pre-conquest piers inside Great Paxton church (figs. B.3–4).[22]

More contentious is the date at which cushion capitals were introduced to England. Cushion capitals were another staple of early post-conquest architecture, and over the years they were enriched with geometric, foliage and figure carvings. In his first survey of English Romanesque sculpture, Zarnecki followed Baldwin Brown in proposing that cushion capitals were introduced to England from Germany in the decades immediately prior to the Norman Conquest, although he did not elaborate further.[23] This idea was subsequently rejected, primarily because there are no English cushion capitals of undoubted pre-conquest date, with Richard Gem arguing that cushion capitals were first introduced at Canterbury Cathedral from Flemish sources in the 1070s.[24] In more recent years, the opinion that cushion capitals were introduced to England before the conquest has been revived by Thurlby who perceives the presence of stylised cushion capitals in late

[22] Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture', pp. 150–2. Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 132, fig. 76.

[23] G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (London, 1925), pp. 252–5; G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140* (London 1951), pp. 13–4.

[24] R. Gem, 'Canterbury and the Cushion Capital: a Commentary on Passages from Goscelin's "De Miraculis Sancti Augustini"', in N. Stratford (ed.), *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 83–97; Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 278.

Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, namely the early eleventh-century Copenhagen Gospels, and points to the fact that cushion capitals appear in the cloister at Jarrow alongside pre-conquest architectural features.[25] At this point, it should be noted that there is a subtle yet distinctive difference between cushion capitals and the bulbous capitals that are found at Great Paxton church and are illustrated in late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts such as the Old English Hexateuch produced at Canterbury in the second quarter of the eleventh century.[26] There is also some ambiguity as to whether the stylised 'cushion' capitals that Thurlby discerns in late Anglo-Saxon illumination are actually cushions of the variety found widely in the Holy Roman Empire in the first half of the eleventh century, or whether they actually represent bulbous or block forms that had emerged in England independent of imperial influences. It may seem pedantic to distinguish between cushion capitals on the one hand and bulbous and block types on the other, but this has a significant bearing on our understanding of how and when the cushion capital emerged in English architecture.

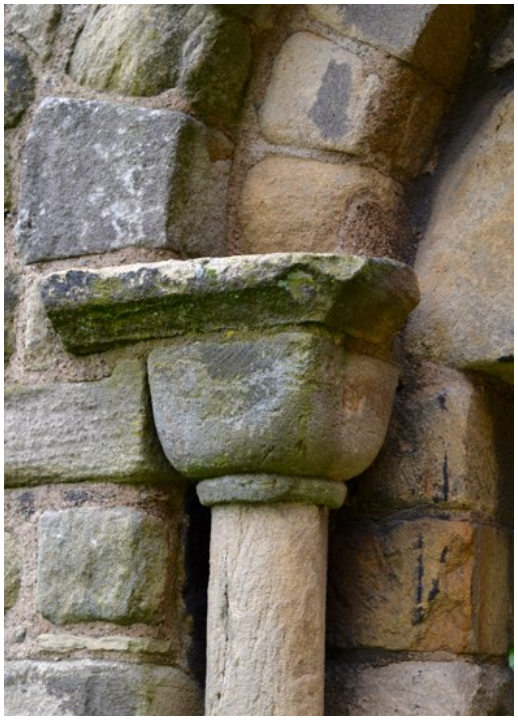

Fig. B.5. Jarrow, St Paul (Co. Durham): south capital of the north-west cloister doorway.

That said, there is circumstantial evidence that cushion capitals derived from imperial sources had entered late Anglo-Saxon repertoires. The cushion capitals in the cloister of Jarrow, mentioned above, provide one clue, if it is accepted that they are the work of native craftsmen continuing an established pre-conquest tradition (fig. B.5). Cambridge has deduced that they were created between *c.* 1075 and *c.* 1080, in other words, immediately after Jarrow was re-colonised by Benedictine monks from Winchcombe and Evesham in 1073 or 1074, and has proposed that they were derived from a source other than Canterbury.[27] Ealdred,

[25] Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 315; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 131.

[26] British Library, Cotton MS Claudius B IV, fol. 58r.

[27] Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture', pp. 150–1. Cambridge's view is seconded by Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 131, who notes the dissimilarity between the mitred cushion capitals at Canterbury and the unmitred examples at Jarrow.

bishop of Worcester (1046–62), spent a year in the Holy Roman Empire as an honoured guest of Emperor Henry III (1046–56) and Hermann, archbishop of Cologne (1036–56), from the autumn of 1054.[28] Here he would have witnessed first-hand the monumental cushions capitals that were a prominent feature of many major imperial buildings, such as St Maria im Kapitol in Cologne.[29] It is debatable whether Ealdred subsequently commissioned cushion capitals at Worcester Cathedral.[30] Later, however, Ealdred was appointed archbishop of York and during his archiepiscopate (1060–69) he oversaw a number of building campaigns in his diocese, including the enlargement of the minster, or 'sub-cathedral', at Beverley. To Beverley church he added a new presbytery that was ornamented with metalwork of German craftsmanship.[31] It is plausible that these craftsmen worked on-site at Beverley and that Ealdred procured them from the Holy Roman Empire using the contacts he had established in 1054. From here, it is only a short leap of the imagination to suggest that this atelier included German masons and sculptors who were responsible for the fabric of the new presbytery, and that the cushion capital could have been part of their repertoire. Even if this was not the case, it is possible that Ealdred personally stipulated the application of cushion capitals in his architectural commissions.

Ealdred may have also been responsible for introducing scallop capitals to northern England. This form, which is a close relative of the cushion capital, was being used in northern churches during the late eleventh century and was very common in the first half

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[28] JW, vol. 2, pp. 574–7. For discussions of Ealdred's diplomatic mission to the Holy Roman Empire, see J. M. Cooper, 'The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York', *Borthwick Papers* 38 (1970), p. 25; V. King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: the Worcester years', *ANS* 18 (1996), pp. 127–8; E. Austin, *Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York, 1070 to 1100* (unpublished PhD thesis, St Andrews, 1997), pp. 19–20, 174.

[29] Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 73–4. St Maria im Kapitol was begun at some point after 1015 and first consecrated in 1049.

[30] P. Barker, *A Short Architectural History of Worcester Cathedral* (Worcester, 1994), pp. 32–3, 40–1, has argued that the cushion capitals in the post-conquest crypt of Worcester Cathedral are actually reused features from the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, and this interpretation has been reasserted by Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 132, and idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 329. If accepted, this raises the possibility that the cushion capital form was transmitted from Worcester diocese to Jarrow by the monks from Evesham and Winchcombe.

[31] *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. 2, ed. J. Raine (London, 1886), pp. 353–4. For discussions of Ealdred's architectural and artistic patronage, see Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 65; E. Cambridge and R. Morris, 'Beverley Minster Before the Early Thirteenth Century', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), pp. 12–20; M. K. Lawson and V. King, 'Ealdred [Aldred] (d. 1069), archbishop of York', *DNB*; Everson and Stocker, 'Archaeology and Archiepiscopal Reform', pp. 186–95.

of the twelfth. Due to the fact that no scallop capitals of certain pre-conquest origin are known in England, this capital type has typically been regarded as a post-conquest arrival that either evolved indigenously from the cushion capital or was introduced from the Holy Roman Empire.[32] Thurlby has since argued otherwise on the basis that a small collection of scallop capitals found at Southwell derive from the late Anglo-Saxon church.[33] The dating of these fragments is contentious and their provenance uncertain,[34] but it is possible that they actually originate from the refectory that Ealdred commissioned for the religious community at Southwell.[35] As already mentioned, Ealdred had travelled the Holy Roman Empire as a distinguished guest of Emperor Henry III. Significantly, the earliest identified scallop capitals in a western medieval context can be found at the imperial church of SS Simon and Jude in Goslar (consecrated in 1050), which was part of a palatial complex constructed by Henry III, and the mid-eleventh-century church of St Lucius in Werden (Germany).[36] Assuming Ealdred was familiar with the scallop capital in an imperial context, he could have commissioned it at other buildings besides the refectory at Southwell, including his new presbytery at Beverley and another refectory that he had constructed at York.[37]

Capital types that were undoubtedly popularised by Norman patrons were the Corinthianesque forms, a medieval evolution of the Roman Corinthian capital, and the simpler volute forms, which bear a resemblance to the ancient Ionic capital. Romano-British buildings in the region featured Corinthian capitals and a fragmentary Ionic capital of seventh or eighth-century date survives from Monkwearmouth, but otherwise their is no evidence that these were being produced in northern England during the late Anglo-Saxon period.[38] By contrast, Corinthianesque and volute capitals were popular in Normandy by

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[32] Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, p. 163; idem, *Norman England*, p. 279.

[33] Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', pp. 132–4, figs. 58 and 60; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 321.

[34] Everson and Stocker, 'Archaeology and Archiepiscopal Reform', pp. 178–9; *CASSS*, vol. 12, pp. 185–88.

[35] *Historians of the Church of York*, vol. 2, p. 353.

[36] For scallop capitals in the Holy Roman Empire, see Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, pp. 72, 74; idem, *Norman England*, p. 279, fn. 68.

[37] *Historians of the Church of York*, vol. 2, p. 353.

[38] For example, a Romano-British Corinthian capital from Catterick (North Yorkshire), Yorkshire Museum, York, YORYM : 2009.50. *CASSS*, vol. 1, pp. 126–7.

the first half of the eleventh century and can be found in major churches such as Bernay Abbey and Rouen Cathedral.[39] There is potential physical evidence that these capital designs had been transmitted to southern England prior to 1066. Early twentieth-century excavations at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, uncovered two relatively intact Corinthianesque capitals that have been identified with the rotunda constructed by Abbot Wulfric (1047–59), although other scholars have dated them to the ninth century.[40] One reason for accepting a mid-eleventh-century dating is that stylised Corinthianesque and volute capitals appear in the Old English Hexateuch produced at St Augustine's Abbey in the second quarter of the eleventh century.[41] It is also possible that Corinthianesque and volute capitals were applied to Westminster Abbey during the reign of Edward the Confessor since these capital types are prominent features of the mid-eleventh-century fabric of Jumièges Abbey. Pre-conquest sculpture in northern England did incorporate spiral patterns, often in the context of scrolling foliage on commemorative monuments,[42] however there is no evidence, material or circumstantial, to indicate Corinthianesque or volute capitals were part of sculptural repertoires in this region before the arrival of Norman and Breton patrons.

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[39] The abbey church of Bernay was begun *c.* 1010, and work on the rebuilding of Rouen cathedral started before 1037, see Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture*, p. 105. Baylé, 'Interlace Patterns', p. 1, has identified the *in situ* Corinthianesque capitals at Bernay Abbey as the earliest surviving examples in Normandy. The Corinthianesque/volute capitals at Rouen can be found loose in the crypt, see M. Baylé, 'Les chapiteaux de Stogursey (Somerset), ancien prieuré de Lonlay-l'Abbaye', *Art Monumental en Normandie et dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (800–1200)* (London, 2003), p. 171, fig. 4. For other discussions of Corinthianesque capitals in Normandy, see Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066–1140*, pp. 10–1; Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 152.

[40] For the opinion that these capitals originate from Wulfric's rotunda, see W. St John Hope, 'Recent Discoveries in the Abbey Church of St Austin at Canterbury', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 32 (1917), p. 24, fig. 13; D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and Its Romanesque Sculpture* (Austin, 1991), p. 49 and fn. For the opinion that they date from the ninth-century abbey church of St Augustine, see *CASSS*, vol. 4, pp. 131–2; R. Gem, 'The Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral by Archbishop Wulfred (805–32)', in A. Bovey (ed.), *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Canterbury* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 35–7, fig. 4.

[41] British Library, Cotton Claudius B IV, esp. fols. 30v, 31r, 34v, 37r and 37v; Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 315.

[42] For examples of incised spiral patterns on tenth and eleventh-century sculpture, see *CASSS*, vol. 1, p. 139, vol. 3, pp. 70–1.

Norman and Breton patrons of architectural sculpture, *c.* 1070–*c.* 1100

There are a few contenders for the site with the earliest surviving post-conquest Corinthianesque and volute capitals in northern England, all located in Yorkshire: York Cathedral, Lastingham Abbey and Richmond Castle. The rebuilding of York Cathedral was initiated in the second half of the 1070s under the patronage of Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York (1070–1100), and was at least substantially completed before his death.[43] Two elaborately carved and closely related Corinthianesque capitals were discovered during excavations and have been identified with Thomas' cathedral. Both are decorated with central humanoid masks emitting foliage and angle volutes on their upper registers, upright acanthus leaves on their lower registers, and cable-moulding on their neckings (figs. B.6–7).[44] If these capitals were originally part of the crossing, as Zarnecki suggested, they were presumably created before *c.* 1085, assuming the east end of the new cathedral church was built first and finished in less than a decade.[45] A third

Figs. B.6 & 7. York Minster: capitals from the cathedral of Thomas of Bayeux (1070–1100).

[43] Hugh the Chantor, *History*, p. 11. D. Phillips, *Excavations at York Minster*, vol. 2 (London, 1985), p. 6, proposed that construction began 'well after 1070, perhaps not until well into the 1080s'. This has since been revised to *c.* 1075–80, see C. Norton, 'Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the Norman Cathedral at York', *Borthwick Paper* 100 (2001), p. 28; Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 69; S. Harrison and C. Norton, *York Minster: An Illustrated Architectural History 627–c.1500* (York, 2015), p. 26.

[44] The capitals were originally painted, see Phillips, *Excavations*, p. 154.

[45] A date *c.* 1080 was suggested by Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, pp. 152–3.

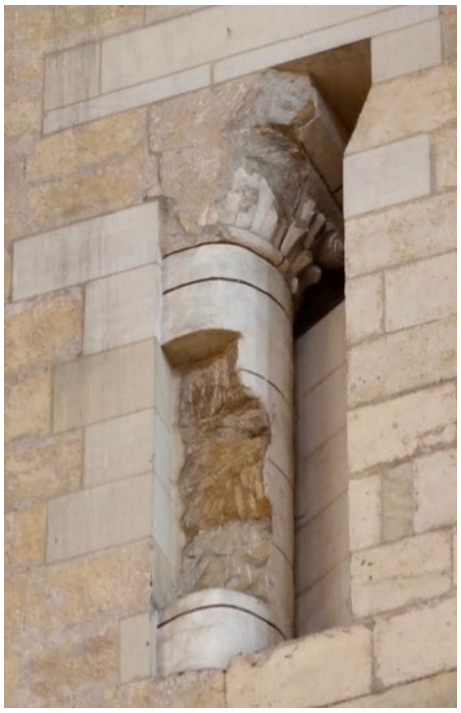

Fig. B.8. York Minster: column embedded in east wall of the south transept (interior).

Corinthianesque capital, this example less elaborate with only upright cylindrical projections on the faces, can be seen *in situ* on the east wall of the south transept and must be roughly contemporary with the capitals mentioned above (fig. B.8).[46]

The pair of richly decorated Corinthianesque capitals from York Cathedral bear a striking resemblance to capitals in the crypt of Bayeux Cathedral which have the same central masks, angle volutes, and foliated lower registers (fig. B.9).[47] The rebuilding of Bayeux Cathedral was probably initiated by Bishop Hugo d'Ivry (d. 1049) at the end of his episcopate and then continued by his

Fig. B.9. Bayeux Cathedral (Normandy): crypt. © Selbymay, Wikimedia Commons.

[46] Phillips, *Excavations*, p. 106.

[47] Ibid., p. 170; Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England', p. 205; Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, pp. 152–3.

successor, Odo of Bayeux (1049–97). A dedication ceremony took place in 1077, which presumably marked the completion of most, if not all, of the church fabric.[48] The crypt would have been completed during the first phase, and for this reason the capitals have been dated to *c.* 1050.[49] Thomas, archbishop of York, was a canon and treasurer at Bayeux in the mid-1060s, as well as a protégé of Bishop Odo,[50] so it is likely that the York Cathedral capitals were deliberately modelled on those at Bayeux. It is even possible that Thomas employed sculptors who had worked at Bayeux Cathedral, since the initiation of the building campaign at York coincided with the completion of work at Bayeux.

There are Corinthianesque and volute capitals at Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire) that are contemporary with, if not earlier than, their counterparts at York. The standing church fabric at Lastingham, which comprises a crypt and presbytery, can be dated with remarkable precision on the basis of documentary evidence. Lastingham was a former Anglo-Saxon monastic site that was evidently abandoned at some point between the eighth and tenth centuries. In or shortly after 1078, the site was recolonised by a splinter group of Benedictine monks from Whitby. Significantly, this splinter group was itself an offshoot of that which had re-founded Jarrow in 1073 or 1074.[51] The monks at Lastingham were led by Stephen, a well-educated man of Norman, or perhaps Breton, birth who initiated the construction of a grand stone church.[52] However, Abbot Stephen's occupation of Lastingham was short-lived, and by 1086 he had moved to York to found St Mary's Abbey leaving the large east arm of Lastingham church incomplete.[53] Consequently, the crypt and

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[48] M. Baylé, *L'architecture normande au Moyen Age*, vol. 2 (Caen, 1997), p. 37.

[49] Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 152.

[50] E. Austin, *Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York, 1070 to 1100* (unpublished PhD thesis, St Andrews, 1997), pp. 10, 29, 39, 41–2.

[51] *De Fundatione*, pp. 544–6. For discussions of the foundation history of Whitby Abbey, see L. G. D. Baker, 'The Desert in the North', *Northern History* 5 (1970), pp. 4–6; Wilson and Burton, *St Mary's Abbey*, p. 2; Burton, 'Monastic Revival', pp. 42–9.

[52] For suggestions that Stephen was of Norman aristocratic birth, see J. Burton, 'Stephen of Whitby', *DNB*; Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 69. Alternatively, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 423, has speculated that he was a Breton.

[53] *De Fundatione*, pp. 545–6; Wilson and Burton, *St Mary's Abbey*, pp. 2–3; Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 44.

presbytery can be dated to the period *c.* 1080–*c.* 1085.[54]

The volute capitals that occur in the crypt and east end of the upper church clearly derive from buildings in Normandy. They are all plain with small angle projections, and have been compared to capital designs at the abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt (figs. B.10–12).[55] Many also have mitred corners, making them closer in design to cushion capitals than classical Corinthian forms, which indicates a melding of Norman and imperial traditions. In the crypt, there are two Corinthianesque pier capitals with large projecting angle volutes and raised rectangular faces on their upper registers, and additional ornamentation on their

Fig. B.10. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): crypt capital.

Fig. B.11. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): presbytery capital.

Fig. B.12. Cerisy-la-Forêt Abbey (Normandy): south nave arcade capitals. © Chatsam, Wikimedia Commons.

[54] For two recent architectural analyses, see R. Gem and M. Thurlby, 'The Early Monastic Church of Lastingham', in L. Hoey (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture, from the 7th to 16th Centuries* (Leeds, 1995), pp. 31–9; and Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham'. Harrison and Norton have proposed that building work began in or after 1080 and note that the site was not completely abandoned after 1086 since chevron voussoirs dating from the first half of the twelfth century are reset within the later church fabric and adjacent buildings.

[55] Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 34.

Fig. B.13. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): crypt capital.

lower registers.[56] The lower register of the south-east example is decorated with a series of fluted projections that resemble upright leaves (fig. B.13). All of these features can be traced to Normandy; for example, Corinthianesque capitals with raised rectangular faces and upright foliage can be found inside William the Conqueror's abbey of Saint-Étienne at Caen.[57] The implication is that Abbot Stephen and the Lastingham monks employed sculptors from Normandy.

The choice of Norman craftsmanship may seem unusual considering the Lastingham community originated from a monastic revival movement that drew its inspiration from the Anglo-Saxon past. At Jarrow, for example, Prior Aldwin and the monks opted to repair and re-roof the existing stone structures, and, as has been noted above, many aspects of the new fabric conformed to late Anglo-Saxon traditions.[58] The decision to model Lastingham Abbey more closely on exemplars in Normandy presumably reflected the preferences and connections of Abbot Stephen. His favour among the Norman and Breton elite is clearly illustrated by his eventual success in obtaining royal and aristocratic patronage for St Mary's Abbey, York, as well as his self-professed friendship with Alan Rufus of Brittany, lord of Richmond (d. 1093), which had been established before he became a monk.[59]

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[56] The intersecting arcading decoration on the lower register of the other Corinthianesque capital is discussed below.

[57] Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 34; J. Crook, 'St John's Chapel', in E. Impey (ed.), *The White Tower* (Yale, 2008), pp. 114–5. For illustrations of the St-Étienne capitals, see M. Baylé, 'Les ateliers de sculpture de Saint-Etienne de Caen au XI^{e} et au XII^{e} siècles', *Art Monumental en Normandie et dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (800–1200)* (London, 2003), pp. 247–49, 265, figs. 2–7.

[58] Symeon, *LDE*, III. 21–2, pp. 200–11.

[59] *De Fundatione*, pp. 545–6; Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 50; Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 69.

Remarkably, the sculpture at Lastingham has never been compared to the earliest fabric of Alan Rufus' castle at Richmond which dates from the later eleventh century. This includes the former north gateway, now built into the ground floor of the later twelfth-century keep, the great hall (popularly known as Scolland's Hall) at the south-east corner of the castle enclosure, and the chapel of St Nicholas which is located between the hall and the north gateway.[60] The grand first-storey entrance to the great hall retains a Corinthianesque capital with a flat projection between the volutes and a lower register of upright leaves (fig. B.14). In form, it is a smaller and more delicate version of the Corinthianesque capital with fluted leaves in the Lastingham crypt. Equally, one of the capitals on the north gateway, apparently unfinished, is a cushion or block type with a small angle volute that echoes several capitals within the crypt and east end of Lastingham Abbey (fig. B.15). Other Corinthianesque capitals of the Richmond gateway have two layers of upright projections, or leaves, on their lower registers and closely relate to the *in situ* Corinthianesque capital within the south transept of York Minster (figs. B.8 & 16).[61]

Fig. B.14. Richmond Castle (North Yorkshire): east capital of the north-west entrance to the great hall.

Figs. B.15 & 16. Richmond Castle (North Yorkshire): capitals of the former north gateway.

[60] For general discussions of the later eleventh-century fabric, see Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 67–72; J. Goodall, *Richmond Castle and Easby Abbey* (London, 2016), pp. 4–15.

[61] Phillips, *Excavations*, pp. 106–7, 122–3; Goodall, *Richmond Castle*, p. 15.

The Richmond capitals appear to have been carved at roughly the same time within a single building phase, however they are impossible to date with precision. It has often been assumed that Alan Rufus acquired Richmond in 1071 and immediately began constructing a masonry castle, even though there is no supporting evidence. The earliest possible indication of a castle at Richmond derives from references to Alan's 'castlery' within Domesday Book, although scholars are divided on whether 'castlery' denoted the existence of a masonry castle and, if so, whether this castle was located at Richmond. The latter point arises from the fact that there is no reference to a castle in the individual Domesday entries for Richmond.[62] These silences aside, the strongest evidence that a castle was in existence by 1089 come from the donations that Alan Rufus made to the monks of St Mary's Abbey, York, in 1088 or 1089. Goodall has noted that this included Richmond castle chapel, which implies that most, if not all, of the castle enclosure was completed by this date.[63] The close relationships between the Richmond Corinthianesque capitals and their counterparts at Lastingham Abbey and York Minster makes it plausible that the castle could have been under construction by the later 1070s. Alan Rufus' close relationship to King William I (they were second cousins) also raises the possibility that he was responsible for introducing the Corinthianesque capital to northern England directly from the royal abbey of St-Étienne at Caen.[64]

Returning to Lastingham Abbey, it is evident that Abbot Stephen was probably not alone in overseeing the design and construction of the new church. The foundation history of St Mary's Abbey states that Lastingham was a royal foundation, whereas Domesday Book

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[62] *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 309 c, 311 a; idem, vol. 2, 381 b. Anon., 'Richmond Castle: eleventh to fourteenth century enclosure castle', *Historic England*, http://www.historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1010627 (accessed 03/12/2015), arbitrarily dates the initiation of the castle-building campaign to 1071. Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 67–72, broadly dates the construction of the castle between *c.* 1071 and Alan's death (erroneously stated as 1089 instead of 1093). W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 1 (London, 1914), pp. 1–16, was the first to note the uncertainty surrounding the date when Alan acquired Richmond, although he thought that the castle was probably in existence by 1086. W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066–1194* (Oxford, 1966), p. 24, noted the absence of a specific reference to Richmond Castle in Domesday Book. P. Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 42–7, and R. Sharpe, 'King Harold's Daughter', *HSJ* 19 (2007), pp. 7–10, imply that the castle was not commenced until the later years of William I's reign.

[63] Goodall, *Richmond Castle*, p. 19.

[64] For the familial connection between Alan Rufus and William I, see K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'The Bretons and Normans of England 1066–1154: the Family, the Fief and the Feudal Monarchy', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 36 (1992), p. 46. Also idem, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066–1166* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 127–8. Alan probably fought for William at the Battle of Hastings.

records that part of Lastingham and a collection of four manors had been granted to Abbot Stephen by Berengar de Tosny, a Norman lord. These lands may have formed the initial endowment of the abbey. On the basis of this evidence, Gem and Thurlby have identified Berengar as the secular patron of Lastingham Abbey.[65] In founding a Benedictine house at Lastingham, Berengar may have been imitating his father, Robert de Tosny, who was responsible for establishing a small priory at Belvoir (Leicestershire) in 1076.[66] Lastingham Abbey was conceived on a much grander scale and there are clues that it was modelled on prominent churches in Normandy. The plan of the abbey church, with its aisled presbytery terminating in an eastern forebay and single apse, has been compared to the abbeys of Bernay, Lessay (Manche), and La Trinité, Caen.[67]

Another potentially influential model for the sculpture of Lastingham Abbey was Rouen Cathedral. Like Lastingham, the eleventh-century cathedral church at Rouen had a crypt,

Fig. B.17. Rouen Cathedral (Normandy): capitals in the crypt. © Giogo, Wikimedia Commons.

[65] *De Fundatione*; *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 314 a; idem, vol. 2, 380 d; Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 32. For a short biography of Berengar, see Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, p. 164.

[66] P. Liddle and L. O'Brien, 'The Archaeology of the Abbeys and Priories of Leicestershire', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeology and History Society* 69 (1995), pp. 1–2; K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, 'Belvoir: The Heirs of Robert and Berengar de Tosny', *Prosopon* 9 (1998), p. 1. The fabric of Belvoir Priory has been lost.

[67] Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 83; Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 37.

Fig. B.18. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): string course on the north exterior of the apse forebay (left section renewed).

aisles and transepts with eastern apses.[68] Six eleventh-century Corinthianesque capitals were discovered in the cathedral during excavation work. Three are notable for having raised rectangular spaces on the upper register of each face like the two Corinthianesque capitals in the Lastingham crypt (fig. B.17).[69] It is also notable that the interlace pattern on a section of string course at the eastern end of Lastingham Abbey can be found on a '*préromane*' fragment from Rouen Cathedral (figs. B.18 & 19).[70] A product of the late tenth and early eleventh-century artistic interactions between England and Normandy was that such interlace designs were transmitted across the Channel and applied to sculpture in Normandy prior to 1066.[71] This raises the interesting possibility that an ornament derived from Anglo-Saxon art was introduced at Lastingham via Normandy, and, more specifically, Rouen.

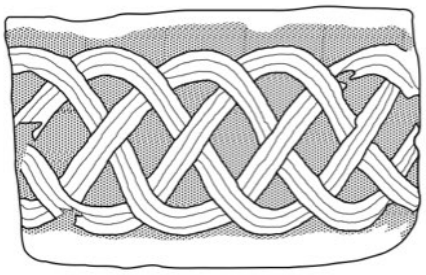

Fig. B.19. Illustration (after M. Baylé) of a fragment found north of Rouen Cathedral.

Berengar de Tosny's role as secular patron of Lastingham and his personal connection to Rouen could explain how sculptural designs from Rouen Cathedral reached Lastingham. His father held estates in the vicinity of Rouen, as well as land elsewhere in Normandy, which Berengar eventually inherited.[72] Historically, the Tosny family lands were

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[68] The major difference is that Rouen had an ambulatory with radiating chapels, see Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 93; idem, *Romanesque Architecture*, p. 105; A. Carment-Lanfry and J. Le Maho, *La Cathédrale Notre-Dame de Rouen* (Rouen, 2010), pp. 26–8. For a discussion of the lost transepts at Lastingham, see Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', pp. 82–3.

[69] Baylé, 'Les chapiteaux de Stogursey', p. 171, fig. 4. These capitals have been dated in relation to the dedication of the new cathedral which occurred in 1063, see Zarenecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 152.

[70] M. Baylé, 'La sculpture préromane en Normandie', *Art Monumental en Normandie et dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (800–1200)* (London, 2003), pp. 296, 314, fig. 22.

[71] Baylé, 'Interlace Patterns', pp. 1–20.

[72] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 380–1; idem, 'Belvoir', p. 1; J. A. Green, 'The Descent of Belvoir', *Prosopon* 10 (1999), p. 1.

concentrated immediately south of Rouen, around Conches, Acquigny and, naturally, Tosny.[73] Likewise, Alan Rufus had possessions around Rouen and granted two local churches to the abbey of Saint-Ouen (Rouen) in 1066 or 1067.[74] It is possible, then, that both men were directly influenced by the sculptural schemes of Rouen Cathedral and were long-time associates who consciously commissioned related Corinthianesque capital forms. With Abbot Stephen, they formed a interpersonal triangle. How Stephen came to be a member of this small collective is unclear, however it is tempting to speculate that his own origins were in some way tied to Rouen. An existing association between Berengar and Stephen could explain why Stephen abandoned Percy family patronage at Whitby for Berengar's patronage at Lastingham.

Abbot Stephen may have had other friends in high places, namely Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury (1070–89). Harrison and Norton have proposed that Stephen was a protégé of Lanfranc, although the evidence for this is entirely circumstantial: his sudden elevation to the office of abbot at Whitby; his connections to powerful elites like Alan Rufus; his success in founding St Mary's Abbey at York in spite of opposition from Archbishop Thomas I; and the proficiency of his Latin, as revealed by the foundation history that he penned for St Mary's Abbey.[75] According to Orderic Vitalis and Hugh the Chantor, talented and ambitious students across Europe were drawn to Lanfranc's mid-eleventh-century school at Bec like moths to a flame.[76] One sculptural feature at Lastingham Abbey adds weight to Harrison and Norton's hypothesis. Several of the cushion and hybrid cushion-volute capitals have mitred, or tucked, corners, and this characteristic can be found among the cushion capitals that were applied at Lanfranc's new cathedral in Canterbury from the 1070s onwards.[77] Mitred corners are noticeably absent from the cushion capitals in the cloister at Jarrow, which have been dated to the second half of the 1070s, so it is a distinct

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[73] L. Musset, 'Aux origines d'une classe dirigeante: les Tosny, grands barons Normands du X^e au XIII^e siècle', *Francia* 5 (1977), pp. 45–62; C. P. Lewis, 'Tosny, Ralph de (d. 1102?)', *DNB*.

[74] Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 127–8.

[75] Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', pp. 69–70. In particular, Harrison and Norton entertain the notion that Stephen could have received his education in Normandy from Lanfranc.

[76] OV, vol. 2, IV, pp. 294–7; Hugh the Chantor, *History*, p. 2. One of Lanfranc's pupils was Thomas of Bayeux, archbishop of York.

[77] The parallels between the mitred capitals at Lastingham and those at Canterbury have been noted by Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 35, but the potential significance of this overlooked. For the cushion capitals at Lanfranc's cathedral, see Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 28–30.

possibility that the form was introduced to Lastingham directly from Canterbury. How this might have occurred is a mystery, although the idea that it could have been facilitated by a personal connection between Stephen and Lanfranc, now lost from the documentary record, is compelling.

The scallop capital, another architectural form that can be traced to the Holy Roman Empire, appears to have gained momentum in northern England through very different channels of influence. The earliest closely datable examples in the region are the double and triple scallop capitals discovered at York Minster that have been identified with the cathedral constructed by Thomas of Bayeux. These can be assigned to the last quarter of the eleventh century but may have been carved as early as *c.* 1080 depending on where they were originally situated.[78] One possible source for these capital designs were the architectural commissions of Thomas' predecessor, Archbishop Ealdred, discussed above. This suggestion aside, it is possible that Thomas was already familiar with the scallop form and did not need to rely on local exemplars. During the early 1060s, he received part of his education at Liège and subsequently travelled the Holy Roman Empire where he would have seen the grand imperial churches, some of them exhibiting scallop capitals. The possibility of a direct transmission of the scallop capital is strengthened by observations that the architectural plan of York Cathedral, particularly the aisleless nave, could have been modelled on churches in Lotharingia, such as St Pantaleon in Cologne.[79] It should also be noted that a large multi-scallop capital occurs in the crypt of Bayeux Cathedral, and this would have been visible to Thomas while he was a canon at the cathedral in the mid-1060s (fig. B.20).

The motive for selecting a capital design with imperial associations is uncertain, although there is reason to suspect that Thomas sought to visualise his status and spiritual lordship. Fernie has observed that all cathedrals built in England after the Norman Conquest were

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[78] For illustrations and a discussion of the capitals, see Phillips, *Excavations*, p. 158, plate 126.

[79] Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 123–4; J. A. Franklin, 'Augustinian and other Canons' Churches in Romanesque Europe: The Significance of the Aisleless Cruciform Plan', in J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 91–3. Another suggested model is the *Basilica Apostolorum* (San Nazaro) in Milan, see J. A. Franklin, 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century: The Context for Carlisle Cathedral', in M. McCarthy and D. Weston (eds.), Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology (Leeds, 2004), p. 83; idem, '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* (2013), p. 86.

comparable in scale to imperial churches, as if Norman patrons sought to draw parallels between their new-found status and imperial power.[80] Thomas' concerns were not merely political, his ecclesiastical authority was under fire from within the English Church. The matter of his consecration as archbishop incited a primacy dispute between York and Canterbury culminating, in 1072, with Thomas losing both the debate and his claim to jurisdiction over the dioceses of Worcester, Lichfield and Lindsey.[81] In this context, imperial-derived architectural sculpture could have been adopted as a symbol of ecclesiastical status, a reminder that Thomas retained metropolitan powers, and a statement that the York community had not drawn a line under the primacy issue.[82] Crucially, the scallop capitals at York Cathedral appear to have inspired later examples at St Mary's Abbey, York (after 1088).

Fig. B.20. Bayeux Cathedral (Normandy): crypt capital. © Farz Brujunet, Wikimedia Commons.

After his aborted attempt to establish a major Benedictine abbey at Lastingham, Abbot Stephen settled at the pre-conquest church of St Olaf in York which had been gifted to him

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[80] Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 33.

[81] For discussions of the primacy dispute, see R. W. Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *English Historical Review* 73 (1958), pp. 193–226; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066–1154* (London, 1979), pp. 34–43; Norton, 'Archbishop Thomas', p. 4.

[82] Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 122, notes the potential significance of the re-siting and architecture of York Cathedral in relation to the primacy dispute. Complementing this is J. A. Franklin's argument that the aisleless cruciform plan of the cathedral was modelled on the earliest Christian *basilicae*, namely the Basilica Apostolorum in Milan, and was intended as a symbol of Thomas' ambitions for church reform. See idem, 'Augustinians and other Canons' Churches in Romanesque Europe: The Significance of the Aisleless Cruciform Plan', in Franklin, Heslop and Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 92–98; idem, 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century: The Context for Carlisle Cathedral', in McCarthy and Weston (eds.), Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology (London, 2004), pp. 83–4; idem, 'Iconic Architecture and the Medieval Reformation: Ambrose of Milan, Peter Damian, Stephen Harding and the Aisleless Cruciform Church', in McNeill and Plant (eds.), *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe* (Leeds, 2013), pp. 77–94.

by his Breton friend, Alan Rufus. Alan also granted Stephen four acres of adjoining land, even though this was claimed by Archbishop Thomas I. A legal dispute ensued and was only resolved in 1088 when King William II approved Stephen's plans to establish a new abbey on the land, augmented the community's landholdings and personally attended the foundation ceremony.[83] Archbishop Thomas was materially compensated with land grants from the king and Abbot Stephen, although these concessions would have been inconsequential if his true intent was to obstruct the foundation of a rival religious institution in the city and avert any threat of Benedictine monks supplanting the cathedral canons, as had happened at Durham in 1083.[84] In spite of the archbishop's opposition, Abbot Stephen gained royal privileges and substantial donations from the local elite, as two early twelfth century charter attest, whilst retaining the grants made by Berengar de Tosny at Lastingham and William de Percy at Whitby.[85] From the outset, St Mary's Abbey was destined to become one of the most wealthy and powerful religious houses in northern England.

This wealth and prestige was clearly expressed through the architecture and decoration of the new abbey church. Few physical remains of this church survive, primarily because the original structure was torn down and replaced in the Gothic style at the end of the thirteenth century, but excavations over the course of the last two centuries have revealed a grand cruciform church with seven eastward projecting apses arranged in echelon, a crossing tower, and an aisled nave that probably extended for eight bays. Meanwhile the claustral buildings were arranged to the south of the church.[86] Most major churches constructed after the conquest had echelon east ends, but the plan of St Mary's Abbey was particularly close to Lanfranc's cathedral at Canterbury and St Albans Abbey, begun after

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[83] C. Norton, 'The Buildings of St Mary's Abbey, York, and their Destruction', *Antiquaries Journal* 74 (1994), pp. 280–2; idem, 'Design and Construction', p. 87. Burton, 'Monastic Revival', pp. 42–4, 47–50; *De Fundatione*, pp. 545–6.

[84] Norton, 'Archbishop Thomas', pp. 6–8.

[85] *EEA York, 1070–1154*, nos. 11 and 75, pp. 14, 61; Burton, 'Monastic Revival', pp. 47–8, 50. The possessions and privileges of the abbey are listed by Dugdale *et al*. (eds.), *Monasticon*, vol. 3, pp. 530–8.

[86] The layout of the abbey is best summarised by Norton, 'Design and Construction', pp. 73–88. Also see Wilson and Burton, *St Mary's Abbey*; C. Norton, 'The St Mary's Abbey Precincts', (unpublished lecture transcript, 2008), www.york.ac.uk/media/ipup/documents/Murphy%20-%20St%20Marys.docx (accessed 27/04/15). For recent excavations in the south transept and a summary of past excavations, see A. Parker, 'Excavations in the South Transept of St Mary's Abbey, York', *Journal of Council for British Archaeology Yorkshire* 4 (2015), pp. 71–6.

1077 by Abbot Paul, the nephew of Lanfranc.[87] In turn, these churches were modelled on William I's abbey of St-Étienne at Caen which was constructed under the supervision of Lanfranc from 1066 or 1067.[88] Through the architecture of his abbey, Stephen visually allied himself to the Crown and Lanfranc, while simultaneously distancing himself from York Cathedral.

There is evidence of at least one decorative feature at St Mary's Abbey that can be traced to Canterbury Cathedral. A plaster fragment discovered at the abbey site is painted with a lozenge, or diamond, pattern that closely relates to lozenge patterns incised on columnar piers at slightly later regional churches, namely Durham Cathedral, Selby Abbey and Kirkby Lonsdale church (Cumbria) (fig. B.21). The implication is that a similar scheme of lozenge-ornamented piers existed at St Mary's Abbey.[89] The earliest known piers of this type in England can be found in the dorter undercroft of Canterbury Cathedral and date from the archiepiscopate of Lanfranc (1070–89).[90] Combined with the observations that the mitred capitals at Lastingham Abbey and the architectural plan of St Mary's Abbey relate to Canterbury Cathedral, it seems all the more likely that Abbot Stephen was directly inspired by Canterbury

Fig. B.21. St Mary's Abbey, York: plaster fragment excavated from the abbey site (YORYM : 2013.368), now held in the Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

[87] Canterbury and St Albans were cruciform churches with aisled naves and apsidal chapels arranged in echelon. St Albans had precisely seven apses whereas Canterbury had five. See Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 105, 113, for illustrated plans.

[88] Ibid., pp. 106, 112.

[89] M. Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Diocese of Carlisle', in M. McCarthy and D. Weston (eds.), *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology* (Leeds, 2004), pp. 277–80; idem, 'Abbey Church of Lessay', p. 82; D. Park, 'The Interior Decoration of the Cathedral', in D. Pocock *et al.* (eds.), *Durham Cathedral: An Architectural Appreciation* (Durham, 2014), p. 47; idem, 'The Decoration of the Cathedral and Priory in the Middle Ages', in D. Brown (ed.), *Durham Cathedral: History, Fabric, and Culture* (Yale, 2014), p. 169.

[90] Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 30–1; Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 292–3.

and was in some way connected to Lanfranc.

Another decorative feature suggests direct influence from Normandy, and appears to confirm that Norman craftsmen were active at St Mary's Abbey. Several fragments of string course or imposts can be found reset in the thirteenth-century fabric that stands at the west end of the abbey church site. Their location confirms that they were carved before the Gothic rebuilding and probably derive from the first abbey complex. All are hollow chamfered on their lower edges and these spaces are filled with large beads (fig. B.22). Significantly, the same moulding and beading decoration can be found on the exterior string courses of the abbey church at Cerisy-la-Forêt (fig. B.23).

Fig. B.22. St Mary's Abbey, York: carved fragments reset in the west end masonry.

The capitals excavated from the site of St Mary's Abbey reveal that Abbot Stephen and the monks were at least partly influenced by York Cathedral when it came to sculptural decoration. One of these is a multi-scallop type with incised shields like a scallop

Fig. B.23. Cerisy-la-Forêt Abbey (Normandy): south nave exterior. © Chatsam, Wikimedia Commons.

capital excavated from the west end of the nave at York Minster, and probably dates from the late eleventh century.[91] Two nook-shaft capitals, which either date from the late eleventh century or early twelfth century, are carved with humanoid angle masks. The first example features a mask with large, double-rimmed eyes and a broad tapered nose, similar to the mask on one of the Corinthianesque capitals from York Minster (fig. B.24). The mask on the second capital is slightly different in style, however it is surrounded by foliage decoration, an arrangement that echoes the same York Cathedral capital (figs. B.25 & 26). A related point, which seems to confirm decorative relationships between the first abbey church of St Mary's Abbey and Thomas of Bayeux's cathedral, is that the masonry of both structures was plastered, lime-washed and painted with a grid pattern that imitated mortar joints.[92] It is possible that this emulation was a manifestation of the competition between York Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey. On the one hand, Abbot Stephen and his monks evidently wanted a church that was significantly different from the cathedral in terms of plan, and

Fig. B.24. St Mary's Abbey, York: nook-shaft capital excavated from the abbey site (acc. no. unknown), Yorkshire Museum.

Figs. B.25 & 26. St Mary's Abbey, York: nook-shaft capital excavated from the abbey site (YORYM : 2006.2992), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

[91] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Carlisle', p. 277; idem, 'Abbey Church of Lessay', pp. 81, 83, fig. 13.

[92] Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 80.

Fig. B.27. Durham Castle Chapel: general view looking east.

presumably this translated to notable differences in articulation and architectural features. On the other, the presence of similar carved decoration, as well as ornamentation probably derived from Canterbury and Cerisy-la-Forêt, suggests a desire to rival and surpass the cathedral in this respect.

One early post-conquest structure in north-east England renowned for its remarkably close relationship to architecture in Normandy is the chapel within Durham Castle (fig. B.27). The south-east pier capital is of an unusual design where full-bodied men with raised arms are positioned at the angles and the main faces are carved with angular leaves (fig. B.28). A related, though stylistically dissimilar, later eleventh-century capital depicting men with raised arms surrounded by

Fig. B.28. Durham Castle Chapel: south-east pier capital.

Fig. B.29. Dijon, Saint-Bénigne: crypt capital (formerly the rotunda).

foliage can be found at Graville Abbey, Le Havre, and this design can be traced to the early eleventh-century crypt of Saint-Bénigne, Dijon (fig. B.29).[93] The placement of human heads on the angles of capitals is an arrangement that can be found on the fragments from St Mary's Abbey, York, although the Durham examples may have been inspired by capitals at the royal abbeys of St-Étienne and La Trinité at Caen.[94] Another capital in the Durham castle chapel, a volute type depicting a feline mask emitting a rolled tongue or a spiral of foliage from its mouth, is almost identical to a capital located in the nave of Cerisy-la-Forêt Abbey (figs. B.30 & 31). Furthermore, the same Durham capital has an arrangement of volutes on the east face that recalls Corinthianesque capital designs in the crypt of La Trinité, Caen (fig. B.32).

Fig. B.30. Durham Castle Chapel: west face of the north-east pier capital.

Fig. B.31. Cerisy-la-Forêt Abbey (Normandy): nave capital. © Chatsam, Wikimedia Commons.

Fig. B.32. La Trinité, Caen (Normandy): crypt. © Roi.dagobert, Wikimedia Commons.

[93] Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, p. 13; R. Wood, 'The Norman Chapel in Durham Castle', *Northern History* 47 (2010), pp. 24–5.

[94] Baylé, 'Les ateliers de sculpture de Saint-Etienne de Caen', p. 249, fig. 5.

One of the most prominent ornaments in Durham castle chapel is the sunken, or chip-carved, star (fig. B.33). Suggestions have been made that this motif was first applied to timber buildings before being transmitted to stone sculpture, although this is impossible to verify. The earliest examples of sunken star ornament can be found in Normandy, specifically Caen, while the earliest examples in England post-date the Norman Conquest and can be attributed to Norman patronage. There was a evidently a close association between the sunken star and Norman royal patronage since the motif was prominently applied to William the Conqueror's palace and abbey church of La Trinité,

Fig. B.33. Durham Castle Chapel: east face of the south-west pier capital.

Fig. B.34. Caen Castle (Normandy): doorway to the Exchequer Hall. © Karldupart, Wikimedia Commons.

both at Caen (fig. B.34).[95] The presence of the motif on many of the capitals in Durham castle chapel appears to confirm that Norman craftsmen were employed at the site.[96]

There is a general consensus that the castle chapel was commissioned by William of St Calais, a native of Normandy and bishop of Durham from 1080 to 1096.[97] More specifically, Wood has proposed that the chapel was constructed during the first part of William's episcopate, between his election as bishop in 1080 and his exile in 1088. In this context the chapel is envisaged as an early statement of William's ecclesiastical authority relating to his decision to replace the community of secular clerks with Benedictine monks from Wearmouth-Jarrow in 1083. Wood also cites the stylistic differences between the chapel and the earliest surviving fabric of Durham Cathedral as evidence that the two structures were constructed in distinct phases separated by William's years of exile between 1088 and 1091.[98]

There are several reasons for rejecting Wood's thesis and associating the structure with the final years of William's episcopate (1091–96). In the first instance, the appearance of the east end of the new cathedral church at Durham (begun in 1093) is unknown, since it was demolished and rebuilt in the thirteenth century. One suggestion, based on the fact that the reformed community at Durham included monks from Evesham, is that it was modelled on the slightly earlier east arm of Evesham Abbey (Worcestershire), initiated by Abbot Walter

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[95] M. Baylé, *La Trinité de Caen : sa place dans l'histoire de l'architecture et du décor romans* (Geneva, 1979), pp. 104–10; idem, *Les origines et les premiers developpements de la sculpture romane en Normandie* (Caen, 1992), p. 102; G. Zarnecki, 'The Sources of English Romanesque Sculpture', *Further Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1992), pp. 250, 253; Moss, *Romanesque Chevron*, p. 7.

[96] Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, pp. 12–3; Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture', p. 153. Alternatively, Galbraith, 'Notes', pp. 20–1, and Bernstein, 'A Bishop of Two Peoples', pp. 277–8, have suggested that most of the sculpted capitals, namely those that are carved from limestone, were carved in Normandy and transported to Durham by boat. It should however be noted that the heavily worn west respond capitals and a related loose capital of probable Durham provenance, now held in Palace Green Library (Durham) and discussed below, are carved from local sandstone.

[97] Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, p. 12, suggested that the chapel was founded by William the Conqueror in 1072. This opinion is repeated in Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 152. K. Galbraith, 'Notes on Sculpture in Durham' (unpublished, 1977), Durham Cathedral Library Special Collections, Librarians' Files and Notes, LIB 4/19/3, pp. 20–1, was first to challenge Zarnecki and attribute the chapel to Bishop William. For other scholars who have accepted Galbraith's attribution, see Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture', pp. 153, 156; Wood, 'Norman Chapel', pp. 17, 44–8; M. Bernstein, 'A Bishop of Two Peoples: William of St. Calais and the Hybridization of Architecture in Eleventh-Century Durham', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 77 (2018), pp. 272–78.

[98] Wood, 'Norman Chapel', pp. 44–6.

(1078–1104). There is physical evidence that sunken stars were a prominent feature of the earliest decoration at Evesham Abbey and, combined with the evidence of sunken stars in Durham castle chapel, it is possible to speculate that the same ornament was present in the lost east end of Durham Cathedral Priory.[99]

Fig. B.35. Palace Green Library, Wolfson Gallery (Durham): capital found in Durham City (unknown provenance).

Another clue that there may have been sculptural overlap between the lost east end of Durham Cathedral Priory and the castle chapel comes from a loose Corinthianesque capital that was recovered from a builder's yard in North Road, Durham, and is now exhibited in Palace Green Library, Durham (fig. B.35). This is related to the capitals in the castle chapel, being decorated with a human mask on one face and foliage on the other, although there are subtle differences in style, exemplified by the delicacy of the foliage and the simplicity of the incised mask. Zarnecki speculated that the capital originated from somewhere in the castle complex but there is nothing to preclude the possibility that it was created for the cathedral.[100] On the other hand, it is possible that the stylistic differences between the sculptural schemes of the castle chapel and the earliest surviving examples at Durham Cathedral reflect deliberate choices made by the patron, William of St Calais. Meg Bernstein has rightly emphasised that the chapel was a private space and presumably reflects the bishop's personal taste for Norman craftsmanship, whereas the cathedral had a wider, ethnically diverse audience, and an entirely different function.[101]

Comparing the castle chapel to other examples of late eleventh-century architecture raises further observations that challenge Wood's dating. Proportionally, the columns are remarkably tall and slender, in sharp contrast to the robust piers found in the crypt at Lastingham Abbey and the chapel of St John in the White Tower, London (commenced *c.*

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[99] D. Cox, 'Evesham Abbey: The Romanesque Church', *JBAA* 163 (2010), pp. 62–3.

[100] Zarnecki et al., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 152.

[101] Bernstein, 'A Bishop of Two Peoples', pp. 272–81.

1075), which can both also be attributed to Norman craftsmanship.[102] This contrast is even more remarkable if it is accepted that the present castle chapel is but the lower floor of what was originally a two-storey structure.[103] Comparatively light columnar structures were built elsewhere in England from the late 1080s, for example the crypts at the cathedrals of Worcester, Gloucester and Canterbury, and offer support for a later dating of the Durham chapel.[104] Notably, the crypt at Gloucester Cathedral (formerly St Peter's Abbey) features a volute capital with central human mask, dating from *c.* 1090, that is similar in composition to several of the capitals in the Durham chapel (figs. B.33 & 36).[105] A very similar capital can also be seen in the nave of Blyth Priory (Nottinghamshire), founded in 1087 or 1088, which cannot have been carved any earlier than the 1090s.[106] In terms of building technology and style, the Durham castle chapel fits comfortably within the context of the early 1090s.

Fig. B.36. Gloucester Cathedral: crypt capital. © Ron Baxter/CRSBI.

Additionally, there are iconographic reasons why the Durham castle chapel can be understood in the context of William of St Calais' later years as bishop. It has long been suggested that the north-west capital, depicting a stag confronted by a nimbed man leading

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[102] For the sequences and dating of St John's chapel, see Crook, 'St John's Chapel'.

[103] Much of the debate over whether the castle chapel was originally a single storey or two-storey building has hinged on the apparent description of the structure by Lawrence of Durham, see *Dialogi Laurentii Dunelmensis monachi ac prioris*, ed. J. Raine (Durham, 1880), I. 401–2, pp. 11–2: '*Fulget et hic senis suffulta capella columnis,/ Non spatiosa nimis, sed speciosa satis.*' Galbraith, 'Notes', pp. 20–1, interpreted this to indicate a two-storey structure, whereas Wood, 'Norman Chapel', pp. 11–4, has analysed the Latin and suggested a single storey structure. Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 243, has regarded either arrangement as plausible. A close study of the groin vaulting reveals masonry breaks in the springing of the arches, indicating some alteration to the design, that could be consistent with initial plans to construct a two-storey structure. My thanks to Øystein Ekroll for pointing out this peculiarity.

[104] The Worcester crypt dates from after 1084, the Gloucester crypt after 1089 and the Canterbury crypt extension after 1096, see Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 140–4, 153–4, 157–60.

[105] This similarity was first noted by Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, pp. 12, 25, plates 3–4.

[106] Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 153; P. Coffman and M. Thurlby, 'Blyth Priory: A Romanesque Church in Nottinghamshire', *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 105 (2001), pp. 57–70, plate 19.

a horse and a pair of hunting dogs, represents the conversion of St Eustace (figs. B.37–39).[107] This scene is exceptionally rare in western medieval art before the twelfth century, although the peculiarity of the imagery on the capital confirms that St Eustace was the intended subject. According to the life of the saint, Eustace was a commander in the Roman army who converted to Christianity one day while hunting when Christ appeared to him in the form of a stag.[108] He was subsequently baptised and fled Rome with his family. Like Job, he subsequently suffered a series of misfortunes designed to test his faith. He was robbed of all his possessions, his wife was kidnapped by a sea-captain, and his two young sons were carried off by a wolf and a lion, although unbeknown to Eustace the children were rescued by some local shepherds and farmers. Through strokes of divine fortune, Eustace was recalled from exile to retake his position in the Roman army and was

Figs. B.37–39. Durham Castle Chapel: north-west pier capital.

[107] Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, pp. 25–6; idem, 'Romanesque sculpture in Normandy and England in the eleventh century', p. 204. The identification of St Eustace has since been repeated by Wood, 'Norman Chapel', pp. 22–3.

[108] W. W. Skeat, *Aelfric's Lives of Saints* (London, 1900), pp. 190–219; M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold and the Vita S. Eustachii', *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), p. 214. The Old English life of St Eustace is erroneously attributed to Ælfric by Skeat and some recent scholars, for example Wood, 'Norman Chapel', p. 22.

reunited with his family. However his faith came to the attention of Emperor Hadrian when Eustace refused to make a pagan sacrifice, so he and his family were condemned to death. First they were thrown into a lion's den, but when the lion prostrated itself before the saint and refused to devour them they were instead burnt alive in a brazen bull.

Fig. B.40. Durham Castle Chapel: west face of the north-centre pier capital.

Fig. B.41. Durham Castle Chapel: north face of the north-east pier capital.

Besides the hunting capital, which represents Eustace's conversion, there are several scenes and motifs within the Durham castle chapel that can be interpreted in relation to the life of St Eustace. The central north pier capital depicts a feline creature, probably a lion, in an unusual pose, its legs raised in the air and biting its own tail (fig. B.40). Meanwhile, the capital to the east depicts a lion emitting its tongue and the head of an ox or bull (figs. B.30 & 41). It is possible that these motifs allude to the martyrdom of Eustace and his family, namely the lion that humbled itself in front of the saint and the brazen bull that was the instrument of their execution. There are also the two confronted feline creatures on the central south pier

Figs. B.42 & 43. Durham Castle Chapel: north face of the north-east pier capital.

capital. One is clearly identifiable as a lion whereas the other has a differently constructed face, making it possible that this represents a different predatory creature (figs. B.42 & 43).[109] If the life of St Eustace was indeed the inspiration for many of capital designs, these creatures may represent the lion and wolf that carried away Eustace's children. The two westernmost respond capitals are eroded beyond recognition, although one was illustrated by John Carter in the late eighteenth century and showed two human figures, one apparently holding a basket and possibly being attacking by the other. Wood has implied that this scene and its lost neighbour could have related to the life of St Eustace, but without additional details this identification is impossible to verify.[110]

Of course, the sculptural imagery throughout the castle chapel hardly constitutes a coherent narrative cycle inspired entirely by St Eustace's life. In particular, the mermaid or siren on the central south pier capital bears no obvious relationship to the saint's life (fig. B.44). Wood has interpreted many of the motifs as symbols of salvation and paradise,[111] and it is possible that some scenes carried multiple meanings.[112] The ox, for example, can be read in accordance with the writings of Gregory the Great as a symbol of the diligent preacher,[113] or, as suggested above, it can be understood to symbolise Eustace's martyrdom. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to suggest that the life of St Eustace had a greater influence on the chapel iconography than has previously been appreciated.

Fig. B.44. Durham Castle Chapel: south face of the south-centre pier capital.

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[109] Wood, 'Norman Chapel', p. 29, has identified both creatures as lions.

[110] Ibid., p. 24.

[111] Ibid., pp. 20–36.

[112] The notion that the same motif could carry multiple meanings has been explored by R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Mediaeval Architecture"', *Studies in Early English Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (New York, 1969), p. 149, and, more recently, by R. Stalley, 'Diffusion, Imitation and Evolution: The Uncertain Origins of "Beakhead" Ornament', in J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 127.

[113] Ibid., pp. 29–31.

The reason for this appears to stem from William of St Calais' period of exile. There is no evidence that the cult of St Eustace had gained a foothold in Durham or the surrounding region prior to the construction of the castle chapel. Neither is there any indication that the Durham monastic community possessed a copy of the saint's life in Latin or Old English. Even in southern England where there were notable cult centres at Abingdon (Oxfordshire) and perhaps also Winchester, veneration of St Eustace does not appear to have been particularly widespread.[114] On the other hand, there was a major cult centre at Rome centred on the eighth-century *diaconia* of St Eustace, situated near the Pantheon.[115] In 1082, William of St Calais was present at the papal curia on behalf of William the Conqueror, and it could have been this visit to Rome that brought him into direct contact with the Roman cult of St Eustace.[116] This does not preclude the possibility that St Eustace iconography was commissioned at Durham before 1091, but the narrative of St Eustache's life surely attained greater poignancy for William of St Calais after he himself was sent into exile following his trial at Old Sarum in November 1088. Moreover, William spent his period of exile in Normandy where he amassed considerable wealth and treasures serving as the Robert Curthose's chief administrator.[117] These circumstances would have enabled him to employ the Norman craftsmen who subsequently produced the Durham Castle capitals. In this context, then, the castle chapel can be understood as a triumphal gesture that used sculpture to conflate William's exile and restoration to office with the experiences of St Eustace.

The rebuilding of Durham Cathedral Priory, which William of St Calais initiated in 1093, can be understood as an extension of this celebratory gesture. It has been established that the plan and dimensions of the new cathedral church were modelled on Old St Peter's Basilica in Rome, and that the monumental spiral piers used in the east arm and transepts

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[114] Lapidge, 'Æthelwold and the Vita S. Eustachii', pp. 213–23.

[115] R. Krautheimer, *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, vol. 1 (Vatican City, 1937), p. 216; R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312–1308* (Princeton, 1980), pp. 80–1.

[116] For Bishop William's mission to Rome, see Symeon, *LDE*, IV. 2, pp. 226–9; W. M. Aird, 'An Absent Friend: The Career of Bishop William of St Calais', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), p. 291.

[117] Aird, 'An Absent Friend', pp. 293–5.

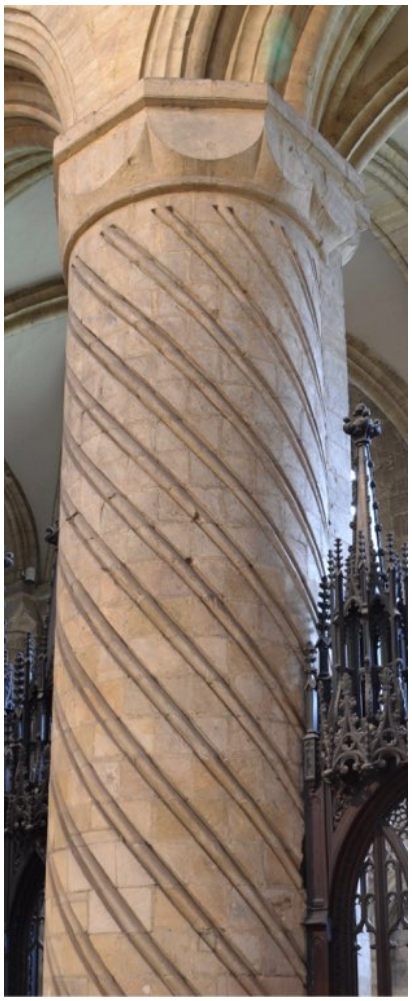

Fig. B.45. Durham Cathedral: spiral pier in the choir. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

at Durham evoked those around the shrine of St Peter (fig. B.45).[118] With regard to elements of articulation and elevation, Durham Cathedral Priory has been compared to prestigious predecessors in England and Normandy, namely the cathedrals of Winchester and Canterbury, and the abbeys of St Albans, Jumièges, and St-Étienne, Caen.[119] In other words, the new fabric visually elevated the status of Bishop William, who was solely responsible for the construction of the cathedral church, as well as that of the patron saint, Cuthbert.[120]

The late eleventh-century sculptural decoration of Durham Cathedral Priory also reveals relationships and affiliations with regional buildings, particularly those connected to the northern monastic revival movement of the mid-1070s and 1080s. It should be reiterated that the Durham Cathedral Priory community was reformed by William of St Calais in 1083, to the effect that the secular canons were expelled and replaced with Benedictine monks from Wearmouth-Jarrow.[121] This resulted in a web of fraternal ties between the monastic communities of Durham, Whitby, Lastingham and St Mary's Abbey, York. Accordingly, William of St Calais attended the foundation ceremony of St Mary's Abbey in 1088, and the Durham *Liber Vitae* records the name of Abbot

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[118] M. Thurlby, 'The Roles of the Patron and the Master Mason in the First Design of the Romanesque Cathedral of Durham', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 163–5; idem, 'The Building of the Cathedral: the Romanesque and early Gothic Fabric' (revised edition), in D. Pocock *et al.* (eds.), *Durham Cathedral: An Architectural Appreciation* (Durham, 2014), p. 22; E. Fernie, 'The Spiral Piers of Durham Cathedral', in N. Coldstream and P. Draper (eds.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral* (Leeds, 1980), pp. 51, 56.

[119] Thurlby, 'Roles of the Patron', pp. 165–9; idem, 'The Building of the Cathedral' (1993), pp. 18–30; ibid. (revised edition), pp. 22–37. Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 138; idem, 'The Romanesque Cathedral, 1093–1133', in Brown (ed.), *Durham Cathedral*, pp. 133–5.

[120] Symeon, *LDE*, IV. 8, pp. 244–5: '*Igitur monachis suas officinas edificantibus, suis episcopus sumptibus ecclesie opus faciebat*'.

[121] Ibid., IV. 2–3, pp. 226–35.

Fig. B.46. Durham Cathedral: mitred cushion capitals in the nave. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

Fig. B.47. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): mitred cushion capital at the west end of the nave (exterior).

Stephen along with confraternity agreements between the Durham community and the monks of Lastingham and, later, St Mary's Abbey.[122]

The abbeys of Lastingham and St Mary's, York, appear to have been especially influential for the sculptural schemes at Durham Cathedral Priory. Mitred cushions are the most common capital type at Durham Cathedral and precursors are evident at Lastingham Abbey (figs. B.46 & 47). A couple of geometric motifs at Durham Cathedral can be traced to St Mary's Abbey. Lozenge ornament can be found incised on the easternmost columnar piers at the cathedral, which date from *c.* 1099, and are comparable to the corresponding pattern on the plaster fragment from the St Mary's Abbey site (figs. B.22 & 48).[123] One of the most prominent interior decorative elements at Durham is the intersecting dado arcade that runs

Fig. B.48. Durham Cathedral: lozenge pier in the first bay of the nave. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

[122] Dugdale *et al*. (eds.), *Monasticon*, vol. 3, p. 546. For Abbot Stephen, see *The Durham Liber Vitae*, eds. D. Rollason and L. Rollason (London, 2007), vol. 1, fol. 23v5, p. 102; idem, vol. 3, p. 127. For the confraternity agreements, see idem, vol. 1, fols. 36v3, 52r2, pp. 74, 120, 154.

[123] According to Symeon of Durham's continuator, the monks of Durham had extended the cathedral church to as far as the nave by the time that Ranulf Flambard was consecrated bishop in 1099, so some semblance of the lozenge piers could have been in place by then, see Symeon, *LDE*, 'Appendix B', ch. 2, pp. 276–7. Also see M. G. Snape, 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings', in N. Coldstream and P. Draper (eds.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral* (Leeds, 1980), pp. 21–22; D. Rollason, 'Durham Cathedal 1093–1193 sources and history', in Jackson (ed.), *Engineering a Cathedral* (London, 1994), p. 8. The relationship between the lozenge ornament at Durham Cathedral and that on the plaster fragment from St Mary's Abbey was first noted by Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 277, 280; idem, 'The Building of the Cathedral' (revised edition), p. 40.

Fig. B.49. Durham Cathedral: aisle dado arcade. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

unbroken from the aisle walls in the eastern arm to the west end (fig. B.49). Related, albeit stylised, intersecting arcading can be found on the lower register of a Corinthianesque capital in the Lastingham crypt and on the external string course of the Lastingham presbytery (figs. B.50 & 51).[124] It is possible that early experimentation with the ornament at Lastingham led to more extensive application at St Mary's Abbey. Potential evidence for this comes from two carved fragments reset in the external wall of St Mary's Tower which constitutes the north corner of the St Mary's

Fig. B.50. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): crypt capital.

Fig. B.51. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): string course on the south exterior of the apse forebay.

[124] Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 140 and fn.; idem, 'The Romanesque Cathedral', p. 136 and fn.

Abbey precinct wall. These are badly eroded, yet an arcading design is clearly visible (fig. B.52). Since the tower was built *c.* 1324, it is plausible that this structure integrated carved masonry from the first abbey church which had been demolished in the late thirteenth century.[125]

Fig. B.52. St Mary's Tower, York: reused carved fragment.

The dado arcade at Durham Cathedral Priory features a variety of capital forms that can be traced to Yorkshire. These include several examples of small volute and Corinthianesque capitals, and two further examples occur on the interior face of the eastern doorway between the south nave aisle and the cloister. Those with upright cylindrical projections on their lower registers relate to the Corinthianesque capitals at York Minster, Lastingham Abbey and Richmond Castle (figs. B.8, 14–16, 53). Meanwhile, the Durham dado arcade capitals that have small angle volutes or knops are comparable to examples in the crypt and upper church of Lastingham Abbey (figs. B.10–11 & 54). Scallop capitals can also be found in the Durham dado arcade and many of these have incised shields like the scallop capitals

Fig. B.53. Durham Cathedral: west capital of the south-east cloister doorway. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

Fig. B.54. Durham Cathedral: capital of the dado arcade. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

[125] These fragments may correspond with the 'short length of fluted frieze' described in *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in City of York, Volume 2: The Defences*, Royal Commission of Historical Monuments (London, 1972), pp. 160–73. The author of this report attributes the frieze as a reused remnant of the early seventeenth-century south-west range of King's Manor, however the arcading style is consistent with eleventh and twelfth-century sculptural decoration.

excavated from St Mary's Abbey and York Minster, as well as the cushion capitals of the dado arcade in the chapel of St Nicholas at Richmond Castle (figs. B.55–57).[126]

Fig. B.55. Durham Cathedral: capital of the dado arcade. Reproduced courtesy of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

Fig. B.56. St Mary's Abbey, York: scallop capital excavated from the abbey site (YORYM : 2008.176), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

Fig. B.57. Richmond Castle (North Yorkshire): dado arcade capital in St Nicholas' chapel.

Continuity, revival and hybridisation: pre-conquest influences on early post-conquest sculpture

Many new motifs and styles were imported to northern England, and this was principally facilitated by Norman and Breton patrons. However, an important characteristic of much regional sculpture created in the final decades of the eleventh century is its relationship to pre-conquest artistic traditions. It has already been suggested that the repair and extension of Jarrow church in the later 1070s and 1080s was carried out by native craftsmen, and that the unmitred cushion capitals, bulbous bases and billet ornament applied to the new fabric had already entered late Anglo-Saxon repertoires. Norman and Breton patrons evidently employed native craftsmen, especially on large construction projects, and this is reflected in the survival, or revival, of pre-conquest designs and techniques. Rural churches and chapels constructed in the later eleventh century are even more likely to have been the product of native craftsmen owing to financial constraints and the impracticality of procuring large numbers of foreign workers. Although many Anglo-Saxon lords were dispossessed after the conquest, there were natives in northern England who continued to manage large areas of land, either as tenants or on behalf of Norman lords, and initiated

[126] Thurlby, 'Abbey Church of Lessay', pp. 81, 84.

church-building programmes.[127] Some of these native tenants and stewards were keen to commission native craftsmen and oversee the fusion of pre-conquest sculptural traditions with the new.

Several decorative features at Lastingham Abbey can be traced to pre-conquest art and architecture. The intersecting arcading ornament that occurs on one of the crypt capitals and on a section of the external string course can be found in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, specifically canon tables (figs. B.50 & 51).[128] Billet ornament, a motif that was widely used in pre-conquest sculpture, occurs extensively on the string course around the apse (fig. B.58). There is also the aforementioned section of string course decorated with interlace ornament, previously compared to a carved fragment from Rouen Cathedral, that must have been recognised for its relationship to Anglo-Saxon interlace traditions (fig. B. 18). The implication is that Abbot Stephen and his followers were sympathetic to Anglo-Saxon artistic traditions, even if they did desire a grand stone church that mirrored mature Romanesque buildings found in Normandy. This is hardly surprising considering Stephen had risen to the office of abbot at Whitby, a site that had been repopulated by monks who were keen to revive an Anglo-Saxon tradition of monasticism.[129]

Several architectural and sculptural features at Durham Cathedral Priory have been noted for their origins in pre-conquest architecture. These include hybrid stringcourse-hoodmoulds, a triangular-headed opening in the east claustral range, and twin openings

Fig. B.58. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): string course on the exterior of the apse.

[127] A. N. McClain, 'Patronage in Transition: Lordship, Churches, and Funerary Monuments in Anglo-Norman England', in J. A. Sánchez-Pardo and M. G. Shapland (eds.), *Churches and Social Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 211–2.

[128] Thurlby, 'Roles of the Patron', pp. 174–5; idem, 'The Building of the Cathedral' (1993), p. 21; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 128; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture', p. 333; Fernie, *Norman England*, pp. 34, 140 and fn.; idem, 'The Romanesque Cathedral', p. 136 and fn.

[129] Burton, 'Monastic Revival', pp. 41–6.

enclosed by larger arches.[130] In terms of sculptural decoration, there is the intersecting arcading of the dado arcade (fig. B.49) which may have been appreciated for its relationship to Anglo-Saxon illumination, much like the corresponding ornament at Lastingham. The spiral piers in the east arm and transepts may also have pre-conquest precursors (fig. B.45). For example, there are spiral columns of possible late tenth or early eleventh-century date within the crypt of Repton church (Derbyshire).[131] There can be little doubt that some of the craftsmen working on Durham Cathedral were natives trained in, or at least familiar with, pre-conquest traditions. It is also likely that the previous stone cathedral, initiated by Bishop Ealdhun in or shortly after 995, was retained while the east arm of the new cathedral was being built, and this could have provided immediate inspiration.[132] Regardless of the circumstances, William of St Calais was evidently willing to authorise these architectural forms and motifs. It has been suggested that he deliberately sought to evoke the Anglo-Saxon past in order to signify the new cathedral's function as a shrine to a seventh-century Northumbrian saint, ease ethnic tensions in the locality, and express continuity in spite of the 1083 reform.[133]

The loss of other major buildings constructed in the few decades after the Norman Conquest, namely York Cathedral, St Mary's Abbey and Pontefract Priory, makes it difficult to gauge whether the continuity and revival of pre-conquest styles and techniques of sculpting were widely advocated by Norman and Breton patrons. Sculptural schemes in minor churches and chapels are often overlooked in favour of large cathedrals and abbeys,

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[130] For discussions of the pre-conquest architectural forms and techniques, see Thurlby, 'Roles of the Patron', pp. 175–77; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millenium', pp. 128–31; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition', pp. 333–34, 358.

[131] Fernie, 'Spiral Piers', p. 51; idem, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, pp. 116–21; idem, 'Romanesque Cathedral', p. 136; L. Reilly, 'The Emergence of Anglo-Norman Architecture: Durham Cathedral', ANS 19 (1996), pp. 337, 341, 348.

[132] Rollason, 'Durham Cathedral 1093–1193', p. 6. No trace of the pre-conquest church was found in the present-day cloister, see H. D. Briggs, E. Cambridge and R. N. Bailey, 'A New Approach to Church Archaeology: Dowsing, Excavation and Documentary Work at Woodhorn, Ponteland and the pre-Norman Cathedral at Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 11 (1983), pp. 91–7. It is possible that the pre-conquest church was located in the present-day nave and was gradually demolished as the construction of the new cathedral progressed. This was the process adopted during the twelfth-century rebuilding of Cirencester Abbey, see D. J. Wilkson and A. D. McWhirr (ed.), *Cirencester Excavations IV: Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey* (Cirencester, 1998), pp. 11, 41.

[133] Thurlby, 'Roles of the Patron', pp. 174–5.; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 128; Reilly, 'Emergence of Anglo-Norman Architecture', pp. 343–8, 351; Bernstein, 'A Bishop of Two Peoples', pp. 278–81.

yet these offer valuable insights into the change and continuity of material culture at a local level. The main problem encountered relates to dating since very few small building campaigns are documented and continuity of building practices and techniques into the twelfth century can make it difficult to precisely date church fabrics on style analysis alone. In other words, church fabric that might be dismissed as primitive could in fact date from the early twelfth century.[134]

Nonetheless, the overwhelming trend among northern church fabrics assigned to the later eleventh century is that few exhibit any substantial or lavish architectural sculpture. There are a number of possible reasons for this. Cambridge has suggested that pillaging in the immediate aftermath of the conquest and during the Harrying of the North (1069/70) were not conducive to building activities, and that there was probably a lack of skilled craftsmen in the region during the later eleventh century.[135] Both suggestions are questionable. In the first instance, the socio-economic impact of the Norman Conquest and the Harrying on northern society has been much debated and there is no definitive evidence that these events inflicted widespread or long-lasting damage.[136] After all, there is ample evidence from other periods of history, namely Stephen's reign (1135–54), that episodes of conflict could actually stimulate architectural and artistic patronage.[137] Meanwhile, the findings from the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* indicate that while much late Anglo-Saxon stone carving in northern England was not particularly innovative, there was a well-established tradition of producing stone sculpture that potentially undermines Cambridge's second point.[138] The lack of architectural sculpture in minor churches of the later eleventh century is perhaps best explained by the continued popularity of carved stone crosses and

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[134] Gem, 'The English Parish Church', pp. 22–30; Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture', pp. 141–8.

[135] Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture', pp. 148, 156.

[136] O. Creighton and S. Rippon, 'Conquest, Colonisation and the Countryside: Archaeology and the mid-11th- to mid-12th-Century Rural Landscape', in D. M. Hadley and C. Dyer (eds.), *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2017), pp. 76–7; McClain, 'Rewriting the Narrative', pp. 206–7, 214–5, 217.

[137] Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 23; J. A. Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen: a contextual study of sculpture created in Gloucestershire between 1135 and 1154* (unpublished MAR thesis, Durham University, 2014), pp. 165–6; Creighton and Wright, *Anarchy*, pp. 125–6.

[138] *CASSS*, vols. 1–3, 6, 8–9.

funerary monuments after the conquest,[139] the implication being that native sculptors active in the later eleventh century were more inclined to continue producing commemorative monuments rather than turning their hand to architectural decoration. That said, it should also be reiterated that a large amount of architectural evidence has been lost and next to nothing is known about the decoration of timber buildings produced during the Saxo-Norman overlap. Sculpted church furnishings, especially stone fonts, may have served to bridge the gap between commemorative monuments and architectural sculpture, and that between native pre-conquest and post-conquest Norman styles.

The Lacy family of Calvados (Normandy) and their Anglo-Saxon tenants appear to have played an important role in the preservation of pre-conquest sculpting traditions and their fusion with imported motifs from Normandy.[140] Ilbert I de Lacy had been granted the large yet compact lordship of Pontefract by 1086 and allowed many Anglo-Saxon landholders to retain their manors as tenants, or else he promoted other native men.[141] At the manors of Cawthorne and High Hoyland (South Yorkshire), he appointed the previous landholders, Alric and Asulfr, as tenants.[142] Domesday Book records the existence of a church at Cawthorne, and it was presumably this same church that was gifted to Pontefract Priory by Alric's son, Swain, with the assent of Robert de Lacy, Ilbert's son and successor, at some point in the 1090s.[143] Nothing of the eleventh-century architectural fabric survives, however there is a cubic stone font in the present church that can be assigned to the early post-conquest period and was probably commissioned around the time that the church was granted to Pontefract Priory (figs. B.59 & 60). The font is carved on all faces in a low relief, two-plane technique that is characteristic of pre-conquest sculpture in the area, and equally features motifs that can be traced to late Anglo-Saxon traditions, namely clover-like leaves and corner cable moulding.[144] On the other hand, the arcading arrangement and

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[139] McClain, *Patronage, Power, and Identity*, vol. 1, esp. pp. 30–3, 81–5.

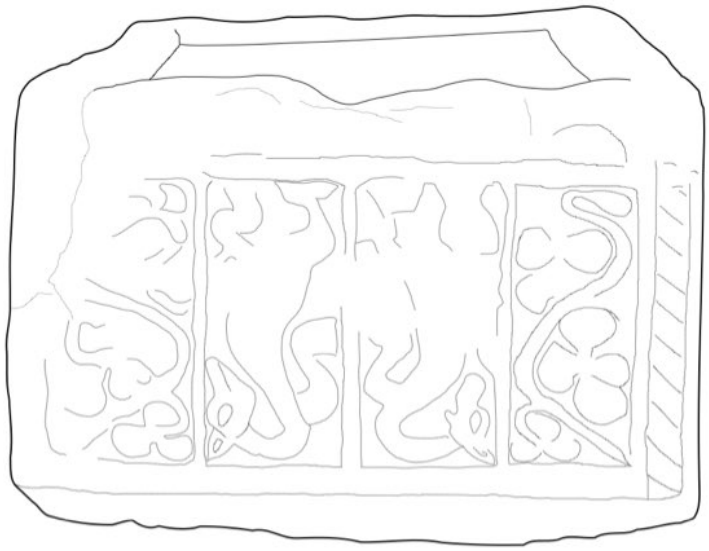
[140] For the Normandy origins of the Lacy family, see Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp. 215–26.

[141] Ibid., p. 17–54; *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 315a–318b; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 39–46.

[142] *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 316d.

[143] Ibid.; *The Chartulary of St John of Pontefract*, vol. 1, ed. R. Holmes (Leeds, 1899), no. 2, pp. 18–20.

[144] *CASSS*, vol. 8, pp. 275–78; R. Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament* (Oxford, 1991), pp. xxiv, xxvii.



Figs. B.59–61. Cawthorne, All Saints (South Yorkshire): font.

addorsed creatures, in this case dragons or wyverns, are typical of fonts created after the conquest.

There is a closely related font from High Hoyland, now located inside Skelmanthorpe church (West Yorkshire), that can be attributed to the same sculptor or workshop and must be roughly contemporary. It is equivalent in shape and size, and features many of the same motifs, including arcading, corner cable moulding, and the distinctive clover-like foliage (figs. B.62–64).[145] The sculpted forms on the High Hoyland font are more distinct than their counterparts on the Cawthorne font, but this can be ascribed to the fact that the Cawthorne font has suffered erosion from the time it spent in the grounds of nearby Cannon Hall.[146] This weathering cannot disguise the fact that both fonts have been carved

Fig. B.62. Skelmanthorpe, St Aidan (West Yorkshire): font from High Hoyland (South Yorkshire).

[145] P. F. Ryder, *Saxon Churches in South Yorkshire* (Barnsley, 1982), p. 112; R. Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire* (Leeds, 2012), pp. 72, 196.

[146] *CASSS*, vol. 8, pp. 275, 278. Coatsworth has dismissed the view that the Cawthorne and High Hoyland fonts were created by the same sculptor, remarking that the carvings on the High Hoyland font are 'much stiffer and cruder' than those on the Cawthorne font. Instead, she prefers to identify them with the same workshop.

Fig. B.63. Skelmanthorpe, St Aidan (West Yorkshire): font from High Hoyland (South Yorkshire).

Fig. B.64. Skelmanthorpe, St Aidan (West Yorkshire): detail of the font from High Hoyland (South Yorkshire).

in the same two-plane technique. Furthermore, visible flecks of residual pigment suggest that both fonts were originally painted.

The High Hoyland font fuses pre-conquest and Normandy-derived motifs in one important respect. On the present-day east face, there are two arcades filled with vertically arranged tree scroll ornament that can be found widely in pre-conquest art, including sculpture.[147] Positioned above these scrolls are two humanoid masks (fig. B.65). This juxtaposition of head and spiral recalls the Corinthianesque capitals found in Normandy, most notably those in the crypt of Rouen Cathedral, and those created regionally in the later eleventh century at centres

[147] Cramp, *Grammar*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

such as York and Durham (figs. B.6, 33, 35 & 66).[148] This indicates a native craftsman continuing to work in their established style while reacting to new artistic influences and incorporating Normandy-derived motifs into their repertoire. Artistic fusion may have been encouraged by the patron of the font, who was most likely the tenant of the manor, Asulfr. Asulfr owed the retention of his landholdings to Ilbert de Lacy, and thus he may have selected a Norman-associated motif in order to express his loyalty to the new political order. It is possible that High Hoyland church was among the group of unnamed chapels that were granted to Pontefract Priory along with Cawthorne church.[149]

Fig. B.65. Skelmanthorpe, St Aidan (West Yorkshire): detail of the font from High Hoyland (South Yorkshire).

Fig. B.66. Rouen Cathedral (Normandy): capital in the crypt. © Giogo, Wikimedia Commons.

The amalgamation of native craftsmanship and post-conquest design trends is seen even more clearly on the font from the lost medieval church of Cleckheaton (West Yorkshire). This manor was also granted to the Lacy family after the conquest, but there is no evidence that it was subsequently given to a tenant. The font is similar to the Cawthorne and High Hoyland fonts in several respects, namely the intersecting arcading, cable moulding around the rim, and the low relief style of carving, which can all be traced to pre-conquest art (figs. B.67–69). It is possible that the font was created by the same workshop but to different specifications outlined by the patron, who can be identified as Ilbert or his son, Robert. Human figures, most of them recut in some way, are carved beneath five of the arcades. They exhibit egg-shaped heads, pointed beards, and simply

[148] W. G. Collingwood, *Angles, Danes and Norse in the District of Huddersfield* (Huddersfield, 1929), p. 58, was first to identify the mask and foliage motif on the High Hoyland font as a post-conquest 'Romanesque' import.

[149] *Chartulary of Pontefract*, vol. 1, no. 2, pp. 18–20.

Figs. B.67 & 68. Cleckheaton, Whitechapel: font. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. B.69. Cleckheaton, Whitechapel: font. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

carved eyes and mouths that recall the smaller masks on the High Hoyland font. In turn, the Cleckheaton heads have been compared to early eleventh-century figures on the crypt capitals at Saint-Benigne, Dijon,[150] but more closely resemble the human masks on the aforementioned capitals in the crypt of Rouen Cathedral. Direct influence from Rouen is possible considering Ilbert de Lacy's interest in the city: he donated land to the abbey of Sainte-Trinité, where one of his sons was buried, and his mother was a nun at the abbey of Saint-Amand *c.* 1069.[151] Other motifs on the Cleckheaton font can be traced to the monastic community of Lastingham and St Mary's Abbey, York, namely the lozenge ornament and intersecting arcading. Ilbert de Lacy was one of the first benefactors of St Mary's Abbey and witnessed a number of the early donations with Alan Rufus and Berengar de Tosny.[152] It is possible, then, that Ilbert was part of this aristocratic affinity whose members shared common interests in Rouen and St Mary's Abbey.

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[150] B. English and R. Wood, 'Cleckheaton, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 28/06/2018).

[151] Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 11; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 277–8.

[152] Dugdale *et al*., *Monasticon*, vol. 3, p. 547; Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 61.

This group of fonts commissioned by the Lacy family and their Anglo-Saxon tenants clearly illustrate how changes in political power could play out in material culture. From the perspectives of Ilbert and Robert de Lacy, the coopting of former Anglo-Saxon landholders was a pragmatic approach that would have enabled them to exploit existing local power structures while minimising the risk of uprisings and conflict. This sensitivity was reflected in their decision to employ a native sculptor, or workshop, to produce the font at Cleckheaton. In addition, the merging of native carving styles with Normandy-derived motifs effectively spelled out the Lacy family's newfound status and their ability to alter the local material culture. For the Anglo-Saxon tenants who commissioned the related fonts at Cawthorne and High Hoyland, sculpture was a way of communicating their continued place within elite culture, their willingness to adapt to Norman rule and, in this case, their personal loyalties to the Lacy family.

Chapter 2

Networks of ecclesiastical and secular patronage, *c.* 1100–*c.* 1155

I

The archbishops and canons of York Cathedral

The new Romanesque cathedral at York appears to have been substantially completed by Archbishop Thomas I's death in 1100, at which point his body was interred within the church. Soon afterwards the decision was made to extend the east end by demolishing the main apse and adding a square aisled chancel, possibly with a projecting square-ended

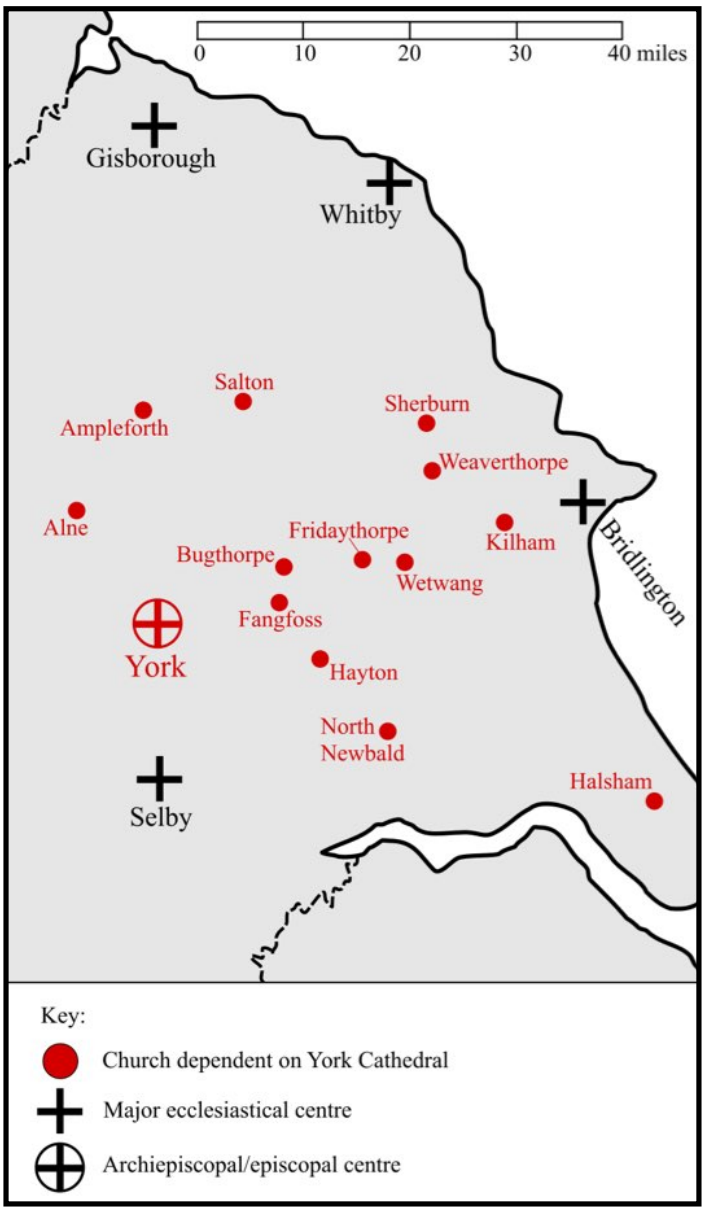

Fig. C.1. Map of sites associated with the archbishops and canons of York Cathedral.

chapel. This work has since been attributed to Archbishop Thurstan (1114–40).[1] It was not until 1121 that Thurstan returned to York as a consecrated archbishop, following his period of exile at the papal court, which would suggest that the extension of the cathedral did not commence until after this year. The traditional narrative that the cathedral and most of the city was ruined by a fire in 1137 has been rejected as a scribal error on the basis of written and archaeological evidence. Instead of a major fire (*conflagrata*), 1137 could have marked a major consecration (*consecrata*) ceremony with the new east end of the cathedral being the prime candidate.[2]

The decorative scheme of the east-end extension is enigmatic owing to the fact that the superstructure was obliterated roughly two decades later when the east arm of the cathedral was remodelled by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque (1154–81).[3] There are a number of sculptural fragments that have been attributed to the patronage of Archbishop Roger, although it must be considered whether some of these could actually derive from the earlier extension overseen by Thurstan. These include scallop capitals with floral and half rosette designs on their shields and, in some cases, beading between the cones (figs. C.2–4).[4] One

Figs. C.2 & 3. Damaged capitals (YORYM : 2013.928 & YORYM : 2013.929), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

[1] Harrison and Norton, *York Minster*, pp. 26–9.

[2] Ibid., p. 28; C. Norton, 'The York Fire of 1137: Conflagration or Consecration?', *Northern History* 34 (1998), pp. 194–204.

[3] Thurlby, 'Roger of Pont l'Evêque', pp. 35–47; Harrison and Norton, *York Minster*, pp. 30–1.

[4] Harrison and Norton, *York Minster*, pp. 13, 16. The forms clearly resemble flowers, although Wood, 'Geometric Patterns', p. 5, has suggested that such motifs represent rayed stars. Related scallop capitals with beading between the cones do occur *in situ* within the fabric of Archbishop Roger's crypt, however this may reflect continuity in sculptural forms across two distinct building programmes.

reason for identifying these capitals with Thurstan's extension is that the same floral designs appear on the south nave doorway at Kilham church (East Yorkshire), which belonged to the archbishop of York and was likely rebuilt before the middle of the twelfth century.[5] Moreover, such floral designs belong to a wider early twelfth-century artistic milieu. The motif is found at early twelfth-century churches in western France and was being applied to buildings in southern England by the 1120s, including Old Sarum Cathedral, St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and Reading Abbey.[6] Another fragment that may date from this period is a section of string course decorated with bead-filled lozenges.[7]

Fig. C.4. York Minster: loose capital within the crypt.

Even more problematic from the perspective of dating is a small damaged relief depicting the Virgin and Child, now exhibited in the York Minster crypt (fig. C.5). The Virgin rests on two cushions and a trailing rug while the Christ Child is positioned in half-profile on the right-hand side. In terms of style and arrangement, the relief has been compared to Byzantine or Byzantine-influenced English art, especially the illumination of the Virgin Mary in the mid-twelfth-century Winchester Psalter. More specifically, Zarnecki attributed the relief to Archbishop William fitz Herbert and associated the Byzantine style with William's exile at the royal court of Sicily *c.* 1147. For these reasons, the sculpture has

[5] See below for a fuller discussion of the sculpture at Kilham church.

[6] For the opinion that flower motifs were derived from churches in western France, see J. F. King, 'Sources, Iconography and Context of the Old Sarum Master's Sculpture', in L. Keen and T. Cocke (eds.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral* (Leeds, 1996), p. 80; R. A. Stalley, 'A twelfth-century patron of architecture: a study of the buildings erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102–1139', *JBAA* 34 (1971), p. 76. Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, p. 116, illustrates related flower motifs on corbels at Aulnay-de-Saintonge and Kilpeck (Herefordshire). Also see R. Baxter, 'Reading Museum and Art Gallery, Reading, Berkshire', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17), nos. 1992.116 (CL), 1992.5 (CL 29), 1992.6 (CL 28).

[7] Harrison and Norton, *York Minster*, p. 15.

Fig. C.5. York Minster: Virgin and Child relief.

traditionally been dated to *c.* 1155.[8] More recently it has been dated to *c.* 1130 and associated with the new Lady Chapel in the crypt extension overseen by Archbishop Thurstan.[9] However, the naturalistic treatment of the figures and the damp-fold draperies are comparable to figures in later illuminated manuscripts such as the *c.* 1170 Hunterian Psalter (Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 229). The foot cushion is another unusual feature; seated figures in manuscripts and sculpture from the first half of the twelfth century tend to rest their feet on arcaded stools or simple platforms. Ultimately the relief can be interpreted as a precursor to the late twelfth-century life-size human statues from York Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey, York, and a post-1155 date is most likely.[10]

Building activity at York Cathedral during the first half of the twelfth century was accompanied by church-construction campaigns across rural Yorkshire. Many of these churches were richly decorated with sculpture and were apparently funded and overseen by respective archbishops and canons of the cathedral. These commissions may, in part, have been facilitated by the administrative reforms of Archbishop Thomas I and his successors, in which canons were bestowed with prebends comprising land and churches. A prebend gave the recipient canon economic autonomy and encouraged him to take an active role in

[8] Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture, 1140–1210*, pp. 29–32, 58; Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 188.

[9] Harrison and Norton, *York Minster*, p. 28.

[10] For the late twelfth-century York statues, see Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, pp. 204–6; B. Heywood (ed.), *Romanesque Stone Sculpture from Medieval England* (Leeds, 1993), pp. 50–60; Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, pp. 231–2, 239–40.

pastoral care within his district, which included the establishment or reconstruction of parish churches.[11] Consequently, the sculptural scheme at any particular church may reflect the individual patronage and design of the canon who controlled the prebend. Unfortunately, the names and identities of canons from this period are often unknown.

Several churches with early twelfth-century sculpture that can be attributed to York Cathedral patronage show a propensity for rich geometric ornament. A notable example is Fridaythorpe church (East Yorkshire), which is located within a manor that was a long-standing possession of the Archbishop of York.[12] Fridaythorpe was assigned to a prebend in the late eleventh century or early twelfth century and was subsequently held by Durand the archdeacon.[13] A date during the archiepiscopate of Thomas II (1109–14) is most likely, and, judging from the style of the sculpture at Fridaythorpe, this would suggest that a rebuilding campaign took place soon after the prebend was formed. The chancel arch is decorated with simple incised lateral chevron on the outer order, a good indicator of early twelfth-century date, as well as sunken stars and a hybrid scallop-volute capital with swollen angle on the north-west side (figs. C.6 & 7). By contrast, the south nave doorway

Fig. C.6. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): chancel arch (west face).

[11] For the formation of prebends, see Hugh the Chantor, *History*, pp. 11, 14, 32; Austin, 'Thomas of Bayeux', pp. 205, 250–54; Norton, 'Archbishop Thomas', pp. 4–5.

[12] 'Fridaythorpe', *DB,* records that a church existed at Fridaythorpe by the late eleventh century.

[13] *EEA York, 1070–1154*, no. 8, pp. 10–12.

is ornamented with more complex bead-enriched back-to-back, curved lateral chevron which indicates evolution of the design scheme as building work progressed from east to west (figs. C.8 & 9). The same doorway features a diverse range of other geometric ornamentation, including chip-carved stars, trellis pattern, thick interlace and billet, as well as stylised leaves (figs. C.10 & 11). There are also a number of reset stones carved with

Fig. C.7. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north-west capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. C.8. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): chevron of the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.9. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. C.10. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): west capitals of the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.11. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): east capitals of the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.12. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): font.

lozenges, sunken stars and roll-and-hollow lateral chevron, a section of string course enriched with more chip-carving, and the lower part of a font with a beaded arcading design (fig. C.12).

Many of the same motifs appear at the nearby church of Kilham (East

Yorkshire) which was gifted to Archbishop Gerard (1100–08) by King Henry I.[14] In terms of style, all of the extant sculpture appears to post-date *c.* 1108, suggesting a major rebuilding campaign after the grant. The grand south nave doorway, which must mark the later phase of the rebuilding programme, has been dated tentatively to *c.* 1130 and is unlikely to be much later judging from the simplicity of the accompanying chevron mouldings (fig. C.13).[15] This places Kilham church as a contemporary of Fridaythorpe that

Fig. C.13. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. C.14. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): west capitals of the south nave doorway.

[14] *EYC*, vol. 1, nos. 426–7, pp. 333–5; *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 837, p. 71; EEA *York, 1070–1154*, no. 78, pp. 63–4.

[15] This date has been suggested by F. Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture: A Study of 12th Century Fragments in East Yorkshire* (Beverley, 1985), p. 45; R. Wood, 'All Saints, Kilham, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

Fig. C.15. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): west capital (3rd order) of the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.16. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): east capital (3rd order) of the south nave doorway.

received direct patronage from the archbishop of York. The Kilham doorway has an impost with sunken star enrichment and capitals with swollen angles like the Fridaythorpe chancel arch and doorway (fig. C.14). One particularly unusual capital design that occurs at both Kilham and Fridaythorpe is a block type covered in chevron with a single sunken star on the left-hand upper register (figs. C.15 & 16). There is also a heavily restored tub font at Kilham which is decorated with arcading like its counterpart at Fridaythorpe.[16]

It has been speculated that an array of geometric motifs and capitals with swollen angles were applied to York Cathedral in the late eleventh century.[17] The presence of these forms and motifs at churches dependent on the cathedral certainly lends credence to such a viewpoint. North Newbald church (East Yorkshire), which belonged to the cathedral from the eleventh century and was evidently rebuilt in the second quarter of the twelfth, features many scallop capitals with swollen angles, especially in the crossing (fig. C.17).[18] The tub fonts at the churches of Sherburn and Wetwang (East Yorkshire) feature arcading designs that are comparable to, though more complex than, the fonts at Fridaythorpe

Fig. C.17. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): north-west crossing capital.

[16] For a discussion and illustrations of the Kilham font, see R. Wood, 'All Saints, Kilham, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

[17] Thurlby, 'Abbey Church of Lessay', pp. 87–90.

[18] Ibid, pp. 84–6; Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 46; R. Wood, 'St Nicholas, Newbald: North Newbald, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17); *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 302d; *EEA York, 1154–1181*, no. 134.

and Kilham (figs. C.12, 18 & 19).[19] Weaverthorpe church (East Yorkshire), which was built in the early twelfth-century on land that Archbishop Thomas II had granted to Herbert the Chamberlain, features a reset fragment decorated with sunken stars and a tub font enriched with circles, crosses and octagonal compartments arranged to form a variant trellis pattern.[20] Hayton church (East Riding) is another site that appears to have been dependent on York Cathedral, before it was later granted to the college of St Mary and Holy Angels, York, by Archbishop Roger de Pont l'Eveque.[21] Little sculpture survives, but there is a small collection of string course fragments reset in the north aisle wall that are enriched with two types of lozenge pattern and are comparable to the section of string course from York Cathedral (fig. C.20).

Fig. C.18. Sherburn, St Hilda (North Yorkshire): font.

Fig. C.19. Wetwang, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): font.

Fig. C.20. Hayton, St Martin (East Yorkshire): reset section of string course.

[19] 'Sherburn', *DB*; 'Wetwang', *DB*; R. Wood, 'St Hilda, Sherburn, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17); idem, 'St Nicholas, Wetwang, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

[20] R. Wood, 'St Andrew, Weaverthorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17). The commission of the font may have been overseen by William fitz Herbert, treasurer of York Cathedral from 1114 to 1141.

[21] *York EEA, 1154–1181*, no. 129, pp. 142–5.

Fig. C.21. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): west capital (1st order) of the south nave doorway.

There is more direct evidence that late eleventh-century sculpture at York Cathedral influenced decoration at dependent parish churches during the twelfth century. Capitals with angle masks emitting tendrils of foliage at the churches of North Newbald and Alne echo the Corinthianesque capitals from Thomas of Bayeux's cathedral. The example at North Newbald appears on the mid-twelfth-century south nave doorway and shows a bestial mask with similar bulging eyes and pronounced nose to the humanoid mask on one of the York capitals, though more sophisticated in execution (figs. B.6 & C.21). There are further parallels in the arrangement of the spiralling foliage on both capitals, but the North Newbald tendrils are more delicately carved. Two related capitals with foliage-emitting masks can be seen at Alne church (North Yorkshire), again on the south nave doorway (figs. C.22 & 23). A church existed at Alne by the middle of the twelfth century and belonged to the treasurer of York Cathedral.[22] Recently, the doorway has been associated

Fig. C.22. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): west capital (2nd order) of the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.23. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): east capital (2nd order) of the south nave doorway.

[22] *The Cartulary of the Treasurer of York Minster and related documents*, ed. J. E. Burton (York, 1978), no. 13, pp. 20–3.

with the patronage of John of Canterbury, who was treasurer of York Cathedral from 1153 to 1162.[23] The west doorway capital exhibits clear parallels with the North Newbald capital, especially in the treatment of the tendrils, while the simplicity of the mask mirrors that on the York capital. Inside the church at Alne there is a west arch that appears to pre-date the doorway by a few decades and was probably constructed while William fitz Herbert was treasurer. The north capital is an unusual dual Corinthianesque-scallop type (fig. C.24). There are curling leaves and a cable necking on the lower register like the aforementioned York capital, and the scallops of the upper register have incised shields like a late eleventh-century capital excavated from York Cathedral.[24]

Fig. C.24. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): north capital of the west tower arch.

The occurrence of floral motifs on those fragments associated with Thurstan's cathedral extension and at cathedral-dependent churches that were rebuilt in the first half of the twelfth century provides the strongest clue that decorative schemes at these parish churches were directly modelled on the cathedral. Flowers at Kilham appear on the gable of the south nave doorway and a reset fragment in the porch (figs. C.25 & 26). They include six-petal varieties enclosed within circles that are very similar to the York Cathedral examples. Comparable flower designs also appear on the south nave doorway at St Martin's church, Fangfoss (East Yorkshire), a former chapel that was dependent on York Cathedral and under the control of the dean from the beginning of the twelfth century (figs. C.27 & 28).[25]

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[23] N. Saul, *Lordship and Faith: The English Gentry and the Parish Church in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2016), p. 55; J. Dunbabin, 'Canterbury, John of (c.1120–1204?)', *DNB*. Bobbin ornament can be seen on the angle of the outer order, a motif that appears to have been introduced to England no earlier than *c.* 1150, see Thurlby, 'Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 284.

[24] Alne church appears to have been constructed in at least three phases. The chancel arch is exceptionally plain, being devoid of capitals, and seems to represent a late eleventh/early twelfth century phase. The slightly more elaborate tower arch belongs to a second phase (*c.* 1125), while the rich nave doorway can be attributed to the third phase. For illustrations of the York Cathedral scallop capital with incised shields, see Phillips, *Excavations at York Minster*, vol. 2 , p. 158, pl. 126.

[25] R. Wood, 'St Martin, Fangfoss, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

Fig. C.25. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): gable of the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.26. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): reset fragment in the south porch.

Fig. C.27. Fangfoss, St Martin (East Yorkshire): beaker clasp with flower ornament on the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.28. Fangfoss, St Martin (East Yorkshire): imposts with flower ornament on the east side of south nave doorway.

Fig. C.29. Fangfoss, St Martin (East Yorkshire): beaker clasp, south nave doorway.

Fig. C.30. Beaker clasp voussoir (YORYM : HB292), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

Fig. C.31. Bugthorpe, St Andrew (East Yorkshire): beaker clasps on the north jamb of the chancel arch.

The same doorway at Fangfoss is enriched with bird beakheads and geometrically decorated beaker clasps, a clear indicator that this scheme was not carved until the second quarter of the twelfth century.[26] Significantly, similar beaker clasp voussoirs have been found at York and may have once decorated the portal of a major church (figs. C.29 & 30).[27] There are further examples of the beaker clasp motif on the jambs of the chancel arch at Bugthorpe church (East Yorkshire) which may have been commissioned by a canon of York Cathedral during the second quarter of the twelfth century (fig. C.31).[28]

The reason for selecting beakheads is unclear, but it is likely that Archbishop Thurstan and the canons of York were inspired by the sculptural commissions of King Henry I, particularly at Reading Abbey where there were numerous examples of the motif in the cloister.[29] It should be noted that Fangfoss was a royal manor until the 1120s, at which point the land was granted to William son of Ulf, and this raises the possibility that beakheads were employed at the church as a deliberate gesture to former royal lordship.[30] Other churches that were dependent on York Cathedral exhibit beakhead ornament. At Ampleforth church (North Yorkshire) there are eleven heavily eroded bird beakheads on the inner order of the blocked north nave doorway, although these have more bulbous heads than the beakheads at Fangfoss which suggests they are the product of a different sculptor (fig. C.32).[31] There are more beakheads at the nearby church of Salton (North

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[26] A date after the first quarter of the twelfth century was proposed by Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 45. The beaker clasp motif has been traced to Norwich Castle where there are examples dating from the 1120s, see T. A. Heslop, *Norwich Castle Keep: Romanesque Architecture and Social Context* (Norwich, 1994), pp. 33–7.

[27] York Museums Trust, nos. YORYM : HB292, YORYM : 2008.179.

[28] 'Bugthorpe', *DB*; R. Wood, 'St Andrew, Bugthorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17). Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 46, favoured a date between 1150 and 1160, however the beakheads and beaker clasps can also be understood in the context of the 1140s.

[29] The use of beakheads at Reading Abbey is generally dated to the 1120s, see G. Zarnecki and F. Henry, 'Romanesque Arches decorated with Human and Animal Heads', in G. Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1979), p. 22; Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 174; R. Baxter, *The Royal Abbey of Reading* (Woodbridge, 2016), p. 6. For a more cautious interpretation, see R. A. Stalley, 'Diffusion, Imitation and Evolution: The Uncertain Origins of 'Beakhead' Ornament', in J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (eds.), *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 126.

[30] *EYC*, vol. 1, no. 449, p. 348.

[31] 'Ampleforth', *DB*; EEA *York, 1154–1181*, no. 131.

Fig. C.32. Ampleforth, St Hilda (North Yorkshire): eroded beakheads on the blocked north nave doorway.

Fig. C.33. Salton, St John of Beverley (North Yorkshire): eroded beakheads on the south nave doorway.

Yorkshire) in the forms of birds and human heads with long necks (fig. C.33).[32] An interesting parallel between Salton and Ampleforth is the presence of clustering circles, which resemble bunches of grapes, on the label of the chancel arch and the label of the north doorway, respectively (figs. C.34 & 35). More beakheads appear on reset voussoirs inside Wetwang church and on the south nave doorway at Sherburn church (North Yorkshire) (figs. C.36–38). These include standard bird beakheads akin to those at Fangfoss, but also more unusual

Fig. C.34. Salton, St John of Beverley (North Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

Fig. C.35. Ampleforth, St Hilda (North Yorkshire): label of the blocked north nave doorway.

[32] 'Salton', *DB*; W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 1 (London, 1914), pp. 552–5.

Fig. C.36. Wetwang, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): two beakhead voussoirs reset in the north nave aisle.

Figs. C.37 & 38. Sherburn, St Hilda (North Yorkshire): badly damaged beakheads on the reset south nave doorway.

bestial heads with jaws that grip the top and underside of the roll moulding. Unfortunately all of the Sherburn examples are badly damaged and some designs are impossible to decipher. The architectural sculpture at Sherburn appears to fall into two phases, with the chancel arch, comprising simple decoration such as sawtooth and cusping, being constructed in the early twelfth century and the beakhead voussoirs of the south doorway being produced closer to the middle of the century. Further beakheads of varying styles appear on corbels at Alne, Fangfoss, North Grimston, North Newbald and Salton.

Other figure sculpture can be associated with the patronage of the canons and archbishops of York. The apexes of the chancel arches at Fridaythorpe and Sherburn both feature human figures, an unusual configuration. At Fridaythorpe a male figure in a cassock holds a circular object incised with a cross and there is a sprig of foliage to the left (fig. C.39). The figure has stringy arms and body, and is carved in a recessed manner that recalls pre-conquest sculptural techniques. There can be little doubt that the scene depicts the Eucharist, with the priest holding a consecrated wafer, while the foliage could represent the True Vine.[33] This figure could, in fact, be an effigy of Durand the archdeacon, who held the church in the early twelfth century. The Sherburn apex figure is more restricted, showing only the head and raised arms of a man, however the treatment of the hands is similar to the Fridaythorpe figure (fig. C. 40). The former has been interpreted as an orans or saved soul in heaven, but also could have been intended to represent a priest.[34] Related, though stylistically different, depictions of Christ in Majesty holding a book in his left hand and surrounded by a mandorla can be seen at North Newbald and Bugthorpe (figs. C.41 and 42).[35]

Fig. C.39. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): apex figure on the west face of the chancel arch.

Fig. C.40. Sherburn, St Hilda (North Yorkshire): apex figure on the west face of the chancel arch.

It is unclear whether York Cathedral possessed decorated corbels by the middle of the twelfth century, although two corbels of possible York provenance that are decorated with

[33] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 15; R. Wood, 'St Mary, Fridaythorpe, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

[34] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 194; idem, 'St Hilda, Sherburn'.

[35] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 11–2. Parts of the North Newbald figure have evidently been reworked, including Christ's face.

Fig. C.41. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): Christ in Majesty relief above the south nave doorway.

Fig. C.42. Bugthorpe, St Andrew (East Yorkshire): Christ in Majesty, north capital (1st order) of the chancel arch.

grotesque heads are held in the Yorkshire Museum collection.[36] Decorated corbel tables are certainly a common feature of those churches that belonged to the cathedral. The corbels at Kilham and Fangfoss are the most extensive and show a variety of different figures and scenes.[37] There are common motifs across both sites, including muzzled beasts, double humanoid heads, creatures with rolls or bars between their jaws, and a pair of serpents around a sphere. However, there are obvious stylistic differences; for example, the Fangfoss heads tend to have drilled pupils and are carved with greater plasticity. Notably, one of the Fangfoss corbels shows a feline face with pointed ears, drilled pupils and flat teeth that is similar to a corbel held by the York Museum Trust and another inside Alne church (figs. C.43–45). There are remarkable similarities between certain corbels at Alne and North Newbald, with designs of a creature covering its face with its paws and a diagonally positioned male head appearing at both sites (figs. C.46–49).[38] It is a moot point whether these corbel designs originated from York Cathedral or emerged and spread independently.

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[36] Yorkshire Museum, York Museum Trust, YORYM : 2009.34 and YORYM : 2009.35.

[37] There is a more extensive corbel table at Salton church, but the carvings are badly eroded and the designs often indiscernible.

[38] There is also a diagonally positioned human head on a corbel in the north nave aisle of Hayton church.

Fig. C.43. Fangfoss, St Martin (East Yorkshire): corbel on the south nave exterior.

Fig. C.44. Corbel (YORYM : 2009.34), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http:// yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

Fig. C.45. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. C.46. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): corbel on the south nave exterior.

Fig. C.47. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): corbel on the north nave exterior.

Fig. C.48. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. C.49. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): corbel on the north nave exterior.

Comparisons can also be made between the corbels at North Newbald and those on the south nave of Kilham church. This is best illustrated with the ram motif that appears at both churches, although the North Newbald example appears to have been recut (figs. C.50 & 51). Other ram corbels can be found at North Grimston, where a church belonging to the archbishop of York had existed since at least the eleventh century, and Salton (figs. C.52 & 53).[39] Muzzled creatures appear on corbels at North Newbald and Kilham, and these have been compared to the muzzled bears that often adorn pre-conquest hogback grave slabs.[40] Part of a corbel table survives in the north nave arcade at Hayton, now enclosed by the later north aisle. One corbel appears to depict a male exhibitionist holding his penis and this corresponds with an eroded example at North Grimston (figs. C.54 & 55). The other Hayton corbels depict more human and grotesque heads, but in a different style to their counterparts at Fangfoss, Kilham, North Newbald and Alne. There are closer parallels with corbels at Halsham church, which belonged to the archbishops of York until at least the late twelfth century.[41] Creatures with distinctive flat

Fig. C.50. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): corbel on the north nave exterior.

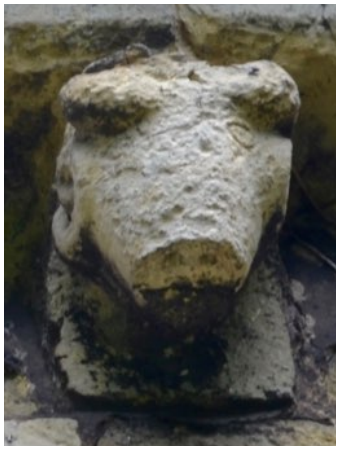

Fig. C.51. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): corbel on the south nave exterior.

Fig. C.52. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): ram corbel on the north chancel exterior.

Fig. C.53. Salton, St John of Beverley (North Yorkshire): eroded ram corbel on the north nave exterior.

[39] 'North Grimston', *DB*.

[40] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 35.

[41] 'Halsham', *DB*; R. Wood, 'All Saints, Halsham, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

jaws and projecting tongues, and simple human faces with open mouths and shallowly drilled eyes can be seen at both sites (figs. C.56–59).

Fig. C.54. Hayton, St Martin (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. C.55. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): corbel on the north nave exterior.

Fig. C.56. Hayton, St Martin (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. C.57. Halsham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. C.58. Hayton, St Martin (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. C.59. Halsham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north nave aisle. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

There are three related fonts at churches connected to York Cathedral that appear to have been designed in the second quarter of the twelfth century specifically for the purpose of lay education. The first, at Langtoft church (East Yorkshire), was originally located at the nearby chapel of Cottam, a dependency of York Cathedral from the late eleventh century (fig. C.60).[42] Another at Cowlam church (East Yorkshire) was probably commissioned by William fitz Herbert, the treasurer of York Cathedral from *c.* 1114 to 1141 and afterwards elected archbishop (fig. C.61).[43] The final font is found at North Grimston (North Yorkshire) and has been dated to *c.* 1140 (fig. C.62).[44] All three are cylindrical in shape and depict predominantly figural scenes carved in a flat, two-plane style. They show a propensity for stylised architectural frames, naked figures with carefully incised ribs and nipples, ribbed garments, and profile figures with helmet-shaped heads where there is no indent between the nose and forehead. There can be little doubt that the three fonts were created by the same workshop or, at the very least, affiliated sculptors.[45] The Cottam font is dominated by martyrological scenes, including St Andrew, St Lawrence and St Margaret of Antioch, but also includes a depiction of the Temptation where Adam and Eve are accepting the forbidden fruit from the serpent.[46] A related representation of Adam and Eve appears on the Cowlam font (figs. C.60 & 61). Both the Cowlam and North Grimston fonts are chiefly concerned with New Testament scenes, the former presenting the beginning of Christ's life with the Adoration of the Magi, while the latter presents the Last Supper and the Crucifixion. The Last Supper scene depicts circular sacramental wafers inscribed with crosses, identical to the wafer depicted on the Fridaythorpe chancel arch (figs. C.39 & 63).

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[42] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 28–29, 37–40, 48; R. Wood, 'St Peter, Langtoft, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 13/04/2017); idem, 'Holy Trinity, Cottam, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 13/04/2017).

[43] *EEA York, 1070–1154*, no. 15; Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 28–29, 37–40, 48; R. Wood, 'St Mary, Cowlam, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 13/04/2017).

[44] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 30, 39–40, 48.

[45] Ibid., pp. 37–40. Also compare the font from Hutton Cranswick (East Yorkshire), now belonging to the York Museums Trust, which Mann attributes to a sculptor associated with the Cottam/ Cowlam workshop. For photographs and a fuller discussion of the Hutton Cranswick font, see R. Wood, 'Hull and East Riding Museum, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 13/04/2017).

[46] Wood, 'St Peter, Langtoft'.

Fig. C.60. Langtoft, St Peter (East Yorkshire): font from Cottam chapel.

Fig. C.61. Cowlam, St Mary (East Yorkshire): font.

Figs. C.62 & 63. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): font.

The sculptural schemes of churches dependent on York Cathedral show remarkable diversity in style. This can be attributed to the circumstances in which the sculpture was commissioned. It was often an *ad hoc* process overseen by an individual canon or archbishop, and it appears that a variety of sculptors were employed across different sites. However, the recurrence of designs across different sites suggests some form of centralised impetus for selecting certain motifs. It has been demonstrated that the sculptural schemes commissioned by Thomas of Bayeux and Thurstan at York Cathedral provided models for emulation in several cases, and probably led to the dissemination of other motifs that have since been lost from the cathedral fabric. The related fonts at Cowlam, Langtoft and North Grimston, and the closely related geometric sculpture at Fridaythorpe and Kilham, also indicate that the archbishops and canons of the cathedral monopolised the efforts of the same workshops or sculptors in select cases.

II

The monks of St Mary's Abbey, York

St Mary's Abbey, York, was one of the richest monastic houses in northern England at the turn of the twelfth century, yet little is known about the decoration of the Romanesque church. The preceding discussion of the abbey church proposed a tentative reconstruction of the decorative schemes based on a small collection of fragments. These suggest a church that was inspired by the most prestigious eleventh-century ecclesiastical structures in England and Normandy, and which proceeded to inspire other major churches in northern England, including Durham Cathedral Priory and Selby Abbey. It should be reiterated that the Romanesque church of St Mary and its claustral buildings were not completed until *c.* 1130, and thus a remarkable amount of artistic activity continued during the first quarter of the twelfth century.[1] Two previously illustrated nook-shaft capitals that depict humanoid heads probably date from this period and mark the introduction of figure and foliage motifs at the abbey around the turn of the twelfth century (figs. B.24–26). Crucially, they raise important questions about the appearance of the western arm of the church and the cloister. The west front, in particular, is likely to have been a grand affair since it was the main entrance to the church.

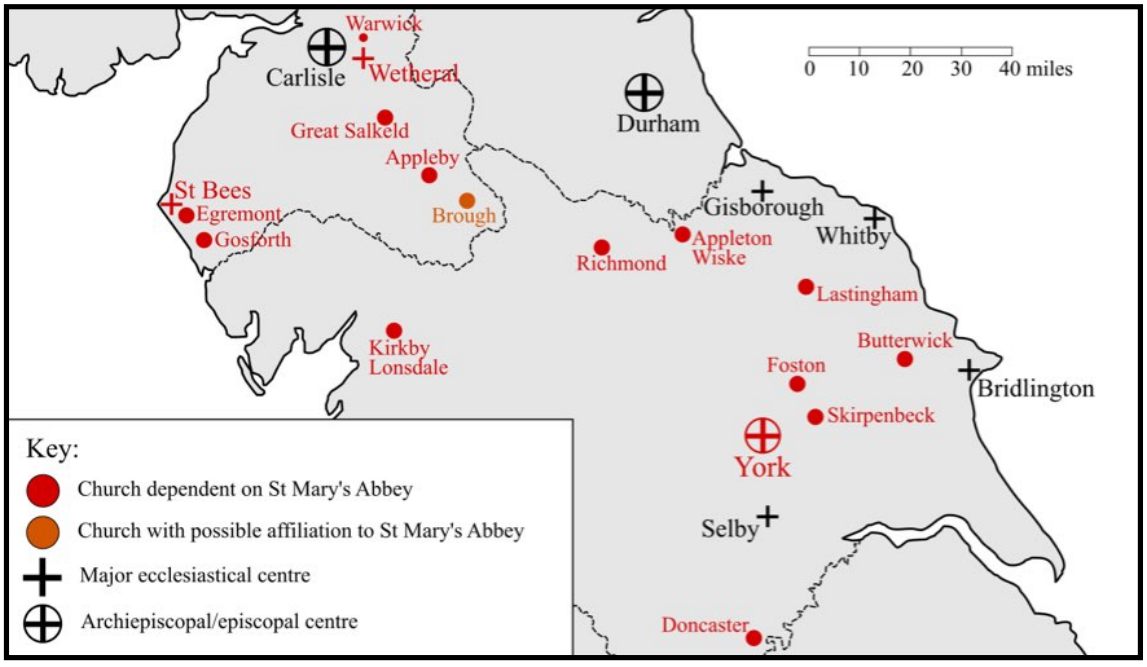

Fig. D.1. Map of sites associated with the monks of St Mary's Abbey, York.

[1] Norton, 'Design and Construction', pp. 87–8.

Like any major religious house, St Mary's Abbey possessed a number of dependent churches that had been gifted by secular patrons (fig. D.1). Many of these are located in Yorkshire and a large proportion retain twelfth-century fabric. Some gifts, such as St Saviour's church in York, were the product of royal patronage,[2] while other churches were granted to the abbey by powerful local aristocrats. Stephen count of Richmond had granted the manor and church of Foston (North Yorkshire) by 1107, and the church of St Mary in Richmond between 1125 and 1135.[3] Robert I de Brus donated the manor of Appleton Wiske (North Yorkshire) between *c.* 1125 and 1135, and a church appears to have been constructed soon afterwards.[4] The monks of York also received Foxholes church and its dependent chapel of Butterwick (North Yorkshire) through the agency of Geoffrey Bainard, a local sheriff, between *c.* 1100 and 1115.[5] Foxholes church is a modern reconstruction but Butterwick chapel preserves important twelfth-century sculpture.

Outside Yorkshire, the monastic community possessed a significant concentration of dependent churches in Cumbria. The most prestigious sites were Wetheral Priory, near Carlisle, and St Bees Priory, located on the west coast. Wetheral Priory was founded by Ranulf Meschin before 1112 as a daughter house of St Mary's Abbey, but unfortunately nothing of the Romanesque church survives.[6] Ranulf did, however, grant several other churches to St Mary's Abbey, either directly or via Wetheral Priory. These included the churches of Appleby, Warwick-on-Eden and Great Salkeld.[7] St Bees Priory was founded by Ranulf's brother, William Meschin, also as a daughter house of St Mary's Abbey, and was

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[2] St Saviour's church is recorded as a gift of William the Conqueror, later confirmed by William Rufus, see *EYC 1*, no. 350, pp. 264–5, no. 354, p. 270.

[3] For Foston church, see *EYC vol. 4*, no. 4, pp. 4–6; 'Foston', *DB*; W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 2 (London, 1923), pp. 134-137. For St Mary's, Richmond, see *EYC vol. 4*, no. 8, pp. 8–11.

[4] Page (ed.), *History of York North Riding*, vol. 2, pp. 223-225; R. M. Blakely, *The Brus Family in England and Scotland, 1100–1295* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 203.

[5] R. Wood, 'St Nicholas, Butterwick, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17).

[6] *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, ed. J. E. Prescott (London, 1897), no. 1, pp. 1–5. Ranulf Meschin was the major secular power-holder in the north-west from the beginning of the twelfth century until *c.* 1121, see Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', pp. 43–52.

[7] For the grants of Appleby and Warwick-on-Eden, see *Register of Wetherhal*, nos. 3–5, pp. 10–9. Ranulf granted the tithes of Great Salkeld to St Mary's Abbey before *c.* 1121. The manor reverted to royal demesne when Ranulf's tenure in Cumbria came to end, however St Mary's Abbey may have retained spiritual lordship over the manor, see *Register of Wetherhal*, no. 4, pp. 13–4 and fn.

endowed with a chapel at Egremont, William's *caput*.[8] Sharpe has deduced that the formal foundation charter was issued between 1130 and 1134, although the construction of the priory could have commenced at a slightly earlier date.[9] A large extent of the original Romanesque fabric survives at St Bees, including some particularly rich sculpture. Another major Cumbrian church received by St Mary's Abbey, York, was that at Kirkby Lonsdale, which was gifted by Ivo de Taillebois before his death *c.* 1094.[10] The earliest standing fabric can be found in the western end of the nave, and judging from the style of the sculpted piers, which will be discussed below, the church was rebuilt soon after it was granted to the St Mary's community. The monks of St Mary's Abbey also received Gosforth church from William, the son of William fitz Duncan, as early as 1147 and certainly before 1160.[11]

Based on the small number of decorated fragments that survive from St Mary's Abbey, it is possible to identify some artistic affinities with its dependent churches. This marks a departure from the previous argument that the abbey church had little influence on the physical appearance of its dependencies.[12] The most important figure sculpture to survive from the abbey are the two nook-shaft capitals that depict human heads. Although one is relatively simple, depicting a single isolated head, the other is more complex with tendrils of foliage and vegetation surrounding the angle mask (figs. B.24–26). It is this second capital that compares favourably to a number of carved capitals at dependent churches. The capital of the north-west cylindrical pier at Kirkby Lonsdale depicts an angle mask with similar almond-shaped eyes, a prominent nose and a thin mouth, surrounded by tendrils and leaves (fig. D.2 & 18). A more developed form of this motif can be found on the chancel arch at Gosforth. A pair of capitals, carved in high plasticity, each depict three masks surrounded by foliage. The eastern angle heads of the north and south capitals share

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[8] *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, ed. J. Wilson (Durham, 1915), nos. 1–8, pp. 27–37.

[9] Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', pp. 64–5; Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 280–1.

[10] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 277–80; Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', p. 38.

[11] *Register of St Bees*, no. 27, pp. 53–5; *EEA York 1154–1181*, no. 90, pp. 101–3. William the younger was a child when he succeeded his father in 1147 but this does not preclude the possibility that the grant was made soon after he inherited his father's lands.

[12] Cf. McClain, 'Patronage in Transition', pp. 205–6.

Fig. D.2. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): north-west nave pier capital.

notable parallels with their counterpart at Kirkby Lonsdale. All depict men with almond-shaped eyes and moustaches that project from the sides of their nostrils with no obvious break between the nose and the strands of hair (figs. D.3 & 4). The Gosforth and Kirkby Lonsdale capitals also make similar use of decorative beading.[13] Other angle heads with moustaches, prominent noses and beaded tendrils of foliage appear on the chancel arch at Appleton Wiske (fig. D.5). Together, these examples of the motif suggest a period of development from the earlier low-relief heads at St Mary's Abbey and Kirkby Lonsdale, to the more complex and plastic masks at Gosforth and Appleton Wiske.

Fig. D.3. Gosforth, St Mary (Cumbria): east face of the north chancel arch capital.

Fig. D.4. Gosforth, St Mary (Cumbria): east face of the south chancel arch capital.

[13] The similarities between the Kirkby Lonsdale and Gosforth capitals were noted by Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 280.

Fig. D.5. Appleton Wiske, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south capital of the chancel arch.

Geometrically enriched shafts and scallop capitals with incised shields are other decorative features associated with St Mary's Abbey that appear at affiliated churches. Lozenge patterns dominate two of the nave piers at Kirkby Lonsdale and the shafts of the chancel arch at Appleton Wiske (figs. D.6 & 7).[14] Two carved fragments that were identified with the lost early twelfth-century chapel at Egremont, but are now missing, were incised with lozenges and chevron which suggests a related scheme may have once existed there.[15] The piers at Kirkby Lonsdale also possess large scallop capitals with defined shields like the capital that survives from St Mary's Abbey. Other capitals of this type can be seen on the chancel arches at Appleton Wiske and Foston, while variant forms of the scallop can be found in the nave of Richmond church and on the former tower arch at Warwick-on-Eden church.[16]

Thurlby has posited that Wetheral Priory played an intermediary role in the spread of sculptural motifs from St Mary's Abbey, York, to Cumbria, and has also advocated a

[14] An incised shaft can also be seen on the south doorway at Foston but this is decorated with spirals.

[15] C. A. Parker, 'Early Sculptured Stones at Gosforth, Ponsonby, St Bridget's, Haile, and Egremont', *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society* 2 (1902), pp. 84–87, plate 1, figs. 1 and 2.

[16] For Warwick-on-Eden, see J. King, 'St Leonard, Warwick-on-Eden, Cumberland', *CRSBI* (accessed 20/09/2018).

Fig. D.6. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): north-west nave pier.

Fig. D.7. Appleton Wiske, St Mary (North Yorkshire): north-west nook-shaft of the chancel arch.

reconstruction of the abbey based on the decoration found at its dependent churches.[17] The loss of Wetheral Priory is an impediment to the first proposition, but the preceding analysis has demonstrated that there is some justification for exploring the second. While there are obvious pitfalls to this method of reconstruction, it will become clear in the following discussion that the same motifs recur across different sites that shared a common affiliation to St Mary's Abbey.

As noted above, the St Mary's community probably experimented with certain motifs at Lastingham Abbey before applying them to their new church in York. It is interesting, then, that certain capital designs at Kirkby Lonsdale and St Bees mirror examples at Lastingham. In the nave of Kirkby Lonsdale church, the cushion capitals on the north-west compound pier have mitred angles like those in the crypt and on the west exterior of Lastingham church (figs. D.8 & 9). More remarkable is the Kirkby Lonsdale north-west respond capital and the Lastingham crypt capital which both have large angle volutes and intersecting arcading ornament (figs. D.10 & 11). The south-west crossing capital at St Bees, which is

[17] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 277–87; Thurlby, 'Abbey Church of Lessay', pp. 82–4, 89–90.

Fig. D.8. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): capitals of north-west nave compound pier.

Fig. D.9. Lastingham, St Mary (North Yorkshire): exposed capital on the west exterior.

Fig. D.10. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): north-west nave respond capital.

Fig. D.11. Lastingham, St Mary (North Yorkshire): crypt capital.

Fig. D.12. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): south-west crossing capital.

Fig. D.13. Lastingham, St Mary (North Yorkshire): capitals of the north nave respond.

partially obscured by the organ, is a volute type with a pronounced shield (fig. D.12). Several capitals in the Lastingham chancel have similar chunky volutes and defined shields, although they lack the floral motif found on the shield of the St Bees capital (fig. D.13).

The flower on the St Bees capital has eight petals and comparable designs can be seen at several other churches connected to the patronage of St Mary's Abbey. Eight-petal varieties appear on a fragment at Gosforth, now reset on the east wall of the north nave aisle (fig. D.14). Each flower is surrounded by beads, which suggests the piece is contemporary with the chancel capitals, and the size and slightly curved shape of the fragment indicates that it was part of a label from an arch. There is another flower on the label of the south doorway at Foston (fig. D.15). It is partially obscured by later plaster but may have eight petals. There are several flowers on the capitals and abaci of the chancel arch at Appleton Wiske. These have varying numbers of petals, although eight-petal varieties are present (fig. D. 5). Another example of the flower motif appeared on a lost cross head from Egremont church, this time with twelve petals.[18] The most compelling evidence for tracing this motif to York is the presence of flowers on capitals that have been identified with Archbishop Thurstan's extension of York Cathedral

Fig. D.14. Gosforth, St Mary (Cumbria): carved fragment reset in the east wall of the north nave aisle.

Fig. D.15. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): detail of the label of the south nave doorway.

Fig. D.16. Voussoir of York provenance (YORYM : 2013.473), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

[18] Parker, 'Early Sculptured Stones', p. 88, plate 2, fig. 5.

(figs. C.2–4).[19] These flowers are surrounded by beading like those on the Gosforth fragment. There is even a fragment of York provenance, now held by the York Museum Trust, that exhibits the motif (fig. D.16).

Among several of the churches dependent on St Mary's Abbey, there is a propensity for depicting animals or figures surrounded or entangled by fleshy tendrils of foliage. Such decoration appears on the north-west cylindrical pier at Kirkby Lonsdale where scrolling foliage, creatures and figures decorate the shields and the cones of the triple scallop capital. The south-east angle of the capital depicts a centaur confronting a serpentine creature, a large bird clutching fruit, the *Agnus Dei,* and a curling tendril of foliage (fig. D.17). More scrolling and interlacing foliage can be seen on the south-west angle, along with the aforementioned human mask (fig. D.2). The pair of shields at the corner both depict rabbit-like quadrupeds, and one is shown entangled and biting a tendril (fig. D.18). A related motif can be seen on a capital in Richmond church where two rabbits or hares nose at two small shoots of vegetation (fig. D.19). The capitals of the west doorway at St Bees are badly eroded, but they clearly depict thick scrolling foliage that spills unobstructed between the shields and cones of the capitals. At least two capitals appear to show entangled figures or creatures, with one animal biting a tendril of foliage like its Kirkby Lonsdale counterpart (figs. D.18, 20–22). A further parallel with Kirkby Lonsdale is the use of angular, diamond-shaped leaves and trefoils (figs. D.18, 21–23). The capitals of the south nave doorway at Great Salkeld are similarly enriched with thick, fleshy foliage. One of the capitals depicts splayed foliage juxtaposed with clusters of fruit in a manner that recalls the central shield design on the east face of the Kirkby Lonsdale capital (figs. D.24 and 25). Another capital at Great Salkeld depicts a serpentine creature fighting a large bird and a quadruped, an arrangement that partly mirrors the centaur, serpent and bird scene at Kirkby Lonsdale (figs. D.17, 26). Many of the motifs recur at Foston on the decorated label of the south doorway. These include animals tangled in foliage, a centaur, a dragon confronting an equestrian figure, and the *Agnus Dei* (figs. D.27–29).[20] The scallop capitals on the north side of the chancel arch at Appleton Wiske are carved with at least three

[19] See the previous chapter.

[20] The Foston carvings are obscured by later whitewash, however the designs are helpfully illustrated by R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Doorway at Foston Church', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report for the Year 1996* (1997), p. 70.

Fig. D.17. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): north-west nave pier capital.

Fig. D.18. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): detail of the north-west nave pier capital.

Fig. D.19. Richmond, St Mary (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital on the south-east corner of the south-west nave pier.

Fig. D.20. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): outer capitals on the south side of the west doorway.

Figs. D.21 & 22 (above and below). St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): outer capitals on the south side of the west doorway.

Fig. D.23. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): carved foliage at the apex of the west doorway.

Fig. D.24. Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert (Cumbria): west capital (2nd order) of the south nave doorway.

Fig. D.25. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): detail of the north-west nave pier capital.

Fig. D.26. Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert (Cumbria): east capital (3rd order) of the south nave doorway.

Fig. D.27. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): animals tangled in foliage on the label of the south doorway.

Fig. D.28. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): centaur with a bow confronting a creature on the label of the south doorway.

Fig. D.29. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): dragon confronting an equestrian figure, and the Agnus Dei, on the label of the south doorway.

Fig. D.30. Appleton Wiske, St Mary (North Yorkshire): outer capital on the north side of the chancel arch.

Fig. D.31. Selby Abbey (North Yorkshire): respond capital in the north-east arcade. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

serpentine creatures or dragons, of which one is shown biting, or perhaps emitting, a tendril of foliage (fig. D.30).

This recurring motif of animals biting foliage can also be found at those major northern churches that are thought to have been influenced by St Mary's Abbey: Selby Abbey and Durham Cathedral Priory. One of the easternmost respond capitals of the north arcade at Selby Abbey depicts a tangled quadruped eating foliage while two dragons bite or emit thick tendrils (fig. D.31). In a more general sense, the scrolling, interlacing and tied foliage found on the eastern nave capitals at Selby are comparable to that at Kirkby Lonsdale and St Bees.[21] At Durham Cathedral Priory, a capital on the interior of the north nave doorway

[21] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 277–80.

Fig. D.32. Durham Cathedral: west capital (2nd order) on the interior face of the north nave doorway.

Fig. D.33. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): impost decoration of the west doorway.

Fig. D.34. Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert (Cumbria): label of the south nave doorway.

depicts a quadruped tangled in foliage and biting a tendril (fig. D.32). It is more predatory in appearance than the Kirkby Lonsdale quadrupeds and thus bears a closer resemblance to the St Bees biting quadruped, as well as a lupine creature tangled in foliage on a capital at the York Cathedral-dependent church of North Newbald (fig. C.21). That said, the trilobed leaves and the composition of the Durham capital, with the animal on the shield and the foliage spilling onto the lower register, mirrors the Kirkby Lonsdale capital. Above the same Durham capital, the impost is decorated with an unusual incomplete roundels design. Similar motifs can be seen on the imposts of the St Bees west doorway and the label of the Great Salkeld south doorway (figs. D.33 and 34).[22]

The most remarkable figure sculpture at St Bees can be found on the famous gabled lintel set opposite the west doorway (fig. D.35). It appears to be roughly contemporary with the doorway since the thick interlace patterns are comparable to the fleshy interlacing tendrils on the doorway capitals. At the centre of the relief, a helmeted figure

[22] Ibid., p. 282, noted the use of the motif at Great Salkeld and Durham but not St Bees.

Fig. D.35. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): gabled lintel located west of the church.

with a sword and round shield is shown battling a winged dragon. The figure has variably been identified as St Michael, Sigurd, St George or a generic warrior.[23] In his analysis of the interlace ornament, Thurlby has proposed artistic influence from Ireland and related this to the Irish origins of St Bega, the patron saint of the priory.[24] However, there are elements of the design, including the rich interlace, that suggest Scandinavian influence. For example, the tail of the dragon terminates in a biting serpent, a motif that can be seen in Norwegian wood and stone carving. The early twelfth-century church excavated beneath Trondheim Public Library has a string course depicting interlacing and biting serpents (fig. D.36). If Scandinavian influence is accepted, an alternative explanation for the lintel design is artistic transmission from York. Before the construction of St Mary's Abbey,

Fig. D.36. Trondheim Public Library, excavated church (Norway): string course on the north exterior of the chancel.

[23] Near-contemporary depictions of the archangel with a sword and round shield can be seen on tympana at Southwell Minster (Nottinghamshire), Kingswinford (Staffordshire) and Harnhill (Gloucestershire). For the identification of St Michael and Sigurd, see Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 166. Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 281, has proposed a non-specific identification.

[24] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 281.

Abbot Stephen and his community had been installed at St Olaf's church, York. The dedication to St Olaf signals a connection to Norway, and particularly Trondheim where the body of the saint was held. To suggest that a similar relief once existed at St Olaf's church or St Mary's Abbey would stray too far into conjecture. However, the foundation history of St Mary's Abbey and York's historic connections to Scandinavia could offer some context for the St Bees lintel.[25]

Many churches constructed in the first half of the twelfth century were crowned with a decorated corbel table, and St Mary's Abbey was presumably no exception. Two corbels depicting bestial heads, one a lion-like creature and the other a previously illustrated grotesque with bulging eyes, are held by the York Museums Trust and could, theoretically, have come from the abbey site (figs. C.44, D. 37).[26] Of the dependent churches in Cumbria, only St Bees Priory retains a corbel table. The remains can be found on the east and west sides of the north transept, and comprise arches with simple triangular pendants (fig. D.38). There is, however, a loose corbel inside the church that depicts an eroded human head emitting at least one sprig of foliage (fig. D.39).[27] There are broader ranges of sculpted corbels at Butterwick

Fig. D.37. Corbel of York provenance (YORYM : 2009.35), Yorkshire Museum. Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

Fig. D.38. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): corbel table on the west side of the north transept.

[25] There are two carved fragment at Holy Trinity Priory, York, both recently dated to the eleventh century, that depict a biting serpentine creature or dragon and thick scrolling interlace ornament respectively. See W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture at York', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 20 (1909), pp. 208–13; *CASSS,* vol. 3, pp. 80–1.

[26] YORYM : 2009.34; YORYM : 2009.35.

[27] The cornice above the head is decorated with roll mouldings. A very similar design can be found on the corbel table at Adel church (West Yorkshire).

Fig. D.39. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): loose corbel located inside the nave.

Fig. D.40. Butterwick, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): corbel reset on the north nave wall (interior).

and St Saviour, York. Six corbels are reset inside Butterwick chapel and another can be found in a niche on the south wall. One depicts a male head with a prominent moustache and incised features, including elliptical eyes, ears, a rectangular nose and a small closed mouth (fig. D.40). The other corbels depict animal or bestial heads of various forms (fig. D.41). Common features include incised eyes, large triangular ears and bared teeth. In addition, the corbel in the niche has a strap or muzzle around its jaw (fig. D.42). The corbels at St Saviour church have been reused inside the fifteenth-century west tower.[28] They are noticeably more accomplished than their Butterwick counterparts, although the designs of the human and bestial heads are not dissimilar. One of the animal heads has large pointed ears and elliptical eyes like another at Butterwick (figs. D.43 & 44). The feline features and slack jaw of the same corbel at St Saviour can also be tentatively compared to one of the corbels in the

Fig. D.41. Butterwick, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): corbels reset on the north nave wall (interior).

[28] For a recent analysis of the corbels, see C. Tuckley and A. Raw Mackenzie, 'Corbels at DIG: a Resilience Year 2 Project', *York Archaeological Trust for Excavation and Research* (2017).

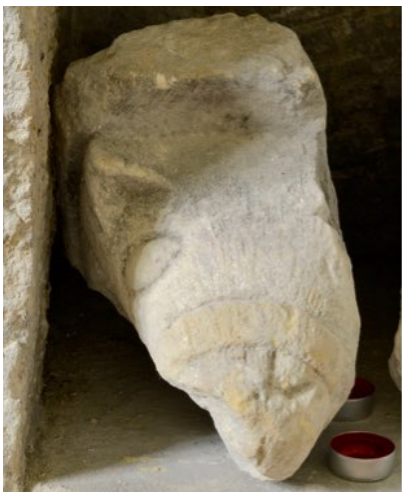

Fig. D.42. Butterwick, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): loose corbel located within the niche on the south side of the chancel (interior).

Yorkshire Museum (fig. D.37). Another St Saviour corbel is a beakhead type that grips a roll moulding in its jaws (fig. D.45). A related design can be found on a heavily eroded reset corbel or voussoir on the west exterior of Butterwick chapel (fig. D.46).

Beakheads can be found at several other churches that were affiliated to St Mary's Abbey, York. The motif is especially common in Yorkshire but examples can also be found in Cumbria.[29] On the west doorway of St Bees Priory, weathered human and animal heads overlay

Fig. D.43. York, St Saviour: corbel reset inside the west tower.

Fig. D.44. Butterwick, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): corbel reset on the north nave wall (interior).

Fig. D.45. York, St Saviour: corbel reset inside the west tower.

Fig. D.46. Butterwick, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): damaged corbel or voussoir reset on the west exterior.

[29] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 282–3, has speculated that the beakhead motif spread to Cumbria from southern England via Yorkshire.

Fig. D.47. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): west doorway.

curved lateral chevron (figs. D.47 & 48). The same type of chevron ornament can be seen on voussoirs identified with St Mary's Abbey.[30] An arrangement of beakheads and chevron similar to that at St Bees can be seen on the Great Salkeld doorway, although these heads are more heavyset and roughly cut (fig. D.49). Related animal and human beakheads can be seen on the inner order of the south doorway at Brough church, Cumbria (fig. D.50). Brough was part of the barony of Appleby, which was held by Ranulf Meschin in the first quarter of the twelfth century, and its chapel was dependent on St Mary's Abbey by the beginning of the thirteenth century.[31] In theory, Ranulf Meschin could have granted the chapel to St Mary's Abbey, with the doorway being a subsequent commission of the monastic community and Hugh de Morville, who was granted the lordship of Appleby and Westmorland by King

Fig. D.48. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): detail of the west doorway.

[30] Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 8.

[31] *Register of Wetherhal*, p. 47 fn.; *EEA Carlisle*, no. 31, pp. 21–2; Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', p. 49. Brough (Burgh under Stainmore) chapel was part of Kirkby Stephen parish, all of which belonged to St Mary's Abbey.

Fig. D.49. Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert (Cumbria): detail of the south nave doorway.

Fig. D.50. Brough, St Michael (Cumbria): south nave doorway.

Fig. D.51. Brough, St Michael (Cumbria): beakheads on the south nave doorway (1st order).

David I of Scotland in the later 1130s.[32] The leftmost inner pair of voussoirs at Brough are comparable to the beakhead corbel at St Saviour, York, in that they depict feline creatures with pointed ears and tapered snouts that grip a roll in their jaws (figs. D.45 & 51). Beakheads can be found on two church doorways within York itself, including St Margaret, Walmgate. The doorway at St Margaret's church originates from St Nicholas' Hospital, York, which was damaged and dismantled over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (fig. D.52). According to a late medieval tradition, St Nicholas' Hospital was established on land donated by Abbot Stephen of St Mary's Abbey. If correct, this could imply that the St Mary's community were involved in the foundation of the hospital and the commission of its early buildings.[33] The fourth order of the hospital doorway features nineteen original voussoirs depicting beakheads of various designs that grip the inner roll moulding. Most of the masks emit strands of foliage like three of the beakheads on the Brough doorway (figs. D.53 & 54). One particular beakhead on the hospital doorway is in the form of a humanoid face with a beard composed of parallel incised lines and two moustache strands that project from either side of the broad nose (fig. D.55). A very similar motif appears on one of the corbels at St Saviour's church and a simplified form can be found on the doorway at Brough (figs. D.56 & 57).

[32] Barrow, 'King David I', p. 117.

[33] W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York*, vol. 3 (London, 1974), pp. 336–52. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 35–6, dated the doorway to *c.* 1160. Also see Zarnecki *et al*., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 385.

Fig. D.52. York, Walmgate, St Margaret: south nave doorway.

Fig. D.53. York, Walmgate, St Margaret: beakhead on the south nave doorway (4th order).

Fig. D.54. Brough, St Michael (Cumbria): beakhead on the south nave doorway (1st order).

Fig. D.55. York, Walmgate, St Margaret: beakhead on the south nave doorway (4th order).

Fig. D.56. York, St Saviour: corbel reset inside the west tower.

Bird beakheads are surprisingly absent from these churches, however they did once decorate the church of St George at Doncaster (South Yorkshire), now Doncaster Minster. The church was granted to St Mary's Abbey in the early twelfth century by Nigel Fossard, lord of Lythe (North Yorkshire), while the manor of Doncaster passed to the English Crown in 1129 and then to Earl Henry, son of David I, king of Scots, in 1136.[34] St George's church was destroyed by fire in 1853 and it became clear during the salvage operation that carved fragments dating from the twelfth century had been reused in the later fabric of the church. These included voussoirs decorated with bird beakheads and rosettes, and scallop capitals with rich foliage and interlace designs. The whereabouts of these particular fragments are unknown but they were illustrated after their recovery in the mid-nineteenth century (fig. D.58).[35] Significantly, all of the motifs can be traced to King Henry I's abbey at Reading which used related bird beakhead designs, capitals with similar foliage and interlace patterns, and almost identical rosette motifs (figs. D.59–61; K.46). The Doncaster fragments clearly date from a building campaign in the second quarter of the twelfth century and it is conceivable that this was initiated *c.* 1130 with the patronage of Henry I.

Fig. D.57. Brough, St Michael (Cumbria): beakhead on the south nave doorway (1st order).

The lost west front, cloister and chapter house of St Mary's Abbey are the most probable locations for decorative schemes replete with rich figure and foliage sculpture. They could also be the missing pieces in the puzzle to understand the spread of floral ornament, tangled and biting animal motifs, and beakheads across Yorkshire, Cumbria and even County Durham. Nonetheless, it is significant that the same motifs recur at different churches, sometimes distantly located, that share an affiliation to St Mary's Abbey. The

[34] *EYC*, vol. 2, no. 1001, pp. 325–6; J. Walker, 'Fossard Family', *DNB*; Dalton, *Conquest, Lordship and Anarchy*, p. 148; D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135–1154* (Harlow, 2000), p. 41; E. King, *King Stephen* (Yale, 2012), p. 54.

[35] J. E. Jackson, *The History and Description of St. George's Church at Doncaster* (London, 1855), pp. 5–6, pl. 2. Plainer fragments from the church are held in the Doncaster Museum and can be found around the city, see R. Wood, 'Doncaster Museum, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 26/02/2018); idem, 'Doncaster, Regent Square Gardens, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 26/02/2018).

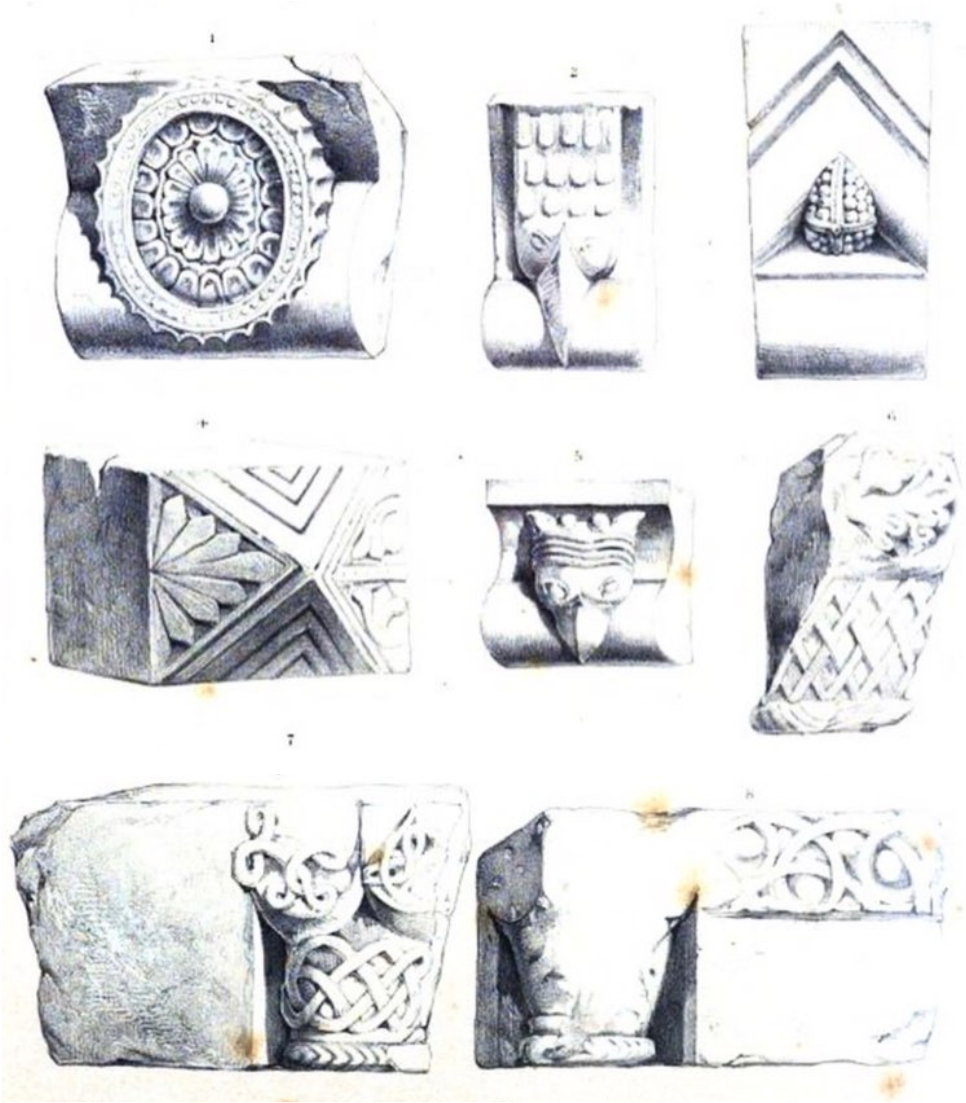

Fig. D.58. Doncaster, St George (South Yorkshire): illustrations of fragments recovered from the destroyed church in 1853, after J. E. Jackson (1855).

Fig. D.59. Reading Museum and Art Gallery (Berkshire): voussoir from Reading Abbey (no.1992.40). © R. Baxter/ CRSBI.

Fig. D.60. Reading Museum and Art Gallery (Berkshire): voussoir from Reading Abbey (no.1992.115). © R. Baxter/ CRSBI.

Fig. D.61. Reading Museum and Art Gallery (Berkshire): springer from Reading Abbey (no. 1992.48), rotated 90° clockwise. © R. Baxter/ CRSBI.

implication is that the monastic community played an important guiding role in the selection of motifs and the design of sculptural schemes. This appears to have been the case even when a church was granted to the abbey by a secular patron, presumably because most of these grants were followed by rebuilding campaigns that were at least partly overseen by the monks of St Mary's Abbey, or else patrons were already looking to the abbey and its monastic community for inspiration.

III

The bishops and monks of Durham Cathedral Priory

At the turn of the twelfth century, the monks of Durham were working to complete the east arm of the new cathedral church. Their new bishop, Ranulf Flambard, was imprisoned on the accession of Henry I in August 1100 and later fled to Normandy meaning that the majority of construction work between 1100 and 1104 must have been overseen and financed by the monastic community.[1] The extent and appearance of the church by 1104 has already been discussed, the salient points being that the monks seem to have continued the design specifications set by Bishop William and that carved decoration remained minimal. The translation of St Cuthbert's body seems to have marked a natural break in the construction project, although financial constraints may have also played a role. According to Symeon's continuator, Bishop Ranulf's contributions to the cathedral fabric were

Fig. E.1. Durham Cathedral: south nave arcade.

[1] Symeon, *LDE*, 'Appendix B', ch. 1–2, pp. 273–7.

sporadic throughout his episcopate (1099–28) owing to the fact that he relied exclusively on the income from offerings and burials.[2]

Fig. E.2. Durham Cathedral: 1st and 2nd bay of the south nave triforium.

It is clear that alterations were made to the church design after 1104, probably through the agency of Bishop Ranulf, to bring the architectural decoration in line with recent developments. The most noticeable change is the introduction of curved lateral chevron ornament to the orders of the arches, beginning with the triforium arches in the second bay of the nave (figs. E.1 & 2).[3] Chevron of the same type can be found on fragments from St Mary's Abbey, York, which

Fig. E.3. Durham Cathedral: north nave triforium.

[2] Symeon, *LDE*, 'Appendix B', ch. 2, pp. 274–7; Rollason, 'Sources and History', p. 8.

[3] The chevron-enriched rib vaults in the south transept and nave most likely date from 1128–1133 and are discussed below. The term 'curved lateral chevron' characterises the way in which the chevron lies parallel with the surface of the stone and continues onto the soffit of the arch.

could indicate that the ornament was introduced by way of York, if not directly from the abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt.[4] On the outer orders of the north triforium arches, sawtooth ornament replaces the more complex chevron enrichment. Lateral chevron also appears on the string course that runs beneath the clerestory (fig. E.3), and the piers separating the third and fourth bays are incised with zigzags like the southernmost pier in the south transept (fig. E.1). Other new forms of geometric decoration prevail throughout the nave. Dentil ornament adorns the labels of the nave arcades, beginning in the third bay from the east, and the two westernmost piers are fluted in a manner that recalls classical Roman architecture (figs. E.1 & 4).[5] According to Symeon's continuator, the nave was almost complete at the time of Bishop Ranulf's death in 1128, with the exception of the high vault. The construction of the vault was subsequently overseen by the monastic community during the five-year vacancy between 1128 and 1133.[6]

Fig. E.4. Durham Cathedral: westernmost pier of the north nave arcade.

Before Ranulf's death, another sudden change in sculptural repertoires appears to have taken place at Durham around the year 1120. This is marked by the introduction of mature and lavish figure and foliage forms to the three western nave doorways (figs. E.5–7).[7] There is no evidence of earlier experimentation with these motifs at Durham which implies

[4] Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 8; Norton, 'The Buildings of St Mary's Abbey', p. 260. A direct connection between Durham and Cerisy-la-Forêt is suggested by the volute capital with a feline mask in the Durham castle chapel which is almost identical to a capital at Cerisy, see chapter one. Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium', p. 34, has also suggested that chevron ornament at Cerisy could have influenced that at Durham Cathedral.

[5] For the possibility of a direct relationship between the fluted columns and the first-century BC architectural treatise of Vitruvius, see Thurlby, 'The Building of the Cathedral' (revised edition), p. 22.

[6] Symeon, *LDE*, 'Appendix B', ch. 2 & 3, pp. 274–7, 280–1. Also see Snape, 'Documentary Evidence', p. 22; Rollason, 'Sources and History', p. 9.

[7] These are the north and south doorways, located in the sixth bay of the nave, and the west doorway in what was the terminal wall of the cathedral church before the Galilee chapel was added. The north and south doorways, being further east, may be slightly earlier than the west doorway. Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 8, thought they could be as early as *c.* 1120. Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', p. 29, dates the north nave doorway to the 1120s.

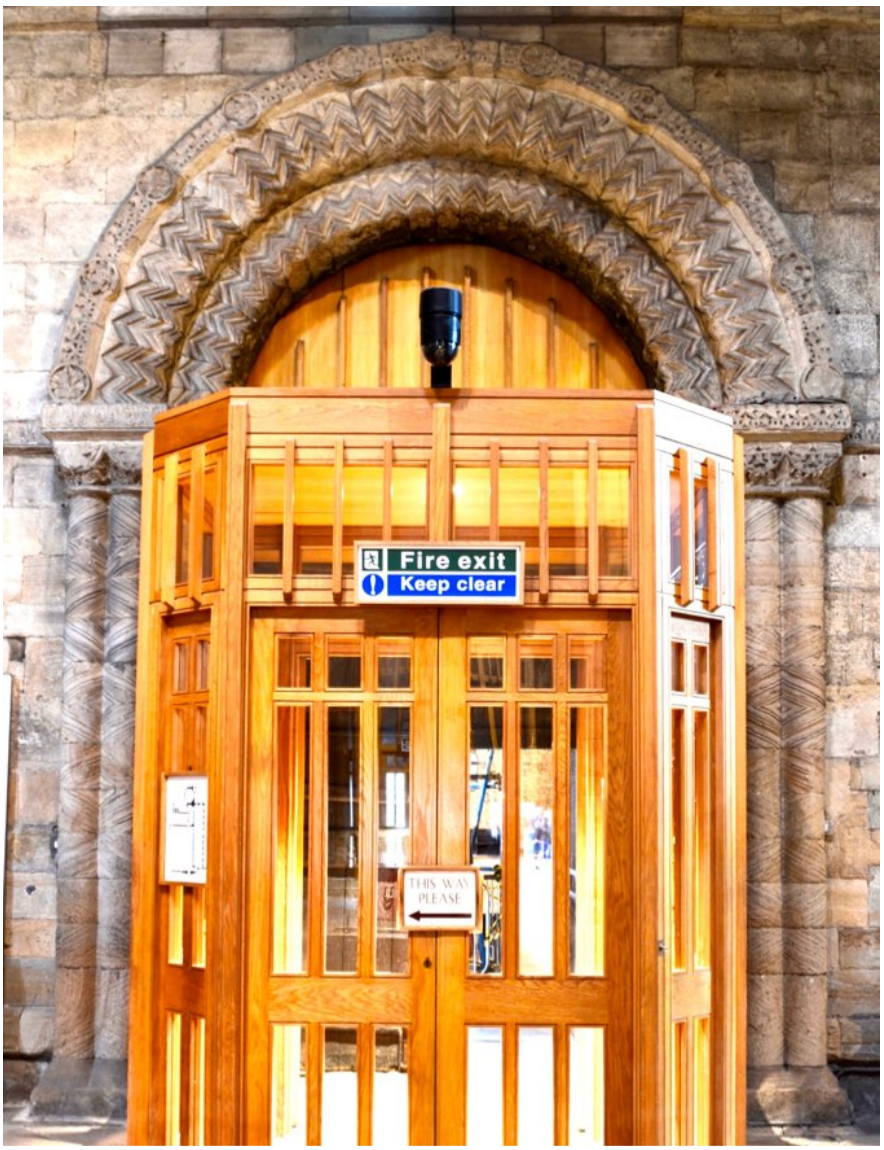

Fig. E.5. Durham Cathedral: westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

Fig. E.6. Durham Cathedral: west nave doorway (east face).

Fig. E.7. Durham Cathedral: detail of the north nave doorway (interior).

that Ranulf employed a trained atelier from elsewhere rather than relying on home-grown talent. Irregularities in the masonry surrounding the north and south doorways does suggest that they were inserted as part of a last-minute design alteration.[8] There are other peculiarities in form, namely the lack of tympana and the presence of richly carved decoration on their interior faces. Galbraith regarded the former as a Durham innovation, perhaps inspired by late Anglo-Saxon practices, however the lack of tympana at churches connected to St Mary's Abbey raises the possibility of further influence from the Benedictines of York.[9] There is no obvious model for the extensive application of sculpture to the internal faces of doorways, although the possibility that this was a practical solution to the poor durability of sandstone sculpture when exposed to the elements is an interesting one.[10]

All three doorways have undergone some form of restoration or renewal. The original exterior of the north doorway has been lost as a result of two later rebuilding campaigns.[11]

[8] Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 8.

[9] Ibid., p. 8.

[10] Ibid., p. 7.

[11] Ibid., pp. 1–2; Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', p. 29. The north entrance originally comprised of a two-storey porch. This was replaced with an early Gothic porch, which was itself replaced during the late eighteenth-century restoration works.

Fig. E.8. Durham Cathedral: east side of the westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

There are visual clues that the interior sculpture on the south and west doorways may have been restored. Sections on the east side of the south doorway appear to have been recut or replaced, including the upper part of the inner nook-shaft, the eastern capitals, part, if not all, of the eastern impost, and several of the chevron voussoirs above (fig. E.8).[12] The inner face of the west doorway is unusually pristine, even allowing for the protection offered by the Galilee Chapel, which suggests some form of cleaning or retooling (fig. E. 6). That said, there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the imagery when compared to sculpture elsewhere in the cathedral complex. The outer face of the west doorway appears unaltered albeit partially obscured by the later masonry of the Galilee Chapel (fig. E.9). By contrast, the decoration on the exterior of the south doorway has been obliterated by later recutting and only vestiges of curved lateral chevron are visible.

Fig. E.9. Durham Cathedral: west nave doorway (west face).

[12] Galbraith, 'Notes', p. 8. The quirked and chamfered imposts with palmettes to the east of the south doorway have identical counterparts in the cathedral stone store which may in fact be the originals.

Fig. E.10. Durham Cathedral: label of the west nave doorway (east face).

Fig. E.11. Durham Cathedral: label of the westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

The doorways exhibit several motifs and designs that evoke pre-conquest art. Roundels filled with foliage, animals, masks and hybrid figures decorate the labels of the south and west doorways (E.9–11). This design arrangement is found widely in Anglo-Saxon sculpture and manuscripts, and in some cases the roundels are formed from circles of foliage like on the shafts of the north doorway at Durham.[13] Instead of roundels, the internal label of the north doorway is decorated with lozenges that contain various figures and creatures (fig. E.7). More lozenges, this time filled with foliage, can be seen on the inner shafts of the south doorway (figs. E.8 & 12). The pre-conquest use of simple lozenge ornament has already been discussed, however it is worth noting that decorated lozenges are found in Anglo-Saxon stone sculpture: one example being the Sandbach Cross (Cheshire). Much of the foliage enrichment on the Durham nave doorways

Fig. E.12. Durham Cathedral: west shafts of the westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

[13] Ibid., p. 9. Galbraith also traces the decorated roundel to Islamic and northern Italian sources.

takes the form of 'Byzantine blossom', characterised by large leaves unfurling from small round seed pods that sometimes bear fruit and exhibit protruding stamen. This motif can be seen most clearly within the roundels of the south doorway, the spaces between the roundels of the west doorway, and on the shafts and capitals of north doorway (figs. E.8, 10 & 13). The likeliest source, based on the surviving material evidence, is the artistic patronage of Judith of Flanders.[14] Judith and her husband, Tostig earl of Northumbria (1055–65), gifted a crucifix and images of the Virgin Mary and St John the Evangelist, all wrought in gold and silver, to Durham Cathedral Priory in or soon after 1056.[15] These pieces of metalwork have since been lost, but there are four gospel books produced in England *c.* 1060 and attributed to Judith's patronage which survive, and these include similar blossom forms with protruding stamen that emerge from circular seedpods.[16] Two of the manuscripts retain treasure covers which exhibit filigree Byzantine blossom, raising the possibility that the motif was present on the metalwork that was given to Durham.[17]

In other important respects, the cathedral doorways reflect artistic developments in southern England during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. There are striking

Fig. E.13 (top). Durham Cathedral: inner east shaft of the north nave doorway (interior).

Fig. E.14 (bottom). Reading Museum and Art Gallery (Berkshire): sculpted fragment (no. 1992.79). © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

[14] Ibid., pp. 11–2, tentatively proposed the agency of Judith of Flanders, although she ultimately favoured the hypothesis that Prior Aldwin brought mid-eleventh-century Mercian manuscripts decorated with Byzantine blossom to Jarrow and then Durham.

[15] For the gifts of Judith and Tostig, see Symeon, *LDE,* III. 11, pp. 176–77.

[16] M. Dockray-Miller, *The Books and the Life of Judith of Flanders* (Farnham, 2015), pp. 29–47, pl. 4–7, 10, 12–16, 23.

[17] Ibid., pl. 1–2.

similarities between the inner shafts of the Durham north nave doorway and a fragmentary shaft identified with Reading Abbey (figs. E.13 & 14).[18] All of the shafts are carved with beaded and clasped roundels, while the diamond-shaped compartments between the roundels are enriched with Byzantine blossom. Some of the roundels are filled with the same motifs, including griffins and Samson wrestling the lion.[19] In a more general sense, the carvings of the Durham nave doorways are comparable to the near-contemporary Prior's doorway at Ely Cathedral. Shared motifs include filled and clasped roundels, winged dragons, Byzantine blossom, lush scrolling foliage, palmettes and beading.[20]

It has long been suggested that elements of the Durham schemes were inspired by Canterbury Cathedral. Early twelfth-century capitals at both cathedrals demonstrate the same high plasticity and spatial freedom.[21] The Durham capitals which depict intertwined foliage and twisted dragons with beaded spines find parallels in the crypt (*c.* 1100) and on the exterior of the choir and transepts (*c.* 1120) at Canterbury (figs. E.15–17). Another Durham motif, the dog or wolf-like quadruped that bites its hind leg or tail, is related to a capital in the Canterbury crypt which depicts a lion with flailing paws biting its own tail (figs. E18–20). Artistic representations of dogs and wolves are found in sculpture and manuscripts produced at Canterbury so they are by no means peculiar to Durham.[22] In fact, these animals appear in the decorated initials of Durham manuscripts that were acquired from or influenced by Canterbury.[23] Many Durham sculptural motifs, including the curling dragons, clasped foliage and lush leaves emerging from seed pods, can be seen in Canterbury illumination and this has led to the suggestion that the movement of

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[18] Zarnecki *et* al., *English Romanesque Art*, p. 171; Baxter, 'Reading Abbey Museum and Art Gallery', *CRSBI* (accessed 08/03/17).

[19] Most of the Durham roundel scenes are now too worn to decipher but they were described by W. Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral* (Durham, 1881), p. 30 fn., when the doorway sculptures were in better condition.

[20] The Prior's doorway of Ely Cathedral has recently been dated to the 1120s. For a discussion and illustrations, see R. Baxter, 'Holy and Undivided Trinity, Ely, Cambridgeshire', *CRSBI* (accessed 08/03/17).

[21] Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, pp. 23, 35–36; D. Kahn, 'La sculpture romane en Angleterre : état des questions', *Bulletin Monumental* 146 (1988), pp. 315–16; Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 71, 85–87, esp. figs. 134, 138–39.

[22] Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, for example figs. 71, 88, pl. III–V.

[23] A. Lawrence, 'The Influence of Canterbury on the Collection and Production of Manuscripts at Durham in the Anglo-Norman Period', in A. Borg and A. Martindale (eds.), *The Vanishing Past* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 97–99, pl. 8.12, 8.18.

Fig. E.15 (left). Durham Cathedral: east twin capital of the westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

Fig. E.16. Canterbury Cathedral: crypt capital. © Deborah Kahn.

Fig. E.17. Canterbury Cathedral: north-east transept capital (exterior). © Deborah Kahn.

Figs. E.18 & 19 (left). Durham Cathedral: roundels of the west nave doorway (east face).

Fig. E.20 (bottom right). Canterbury Cathedral: crypt capital. © Deborah Kahn.

manuscripts and illuminators facilitated the spread of sculptural motifs from Canterbury to Durham.[24]

Parallels with Canterbury continue in the Durham Cathedral Priory chapter house. This structure was completed during the episcopate of Geoffrey Rufus (1133–1141) but could have been designed and commenced at an earlier date.[25] There are three reset atlas figures, each carrying a capital on his shoulders.[26] One of these capitals is decorated with a pair of addorsed winged creatures, both with beaded tails and surrounded by twisting and splayed foliage. The style and composition recalls a number of capitals within the Canterbury crypt, especially that illustrated above which depicts a pair of addorsed wyverns (figs. E.16 & 21). The lower string course and the doorway were clearly executed by sculptors who had worked on the western nave doorways since the same palmette ornament, Byzantine blossom, and cushion capitals with beaded frames occur in both locations.[27] Bare-chested hybrid figures decorate the interior capitals of the doorway, including a centaur with carefully defined nipples and ribs, and a hybrid female, identifiable as a siren, with drooping

Fig. E.21. Durham Cathedral: atlas figure reset on the north wall of the chapter house.

[24] Lawrence, 'The Influence of Canterbury'; Kahn, 'La sculpture', pp. 315–16; idem, *Canterbury Cathedral*, p. 73.

[25] Rollason, 'Sources and History', p. 10; Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', p. 30, dated the chapter house between 1133 and 1140; Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 14.

[26] These atlas figures were designed to support the original rib vaults of the structure. Most of the chapter house fabric, including the vault, was demolished and rebuilt by James Wyatt at the end of the eighteenth century.

[27] Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 14, observed that the palmette string course is a later restoration having been chiselled off during the late eighteenth-century alterations to the chapter house. Fragments of what is probably the original string course, carved with the same palmette decoration, can be seen in the cathedral stone store.

Fig. E.22. Durham Cathedral: inner south capital (interior) of the chapter house west doorway.

Fig. E.23. Durham Cathedral: inner north capital (interior) of the chapter house west doorway.

Fig. E.24. Durham Cathedral: inner south capital (interior) of the chapter house west doorway.

breasts and pointed nipples (figs. E.22 & 23). Both types of chest definition can be seen on capitals in the Canterbury Cathedral crypt.[28] The final hybrid figure on the Durham chapter house doorway is more unusual, having a grotesque feline head, humanoid torso and the lower body of a biped dragon (fig. E.24). Similar hybrid creatures can again be seen in the Canterbury crypt.[29] These parallels raise the possibility that the Durham schemes were directly modelled on Canterbury. Ranulf Flambard was well acquainted with Canterbury, having been granted control of the archbishopric in 1089, and he had surely seen the new crypt and choir during travels to

[28] Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, pl. II and IV, fig. 62.

[29] Ibid., pl. V, fig. 62.

southern England and Normandy in his later career.[30] As building work at Canterbury drew to a close in the 1120s, Ranulf might have employed sculptors from the Canterbury workshop and brought them north.

Ranulf and the Durham monastic community were also able to draw inspiration from a Canterbury-influenced church closer to home: St Mary's Abbey, York. The relationship between St Mary's Abbey and Canterbury Cathedral, and the former's early influence on Durham Cathedral has already been established. However, there are clues that St Mary's Abbey continued to influence Durham sculpture well into the twelfth century. The palmettes that decorate the eastern impost of the Durham south doorway, as well as several loose fragments in the cathedral stone store, find a direct and early parallel on the head and foliage nook-shaft capital recovered from the St Mary's Abbey site (figs. B.26 & E.8). Other motifs that can be traced tentatively to St Mary's Abbey, but for which there is no physical evidence from the abbey itself, are lozenges filled with angular leaves and figures, imposts decorated with raised circles or semi-circles, and animals and figures tangled in lush foliage.[31] These designs can be found in various positions on the western nave doorways of Durham Cathedral. One particularly distinctive motif that occurs on the north nave doorway of Durham Cathedral and can also be found at the St Mary's Abbey-dependent churches of Kirkby Lonsdale and St Bees is a quadruped enveloped by scrolling foliage with a tendril in its jaws (figs. D.18, 21, 22 & 32). The Kirkby Lonsdale example is found in the north nave arcade and almost certainly predates its counterpart at Durham, whereas the motif must have been applied at St Bees in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Rather than Kirkby Lonsdale directly inspiring Durham, it is likely that both sites drew influence from a common source: St Mary's Abbey.

The likelihood that York sculptors were employed at Durham is reinforced by the stylistic relationship between the schemes at Durham and those found in various early to mid-twelfth century churches across York city. Roundels filled with figures adorn the label and

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[30] R. W. Southern, 'Ranulf Flambard and Early Anglo-Norman Administration', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (1933), pp. 95-128; J. O. Prestwich, 'The Career of Ranulf Flambard', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, pp. 299–310; J. F. A. Mason, 'Flambard, Ranulf (c.1060–1128)', *DNB*. Ranulf appears as a witness to a royal charter issued at Ditton (Kent), near Canterbury, in 1113, see *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1027, p. 110.

[31] See the previous sub-chapter.

second order of the doorway at St Margaret's church, Walmgate. One depicts a turned quadruped biting its hindquarters like several roundels on the Durham Cathedral western nave doorways (figs. E.18, 19 & 25). Loose fragments carved with filled roundels can be found inside the church of St Martin le Grand, York, and the Yorkshire Museum (fig. E.26).[32] Three fragments held in the museum are thought to derive from the lost Romanesque church of

Fig. E.25. York, Walmgate, St Margaret: roundel (2nd order) of the south nave doorway.

Fig. E.26. York, St Martin le Grand: eroded label fragment reset on the north chancel wall (interior).

Fig. E.27. York, St Lawrence (old church): detail (2nd order) of the west tower doorway.

Fig. E.28. York, St Denys: detail (1st and 2nd orders) of the south nave doorway.

[32] For illustrations of the roundel fragments held in the Yorkshire Museum, see Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, pp. 178–79.

Fig. E.29. York, St Lawrence (old church): illustration of the lost capital from the south side of the west tower doorway (after John Browne, 1823). Image courtesy of York Museums Trust, http://yorkmuseumstrust.org.uk/, CC BY-SA 4.0.

All Saints, Pavement, which was dependent on Durham Cathedral Priory.[33] The doorways at the churches of St Lawrence and St Denys, York, feature roundels formed from clasped and beaded tendrils of foliage like those that decorate the inner shafts of the Durham Cathedral Priory north nave doorway (figs. E.13, 27 & 28). Filled lozenge-shaped compartments, like those on the same doorway at Durham, can also be seen on the inner order of the doorway at St Denys' church (figs. E.7 & 28). At St Lawrence's church, York, there was once a doorway capital, since stolen, that depicted a centaur in a turned pose similar to the example on the Durham chapter house doorway (figs. E.22 & 29).[34] Although many, if not all, of these York sculptural schemes are later than those at Durham Cathedral Priory, they are probable witnesses to earlier sculptural trends in York, particularly at St Mary's Abbey but perhaps also at Holy Trinity Priory.[35] Like Canterbury Cathedral, work on St Mary's Abbey was coming to a close at the start of the 1120s and there is every possibility that craftsmen from York were able to gain employment at Durham just as Bishop Ranulf began planning the grand western entrances.[36]

The most striking and under-appreciated characteristics of the Durham Cathedral Priory sculptural schemes are their close relationships to Durham illuminated manuscripts.

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[33] Ibid., pp. 178–9; *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 298a.

[34] An 1823 engraving of the original capital by John Browne is illustrated in Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 236.

[35] Holy Trinity Priory was a daughter house of Marmoutier Abbey and may have facilitated the spread of Zodiac-filled roundels from eastern France, where the motif was particularly popular, to York. See Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 178, who posits a Burgundian source for Zodiac roundels.

[36] For the chronology of the St Mary's Abbey building campaign, see Norton, 'Design and Construction', p. 87.

Fig. E.30. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): dragon initial, fol. 2v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.31. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): griffin initial, fol. 158r. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.32. Durham Cathedral: griffin on the inner east capital of the north nave doorway (interior).

Fig. E.33. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): biting lion initial, fol. 79v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.34. Durham Cathedral: lion biting a tendril on the inner east shaft of the north nave doorway (interior).

Durham Cathedral Priory retains the best-preserved *in situ* medieval library of any religious house in the British Isles and this offers a rare opportunity to study the links between the manuscripts and sculpture in depth. Many of the sculptural motifs can be traced to manuscripts that were acquired by the priory before 1096. Illuminated initials depicting curled dragons with beaded spines, griffins, and lions biting foliage can be found in the St Calais Bible (DCL A.II.4), two volumes of Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms* (DCL B.II.13–14) and Jerome's *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets* (DCL B.II. 9) (figs. E.15, 30–34). These manuscripts were produced in Normandy and were given as gifts to Durham Cathedral Priory by Bishop William.[37] The grotesque heads that decorate the apex roundels of the south and west doorways are comparable to the grotesque and human heads illustrated in the same manuscripts. For example, the anthropomorphic feline head on the interior label of the south doorway has the same slack jaw, bulbous nose and leaf-like hair as a head on an initial in the St Calais Bible (figs. E.35 & 36). Several foliage designs in the St Calais Bible are obvious precursors to those carved on the cathedral doorways. The palmettes on the eastern impost of the south doorway are found in the same form and arrangement on several folios (figs. E.8 & 37).[38] There are also examples of Winchester acanthus in the St Calais Bible that are comparable to the foliage designs on the lower registers of the twin dragon capital on the south nave doorway (figs. E.38 & 39).

Fig. E.35. Durham Cathedral: apex of the label of the westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

Fig. E.36. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): grotesque head decorating an initial, fol. 14v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

[37] DCL MS B.II.9, fols. 1r, 13v, 58v, 68r, 143r, 164v; DCL MS B.II.13, fols. 30v, 46v, 49r, 60r, 68r, 77v, 95r; DCL MS B.II.14, fol. 7r; R. Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures of Durham Cathedral* (London, 2010), pp. 50–59; Lawrence, 'Influence of Canterbury', pp. 95–96, pl. 8.3.

[38] Also see DCL MS A.II.4, fols. 20v, 166r; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, ill. p. 55.

Fig. E.37. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): palmette ornament, fol. 19v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.38. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): winchester acanthus, fol. 36v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.39. Durham Cathedral: detail of the east twin capital, westernmost south nave doorway.

The group of St Calais manuscripts may have inspired another sculptural feature that has received minimal attention: the corbels that support the high vault of the nave and transepts. These corbels were likely carved between 1128 and 1133, the period when the south transept and nave vaults were erected.[39] Since the north transept vault was completed by 1104, a perceptive viewer might question the validity of this time bracket for the north transept corbels. However, a close inspection of these corbels reveals that they were probably inserted as plain mitred cushion types and later re-carved while *in situ*, therefore explaining why the mask designs are inexpertly carved and some appear unfinished (fig E. 40). All of the corbels depict grotesque humanoid heads with heavily moulded features. Many have slack open mouths, some bare their teeth and others stick out their tongues (E.41). Sculpted corbels positioned in church interiors are relatively rare, although there are prominent early twelfth-century examples in the crossing of Selby Abbey. The external corbel table of Durham Cathedral has been much altered, but there are a number of *ex situ* corbels depicting grotesque heads that are stylistically related to and contemporary with the interior corbels. Three are located within a niche on the north exterior of the choir and at least one other is held within the cathedral collection (fig. E.42).[40] In form and style, the Durham corbels compare favourably with those carved for Old

Fig. E.40. Durham Cathedral: corbel on the west wall of the north transept (interior).

Fig. E.41. Durham Cathedral: twin corbel, south nave (interior).

[39] Snape, 'Documentary Evidence', p. 22. There are visible clues that the south transept was temporarily roofed with a timber structure at the beginning of the twelfth century, see Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', pp. 31–5.

[40] The fourth corbel is described and illustrated by R. Holland (ed.), *Gods and Men: An Exhibition of Sculpture from Collections in Northumberland and Durham* (Durham, 1957), cat. no. 21. Other examples, which have been heavily recut or even replaced, can be seen on the north exterior of the north transept and the south exterior of the south-west tower.

Fig. E.42. Durham Cathedral: corbels reset on the north exterior of the choir.

Sarum Cathedral during the 1120s which include similar humanoid heads with heavily moulded features and slack jaws.[41] However, the grotesque heads illustrated in several St Calais manuscripts, shown biting or emitting foliage, appear to have served as immediate exemplars.[42] One of the corbel heads in the south transept has pointed ears, cusping across the forehead, almond-shaped eyes, a bulbous nose and a lined face like the largest grotesque mask in the St Calais Bible (figs. E.43 & 44). These comparisons reveal the artistic legacy of Bishop William's book donations and the continuing influence of Norman manuscript illumination.

Fig. E.43. Durham Cathedral: corbel on the west wall of the south transept (interior).

Fig. E.44. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): grotesque mask, fol. 119v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

[41] See Stalley, 'A twelfth-century patron of architecture', pl. XVI, figs. 2 and 4; J. McNeill, *Old Sarum* (London, 2006), ill. p. 1.

[42] These include the St Calais Bible, DCL MS B.II.9, DCL MS B.II.13 and DCL MS B.III.1. For illustrations, see Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 56–59; Lawrence, 'Influence of Canterbury', pp. 95–6.

Returning to the western nave doorways, there are clear artistic affinities between these schemes and near-contemporary manuscripts produced at Durham. Byzantine blossom and palmettes appear in manuscripts dated to the episcopate of Ranulf Flambard, although it has already been noted that palmettes, and perhaps also Byzantine blossom, were introduced to Durham at an earlier date.[43] Another manuscript from Ranulf's episcopate, a copy of Augustine's *De Trinitate* (DCL MS B.II.26), contains illustrations of feline quadrupeds and basilisks within beaded and clasped roundels, that are fairly similar in form and arrangement to the filled roundels seen on the inner shafts of the north doorway.[44] The pose of the feline quadrupeds, confronted with paws raised and biting the same circular object, appears to be a variation of the motifs on the inner western capital of the south doorway and the carved roundel above (figs. E.45 & 46). In terms of subject matter and style, it has already been noted that the doorway schemes share similarities with MS Hunter 100, a scientific compilation produced at Durham.[45]

Fig. E.45. Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.II. 26: illustrated detail of an initial, fol. 64.

Fig. E.46. Durham Cathedral: inner west capital of the westernmost south nave doorway.

[43] Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', pp. 11–2, identified Byzantine blossom in DCL MS B.II.7 and palmettes in Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Digby 20. Palmettes can also be found in the early twelfth-century Durham copy of the *Life of St Nicholas* (DCL MS B.IV.14), see R. A. B. Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts to the End of the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 48–49, pl. 35; Lawrence, 'Influence of Canterbury', p. 100, pl. 8.35.

[44] Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, p. 52, pl. 39.

[45] T. S. R. Boase, *English Art, 1100–1216* (Oxford, 1953), p. 224; Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', pp. 13–14. The relationship between the sculpture and MS Hunter 100 has been understated, and is the subject of ongoing research. This is being conducted by the present author as part of the Durham University Hunter 100 project.

The composition of Hunter 100 is broadly assigned to the first quarter of the twelfth century.[46] This makes the manuscript roughly contemporary with the nave doorway schemes. The most unusual illustration in the manuscript shows a male figure being bent and beaten by another man who brandishes a rod in his right hand. Remarkably, the same scene appears in mirror image on the label of the north doorway (figs. E.47 & 48).[47] Although the carving is badly eroded, this identification is corroborated by a late nineteenth-century description of the doorway which was written when the scheme was better preserved.[48] The centaurs that decorate the shafts and label of the north doorway can also be traced to Hunter 100. Only one sculptural example, located at the apex of the label, is still clearly visible, but it is armed with a bow and arrow like the depictions of

Fig. E.47. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 44r. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

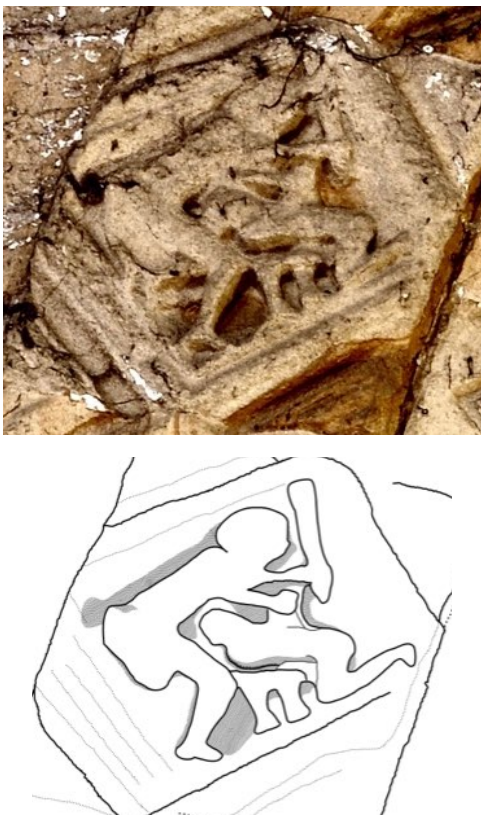

Fig. E.48. Durham Cathedral: detail of the label of the north nave doorway (interior).

[46] Mynors, *Durham Cathedral* Manuscripts, pp. 49–50; Gameson, *Manuscript Treasures*, pp. 68–71. For the Hunter 100 research project, see G. E. M. Gasper and F. Wallis *et al.*, 'Hunter 100', *Ordered Universe*, https://ordered-universe.com/hunter100/ (accessed 06/11/17).

[47] In terms of subject matter, a similar scene can be found in an early twelfth-century Rochester manuscript, BL Royal MS 5.D.II, fol. 227v, which potentially offers further evidence of southern artistic influences, see Boase, *English Art*, p. 62.

[48] Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral*, p. 30 fn. The identification is repeated by Boase, *English Art*, p. 224, and Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 13.

Fig. E.49. Durham Cathedral: apex of the label of the north nave doorway (interior).

Figs. E.50 & 51. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: details of fols. 7r & 63r.

Fig. E.52. Durham Cathedral: detail of the label of the north nave doorway (interior).

Figs. E.53 & 54. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: details of fols. 7v & 63r.

Sagittarius in the manuscript calendar and star catalogue (figs. E.49–51). Equally, the horned creature in the bottom left-hand lozenge of the same doorway relates to the illustrations of Capricorn in the Hunter 100 calendar and star catalogue (figs. E.52–54). The similarities between the manuscript and the doorway sculpture also extend to foliage decoration. In terms of style, the delicate, linear flower illustrations do not compare favourably with the lush, fleshy foliage designs on the doorways, but there are notable parallels in form. One illustrated flower type is shown emerging from a seed pod with bunches of fruit and protruding stamen which recalls the Byzantine blossom in the roundels of the south and west doorways (figs. E.8, 55 & 56).


Figs. E.55 & 56. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: details of fols. 34r & 37r.

These parallels continue in the chapter house. The centaur on the inner left-hand capital of the doorway is comparable to one of the depictions of Sagittarius in Hunter 100 (figs. E.22 & 51). Both the painted and the carved example show the centaur wearing a Phrygian cap and wielding a bow, with the free hand and two fingers raised to suggest the arrow has just been loosed. Naturally, there are certain compositional and stylistic differences; the carved centaur turns its body, wears a simpler cap, carries some form of saddle bag, and has a naked torso. However, the basic elements are remarkably similar. The centaur and the other hybrid figures on the chapter house doorway have bare torsos that are comparable to the naked body of Andromeda in the manuscript (figs. E. 22–24 & 57). All have carefully defined pectoral muscles, nipples and rib

Fig. E.57. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 62r.

bones. The carved dragon-human hybrid is particularly remarkable in that the sculptor has attempted to convey muscle definition on the left arm like Andromeda in the manuscript.

There can be little doubt that the chapter house doorway scheme post-dates Hunter 100, but this is less certain where the nave doorways are concerned. It is possible that the shared motifs on the north doorway and in Hunter 100, namely the beating scene, were developed at the same time and thus the relationship between sculpture and manuscript is more fluid than might be expected. The same designer, or designers, is likely, but there is always the remote possibility of craftsmen trained in multiple media and even monks who were engaged in artistic activities. The reformed community of Durham Priory had fraternal links to Evesham Abbey where there was a long tradition of abbots and monks who were master sculptors, metalworkers and painters.[49] That said, the sudden emergence of new sculptural repertoires at Durham *c.* 1120 tends to suggest the arrival of new blood from York and perhaps even Canterbury. In this situation, there must have been a dialogue between the new sculptors, the Durham illuminators, Bishop Ranulf and the monastic community.

Sculpture at churches affiliated to Durham Cathedral Priory

The architectural and decorative influence of Durham Cathedral on major religious houses elsewhere in the British Isles has been well-discussed, especially with regards to Dunfermline Abbey (Fife) and Kirkwall Cathedral (Orkney).[50] Churches dependent on Durham Cathedral, with the exception of Lindisfarne Priory, have received considerably less attention (fig. E.58). For the period in question, there is relatively little sculpture that can be attributed to the patronage of the bishops and monks of Durham. This may seem surprising considering the size and wealth of the episcopal see, but is perhaps explicable by

[49] Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, eds. J. Sayers and L. Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), III. 1, ch. 149, pp. 156–59, records that Abbot Mannig (1044–58) was an accomplished sculptor, metalworker, painter and scribe.

[50] E. Fernie, 'The Architectural Influence of Durham Cathedral', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 269–79; Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', pp. 42–44; R. Fawcett, 'Dunfermline Abbey', *CRSBI* (accessed 08/03/17). Related sculpture can also be found at St Cuthbert's church, Dalmeny (West Lothian) and St Athernase's church, Leuchars (Fife).

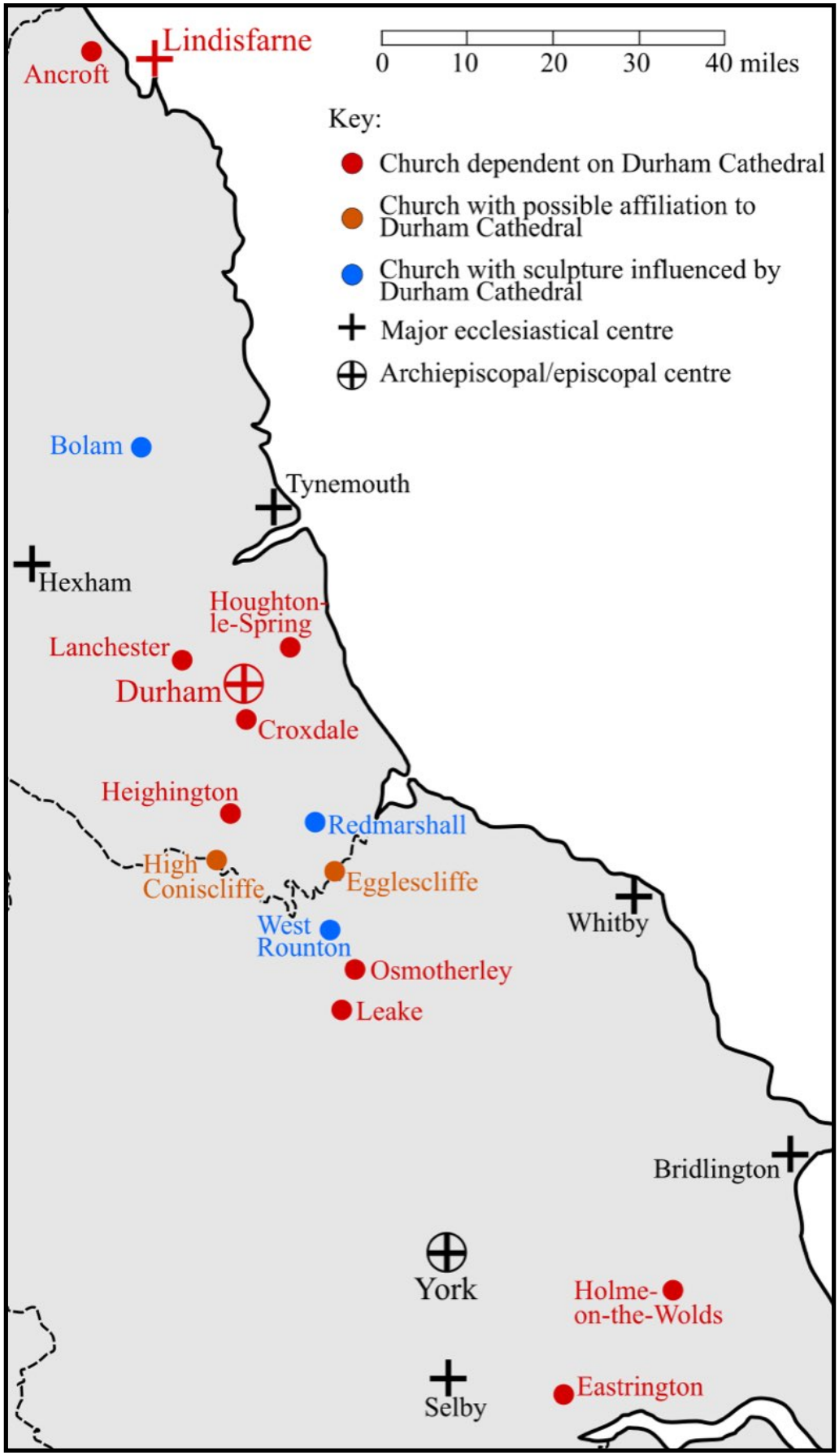

Fig. E.58. Map of sites associated with the Durham Cathedral community.

the fact that attention and resources were focused on the reconstruction of Durham Cathedral Priory until *c.* 1140, and probably slightly later for the rebuilding of Lindisfarne Priory. On several occasions, it will be seen that the cathedral priory benefited from the commissions and donations of secular tenants.

The history of Durham and Holy Island, Northumberland, are intimately connected. Holy Island was the episcopal seat of St Cuthbert and the resting place of his body until the community left the site in 875. Lindisfarne Priory was never completely abandoned and in the winter of 1069/70 the body of St Cuthbert was briefly returned to the island as a precaution against the Harrying of the North.[51] Durham Cathedral Priory was to remain the shrine of St Cuthbert, but the spiritual significance of Lindisfarne to the Durham monastic community should not be underestimated. With the rebuilding of Durham Cathedral Priory and the reinvigoration of the cult of St Cuthbert at the turn of the twelfth century, the decision was made to re-found the priory of Lindisfarne as a cenotaph to the saint. Unfortunately there is no record of when building work was commenced or completed.[52]

Lindisfarne Priory was clearly designed to echo Durham Cathedral Priory, though on a smaller scale and with some minor architectural variations.[53] The essential features, including three-storey elevation, rib vaults and alternating compound and cylindrical piers, are repeated at Lindisfarne and there can be little doubt that the church was constructed by masons from Durham.[54] This would suggest that the bulk of the Lindisfarne building campaign took place in the second quarter of the twelfth century as the cathedral church came to completion.[55] The decorative features that survive at Lindisfarne Priory are almost

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[51] W. M. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham, 1071–1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 77–80.

[52] A. J. Piper, 'The First Generation of Durham Monks and the Cult of St Cuthbert', in G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), p. 444, suggested building work commenced in the early 1120s. J. Story, *Lindisfarne Priory* (London, 2005), p. 5, dated the building campaign to the second quarter of the twelfth century.

[53] Fernie, 'Architectural Influence of Durham Cathedral', pp. 269–70.

[54] For the opinion that the Lindisfarne nave was originally groin vaulted and may have been modelled on the choir of Durham Cathedral, see J. P. McAleer, 'Encore Lindisfarne Priory and the Problem of its Nave Vaults', *Antiquaries Journal* 74 (1994), pp. 169–210.

[55] The movement of craftsmen from Durham to Lindisfarne could be linked to Bishop Ranulf's decision to employ new sculptors at Durham *c.* 1120.

entirely geometric and mirror those found at Durham. Lozenges, fluting and incised zigzag ornament decorate the surviving piers; the west facade is adorned with blind arcading; arches are carved with curved lateral chevron; and the north-west transept arch has a band of sunken zigzag ornament like that on the eastern face of the west nave doorway at Durham Cathedral (figs. E.59–64). The only figure sculpture to survive are a series of decorated corbels. Unfortunately, those that remain *in situ* are heavily eroded and difficult to decipher. Several emulate examples at Durham Cathedral in that they appear to depict

Figs. E.59 & 60. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): remnants of lozenge pier and fluted pier in the north nave arcade.

Fig. E.61. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): general view of the north nave arcade.

Fig. E.62. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): general view of the west front.

Fig. E.63 (left). Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): west doorway.

Fig. E.64 (above). Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): east face of the north-west transept arch.

Figs. E.65 & 66. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): corbels of the south-east and north-west crossing.

Figs. E.67 & 68. Lindisfarne Priory Museum, English Heritage (Northumberland): corbels from Lindisfarne Priory (acc. nos. 81077130 & 81077132). Photographs taken with permission from English Heritage.

Fig. E.69. Berwick-upon-Tweed Barracks (Northumberland): corbel from Lindisfarne Priory (acc. no. 81077131). © English Heritage.

humanoid heads and were positioned inside the church to support the rib vaults (figs. E.65 & 66). Other corbels are located at clerestory level on the exterior walls, indicating that the church originally had an external corbel table. Two better preserved examples are displayed in the adjacent Priory Museum. The first depicts some form of predatory beast with large pointed ears, incised eyes and a tapering snout with bared teeth (fig. E.67), while the second depicts a male human head with large elliptical eyes, a broad triangular nose and a slack down-turned mouth (fig. E.68). The second example is closely related to another sculpted corbel from Lindisfarne that is now held in the English Heritage store at Berwick-upon-Tweed Barracks (fig. E.69). All of these corbels are much more simply

carved than their counterparts at Durham Cathedral Priory and these obvious stylistic differences indicate that a different, less skilled atelier of sculptors worked at Lindisfarne.[56]

The geometric motifs found at Durham Cathedral Priory enjoyed wide circulation in the region during the first half of the twelfth century. St Cuthbert's church at Redmarshall (Co. Durham) features a tympanum, unfortunately recut, that is incised with three bands of chevron.[57] Bolam church (Northumberland) contains a number of reset stones that are incised with chevron and perhaps also sections of lozenge pattern.[58] At West Rounton church (North Yorkshire), the chancel arch is enriched with curved lateral chevron, and supported by capitals with incised shields that echo examples on the Durham Cathedral Priory dado arcade (fig. E.70). The contemporary font at the same church is also incised with chevron (fig. E.71).[59] Heighington

Fig. E.70. West Rounton, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): north side of the chancel arch.

Fig. E.71. West Rounton, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): font.

[56] Similar sculpted rib-supporting corbels can be seen in the twelfth-century gatehouse of Prudhoe Castle (Northumberland), see Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', p. 44, which suggests wider circulation of this architectural feature across Northumberland.

[57] There is no documentary evidence that Redmarshall church was dependent on Durham Cathedral, however the dedication to St Cuthbert is suggestive of some affiliation. It should be noted that the profile of the roll mouldings on the outer order of the same doorway echoes the mouldings on the eastern nave arcades in the cathedral.

[58] Thurlby, 'The Building of the Cathedral', p. 43, argues that these were 'probably inspired by the Durham incised columns'. The patron and affiliation of Bolam church is uncertain, although a connection to Tynemouth Priory was suggested by H. H. E. Craster, *A History of Northumberland*, vol. 8 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1907), p. 49. There are the remains of a castle approximately five hundred metres to the west which implies that it served as a seigneurial church, see D. J. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum*, vol. 2 (New York, 1983), p. 328.

[59] The patronage of West Rounton church and its affiliation to Durham Cathedral is discussed below.

church (Co. Durham), which was almost certainly affiliated to the cathedral priory in the twelfth century, has a tower arch enriched with dentil ornament like the western nave arcades of the cathedral.[60] The church at Gilesgate, Durham, was dedicated by Bishop Ranulf in 1112 and, although relatively plain, retains a section of string course that is carved with sawtooth.[61] All Saints' church in the wealthy episcopal manor of Lanchester has a chancel arch that is decorated with chevron, lozenges and mitred cushion capitals, and was clearly constructed by masons from Durham (fig. E.72).[62] The north impost of the same arch is enriched with a band of sunken stars which suggests influence from Durham Castle chapel.

Fig. E.72. Lanchester, All Saints (County Durham): chancel arch (west face).

Other churches appear to have been influenced by the late eleventh-century sculptural schemes at Durham Castle. Egglescliffe church (Co. Durham) was certainly affiliated to Durham Cathedral Priory in later centuries, although it may have been built through the support of a secular patron.[63] On the basis of its style and construction, the south nave

[60] R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. 3 (London, 1823), pp. 303–24.

[61] *Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071–1152*, ed. H. S. Offler (Gateshead, 1968), no. 9, pp. 64–7.

[62] R. Surtees, *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, vol. 2 (London, 1820), pp. 303–60; Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', p. 44.

[63] W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of Durham*, vol. 3 (London, 1928), pp. 222–32.

Fig. E.73. Egglescliffe, St John the Baptist (County Durham): south nave doorway.

Fig. E.74. Egglescliffe, St John the Baptist (County Durham): west capital of the south nave doorway.

doorway can be dated tentatively to *c.* 1100 (fig. E.73).[64] This dating is reinforced by the motifs on the two sculpted capitals. Both appear to depict masks juxtaposed with volutes, although only the design of the left-hand capital can be clearly discerned owing to erosion. This depicts two simple human faces, one flanking and the other beneath the angle volute, which echo the masks on several capitals in Durham Castle chapel (fig. E.74). A very similar design occurs on the south nave doorway at the church of Osmotherley (North Yorkshire), although the mask beneath the volute is heavily weathered (fig. E. 75). The church was dependent on Durham Cathedral Priory in the twelfth century and the accompanying beakheads signal that this doorway was probably constructed in the second quarter of the twelfth century.[65] More developed forms of this capital design can be found at Bolam church. Two of the chancel arch capitals

Fig. E.75. Osmotherley, St Peter (North Yorkshire): outer east capital of the south nave doorway.

[64] A forged charter dated to 1085 records a priest at Egglescliffe, see *Durham Episcopal Charters*, no. 5, pp. 39–45. There is a fragmentary baluster shaft in the porch which has been tentatively dated to the eighth century is possible evidence of a former Anglo-Saxon church on the site, see *CASSS*, vol. 1, pp. 75–6.

[65] W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 1 (London, 1914), pp. 434–9.

Figs. E.76 & E.77. Bolam, St Andrew (Northumberland): capitals on the north side of the chancel arch.

have male angle heads carved in high plasticity with bulbous eyes, protruding noses and prominent chins, and one of the men is also depicted with arms and legs (figs. E.76 & 77). These features are shared by the four men depicted on one of the Durham Castle capitals (fig. B.28).

The church of St Peter at Holme-on-the-Wolds (East Yorkshire) also appears to have been partly inspired by Durham Castle. Two capitals from this church are now located inside nearby Etton church.[66] One is decorated with sunken stars and an angle volute like the capitals in the castle chapel, although it also integrates three scallops with incised shields like capitals in the Durham Cathedral Priory dado arcade (fig. E.

Figs. E.78–80. Etton, St Mary (East Yorkshire): capitals (reset inside the nave) from St Peter's church, Holme-on-the-Wolds.

[66] There is photographic evidence to prove that these capitals came from Holme church, see R. Wood, 'Holme on the Wolds, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI*, http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/2707/ (accessed 06/11/17).

78). The second capital is more unusual. It depicts a horizontally positioned man wielding a large sword in his right hand while his left hand rests on his hip. The style of the figure with his stringy body and limbs, and simply carved head, recalls the St Eustace figure in the Durham Castle chapel but is more specifically related to the figure at the apex of the chancel arch at nearby Fridaythorpe (figs. C.39, E.79). A large sunken star on the other face of the same capital also suggests style connections to Durham (fig. E.80).[67] Holme manor belonged to the bishops of Durham but the church appears to have been constructed with secular support. By the second quarter of the twelfth century, part of the manor had been tenanted to Alan de Percy and it can be deduced that the church was located on his land.[68] Alan was the secular patron of Whitby Abbey and St Mary's parish church in Whitby, and it is interesting that the Holme capital design with swollen angles, incised shields and volutes can also be traced to these churches.[69]

The sculptor responsible for carving the south nave doorway at Croxdale chapel (Co. Durham) certainly appears to have looked to both Durham and Yorkshire for inspiration. Croxdale chapel was founded by the monks of Durham at an unknown date and later granted to their church at Elvet, so an affiliation to the cathedral is certain.[70] The doorway incorporates geometric motifs that can be traced to the cathedral and the castle chapel: incised zigzag ornament, sunken stars and a simplified form of cable moulding (figs. E.81 & 82). It has been dated to the first quarter of the twelfth century on the basis of general style,[71] however the earliest example of cable moulding at Durham occurs on the chapter house doorway which could indicate that the Croxdale scheme was actually executed closer to the middle of the century.

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[67] As well as the sunken stars on capitals in the Durham Castle chapel, there are several fragments decorated with this motif in the Durham Cathedral stone store. There is also a loose fragment by the Etton tower arch carved with a small band of lozenges which could reflect inspiration from Durham. Apparently there were once chevron-enriched voussoirs at Holme church but these have now disappeared, see Wood, 'Holme on the Wolds'.

[68] *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, p. 304 c, vol. 2, p. 381 d; *EYC*, vol. 11, no. 5, p. 22. The land belonging to Alan de Percy appears to have descended to Eustace de Merc and his wife, Alice de St Quintin, who granted Holme church to Nun Appleton Priory *c.* 1163, see *EYC*, vol. 1, no. 543, pp. 422–424.

[69] The sculptural schemes of Whitby Abbey and St Mary's church, Whitby, and their relationship to Durham, are discussed below (Chapter 2. viii).

[70] *EEA Durham*, 1153–1195, no. 41, pp. 36–37.

[71] N. Pevsner and E. Williamson, *The Buildings of England: County Durham* (Yale, 2002), p. 136.

The Croxdale tympanum, on the other hand, is suggestive of Yorkshire influence, especially since no carved tympana exist at Durham. It has an unusual winged form where the lowest voussoirs of the inner order are carved from the same stone as the tympanum. This construction technique can be found in East Yorkshire where it was applied to church doorways at Londesborough and Thwing. The main relief is badly eroded but it is possible to discern a vertical stem issuing two pairs of plant-scroll branches with a humanoid head at the apex. This design has been interpreted as a representation of the Tree of Life, and the arrangement with a human head may be an allusion to the Crucifixion.[72] Sculptural depictions of the Tree of Life occur on a number of Yorkshire fonts, and, in terms of style, the Croxdale carving is closely related to examples at Goxhill (East Yorkshire) and Skelmanthorpe, formerly from High Hoyland (figs. B.62 & 65). Both of these fonts are carved with similar plant scrolls and the High Hoyland font even juxtaposes human masks with scrolls like the Croxdale tympanum.[73] It has already been argued that the High

Fig. E.81. Croxdale chapel (County Durham): south nave doorway.

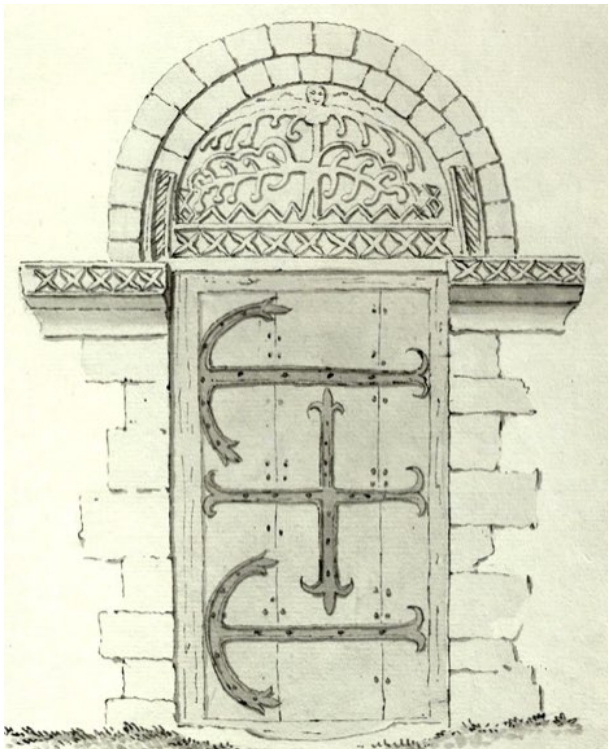

Fig. E.82. Croxdale chapel (County Durham): illustration of the south nave doorway (after Samuel. H. Grimm, 1773). Image courtesy of the British Library.

[72] Ibid., p. 136.

[73] For an illustration of the Goxhill font, see Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 106. For illustration and discussion of the High Hoyland font, see Chapter 1.

Hoyland font was the product of a sculptor trained in a native pre-conquest tradition, and the same can be said for the Croxdale tympanum judging from the two-plane technique and the style of the plant scrolls.[74]

The introduction of figures and foliage to architectural sculpture at Durham Cathedral Priory *c.* 1120 evidently influenced affiliated churches that were constructed in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Eastrington church (East Yorkshire) is located in Howdenshire which was an important possession of the bishops of Durham from the late eleventh century.[75] The fabric of the later north porch incorporates a reset twelfth-century frieze that depicts confronted and addorsed quadrupeds (fig. E.83). Those that inhabit the lower register can be identified as griffins from their avian heads, wings and feathered bodies. No other sculptural depictions of griffins have been identified in Yorkshire, making Durham Cathedral Priory the likeliest source.[76] It has already been noted that the mythical beast occurs on the north nave doorway and in late eleventh-century cathedral manuscripts (figs. E.31 & 32). Griffins are also reported to have adorned the vestments of bishops William and Ranulf, and there is a prominent carved example in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.[77] The quadrupeds that decorate the upper register of the Eastrington relief are

[74] Compare the pre-conquest plant scroll designs illustrated in Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, p. xxv.

[75] *DB Yorks.*, vol. 1, 304c; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, p. 165.

[76] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 86.

[77] Bishop William's grave is reported to have been discovered in 1796 and contained fragments of a robe decorated with griffins, see Boase, *English Art*, pp. 89–90; Galbraith, 'Sculpture in Durham', p. 13; M. O. H. Carver, 'Early Medieval Durham: the Archaeological Evidence', in Coldstream and Draper (eds.), *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, p. 12. A mortuary inventory of Bishop Ranulf records that he possessed similar vestments, see *Wills and Inventories*, vol. 2, part 1, ed. J. Raine (London, 1835), p. 2; Boase, *English Art*, p. 90. For the Canterbury griffin, see https://ims.canterbury-cathedral.org/viewpicture.tlx?containerid=40036533313&pictureid=19836640656 (accessed 07/08/18). Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 19, associated the griffin imagery at Eastrington with the bestiary.

Figs. E.83 (previous page) & 84 (above). Eastrington, St Michael (East Yorkshire): frieze reset in the north wall of the north porch.

Fig. E.85. Durham Cathedral: inner north capital (interior) of the chapter house west doorway.

feline in appearance and have been identified as lions.[78] Those on the left-hand side have large pointed ears, grooved faces, and open mouths that emit long tongues. A very similar design can be found on the Durham Cathedral Priory chapter house doorway (figs. E.84 & 85).

There on a series of figure and foliage designs on the aforementioned font at West Rounton that can also be traced to Durham. An unusual double frond motif occurs twice on the upper register of the bowl and can be traced to the Durham Cathedral Priory south nave doorway, specifically the inner left-hand capital that has been recut (figs. E.86

Fig. E.86. West Rounton, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): font.

Fig. E.87. Durham Cathedral: inner east capital of the westernmost south nave doorway (interior).

[78] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 86; idem, 'St Michael, Eastrington, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 06/11/17). Alternatively, Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 19, has identified the top right-hand creatures as 'gambolling lambs'.

Figs. E.88 & 89. West Rounton, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): font.

& 87).[79] The main faces of the bowl are dominated by centaur with a drawn bow, a large bearded man who grips the centaur's bow with his left hand, and a double-bodied smiling lion (figs. E.88 & 89). Obvious exemplars for the centaur are those that ornament the nave and chapter house doorways at Durham Cathedral Priory as well as those that are illustrated within Hunter 100 (figs. E.22, 49–51). The human head with large almond-shaped eyes, heavily moulded brows and cusped hair is comparable to the corbel heads at the cathedral, although none of these have full beards. There are two confronted lions on a capital in the Durham Castle chapel which can be compared to the West Rounton double-bodied lion, although neither of the Durham animals are smiling (fig. B.42 & 43). The

[79] This parallel was first noted by Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 220.

Fig. E.90. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 5r.

Fig. E.91. Durham Cathedral: recut or renewed corbel, south wall (interior) of the chapter house.

West Rounton motif can ultimately be traced to Normandy where double-bodied lions were used to decorate manuscripts and capitals in the eleventh century.[80] Subsequently, it was applied to manuscripts and capitals in the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral.[81] The exemplar for the West Rounton example could be manuscript illumination since Hunter 100 contains a related, albeit single-bodied, smiling lion with tufts of hair on the top of its head and a tail which loops between the hind legs and rises above the body (fig. E.90). There is one clue that a similar motif was once carved at Durham Cathedral Priory. The modern chapter house vault is supported by a series of new or recut corbels, including one that depicts a lion with a looping tail (fig. E.91). A sketch composed immediately before the demolition of the chapter house vault at the end of the

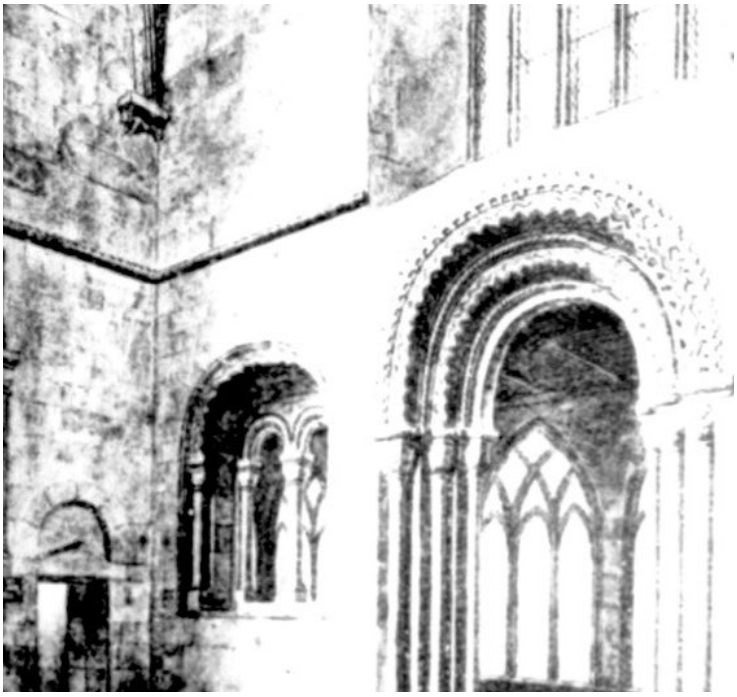

Fig. E.92. Durham Cathedral: sketch of the chapter house interior (after John Carter). Gibby Negatives, Ch9b, Durham University Library, Archives and Special Collections. © Durham University Library.

[80] Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England', pp. 216, 219, pl. 25 and 26.

[81] Ibid., pp. 216, 219, pl. 27 and 28; Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, pp. 46–7.

eighteenth century suggests that sculpted corbels were an original feature of the twelfth-century structure and the subject-matter of the modern corbels could have been modelled on the originals (fig. E.92).

The patronage of West Rounton church appears to confirm that the sculptural motifs were deliberately modelled on art and architecture at Durham. West Rounton was granted to Roger Conyers I by Bishop Ranulf Flambard at an unknown date in the first two decades of the twelfth century, and the church was in existence by *c.* 1180 when the Conyers family surrendered their right of patronage to Durham Cathedral Priory.[82] This later dispute provides clear evidence that the church was commissioned by the Conyers family and initially served as a private seigneurial chapel. Circumstantial evidence places Roger Conyers I as the probable founder of the chapel. He was a major tenant and leading associate of Bishop Ranulf who was active in the secular and ecclesiastical affairs of north-east England from the early to mid-twelfth century. Roger was in control of Durham Castle after Ranulf's death and he served as constable of the bishopric in the middle of the century.[83] Such status would have provided him with a direct insight into the episcopal and monastic commissions at Durham.

The illuminated manuscripts at Durham Cathedral Priory appear to have influenced other sculptural schemes in northern England. At Houghton-le-Spring church (Co. Durham), there is an exceptionally well-preserved tympanum set in the chancel that depicts two winged bipeds surrounded by foliage that emerges from their tails (fig. E.93).[84] The creatures have beak-like snouts with protruding tongues and in this sense they resemble griffins rather than wyverns.[85] It is a high-quality composition; the feathered wings are delicately rendered, the coiling bodies are carefully beaded, and the scrolling foliage is

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[82] *Durham Episcopal Charters*, no. 26a, pp. 114–15; *EYC*, vol. 2, nos. 947–51, pp. 285–88; G. V. Scammell, *Hugh Du Puiset, Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 117.

[83] *Durham Episcopal Charters*, pp. 77–78; A. Young, 'The Bishopric of Durham in Stephen's Reign', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds.), *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 360–1; Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, pp. 209–13.

[84] At least one chevron-enriched voussoir is reset within the later church fabric which could signal that the tympanum was originally part of a more elaborate doorway.

[85] C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels* (London, 1927), p. xliii, and T. D. Kendrick, 'Instances of Saxon Survival in Post-Conquest Sculpture', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 39 (1940), p. 82, identified them as dragons.

Fig. E.93. Houghton-le-Spring, St Michael and All Angels (County Durham): tympanum, north wall of the chancel (interior).

intricately carved. Kendrick proposed influence from eleventh-century Anglo-Scandinavian art,[86] however a more immediate source for the tympanum design is the collection of Normandy manuscripts donated to Durham Cathedral Priory by William of St Calais. Biped dragons and griffins with similar intertwining necks, beaded bodies and foliate tails are found in illuminated initials throughout one volume of Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms* (DCL B.II.13), Jerome's *Commentaries on the Twelve Prophets* (DCL B.II.9) and the St Calais Bible (fig. E.94). In terms of style and subject matter, the Houghton-le-Spring bipeds and foliage are closely related to the examples on the east twin-capital of the cathedral south nave doorway (fig. E.15). The sawtooth ornament that surrounds the tympanum can also be traced to the interior of the cathedral nave.

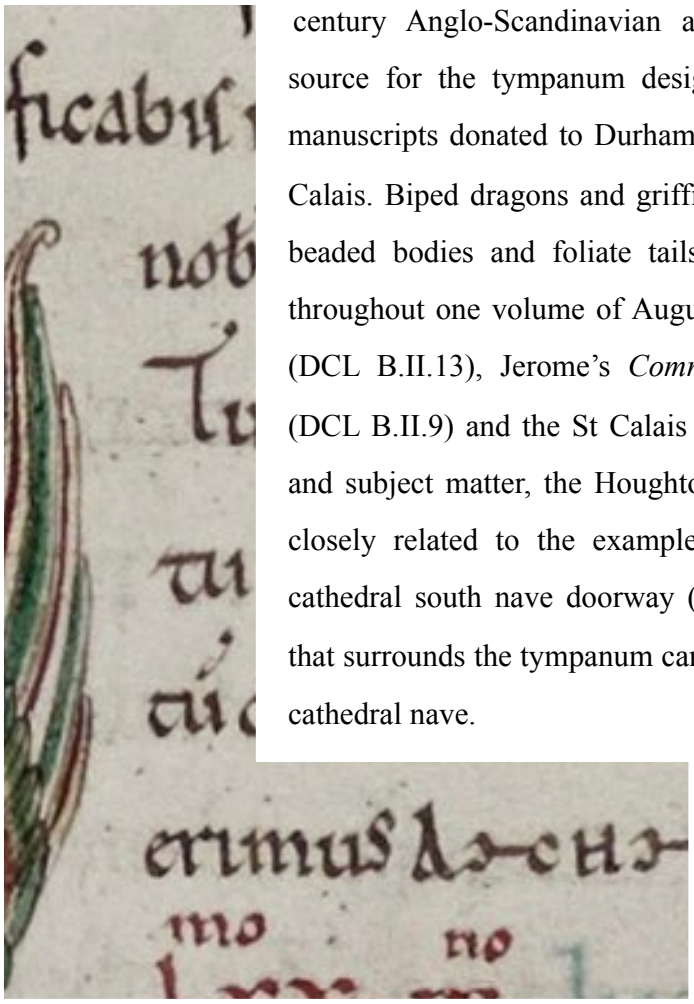

Fig. E.94. Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.II.13: detail of fol. 149v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

[86] Kendrick, 'Instances of Saxon Survival', pp. 82–3.

It is likely that at least one of the sculptors employed at Durham in the 1120s was commissioned at Houghton-le-Spring through the agency of Bishop Ranulf. When Ranulf founded the hospital and church of St Giles, Durham, in 1112, he endowed it with Houghton-le-Spring manor.[87] There is no mention of a church in this charter, however the foundations of a pre-conquest church were discovered beneath the floor of the present nave in 2008. It is likely that the grant in 1112 anticipated a building campaign, during which the chancel of the pre-conquest church was rebuilt and a west tower was added to the existing nave.[88] Reginald, the priest of Houghton-le-Spring, appears in the witness lists of three charters issued in the second quarter of the twelfth century, so it is clear that there was a functioning church by this period.[89]

Leake church (North Yorkshire) was granted to the bishop of Durham by William Rufus at the end of the eleventh century and preserves at least one piece of sculpture that can be traced to the late eleventh-century illuminated manuscripts at Durham.[90] This is an eroded rectangular relief set on the south exterior of the nave which depicts a quadruped, identified as a lion, within a recessed roundel (fig. E.95).[91] The creature appears to be standing on vegetation and it has a looping foliate tail that it bites with its turned head. Similar, though not identical, arrangements of biting lions with turned heads and looping foliate tails can be seen in Augustine's *Commentary on the Psalms* (DCL B.II.13) and the St Calais Bible (fig. E.96 & 97). The two plane style of carving is comparable to the frieze at Eastrington as well as pre-conquest sculpture, while the positioning of the quadruped within a roundel recalls the south and west nave doorways at Durham Cathedral Priory. One of the creatures within a cathedral roundel is shown biting its looping foliate tails in a similar manner (fig. E.98).

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[87] *Durham Episcopal Charters*, no. 9, pp. 64–7.

[88] P. Ryder and R. Carlton, 'Excavations at the Church of St Michael and All Angels, Houghton le Spring, in 2008', *Durham Archaeological Journal* 19 (2004), pp. 107–32.

[89] *Durham Episcopal Charters*, nos. 36 and 36a, pp. 142–51.

[90] For the grant of Leake church, see Page (ed.), *History of York North Riding*, vol. 1, pp. 410–8.

[91] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 148.

Fig. E.95. Leake, St Mary the Virgin (North Yorkshire): relief reset in the south nave wall (exterior).

Fig. E.96. Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.II.13: detail of fol. 160v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.97. St Calais Bible (Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.4): detail of fol. 146v. Reproduced courtesy of Durham Priory Library Recreated, CC BY-NC-ND 4.0.

Fig. E.98. Durham Cathedral: roundel of the west nave doorway (east face).

It is interesting to note that a few of the churches affiliated to Durham Cathedral Priory preserve sculpted corbel tables. The cathedral church evidently possessed corbels on the exterior as well as the interior, but it is unclear whether these directly influenced corbels at parish churches. At Leake church, the corbel table is located around the top of the west tower making it impossible to study the carvings closely from the ground. They are also heavily weathered, although it is clear that most depict human or bestial heads. Some of the bestial heads have pronounced, slack jaws like those reset on the north exterior of the cathedral (fig. E.99). Other designs, including an open-mouthed person, a muzzled creature, twin heads and simple rolls, can be found widely across Yorkshire, so attempting to trace the Leake corbels to a single source is problematic. The same is true for the corbels inside the chancel aisles of Eastrington church which depict a variety of human and animal

Fig. E.99. Leake, St Mary the Virgin (North Yorkshire): corbel table on the east side of the west tower.

Fig. E.100. Eastrington, St Michael (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north aisle of the chancel.

Fig. E.101. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (West Yorkshire): corbel reset in the south wall of the chancel (interior).

Fig. E.102. Eastrington, St Michael (East Yorkshire): corbel in the north aisle of the chancel.

heads, and full-bodied figures. These have been compared to corbels at various Yorkshire churches, including local examples at Hayton and Harswell (East Yorkshire).[92] The corbel that depicts two figures in a partial embrace is particularly close in form and style to a corbel inside Campsall church (West Yorkshire) (figs. E.100 & 101). While there are no useful comparisons to be made with corbels at Durham, the Eastrington corbel that depicts a smiling male face with a wide chin and beard is akin to the large disembodied head on the West Rounton font (figs. E.88, 102).

[92] Wood, 'St Michael, Eastrington'.

The corbel table at Ancroft church (Northumberland) is likely to have been inspired by nearby Lindisfarne Priory and may reflect that which once adorned the exterior of Durham Cathedral Priory. Ancroft belonged to the community of St Cuthbert until *c.* 1122, when it was granted to Papedy, the sheriff of Norham, by Ranulf Flambard.[93] Like Roger Conyers, Papedy was one of Ranulf's new men who was responsible for administering an outlying area of land that belonged to the bishopric and priory.[94] The present church clearly dates from the second quarter of the twelfth century and can be attributed to the patronage of Papedy or his successor.[95] Corbels extend the full length of the south exterior, however almost all surface details have been lost through erosion (figs. E.103 & 104). From a close on-site inspection, it is possible to discern at least one human face and a few bestial heads. Unfortunately, any attempt at style analysis is impossible. The most unusual feature of the corbel table is the arcaded cornice that runs above. Nothing similar survives at Lindisfarne or Durham but a few arcaded corbel tables can be seen elsewhere in the region. Notable examples are those that adorn the exteriors of Fangfoss (East Yorkshire) and St Bees Priory (Cumbria) (fig. D.38). It is possible, then, that the patron of Ancroft church looked beyond Durham and Northumberland for inspiration.

Fig. E.103. Ancroft, St Anne (Northumberland): south nave corbel table. © Andrew Turnock.

[93] *Durham Episcopal Charters*, no. 19, pp. 91–3. This grant was subsequently confirmed by the monks of Durham, see ibid., no. 26e, pp. 116–7.

[94] For a discussion of the Papedy fee, see Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, pp. 207–9.

[95] A date in the 1130s or 1140s can be inferred from the beakheads that ornament the south nave doorway, discussed below.

Fig. E.104. Ancroft, St Anne (Northumberland): blocked south nave doorway and corbel table. © Andrew Turnock.

Fig. E.105. Ancroft, St Anne (Northumberland): eroded beaker clasps on the outer order of the south nave doorway. © Andrew Turnock.

Fig. E.106. Burgh-by-Sands, St Michael (Cumbria): original and renewed beaker clasp voussoirs on the north nave doorway.

Fig. E.107. Kirkbampton, St Peter (Cumbria): beaker clasps of the chancel arch (east face).

Fig. E.108. Caldbeck, St Kentigern (Cumbria): reset beaker clasp voussoirs on the south nave porch doorway (north face).

Fig. E.109. Bolam, St Andrew (Northumberland): remnants of beakheads on the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. E.110. Osmotherley, St Peter (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Influence from Yorkshire or Cumbria would explain the appearance of beakheads on the blocked south nave doorway at Ancroft. Those that can still be discerned take the form of beaker clasps, a motif that can be found at a couple of Yorkshire churches affiliated to York Cathedral and a number of churches in Cumbria, namely Burgh-by-Sands, Caldbeck and Kirkbampton (figs. C.29–31, E.104–108). The chancel arch at Bolam church once possessed beakheads but these have since been hacked away. Some may have been simple beaker clasps, but a few look to have taken the form of bird heads (fig. E.109). Bird beakheads are especially common in Yorkshire, but examples can also be found at Caldbeck church. This suggests a patron who was aware of sculptural trends in Yorkshire and Cumbria as well as Durham. The Durham Cathedral Priory community was evidently aware of the beakhead motif since it was applied to their church at Osmotherley (North Yorkshire) around the middle of the twelfth century. These take the form of bird heads with heavily grooved foreheads and can be found on the inner order of the south nave doorway (figs. E.110 & 111). Other bird beakheads occur on the doorway of High Coniscliffe church (Co. Durham), which can be tentatively attributed to the patronage of the Durham monks.[96] These examples evidently fit within a North Yorkshire sculptural tradition since related bird beakheads can be seen on church doorways at nearby Ampleforth, Kirby Wiske, Salton and Sowerby (figs. C.32 & 33). The bird beakheads at Ampleforth church are especially close in style to those at Osmotherley and could have been carved by the same sculptor or workshop. Ampleforth is one of several churches with bird beakheads that was dependent on York Cathedral, so it is possible that the motif was applied at Osmotherley through the agency of Bishop William of Ste Barbe (1143–52) who was a former canon and dean at York.[97]

Fig. E.111. Osmotherley, St Peter (North Yorkshire): beakheads on the inner order of the south nave doorway.

[96] For the donation of land in Coniscliffe to the community of St Cuthbert, see Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans*, p. 47.

[97] For the discussion of Ampleforth and other churches dependent on York Cathedral that retain beakhead ornament, see above (Chapter 2. i). For the career of William of Ste Barbe, see H. S. Offler and H. Summerson, 'Ste Barbe, William de (c.1080–1152)', *DNB;* Young, 'Bishopric of Durham in Stephen's Reign', pp. 353–68.

Architectural decoration at Durham Cathedral Priory underwent two major transformations during the first quarter of the twelfth century and these changes can be attributed to Ranulf Flambard. As a patron of architecture Ranulf was notoriously parsimonious, yet the sculptural schemes in the cathedral nave reveal an appetite for the latest decorative styles. In this respect he looked to eminent models further south, namely Canterbury Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey, and perhaps also York Cathedral and Reading Abbey. Other decorative features of the cathedral can be attributed to the monastic community, namely the chapter house scheme and the sculpted corbels in the nave and transepts. The close relationship between the nave doorways and Durham illuminated manuscripts suggests that the monks exercised artistic influence here also. It has been argued that sculpture on the Durham peninsula influenced decoration at affiliated churches elsewhere in the region, although there are distinct variations in styles and repertoires across sites. Some of these variations must reflect divisions between episcopal and monastic patronage. Croxdale chapel, for example, was a separate possession of the monks. However, there is also the sense that minor sculptural commissions by the bishops and monks of Durham were *ad hoc* ventures, and attention and resources were primarily directed towards the cathedral priory and Lindisfarne Priory. It is also important to note that secular patrons with connections to Durham sought to emulate the commissions of the bishops and monks.

IV

The monks of Selby Abbey

Selby Abbey was the first major monastic house to be founded in northern England after the Norman Conquest, being established by Benedict, a monk from Auxerre, with the support of Hugh fitz Baldric, sheriff of Yorkshire, and later King William I. The abbey's foundation history has been discussed at length elsewhere, with scholars primarily relying on the anonymous late twelfth-century *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*, and only the salient points need be repeated here.[1] Benedict settled at Selby in 1069 and initially built a simple oratory to house his relic, a finger purportedly taken from the tomb of St Germanus at Auxerre. Shortly thereafter, *c.* 1070, the oratory was discovered by Hugh fitz Baldric who organised the construction of a wooden chapel. Benedict subsequently gained an audience with William I to seek approval since the chapel was located on royal land.[2] Not only did William I confirm Benedict's right to the site, he elevated the chapel to a monastery and endowed it with land and a fishery. Wooden claustral buildings were erected around the chapel to house the new Benedictine community and over the next couple of decades the monastery received various secular and ecclesiastical donations, including landholdings in Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire as well as Yorkshire. Despite such auspicious beginnings, the community fell into decline at the end of the eleventh century. William Rufus placed the abbey under the authority of the archbishop of York in 1093 and Benedict resigned as abbot in 1096 or 1097. It was during the rule of Abbot Hugh (1096/7–1122/3) that the fortunes of the community were reversed: revenues increased and the abbey church was rebuilt in stone.

The *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii* reports that Abbot Hugh relocated the new abbey away from the river to the site where it currently stands, but does not specify precisely

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[1] R. B. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey in Northern England: The Origins of Selby', in idem, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London, 1996); J. Burton, 'Selby Abbey and its Twelfth-Century Historian', in S. Rees Jones (ed.), *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad* (Turnhout, 2003), pp. 49–68; *Historia Selebiensis*, esp. pp. xxv–xxxviii, 14–63.

[2] Burton, in *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. xxxii–xxxiii, has questioned this narrative, speculating that Benedict may have settled at Selby with royal patronage from the outset.

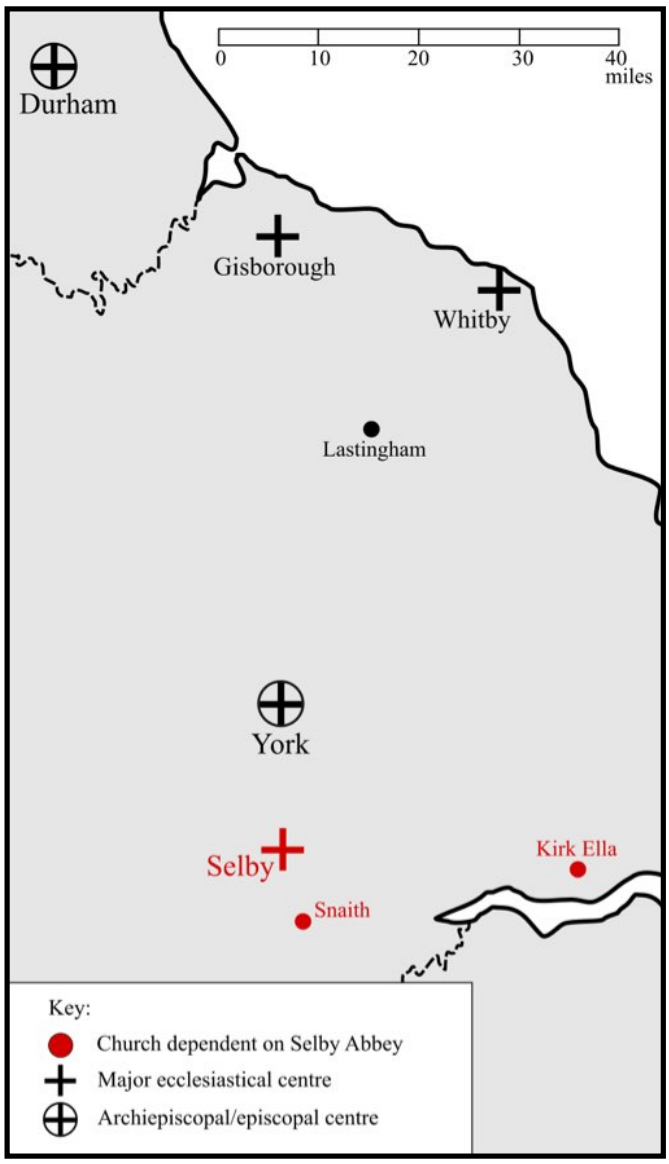

Fig. F.1. Map of sites associated with the Selby monastic community.

when the new foundations were laid.[3] It is therefore generally assumed that building work began *c.* 1100. The abbey church is aisled and cruciform in plan, and originally had an apse echelon east end of three bays that was replaced in the late thirteenth century. A lantern tower once surmounted the crossing but this collapsed in 1690, largely destroying the south transept which was subsequently rebuilt in the early twentieth century. Each transept originally possessed an eastward projecting apse.[4] The chancel, crossing, transepts and easternmost columnar piers of the nave all appear to have been constructed in a single phase spanning the first quarter of the twelfth century, followed by a break that roughly

[3] Ibid., ch. 27, pp. 64–7.

[4] E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Selby Abbey', in L. R. Hoey (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and Architecture, from the 7th to 16th Centuries* (Leeds, 1995), pp. 40–1; S. Harrison and M. Thurlby, 'Observations on the Romanesque Crossing Tower, Transepts and Nave Aisles of Selby Abbey', in ibid., pp. 50–1.

coincided with the resignation of Abbot Hugh in 1122 or 1123. When building work resumed on the abbey church, the architectural decoration was updated to include arches with advanced forms of lateral and point-to-point chevron (figs. F.2 & 3).[5] It is likely that

Fig. F.2. Selby Abbey: south nave arcade (looking west).

Fig. F.3. Selby Abbey: north nave arcade (looking west).

[5] Fernie, 'Selby Abbey', pp. 41–5.

this design change was instigated by Abbot Durand (*c.* 1125–1134/5), a monk from St Mary's Abbey, York, based on a combination of architectural and written evidence. Fernie has observed that the entire south nave aisle wall was constructed during the second building phase, enabling work to begin on the claustral buildings.[6] The *Historia Selebiensis Monasterii* states that the cloister and monastic buildings were flooded at an unspecified time during Durand's rule, which suggests that the second phase was well-advanced by 1134.[7] This would make the point-to-point chevron on the easternmost north nave arcades some of the earliest surviving examples of the ornament in the British Isles. Unfortunately the claustral buildings were obliterated after the Reformation and little is known about their form.[8]

The architectural forms and affiliations of Selby Abbey have been expertly discussed by a number of scholars, namely Fernie, Harrison and Thurlby, and only the salient points relating to carved decoration will be discussed here. Traditionally, the abbey has been regarded as a close relative of Durham Cathedral Priory, primarily on the basis of the similar alternating compound and columnar pier arrangements in the naves, polygonal scallop capitals, and the presence of piers with incised lozenge ornament at both sites.[9] Burton has noted the close links between the Durham and Selby communities, as evidenced by the commemoration of Selby in the Durham *Liber Vitae* and Abbot Hugh's attendance at the translation of St Cuthbert in 1104, concluding that Hugh sought to create a church-shrine for the relic of St Germanus that would clearly echo St Cuthbert's cathedral.[10] The new abbey church at Selby was founded at least five years after William of St Calais initiated the rebuilding of Durham Cathedral, so it is plausible that Durham became an architectural point of reference for Abbot Hugh and his monks.

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[6] Ibid., p. 45.

[7] *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. 80–1. That this refers to the new stone cloister and monastic buildings rather than the old timber structures is apparently confirmed by the fact that Abbot Walter was buried in the chapter house in 1143, see ibid., pp. 94–5.

[8] Fernie, 'Selby Abbey', p. 45.

[9] Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 34–5; Kahn, 'La sculpture romane en Angleterre', pp. 315–6; Fernie, 'Selby Abbey', p. 46; Harrison and Thurlby, 'Selby Abbey', pp. 57–8; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, p. 177.

[10] *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. xlviii–xlix.

Thurlby has since revised his interpretation of Selby Abbey, arguing that many of the decorative elements were inspired by sculpture at nearby York, particularly at St Mary's Abbey.[11] This complements the conclusions of Thurlby and the present author that many of the sculptural schemes at Durham were also derived from St Mary's Abbey.[12] A number of the crossing and nave capitals at Selby are scallops with incised shields like a loose example from St Mary's Abbey (figs. B.56; F.4). At Lastingham Abbey, the predecessor to St Mary's Abbey, the chancel apse is decorated with a billet string course that has an identical profile to the billet string course on the exterior of the Selby north transept (figs. B.58; F.5). The incised lozenge pier design has been traced to St Mary's Abbey and a few of its dependent churches, namely Kirkby Lonsdale (Cumbria). In the early twelfth-century nave of Kirkby Lonsdale, there are two lozenge piers, an alternating compound and columnar pier arrangement, polygonal scallop capitals, and soffit rolls, much like Selby Abbey. These similarities extend to the designs of certain sculpted capitals.[13] Several simple Corinthianesque capitals at Selby Abbey relate to an

Fig. F.4. Selby Abbey: capitals of the third pier, south nave arcade.

Fig. F.5. Selby Abbey: billet string course on the west wall of the north transept.

[11] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 277–80; idem, 'Abbey Church of Lessay', pp. 82, 84. Norton, 'Design and Construction', p. 82 fn., has noted that the Romanesque abbeys of Selby and St Mary's, York, were similar in size and shape.

[12] See the relevant discussions in Chapter 1 and the previous sub-chapter on Durham Cathedral.

[13] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 277–80.

Fig. F.6. Selby Abbey: north capital of the former apsidal chapel arch, south transept.

Fig. F.7. Kirkby Lonsdale, St Mary (Cumbria): westernmost respond capital of the north nave arcade.

Fig. F.8. Selby Abbey: capital of the second pier, south nave arcade.

Fig. F.9. Selby Abbey: easternmost capital of the north nave arcade.

Fig. F.10. Selby Abbey: capital of the third pier, north nave arcade.

Fig. F.11. St Bees Priory (Cumbria): south capital (fifth order) of the west doorway.

Fig. F.12. St Bees Priory (Cumbria): south-west crossing capital.

Fig. F.13. Selby Abbey: easternmost capital of the north nave arcade.

example in the north-west nave of Kirkby Lonsdale (figs. F.6 & 7). Two related types of foliage decoration can be found on capitals at both sites: spiralling tendrils and interlacing tendrils with trilobed angular leaves (figs. D.2, 18; F.8–10). Similar foliage designs appear on the west doorway at St Bees Priory, the important Cumbrian daughter house of St Mary's Abbey (figs. D.20 & 21; F.11). The crossing capitals inside St Bees Priory are robust volute types with enrichments on their frontal shields that relate to a respond capital in the north-east bay of Selby Abbey (figs. F.12 & 13). One of the earliest nave capitals at Selby that can be dated to Hugh's abbacy depicts a quadruped, possibly a lion, tangled in foliage, and two winged dragons surrounded by the vegetation and emitting tendrils from their mouths (fig. F.14). Comparable tangled creatures can be found on capitals at Kirkby Lonsdale, St Bees and the west nave doorways of Durham Cathedral (figs. D.18, 22, 32; E.15, 34). The motif of a head emitting tendrils of foliage can be traced to late eleventh-century capitals from York Cathedral (fig. B.6).

Fig. F.14. Selby Abbey: respond capital in the north-east nave arcade. © John McElheran/ CRSBI.

Fig. F.15. Selby Abbey: easternmost respond capitals of the south nave arcade.

The exact provenance of other capital designs at Selby Abbey is more difficult to ascertain. There are number of fully developed Corinthianesque capitals in the south nave of Selby Abbey, some with upright wedge-shaped projections on their lower registers (fig. F.15). A related Corinthianesque capital occurs in the south transept of York Cathedral, although closer examples can be found in the crypt of Lastingham Abbey, among the late eleventh-century fabric of Richmond Castle, and at various sites across Normandy, namely Saint-Étienne, Caen (figs. B.8, 13–16). Other Selby capitals, such as the block type with small angle volutes and foliage enrichment, relate to counterparts at the abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt (figs. B.12; F.9). A number of the capitals in the north nave gallery, which date from the second building phase, are also comparable to eleventh-century sculpture in Normandy. The splayed and fluted foliate design on the central capital of the second gallery opening echoes a number of capitals at Bernay Abbey, although a similar form can also be found at the early twelfth-century church of King Henry I at Melbourne, Derbyshire (figs. F.16 & 17).[14] Meanwhile, the Selby capitals that depict tied and splayed foliage inhabited by animals can be tentatively compared to late eleventh-century capital designs in the ambulatory of La Trinité, Fécamp (figs. F.10, 14).[15] In the first bay of the gallery, there are two block capitals carved with a thick beaded basket weave interlace pattern that relate to

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[14] Baylé, *Art Monumental en Normandie*, p. 322, fig. 43, p. 425, fig. 1. These have been dated to the second quarter of the eleventh century, see Baylé, 'Interlace Patterns', p. 3. For Melbourne church, see R. Gem, 'Melbourne, Church of St Michael and St Mary', *Archaeological Journal* 146, supplement 1 (1989), pp. 24–30; H. Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne Church in its Earliest Historical Surroundings* (Melbourne, 2004).

[15] Cf. Baylé, 'Les chapiteaux de Stogursey', p. 172, fig. 6; idem, 'Sculpture et polychromie dans l'art roman de Normandie', *Art Monumental en Normandie et dans l'Europe du Nord-Ouest (800–1200)* (London, 2003), p. 385, fig. 2; idem, 'Architecture et enluminure dans le monde Normand', in ibid., p. 625, fig. 13.

Fig. F.16. Selby Abbey: capital of the second bay of the north nave gallery.

Fig. F.17. Melbourne, SS Michael and Mary (Derbyshire): capital on the south face of the lantern tower (interior).

capital designs in Caen, Cotentin and the Bec-de-Caux (fig. F.18).[16] Similar interlace patterns can of course be found in pre-conquest sculpture and the motif could have been applied at Selby in order to appeal to different ethnic audiences. The two scroll corbels that support the north side of the east crossing arch are particularly unusual for this region and period (fig. F.19). While this decorative feature can ultimately be traced to Andalusia, namely the eighth-century Great Mosque of Cordoba, the examples at Selby were presumably inspired by intermediaries in France.[17]

Fig. F.18. Selby Abbey: capital of the first bay of the north nave gallery.

Fig. F.19. Selby Abbey: north corbel of the east crossing arch.

The richest figure sculpture at Selby can be found on corbels in the crossing and on the north exterior of the nave (figs. F.19–22), as well as the third pier of the south nave arcade (fig. F.23). All of the exterior corbels have suffered erosion but appear to depict a mixture of grotesque and humanoid heads as well as

[16] Baylé, 'Interlace Patterns', p. 11.

[17] K. Watson, *French Romanesque and Islam: Andalusian Elements in French Architectural Decoration c. 1030–1180* (Oxford, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 165–9.

geometric carvings and roll mouldings. Such corbel designs are typical of the period and region, and it is unlikely that the Selby examples were derived from a single source. The capitals of the south nave arcade display a remarkable level of control and plasticity that indicate a skilled and experienced sculptor. The first, on the east side of the third pier, depicts a pair of confronted dragons with long looping foliate tails being ridden by two naked figures. Above, the abacus is enriched with a band of cable moulding (fig. F.23). Stylistically related block capitals can be found at Canterbury Cathedral,

Fig. F.20. Selby Abbey: north corbels of the west crossing arch.

Fig. F.21. Selby Abbey: south corbels of the west crossing arch.

Fig. F.22. Selby Abbey: eroded corbels on the exterior of the north nave and north transept.

Fig. F.23. Selby Abbey: capital of the second pier (east side), south nave arcade.

Fig. F.24. Selby Abbey: capital of the second pier (west side), south nave arcade.

within the crypt and on the exterior of the choir constructed during Anselm's archiepiscopate. These include similar open-mouthed, winged dragons with scaly bodies and foliate tails, and also feature geometrically enriched abaci.[18] The second capital, on the west side of the third pier, is carved in higher relief and depicts a pair of addorsed lions attacking two human figures, one clothed and weaponless, and the other naked but wielding a sword (fig. F.24; P.21). Each lion has a tail that loops between its hind legs and their heads are expertly positioned to project from the angles of the capital. All of the figures, with the possible exception of the naked man, have carefully drilled pupils. While nothing identical survives at Canterbury Cathedral, all of these motifs and technical elements can be traced to the early twelfth-century crypt and choir.[19] Similar arrangements of addorsed lions can also be found on block capitals in the east arm of Romsey Abbey (Hampshire), although these are shown devouring or emitting foliage rather than attacking human figures.[20]

It has long been suggested that the sculpted block capitals at Selby Abbey were inspired by Canterbury and the 'Southern School' through the intermediary of Durham Cathedral Priory.[21] However, the lion and dragon capitals at Selby bear a limited resemblance to the sculpture of the west doorways at Durham Cathedral Priory. Presumably the Selby designs were derived from another source. Once again, St Mary's Abbey, York, emerges as the likely candidate. It has already been observed that certain decorative elements of St Mary's Abbey were probably modelled on Canterbury, while patterns among the dependent churches of the abbey suggest a building that was richly decorated with figure and foliage sculpture. Selby is located less than fifteen miles south of York so it would have been natural for the monks of Selby to look to their prestigious Benedictine neighbour for inspiration, and even draught craftsmen from St Mary's Abbey as building work on the latter came to a close in the 1120s. This hypothesis is underlined by the evidence of a

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[18] Cf., for example, Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, pls. VI and X.

[19] Ibid., pls. IV, VIII, figs. 92, 131, 147.

[20] R. Baxter, 'St Aethelflaeda, Romsey, Hampshire', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/01/18).

[21] Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 34–5; Kahn, 'La sculpture romane en Angleterre', pp. 315–6.

twelfth-century confraternity between the two religious houses.[22] Ultimately, the extent to which the sculptural schemes at Selby reflect St Mary's Abbey will remain a point of debate.

Few of the churches dependent on Selby Abbey in this period retain any significant sculpture. The monks themselves do not appear to have been energetic patrons of parish church architecture, perhaps owing to the lack of resources in the later eleventh century and their emphasis on the rebuilding of the abbey church and claustral buildings during the twelfth century. Kirk Ella (East Yorkshire) was granted to Selby Abbey by Gilbert Tison *c.* 1069.[23] There are many loose fragments at the present-day church of St Andrew, Kirk Ella, that appear to date from the later twelfth century, but a couple of reused fragments with roll mouldings and chevron may date from a mid-twelfth-century building programme.[24] The church and manor of Snaith (West Yorkshire) were granted to Selby Abbey by William I and subsequently confirmed by royal charters of Henry I and Stephen.[25] Multiple churches were recorded at Snaith by the beginning of Henry I's reign and one of these was apparently constructed by the monks of St Mary's Abbey, York, leading to a dispute between the Selby and York communities at the start of Stephen's reign.[26] The present-day church of Snaith retains little twelfth-century fabric but a series of sculpted corbels have been reset high on the west tower. These are heavily eroded but evidently depict a mixture of human and bestial heads that can be compared tentatively to the crossing and north nave corbels at Selby. On the basis of style, they suggest a building campaign around the mid-twelfth century that was presumably overseen by the monks of Selby.[27]

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[22] J. Burton, 'A Confraternity List from St Mary's Abbey, York', *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979), pp. 325–33; *Historia Selebiensis*, p. lviii.

[23] *Historia Selebiensis*, p. xxxvi.

[24] See R. Wood, 'St Andrew, Kirk Ella, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/01/18).

[25] *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. xxxii, xxxiv, xxxix, 52–3. Also see the early twelfth-century confirmation charter of Archbishop Thomas II, *EEA York, 1070–1154*, no. 20, pp. 20–1.

[26] *Historia Selebiensis*, p. xxxix; *EEA York, 1070–1154*, no. 76, p. 62.

[27] The same date is suggested by R. Wood, 'St Laurence, Snaith, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/01/18), who also compares the corbels to counterparts at the nearby churches of Drax and Birkin.

Fig. F.25. Trondheim, Archbishop's Palace Museum (Norway): corbel.

Fig. F.26. Selby Abbey: corbel on the north side of the west crossing arch.

Fig. F.27. Selby Abbey: easternmost respond capital of the south nave arcade.

Fig. F.28. Nidaros Cathedral, Trondheim (Norway): north capital (first order) of the north transept chapel arch.

Fig. F.29. Trondheim Public Library, excavated church (Norway): string course on the north exterior of the chancel.

This is not to say that the sculptural schemes of Selby Abbey had minimal influence. There are tantalising clues that Selby may have had an impact on mid-twelfth-century Norwegian sculpture, particularly that found at Trondheim, as a result of North Sea connections. For example, there is a loose corbel exhibited in the Trondheim Archbishop's Palace Museum that depicts a cylindrical bestial head with large fangs gripping a human head in its jaws. A very similar motif occurs on one of the crossing corbels at Selby (figs. F.25 & 26). There are also a series of human, grotesque and roll corbels on the exterior of Nidaros Cathedral (Trondheim) that can be generally compared to counterparts at Selby. Scrolling foliage motifs at Trondheim provide a further point of comparison. The example found on the abacus of a capital in the south nave aisle of Selby Abbey finds parallels on the north transept chapel arch at Nidaros Cathedral and the string course of the church excavated beneath the Trondheim Public Library (figs. F.27–29). Selby Abbey also influenced decorative features at a number of Yorkshire churches, namely those commissioned by the Lacy and Paynel families, as will be discussed below.

V

The Lacy family

The first half of the twelfth century was a turbulent period for the Lacy family of Pontefract. Nostell Priory (West Yorkshire) was the final major foundation of Robert de Lacy before he was exiled from England *c.* 1116.[1] The honour of Pontefract subsequently passed to Hugh de Laval (d. 1129) and then to William Maltravers (d. 1135). Stephen's accession saw the honour restored to the Lacy family, first under Ilbert II, the son of Robert (d. *c.* 1141), and later his brother Henry (d. 1177).[2] Henry de Lacy's tenure precipitated a series of conflicts with William of Aumale, earl of York, as both men competed for control over Selby and the surrounding area, and also hostilities with Gilbert II de Gant, lord of Hunmanby (North Yorkshire). Pontefract Priory, the late eleventh-century Cluniac foundation of Robert de Lacy, was damaged by Gilbert in the 1140s and subsequently rebuilt from *c.* 1150, presumably with some financial support from the Lacy family.[3] Very little of this structure survives, although Wood has speculated that it was built by personnel connected to Cluny Abbey and strongly influenced sculpture produced in the area during the later twelfth century.[4] The sculptural commissions of Ilbert II and Henry therefore took place within an environment of growing political instability and competition for regional power (fig. G.1).

The *Historia Selebiensis* reveals that the Lacy family enjoyed a close relationship with the Selby monastic community. In 1137, Walter, prior of Pontefract, was elected abbot of Selby, probably through the intervention of Ilbert II de Lacy, the patron of Pontefract

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[1] J. A. Frost, *The Foundation of Nostell Priory, 1109–1153* (York, 2007), pp. 8–9. The priory was founded between 1109 and 1114 at which point it would have been a rudimentary complex, probably of timber construction, populated by hermits-turned-canons.

[2] *Historia Selebiensis*, p. 98 fn.

[3] Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 169–72; idem, 'Ecclesiastical Responses to War in King Stephen's Reign: The Communities of Selby Abbey, Pontefract Priory and York Cathedral', in P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. J Wilkinson (eds.), *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 135–9, 144; J. Burton, 'Citadels of God: Monasteries, Violence, and the Struggle for Power in Northern England, 1135–1154', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2008), pp. 25–8; *Historia Selebiensis*, p. lxii.

[4] For example, see R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church, West Riding – A Suggested Interpretation', *YAJ* 85 (2013), p. 129; idem, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, pp. 2, 70, 95, 142.

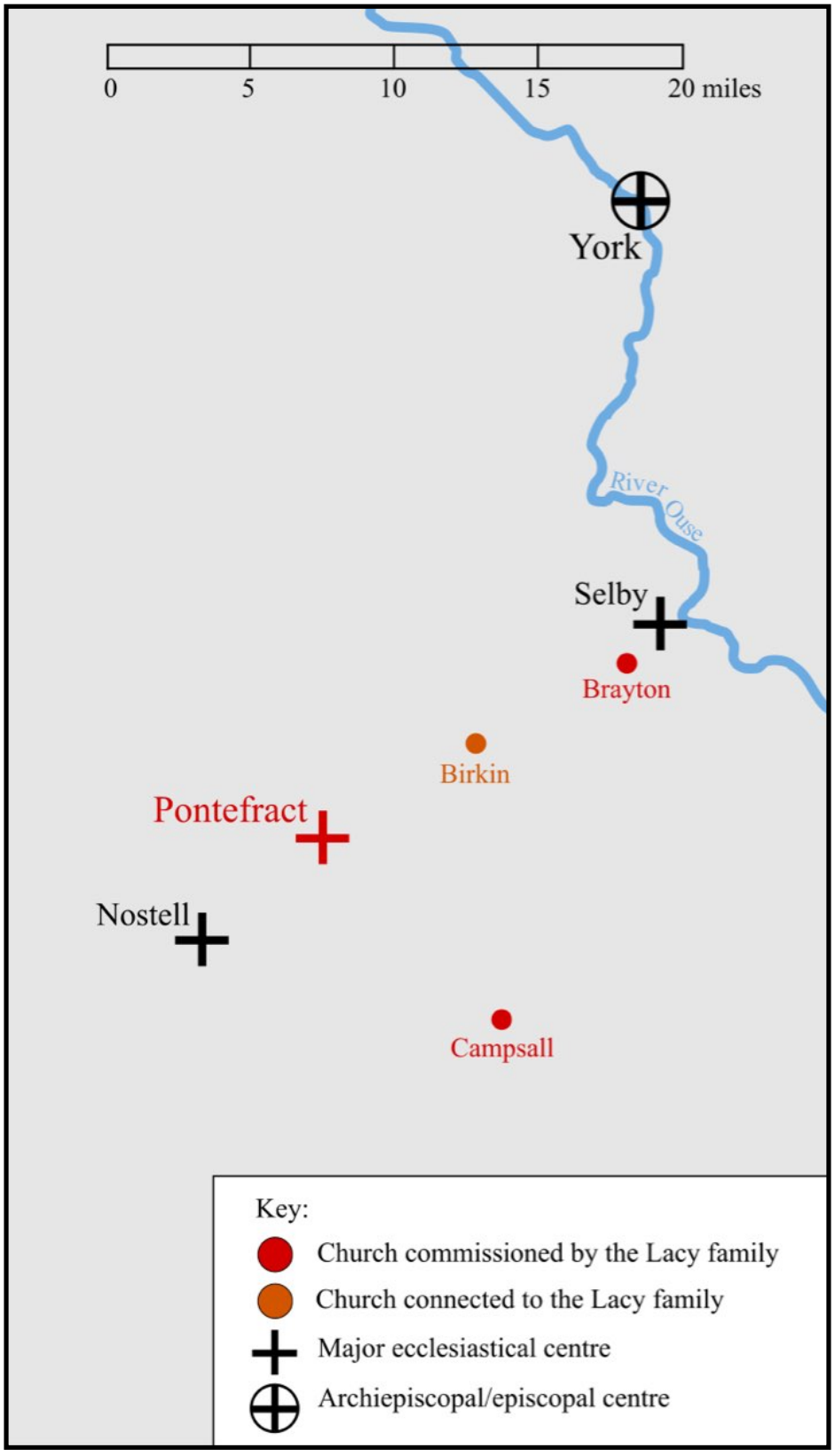

Fig. G.1. Map of sites associated with the Lacy family.

Priory.[5] This event has been interpreted as a move by Ilbert to secure control over Selby at precisely the time that the succession dispute between King Stephen and his cousin, Matilda, was beginning to escalate.[6] The next abbot of Selby, Elias Paynel (1143–52, 1153–54), was a relative of the family who actively supported Henry de Lacy's interests at Selby, primarily by allowing him to construct a castle in the vicinity of the abbey.[7] These connections between the Lacy family and the Selby community are clearly reflected in the sculptural decoration of churches that can be attributed to the patronage of the Lacy family and their affiliates.

Brayton church, located a mile south-west of Selby Abbey, is one example. The manor was held by Ilbert I de Lacy at the time of Domesday, by which point it already possessed a church and a priest, and was among the estates recovered by Ilbert II at the start of Stephen's reign.[8] There was evidently a rebuilding campaign in the mid-twelfth century, as evidenced by the elaborate chancel arch and south nave doorway, and sculpted corbels on the exterior of the west tower. The block and cushion capitals of the chancel arch are carved with winged dragons and quadrupeds, and human and grotesque heads, all entangled by thick strands of interlacing and curling foliage (figs. G.2 & 3). They are stylistically related to the capitals found in the easternmost bays of the north nave arcade at Selby Abbey, to the extent that the Brayton examples were almost certainly carved by one or more members of the Selby atelier (figs. F.9, 10 & 14). These parallels were first noted by Zarnecki who subsequently dated the Brayton chancel to *c.* 1150.[9] The inner order of the same chancel arch is enriched with point-to-point chevron of the same type as that found in the second phase fabric of Selby Abbey which could indicate that the Brayton chancel arch was begun slightly earlier, during the 1140s.

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[5] *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. l–li, 90–1.

[6] Ibid., p. lxii.

[7] Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp. 57–8 fn., speculated that a daughter of Ilbert I de Lacy married Ralph Paynel, who was probably the father of Abbot Elias. For the cooperation between Henry and Elias, see Dalton, 'Ecclesiastical Responses', pp. 135, 137–8, 149; *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. liv, lxiii, 98–9.

[8] *DB Yorkshire*, 315 b, 379 b; Wightman, *Lacy Family*, p. 87. A small portion of the manor also belonged to Selby Abbey, see *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. xxxix, 52–3.

[9] Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, pp. 34–6. The observation was repeated by Kahn, 'La sculpture romane en Angleterre', p. 316.

Fig. G.2. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): north capitals of the chancel arch. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. G.3. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. G.4. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): south face of the west tower.

Fig. G.5. Selby Abbey: capital of the third pier, north nave arcade.

The west tower of Brayton church appears to date from the same building phase and displays remarkable affinities to Selby Abbey. A chamfered billet string course flanks and surmounts the Brayton tower windows in a manner that resembles the exterior of the north transept at Selby (figs. F.5; G.4). Other features common to the Brayton tower and Selby Abbey are openings with opus reticulatum masonry and volute capitals with quadruple spirals (figs. F.16; G.4 & 5).[10] Corbels decorate all four faces of the Brayton tower and these are comparable in style and form to those at Selby. Related designs include bestial heads with cylindrical muzzles and angular ears, human heads, and roll corbels (figs. F.19–22, 26; G.6).[11]

[10] Similar applications of billet string course and volute capitals have been noted by R. Wood, 'St Wilfrid, Brayton, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 17/01/18).

[11] The related use of roll corbels at Selby and Brayton has been observed by Wood, 'St Wilfrid, Brayton'

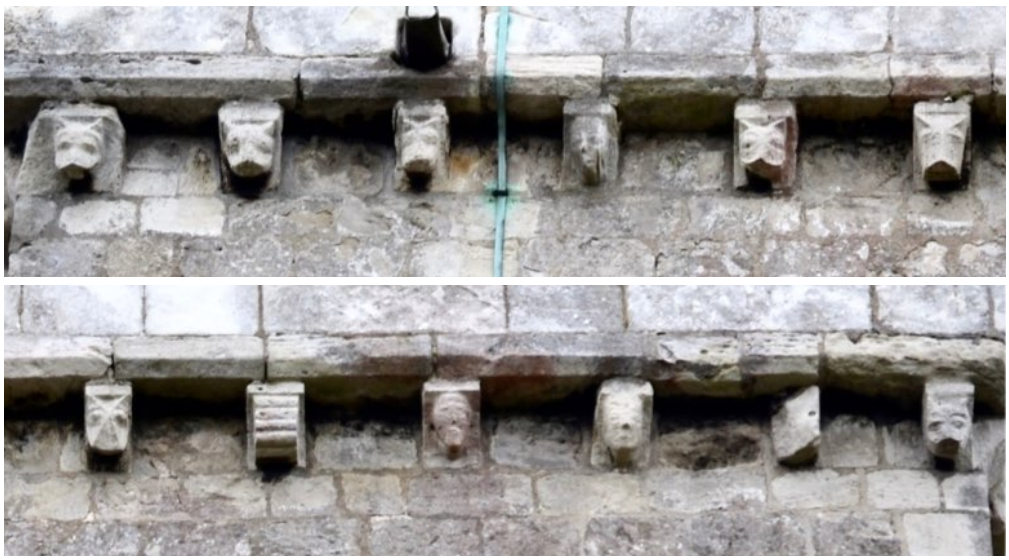

Fig. G.6. Selby Abbey: Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): corbels on the north face of the west tower.

The Brayton south nave doorway is the most richly decorated feature of the church and demonstrates an evolution of style with the introduction of beakheads, roundels, and more slender capitals and shafts (fig. G.7). Zarnecki proposed that it was built within a couple of years of the chancel arch, but these differences suggest a longer period of time had elapsed and the doorway was created no earlier than *c.* 1150. Certain elements continue to echo the chancel arch at Brayton and sculpture at Selby Abbey, namely the left-hand capitals which depict animals and figures tangled in foliage, and the imposts enriched with a scrolling foliage design (fig. G.8). Other aspects of the doorway suggest influence from York. The beaded roundels that decorate the third order relate closely to a series of loose voussoirs that probably originated from King Stephen's foundation of St Leonard's Hospital, York.[12] Most of the beakheads that decorate the fourth order take avian forms with narrow faces and delicately fluted foreheads (fig. G.7). Bird beakheads are found on numerous church doorways within a twenty mile radius of Brayton.[13] The Brayton beakheads also include human forms with prominent moustaches and beards (figs. G.9 & 10). Human beakheads are found among the group of Cumbrian churches that were dependent on St Mary's Abbey, York, and they are juxtaposed with bird beakheads at the churches of Healaugh and Salton (North Yorkshire), the latter being a dependency of York Cathedral (figs. C.33; D. 48–51, 57; H.9, 19 & 30). The most unusual Brayton beakheads are a pair of crouched

[12] Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 179, fig. 141.

[13] For example, the churches of Aughton, Birkin, Burnby, Campsall, East Ardsley, Fangfoss, Healaugh, Kirk Bramwith, Riccall, Ryther, Shiptonthorpe, Stillingfleet, Thorp Arch, Wighill, and St Denys at York.

Fig. G.7. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway.

Fig. G.8. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): west capitals of the south nave doorway. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Figs. G.9 & 10. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): human beakheads of the south nave doorway.

hares or rabbits that rest their heads on the roll of the arch (figs. G.11 & 12). Identical motifs are found in Gloucestershire, on doorways at the churches of South Cerney and Quenington (figs. G.13–15). Both doorways have been dated *c.* 1140 and attributed to the patronage of the earls of Hereford, Miles of Gloucester and his son Roger.[14] It is possible that the hare beakhead was transmitted to Brayton directly from Gloucestershire considering another branch of the Lacy family, stemming from Ilbert I's brother, Walter, held lands in Gloucestershire and were related to the earls of Hereford by marriage.[15]

Figs. G.11 & 12. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): crouched hare beakheads of the south nave doorway.

Fig. G.13. Quenington, St Swithin (Gloucestershire): crouched hare beakhead of the south nave doorway.

Figs. G.14 & 15. South Cerney, All Hallows (Gloucestershire): crouched hare beakhead of the south nave doorway.

[14] Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 65–75, 86–92.

[15] Walter I de Lacy's great granddaughter, Cecily, married Roger earl of Hereford before 1137, see Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp. 175–7.

There can be little doubt that Henry de Lacy was the patron of the sculptural schemes at Brayton despite the lack of documentary evidence. The commission is likely to have taken place in the early 1140s, around the time that Henry ordered the construction of Selby castle, and may have faltered during the hostilities between Henry and Earl William, which would explain the artistic differences between the chancel arch and doorway. It is clear that Henry employed craftsmen from Selby Abbey. While there were surely practical and economic benefits for selecting skilled craftsmen who were already active in the locality, Henry's close relationship with Abbot Elias suggests social and political considerations were also at play. In other words, the sculpture at Brayton visualised Henry's affiliation with the Selby community.

Fig. G.16. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): tympanum of the south chancel doorway.

The same craftsmen were probably involved in the construction of Birkin church, located five miles to the south-west of Brayton.[16] Notable similarities include opus reticulatum masonry and an elaborate south nave doorway decorated with roundels and beakheads (figs. G.16–

Fig. G.17. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

[16] The same suggestion has been made by Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, p. 56. Similarities between the churches of Birkin and Brayton have also been noted by Kahn, 'La sculpture romane en Angleterre', p. 316, and Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, pp. 59–60.

Figs. G.18 & 19. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): details of the south nave doorway.

19). As at Brayton, there are rosette-filled roundels, narrow bird beakheads with fluted foreheads and human beakheads with beards and moustaches, all carved in the same style. There are also direct parallels with Selby Abbey. For example, the gallery at Selby features volute capitals with unusual zigzag enrichment on the faces and imposts with fluted decoration like the interior of the apse at Birkin (figs. G.20–23). There are a number of clues that Birkin church was begun after Brayton. The earliest fabric at the east end features windows decorated with beakheads and roundels, motifs that were not introduced at Brayton until the end of the building campaign (figs. G.24 & 25). At the western end of the church, the south nave doorway features inventive new motifs, such as the barnacle-like projections around the neckings of certain capitals.[17] These observations suggest that

Fig. G.20. Selby Abbey: capital in the first bay of the south nave gallery.

Fig. G.21. Selby Abbey: capitals between the first and second bays of the south nave gallery.

Fig. G.22. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): capital inside the apse.

Fig. G.23. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): north respond of the apse arch.

[17] The barnacle analogy was made by R. Wood, 'St Mary, Birkin, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 17/01/18).

Fig. G.24. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): altered window on the east side of the apse.

Fig. G.25. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): window on the south-east side of the apse.

work at Birkin commenced no earlier than *c.* 1155.[18] Birkin manor belonged to the Lacy family but from *c.* 1143 it was tenanted to Adam, son of Peter de Birkin and a man of mixed Anglo-Saxon and Norman descent.[19] The church has since been attributed to the patronage of Adam.[20] There is no reason to challenge this identification but it is possible that Henry de Lacy had some oversight with regards to the design. Although the sculptural schemes fall beyond the professed timeframe of this study, they are of special interest because they reveal a tenant emulating the artistic commissions of their overlord.

One of the wealthiest Lacy manors was

[18] Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, pp. 45–6, 66, dates the church to the 1160s on the basis of a comparison to nearby Stillingfleet church. Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, pp. 51–2, is more hesitant but implies that the simpler interior decoration could date from the 1130s. This is inconsistent with the architectural evidence that the twelfth-century fabric was constructed in a single phase.

[19] *DB Yorkshire*, 315 c, 379 b; J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge 1999), pp. 210–15.

[20] Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, pp. 45–6, 56, 66.

Campsall (South Yorkshire), and a major church-building programme appears to have taken place here during Stephen's reign.[21] There is a large amount of extant sculpture, both *in situ* and *ex situ*, and it has traditionally been argued that a decorated stone church existed on the site by the end of the eleventh century. The alleged evidence for this is a loose mitred nook-shaft cushion capital decorated with a tangled lion on one face and a half rosette on the other (figs. G.26 & 27). Zarnecki dated the fragment to *c.* 1090, arguing that it represents an early post-conquest example of Scandinavian-inspired sculpture.[22] Thurlby has accepted this date, attributing the capital to the patronage of Ilbert I de Lacy, but speculated that the design was modelled on an eleventh-century exemplar in Normandy.[23] There are reasons for challenging this dating. The closest extant parallel in Normandy is a nook-shaft capital from Bayeux Cathedral which depicts a lion with a teardrop-shaped eye and slack jaw tangled in foliage, and has been attributed to the rebuilding campaign after the cathedral was ravaged by fire in 1105.[24] Similar capitals depicting quadrupeds tangled in foliage have already been

Figs. G.26 & 27. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): loose nook-shaft capital.

[21] *DB Yorkshire*, 315 d, 379 c, records Ilbert de Lacy as landowner and there is no mention of a church or priest. Also see *The Chartulary of Pontefract*, vol. 2, p. 498.

[22] Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 153.

[23] Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition', pp. 343–4. This dating is also accepted by R. Wood, 'St Mary Magdalene, Campsall, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 17/01/18); idem, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 70.

[24] For a discussion and an illustration of the Bayeux capital, see M. Baylé, 'La sculpture du XII^{e} siècle à Bayeux', in idem, *Art Monumental en Normandie,* pp. 430–36, fig. 1. Tangled animal motifs were also applied to capitals at Goult Priory, Normandy, see M. Baylé, 'L'architecture romane en Normandie', in idem (ed.), *L'architecture normande au Moyen Age*, vol. 1 (Caen, 1997), pp. 32–3, fig. 25.

observed at Selby Abbey, North Newbald church, Kirkby Lonsdale church, Durham Cathedral Priory and St Bees Priory, and all of these examples date from *c.* 1120 or later (figs. C.21; D.18, 21, 22 & 32; E.34; F.14). The Campsall capital is likely to have originated from a window, and in this sense it relates closely to a number of window capitals at Kirkburn church (East Yorkshire) which are also carved with Ringerike-style tendrils and date from the 1130s (figs. K.36 & 37).[25] A final observation centres on the rosette motif visible on the other face of the Campsall capital. More complex examples can be seen on the doorways at Brayton and Birkin (figs. G.7 & 18). The motif also relates to floral designs found among the collection of churches dependent on York Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey, York, and constructed during the second quarter of the twelfth century (C. 25–28; D.5, 12, 14–16). Ultimately, the Campsall capital fits comfortably within the artistic milieu of the 1130s and 1140s.

It is possible to attribute most of the Campsall sculpture to a single large-scale building campaign that was initiated by Ilbert II de Lacy after 1135 and continued under the patronage of Henry de Lacy, with evidence of some minor breaks and design changes. This church was aisleless and cruciform in plan, with a west tower similar to that at Brayton but more elaborately decorated with blind arcading and a west doorway (fig. G.28). The transepts appear to have been substantially remodelled in the late twelfth century with the

Fig. G.28. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): west face of the west tower.

[25] This comparison was made by Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 153. For a more detailed discussion of the Kirkburn capitals, see Chapter 2. ix.

insertion of chevron-enriched pointed arches, and in the thirteenth century the chancel was rebuilt and aisles were added to the nave.[26] Some elements of the original twelfth-century chancel were retained, like the north respond of the chancel arch and the north chancel window. The chancel arch respond has a volute capital of the type found at Brayton church and Selby Abbey (figs. G.4, 5 & 29), while the chancel window is a similar construction to windows in the chancel and nave of Birkin church (figs. G.25 & 30). This same window has scrolling

Fig. G.29. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): north respond capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. G.30. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): window in the north wall of the chancel.

[26] This chronology reconciles some of the inconsistencies and ambiguities in recent architectural assessments of the building, see Wood, 'St Mary Magdalene, Campsall', and idem, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 70.

foliage decoration, albeit recut, on the east impost like the chancel arch and doorway imposts at Brayton (figs. G.2, 3 & 8). Campsall church may have originally had an apsidal east end like Birkin, and it has been suggested that the reset arch connecting the north transept and north nave aisle is a former apse arch.[27] The soffit of this arch and the outer order of the west doorway are decorated with lateral back-to-back chevron arranged to form lozenges, and the same ornament can be found at Brayton and Birkin (figs. G.8, 18, 19 & 31). There are a series of related chevron and lozenge voussoirs reset in the walls of the south nave and south transept at Campsall that probably derive from the chancel arch and lost south nave doorway.[28] The south nave doorway was evidently decorated with bird beakheads like the corresponding doorways at Brayton and Birkin since there are several loose voussoirs decorated with this motif (fig. G.32).[29] This same doorway, or another lost opening, seems

Fig. G.31. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): detail of the arch connecting the north transept and north nave aisle (west face).

Fig. G.32. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): loose beakhead voussoirs.

Fig. G.33. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): carved fragment reset in the south wall of the nave (interior).

[27] Wood, 'St Mary Magdalene, Campsall'.

[28] The twelfth-century south nave doorway would have been demolished when aisles were added to the nave in the thirteenth century.

[29] There are fragmentary remains of a bird beakhead-decorated doorway at Ryther church (North Yorkshire) which may have been commissioned by the Lacy family, see R. Wood, 'All Saints, Ryther, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 17/01/18). The south doorway at East Ardsley church (West Yorkshire) can also be attributed to the Lacy family and features two beakheads at the apex of the second order, see R. Wood, 'St Michael, East Ardsley, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 17/01/18).


Figs. G.34 & 35. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): loose nook-shaft capital.

to have possessed a sculpted tympanum. The sculpture in question in now a heavily eroded fragment reset in the south nave wall that depicts a bearded male figure and has been interpreted as a representation of Christ in Majesty (fig. G.33).[30]

There are two other sculpted nook-shaft capitals, now loose within Campsall church, that appear to be roughly contemporary with the lion and rosette capital. The first is stylistically similar to a capital in the north arcade of Selby Abbey, in that it is carved with clasped triple-stem tendrils terminating in palmettes and splayed leaves (figs. F.9; G.34 & 35). Related foliage designs also occur on the chancel arch at Brayton. The other Campsall capital is carved with a humanoid angle head shown biting or emitting foliage (fig. G.36). This foliage has thin tendrils and fluted leaves like that on the lion capital. Capitals juxtaposing human masks with foliage were common in northern England during the first half of the twelfth century, and have already been traced to York Cathedral and St Mary's Abbey, York. The Campsall example is particularly close in style and arrangement to a later twelfth-century capital at Lythe church

Fig. G.36. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): loose nook-shaft capital.

Fig. G.37. Lythe, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): loose nook-shaft capital.

[30] Wood, 'St Mary Magdalene, Campsall'.

(North Yorkshire) (fig. G.37).[31] Both Campsall capitals are small enough to have served as window enrichment, but also could have originated from the lost south nave doorway.

A series of loose and reset corbels within Campsall church reveal that the structure once had an elaborate corbel table, many depicting human figures, like Selby Abbey and the affiliated churches of Brayton and Birkin. One of the corbels reset in the chancel depicts two embracing male figures, a scene that may have been derived from a related crossing corbel at Selby (figs. E.101; F.21; P.12).[32] Two of the Campsall corbel figures are musicians, one holding a harp and the other a vielle or rebec (figs. G.38 & 39).[33] Similar motifs occur on the chancel arch and corbel table at Adel church (West Yorkshire) which were commissioned by the Paynel family during the mid-twelfth century (figs. G.40 & 41).[34] There are other parallels between the sculptural commissions of the Paynel and Lacy families that are of special interest, especially in light of the kinship between the two families, and these will be discussed in the following sub-chapter.

Figs. G.38 & 39. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): corbels reset on the south wall of the chancel (interior).

Fig. G.40. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): corbel on the south side of the chancel.

Fig. G.41. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): voussoir on the third order of the chancel arch.

[31] For the comparison to Lythe, see ibid.

[32] R. Wood, 'St Mary and St Germain, Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/01/18); idem, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 192.

[33] For the identification of a vielle or rebec, see Wood, 'St Mary Magdalene, Campsall'.

[34] Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel', pp. 97–130; idem, 'St John the Baptist, Adel, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 17/01/18).

VI

The monks of Holy Trinity Priory, York, and the Paynel family

The Paynel family of La Manche and Calvados, Normandy, rose to prominence in Yorkshire under Ralph Paynel who held lands across all three ridings and served as sheriff from *c.* 1088 to *c.* 1093.[1] Ralph was responsible for founding Holy Trinity Priory, York, *c.* 1089 as an alien priory of the Benedictine abbey of Marmoutier, Tours. The priory was established on the location of a pre-conquest church and it is unclear whether this existing structure was demolished and replaced or altered and enlarged. This is due to the fact that the church was completely rebuilt from the later twelfth century and the previous structure obliterated.[2]

Nonetheless, there can be little doubt that a substantial building campaign took place over the course of the late eleventh and early twelfth century, in spite of the meagre material and documentary evidence. In the first instance, the site needed to be made habitable and functional for a community of Benedictine monks, and this would have necessitated some building work. There are a couple of carved fragments that have been identified with the priory church but are contentious in terms of dating. The first, now lost, is decorated with a thick interlace pattern that could be purely geometric or represent the tail of a serpentine creature (fig. H.1). Another fragment reset in the wall of the church tower depicts the head

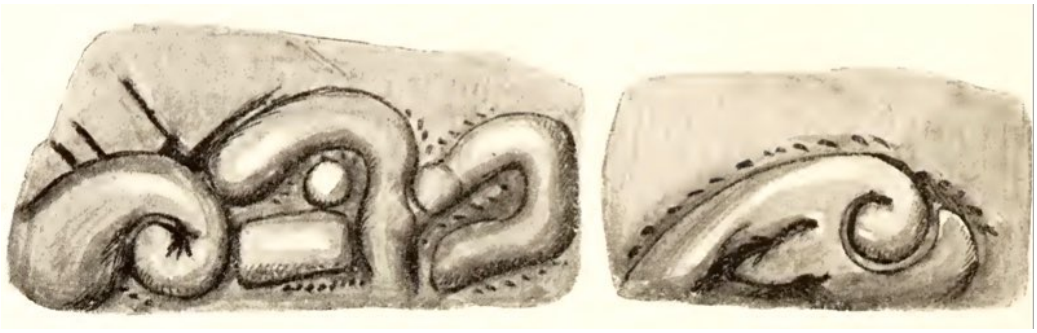

Fig. H.1. Holy Trinity Priory, Micklegate, York: illustration (after Collingwood) of a lost fragment formerly located in the porch.

[1] Ralph was also a landholder in Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset and Devon, see *EYC*, vol. 6, pp. 2–3.

[2] Ibid., p. 3; W. H. Brook, 'A Survey of the Existing Remains of the Priory Church of the Holy Trinity, Micklegate, York', *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist* 1 (1895), pp. 26–32; idem, 'Holy Trinity Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 91 (1934), pp. 376–8; D. A. Stocker, 'The Priory of the Holy Trinity, York: Antiquarians and Architectural History', in Hoey (ed.), *Yorkshire Monasticism*, pp. 79–96.

of such a creature which is shown biting its own leg or the leg of another creature (fig. H.2). Both fragments have recently been dated to the tenth century and the latter identified as a fragment of a shaft.[3] While it is true that both fragments are reminiscent of pre-conquest Scandinavian-influenced sculpture, it is also the case that these motifs and carving techniques were in use during the early twelfth century. The possibility that these carvings were produced for the priory church cannot be ruled out.[4] It has also been suggested that the second fragment is part of a tympanum rather than a shaft which would make an early twelfth-century dating more plausible.[5] In this form, the original sculpture may have resembled the tympanum at Houghton-le-Spring church (fig. E.93).

Fig. H.2. Holy Trinity Priory, Micklegate, York: fragment reset in the east wall (interior) of the west tower. © Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, University of Durham.

Some of the churches that were connected to Holy Trinity Priory or the Paynel family preserve a wealth of sculpture (fig. H.3). Adel church (West Yorkshire) is one example that was part of Ralph Paynel's initial endowment of the priory.[6] The appearance of the early church is unknown because it was evidently replaced in the mid-twelfth century with a sumptuously decorated structure.[7] There is a near-contemporary church at Goldsborough (North Yorkshire) which has a related south doorway with the same type of bird beakhead

[3] *CASSS*, vol. 3, pp. 80–1.

[4] Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture', p. 213, and Stocker, 'Priory of the Holy Trinity', pp. 80–1, both entertain this view.

[5] Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture', p. 213.

[6] *EYC*, vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 66–9.

[7] See R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church, West Riding – A Suggested Interpretation', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 85 (2013), pp. 97–130, who dates the sculptural schemes to the 1140s.

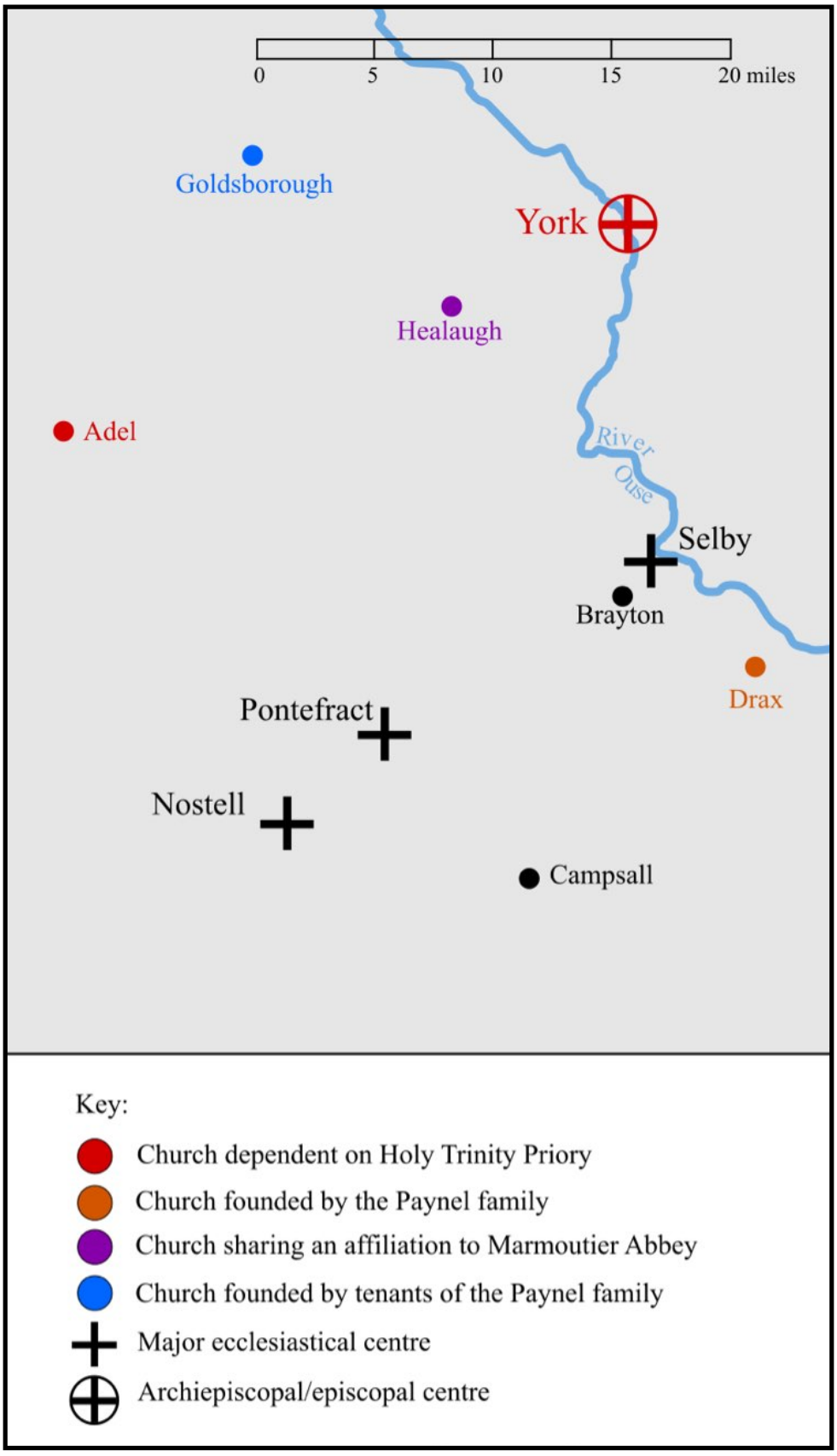

Fig. H.3. Map of sites associated with Holy Trinity Priory and the Paynel family.

Fig. H.4. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway.

Fig. H.5. Goldsborough, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

ornament (figs. H.4 & 5). Goldsborough manor was part of the Paynel fee but had been tenanted out since the time that Domesday Book was compiled. By the third quarter of the twelfth century the tenancy was held by Hugh de Goldsborough, and it was presumably he or his predecessor who was responsible for commissioning the doorway.[8] Healaugh church is another structure that preserves elaborate mid-twelfth-century sculpture. It was probably commissioned by Bertram Haget, the local lord, in the 1140s to serve as a seigneurial chapel. Meanwhile, woodland at nearby Healaugh Park was given to Gilbert, a monk from Marmoutier Abbey, for the foundation of a hermitage.[9] Healaugh church does not appear to have been formally affiliated to Holy Trinity Priory, however it did share a common link to Marmoutier.

Fig. H.6. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): north respond of the chancel arch.

The churches of Healaugh and Adel both exhibit sculptural motifs that can be tentatively compared to the aforementioned carved fragments from Holy Trinity Priory. At Healaugh, the chancel arch respond capitals are decorated with a thick, looping interlace pattern like that on the lost priory fragment (fig. H.6). Biting serpentine creature motifs can be found at both Adel and Healaugh. These occur on the chancel arch capitals at Adel and the south nave doorway at Healaugh (figs. H.7 & 8). The Adel examples bear little resemblance to the priory fragment, whereas the Healaugh creature is shown biting its arm in a similar manner. These observations underline the possibility that the two priory fragments do in fact originate

[8] *EYC*, vol. 6, no. 37, pp. 117–8.

[9] R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Doorway at Healaugh Church', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report for 2005* (2006), pp. 55–6. For the foundation of Healaugh hermitage, see *The Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory of St John the Evangelist of the Park of Healaugh*, ed. J. Stanley Purvis (Cambridge, 2013), p. 9.

Fig. H.7. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): north capitals of the chancel arch.

Fig. H.8. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): detail of the inner west capital, south nave doorway.

from the early twelfth-century church, and provide initial clues that the sculptural schemes at Adel and Healaugh were modelled on those at Holy Trinity Priory.

There are notable parallels between the sculptural schemes at Adel, Healaugh and Goldsborough that suggest inspiration from a common source. The relationship between the bird beakheads on the south doorways at Adel and Goldsborough has already been noted, and it should be added that the Goldsborough examples even more closely resemble those on the south doorway at Healaugh (figs. H.5 & 9). A slightly different type of bird beakhead with a smaller head and shorter, sharper beak occurs on corbels at Adel and Healaugh (figs. H.10 & 11).[10] The corbel tables at Adel and Healaugh are extensive and repeat many of the same designs. General similarities

Fig. H.9. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): bird beakheads on the south nave doorway (second order).

Fig. H.10. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior.

Fig. H.11. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): corbel on the north chancel exterior.

[10] R. Wood, 'St John the Baptist, Healaugh, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 29/01/18).

Fig. H.12. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): corbel on the south nave exterior.

Fig. H.13. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): corbel on the north nave exterior.

include twin-head corbels and bestial faces with cylindrical snouts or heavily moulded features. More distinctive motifs that occur at both sites are grinning beasts, rams and moustached men (figs. H.12–17). Other related male heads occur on the chancel arch at Adel and the south doorway at Healaugh. These have beards of various styles, including plaited and forked types, that rest on the roll of the arch (figs. H.18 & 19).

Fig. H.14. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior.

Fig. H.15. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior.

Almost identical heads can be found on the portals of early twelfth-century churches in the lower Loire valley that were dependent on Marmoutier Abbey. The west portal of Mesland church (Loir-et-Cher) has an order of male masks with forked and plaited beards (figs. H.20 & 21).[11] Closely

Fig. H.16. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior.

Fig. H.17. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): corbels on the south nave exterior.

[11] For a discussion of the Mesland portal, see Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', pp. 14–5.

Fig. H.18. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

Fig. H.19. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway.

Figs. H.20 & 21. Mesland, Loir-et-Cher, Notre-Dame (France): details of the west doorway. © Daniel Jolivet.

related heads can be found on the west portal at Parçay-sur-Vienne church (Indre-et-Loire), and some of these have beards separated into multiple strands like counterparts on the Adel chancel arch (fig. H.22).[12] In addition to this, the second order and south imposts of the Parçay-sur-Vienne portal are carved with a scrolling foliage pattern like an impost of the south doorway at Healaugh (fig. H.23). These Loire portals were presumably modelled on an exemplar at the late eleventh-century abbey church at Marmoutier. No such portal survives at Marmoutier because the abbey church was demolished and rebuilt in the thirteenth century, but modern excavations *have* uncovered part of the late eleventh-century crypt. This was decorated with sculpted block capitals and one excavated example depicts a hunting scene in which a stag leaps over a tangle of foliage.[13] A similar

[12] For the Parçay-sur-Vienne portal, see ibid., pp. 7–8.

[13] For discussions of the late eleventh-century abbey church of Marmoutier and the excavation of the crypt, see ibid., p. 7; C. Lelong, 'L'abbatiale de Marmoutier au Xe siècle', *Bulletin Monumental* 145 (1987), pp. 165–71; Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England', pp. 217–8, 222.

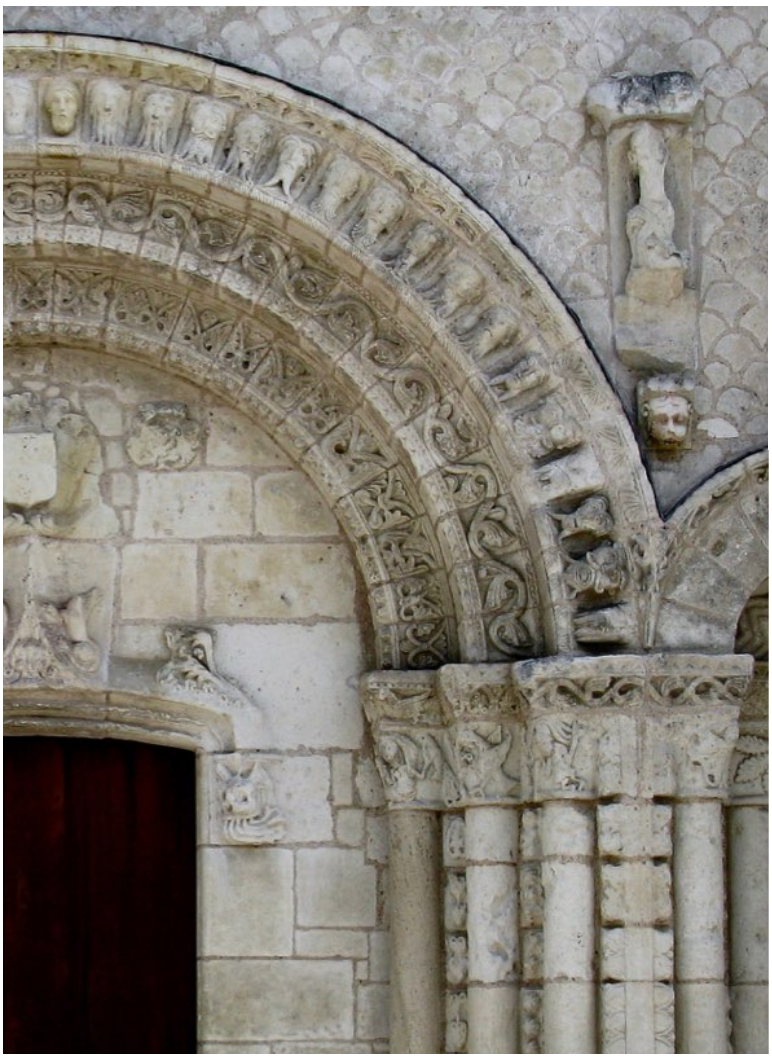

Fig. H.22. Parçay-sur-Vienne, Saint-Pierre, Indre-et-Loire (France): west doorway. © Spencer Means.

Fig. H.23. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): outer west capital and impost of the south nave doorway.

Fig. H.24. Marmoutier Abbey, Tours, Indre-et-Loire (France): crypt capital. © The Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

Fig. H.25. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): east capital (second order) of the south nave doorway.

juxtaposition of quadrupeds with tied and interlacing foliage can be found on the capitals of the Healaugh doorway, although the Healaugh examples are carved with greater plasticity (figs. H.24 & 25). The Marmoutier and Healaugh capitals also share small humanoid angle masks emitting foliage (figs. H.23 & 24).

These observations lend weight to the hypothesis that Holy Trinity Priory once possessed early twelfth-century sculptural schemes that echoed its mother house at Marmoutier and served a crucial intermediary role in the spread of sculptural motifs from the Loire to Yorkshire. It is difficult to ascertain whether any sculptors moved from Marmoutier to Yorkshire. The heads on the Adel chancel arch are more abstract and cartoonish in execution than their counterparts in the Loire, and they have been regarded as the work of Norman sculptors.[14] There is also an echo of the pre-conquest sculptural tradition in the way that the backgrounds of the chancel arch capitals and the doorway gable frieze panels are recessed to create the main figures and ornament (figs. H.7 & 26). The Healaugh doorway carvings, on the other hand, are more naturalistic and stylistically reminiscent of sculpture at Mesland and Parçay-sur-Vienne. It is possible that craftsmen from Marmoutier were employed at Healaugh independent of Holy Trinity Priory. Wood has observed isolated influence from illuminated Spanish Beatus manuscripts at Healaugh and speculated that Spanish models were transmitted directly from the monastic library at

Fig. H.26. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): gable of the south nave doorway.

[14] Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church', p. 129, notes parallels with mid-twelfth-century sculpture at Canterbury Cathedral that has been attributed to sculptors from Caen.

Fig. H.27. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): crouched hare beakhead on the outer order of the chancel arch.

Marmoutier.[15] This is a plausible hypothesis considering Marmoutier's location on one of the main pilgrimage routes to Santiago de Compostela, but it is impossible to verify Wood's conjectural suggestion that Betram Haget himself visited Marmoutier while on pilgrimage.

The Paynel and Lacy families were related by marriage, and it has already been intimated that this connection encouraged sculptural emulation between the two families.[16] Related bird beakheads with cusping decoration on their foreheads can be found on the south doorways at Adel and Brayton, as well as on loose voussoirs at Campsall (figs. G.7 & 32; H.4). The unusual crouched hare beakhead design that occurs at Brayton can also be found on the chancel arch at Adel (figs. G.11 & 12; H.27). Like Brayton, aspects of the decoration at Adel church relate to near-contemporary sculpture in Gloucestershire. The Adel doorway features an almost continuous order of bird beakheads, interrupted only by capitals and imposts (fig. H.28). This is a rare arrangement that is found in notable concentration among mid-twelfth-century churches in the upper Thames Valley, including the earl of Hereford's church at Windrush near Cirencester (fig. H.29).[17] Domesday Book records that Ralph Paynel held two manors near Cirencester, so Paynel family interests in Gloucestershire may explain why southern motifs entered Yorkshire in this period.[18] The Lacy family were presumably inspired by sculpture at Holy Trinity Priory which could, plausibly, have possessed at least one major doorway that was enriched with beakheads. One of the doorway beakheads at Healaugh church is in the form of a bearded man who wears a crown with a cross pattée. The same motif occurs at least three times on the corresponding doorway at Brayton (figs. H.30 & 31).[19]

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[15] Wood, 'Romanesque Doorway at Healaugh Church', pp. 63–4.

[16] Wightman, *Lacy Family*, pp. 57–8 fn.

[17] See Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 55–8; J. Newson, 'Beakhead Decoration on Romanesque Arches in the Upper Thames Valley', *Oxoniensia* 78 (2013), pp. 80–5.

[18] *DB Glos.*, 168 b.

[19] This parallel was observed by ibid., p. 60. The same motif also occurs on the doorway at Birkin.

Fig. H.28 (above). Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. H.29 (left). Windrush, St Peter (Gloucestershire): south nave doorway.

Fig. H.30. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): human beakhead on the outer order of the south nave doorway.

Fig. H.31. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): human beakhead on the outer order of the south nave doorway.

At the same time, sculpture at Selby Abbey appears to have influenced the commissions of William Paynel. William was responsible for founding an Augustinian priory at Drax (North Yorkshire) in the 1130s.[20] While nothing of Drax Priory survives, its dependent parish church in the same locality retains some mid-twelfth-century corbels. These depict a mix of human, animal and grotesque heads. One of the bestial heads reset in the porch is shown devouring a small animal like a corbel in the crossing at Selby (figs. F.20; H.32).[21] Another recurring corbel design is a moustachioed man with an open mouth (figs. F.20; H. 33). It is unclear whether the Drax corbels date from immediately before the donation of the church to Drax Priory, or whether they mark a rebuilding campaign after the grant. If

Figs. H.32 & 33. Drax, SS Peter and Paul (North Yorkshire): corbels reset in the porch.

[20] *EYC*, vol. 6, no. 13, pp. 86–8.

[21] R. Wood, 'St Peter and St Paul, Drax, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 29/01/18); idem, 'St Mary and St Germain, Selby Abbey'.

the latter, it is likely that this occurred while Elias Paynel was abbot of Selby (1143–52, 1153–54). Elias had previously served as prior of Holy Trinity Priory and was evidently a relative of William Paynel.[22] In this context, the sculptural connections between Drax parish church and Selby Abbey can be understood as a reflection of Paynel power in Selby. It is unfortunate that the twelfth-century fabric of Drax Priory has been lost since it can be speculated that the decoration here owed much to Selby Abbey as well as Holy Trinity Priory.

[22] Burton, *Historia Selebiensis*, p. lii, has suggested that Elias was the son of Ralph Paynel, making him William's brother.

VII

The monks of Tynemouth Priory

Like many other northern monastic houses, Tynemouth Priory was established on an ecclesiastical site with Anglo-Saxon origins.[1] A parish church dedicated to St Mary was in existence by the mid-eleventh century and, according to the early twelfth-century hagiographical tradition, it was here that the incorrupt body of the royal martyr King Oswine (644–51) was discovered in 1065.[2] This church may have been damaged during the Harrying of the North (1069–70), and it was certainly in a ruinous state by the 1070s.[3] There are several conflicting accounts of Tynemouth's early post-conquest history owing to various spurious charters and fictitious narratives that were created during the twelfth century to support competing claims to the priory. These discrepancies were reconciled by H. S. Offler who was able to demonstrate that Tynemouth and the relics of St Oswine were given to the monks of Jarrow by Bishop Walcher between 1075 and 1080.[4] According to Symeon of Durham, Tynemouth church was then granted to Durham Cathedral Priory by Aubrey, earl of Northumberland (1080–*c.* 1085). This probably occurred in or shortly after 1083, the year that William of St Calais replaced the Durham secular community with monks from Jarrow and Monkwearmouth.[5] Monks affiliated to Durham subsequently repaired the pre-conquest church at Tynemouth and established a small monastic community. Yet a few years later, *c.* 1086, the new earl of Northumberland, Robert de

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[1] The remains of timber buildings were discovered during the 1963 excavation and were interpreted as possible early medieval ecclesiastical structures, see G. Jobey, 'Excavations at Tynemouth Priory and Castle', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 45 (1967), pp. 33, 42–9.

[2] G. McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory and Castle* (London, 2008), pp. 25–6. The historical authenticity of the early twelfth hagiographical material has been rejected by P. A. Hayward, 'Sanctity and Lordship in Twelfth-Century England: Saint Albans, Durham, and the Cult of Saint Oswine, King and Martyr', *Viator* 30 (1999), pp. 105–44.

[3] McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory*, p. 26.

[4] *Durham Episcopal Charters*, p. 5; Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 234–5. A spurious charter accepted by McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory*, p. 26, falsely states that the grant was made by Waltheof, earl of Northumberland (d. 1076).

[5] Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 234–7; E. Cambridge, 'Tynemouth Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 133 (1976), p. 217; R. Fawcett, 'The Architecture of Tynemouth Priory Church', in J. Ashbee and J. Luxford (eds.), *Newcastle and Northumberland: Roman and Medieval Architecture and Art* (Leeds, 2013), p. 171.

Mowbray, quarrelled with William of St Calais and ejected the monks of St Cuthbert from Tynemouth.[6]

Earl Robert proceeded to grant the church of St Oswine to St Albans Abbey, so it was a community affiliated to St Albans that began constructing a new priory church dedicated to the Virgin Mary and St Oswine.[7] There is some contention over the date at which building work had commenced at Tynemouth, and whether this predated the rebuilding of Durham Cathedral Priory.[8] According to Symeon of Durham, monks from St Albans arrived at Tynemouth shortly before the death of their abbot, Paul, the nephew of Lanfranc. Abbot Paul died in 1093, which would suggest that the building campaign began no earlier than 1090.[9] Cambridge has speculated that the initial phase would have involved constructing claustral buildings to house the new monastic community, thus placing the construction of the priory church itself after the mid-1090s.[10] The body of Malcolm III, king of Scots, was buried at the priory in 1093 and Robert de Mowbray fortified the site during his rebellion against William Rufus in 1095, but whether these episodes indicate that work had begun on the church is a moot point.[11] The translation of St Oswine's relics took place in 1110 which suggests, at the very least, the eastern arm of the church had been completed by this year.[12] Assuming that building work had progressed at a similar pace to Durham Cathedral Priory, work is likely to have begun on the eastern bays of the nave by 1110.[13] There is no record

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[6] Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 234–7. On the basis of Symeon's account, it can be deduced that the expulsion took place in or soon after 1086, the year that Robert de Mowbray was appointed earl. A similar date was suggested by Cambridge, 'Tynemouth Priory', p. 217. McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory*, p. 27, on the other hand, opts for *c.* 1090.

[7] Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 236–7; Cambridge, 'Tynemouth Priory', p. 217; McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory*, pp. 26–7.

[8] For an outline of these contending views, see Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 66.

[9] Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 234–7.

[10] Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England', p. 159. Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 66, and Fawcett, 'Architecture of Tynemouth Priory', pp. 171–5, accept that the priory church of Tynemouth was probably commenced after Durham Cathedral.

[11] McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory*, pp. 5, 27; A. Saunders, *Tynemouth Priory and Castle* (London, 1993), pp. 5, 31. For example, Malcolm's body may have been buried in the repaired pre-conquest church as Fawcett, 'Architecture of Tynemouth Priory', p. 171 fn., has argued. This same church, rather than the new priory church, could have been the place where Robert de Mowbray took refuge in 1095.

[12] Cambridge, 'Tynemouth Priory', p. 217; McCombie, *Tynemouth Priory*, p. 27.

[13] Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England', p. 159.

of when the church was finally completed, although work on the claustral buildings continued into the second quarter of the twelfth century.[14]

The remains of the priory church are prominently located on a coastal outcrop north of the Tyne estuary. Nothing of the Romanesque east end survives above ground but excavations in 1904–5 revealed an ambulatory with three projecting apsidal chapels.[15] While this form was common in Normandy and southern England, it is atypical of churches constructed in northern England during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Neither was an ambulatory built for the late eleventh-century abbey church of St Albans which indicates that the designer of Tynemouth Priory looked to other models.[16] The remainder of the priory church was cruciform in shape with a central tower and an aisled nave of seven bays. Notable survivals include remnants of the crossing piers and the ruined first bay of the north nave aisle, and these preserve some important architectural sculpture. There is at least one loose carved fragment that can be attributed to the Romanesque priory complex and this is held on site.

Certain similarities between the fabrics of Tynemouth Priory and Durham Cathedral Priory have already been noted within the scholarly literature. These include cylindrical piers with octagonal scallop capitals, compound piers with mitred and plain cushion capitals, and triforium openings with roll moulded voussoirs (figs. E.1–3; I.1 & 2).[17] The relationship between the two sites appears to extend further in terms of sculpted decoration. At Tynemouth, the capital of the easternmost cylindrical pier in the north nave arcade is partly enriched with stylised arcading (fig. I.3). There is a disjointed break in the stone between the arcading and the plain scallops which raises the possibility that the arcaded segment is a fragment of a larger capital reset from elsewhere in the church. No such capital design exists at Durham, however the ornament could have been adapted from the prominent dado arcade inside the cathedral church (fig. B.49). There is a loose Corinthianesque capital in

[14] For a brief discussion of the claustral buildings, see Saunders, *Tynemouth Priory*, p. 31.

[15] W. H. Knowles, 'The Priory Church of St Mary and St Oswin, Tynemouth, Northumberland', *Archaeological Journal* 67 (1910), pp. 7–9.

[16] Fawcett, 'Architecture of Tynemouth Priory', p. 172.

[17] Knowles, 'Priory Church of St Mary and St Oswin, Tynemouth', p. 10; Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England', p. 160; Fawcett, 'Architecture of Tynemouth Priory', p. 175.

Fig. I.1. Tynemouth Priory: easternmost bay of the north nave arcade.

Fig. I.2. Tynemouth Priory: west face of the south-east crossing pier.

Fig. I.3. Tynemouth Priory: detail of the easternmost north nave pier capital.

Figs. I.4 & 5. Tynemouth Priory, Prior's Chapel: Corinthianesque nook-shaft capital, acc. no. 81071422. © English Heritage.

the Tynemouth Priory stone store which has a band of upright leaves on the lower register, bulbous angle volutes, and bestial heads on the two faces (figs. I.4 & 5). Comparable, though not identical, volute capitals with carved masks can be found at Durham (fig. B.30 & 35). The bestial masks on the Tynemouth capital have heavily moulded feline faces that can be tentatively compared to the corbels at Durham Cathedral Priory (figs. E.42 & 43).

More convincing models for the Tynemouth capital designs can be found in Yorkshire, particularly at Lastingham Abbey. The octagonal pier capital at Tynemouth differs from those at Durham in that it has small knops, or volutes, between the scallops (fig. I.6). Similar arrangements of volutes can be found on mitred cushion capitals at Lastingham Abbey (figs. I.7 & 8). The arcaded capital in the Lastingham crypt is a definite precursor to the arcading ornament on the other side of the same Tynemouth capital and similar capital designs may have once existed at the abbey church of St Mary's, York (fig. B.50).[18] Another capital in the Lastingham crypt has a Corinthianesque form that is comparable to

[18] See Chapter 2. ii.

Fig. I.6. Tynemouth Priory: detail of the easternmost north nave pier capital.

Fig. I.7. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): crypt capital.

the loose nook-shaft capital at Tynemouth (figs. B.13; I.4 & 5).[19] There are remarkable similarities in the treatment of the lower register leaves even though the Lastingham example lacks masks. A final comparison should be made to the late eleventh-century Corinthianesque capitals at York Cathedral which do feature carved masks (figs. B.6 & 7). It has already been argued that certain sculptural motifs at Durham Cathedral Priory were inspired by the abbey churches of Lastingham and St Mary's, York, so the similarities between Durham Cathedral Priory and Tynemouth Priory may reflect common influence rather than direct emulation. It is difficult to reach any firm conclusions when so little of the Romanesque fabric survives, but it is possible that some of the sculptors employed at Tynemouth had previously worked at Lastingham. The ambulatory east end also speaks of an experienced master mason, possibly of Norman origin, who was familiar with church designs in southern England and Normandy.

Fig. I.8. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): south chancel arch capital.

[19] Knowles, 'Tynemouth', p. 11; Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 38.

The dependent churches of Tynemouth Priory (fig. I.9)

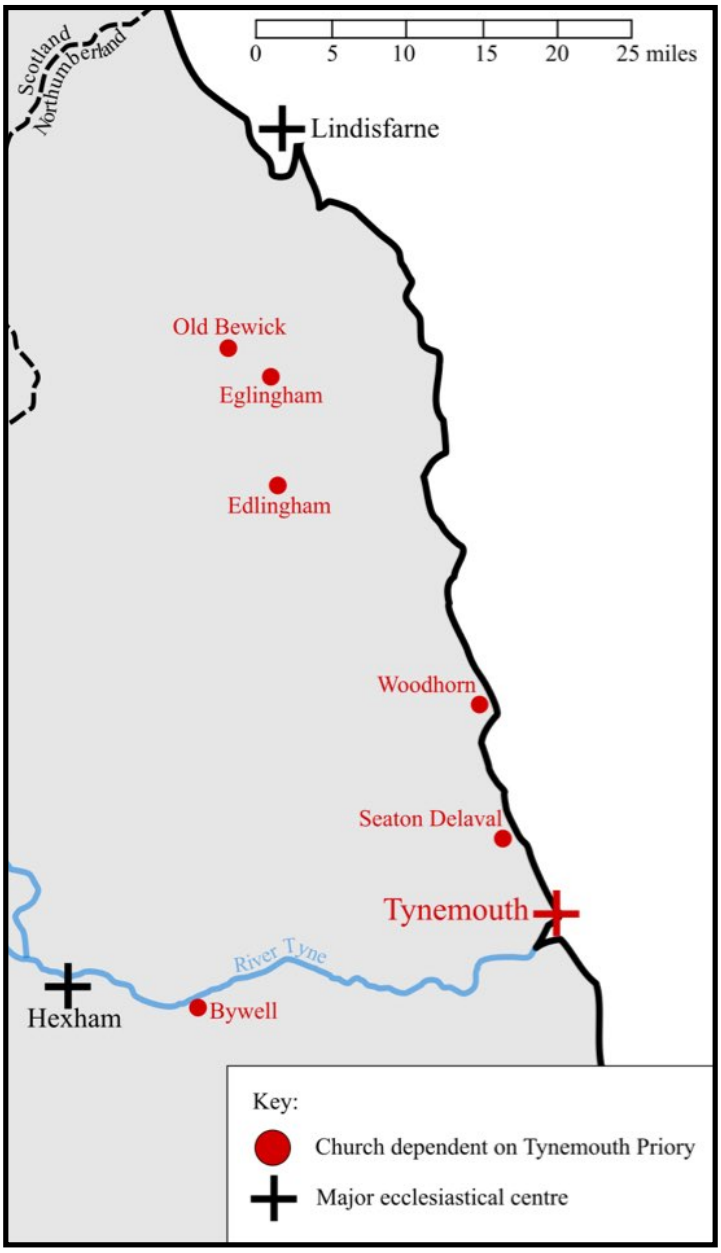

Fig. I.9. Map of sites associated with Tynemouth Priory.

The monastic community at Tynemouth initially benefited from the patronage of Robert de Mowbray, who endowed the priory with land, property and privileges.[20] The churches of Woodhorn and Bywell (Northumberland) were granted to Tynemouth before the rule of Abbot Richard of St Albans (1097–1119), perhaps by Robert de Mowbray himself.[21] All have minimal architectural decoration and appear to have pre-conquest architectural cores.

[20] Craster, *History of Northumberland*, pp. 47–50.

[21] *Gesta Abbatum*, vol. 1, p. 69; ibid., pp. 48–9.

The north nave arcade of Woodhorn church has a series of multi-scallop capitals which indicates that the aisle was added during the first half of the twelfth century. There are two churches at Bywell, St Peter's and St Andrew's. The church of St Peter retains no sculpture from the later eleventh or twelfth century. St Andrew's church has a west tower with simple strip-work, double aperture windows, oculi and long-and-short quoining that is generally regarded as a pre-conquest construction. However such features and techniques continued to be used in the late eleventh and early twelfth century, and it is possible that the tower was added or heightened around the time that the church was granted to Tynemouth Priory.[22]

Other churches acquired by the priory in the early twelfth century can be attributed to the patronage of local secular lords. Eglingham manor (Northumberland) was granted to Tynemouth by Winnoc the huntsman while Richard was the abbot of St Albans.[23] It can be deduced that this grant took place as early as 1103 and certainly before 1108.[24] The church of St Maurice at Eglingham has a large and exceptionally plain round-headed chancel arch that could date from this period. Gospatric II, earl of Dunbar (d. 1138), and his son, Adam, were responsible for granting the church of Edlingham (Northumberland) to Tynemouth Priory during the rule of Geoffrey, abbot of St Albans (1119–46).[25] This church has a simple chancel arch like Eglingham church and also a south nave doorway with a plain tympanum.

The monks of Tynemouth did receive a number of more richly decorated churches that merit fuller discussion. Queen Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm III king of Scots and wife of King Henry I, granted Old Bewick (Northumberland) to the priory in the first decade of

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[22] Cambridge, 'Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England', pp. 141–5. One or both churches at Bywell were transferred to Durham Cathedral in 1174 as part of a settlement in which the Durham community renounced their claim to Tynemouth, see *EEA Durham 1153–1195*, nos. 135–9, pp. 112–7.

[23] *Gesta Abbatum*, vol. 1, p. 68; Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', p. 16; Craster, *History of Northumberland*, pp. 49, 54.

[24] *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 640, p. 31. Another royal charter that mentions the grant of Eglingham manor to Tynemouth, idem, no. 822, p. 67, has been identified as a forgery, see Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', p. 12.

[25] Craster, *History of Northumberland*, p. 49; Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', pp. 15–6. Edlingham church was transferred to Durham Cathedral in 1174, see *EEA Durham 1153–1195*, nos. 135–9, pp. 112–7.

the twelfth century and can be identified as the patron of the early twelfth-century church that stands in the locality.[26] The inner order of the chancel arch has simple roll-and-hollow mouldings like voussoirs at Tynemouth Priory and Durham Cathedral. Meanwhile, the labels and imposts of the chancel and sanctuary are respectively enriched with double billet and sunken stars (fig. I.10). Both types of ornament were used widely across Britain in this period but sunken stars may have been judged a pertinent signifier of royal patronage in this context. The most unusual carving can be found on the inner north capital of the chancel arch. A central tree with angular leaves is flanked by two grotesque masks, each with pointed ears, almond-shaped eyes, a triangular nose and a slack jaw baring square teeth (fig. I.11). Grotesque masks can be found on the Corinthianesque capital from Tynemouth Priory although these are carved with greater plasticity and have different facial features. The capitals in the chapel of Durham Castle offer the best points of comparison. These feature plants with angular leaves, masks with incised features and cable moulded neckings, as well as a profusion of sunken stars (figs. B.28 & 33).

Fig. I.10 (left). Old Bewick, Holy Trinity (Northumberland): west faces of the chancel and sanctuary arches.

Fig. I.11 (below). Old Bewick, Holy Trinity (Northumberland): north chancel arch capital.

[26] Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', pp. 12–5, 18; *Gesta Abbatum*, vol. 1, p. 68; *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 624, p. 28. A royal charter, dated 1107, which explicitly mentions Bewick church as a possession of Tynemouth Priory, *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 822, p. 67, has since been identified as a forgery by Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', p. 32–4.

Some of the same craftsmen may have worked at Seaton Delaval church, which has a chancel arch and sanctuary arch with the same roll-and-hollow voussoir profiles and double billet label ornament as the chancel arch at Old Bewick (fig. I.12). Sunken stars are also present. The large mitred cushion capitals that support the Seaton Delaval arches resemble those at Durham Cathedral and Tynemouth Priory, while the lateral chevron on the outer orders suggests further influence from Durham.[27] There is a sculpted tympanum at the west end of the church, now heavily eroded, that depicts a head near the apex (fig. I. 13). The area beneath the head may have originally been carved with a foliage design like the tympanum at Croxdale chapel (figs. E.81 & 82). There are other clues that the Seaton Delaval tympanum is the product of a sculptor or workshop active in County Durham. The sawtooth ornament that frames the tympanum and the overall simplicity of the doorway echoes the north chancel doorway at Houghton-le-Spring church (fig. E.93).

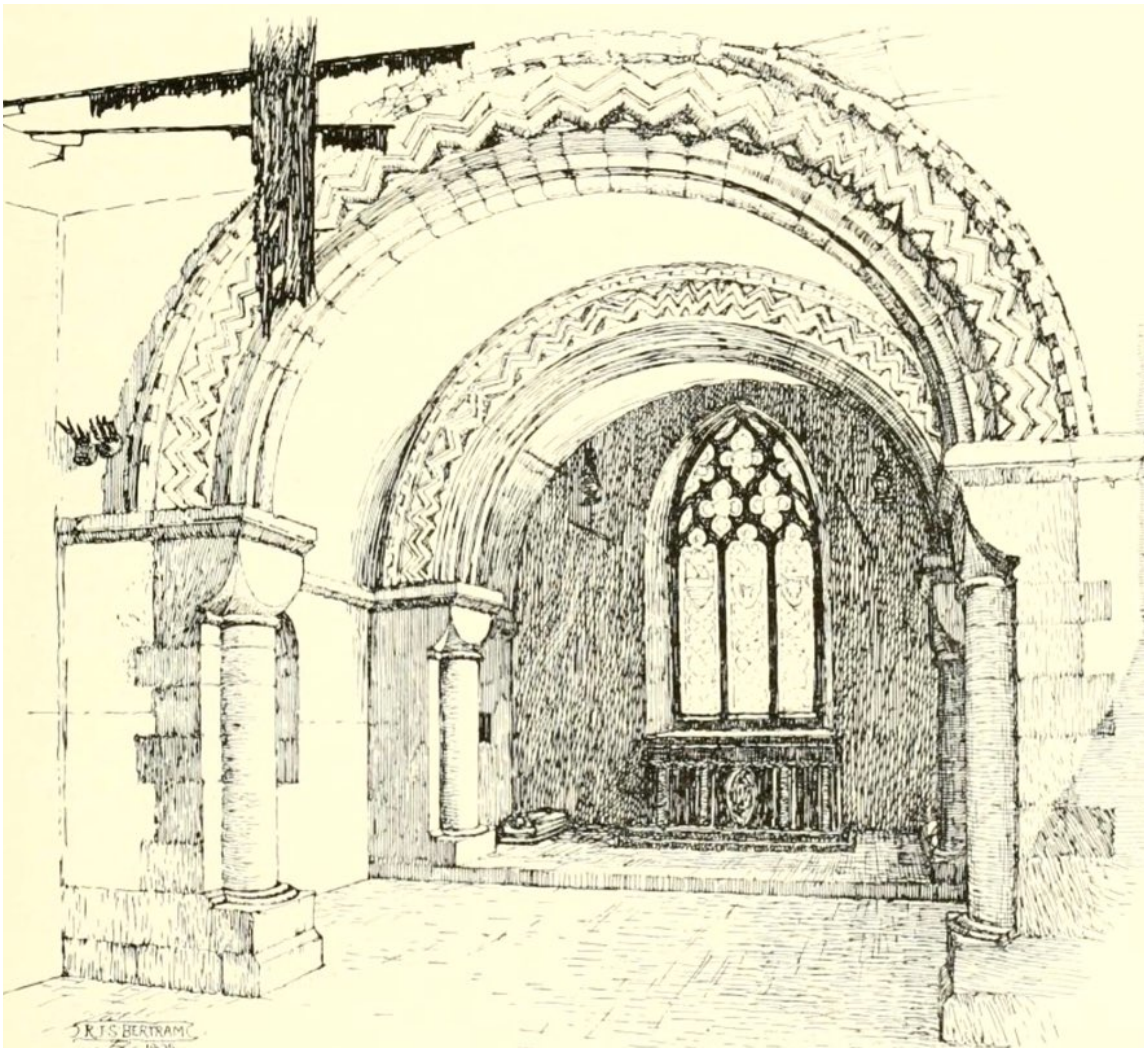

Fig. I.12. Seaton Delaval, Our Lady (Northumberland):
illustration of the chancel and sanctuary arches, after R. J. S. Bertram (1905).

[27] Also cf. the chancel arch at Lanchester (fig. E.72).

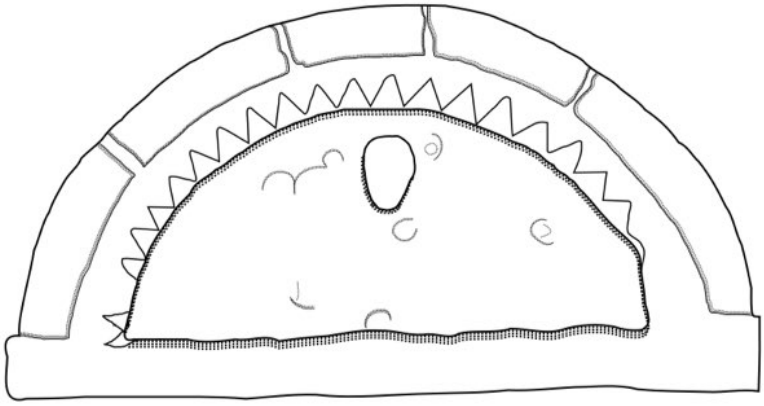

Fig. I.13. Seaton Delaval, Our Lady (Northumberland): illustration of the eroded west doorway tympanum.

Seaton Delaval church was a dependent chapel of Tynemouth Priory by 1174, although the tithes of the manor may have belonged to the priory from the beginning of the twelfth century.[28] The unverified claim that the chapel was consecrated by Ranulf Flambard in 1102 is untenable since he was absent from the diocese at this time, being an advisor of Robert Curthose in Normandy.[29] In this instance, sculptural decoration provides the best dating evidence. Chevron and sawtooth ornaments were both introduced at Durham Cathedral after 1104, and their application at Seaton Delaval is unlikely to have occurred before *c.* 1110. Equally, the simplicity of the chevron mouldings and cushion capitals is indicative of a date before *c.* 1125, and certainly not *c.* 1150 as suggested by Ryder.[30] In Ryder's opinion, the west doorway belongs to an earlier (*c.* 1100) phase than the sanctuary and chancel arches.[31] While the opening is remarkably simple, the sawtooth ornament on the tympanum suggests that it is, in fact, roughly contemporary with the arches. On the other hand, it *is* possible that the west doorway, chancel and sanctuary were added to an existing structure constructed of coursed rubble. The lowest courses of the nave retain this

[28] Craster, *History of Northumberland*, pp. 186–7; A. Quiney, 'Seaton Delaval Church', *Archaeological Journal* 133 (1976), p. 214; P. F. Ryder, 'The Church of Our Lady, Seaton Delaval: Archaeological Assessment April 2006', http://www.newcastle.anglican.org/userfiles/file/Newcastle%20Website/Diocesan%20Office/Diocesan%20Advisory%20Committee/Seaton%20Delaval%20Assessment.pdf (accessed, 13/12/17), p. 2. According to an early twelfth-century confirmation charter of Henry I, *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1172, p. 140, the tithes of Seaton Delaval were granted to Tynemouth Priory by Hubert de Laval. Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', pp. 25–6, has since identified the charter as a Tynemouth forgery, although the details may still be accurate.

[29] This was first iterated by G. W. Jackson, 'Church of Our Lady, Seaton, Parish of Delaval, Northumberland' (Seaton Delaval, 1900), p. 3.

[30] Ryder, 'Seaton Delaval', pp. 6–7.

[31] Ibid., pp. 6–7.

rubble masonry, which may be evidence of an early post-conquest structure, while the upper walls of the nave and the entire chancel and sanctuary are constructed of ashlar.[32]

Hubert de Laval emerges as the likely patron of the early twelfth-century chapel and its sculpture. According to the spurious royal charter of Henry I, it was Hubert who granted the tithes of Seaton Delaval and other manors to Tynemouth between 1102 and 1115. If the details of this charter are nonetheless accepted, he was a minor local lord with landholdings concentrated in the area immediately north of Newcastle and the Tyne.[33] Seaton Delaval church was presumably conceived as a seigneurial chapel, although its affiliation to Tynemouth Priory and stylistic relationship to the royal church at Old Bewick and Durham Cathedral suggests a patron of ambition who sought to elevate his status by artistic association.

It is frustrating that so little of the Romanesque fabric of Tynemouth Priory survives, and this situation makes it very difficult to gauge how far the priory influenced sculptural schemes at affiliated churches across Northumberland. The majority of these churches have minimal sculptural decoration which is also problematic. Old Bewick and Seaton Delaval are notable exceptions. The comparative richness of their sculptural schemes can be attributed to the demands of their respective secular patrons and influence from a number of regional models.

[32] Ibid., pp. 3–8.

[33] *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1172, p. 140; Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory', pp. 25–6; Craster, *History of Northumberland*, pp. 136–7.