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

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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 2 of 2

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VIII

The monks of Whitby Abbey

From the arrival of Reinfrid and his followers in *c.* 1077, it was roughly three decades until work began on the construction of a large abbey church at Whitby. The exact date is unclear, and there is slight contention among scholars as to whether the building campaign commenced at the end of the eleventh century or the start of the twelfth.[1] It is clear that the monastic community abandoned Whitby in or soon after 1078, moving inland to Hackness where pirate attacks could be avoided, and returned between *c.* 1090 and 1096 after Reinfrid's death.[2] The earliest possible reference to building work at Whitby occurs in a charter issued before 1109 which names Godfrey as the master of the works, so construction had certainly begun by *c.* 1109.[3] Yet the lack of documentary evidence does not preclude the possibility that building work had commenced in the 1090s under the guidance of Prior Serlo, the brother of the secular patron, William de Percy. Regardless, it is clear that the majority of the architectural and sculptural fragments that can be identified with this church date from the first half of the twelfth century.

Most of the standing ruins of Whitby Abbey belong to later rebuilding campaigns of the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and knowledge of the early twelfth-century church is dependent on excavated finds.[4] In terms of plan, the building was similar to St Mary's Abbey in York, having an echelon east end with a main apse flanked by two pairs of apses that projected from the transepts.[5] This can be attributed to the fraternal link between the two abbeys and the fact that Whitby seems to have been dependent on St

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[1] Gem and Thurlby, 'Lastingham', p. 32, suggested that building commenced in or shortly after *c.* 1088. J. Goodall, *Whitby Abbey* (London, 2002), p. 24, proposed *c.* 1090. Harrison and Norton, 'Lastingham', p. 67 fn., favoured the 1090s. Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 50, dismisses the possibility of construction work before *c.* 1100 since the earliest records of building activity occur in the first decade of the twelfth century. S. Brindle, *Whitby Abbey* (London, 2010), p. 7, seems to have opted for *c.* 1109 on the basis of this documentary evidence.

[2] Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 44.

[3] Ibid., p. 50.

[4] The exceptions are the lower courses of the outer parlour on the west side of the cloister. These are dated to the early twelfth century, see Brindle, *Whitby Abbey*, p. 14.

[5] Ibid., p. 7, also compares the echelon east end form to Cluny Abbey, Bernay Abbey, St-Étienne at Caen, and Canterbury Cathedral.

Fig. J.1. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged label stop excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430619. © English Heritage.

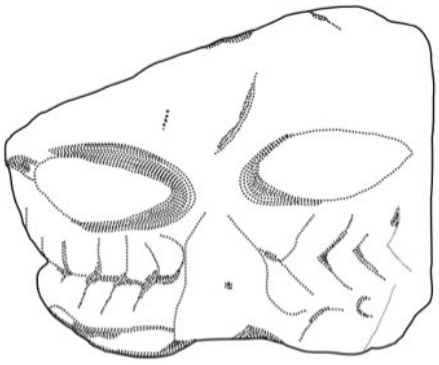

Fig. J.2. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): illustration of damaged label stop excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430618. © English Heritage.

Mary's Abbey until *c.* 1109.[6] A remarkable number of stone fragments survive from this church, with a couple displayed on site and the majority held in the English Heritage Helmsley Archaeology Store. These reveal a building that was richly decorated with geometric, figure and foliage sculpture. Voussoirs carved with roll and hollow lateral chevron are by far the most common type of fragment, which suggests a profusion of zigzag-enriched arches like the western arm of Durham Cathedral Priory.

Some of the fragments raise the possibility of influence from pre-conquest or early post-conquest architecture. A badly damaged label stop in the form of a grotesque or bestial head recalls the dragon-head label stop: an architectural feature that was used in pre-conquest churches, most famously at Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), and was revived across England in the second quarter of the twelfth century (fig. J.1). Another label stop, this one sculpted in the form of a humanoid face with almond-shaped eyes, has a zigzag cable pattern on the lower face that echoes herringbone masonry, a building technique associated with pre-conquest or 'Saxo-Norman overlap' buildings, as well as chevron ornament (fig. J.2). There is even a section of label decorated with chequerboard-style square billet (fig. J. 3). This ornament can be traced to pre-conquest sculpture, and, significantly, the same

[6] Burton, 'Monastic Revival', pp. 47–9.

Fig. J.3. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): label fragment excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430777. © English Heritage.

motif was applied to the arch and label of the north tower window at Jarrow church (fig. B.2).[7]

The fraternal connections between Whitby Abbey and St Mary's Abbey, York, provide a plausible explanation for several of the other Whitby motifs. One of the most unusual Whitby fragments is a capital carved with three human heads that share large incised elliptical eyes (fig. J. 4). Each head has a simple high-bridged nose and a straight mouth. The closest parallel can be found on one of the nook-shaft capitals from St Mary's Abbey (fig. B.24). This depicts a single human head but it has similar eyes and profile to those on the Whitby capital. One of the corbels from Whitby Abbey depicts a head with heavy brows, almond-shaped eyes and broad nostrils that can be tentatively compared to the human face on the other nook-shaft capital from St Mary's, York (figs. B.25 & 26; J.5). Lozenge decoration appears to have been used widely at Whitby Abbey and this marks another parallel with the abbey church

Fig. J.4. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430614. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.5. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): corbel excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430759. © English Heritage.

[7] See Chapter 2 for the discussion of billet ornament.

Fig. J.6. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): voussoir excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 88074137. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.7. Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert (Cumbria): soffit of the south nave doorway.

at York.[8] The most unusual application is on a small rectangular corbel, but lozenges also decorated arches.[9] One chevron voussoir has concentrically incised lozenges on the soffit (fig. J.6). The doorway at Great Salkeld church (Cumbria), which has been linked to St Mary's Abbey, York, features a similar arrangement of lozenge and chevron on the voussoirs of the inner order (fig. J.7). Four capitals found at the Whitby Abbey site are scallop types, and one of these has incised shields like the scallop capital from St Mary's Abbey (figs. B.56; J.8).

Fig. J.8. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430770. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.9. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 88074139. © English Heritage.

The swollen angle and the incised shields of this same Whitby capital connects it to the group of churches that were dependent on York Cathedral. Scallop capitals of this type can be seen at Fridaythorpe, Kilham and North Newbald (figs. C.14–17). Some of the North Newbald swollen scallop capitals lack incised shields, and in this sense they more closely resemble another capital that was discovered at

[8] The application of this ornament at Whitby Abbey may have inspired the lozenge-enriched font at the dependent church of Barmston (East Yorkshire), see R. Wood, 'All Saints, Barmston, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 6/02/2018).

[9] The corbel is acc. no. 81430742, Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire).

Fig. J.10. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430706. © English Heritage.

the Whitby site (fig. J.9). A further Whitby capital, now badly damaged, is a simplified Corinthianesque type with small upright leaves on the lower register and fluted leaves above that may have terminated in angle volutes (fig. J.10). The general form is comparable to the late eleventh-century Corinthianesque capitals from Archbishop Thomas I's cathedral church at York, but also the Corinthianesque capital in the crypt at Lastingham (figs. B.6–8, 13).

It is clear that Whitby Abbey possessed a decorated corbel table like many major and minor northern churches from this period. Two corbels have already been discussed and there are at least two other examples. One is very badly weathered but appears to depict a human head with almond shaped-eyes and a simple triangular nose (fig. J.11). The other is a damaged grotesque head with a deeply incised and bulging elliptical eye, and a slightly protruding tongue (fig. J.12). The aforementioned corbel that depicts a grotesque head with heavily moulded brows, eyes and nose is comparable to several corbels at Durham Cathedral Priory (figs. E. 41–43; J.5). There are other sculptural parallels between Whitby and Durham, including

Figs. J.11 & 12. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): corbel excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. nos. 81430760 & 81430721. © English Heritage.

voussoirs with curved lateral chevron (fig. J.13) and scallop capitals with swollen angles and incised shields, although these motifs may have derived from a common source in York, namely St Mary's Abbey.[10] The Durham *Liber Vitae* reveals that a confraternity was established between the Durham and Hackness monastic communities in the late eleventh century, so the connection between Durham and Whitby extended beyond common Jarrow origins.[11]

The nearby parish church of St Mary, located about one hundred metres north-west of Whitby Abbey, was granted to the monastic community by William de Percy and his son, Alan.[12] This grant must have occurred before 1096 since William joined the First Crusade and died near Jerusalem in 1098.[13] The church retains a decorated chancel arch, window

Fig. J.13 (left). Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): voussoir excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430743. © English Heritage.

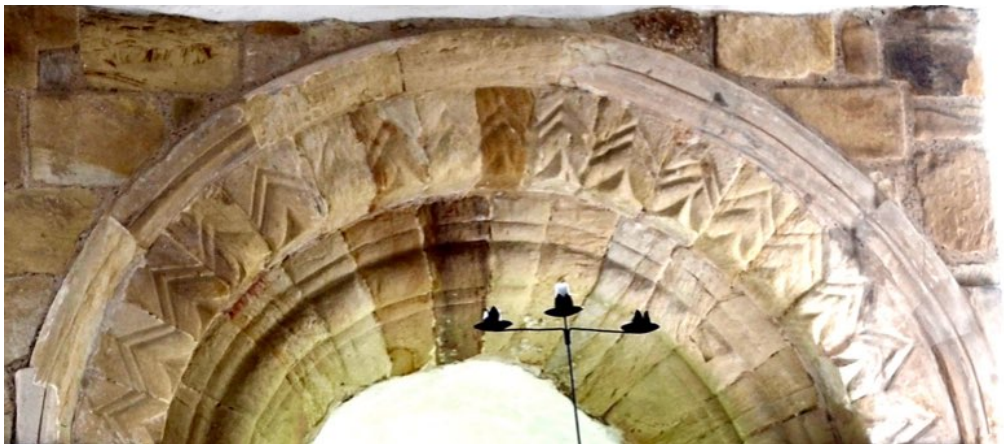

Fig. J.14 (left). Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave window (interior).

[10] One example of a Whitby Abbey voussoir decorated with curved lateral chevron is acc. no. 81430743, Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire).

[11] Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 41; idem, 'Confraternities in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham Liber Vitae*, vol. 1, ed. D. Rollason and L. Rollason (London, 2007), p. 75.

[12] *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby*, vol. 1, ed. J. C. Atkinson (Durham, 1879), no. 1, p. 3.

[13] Ibid., p. lxxx; *EYC*, vol. 11, p. 1; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, pp. 478–9; E. Cownie, 'Percy, William de (d. 1096x9)', *DNB*.

and doorway that look to date from the first quarter of the twelfth century.[14] This would indicate that a major rebuilding campaign was initiated by the monastic community, although Alan de Percy could have exercised influence as the secular patron. There are enough parallels with the abbey fragments to suggest that some of the same craftsmen worked on the parish church. The outer order of the nave window is constructed of curved lateral chevron voussoirs that have pyramidal spurs on their arrises (fig. J. 14). A voussoir with a very similar profile can be found in the Whitby Abbey collection at Helmsley (fig. J.13). The scallop-volute capitals on the doorway and chancel arch

Fig. J.15. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): outer east capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. J.16. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): north capitals of the chancel arch.

Fig. J.17. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch.

[14] The nave window is enriched with curved lateral chevron which is comparable to post-1104 examples at Durham Cathedral.

have swollen angles, some with wedges between the cones, like capitals from the abbey (figs. J.8 & 9, 15–17). Two of the chancel arch capitals have bands of upright leaves or cusps on their lower registers, an arrangement that echoes the fragmentary Corinthianesque capital from the abbey (figs. J.10, 16 & 17). The quirked bulbous bases of the chancel arch are also identical to one of the surviving bases from the abbey.[15]

Fig. J.18. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): outer capital on the south side of the chancel arch.

Some figure sculpture can be found on the chancel arch of St Mary's parish church, and this loosely relates to carvings from both Whitby Abbey and St Mary's Abbey, York. The outer capital on the south side is carved with an angle mask in the form of a male head (figs. J.17 & 18). He has moulded almond-shaped eyes, a high-bridged nose, an open and slightly offset mouth, and a prominent round chin. Flanking the head are wedged scallops with sunken stars on the shields. This arrangement of a human head with sunken stars can be compared to one of the capitals in Durham Castle which, in turn, suggests influence from Normandy (fig. B.33). Nothing identical survives from the abbeys of Whitby or York, but the arrangement of a human head on a capital can be traced to both sites. In terms of the treatment of the face, the closest parallel can again be found on one of the nook-shaft capitals from St Mary's Abbey (fig. B.24). Another angle mask appears on the opposite side of the chancel arch (fig. J.16). This human head is related to the former but it is shown emitting, or biting, a spiralling tendril. The juxtaposition of human face and foliage recalls the other nook-shaft capital from St Mary's Abbey, although the foliage on the latter merely flanks the human mask (figs. B.25 & 26).[16] There is a similar capital design at the abbey of Cerisy-la-Fôret which suggests the motif was ultimately derived from Normandy.[17]

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[15] The base from the abbey is acc. no. 81430769, Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire).

[16] A more closely related capital design can be found among the collection of architectural fragments from Gisborough Priory, see the following chapter (2. ix).

[17] Wood, 'Norman Chapel', p. 20.

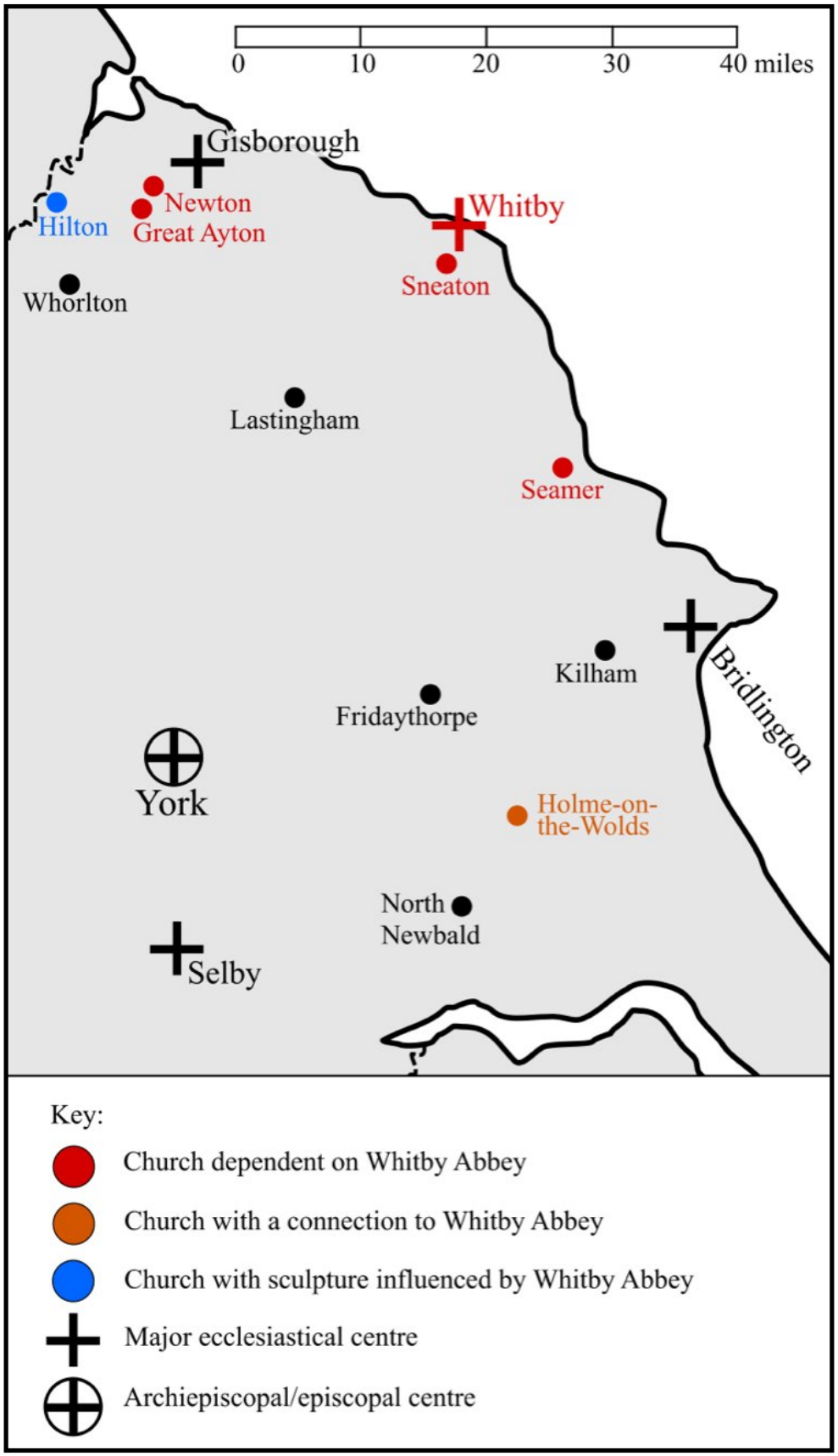

Fig. J.19. Map of sites associated with Whitby Abbey.

Of the many other churches that were granted to Whitby Abbey by William de Percy and his successors, few retain any notable sculpture from the first half of the twelfth century (fig. J.19). Sneaton church (North Yorkshire), which was part of William de Percy's original endowment, houses a geometrically decorated font that was completely recut in the mid-nineteenth century.[18] No related fonts can be traced to Whitby Abbey or its other dependent churches.[19] The sculpted capitals from Holme-on-the-Wolds church have already been tentatively attributed to the co-patronage of the Percy family and compared to capital designs from Whitby and Durham (figs. E.78–80). Seamer church (North Yorkshire) belonged to the Percy family by the late eleventh-century and it was granted to Whitby Abbey by William II de Percy between 1145 and 1153.[20] The beaker clasps that decorate the outer order of the chancel arch suggest a major rebuilding campaign took place immediately before the grant, and the same motif can be found at various near-contemporary churches in Yorkshire, Cumbria and Northumberland (figs. C.29–31; E.105–109; J.20). A few decorative elements do relate to fragments from the Whitby Abbey site. The label of the chancel arch is carved with a chequerboard pattern like a label fragment from the abbey (figs. J. 3 & 20), and the scallop capitals below have incised shields, wedges between the cones and swollen angles like one of the

Fig. J.20. Seamer, St Martin (North Yorkshire): beaker clasps on the outer order of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. J.21. Seamer, St Martin (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch (west face).

[18] *Cartularium Whiteby*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 3; Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 199.

[19] There are, however, related fonts at churches that were dependent on Gisborough Priory. See below, Chapter 2. ix.

[20] *Cartularium Whiteby*, vol. 1, no. 45, p. 48; *EYC*, vol. 11, no. 9, pp. 24–5. William II was the grandson of William I de Percy.

fragmentary capitals from the abbey (figs. J.8 & 21). Two sculpted corbels reset inside the chancel, which appear to depict an atlas figure and caryatid, respectively, indicate that the church once had a decorated corbel table like the abbey.[21] The actual motifs have no parallel at Whitby, although the heads, with their almond-shaped eyes, angular noses and prominent chins, can be tentatively compared to those on the chancel capitals at the parish church of Whitby (figs. J.16–18, 22 & 23). Atlas figures can, however, be found in the Durham Cathedral Priory chapter house (fig. E.21).

Figs. J.22 & 23. Seamer, St Martin (North Yorkshire): corbels reset on the east wall of the chancel (interior).

Other churches were granted to the Whitby community by Robert de Maisnil (d. after *c.* 1112), a Norman lord who acquired lands in Yorkshire at the beginning of the twelfth century and established a *caput* at Whorlton-in-Cleveland, around thirty miles west of Whitby.[22] Great Ayton church and its dependent chapel at Newton-under-Roseberry were gifted to the abbey by Robert and his wife, Gertrude, early in the twelfth century.[23] The sculptural schemes at Great Ayton relate particularly closely to those at Whitby. On the outer order of the chancel arch, the voussoirs are sculpted with a distinctive roll-fillet-and-hollow profile, much like the outer voussoirs of the chancel arch at St Mary's parish church, Whitby (figs. J.24 & 25). A more repetitive arrangement of rolls and fillets can be seen on the chancel arch at Newton-under-

[21] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 191.

[22] Also known as 'de Meynell'. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, pp. 562–3; Page (ed.), *History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 2, pp. 309–19. There are the remains of a castle and church complex at Whorlton.

[23] *Cartularium Whiteby*, vol. 1, no. 1, p. 6. These gifts were later confirmed by their son, Stephen, and King Henry I, see *Cartularium Whiteby*, vol. 2, no. 415, p. 37; *EYC*, vol. 2, nos. 866 and 1043, pp. 211, 356–7.

Fig. J.24. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): chancel arch (west face).

Fig. J.25. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. J.26. Newton-under-Roseberry, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. J.27. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): north capitals of the chancel arch.

Fig. J.28. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): outer south capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. J.29. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): west capitals of the south nave doorway.

Fig. J.30. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): east capitals of the south nave doorway.

Roseberry (fig. J.26). Most of the capitals at Great Ayton are scallop types with swollen angles and wedges between the cones. The two that support the chancel arch have indistinct plain shields, and in this respect they relate to one of the capitals from Whitby Abbey (figs. J.9, 27 & 28). Those on the south doorway have the addition of incised shields much like a fragmentary capital from the abbey and the several scallop capitals at Seamer (figs. J.8, 21, 29 & 30). There is another type of capital at Great Ayton: a hybrid volute-scallop form with swollen angles (J.27). The same design can be found on the doorway and chancel arch at St Mary's church, Whitby, although these lack concentric

Fig. J.31. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway arch.

grooves on their cones (figs. J.15–17). In addition to the sculpted capitals, the Great Ayton south doorway has an outer order of lateral chevron with pyramidal spurs at the angles (fig. J.31). Identical chevron ornament can be seen on the window at St Mary's church, Whitby, and among the fragments from the abbey (J.13 & 14).

Great Ayton church retains a series of corbels on both the north and south side of the nave, and in this respect the structure presumably reflected Whitby Abbey. Unfortunately, the corbels are badly eroded and the finer details have been lost. Most appear to depict grotesque or bestial heads, a few are purely geometric, and some may have depicted human forms. The better preserved examples display heavily moulded faces and almond-shaped eyes which tenuously links them to the figure sculpture from the abbey (fig. J.32). In their current state, it is impossible to ascertain whether there was any direct replication or common craftsmanship. On the other hand, and as already discussed, there are sufficient parallels between Great Ayton and Whitby in the type of voussoir and capital designs to argue that at least some of the Great Ayton sculptors had worked or even trained at Whitby.

Fig. J.32. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): corbel table of the south nave.

The surviving architectural decoration at Newton-under-Roseberry is more austere and this may, in part, reflect the church's status as a dependent chapel of Great Ayton. That said, the exterior of the church has been much altered and there is one surviving piece of figure sculpture, now reset on the south-west corner of the west tower.[24] It is a rectangular relief depicting two confronted beasts on the long face and a bird with outstretched wings on the

[24] This was discovered in 1827 and subsequently built into the tower at the start of the twentieth century, see Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, p. 27; *CASSS*, vol. 6, p. 292.

Figs. J.33 & 34. Newton-under-Roseberry, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): reset relief (south and west faces) on the south side of west tower.

short face, exposed on the west side (figs. J.33 & 34). On the long face, the left-hand creature appears to be a winged dragon with an open mouth and a long looping tail that terminates in a serpentine head. The other creature is a quadruped, bovine in form though probably intended to represent a lion, with an open mouth and a tail that loops between its hind legs and over its body. It has been carved in a two-plane technique where the background is recessed to create raised flat figures. This technique is typically associated with pre-conquest sculpture, being found on many early eleventh-century crosses, and for this reason the relief has been misinterpreted as an Anglo-Saxon artefact. In fact, the confronted arrangement of the beasts and the crossing tail of the quadruped are characteristic of post-conquest sculpture, and the relief is likely to date from around the time that the chapel was granted to Whitby Abbey by Robert de Maisnil and his wife.[25] The shape of the stone and the presence of carvings on two faces suggests that it was originally an impost or part of a jamb, perhaps belonging to the lost south nave doorway.

Another church with near-contemporary sculpture that may have been commissioned by Robert de Maisnil or his son and heir, Stephen, is St Peter, Hilton (North Yorkshire). The Maisnil family held Hilton manor from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Hilton chapel was dependent on the Maisnil-controlled church of Rudby. Both remained seigneurial churches, although there was an attempt to grant Rudby church, and presumably Hilton

[25] Other scholars have dated the relief to the late eleventh century or early twelfth century on the basis of style alone, see Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, pp. 14–5, 27; *CASSS*, vol. 6, p. 292.

Fig. J.35. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): outer west capital of the north nave doorway.

Fig. J.36. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): outer north capital of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. J.37. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430713. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.38. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. J.39. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): inner north capital of the chancel arch (west face).

chapel by affiliation, to Gisborough Priory in the late twelfth century.[26] Again, there are various parallels with Whitby-sculpture. There are double scallop capitals with incised shields and wedges supporting the north nave doorway (fig. J.35),[27] and one of the chancel capitals is a triple scallop with recessed shields like a hitherto unmentioned capital from Whitby Abbey (figs. J.36 & 37). The Hilton chancel arch also features hybrid volute-scallop capitals and capitals with angle masks emitting tendrils that can be compared to those at St Mary's parish church, Whitby (figs. J.16, 38 & 39). Moving to the south nave doorway at Hilton, there are two orders of lateral chevron with pyramidal spurs that relate to voussoirs from Whitby Abbey, and arches at the parish churches of Whitby and Great Ayton (figs. J.13–14, 31 & 40).[28] Next to this doorway, there is a reset rectangular relief

[26] Page (ed.), *History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 2, pp. 237–40, 283–90.

[27] Cf. figs. H.9, 29–30.

[28] In these and other respects, the sculpture at Hilton also relates closely to carved fragments from Gisborough Priory, see Chapter 2. ix.

that depicts a quadruped, probably a lion, biting its tail (J.41). The creature's tail loops between its legs like the quadruped on the Newton-under-Roseberry relief and is carved in a similar recessed two-plane technique. That said, the Hilton relief is visibly more accomplished and naturalistic, and in terms of style and arrangement the Hilton lion is more closely related to the corresponding creature that appears on the reset relief at Leake church, located less than twenty miles to the south. Both animals are in identical poses and have similar foliate tails. By extension, the Hilton relief is comparable to sculpture and manuscript illumination connected to Durham Cathedral Priory (fig. E.33, 34, 95–97).

Fig. J.40. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. J.41. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): reset relief on the south nave exterior.

Whitby Abbey was an imposing church with sculptural schemes such as chevron-enriched arches and a decorated corbel table that conformed to the latest regional and national trends. The relationship between the fabrics of Whitby Abbey and St Mary's Abbey, York, and evidence of a twelfth-century confraternity between the two houses indicates that the schism between Reinfrid and Abbot Stephen did not preclude future contact between the communities, and there was a conscious effort to visualise this fraternal link.[29] It is also possible that craftsmen moved between Whitby and York.[30] Some of the Whitby craftsmen, including Godfrey, the master of the works, almost certainly originated from Normandy, bringing with them new ideas from their home region.[31] On the other hand, there are important clues that select decorative elements were intended to evoke pre-conquest architecture.

There are several possible explanations for this continuity. The professed aims of the early community in reviving an earlier form of eremitical monasticism may have been consciously expressed through architectural decoration. Related to this is the possibility that pre-conquest structures were still standing at Whitby and Hackness in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and directly influenced the design of the new abbey church. There is even the possibility that native sculptors trained in pre-conquest traditions were employed at the site, as was surely the case at Newton-under-Roseberry. Various members of the Percy family were in a position to influence the design of the abbey: Alan de Percy and William II de Percy as secular patrons, and Prior Serlo de Percy and Abbot William de Percy as leaders of the monastic community. There is some evidence that Alan and William II commissioned sculptural schemes at minor churches to emulate the decoration at the abbey, although some motifs appear to derive from other major northern sites. The commissions of Robert de Maisnil provide an interesting insight into the concerns and ambitions of a minor local lord. His efforts to copy sculpture at Whitby can be a read as a visual expression of his support for the monastic community as well as his social affiliation to the Percy family.

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[29] The confraternity is discussed by J. Burton, 'A Confraternity List from St Mary's Abbey, York', *Revue Bénédictine* 89 (1979), pp. 325–33.

[30] For a detailed discussion of the schism, see Burton, 'Monastic Revival'.

[31] For a similar argument, see Brindle, *Whitby Abbey*, p. 7.

IX

The canons of Gisborough Priory and Robert I de Brus

Robert I de Brus (d. 1142) was one of the 'new men' of King Henry I who rose to prominence in the early twelfth century having supported Henry's claims to the English throne and, later, the Duchy of Normandy. By 1103 he had been granted a substantial amount of landholdings in Yorkshire, with a notable concentration in Cleveland (North Yorkshire).[1] In time, he established a *caput* at Skelton-in-Cleveland where there are the remains of a seigneurial castle and church complex.[2] Robert also acquired royal estates in the district of Hartness (County Durham) at some point in the first two decades of the twelfth century with Hartlepool as the main port of the area. The manor of Hart seems to have served as the Brus family's *caput* north of the Tees, and, like Skelton, there is evidence of a seigneurial complex comprising of elite residence and church. Altogether, these estates formed a nucleus around the Tees estuary (fig. K1).[3] Robert evidently wielded considerable status and influence at the court of Henry I since numerous royal charters

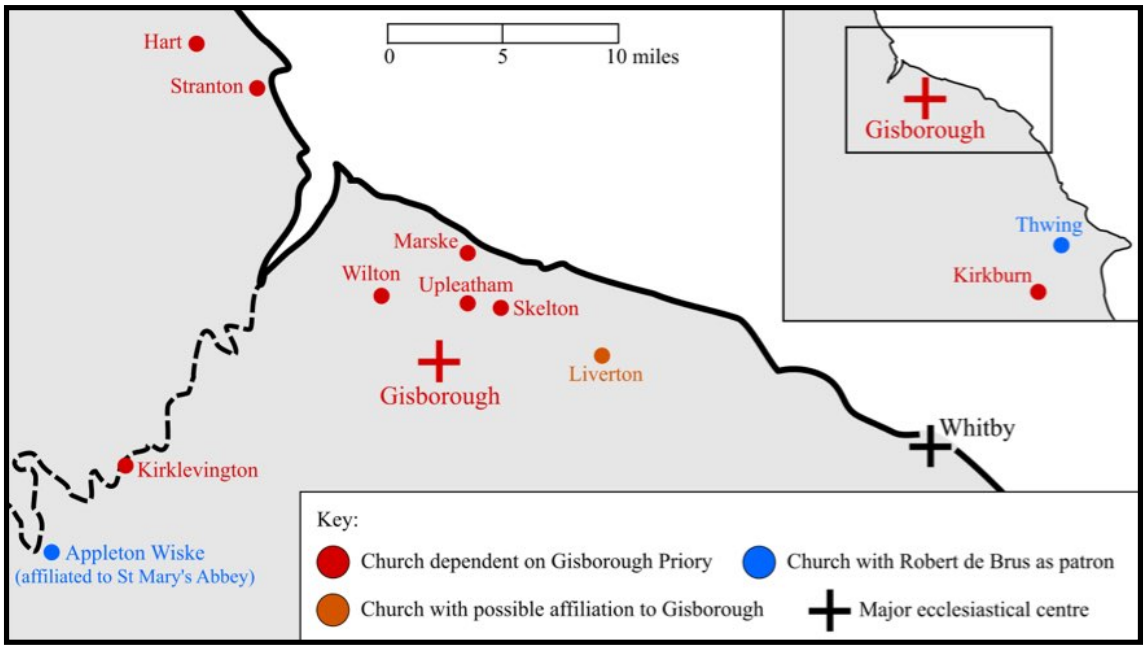

Fig. K.1. Map of sites associated with Gisborough Priory and the Brus family.

[1] Blakely, *Brus Family*, pp. 8–18.

[2] For a plan of this complex, see 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, *The Archaeology of the 11th Century: Continuities and Transformations* (Abingdon, 2017), p. 63.

[3] Blakely, *Brus Family*, pp. 1, 18; D. H. Heslop, 'Excavations within the Church at the Augustinian Priory of Gisborough, Cleveland 1985–6', *YAJ* 67 (1995), p. 121.

issued in both England and Normandy list him as a witness.[4] Later, he enjoyed the patronage of David I, King of the Scots, who granted him the lordship of Annandale in 1124.[5] These loyalties to both the English and Scottish crowns served to politically divide the Brus family during Stephen's reign, with Robert I de Brus and his son Adam fighting against King David at the Battle of the Standard (1138) while his younger son, Robert II de Brus, joined the Scots.[6] Adam inherited his father's lands in northern England but died soon afterwards in 1143 and was succeeded by his infant son. The weakness of the Brus family was subsequently exploited by William of Aumale, earl of York, who seized many of their estates and possessions, including the churches of Skelton and Kirklevington.[7]

Robert I de Brus' decision to found an Augustinian priory at Gisborough (North Yorkshire) *c.* 1120 no doubt reflected a desire to consolidate his elite status in the region, as well as establish a religious house that would offer prayers and serve as a mausoleum for him and his family. The reformist zeal of the Augustinian canons and their emphasis on pastoral care may have proved another attraction, and it is noteworthy that King Henry I and Queen Matilda were major patrons of the order.[8] Explicitly, Robert de Brus was guided in his decision by Archbishop Thurstan, another prominent advocate of the Augustinian order, and, more unusually, Pope Calixtus II (1119–24).[9] The involvement of Calixtus has been framed within the rekindled York-Canterbury primacy dispute of the 1110s and 1120s which had driven a wedge between Henry I on one side and Thurstan and the papacy on the other. In Heslop's opinion, the contact between Robert de Brus and Calixtus suggests

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[4] *RRAN*, vol. 2, nos. 680, 715, 891, 918, 925–6, 995, 1062, 1241, 1279, 1319, 1335, 1451, 1464, 1582, 1586, 1638–9, 1654.

[5] Barrow, 'King David I', p. 117. The relationship between Robert I de Brus and King David can be traced to the court of Henry I and it has been suggested that Robert served as David's mentor, see Blakely, *Brus Family*, p. 21.

[6] Aelred of Rievaulx, '*Relatio de Standardo*', ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. 3 (London, 1886), p. 182; Aelred of Rievaulx, 'The Battle of the Standard', *The Historical Works,* ed. J. P. Freeland (Kalamazoo, 2005), p. 261; Richard of Hexham, 'The Chronicle of Richard, Prior of Hexham', ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, vol. 3 (London, 1886), pp. 161–2; RH, pp. 48–9.

[7] Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, p. 166.

[8] J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), pp. 116, 127–8; Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 78; Franklin, 'Augustinian and other Canons' Churches', pp. 90–2.

[9] *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. 1, ed. W. Brown (Durham, 1889), nos. 1–7, pp. vi–ix; Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 77–8.

that the former had rebelliously allied himself with the York-Rome faction against Canterbury and the king.[10] This view is difficult to justify on the foundation history of Gisborough alone, especially considering Robert's continued attendance at the royal court during this period.[11] Instead, it is plausible that Robert was adopting a pragmatic and conciliatory approach towards the two parties.

The foundation of the priory seems to have anticipated the building programme. Excavations in 1985–6 did reveal the remains of a small, inexpertly constructed stone building that could have served as a temporary church, although the archaeological evidence is inconclusive.[12] On the basis of the documentary evidence, it is reasonable to assume that the first major priory church was commenced in the 1120s with work continuing into the 1130s. Unfortunately there is no record of when it was completed. No standing remains of this first priory church survive owing to the fact that it was completely demolished and rebuilt from the later twelfth century. Knowledge of its architectural form therefore depends primarily on the 1985–6 excavations which unearthed the north-west part of the nave. The church was aisled from the outset, certainly on the north side and probably also on the south, with a west tower and a grand north nave porch entrance between bays two and three. While the form of the eastern arm is unknown, the reconstructed plan of the western arm has encouraged comparisons with Christchurch Priory (Dorset) and Kirkham Priory (North Yorkshire).[13] Fortunately, a small collection of carved fragments survive from the first priory church and these reveal a richly decorated church with high quality geometric mouldings and figure carvings.[14] Arch-heads were adorned with lateral roll and hollow chevron mouldings, and supported by scallop or volute capitals, some carved with grotesque or human masks. Stone vaulting was employed within the church and included ribs that were enriched with chevron like Durham

[10] Heslop, 'Excavations Gisborough', p. 118.

[11] *RRAN*, vol. 2, nos. 1241, 1279, 1319, 1335.

[12] Heslop, 'Excavations Gisborough', pp. 58, 119, alternatively proposes that the pre-existing parish church of St Nicholas, Gisborough, could have served the Augustinian canons while the priory church was being constructed.

[13] Ibid., pp. 60–66, 84, 119–21.

[14] Most of these were discovered before 1985 and are currently held in the English Heritage Archaeological Store at Helmsley, North Yorkshire. The survival of these fragments has been attributed to their reuse in the later architectural fabric of the priory, see Heslop, 'Excavations Gisborough', pp. 106–14.

Cathedral Priory. A single surviving decorated corbel suggests some form of corbel table, probably on the exterior of the church although an interior scheme is also possible.[15]

Possible sources and models for many of these sculptural designs can be found at various regional centres. Whitby appears to have been particularly influential which is unsurprising considering the close proximity of the two sites. The single Gisborough corbel, which is in the form of a beast's head with sharp fangs and a wide tongue, has large almond-shaped eyes and heavily moulded facial features like some of the early twelfth-century bestial heads from Whitby Abbey (figs. J.1 & 5; K.2 & 3). There are also several Whitby Abbey voussoirs that exhibit the same lateral roll and hollow chevron ornament as a damaged voussoir from Gisborough. A particularly unusual capital design that derives from both Gisborough and Whitby is a double scallop with indistinct shields and large triangular wedges between the cones (figs. K.4 & 5). There are further parallels between several Gisborough fragments and *in situ* sculpture at the church of St Mary's adjacent to Whitby Abbey. One of the Gisborough nook-shaft capitals, which depicts a grotesque angle mask emitting spiralling tendrils, corresponds with a nook-shaft capital belonging to the chancel arch of Whitby parish church (figs. H.16; K.6). Although the Gisborough capital depicts a grotesque head with pointed ears and almond-shaped eyes rather than a humanoid head

Figs. K.2 & 3. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged corbel excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88070192. © English Heritage.

[15] English Heritage, Helmsley Archaeological Store, North Yorkshire, accession nos. 88070192, 88070193, 88280250, 88280254, 88280285, 88280288, 88280289, 88280293, 88280294; Heslop, 'Excavations Gisborough', pp. 108–14.

Fig. K.4. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280254. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.5. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 88074101. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.6. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280294. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.7. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88070193. © English Heritage.

with round eyes, the form and positions of the tendrils are identical and the spaces below the masks taper into cones. This unusual fusion of the scallop and volute capital forms is seen more clearly on another Gisborough capital, which also has an angle mask (fig. K.7), as well as the remains of a pillar piscina.[16] Similar hybrid scallop-volute capital forms can be found on the chancel arch and doorway at Whitby parish church (figs. J.15–17). It is possible, then, that Robert de Brus and the

[16] For the Gisborough pillar piscina, see Heslop, 'Excavations Gisborough', pp. 108–9, fig. 23, 5.

Gisborough canons employed craftsmen from Whitby.

Comparisons can also be made to sculpture at York. The aforementioned Gisborough capital with an angle mask and spiralling tendrils is similar in general composition to the late eleventh-century nook-shaft capital from St Mary's Abbey, York, which shows a humanoid mask surrounded by foliage (figs. B.25 & 26; K.6). It is important to note that Robert was a major benefactor of St Mary's Abbey and granted the community land, churches and other property.[17] This same Gisborough capital and the other depicting a humanoid angle mask flanked by tight volutes can also be tentatively compared to the upper register of the late eleventh-century Corinthianesque capital from York Cathedral which shows a humanoid head flanked by foliage and angle volutes (figs. B.6; K.6 & 7). Capitals in the Norman Chapel of Durham Castle similarly exhibit masks juxtaposed with volutes (figs. B.30, 35 & 41). Another Gisborough fragment, a section of string course, is decorated with large beads on a hollow chamfer (fig. K.8). Several related fragments can be found reused in the thirteenth-century fabric of St Mary's Abbey, York (B.22; K.9).[18] Two other Gisborough fragments appear to be hoodmould voussoirs and are adorned with bead-filled trellis.[19] The same motif appears on an aforementioned section of string course from York Cathedral that has been identified with the eastern extension overseen by Archbishop Thurstan.[20]

Fig. K.8. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): section of string course excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280250. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.9. St Mary's Abbey, York: section of string course reset in the west nave wall.

[17] Blakely, *Brus Family*, p. 203.

[18] Heslop, 'Excavations Gisborough', pp. 110, 113. The same motif can be found on the chancel arch and the north nave doorway at Hilton church (North Yorkshire).

[19] Ibid., pp. 108–9, fig. 23, 2.

[20] See above, Chapter 2. i. Harrison and Norton, *York Minster*, p. 15.

A couple of Gisborough fragments are also comparable to sculpture at other major northern religious houses. The Gisborough corbel reflects the growing popularity of decorated corbel tables in Yorkshire, and England more widely, during the second quarter of the twelfth century and may have originally depicted a human head clamped between the beast's jaws, similar to other corbels in the region. A related corbel dating from the early twelfth century can be seen inside Selby Abbey on the north side of the west crossing arch. This is also in the form of a beast's head with large fangs, almond-shaped eyes and pointed ears, and it is possible to discern a human face in the flat space between the jaws (fig. F. 26). The Gisborough double scallop capital with large triangles between the cones and a roll necking has a near-contemporary sister in the south transept of Carlisle Cathedral, which was initially founded as an Augustinian priory by King Henry I in 1122 (figs. K.4 & 10).[21]

Fig. K.10. Carlisle Cathedral (Cumbria): clerestory capital in the north nave.

This minor decorative relationship between Gisborough and Carlisle marks a possibly more far-reaching relationship between the patronage of Henry I and Robert de Brus. Henry I's major Benedictine foundation at Reading was commenced *c.* 1121, at roughly the same time as Gisborough Priory, and the planned sculptural programme there may have had a bearing on Robert de Brus' own commissions. One of the Gisborough nook-capitals is scalloped with a distinctive step pattern on the shields like a capital from the Reading Abbey site (figs. K.7 & 11). There are obvious differences in style and ancillary motifs, and, in general, the Reading sculptures are manifestly more accomplished, however the basic forms are similar. Other capitals from Reading

Fig. K.11. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: capital from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.100. © R. Baxter/ CRSBI.

[21] For the foundation history of Carlisle Cathedral and its architectural sculpture, see Chapter 2. xii.

Fig. K.12. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: capital from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.76. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

Fig. K.13. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: arch head from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.53. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

Abbey depict grotesque angle masks emitting spiralling tendrils of foliage which can be tentatively compared to the arrangement seen on the other nook-shaft capital from Gisborough (figs. K.6 & 12).[22] The motif comprising large beads within a hollow that can be seen on the aforementioned Gisborough string course fragment can similarly be traced to Reading Abbey and is found on a small arch-head now held in the Reading Museum (figs. K.8 & 13). Large beads also appear on chamfered imposts in the north-west nave aisle of Gloucester Cathedral and fragments from Old Sarum Cathedral, which seems to confirm a southern origin for the motif at York and Gisborough.[23]

Evidently a large amount of sculpture from the first priory church at Gisborough has been lost, yet the surviving fragments provide a meaningful, albeit selective, snapshot. As one of the leading men in northern England, Robert I de Brus clearly sought to visualise his status through the sculpture that he commissioned. The form and composition of the fragments suggests careful emulation and synthesis of decorative elements from several ecclesiastical centres and royal foundations. Yet some of the Gisborough fragments demonstrate a level of creativity that distinguishes them from other contemporary sculpture. The nook-shaft capital with an angle mask that fuses scallop and volute forms with the unusual step pattern is a case in point. Another nook-shaft capital, which has not yet been discussed, also illustrates this inventiveness (fig. K.14). It does not conform to standard capital forms; a

[22] Also see no. 1992.78, in Baxter, 'Reading Museum and Art Gallery'.

[23] The north-west nave aisle of Gloucester Cathedral is thought to date from the early 1120s, see D. Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991), p. 63; E. Chwojko and M. Thurlby, 'Gloucester and the Herefordshire School', *JBAA* 150 (1997), p. 18; M. Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston, 2013), p. 68. For the motif at Old Sarum, see J. F. King, 'The Old Sarum Master: A Twelfth-Century Sculptor in South-West England', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 83 (1990), p. 82; M. Nybø, *Albanuskirken på Selja: Klosterkirke eller bispekirke?*, vol. 2 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Bergen, 2000), p. 66, fig. 62.

large angular muzzled beast's head dominates the corner and is flanked by a pair of humanoid heads. The muzzled mask echoes near-contemporary corbel designs elsewhere in Yorkshire, as well as England more widely, but can be traced to pre-conquest hogback grave covers in the local area.[24] Muzzled masks also occur on later eleventh-century capitals at the royal abbey of La Trinité, Caen, which demonstrates that the motif had entered Norman repertoires.[25] On the other hand, this particular arrangement of a muzzled angle mask and two other heads on a capital has no clear precedent. From the outset, Robert planned for Gisborough Priory to be a wealthy and prestigious house that would remain a proprietary church, and it is possible that he commissioned sculpture to visualise this independent status.

Fig. K.14. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280285. © English Heritage.

Churches donated to Gisborough Priory by Robert I de Brus

Robert I de Brus endowed the priory handsomely with land and property, including the churches of Hart, Stranton (Hartness) Kirklevington, Marske-by-the-Sea, Skelton, Upleatham (Cleveland) and Kirkburn (East Yorkshire).[26] Most, if not all, of these seem to have been pre-conquest structures that were substantially rebuilt or altered after the grant to Gisborough *c.* 1120 through the patronage of Robert, and probably with guidance from

[24] Pre-conquest hogback grave covers at All Saints' church, Sockburn (Co. Durham) and St Thomas' church, Brompton-in-Allertonshire (North Yorkshire) are carved with muzzled bear-like creatures. See Cramp (ed.), *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: County Durham and Northumberland* (Oxford, 1984), pp. 141–2; J. Lang (ed.), *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: Northern Yorkshire* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 73–7.

[25] K. Hauglid, 'A Deliberate Style: The Patronage of Early Romanesque Architecture in Norway', in S. G. Eriksen (ed.), *Intellectual Culture in Medieval Scandinavia, c. 1100–1350* (Turnhout, 2016), p. 116, fig. 4.5.

[26] *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. 1, nos. 1 and 5, pp. 1–3, 6; *York EEA, 1070–1154*, no. 50, pp. 44–5.

the canons at Gisborough.[27] There are marked variations in the quantity of twelfth-century sculpture that survives at each of these sites, and for this reason the churches of Hart, Kirklevington and Kirkburn will receive the most attention. Kirkburn church is particularly remarkable for the quality and quantity of sculpture that survives on the chancel arch, two nave doorways, several windows, the corbel table and a font, all of which appear to date from the second quarter of the twelfth century. Crucially, the decorative schemes at these churches often demonstrate an affinity with Gisborough and one another.

Decorated corbel tables survive at both Hart and Kirkburn, offering a tantalising glimpse of what the corbel table at Gisborough may have looked like. At Hart, corbels only survive *in situ* on the north side of the nave, where they are enclosed by the later north nave aisle, but there are two loose corbels in the nave and porch, respectively, that appear to be contemporary. These have been sculpted to form a variety of bestial and human heads. None are identical to the single Gisborough corbel, but some of the beast heads have similar almond-shaped eyes, heavily moulded faces and bared teeth (figs. K.15 & 16). The two easternmost *in situ* corbels depict beasts that have been muzzled like the angle mask

Fig. K.15. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. K.16. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): loose fragmentary corbel located in the nave.

[27] There are fragments of pre-conquest sculpture at Hart and Kirklevington, and extant masonry of possible pre-conquest date at Stranton. At Hart church, the triangular-headed light between the nave and chancel, and the remains of a plain, narrow chancel arch have been interpreted as Anglo-Saxon architecture but may in fact date from the first half of the twelfth century, reflecting the continuity of pre-conquest building techniques. See R. Daniels, *Anglo-Saxon Hart* (Tees Archaeology, 2012), pp. 19–21.

Figs. K.17 & 18. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): corbels in the north nave aisle.

Fig. K.19. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the north nave exterior.

Fig. K.20. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the north chancel exterior.

Fig. K.21. Kirkburn, St Mary: modern copy of fig. K.20 on the south nave exterior.

Fig. K.22. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. K.23. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): broken ram corbel in the north nave aisle.

Fig. K.24. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior.

on the third Gisborough nook-shaft capital (figs. K.17 & 18). The corbel table scheme at Kirkburn is more extensive with the sculpted projections running across the chancel and nave on the north and south sides of the building. There is remarkable diversity in subject matter and form, and some corbels show full-length figures as opposed to disembodied heads. Three corbels show masculine human figures pulling their mouths with their hands, a motif that features on a heavily eroded corbel at Hart (figs. K.19–22). One of the Hart corbels depicted a ram's head, now broken off but discernible from the distinctive spiralling horns on either side of the head, like another at Kirkburn (figs. K.23 & 24). A corbel from Beverley, less than fifteen miles south of Kirkburn, is carved with the same design, however this may be slightly later in date.[28] There is one muzzled beast head corbel at Kirkburn corbel table that is comparable to those at Hart, but most akin in shape to the muzzled head on the Gisborough capital (figs. K.14 & 25). Again, there is no corbel at Kirkburn that perfectly duplicates the single example from Gisborough in form and style, but there are several corbels that show beasts with varying combinations of pointed ears, almond-shaped eyes, heavily moulded faces and sharp teeth. Of these, a corbel on the south side of the nave shares the strongest resemblance (figs. K.2, 3 & 26).

Fig. K.25. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior (probably recut).

Fig. K.26. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the south nave exterior.

It is difficult to make further comparisons between Hart and Kirkburn because little additional architectural sculpture survives at the former. The twelfth-century tower arch at Hart comprises plain cushion capitals, and voussoirs with simple roll and hollow mouldings (fig. K.27). Voussoirs with the same profile can be found on the triforium arches

[28] For the Beverley corbel, see Wood, 'Hull and East Riding Museum'.

Fig. K.27. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): detail of west tower arch (east face).

Fig. K.28. Durham Cathedral: detail of the south nave triforium (first bay).

Fig. K.29. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): section of hoodmould reset in the west wall of the south nave aisle (interior).

Fig. K.30. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (west face).

at the east end of the Durham Cathedral Priory nave, a possible indication that masons from Durham were employed at Hart (fig. K.28). A slightly curved and decorated fragment set in the west wall of the south aisle at Hart, identifiable as a section of hoodmould, suggests that there was once a decorated doorway. Two bands of roll billet are set on chamfered edges and separated by a slightly depressed, plain band in the middle (fig. K. 29). A similar configuration appears on the hoodmould of the chancel arch at Kirkburn, except the central space is filled with a third band of billet making a more elaborate pattern (fig. K.30).

Kirklevington church, on the other hand, preserves two decorated arches from the second quarter of the twelfth century with features that can be compared to Kirkburn. At both churches, the voussoirs of the chancel arch are carved with a similar type of lateral chevron where the pattern occurs on both the face and soffit (figs. K.31 & 32). These chancel arches also have the same impost profiles, the main difference being that the Kirkburn imposts are enriched with various geometric patterns. Similar forms of volute capitals with bulbous angles can be found at both churches, on the south nave doorway at Kirklevington and the chancel arch and south nave doorway at Kirkburn (figs. K.33 & 34). The main differences are the style of the volutes, which are less skilfully carved at Kirklevington, and the appearance of confronted creatures, possibly lions, on the lower registers of the Kirklevington volute capitals.

Fig. K.31. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. K.32. Kirklevington, SS Martin and Hilary (North Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (rotated 90° anticlockwise).

Fig. K.33. Kirklevington, SS Martin and Hilary (North Yorkshire): inner east capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.34. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): outer east capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.35. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave window capital.

Fig. K.36. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south nave window capital.

Figs. K.37–39. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): window capitals. From left to right: a) south nave, b & c) north chancel.

Kirkburn church is notable for having a series of decorated windows with sculpted capitals that are comparable to fragments from Gisborough Priory. One window capital on the north side of the nave is carved with a large humanoid face flanked by two smaller heads (fig. K.35). The small mask to the left is still relatively crisp and shows a humanoid head with oversized teeth, while the mask on the right-hand inner face of the capital has been broken off and is no longer discernible. A series of incised lines form a frame around the top and sides of the heads, unifying the scene. In composition, the capital echoes that from Gisborough which shows the large muzzled angle head flanked by two smaller masks (fig. K.14). Other window capitals at Kirkburn show a variety of angle masks flanked by foliage or tight volutes in manner that recalls the other nook-shaft capitals from Gisborough (figs. K.6 & 7, 36–39). Yet the foliage on the Kirkburn window capitals is remarkably more complex and chaotic, and in this sense they echo Scandinavian Urnes style art.[29] The closest regional parallel for this type of tendril design can be found on a capital at Campsall church (South Yorkshire) which depicts a tangled quadruped (fig. G.26).

In other respects, the architectural sculpture at Kirkburn and Kirklevington mirrors trends at Whitby which reinforces the possibility of a close artistic relationship between Whitby and Gisborough, along with their dependent churches. The Whitby Abbey scallop capital with a swollen angle and incised shields is similar to the right-hand capital on the north

Fig. K.40. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): west capital of the north nave doorway.

Fig. K.41. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway (east side).

[29] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 34–5; Thurlby, 'Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition', p. 64.

nave doorway at Kirkburn (figs. J.8; K.40). Chequerboard ornament like that on the label fragment from Whitby can be found at Kirkburn on the imposts of the chancel arch and south nave doorway (figs. J.3; K.30 & 41). Some of the arches at Whitby Abbey were carved with chevron on the faces and diamonds on the soffits, an arrangement that can be seen at Kirkburn on the south nave doorway (figs. J.6; K.42). At Kirklevington church, there is a block capital on the north side of the chancel arch which is decorated with an angle volute on the upper register; an angle mask in the form of a bearded male on the lower register; and a vertical band of sunken stars on the left-hand side (figs. K.43 & 48). Capitals that similarly juxtapose angle masks with sunken stars and volutes are found at Whitby on the chancel arch of St Mary's parish church (figs. J.16–18).

Fig. K.42. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): soffit of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.43. Kirklevington, SS Martin and Hilary (North Yorkshire): inner north capital of the chancel arch.

Within the group of churches connected to Gisborough Priory and Whitby Abbey, there are a number of related sandstone fonts that appear to have been carved by the same sculptor or workshop. The font at Hart is cubic with a stylised column, comprising a cylindrical shaft surmounted by a cushion capital, at each of the four corners (fig. K.44). More elaborate fonts of this type can be found at the churches of Marske-by-the-Sea and Skelton, the latter having been brought from Upleatham church which was also dependent on Gisborough. These feature stylised double-scallop capitals and carved geometric patterns on their large rectangular faces. The Marske font is carved with spirals, akin to those on volute capitals from Gisborough and Whitby; sunken stars and saltires; and chevron. Its

Fig. K.44. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): font.

counterpart at Skelton is decorated with sunken stars and diaper ornament.[30] Another font of the same type appears at Sneaton church (North Yorkshire), which was dependent on Whitby Abbey.[31] It was recut in the mid-nineteenth century, meaning none of the original tooling survives, but the majority of the design appears to be representative of the original. There is a large sunken star within a circle on one face and chevron ornament on two other faces, making it very similar in appearance to the Marske font.[32] It is reasonable to suppose that all four fonts were produced in close succession by the same sculptor, probably around the time that Gisborough Priory was founded, and perhaps in the same locale if the large blocks of sandstone were quarried from the same place. The recipient churches are all located on the east coast, so it is possible that the fonts were created at a single production centre and transported by boat.[33]

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[30] For descriptions and illustrations of the Marske and Skelton fonts, see Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, pp. 155, 196.

[31] *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby*, vol. 1, ed. J. C. Atkinson (Durham, 1879), no. 1, p. 3.

[32] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 199.

[33] The font at Reighton church (North Yorkshire) and another from St Hilda's church, Middlesbrough, now exhibited in the Dorman Museum, can also be identified with this group.

The possibility that Robert I de Brus was inspired by the architectural commissions of King Henry I can be further explored through a closer analysis of Kirkburn church. There is scholarly contention over the date of the sculptural schemes at Kirkburn, with earlier commentators suggesting that they were produced *c.* 1100.[34] There is now a growing consensus that the sculpture, and most of the accompanying architecture, was created after 1120 and can be associated with the granting of the church to Gisborough Priory.[35] Based on the recurrence of volute capitals and the same geometric patterns on the chancel arch, nave doorways and windows, it is reasonable to conclude that these schemes were created in the same building phase. The beakheads that adorn the third order of the south nave doorway are of particular interest because this motif can be traced to the patronage of Henry I and Bishop Roger of Salisbury at Reading and Old Sarum, respectively, during the 1120s. In Thurlby's opinion, Kirkburn church was commenced in the late 1120s and the beakheads reflect Robert de Brus' ambition as a patron who sought to emulate his more eminent contemporaries.[36] This conclusion can be extended by taking into account Robert's close association with Henry I, and the prior observation that elements of Gisborough Priory may have been modelled on Reading Abbey. The Kirkburn beakheads are in the form of bird heads with almond-shaped eyes, heavily moulded brows, and drilled decoration on their beaks and foreheads, that grip the roll of the arch with their beaks (figs. K.45 & 46). There are a several near-identical bird beakheads in the Reading Museum and Art Gallery which can be traced to Reading Abbey. Crucially, many of these have the same unusual drilled decoration on their beaks (fig. K.47).[37] If the Kirkburn beakheads were

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[34] For example, Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066–1140*, pp. 27–8.

[35] Thurlby, 'Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition', pp. 64–5, and idem, 'Anglo-Saxon Tradition', p. 345. Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 46, and R. Wood, 'The Augustinians and the Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', *East Yorkshire Historian* 4 (2003), p. 55, have dated the rebuilding of Kirkburn church to *c.* 1140.

[36] Thurlby, 'Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition', p. 65. Thurlby actually attributes Kirkburn to the patronage of Robert II de Brus, younger son of Robert I, which is untenable considering Robert I was alive until *c.* 1142 and Robert II supported King David during Stephen's reign. This error may have arisen from some confusion over the genealogy of the Brus family, see E. Cownie, 'Brus [Bruce], Robert de (supp. d. 1094)', *DNB*.

[37] Also see nos. 1992.83, 1966.158, 1992.24, 1992.116, in Baxter, 'Reading Museum and Art Gallery'.

carved in the 1130s, as seems likely, they represent some of the earliest examples of the motif in northern England.[38]

Fig. K.45. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. K.46. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): beakhead on the south nave doorway (third order).

Fig. K.47. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: voussoir from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.26. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

[38] Robert de Brus may have also been responsible for commissioning the simple bird beakheads on the chancel arch of Elton church (Co. Durham), see Page (ed.), *History of the County of Durham*, vol. 3, pp. 232–5.

Other churches that were commissioned by Robert I de Brus

It has already been noted that Robert I de Brus was a benefactor of St Mary's Abbey, York, and this included a gift of land at Appleton Wiske (North Yorkshire) between *c.* 1125 and 1135.[39] The pair of capitals on the south side of the chancel arch depict humanoid angle masks emitting thick tendrils of foliage from their mouths, and have already been compared to one of the capitals from St Mary's Abbey, York (fig. D.5). These capitals are actually closer in form and composition to one of the angle mask capitals from Gisborough Priory (fig. K.6), and other aspects of the Appleton Wiske chancel arch seem to derive from Gisborough, namely the scallop capitals with darts between the cones and the chamfered imposts with decorative beads (figs. D.5 & 30). The scallop capitals in question, which are located on the north side of the arch, are unusual in that the shields are decorated with low-relief creatures and foliage. The dragon emitting foliage on the outer capital presumably had a body that continued onto a flanking slab, an arrangement akin to the Kirklevington chancel arch where slabs carved with lions flank the outer capitals (figs. D. 30; K.48). On the basis of these style comparisons to St Mary's Abbey and Gisborough Priory, it seems likely that the design of Appleton Wiske church was jointly overseen by the York monastic community and Robert de Brus. These comparisons also raise the possibility that St Mary's Abbey had a more significant artistic impact on Gisborough Priory than the available corpus of sculpture suggests.[40]

Fig. K.48. Kirklevington, SS Martin and Hilary (North Yorkshire): relief on the north side of the chancel arch (west face).

[39] Page (ed.), *History of York North Riding*, vol. 2, pp. 223–5; Blakely, *Brus Family*, p. 203.

[40] It is interesting to note that St Mary's Abbey seems to have had a strong artistic influence on Gisborough in the late twelfth century, as evidenced by the similar life-size human statues from the two sites which are now held in the Yorkshire Museum, York, and the English Heritage Helmsley Archaeology Store, respectively.

Another church that can be tentatively connected to the patronage of Robert I de Brus is All Saints, Thwing (East Yorkshire), which has similar sculptural decoration to those churches that were granted to Gisborough Priory by Robert de Brus *c.* 1120. Thwing manor was acquired by Robert in the early twelfth century and the church retains fabric that appears to date from his lifetime, although the earliest record of a church at Thwing does not occur until the late twelfth century.[41] The nook-shafts of the south nave doorway are geometrically incised like the outer pair on the south nave doorway at Kirklevington, the main difference being that the former are carved with spirals while the latter are enriched with chevron (figs. K.49 & 50). There are two pairs of capitals at Thwing, one on the south doorway and the other on the chancel arch, that are carved with angle volutes and sunken stars in a manner that recalls the outermost north capital on the Kirklevington chancel arch (figs. K.43, 48–49, 51–52). Whereas the south doorway at Thwing is carved with chevron, the voussoirs of the chancel arch have simple roll and hollow mouldings like the tower arch of Hart church (figs. K.27 & 53). There are three corbels reset inside the nave of Thwing church that mark the remnants of a presumably more extensive corbel table. One depicts a bearded male, and another is in the form of a ram with worn horns, small incised eyes and a narrow snout (figs. K.54 & 55). Several corbels at Kirkburn have been sculpted

Fig. K.49. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway (west side).

Fig. K.50. Kirklevington, SS Martin and Hilary (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway (outer east jamb).

[41] *DB Yorks*., vol. 2, 332c; *EYC*, vol. 2, p. 16, nos. 761 and 1069, pp. 101 fn. and 376.

Fig. K.51. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway (east side).

Fig. K.52. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): outer north capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. K.53. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. K.54. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): corbel reset on the north nave wall (interior).

Fig. K.55. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): corbel reset on the north nave wall (interior).

Fig. K.56. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the exterior of the north chancel.

Fig. K.57. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel exterior.

Fig. K.58. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): tympanum of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.59. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): font.

Fig. K.60. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): corbel on the exterior of the south nave.

to form men's heads and one depicts a ram with incised eyes and tapered snout which is comparable to that at Thwing (figs. K.24, 56 & 57). The most prominent sculpture at Thwing is the tympanum above the south doorway which depicts the *Agnus Dei* supporting a cross (fig. K.58). Stylistically related examples of the motif can be found on the font and one of the corbels at Kirkburn (figs. K.59 & 60). These show the Lamb of God with the same straight back and pointed ears, as well as similarly arranged limbs. There are no remarkable parallels between the sculpture at Thwing and the small collection of fragments from Gisborough, however there are two double scallop capitals with darts between the cones on the second order of the Thwing chancel arch that are similar in form to the scallop capital from Gisborough Priory (figs. K.4 & 61).

The carved decoration at Thwing church is comparable to other regional and national sites that were unconnected to the patronage of Robert de Brus or Gisborough. Carved tympana are uncommon in Yorkshire, making the *Agnus Dei* tympanum above the Thwing doorway particularly unusual. The closest parallel is a damaged lintel from the York Cathedral-dependent chapel at Cottam (East Yorkshire), now in Langtoft church, which shows a stylistically similar version of the same motif, although flanked by twisting foliage (fig. K.62). A carved fragment at nearby Speeton church (East Yorkshire) does depict the same subject, although there are stylistic differences in the treatment of the lamb and the cross-head (fig. K.63).[42] There are two further *Agnus Dei* tympana in West Yorkshire at the churches of Emley and Woolley, and the latter is accompanied by a reset spiral columnette which suggests a similar arrangement to that at Thwing (figs. K.64 & 65).[43] A more unusual feature of the Thwing doorway is the presence of six dummy voussoirs on the first order of the arch which are carved from the same stone as the tympanum. Similar constructions exist at

Fig. K.61. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): south capital (second order) of the chancel arch.

Fig. K.62. Langtoft, St Peter (East Yorkshire): detail of the lintel from Cottam chapel.

Fig. K.63. Speeton, St Leonard (North Yorkshire): fragment reset in the north nave wall (interior).

[42] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, pp. 200, 213.

[43] Ibid., pp. 89, 213, 228. The Emley relief is heavily eroded meaning the *Agnus Dei* is only visible on close inspection.

Fig. K.64. Woolley, St Peter (West Yorkshire): tympanum reset in the south nave wall (interior).

Fig. K.65. Woolley, St Peter (West Yorkshire): spiral columnette reset in the south nave wall (interior).

contemporary churches in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, particularly at those sites affiliated to or in close proximity to the Dymock School group of churches.[44] There are, however, geographically closer examples of this technique at Londesborough church (East Yorkshire) and Croxdale chapel (fig. E.81).

Kilham church, which is located just five miles south of Thwing, exhibits some remarkably similar sculptural designs. One corbel depicts a ram with stubby horns, small incised eyes and a tapered snout like the corresponding example at Thwing (figs. C.51; K.55). Further parallels include the volute capitals enriched with sunken stars and the incised lateral chevron which can be found on the south nave doorways at Kilham and Thwing (figs. C.13 & 14; K.49, 51–52, 66–67). The incised lozenges that decorate the tub font at Thwing have been compared to the incised piers of Durham Cathedral Priory,[45] but there are also local examples of the lozenge motif at Kirkburn, Kilham and on the font at Bessingby church (figs. K.68; L.6). Ultimately, the decoration at Thwing church reflects local sculptural trends as well as the other Yorkshire churches that were commissioned by Robert I de Brus.

[44] Ibid., p. 213, notes similarities to contemporary churches in Herefordshire.

[45] Thurlby, 'Building of the Cathedral', p. 43.

Fig. K.66. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): inner capital on the west side of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.67. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): detail of south nave doorway.

Fig. K.68. Thwing, All Saints (East Yorkshire): font.

Other benefactors of Gisborough Priory

The canons of Gisborough Priory also received decorated churches from other secular lords in northern England. It can be deduced that Wilton church in Cleveland was granted to Gisborough by Alan de Ferlington around the year 1140, and that this transaction was overseen by Robert I de Brus and his eldest son Adam.[46] Alan was a minor lord in North

[46] *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. 1, no. 160, pp. 67–9; *Cartularium Abbathiæ de Whiteby*, vol. 1, no. 224, pp. 182–4. The date of the Gisborough charter can be deduced from the facts that Alan de Ferlington's father, Ralph, fought in the Battle of the Standard (1138) yet is absent from the charter, implying he died before its issue, and that Robert I de Brus, the main witness to the charter, died in 1142.

Yorkshire who inherited the manor of Wilton from his mother, Anfrida, the daughter of Stephen Fossard.[47] Although Alan made the gift, it is possible that Wilton church was commenced at an earlier date under the patronage of Alan's father, Ralph de Ferlington, and mother. There are clear parallels between the sculpture at Wilton church and the fragments excavated from the Gisborough Priory site which suggest a deliberate process of emulation by the lords of Wilton. The pair of capitals on the Wilton south nave doorway have angle masks, one with almond-shaped eyes and heavily moulded brows, flanked by volutes in a style and arrangement that mirrors the corresponding capitals from Gisborough

Fig. K.69. Wilton, St Cuthbert (North Yorkshire): west capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.70. Wilton, St Cuthbert (North Yorkshire): east capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. K.71. Wilton, St Cuthbert (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

[47] *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. 1, no. 160, pp. 67–9.

Fig. K.72. Wilton, St Cuthbert (North Yorkshire): fragments reset in the south wall of the chancel (interior).

(figs. K.6–7, 69–71). Furthermore, the same doorway is enriched with roll and hollow lateral chevron of the type found on a voussoir from Gisborough.[48] There are two *ex situ* nook-shaft capitals reset in the south wall of the Wilton chancel that are comparable to fragments from Gisborough Priory (fig. K.72). The first, a triple scallop capital with spirals on the shields, is identical to the stylised capital on the Gisborough pillar piscina. The second, a scallop capital with darts between the cones, can be tentatively compared to a scallop capital from Gisborough.[49] There is one sculpted corbel on the exterior of the church that is of particular interest. The lower part of the corbel is badly eroded, meaning the form of the jaw is unclear, but

Fig. K.73. Wilton, St Cuthbert (North Yorkshire): corbel on the south chancel wall.

[48] Acc. no. 88280288, Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire).

[49] For the Gisborough capital, see Heslop, 'Excavation Gisborough', pp. 110, 113, fig. 24, 8.

the upper section presents a creature with small rounded ears and large almond eyes that is similar to the single corbel from Gisborough (figs. K.2, 3 & 73).

The sculpture at Wilton can also be compared to decoration at those smaller churches that have been associated with the patronage of Robert I de Brus. There is a voussoir with simple roll and hollow mouldings in the chancel of Wilton church, perhaps the remains of the lost twelfth-century chancel arch, that has a similar profile to the voussoirs of the tower arch at Hart and the voussoirs of the chancel arch at Thwing (figs. K.27, 53 & 72). Equally, the chevron ornament on the outer order of the Wilton south doorway is the same type as that on the outer order of the Thwing south doorway, although this is likely to reflect common influence from Gisborough Priory (figs. K.67 & 71). It is also notable that the east capital on the Wilton south doorway combines an angle mask with volute and sunken star motifs like the outer north capital of the Kirklevington chancel arch (figs. K.43 & 70).

Another local church that was commissioned by a minor lord with affiliations to the Brus family and later granted to Gisborough Priory is St Michael, Liverton (North Yorkshire). The manor of Liverton was part of the Brus honour but had been tenanted to a certain Niel de Liverton by the middle of the twelfth century.[50] While the first extant record of Liverton church dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the richly sculpted chancel arch appears to date from *c.* 1140 and has been tentatively attributed to the patronage of Niel (fig. K.74).[51] In Wood's opinion, this was carved by sculptors who had previously worked at Gisborough Priory.[52] The grotesque masks that adorn the outer order of the chancel arch have almond-shaped eyes and heavily moulded faces like the corbel from Gisborough Priory, and they emit foliage from their mouths like the grotesque head on one of the Gisborough nook-shaft capitals (figs. K.2, 6 & 75). There are also parallels with the chancel arch at Kirklevington in that both feature capitals depicting large birds, and they have carved decoration on imposts and panels that extend to the sides of the openings (figs. K.76 & 77).[53] While these similarities do suggest that the Liverton carvings were partly

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[50] Page (ed.), *History of York North Riding*, vol. 2, pp. 383–5.

[51] *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. 1, p. 95; R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Chancel Arch at Liverton, North Riding', *YAJ* 78 (2006), pp. 112, 127.

[52] Wood, 'Liverton', pp. 127–8.

[53] Ibid., pp. 127–8.

Fig. K.74. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): chancel arch (west face).

Fig. K.75. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. K.76. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): outer north capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. K.77 (right). Kirklevington, SS Martin and Hilary (North Yorkshire): outer south capital of the chancel arch.

influenced by Gisborough Priory, there are not enough style parallels to substantiate Wood's argument.[54]

The decorated churches dependent on Gisborough Priory and constructed through the patronage of Robert de Brus offer further clues as to the form of the lost Romanesque priory church while demonstrating the wider influence of sculptural schemes at Gisborough. They also reveal the influence of other major religious foundations, namely Whitby Abbey, St Mary's Abbey, York, and Reading Abbey, on Robert's commissions. It is worth reiterating that the beakheads at Kirkburn may be the earliest examples of the motif in Yorkshire and represent direct emulation of Reading Abbey. It is also significant that Robert authorised the application of pre-conquest sculptural motifs and styles, and presumably employed craftsmen trained in native artistic traditions at a number of churches including Hart and Kirkburn.[55] The sculptural commissions of Alan de Ferlington and Niel de Liverton offer further insights into patterns of patronage among minor lords, especially their predilection for emulating schemes commissioned by a more eminent patron.

[54] Wood's analysis actually raises the possibility that the Liverton sculptors had previously worked further south at the priory churches of Tutbury (Staffordshire) and Nostell (West Yorkshire), see idem, 'Liverton', pp. 138–41; idem, 'The Romanesque Church at Melbourne', *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal* 126 (2006), p. 147.

[55] Thurlby, 'Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition', p. 65.

X

The canons of Bridlington Priory and the Gant family

Bridlington Priory was the first Augustinian house to be established in Yorkshire, having been founded by Walter de Gant between 1109 and 1114 on the advice of King Henry I. The canons seem to have occupied an existing church at Bridlington, which may have been the same as that recorded in Domesday Book.[1] There are several mysteries surrounding the early architectural history of the priory church owing to the fact that it was completely rebuilt in the thirteenth century and the lack of documentary and archaeological evidence for the earlier period. In the first instance, the appearance and location of the first church are unknown. It is also unclear whether the existing structure was retained, modified or completely rebuilt after it was occupied by the canons in the early twelfth century. Franklin has speculated that a major rebuilding campaign did not take place until the mid-twelfth-century, following the occupation and fortification of the priory church by William earl of York in 1143 or 1144. Her conjectural reconstruction suggests an aisleless cruciform structure, similar in form to the near-contemporary Augustinian priory church at Kirkham (North Yorkshire), with a cloister adjoining the south side of the nave and transept.[2]

Remains of the richly decorated later twelfth-century cloister arcades have been reconstructed inside the present-day church, but otherwise there are no carved architectural fragments that date prior to *c.* 1160.[3] Many pieces discovered in the nineteenth century were apparently burnt to produce lime which could explain why no earlier sculpture has yet been recovered.[4] A carved Tournai slab was preserved, however, and can be found in the south aisle of the nave. This depicts two confronted wyverns above a stylised domed

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[1] *EYC*, vol. 2, no. 1135, pp. 427–28; J. A. Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory: an Augustinian Church and Cloister in the Twelfth Century', C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), p. 44; *DB Yorks.*, 299 c.

[2] Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory', pp. 44–9.

[3] M. Thurlby, 'Observations on the Twelfth-Century Sculpture from Bridlington Priory', in C. Wilson (ed.), *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Leeds, 1989), pp. 33–43, has suggested that work on the cloister began as early as *c.* 1150, whereas Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory', pp. 46–7, has proposed a date in the 1160s. An excellent reassessment by S. Harrison, 'Benedictine and Augustinian Cloister Arcades of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in England, Wales and Scotland', *JBAA* 159 (2006), pp. 111–16, places the construction of the cloister between 1160 and 1180.

[4] Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory', p. 45.

Figs. L.1 & 2. Bridlington Priory (East Yorkshire): Tournai slab in the south aisle of the nave.

structure. Below, there is a quadruped and a bird drinking from a vessel, and a lion (figs. L. 1 & 2). In her detailed analysis, Wood has identified the object as a tomb slab produced in Flanders *c.* 1150.[5] The identity of the person commemorated by the tomb slab is not recorded by any inscription, although suggestions have been made for Walter de Gant (d. 1139), his son Gilbert II de Gant (d. 1156), or one of the early priors of Bridlington, namely Robert the Scribe. Wood has discounted Gilbert on the basis that he was much-maligned for his attack on Pontefract Priory in the 1140s, making it unlikely that he was honoured with a lavish tomb, and has instead made the case for Walter.[6] The likelihood that Walter de Gant was the man commemorated by the tomb slab is apparently confirmed by one iconographic feature. Dominating the centre of the slab is a large domed structure containing a smaller structure. This has been identified as a stylised representation of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, Jerusalem, namely the rotunda containing the aedicule, or shrine, over Christ's tomb.[7] There is a good reason for this. At some point in the 1130s, Walter acquired a phylactery from Jerusalem containing undisclosed relics which he subsequently granted to the canons of Bridlington. The acquisition of these relics had been facilitated by Walter's brother-in-law, Baldwin, who was evidently based in Jerusalem and could, theoretically, have had some connection to the community of Augustinian canons who served the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[8] Clearly the tomb slab seeks to visualise some form of connection between Bridlington Priory and the Holy Sepulchre, and can be understood to celebrate Walter's role in furnishing the priory with relics from the Holy City.

While the tomb slab is a significant carved artefact, it sheds no light on the architectural decoration of Bridlington priory church as it appeared in the mid-twelfth century. The dependent churches of the priory are potentially valuable in this respect (fig. L.3). A few of these churches preserve geometrically decorated tub fonts. The font at Carnaby church (East Yorkshire), which was donated to the priory by Robert de Percy between 1148 and 1153, is incised with large lozenges that are filled with chevron and sunken stars (fig. L.

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[5] R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Tomb-Slab at Bridlington Priory', *YAJ* 75 (2003), pp. 63–76.

[6] Ibid., pp. 74–6; Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory', p. 60, fn. 65.

[7] Wood, 'Romanesque Tomb-Slab', pp. 69–71.

[8] *EYC*, vol. 2, no. 1136, p. 429.

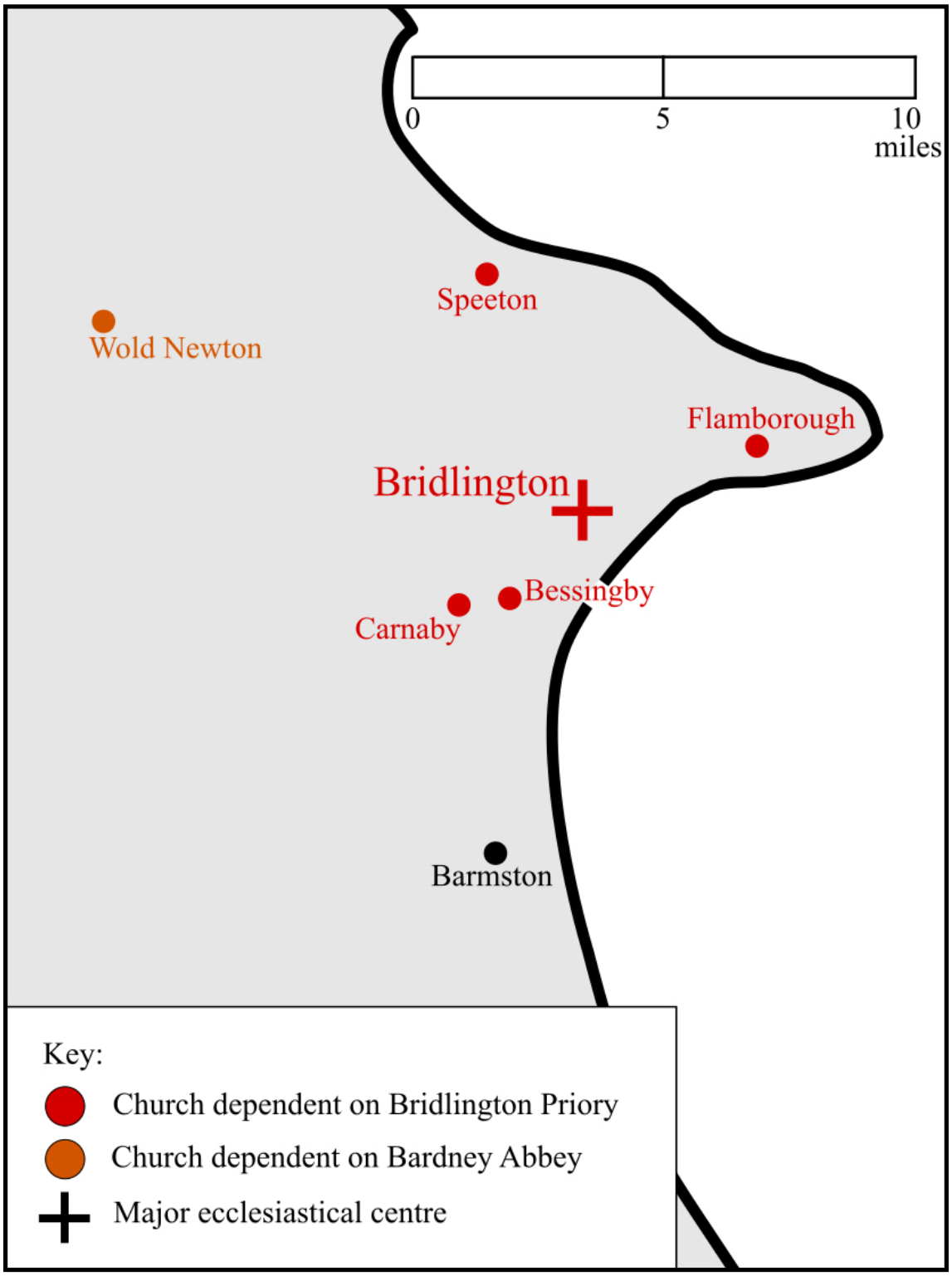

Fig. L.3. Map of sites associated with Bridlington Priory and the Gant family.

Fig. L.4. Carnaby, St John the Baptist (East Yorkshire): font. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

4).[9] At nearby Flamborough church (East Yorkshire), the surface of the font is almost entirely decorated with lozenges (fig. L.5). Flamborough church was granted to Bridlington Priory by William fitz Nigel, founder of Runcorn Priory (Cheshire) and a cousin of Walter de Gant, before 1130 and the font has been dated to *c.* 1130 on the basis of style.[10] Similar concentric lozenges occur on the more elaborate font at Bessingby church (East Yorkshire) (fig. L.6). Bessingby church was appropriated by the canons of Bridlington at some point between *c.* 1125 and 1133, and it is reasonable to guess that the font was commissioned after the acquisition.[11] Lozenge

Fig. L.5. Flamborough, St Oswald (East Yorkshire): font. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. L.6. Bessingby, St Magnus (East Yorkshire): font.

[9] *EYC*, vol. 11, no. 101, p. 115; *EYC*, vol. 2, no. 1148, p. 443. Robert can be identified as a grandson of Alan I de Percy and son of Walter de Percy.

[10] *EYC*, vol. 2, p. 193; J. Patrick Greene, *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 2; R. Wood, 'St Oswald, Flamborough, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 07/02/2018); Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 48.

[11] *EYC*, vol. 2, no. 1151, p. 445.

decoration was applied at the nearby abbey churches of Whitby and St Mary's, York, and either site could have inspired the examples of the motif found in the vicinity of Bridlington. It should be noted that Barmston church (East Yorkshire), which is located five miles south of Bridlington and belonged to Whitby Abbey, has a font that is almost identical to the example at Flamborough (fig. L.7).[12] The Bessingby font is of special interest because it depicts geometric decoration applied to stylised arcading. All of the arches are decorated with lateral chevron and they are supported by decorated piers with double and triple scallop capitals. The shafts are incised with a variety of motifs, including spirals, lozenges, quadrisected circles, sunken saltire crosses and more chevron. In the spaces beneath the arcades there are more geometric ornaments, such as stars, cusps and step pattern, as well as foliage decoration and two feline quadrupeds in an unusual mirror-image arrangement (figs. L.6, 8 & 9).

Fig. L.7. Barmston, All Saints (East Yorkshire): font. © John McElheran/ CRSBI.

Several motifs on the Bessingby font were applied as architectural decoration at churches connected to Bridlington Priory or the Gant family. The chancel arch at Flamborough church features scallop capitals with incised and three-dimensional lateral chevron on their cones (figs. L.10 & 11). There is an elaborate south nave doorway at Wold Newton church (East Yorkshire) that is enriched with lozenges, cable moulding, and sunken stars in both circular and saltire forms (fig. L.12). This church was granted to Bardney Abbey (Lincolnshire) by Walter de Gant in 1115.[13] Interestingly, the Wold Newton doorway is

[12] R. Wood, 'All Saints, Barmston, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 07/02/2018).

[13] R. Wood, 'All Saints, Wold Newton, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 07/02/2018). For the history and architectural remains of Bardney Abbey, see H. Brakspear, 'Bardney Abbey', *Archaeological Journal* 79 (1922), p. 1–92; S. Harrison, *Bardney Abbey: History, Archaeology and Exhibition* (Jews' Court and Bardney Abbey Trust, 2012). Bardney Abbey was re-founded by Walter's father, Gilbert I de Gant, in 1087. Modern excavations of Bardney Abbey have uncovered a number of carved architectural fragments which can been identified with the early twelfth-century abbey church and its claustral buildings. Crucially, these exhibit motifs that bear little resemblance to the Wold Newton doorway, with the exception of cable ornament. In other words, there is insufficient material evidence to prove a relationship between the sculpture of Wold Newton and Bardney Abbey.

Figs. L.8 & 9. Bessingby, St Magnus (East Yorkshire): font.

Figs. L.10 & 11. Flamborough, St Oswald (East Yorkshire): capitals on the south side of the chancel arch. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. L.12. Wold Newton, All Saints (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. L.13. Speeton,St Leonard (North Yorkshire): fragment reset in the south wall of the chancel (interior).

Fig. L.14. Speeton,St Leonard (North Yorkshire): fragment reset in the north wall of the nave (interior).

dominated by a tympanum with a cross pattée and chequerboard design.[14] A similar doorway appears to have once existed at Speeton church (North Yorkshire), which was granted to Bridlington Priory before 1140, most likely by Walter de Gant.[15] There are three carved fragments reset within the church that look to be the remains of a doorway. The first, a section of a tympanum that has been repurposed into a later niche, is carved with a cross pattée like the Wold Newton tympanum (fig. L.13).[16] Another is decorated with a quadrisected circle and a circular sunken star, motifs that can be found on the Bessingby font and the Wold Newton doorway (fig. L.14). The final fragment is dominated by a rigid, two-plane representation of the *Agnus Dei* that stylistically relates to the quadrupeds on the Bessingby font. It is flanked by incised decoration that may have once depicted a stylised arcade, raising the possibility of a further artistic link to the font (fig. K.63).[17]

These common motifs and styles suggest that the same workshop was employed across these parish churches. On the basis of charter evidence and style analysis, it appears that this workshop was active around Bridlington between *c.* 1120 and *c.* 1140 which raises some interesting points of debate. On the one hand, these craftsmen may have been attracted to the area by the promise of small-scale commissions from the canons of

[14] A related, though more basic, tympanum can be seen at Hunmanby church (North Yorkshire). This was the mother church of Wold Newton chapel and was also granted to Bardney Abbey by Walter de Gant in 1115, see R. Wood, 'All Saints, Hunmanby, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 07/02/2018).

[15] *EYC*, vol. 2, nos. 1152, 1157, pp. 446, 450–1.

[16] This fragment is omitted from the site report by R. Wood, 'St Leonard, Speeton, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 07/02/2018).

[17] Ibid., has also interpreted the incised decoration as a stylised arch.

Bridlington, the Gant family and their associates. Alternatively, this activity may reflect a larger workforce operating from Bridlington. The implication, contrary to Franklin's interpretation, is that work began on a new priory church soon after the Augustinian community was established. Bridlington Priory was richly endowed from the outset so a major early building campaign is feasible.[18] It may also be significant that Walter de Gant granted the canons a phylactery containing unspecified relics from Jerusalem at some point in the 1130s.[19] If construction work on a new priory church had begun in the 1110s, this prestigious donation may well have coincided with the consecration of the east arm. It can be speculated that such a building was richly decorated, although the hypothesis that these lost sculptural schemes are echoed at dependent churches in the local area is, unfortunately, a moot point.

[18] *EYC*, vol. 2, no. 1135, pp. 427–8.

[19] Ibid., no. 1136, p. 429.

XI

The canons of Kirkham Priory and Walter Espec

When Walter Espec founded an Augustinian priory at Kirkham *c.* 1121, the Augustinian order was reaching its zenith in Yorkshire. The circumstances of the foundation were akin to Gisborough Priory in that it was supported by Pope Calixtus II (1119–1124) and probably influenced by King Henry I who subsequently confirmed the foundation. Walter served at the royal court and had been granted the honours of Helmsley (North Yorkshire) and Wark (Northumberland) by the king, thus he owed his status in northern England to royal patronage. The foundation history of Kirkham also parallels that of Bridlington in that a parish church already existed at Kirkham and was appropriated for the use of the canons.[1] The Augustinian settlement of Kirkham was almost short-lived. A decade later, in 1132, Walter Espec founded the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx and made an unsuccessful attempt to bring Kirkham under Cistercian rule. This did, however, precipitate a schism in the Kirkham community, with some of the canons transferring to Rievaulx.[2] In spite of such turmoil, construction of a new priory church had begun by the late 1130s. There appears to have been an architectural relationship between this structure and the first stone church at Rievaulx, since both were aisleless and cruciform in plan. Nothing is known for certain about the sculptural decoration of either church, although the architectural mouldings at Rievaulx would have been exceptionally plain.[3]

There has been speculation that a relief held inside nearby Westow church (North Yorkshire) may have originated from the priory.[4] Westow manor had been granted to the

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[1] Burton, *Kirkham Priory*; idem, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 79; S. Harrison, *Kirkham Priory* (London, 2012), pp. 18–9; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, p. 841; *EEA Durham, 1153–1195*, no. 32e, pp. 159–60 fn.

[2] E. Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout, 2005), p. 32; Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 80; Burton, *Kirkham Priory*, pp. 7, 21; Harrison, *Kirkham Priory*, pp. 19–20.

[3] G. Coppack, S. Harrison and C. Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', *JBAA* 148 (1995), p. 131; Harrison, *Kirkham Priory*, p. 4. The west jamb of the eastern doorway between the nave and cloister has been identified as a survival of the late 1130s, see R. Wood, 'Kirkham Priory: Church, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/02/2018). For the first church at Rievaulx, see P. Fergusson, G. Coppack and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey* (London, 2008), pp. 5–7; Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 190.

[4] R. H. Barker, 'The Westow Cresset', *YAJ* 24 (1917), p. 218.

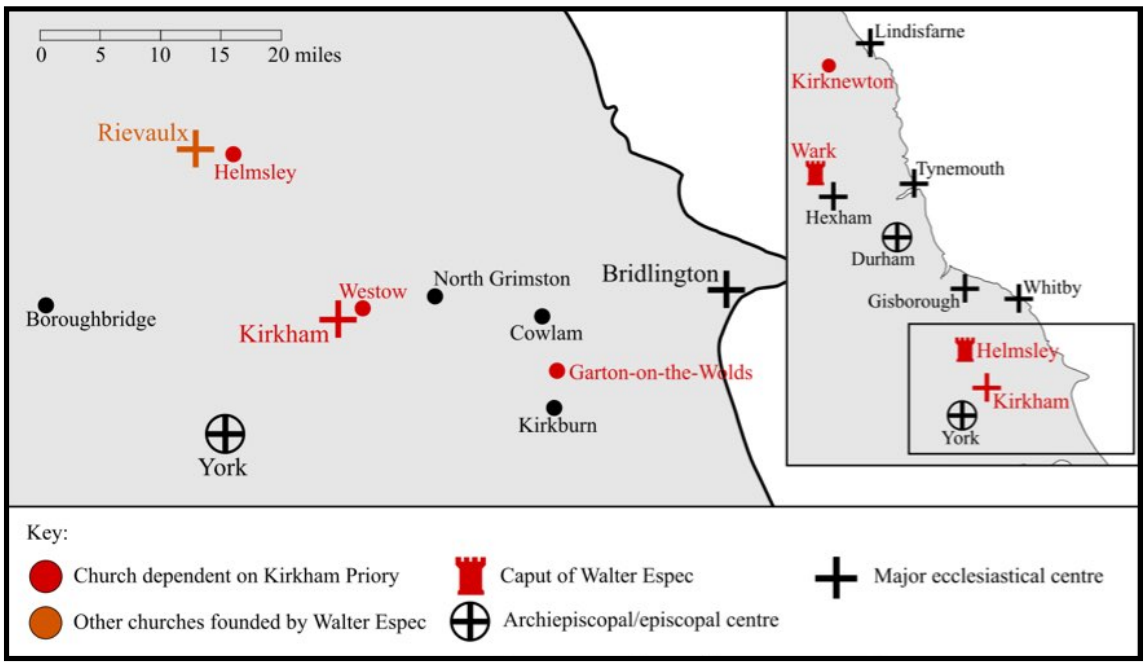

Fig. M.1. Map of sites associated with Kirkham Priory.

priory by Walter Espec and the church was presumably a dependent chapel.[5] The relief in question depicts the Crucifixion (fig. M.2). Christ naturally dominates and is depicted with a nimbus and wearing a loin cloth. He is flanked by a female figure on the right, identifiable as the Virgin Mary, and a male figure on the left, probably John the Evangelist, who both hold their hands to their faces in grief. Wood has observed that this is an unusual transposed arrangement since Mary was typically depicted on the left.[6] The hand of God can be seen directly above Christ, and flanking the upper arm of the cross is a bird, presumably the Holy Spirit, and a shining sun or star. The sculpture has suffered extensive surface damage and many of the finer details have been lost, probably owing to the fact that it was later repurposed and reused as a cresset.[7] Nonetheless, it is clearly an accomplished work of craftsmanship, carved in high relief with naturalistic elements. The overall composition echoes twelfth-century illuminated representations of the Crucifixion and it is plausible that a manuscript once held at Kirkham was the exemplar. Comparisons have been made to pre-conquest and German art, and it is easier to reconcile these interpretations if the sculpture was adapted from a miniature that amalgamated different

[5] Burton, *Kirkham Priory*, p. 5; W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York*, vol. 3 (London, 1974), pp. 219–22.

[6] R. Wood, 'St Mary, Westow, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/02/2018).

[7] Barker, 'Westow Cresset', pp. 217–9.

traditions.[8] Other local twelfth-century sculptural representations of the Crucifixion on the font at North Grimston (fig. C.62) and two fragments at Boroughbridge church (North Yorkshire) demonstrate that the Westow relief is not an isolated example of the subject.[9]

Fig. M.2. Westow, St Mary (North Yorkshire): sculpted panel inside the nave.

[8] For these comparisons, see E. Coatsworth, *The Iconography of the Crucifixion in Pre-Conquest Sculpture in England*, (unpublished PhD thesis, Durham University, 1979), vol. 1, pp. 251, 295, vol. 2, pp. 83–5; Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', p. 58.

[9] For the Boroughbridge fragments, see R. Wood, 'St James, Boroughbridge, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/02/2018).

In terms of style, the Westow relief relates closely to a sculpted panel on the west front of Garton-on-the-Wolds church (East Yorkshire) and it has been suggested that both are the creation of the same sculptor.[10] Garton church was part of the initial endowment of Kirkham Priory and its rector, William, was Walter Espec's uncle and subsequently the first prior of Kirkham.[11] These affiliations provide clear context for artistic links between the reliefs at Westow and Garton. The Garton relief is exposed to the elements and has eroded significantly over the last century (fig. M.3). A photograph taken in the 1940s and held in the Conway Library of the Courtauld Institute shows the panel when it was better preserved.[12] It depicts a winged Archangel Michael driving a lance into the dragon beneath his feet while flanked by two angels. Slightly earlier carvings of St Michael and the dragon at Southwell Minster and Hoveringham church (Nottinghamshire) depict the archangel

Fig. M.3. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): sculpted panel on the west front.

[10] This observation was made by Kit Galbraith, who is cited by Coatsworth, *Iconography of the Crucifixion*, vol. 2, pp. 85–6, and Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', pp. 9, 58.

[11] W. Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York*, vol. 3 (London, 1974), pp. 219–22; Burton, *Kirkham Priory*, p. 3; Wood, 'Kirkham Priory: Church'. William was also a former canon of Nostell Priory. R. Wood, 'St Michael and All Angels, Garton-on-the-Wolds, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/02/2018), suggests that Garton church was not granted to Kirkham Priory until 1133–1139, but this is undermined by its inclusion within the 1126 confirmation charter of Henry I, see *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1459.

[12] This is reproduced by Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', p. 10, pl. 4b.

wielding a sword rather than a lance.[13] The treatment of the draperies, feet and wings, as well as the overall high-relief technique of carving, provide points of comparison with the Westow relief.[14] It can be deduced that the Garton and Westow panels are contemporary and the latter may have originally decorated the facade of the first stone priory church at Kirkham.

Other richly decorated features of Garton church indicate that it was rebuilt after the grant to Kirkham Priory *c.* 1121.[15] The corbels that run across the north and south exteriors of the chancel and nave show fully developed grotesque and humanoid heads carved with high plasticity, as well as dynamic scenes involving multiple figures (fig. M.4). There are two doorways: one on the south side of the nave and the other on the west front. The south doorway has been substantially renewed but does incorporate original sections of label and impost that are enriched with sunken stars, cusps, billet and leaves. All of these motifs, with the exception of foliage decoration, occur on the west doorway which retains a greater number of original features (fig. M.5). The arch of the west doorway is carved with a highly developed form of curved lateral chevron and the capitals below are a mix of plain cushions and double scallops with incised shields and angle knops. More chevron enrichment can be seen on the window above along with two robust volute capitals (fig. M. 6). Inside the church there are more scallop capitals with incised shields and cable neckings that support the tower arch (fig. M.7). The same types of chevron ornament and capital designs can be found on the chancel arch and south doorway at Helmsley church (North Yorkshire), which was also granted to Kirkham Priory by Walter Espec.[16] The implication is that the same atelier worked at both sites as a result of common patronage from the Espec family and the canons of Kirkham.

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[13] Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 165; S. Kirsop, 'St Mary, Southwell, Nottinghamshire', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/02/2018)*;* idem, 'St Michael, Hoveringham, Nottinghamshire', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/02/2018).

[14] Coatsworth, *Iconography of the Crucifixion*, vol. 2, pp. 85–6; Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', pp. 9, 58.

[15] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, p. 46, dated the building campaign to the 1130s based on the style of the extant sculpture.

[16] For illustrations of the Helmsley sculpture, see Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 116. For the grant, see *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1459.

Fig. M.4. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): general view of the north nave corbel table.

Fig. M.5. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): west doorway.

Fig. M.6. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): west window of the west tower.

Fig. M.7. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north capital of the tower arch.

Fig. M.8. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): west doorway label.

Fig. M.9. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): east impost of the south nave doorway.

Fig. M.10. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the south side of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. M.11. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway label. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. M.12. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): west impost of the south nave doorway. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. M.13. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): west capital (1st order) of the south nave doorway.

Many of the motifs at Garton also occur a few miles to the south at the Gisborough-dependent church of Kirkburn. The arches at both churches feature cusping, billet, saltire crosses, eight-spoke sunken stars, and leaf designs (figs. M.8–13).[17] In addition, the Kirkburn doorway has a volute capital of the same type as those on the Garton west window (figs. M.14 & 15).[18] This capital design can be traced to Gisborough Priory where it occurred on a pillar piscina.[19] Wood has observed various similarities between the corbel tables at Garton and Kirkburn, and it is clear that this relationship is wide-ranging. Common designs include human figures pulling at their mouths, bestial heads with bared teeth or muzzles, and block corbels with foliage decoration (figs. M.16–22).[20] There are corbels at Kirkburn that depict the Crucifixion and human figures wearing long robes and these have been compared to the Crucifixion panel at Westow in terms of subject-matter and style (fig. M.23).[21] These parallels can be explained by geographical proximity, but it may be equally significant that the churches of Garton and Kirkburn were both affiliated to the Augustinian order and had secular patrons who were closely connected to the royal court. Walter Espec and Robert I de Brus occur together as witnesses of royal charters issued during the 1120s and this association may have encouraged artistic exchange between the two sites.[22]

Fig. M.14 (left). Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): west capital (3rd order) of the south nave doorway.

Fig. M.15 (right). Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north capital of the west tower window.

[17] Similar sunken star and leaf designs can also be found at the nearby York Cathedral-dependent church of Kilham.

[18] Wood, 'St Michael and All Angels, Garton-on-the-Wolds'.

[19] See Heslop, 'Excavation Gisborough', pp. 108–9, fig. 23, 5.

[20] See Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', pp. 18–21; idem, 'St Michael and All Angels, Garton-on-the-Wolds'.

[21] Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', p. 58.

[22] See *RRAN*, vol. 2, nos. 1279, 1335, 1451, 1464, 1811.

Fig. M.16. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. M.17. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

Fig. M.18. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. M.19. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. M.20. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

Fig. M.21. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. M.22. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south nave corbel. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

There is one important piece of sculpture outside Yorkshire that can be attributed to the patronage of the Espec family and the canons of Kirkham Priory. Walter Espec's endowment of the priory included Kirknewton church in the Glendale valley (Northumberland).[23] The present fabric dates from the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries, but it has been suggested that the twelfth-century church was aisleless and cruciform in plan like Kirkham.[24] There is a large relief reset in the east wall of the nave that appears to derive from the twelfth-century structure.[25] This depicts the Adoration of the Magi, with the Virgin and Child seated on the right-hand side, their hands raised in blessing, and the three Magi arranged on the left, half-knelt and presenting their gifts in raised hands (fig. M.24). The closest sculptural parallel

Fig. M.23. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. M.24. Kirknewton, St Gregory the Great (Northumberland): relief reset in the east wall (interior) of the nave.

[23] Ibid., no. 1459; *EEA Durham, 1153–1195*, no. 32e, pp. 159–60.

[24] K. H. Vickers, *A History of Northumberland*, vol. 11 (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1922), pp. 121–2.

[25] The relief had previously been regarded as a pre-conquest sculpture but this dating was rejected by Cramp, *CASSS*, vol. 1, p. 251.

Fig. M.25. Cowlam, St Mary (East Yorkshire): font.

can be found on the Cowlam font, which uses the same arrangement and depicts the Magi in profile (fig. M.25). There are also technical and stylistic similarities in the depth of the carving, the simplistic treatment of the draperies, and the enlargement of the hands. It is possible that both carvings were modelled on a common exemplar, and since Cowlam church is located only fifteen miles east of Kirkham Priory it is tempting to speculate that an Adoration of the Magi relief once existed at the priory and was part of a larger scheme that incorporated the Crucifixion panel now at Westow. There is one physical clue that the sculptural decoration at the mid-twelfth-century church of Kirknewton was more extensive. A hitherto unrecorded fragment can be found reset in the south nave wall. This is rectangular in shape and enriched with lozenge ornament. Its original function is unclear, although one possibility is that it is a fragment of a lintel or tympanum (fig. M.26).[26]

Fig. M.26. Kirknewton, St Gregory the Great (Northumberland): fragment reset on the south nave exterior.

[26] There are also at least two carved grave slabs reused in the walls of the tower. Many more carved fragments could be hidden within the fabric of the nineteenth-century nave and tower, and some may be covered by the plaster on the internal walls.

The dependent churches of Kirkham Priory preserve an eclectic mix of geometric and figure sculpture, with a notable emphasis on Biblical scenes. To what extent these schemes reflect the sculpture of the first stone priory church of Kirkham is clearly a moot point. Garton church is remarkably large and richly decorated, and the quality of the ashlar masonry and sculpture indicates that it was constructed by a skilled group of craftsmen. The church held minster status when it was granted to Kirkham Priory and this has been cited as the reason for the lavish mid-twelfth-century rebuild.[27] However, it would be surprising if the decoration of Garton church surpassed that of its mother house, especially since the building campaigns at Kirkham and Garton appear to have been contemporaneous. The movement of craftsmen between the two sites is a distinct possibility, especially if the Westow relief is regarded as a survival from Kirkham.

[27] *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1459; Wood, 'St Michael and All Angels, Garton-on-the-Wolds'.

XII

The canons of Carlisle Cathedral

The Norman occupation of Carlisle occurred two and a half decades after William I was crowned king of England. It was his son and heir, William II, who marched north and captured the city in 1092 by expelling the local lord, Dolfin.[1] There were at least two standing churches within the city at this time, dedicated to St Mary and St Cuthbert respectively.[2] Henry I granted these churches to his chaplain, Walter the Priest, at the beginning of his reign and Walter may have established religious communities at both sites, although the evidence is inconclusive.[3] The church of St Mary was formally elevated to the status of an Augustinian priory *c.* 1122. In this year, Henry I visited Carlisle and endowed St Mary's church with various landholdings and churches, including those that he had formerly granted to Walter the Priest.[4] These royal donations appear to have stimulated an immediate rebuilding campaign that continued after the priory was elevated to a cathedral church in 1133. Construction was certainly ongoing in 1129 or 1130 since Henry I gave £10 to the canons to finance the building works.[5] The new priory church was constructed on an aisled cruciform plan with a nave of seven bays, although only the two

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[1] C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians: A study in British provincial origins A.D. 400–1120* (Aldershot, 1996), p. 25; H. Summerson, 'Medieval Carlisle: Cathedral and City from Foundation to Dissolution', in McCarthy and Wilson (eds.), *Carlisle and Cumbria*, p. 30; Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', p. 34.

[2] D. W. V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), pp. 8–9. M. R. McCarthy, 'The Origins and Development of the Twelfth-Century Cathedral Church at Carlisle' in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (Oxford, 1996), p. 31 and fn., has observed evidence of at least four pre-conquest churches at Carlisle.

[3] J. C. Dickinson, 'Walter the Priest and St Mary's, Carlisle', *TCWAAS* 69 (1969), pp. 102–14; H. Summerson, 'Athelwold the Bishop and Walter the Priest: a new source for the early history of Carlisle Priory', *TCWAAS* 95 (1995), pp. 86, 90; McCarthy, 'Origins and Development of the Cathedral Church at Carlisle', p. 32; Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, pp. 28–30; Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 9.

[4] Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 9; Summerson, 'Medieval Carlisle', p. 30. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', pp. 57–60, has proposed that the foundation of the priory took place after 1122 while Henry I was *in absentia*.

[5] Summerson, 'Medieval Carlisle', pp. 30–1; R. Plant, 'The Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', in McCarthy and Wilson (eds.), *Carlisle and Cumbria*, p. 99; Franklin, 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century', p. 83.

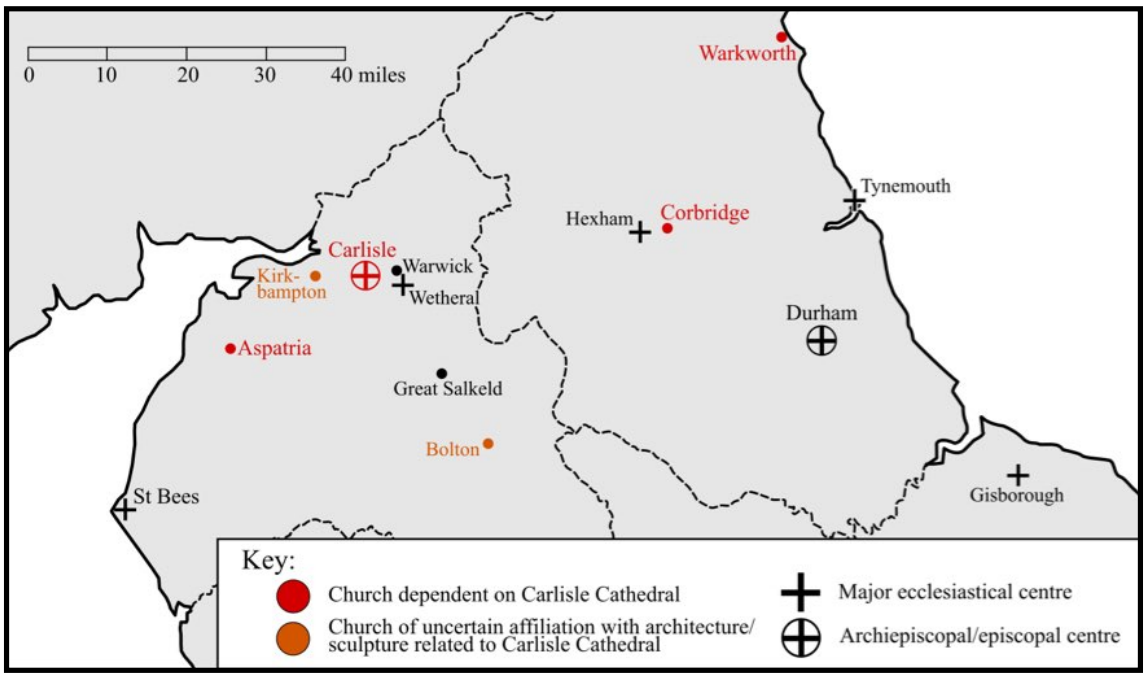

Fig. N.1. Map of sites associated with the canons of Carlisle Cathedral.

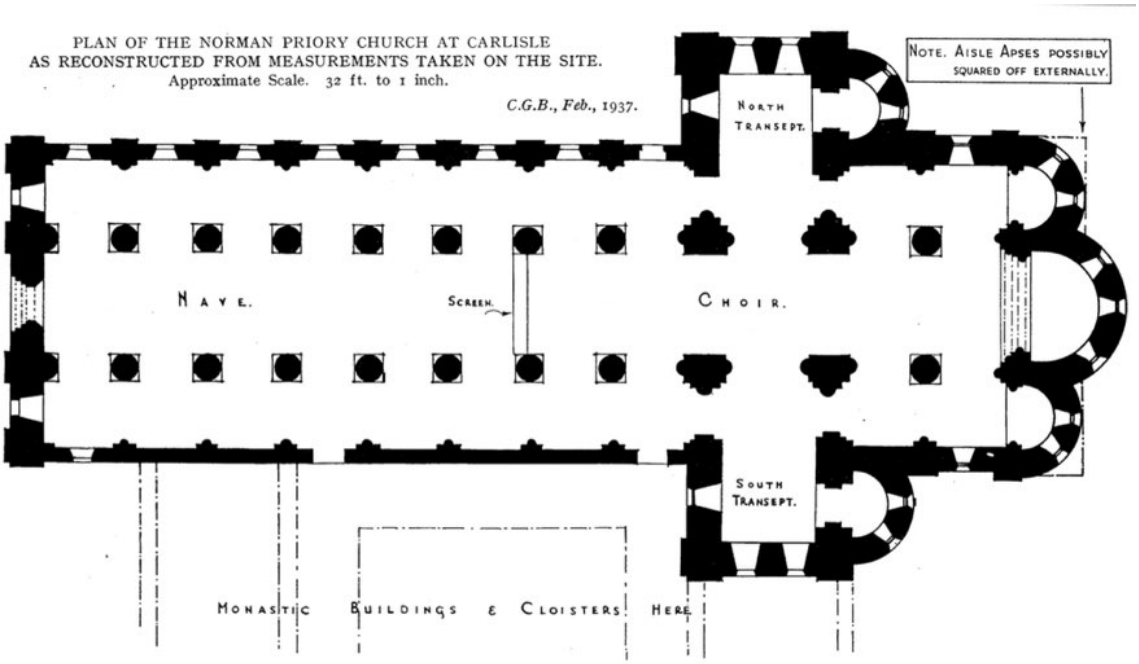

Fig. N.2. Conjectural plan of St Mary's cathedral priory, Carlisle, as it appeared c. 1150 (after C. G. Bulman, 1937).

easternmost bays are still standing.[6] Very little is known about the form of the original eastern arm because it was completely rebuilt in the thirteenth century and remodelled again in the fourteenth.[7] Bulman proposed a chancel of two bays with an echelon east end comprising a main apse flanked by a pair of aisle apses (fig. N.2).[8] McCarthy and Plant have since questioned the physical evidence for such an arrangement, the former concluding that an excavation is required to confirm the true form of the eastern arm.[9]

Visual signals among the surviving twelfth-century fabric of Carlisle Cathedral indicate that the first church was constructed in two main phases. The first phase presumably saw the completion of the eastern arm along with the lowest stages of the tower, the ground floor and triforium of the transepts, and the nave arcade and aisle walls up to the string course below the the triforium. This phase is characterised by the predominant use of St Bees sandstone and relatively simple sculptural ornament, including scallop capitals, spurred bases and selective use of lateral chevron. A few of the capitals are enriched with minor foliage and geometric decoration (figs. N.3–7). This decoration is consistent with

Fig. N.3. Carlisle Cathedral: spurred bases of the north respond between the north nave aisle and the north transept.

[6] McCarthy, 'Origins and Development of the Cathedral Church at Carlisle', pp. 38–43; Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 10; Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', p. 95. Franklin, 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century', pp. 83–4, has speculated that the nave was initially aisleless but this interpretation is not substantiated by the archaeological or structural evidence.

[7] Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 11. J. Alexander, 'The Construction of the Gothic Choir of Carlisle Cathedral, and the Evidence of the Masons' Marks', in McCarthy and Wilson (eds.), *Carlisle and Cumbria*, pp. 106–26.

[8] C. G. Bulman, 'The Norman Priory Church at Carlisle', *TCWAAS* 37 (1937), pp. 56–60.

[9] McCarthy, 'Origins and Development of the Cathedral Church at Carlisle', pp. 41–2; Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', pp. 89–90.

Fig. N.4. Carlisle Cathedral: west face of the arch between the south transept and the south chancel aisle.

Fig. N.5. Carlisle Cathedral: north respond capitals of the arch between the north nave aisle and the north transept.

Fig. N.6. Carlisle Cathedral: first pier of the south nave arcade.

Fig. N.7. Carlisle Cathedral: second pier of the south nave arcade.

Fig. N.8. Carlisle Cathedral: east clerestory of the south transept.

building work beginning *c.* 1122. The second phase saw the completion of the transepts and nave, and is marked by a shift towards the use of grey Kirklinton sandstone and more elaborate capital designs at clerestory level (fig. N.8). Developments in sculptural repertoires are further revealed by the introduction of frontal and point-to-point chevron to the exterior faces of the clerestory windows (fig. N.9). There was also a change in architectural design and articulation, as evidenced by the half-columns in the nave arcades and aisles that end abruptly and serve no structural function (fig. N. 10).[10]

Fig. N.9 (above). Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory windows of the south nave (exterior).

Fig. N.10 (left). Carlisle Cathedral: easternmost respond capital of the north nave aisle.

[10] McCarthy, 'Origins and Development of the Cathedral Church at Carlisle', pp. 38–44.

The most plausible reason for the building break between phases one and two is the military occupation of Carlisle by David I, king of Scots, in the winter of 1135/36. A sudden disruption precipitated by a change in rulership over the city could explain why masonry breaks in the cathedral fabric occur at apparently impractical points.[11] David's control over Carlisle was subsequently ratified by King Stephen in February 1136 and he continued to hold the city until his death in 1153.[12] A change of political regime may have altered access to resources which, in turn, could explain the shift to the use of Kirklinton sandstone at the cathedral. During the remainder of his reign, David strengthened the city's fortifications and modified Carlisle Castle to serve as a royal palace. There can be little doubt that these building activities were designed to project David's power over the city and surrounding region.[13] This political environment, the recent elevation of St Mary's Priory to cathedral status, and the friendship, or *amicitia*, between King David and Athelwold, first bishop of Carlisle, is likely to have encouraged a modification of the church design that increased the quality and quantity of carved decoration.[14]

There is no documented *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the cathedral priory church, but *c.* 1150 is a reasonable estimate judging from the style of the latest sculpture found at clerestory level. The corbel table would have been the final decorative flourish before the transepts and nave were roofed. This includes an unusual roll-moulded cornice that is almost identical in profile to the corresponding mid-twelfth-century feature at Adel church (figs. H.16; N.11).[15] Another example of this cornice design can be found attached to a loose corbel inside St Bees priory church (fig. D.39). The Carlisle corbels are heavily eroded but many depict grimacing or slack-mouthed humanoid heads like their counterparts at Adel (figs. P.26–29; N.11). Other corbels at Carlisle and Adel depict muzzled bestial heads that are proportionally similar and possibly stylistically related,

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[11] The inconvenience of the breaks was observed by Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', pp. 99–100.

[12] Crouch, *Reign of King Stephen*, pp. 40–1; King, *King Stephen*, pp. 53–4; R. Oram, *David I: The King Who Made Scotland* (Stroud, 2008), pp. 122–3, 140–3.

[13] M. R. McCarthy, H. R. T. Summerson and R. G. Annis, *Carlisle Castle: A Survey and Documentary History* (London, 1990), pp. 119 –21; McCarthy, 'Origins and Development of the Cathedral Church at Carlisle', p. 44; Oram, *David I*, pp. 168, 178, 194.

[14] The friendship between David and Athelwold is discussed by Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*, pp. 12–5.

[15] Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', p. 100.

Fig. N.11. Carlisle Cathedral: corbel table on the west side of the south transept.

although the examples at Carlisle are too damaged to allow a detailed comparison (figs. N. 12 & 13). One of the Carlisle clerestory capitals is a volute type with simple geometric enrichment at the centre of the upper register (fig. N.14). The form and arrangement is comparable to capitals at St Bees Priory and Selby Abbey (figs. F.12 & 13). Another Carlisle clerestory capital is decorated with thin strands arranged in a loose basket weave pattern and can be tentatively compared to two of the nave gallery capitals at Selby (figs. F. 18; N.15).[16]

These observations offer support for Thurlby's argument that certain decorative elements at Carlisle were inspired by sculpture in Yorkshire, especially that at St Mary's Abbey, York, the mother house of St Bees Priory.[17] There are several variations of the scallop capital form at Carlisle Cathedral, including scallops with wedges, or 'darts', between the cones, incised shields, and swollen angles. All of these forms are common across Yorkshire, particularly at those churches dependent on St Mary's Abbey, York, and York Cathedral, namely Fridaythorpe, Kilham and North Newbald. Thurlby's hypothesis that Wetheral Priory, another daughter house of St Mary's Abbey, York, located less than five miles

[16] A closer parallel can be found at the eleventh-century abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt which suggests a Normandy origin for this capital design. For an illustration, see M. Baylé, *Les origines*.

[17] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 272, 287.

Fig. N.12. Carlisle Cathedral: muzzled corbel (centre) on the exterior of the south nave.

Fig. N.13. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): corbel on the west nave gable.

Fig. N.14. Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory capital on the east side of the south transept.

Fig. N.15. Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory capital in the second bay of the north nave.

outside Carlisle, played a central role in the spread of these designs from Yorkshire is a convincing one, even though the appearance of the early twelfth-century church at Wetheral is a mystery.[18] The sculpture at Warwick-on-Eden church is potentially significant in understanding the relationship between Carlisle Cathedral and Wetheral Priory. Warwick-on-Eden church was granted to St Mary's Abbey, York, by Ranulf Meschin and is located only a couple of miles north of Wetheral Priory and four miles east of Carlisle.[19] It preserves scallop capital designs, zigzag ornament, arch mouldings and spurred bases that closely relate to the corresponding examples at Carlisle Cathedral.[20] Plant has concluded that masons from the cathedral were active at Warwick-on-Eden, implying that the former predated the latter.[21] In fact, it is likely that Warwick-on-Eden

[18] Ibid., p. 287.

[19] *Register of Wetherhal*, no. 5, pp. 14–9.

[20] Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 12; Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 272; Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', pp. 98–9.

[21] Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', p. 99.

church was constructed, or rebuilt, in the first quarter of the twelfth century, before Ranulf Meschin surrendered power in Cumbria *c.* 1122, and by craftsmen connected to Wetheral Priory.[22]

A potentially more important model for the sculptural schemes at Carlisle Cathedral was the Augustinian priory at Nostell (West Yorkshire). Nostell Priory attracted royal patronage *c.* 1114 and, with Henry I's permission, the canons had already begun constructing a church by the beginning of the 1120s.[23] The first prior of Nostell, Athelwold (or Adelulf), was subsequently appointed as the first bishop of Carlisle in 1133 and held both positions in plurality.[24] With the exception of two simple scallop capitals and a few plain bases, nothing is known about the architectural decoration of the first priory church at Nostell.[25] On the basis of the community's wealth and status in the second quarter of the twelfth century, it can be speculated that this was more richly decorated than the meagre remains suggest. It has been suggested that the early twelfth-century sculptural schemes at Melbourne church (Derbyshire) possibly relate to lost work at Nostell, owing to the fact that Melbourne church was also constructed under the patronage of Henry I and then granted to Athelwold in 1133.[26] Significantly, a number of capital designs at Melbourne relate closely to those at Carlisle. These include wedged scallop capitals with sprigs of foliage on their shields; scallops with recessed shields and spiral enrichments; and block capitals with sunken lozenge ornament (figs. N.16–21). In addition to this, spurred bases are used extensively at each site.[27] Architectural relationships are also worth noting. Both structures feature vertically elongated arches and similar clerestory arrangements where a

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[22] For the end of Ranulf's tenure in Cumbria, see Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', pp. 51–2.

[23] Frost, *Nostell Priory*, p. 6; idem, *An Edition of the Nostell Priory Cartulary: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian E XIX*, vol. 1 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2005), no. 21, p. 257.

[24] Athelwold is commonly regarded as the first prior of St Mary's Priory, Carlisle, who was appointed when Henry I founded the house in 1122, see Summerson, 'Athelwold the Bishop', p. 89; Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 9; Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*, pp. 4, 10; idem, *Religion, Politics and Society in Britain, 1066–1272* (Harlow, 2011), pp. 69–71. However this view is disputed, see Frost, *Nostell Priory Cartulary*, vol. 1, p. 49.

[25] B. English and R. Wood, 'Nostell Priory, Yorkshire, West Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 19/02/2018).

[26] R. Gem, 'Melbourne, Church of St Michael and St Mary', *Archaeological Journal* 146, supplement 1 (1989), pp. 24–9; Wood, 'The Romanesque Church at Melbourne', pp. 127, 147, 162; Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society*, pp. 65–71.

[27] Gem, 'Melbourne', pp. 24–9; Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral*, p. 12; Wood, 'Romanesque Church at Melbourne', p. 151.

Fig. N.16. Carlisle Cathedral: north respond capital of the arch between the north nave aisle and the north transept.

Fig. N.17. Melbourne, SS Michael and Mary (Derbyshire): north capital of the former north apse arch.

Fig. N.18. Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory capital on the east side of the south transept.

Fig. N.19. Melbourne, SS Michael and Mary (Derbyshire): capital on the north face of the lantern tower (interior).

Fig. N.20. Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory capital on the south side of the south transept.

Fig. N.21. Melbourne, SS Michael and Mary (Derbyshire): south capitals of the west doorway.

Fig. N.22. Carlisle Cathedral: north nave clerestory.

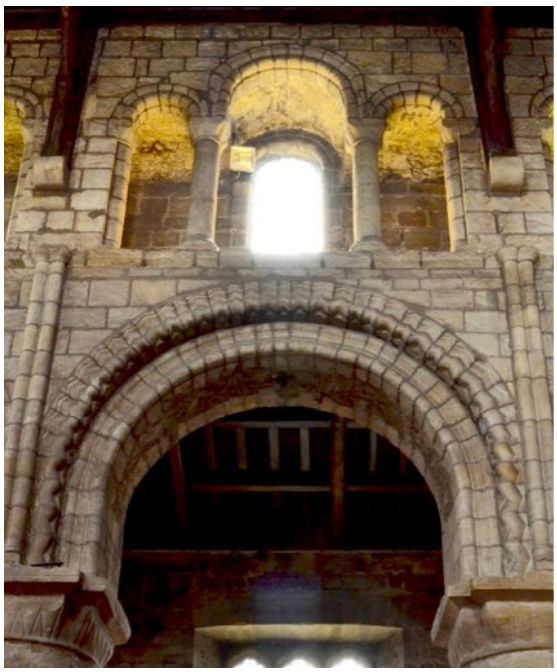

Fig. N.23. Melbourne, SS Michael and Mary (Derbyshire): north arcade and clerestory (second bay).

large central arch is flanked by a pair of smaller arches (figs. N.22 & 23). The churches also share a form of bay articulation where shafts rise from the imposts of the nave piers, as well as low crossing arches.[28]

Some of the design features at Carlisle Cathedral are also comparable to churches in western England, particularly within the counties of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire. Robust columnar piers with simply moulded imposts can be found in the north nave arcade of Carlisle Cathedral and recall those used at Gloucester Cathedral (formerly St Peter's Abbey) and Tewkesbury Abbey (figs. N.24–26).[29] Like Tewkesbury Abbey, the capitals at Carlisle were originally painted, and the walls rendered with plaster and pigment to mimic mortared ashlar.[30] Some of the more unusual sculptural motifs at Carlisle can also be traced

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[28] Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', pp. 101–3, also observes similar low crossing arches at Dunfermline Abbey, Worksop Priory, St John's church in Chester, La Trinité Abbey in Caen and the abbey of Graville-Sainte-Honorine.

[29] Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', p. 100.

[30] Remnants of paint and plaster at Carlisle Cathedral have been observed by ibid., pp. 92–3; M. McCarthy *et al*., *Excavations at Carlisle Cathedral: Roman, Medieval and Post-Medieval Data in 1988* (York, 2013), pp. 81–85. For a summary of the painted features at Tewkesbury, see J. Turnock, 'St Mary the Virgin, Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (accessed 12/06/2018). This practice is found across England and it has already been noted that there was a tradition of painting masonry at York in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

Fig. N.24. Carlisle Cathedral: first pier of the north nave arcade.

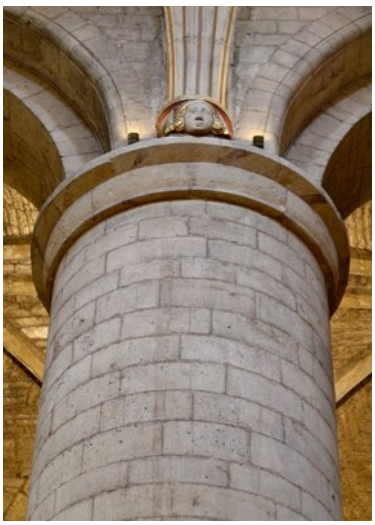

Fig. N.25. Tewkesbury Abbey (Gloucestershire): nave pier.

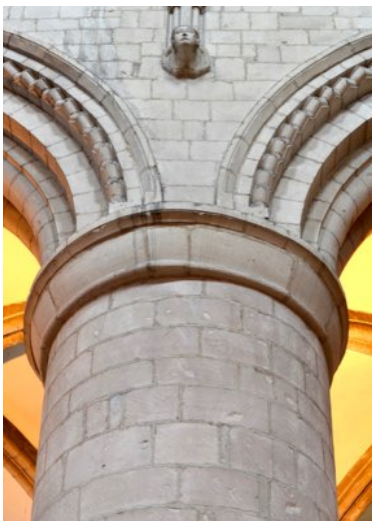

Fig. N.26. Gloucester Cathedral: nave pier.

Fig. N.27. Carlisle Cathedral: west clerestory window of the south transept.

to the south. A distinctive step ornament decorates the labels of the west clerestory windows in the south transept (fig. N.27). The same ornament can be found at churches across Gloucestershire, Herefordshire and Worcestershire, including those occupied by regular canons such as Hereford Cathedral and Beckford church (Worcestershire) (fig. N.28).[31] Other forms of

Fig. N.28. Beckford, St John the Baptist (Worcestershire): outer east capital of the south nave doorway.

[31] E. Gethyn-Jones, *The Dymock School of Sculpture* (Chichester, 1979), pp. 58–60, pls. 37–9; Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', p. 100. For Beckford church, see Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 20, 127–38.

the motif occur regionally on a capital from the Augustinian priory of Gisborough and the font at Bessingby (figs. K.7; L.6). One of the Carlisle clerestory capitals depicts a 'column swallower': a grotesque head with small pointed ears, a heavily moulded brow, large round eyes and a broad tapering nose which appears to be devouring the shaft below (fig. N.29). Plant has observed this same motif at Elkstone church (Gloucestershire) and Leominster Priory (Herefordshire), although more closely related examples can be found on a base at Shobdon (Herefordshire), voussoirs at South Cerney church (Gloucestershire) and capitals at Siddington church (Gloucestershire) (figs. N.30–32).[32] The sculpture at the latter two churches has been attributed to the earls of Hereford, Miles (d. 1143) and his son, Roger (d. 1155), while the schemes at Elkstone and Shobdon were commissioned by men who were part of the earls' retinues.[33] Interestingly, Roger earl of Hereford was present at Carlisle in 1149 when Henry fitz Empress, the future King Henry II, was knighted by King David.[34] This episode alone does not explain the shared motifs in western England and Carlisle, but it is indicative of the political connections between King David and the Angevin party in western

Fig. N.29. Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory capital on the west side of the south transept.

Fig. N.30. Shobdon, St John (Herefordshire): base of the reset left-hand arch.

Fig. N.31. South Cerney, All Hallows (Gloucestershire): voussoir of the south nave doorway.

Fig. N.32. Siddington, St Peter (Gloucestershire): capital of the south nave doorway.

[32] Plant, 'Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral', p. 100; Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 57, 82.

[33] Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 57 fn., 80–102, 110–1; idem, 'St John the Evangelist, Elkstone, Gloucestershire', *CRSBI* (accessed 26/02/2018).

[34] *GS*, pp. 214–7; King, *King Stephen*, pp. 253–4.

England that may have facilitated the long-distance transmission of certain sculptural motifs.

The lost twelfth-century doorways of Carlisle Cathedral may have provided further clues as to the relationship between Carlisle and other regional and national churches. Fragments of more than one doorway were apparently discovered during the restoration works of the mid-nineteenth century. Their whereabouts are unknown, but their appearances were recorded in limited but tantalising detail by Charles H. Purday. He described shafts decorated with interlace, capitals carved with foliage and arch mouldings that were 'highly ornamented'.[35] This imagery calls to mind the nearby doorways at St Bees Priory and Great Salkeld church, as well as the western nave doorways at Durham Cathedral Priory and the foliage capitals at Melbourne church. One of the Carlisle doorways, its location unspecified, is reported to have possessed a gable that 'was enriched by a sort of honeycomb perforation' as well as a 'tympanum or space within the arch [that] was filled with sculpture'.[36] This type of gabled doorway construction can be found at only a small number of churches in Yorkshire, namely Adel, Kilham, and St Margaret in York (figs. C. 25; D.52; H.26 & 28). The Kilham gable is enriched with various geometric patterns while its counterpart at Adel is filled with figure sculpture. 'Honeycomb perforations' could imply a recessed interlocking octagonal pattern like that visible on the Weaverthorpe font (North Yorkshire), or decorative recessed opus reticulatum masonry like that on the south

Fig. N.33. Durham Cathedral: south gable of the south transept.

[35] C. Purday, *Architecture of Carlisle Cathedral: A Lecture* (Carlisle, 1859), p. 11.

[36] Ibid., p. 11.

gable of the Durham Cathedral Priory south transept (fig. N.33). The ambiguous reference to a carved tympanum or 'space' is more difficult to interpret, although it should be noted that there was a Cumbrian tradition of creating sculpted tympana and lintels in this period, as exemplified by those at St Bees Priory and the churches of Bridekirk, Burgh-by-Sands, Kirkbampton and Long Marton.

Of the small group of churches that are known to have belonged to the canons of Carlisle Cathedral, only a few preserve notable twelfth-century sculpture, namely those at Aspatria (Cumbria), Corbridge and Warkworth (Northumberland). All three were donated soon after the Augustinian priory was founded: Aspatria church by Waltheof fitz Gospatrick, lord of Allerdale, and the churches of Corbridge and Warkworth by King Henry I.[37] A number of sculpted features at these churches may derive from the cathedral, including scallop capitals with incised shields and arches with simple lateral chevron (figs. N.34–36).[38] The reset arch at Aspatria church is of particular interest because it incorporates three fragments of carved interlace that may have once formed part of a lintel or tympanum. Purday observed interlace enrichment on at least one of the lost doorways at Carlisle Cathedral which raises the possibility that the Aspatria doorway was based on a Carlisle exemplar. The same may be true for the blocked north nave doorway at Warkworth church. This has minimal carved decoration but it does possess a gabled projection like that described for one of the lost cathedral doorways (fig. N.37). The north and south sides of the Warkworth chancel retain a number of corbels, depicting what appear to be a number of grotesque and human heads as well as a roll corbel (figs. N.38 & 39). Related roll corbels do occur at Carlisle, but the Warkworth figure corbels are too weathered to facilitate a useful comparison. Corbridge church also originally possessed a corbel table, as evidenced by the single corbel inside the south nave aisle which depicts a pair of male heads (fig. N.40). Many of the corbels at Carlisle depict male heads, but these are arranged individually, rather than in pairs, and are stylistically very different. Whereas the Corbridge heads have smooth faces and small noses, those at Carlisle have prominent noses and chins as well as

[37] For the grant of Aspatria church, see Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 275; Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', p. 59. The churches of Corbridge and Warkworth were donated in 1125, see *RRAN*, vol. 2, nos. 572, 1431.

[38] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 275, has compared Aspatria church with Carlisle Cathedral.

Fig. N.34. Aspatria, St Kentigern (Cumbria): reset arch above the vestry doorway. © James King/ CRSBI.

Fig. N.35. Corbridge, St Andrew (Northumberland): east side of the south nave doorway.

Fig. N.36. Warkworth, St Lawrence (Northumberland): north nave window capital.

Fig. N.37. Warkworth, St Lawrence (Northumberland): blocked north nave doorway.

Fig. N.38 (left). Warkworth, St Lawrence (Northumberland): corbels on the south chancel.

Fig. N.39 (below). Warkworth, St Lawrence (Northumberland): corbels on the north chancel.

Fig. N.40 (left). Corbridge, St Andrew (Northumberland): corbel inside the south nave aisle.

protruding cheeks and foreheads. Instead, the Corbridge corbel design appears to stem from Yorkshire where twin human head corbels are relatively common.

The chancel arch at Warkworth is of special interest because it features decorative motifs that can be traced to Reading Abbey. A rare dart-leaf ornament, comprising fluted leaves arranged in triangles, decorates the inner part of the label (fig. N.41). Related forms of the motif can be seen on the imposts of capitals from Reading Abbey, as well as the impost of the north-east nave pier inside Leominster Priory, which was a daughter house of Reading (figs. N.42 & 43). The outer edge of the chancel arch label is hollow chamfered and filled with large beads (fig. N.41). It has already been noted that a similar motif was used at Gisborough Priory and St Mary's Abbey, York, however the arrangement at Warkworth most closely resembles the arch-head from Reading Abbey (figs. K.8, 9 & 13). These sculptural connections to Reading need not come as a surprise. Warkworth was a royal

Fig. N.41. Warkworth, St Lawrence (Northumberland): north side of the chancel arch.

Fig. N.42. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: capital from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.106. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

Fig. N.43. Leominster Priory (Herefordshire): first pier of the north nave arcade. © R. Baxter/ CRSBI.

manor and Henry I had previously granted the church to his chaplain, Richard d'Orval.[39] Even when Warkworth church was transferred to the canons of Carlisle in 1125, Henry stipulated that it was to be controlled by Richard and his clerks until the death of the former.[40] It is possible, then, that the chancel arch was designed to evoke Reading Abbey.

There are several other Cumbrian churches with sculptural schemes from the twelfth century that have been compared to Carlisle Cathedral, but their religious affiliations during this period are unknown.[41] The churches at Bolton and Kirkbampton are two examples that are notable for the extent and variety of sculpture that they preserve. Sculptural forms and motifs common to Carlisle Cathedral and the churches of Bolton and Kirkbampton include scallop capitals, some with incised shields and wedges between the cones, billet and chevron.[42] One of the most distinctive

Fig. N.44. Bolton, All Saints (Cumbria): label of the south nave doorway.

Fig. N.45. Melbourne, SS Michael and Mary (Derbyshire): south capital of the former north apse arch.

Fig. N.46. Leominster Priory (Herefordshire): north capital of the west window (interior). © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

[39] The grant to Richard d'Orval occurred *c.* 1102, see *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 572.

[40] *RRAN*, vol. 2, no. 1431

[41] See Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', esp. pp. 271–6.

[42] Ibid., pp. 271–2, 275–6.

motifs at Bolton, a six-spoke star within a circle, does not occur at Carlisle but can be found on capitals at Melbourne church and Leominster Priory (figs. N.44–46).[43] The sculptural overlap between Carlisle Cathedral and Kirkbampton is particularly pronounced. Similarities include the application of step ornament; distinctive scallop capitals with cylindrical projections between the cones on the lower register; and capitals with lozenge decoration (figs. N.20, 27, 47–50).[44] The north nave doorway at Kirkbampton also features a composite tympanum, now heavily eroded, that is enriched with chevron and cable

Fig. N.47. Kirkbampton, St Peter (Cumbria): south capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. N.48. Kirkbampton, St Peter (Cumbria): west capital of the north nave doorway.

Fig. N.49. Carlisle Cathedral: clerestory capital on the east side of the south transept.

Fig. N.50. Kirkbampton, St Peter (Cumbria): north capital of the chancel arch.

[43] Ibid., p. 272, compared the Bolton motif to the sunken stars on the soffit of the south nave doorway at Corbridge but there are clear technical differences.

[44] For the comparison of the scallop capitals with cylindrical projections, see ibid., p. 275.

Fig. N.51. Kirkbampton, St Peter (Cumbria): tympanum of the north nave doorway.

Fig. N.52. Illustration of the Kirkbampton tympanum, after Calverley (1899).

patterns, and depicts a human figure holding a crozier or crook and a sling or sword that has been interpreted as King David of the Old Testament (figs. N.51 & 52).[45] The aforementioned sculptural parallels between Carlisle Cathedral and Kirkbampton coupled with Purday's description of a doorway at Carlisle with a decorated tympanum does raise the question of whether the Kirkbampton tympanum is based on a Carlisle exemplar.

The canons of Carlisle evidently looked to a number of eminent architectural models for inspiration, both in northern and southern England. In particular, they appear to have emulated the sculptural commissions of their royal patron, Henry I, and the monks of St Mary's Abbey, York, who also owed their foundation to royal patronage. The few dependent churches that have been discussed preserve some decorative features that can be traced to the cathedral. Yet in other respects, the decorative schemes at these churches diverge from the cathedral and one another. There are a couple of possible explanations for this. The mid-eighteenth-century observations of Purday highlight that a wider array of sculptural motifs were applied at the cathedral than the present fabric indicates. Moreover, the churches of Corbridge and Warkworth remained semi-autonomous for some time after 1125 and their sculptural designs were presumably dictated by Richard d'Orval and his clerks rather than the canons of the cathedral.

[45] Calverley, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 214; Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 275–6. Alternatively, W. Whellan, *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (Pontefract, 1860), p. 173, interpreted the figure as an abbot.

Part II

Reading sculpture

Chapter 3

Status in stone: lordship and landscapes of power

The term 'lordship' has become exceptionally popular among historians and archaeologists as a means of defining and exploring manifestations of power and authority in the medieval period, while simultaneously escaping the highly contentious term of 'feudalism'. Studies of lordship have developed beyond the traditional emphasis on documentary sources to consider material expressions of lordly power, especially in terms of landscape, castles and church patronage. It is clear that lordship was multi-sensory; power and authority could be conveyed through art and architecture just as much as it could be impressed through written documents and social rituals.[1] Local churches, in particular, were important locations for displaying wealth and authority since they often formed the nucleus of a settlement and might be the only stone building in the locality.[2] While a number of scholars have recognised that church sculpture played an important role in expressing status and power, this avenue of enquiry remains in its infancy and is ripe for further exploration.[3] The aim of this chapter is to underscore some of the ways in which sculptural schemes contributed to the practice of lordship within particular localities and across wider geographical areas. It will also serve as a useful counterpoint to the next chapter by highlighting the socio-political functions that sculptural schemes could perform, even within ecclesiastical settings.

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[1] T. N. Bisson, 'Medieval Lordship', *Speculum* 70 (1995), pp. 743–59; idem, *The Crisis of the Twelfth Century: Power, Lordship, and the Origins of European Government* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 68–83, 168–81; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pp. 27–33; A. 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. 185–225; O. H. Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes* (London, 2002), pp. 65–88, 110–33; Creighton and Wright, *Anarchy*, pp. 81–2, 128, 200–1; Mayr-Harting, *Religion, Politics and Society*, p. 66; Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, pp. 44–51.

[2] McClain, 'Patronage in Transition', pp. 185–87.

[3] For example, E. R. Hamer, *Patronage and Iconography in Romanesque England: The Herefordshire School in Context* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1992), pp. 93–4; C. F. Davidson, *Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy, and the Laity in English Parish Churches, c. 1125–c. 1250*, vol. 1 (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1998), p. 228; J. K. West, 'Architectural Sculpture in Parish Churches of the 11th- and 12th-Century West Midlands: Some Problems in Assessing the Evidence', in Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches*, p. 160; J. Hunt and M. A. Stokes, 'Sculpture and Patronage in a Shropshire Manor: A Group of 12th-Century Sculptures from Alveley', *JBAA* 150 (1997), pp. 42–3; J. Hunt, 'Kilpeck Church: a window on medieval 'mentalité'', *The Historian* (2006), p. 33; Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 146–53.

The term ‘lordship’ can be understood to encapsulate two main spheres of power: ecclesiastical and secular. Religious communities had just as much reason to project power and authority as secular lords, especially in a world where rival communities or ambitious secular lords might attempt to encroach on rights and possessions. Disputes over land and churches were especially common in the late eleventh and early twelfth century owing to the redistribution of landholdings after the Norman Conquest.[4] Tenurial confusion evidently contributed to the quarrel between the monks of Selby and St Mary’s Abbey, York, regarding their respective claims to one of the churches at Snaith.[5] The foundation histories of Whitby Abbey, St Mary’s Abbey and Tynemouth Priory also highlight that complex disputes could arise when religious communities relocated or were expelled from their monastery.[6] Good ecclesiastical lordship was about preserving and augmenting the possessions of the religious community, hence why ecclesiastical writers praised priors, abbots and bishops who enriched their communities and criticised those who gave little thought to worldly affairs.[7] Enriching the community was contingent on effective stewardship, namely the ability to manage and cultivate the community’s lands and stockpile resources. This had an important religious dimension in the sense that taming and ordering the landscape was perceived as a way of recreating heaven on earth.[8] It was also a prerequisite for commissioning church sculpture, especially when part of a major building programme that required a large organised workforce and a ready supply of materials.[9] From these perspectives, sculptural schemes can be understood as expressions of leadership, ownership and good stewardship.

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[4] F. Barlow, ‘The Effects of the Norman Conquest’, *The Norman Conquest and Beyond* (London, 1983), p. 176; M. Chibnall, ‘Feudalism and Lordship’, in C. Harper-Bill and E. van Houts, *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 133.

[5] See Chapter 2. iv.

[6] See Chapter 2. ii, vii and viii.

[7] See, for example, *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. 64–5, 74–9; Hugh the Chantor, *History*, pp. 11–2, 14, 32–4; Symeon of Durham, *LDE*, pp. 224–5, 236–9.

[8] *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. 78–9; Watkins, ‘Landscape and Belief’, pp. 306–8, 317.

[9] For a detailed account of the wealth, resources and manpower required for a large building programme, see Suger, ‘*Libellus alter de consecratione*’.

Secular lords, regardless of whether they were wealthy magnates or minor local lords, were, presumably, motivated by similar concerns relating to the extension and definition of authority, especially in the politically and culturally transformative environment of the post-conquest period. It has been established that pre-conquest sculptural techniques and motifs were authorised by Norman and Breton patrons as a way of negotiating power and projecting status among native populations in the last decades of the eleventh century.[10] This behaviour evidently continued into the twelfth century and can be observed among both ecclesiastical and secular patrons.

One reason for continuity and hybridisation could be the fact that the Norman Conquest of northern England was a piecemeal process. While some Norman and Breton lords were well-established by the turn of the twelfth-century, other men had only recently been granted lordships in the region, namely Robert I de Brus, Walter de Gant, Walter Espec, and the Meschin brothers of Cumbria, Ranulf and William.[11] Cumberland itself was not annexed by the English Crown until 1092 and underwent many administrative transformations during the first half of the twelfth century.[12] These newly established lordships undoubtedly contained communities whose cultural traditions had been largely unaffected by Norman rule, making it pragmatic for seigneurial patrons to authorise and integrate these traditions. This attitude might appear to explain the two unusual tympana at Long Marton church (Cumbria), located in the Westmorland lordship of Ranulf Meschin (figs. O.1 & 2).[13] Both are carved in a low relief, two-plane technique characteristic of pre-conquest sculpture, and the tympanum over the south nave doorway incorporates an interlace pattern and open quatrefoil knot that can be traced to late Anglo-Saxon repertoires.[14] Meanwhile, its counterpart above the west doorway incorporates sunken stars, a motif of Norman origin, and provides clear evidence of an amalgamation of Anglo-Saxon craftsmanship and Norman decoration that is unlikely to have taken place before *c.*

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[10] See Chapter 1.

[11] Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 20–82; Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', pp. 37–54.

[12] Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria'.

[13] Ibid., pp. 37, 49; Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, p. 34.

[14] Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, pp. xxviii–xlv.

Fig. O.1. Long Marton, SS Margaret and James (Cumbria): tympanum of the south nave doorway.

Fig. O.2. Long Marton, SS Margaret and James (Cumbria): tympanum of the west nave doorway.

1100.[15] The tympana can thus be dated to the early twelfth century, attributed to the patronage of Ranulf Meschin, and understood within the context of Ranulf's attempts to tighten Norman control over Cumbria.

Ranulf's brother, William Meschin, apparently oversaw a similar process of artistic fusion at St Bees Priory, presumably with the cooperation of monks from St Mary's Abbey, York. The chevron-enriched west doorway and volute crossing capitals are ultimately derived from architecture in Normandy, while the beakheads of the west doorway show a receptiveness to new sculptural trends of the 1120s and 1130s (figs. D.47 & 48). Meanwhile, the capitals of the west doorway are carved with thick interlacing tendrils of foliage, often scrolling, in a style evocative of pre-conquest plant-scroll designs (figs. D. 20–22; F.11).[16] This artistic hybridisation is further exemplified by the St Bees gabled lintel which represents a fusion of pre-conquest Scandinavian interlace ornaments with twelfth-century iconography, namely the violent confrontation between an armed man and a dragon (fig. D.35).[17]

Other magnates who had been newly installed in north-east England were also willing to authorise pre-conquest crafting traditions. Robert I de Brus was the patron of several churches in County Durham and Yorkshire that incorporate Anglo-Saxon building and sculpting techniques. Besides the window capitals at Kirkburn church, which have already been noted for their Anglo-Scandinavian influences, there is the winged capital on the north side of the chancel arch at Kirklevington church. This displays a strap-work ornament around the necking and a recessing technique of carving that can be traced to the

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[15] For discussions of the style and iconography of the tympana, see T. Lees, 'An attempt to explain the sculptures over the south and west doors of Long Marton church', *TCWAAS* 5 (1881), pp. 174–80; Calverley, *Notes on the Early Sculptured* Crosses, pp. 229–30; Keyser, *List of Norman Tympana*, p. lxxvii; N. Pevsner, *Cumberland and Westmorland* (London, 1967), p. 17; Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 270–1. The west tympanum is composed of seven large fragments and was reset it its current position during a late nineteenth-century restoration campaign. Owing to the tympanum's fragmentary state, it has been suggested that the two sections displaying figure sculpture were created prior to the Norman Conquest, and that the tympanum was remodelled and sunken star ornament added at a later date. The observations of J. A. Cory, 'Historical account of Long Marton church, as shewn by its masonry', *TCWAAS* 5 (1881), p. 171, show this to be unlikely and that the tympanum was in fact damaged during the modern restoration campaign.

[16] Cf. Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament*, pp. xxiv–xxv.

[17] *CASSS*, vol. 2, ch. 13.

late Anglo-Saxon period (figs. K.43 & 48). It is likely that the impetus for this came from Robert's Augustinian foundation at Gisborough. There are clues among the Gisborough architectural fragments that certain motifs were selected to evoke pre-conquest sculpture, namely the muzzled head that appears on one of the capitals (fig. K.14). Equally, some of the regional church sculpture attributable to the patronage of Walter Espec is reminiscent of pre-conquest sculpture. This includes the Crucifixion relief at Westow, the panel depicting St Michael defeating the dragon at Garton-on-the-Wolds, and the Adoration of the Magi relief at Kirknewton (figs. M.2, 3 & 24). Lesser members of the secular elite were also commissioning pre-conquest-influenced sculpture. For example, Robert de Maisnil and his wife, who were tenants of Robert de Brus, were probably responsible for commissioning the relief at Newton-under-Roseberry which fuses an Anglo-Saxon carving technique with the popular post-conquest motif of two confronted animals (figs. J.33 & 34).

The same desire to project status presumably prompted religious communities to support the continuity of Anglo-Saxon sculptural traditions. For the monks of Durham and Whitby, the application of pre-conquest motifs surely marked a conscious effort to connect themselves to the Anglo-Saxon past. Both communities could trace their origins to the 'Northumbrian Golden Age' of the seventh and eighth centuries, and visually evoking this history could be an effective way of legitimising their spiritual authority at their respective sites. This was all the more important for the Durham monks who had effectively supplanted the true spiritual successors of St Cuthbert when Bishop William reformed the cathedral in 1083. Accordingly, the western processional doorways of the cathedral integrate pre-conquest motifs, such as filled roundels and lozenges, and Byzantine blossom. Whitby Abbey, on the other hand, had been re-founded in the late eleventh century for the express purpose of reviving an Anglo-Saxon form of eremitical monasticism. Although the Whitby community soon abandoned eremitism in favour of Benedictine monasticism, the new early twelfth-century abbey church featured sculpted label stops, herringbone ornament and chequerboard patterns that would have clearly evoked the Anglo-Saxon past.

Like Norman secular patrons, religious communities may have also authorised pre-conquest sculptural styles and motifs in order project a sense of continuity and ingratiate

themselves with local populations so as to ease ethnic tensions. York was the site of two major uprisings in 1068 and 1069, respectively, and it was during the second rebellion that the Norman governor of York, Robert fitz Richard, was murdered.[18] The precariousness of Norman power in the area during the last decades of the eleventh century was surely not lost on the monks of Holy Trinity Priory, York, and their secular patron, Ralph Paynel, the sheriff of York. This would explain why the new priory church incorporated interlace and biting animal motifs that were clearly modelled on local Anglo-Scandinavian artistic traditions. Concerns regarding ethnic hostilities may have also motivated the bishops and monks of Durham to continue commissioning craftsmen trained in native traditions at the turn of the twelfth century. After all, the uprisings that had resulted in the murders of Robert de Comines, earl of Northumbria (at Durham in 1069), and Walcher, bishop of Durham and earl of Northumbria (at Gateshead, Newcastle, in 1080), were still within recent memory.[19] Besides the architectural sculpture of Durham Cathedral Priory, carvings that correspond to pre-conquest traditions and techniques have been observed at the Durham-dependent churches of Croxdale, Leake and Eastrington. To this list can be added the tympanum at Houghton-le-Spring which fuses late Anglo-Saxon and post-conquest styles and motifs. The beaded and interlacing dragons recall late Anglo-Saxon metalwork and sculpture, as well as relating to late eleventh-century Norman manuscripts at the cathedral priory (fig. E.93).

For ecclesiastical and secular lords, churches were the ideal location for communicating the belief that their status and powers were sanctioned by God.[20] The fonts at the York Cathedral-affiliated churches of Cowlam and North Grimston convey the spiritual authority of the archbishop by juxtaposing his figure with christological scenes. On both fonts, the archbishop is shown beneath an arcade holding a crosier in his left hand and raising his right hand in a blessing to the viewer (figs. O.3 & 4). In the case of the North Grimston font, the archbishop possesses a halo, a clear marker of his sanctity, and is

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[18] Kapelle, *Norman Conquest*, pp. 108–13.

[19] Ibid., p. 112.

[20] For the belief that secular lordship was divinely sanctioned, see Bisson, *Crisis of the Twelfth Century*, p. 71.

Fig. O.3 (above). Cowlam, St Mary (East Yorkshire): font.

Fig. O.4 (left). North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): font.

positioned between the scenes of the Last Supper and the Deposition.[21] Meanwhile, the archbishop on the Cowlam font is positioned to the right of the Virgin and Child, and his blessing appears to be directed towards the infant Christ. A similar argument can be made for the depictions of the Augustinian canons on the Kirkburn font who are presented as if they have been invested with their sacerdotal power directly by Christ. The same font also celebrates the authority of the archbishop who is shown holding his pastoral staff and performing a blessing like the archiepiscopal figures on the Cowlam and North Grimston fonts (fig. O.5).

Fig. O.5. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): font.

[21] The anonymous *Vita Thurstani* was composed soon after Archbishop Thurstan's death in 1140 and indicates an effort to have him canonised, see A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066–1422* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 52. If the haloed archbishop on the North Grimston font was intended as a representation of Thurstan, it can be understood within the context of this canonisation movement.

There were some secular patrons who authorised carved depictions of aristocratic culture on churches, presumably as a way of illustrating the connection between elite status and piety. The doorway of Henry de Lacy's church at Brayton depicts a boar hunt, involving an armed man and dogs, and jousting knights either side of a roundel depicting the *Agnus Dei* and a mandorla containing Christ in Majesty (figs. O.6–8; P.48). These scenes may have

Fig. O.6. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. O.7. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): roundels depicting a boar hunt on the south nave doorway,

Fig. O.8. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): roundels depicting jousting knights on the south nave doorway.

been designed to carry religious messages; for example, Wood has suggested that the boar hunt is an allegory for the pastoral work of the priest, while there is contemporary evidence from St Albans that depictions of battling knights were imbued with spiritual meaning, possibly to denote struggles with temptation.[22] However, an alternative, and more literal, reading of these scenes is that they celebrate aristocratic status by visually connecting elite secular activities with the divine. Related to this is the possibility that the jousting scene was meant to justify Henry de Lacy's role in the regional violence of the 1140s, particularly his conflict with William of Aumale over the lordship of Selby. The *Historia Selebiensis* provides clues that Henry was regarded as the protector of Selby Abbey by himself and the monastic community, while William was denounced as a violent oppressor.[23] On the Brayton doorway, the right-hand equestrian figure is the embodiment of a solider of Christ since he is enclosed within a more elaborate roundel than his opponent and there is an incised cross in the space behind him. The possibility that this figure represents Henry himself is an arresting one, but, unfortunately, one that is impossible to substantiate. A similar representation of two jousting knights can be seen on a relief above the north doorway at Bolton church in Cumbria (figs. O.9 & 10).[24] The church and its sculpture can be tentatively attributed to the patronage of a minor secular lord named Laurence de Vere, mentioned on an accompanying inscription that has since eroded.[25] This relief can be understood to communicate the patron's aristocratic status, although it is once again unclear whether one of the knights was intended as a donor portrait.

Castle-church complexes are rightly cited as one of the principal ways in which lords expressed the interconnection between secular power and piety, and visualised their divine

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[22] Wood, 'St Wilfrid, Brayton'; Kessler, 'Gregory the Great and Image Theory', p. 159.

[23] *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. 98–111.

[24] The relief is an integral part of the surrounding masonry and must be contemporary with the doorway below. This doorway can be dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century on the basis of its relationship to sculpture at Carlisle Cathedral, see Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 271–2.

[25] For a transcription of the lost inscription, see Calverley, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 58.

Fig. O.9. Bolton, All Saints (Cumbria): former north nave doorway and relief.

Fig. O.10. Bolton, All Saints (Cumbria): relief above the former north nave doorway.

mandate to rule over an area.[26] There are many examples of churches with sculptural schemes that stand in close proximity to castles or elite residences, one of the most famous being the Durham peninsula where cathedral priory and castle stand less than two hundred metres apart. The architectural decoration of the cathedral contributed to this expression of divine mandate by echoing the greatest churches of England and western Christendom, namely Canterbury Cathedral and St Peter's basilica in Rome. At Carlisle, King David I of Scotland apparently oversaw the redesign of the castle and cathedral to communicate the legitimacy of his rule over Cumbria. Much like Durham Cathedral Priory, the quality of the sculpture at Carlisle Cathedral was upgraded partway through the construction programme, and this can be partly attributed to the influence of David, who undoubtedly saw an opportunity to bolster his lordship through an overt display of religious patronage. Robert I de Brus, who happened to enjoy the patronage of King David during the later years of Henry I's reign, was particularly fond of commissioning decorated stone churches to stand alongside his seigneurial residences, an arrangement that can be seen most clearly at Skelton-in-Cleveland and Hart. Hugh de Morville, another Norman lord with connections to the Scottish royal court, was granted the lordship of Appleby and Westmorland after King David annexed Cumbria in 1136,[27] and appears to have remodelled the castle-church complex at Brough. This likely included the commissioning of the sculpted doorway at Brough church (figs. D.50, 51, 54 & 57). The inner order is decorated with a series of masks that were probably directly modelled on exemplars found on church doorways around the Cotentin Peninsula (Normandy), Hugh's home region.[28] In other words, the sculpted doorway was a clear marker of religious patronage from a new Norman lord.

Other secular lords decided to establish major religious foundations with lavish sculptural schemes in close proximity to their seigneurial centres, demonstrating that religious patronage was inextricably linked to lordship. William Meschin founded St Bees Priory only a few miles from his *caput* at Egremont. The quality of the priory carvings and their

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[26] Creighton, *Castles and Landscapes*, p. 110; A. N. McClain, 'The archaeology of transition: rethinking medieval material culture and social change', in M. Boulton, J. Hawkes and M. Herman (eds.), *The Art, Literature and Material Culture of the Medieval World* (Dublin, 2015), p. 32.

[27] G. W. S. Barrow, *The Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History* (Oxford, 1980), p. 73; Barrow, 'King David I', p. 117.

[28] For Hugh de Morville's background, see Barrow, *Anglo-Norman Era in Scottish History*, pp. 70–1. For related mask carvings in Manche and Calvados, see Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 15.

relationship to sculpture at other major ecclesiastical centres in northern England, namely St Mary's Abbey, York, indicates an attempt by William to project his secular authority in the area by commissioning an artistically prestigious monastery. This is apparently confirmed by the fact that the building of the priory went hand-in-hand with the construction of a grand masonry castle at Egremont.[29] The same pattern of behaviour can be observed across Yorkshire. Robert de Brus founded the priory of Gisborough a few miles from his castle at Skelton-in-Cleveland, and Walter Espec established Rievaulx Abbey the same distance from his *caput* at Helmsley. In Pontefract, Robert de Lacy founded a Cluniac priory a stone's throw from his castle, and at Malton (North Yorkshire), Eustace fitz John established a community of Augustinian canons within a mile of his castle between 1151 and 1153.[30] The architectural decoration of the first monastic churches at Pontefract and Rievaulx are unknown, whereas it is clear that the sculpture at Gisborough Priory was modelled on prestigious religious centres such as Whitby and York, and probably also Henry I's abbey at Reading. Little sculpture survives from the first priory church at Malton, however the earliest features and fragments that do remain indicate a relatively well-decorated structure. These include two loose sets of twin scallop capitals; the base of a nook-shaft which is enriched with beading; and a reset arch that is decorated with an order of bird beakheads, zigzag ornament and scallop capitals (figs. O. 11–13). All can be roughly dated to *c.* 1155.[31] Eustache fitz John, the patron of Malton Priory, rose to power under Henry I, later opposed King Stephen, and consolidated his lordship at the beginning of Henry II's reign.[32] It is possible, then, that the bird beakheads at Malton were selected to evoke Henry I and reflect Eustache's efforts to legitimise his lordship at the beginning of Henry II's reign.

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[29] For the gatehouse and masonry walls of Egremont Castle, which have been dated to the 1120s or 1130s, see Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 284–7.

[30] For the foundation of Malton Priory, see Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 8. The earliest surviving sculptural features at Malton Priory are a reset arch decorated with an order of bird beakheads, two loose sets of twin scallop capitals, and the damaged base of a nook-shaft which is enriched with beading. All probably date from *c.* 1155.

[31] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 168, has similarly suggested that the beakhead-enriched arch 'probably dates from soon after the foundation'.

[32] P. Dalton, 'Eustache Fitz John and the Politics of Anglo-Norman England: The Rise and Survival of a Twelfth-Century Royal Servant', *Speculum* 71 (1996), pp. 359–80; idem, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 105–6.

Fig. O.11. Malton Priory (North Yorkshire): loose twin scallop capital.

Fig. O.12. Malton Priory (North Yorkshire): loose nook-shaft base.

Fig. O.13. Malton Priory (North Yorkshire): detail of reset arch located north-east of the present-day church

Although the origins of beakhead ornament has been much debated, it seems undeniable that the motif was popularised in the second quarter of the twelfth century by King Henry I and his immediate circle.[33] Beakhead and beaker clasp ornaments are prevalent in churches across northern England, especially within Yorkshire, and the present author has argued that it was introduced to the region by patrons who were closely affiliated to the royal court, namely Robert I de Brus and Archbishop Thurstan. There is also the intriguing possibility that the bird beakhead motif was introduced to Doncaster through the direct patronage of the king. The implication is that early patrons of the motif were deliberately emulating Henry I in order to project their status and communicate that their power in the region was authorised by the king. During Stephen's reign, there was greater compulsion to express status due to the waning of royal authority and the threat of civil disorder. This provides one explanation for the increased popularity of beakhead ornament between *c.* 1139 and *c.* 1154, particularly in those areas that experienced the most political

Fig. O.14 (left). East Ardsley, St Michael (West Riding): apex of the south nave doorway.

Fig. O.15 (below). Ryther, All Saints (West Yorkshire): beakhead voussoir reset within the porch. © Rita Wood.

[33] Baxter, *Royal Abbey of Reading*, pp. 283–7. Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 14, has suggested that beakhead ornament emerged in northern England much earlier as a result of Scandinavian influences but there is no convincing evidence to substantiate this argument. The 'early post-conquest' examples of beakhead ornament cited by Wood, namely that found at the churches of Austerfield, Wales (South Yorkshire) and Bradbourne (Derbyshire), clearly date from the second quarter of the twelfth century.

fragmentation, which included Yorkshire.[34] This was a time when political allegiances could be uncertain and the balance of power had a tendency to shift suddenly. In this unsettled climate, the beakhead motif may have been perceived as a symbol of continuity as well as power. This would certainly explain why bird beakheads are found at several churches that have been attributed to the patronage of the Lacy brothers, Ilbert II and Henry, namely Brayton, Campsall, East Ardsley and Ryther (figs. G.32; O.6, 14 & 15). Having been restored to their father's lands at the start of Stephen's reign, Ilbert and Henry evidently sought to affirm their status. Henry also had to overcome challenges to his lordship from William of Aumale and the Scots during the 1140s.[35] Crucially, beakheads and beaker clasps were commissioned by elites on both sides of the main political divide who must have been equally keen to assert the legitimacy of their lordship.

Prior to the emergence of beakhead enrichment, sunken star ornament was a highly popular form of architectural decoration that also appears to have been used to convey power and status because of its association with royal patronage.[36] In northern England, sunken star ornament occurs at churches of variable size and status, and was commissioned by both secular and ecclesiastical patrons. What is interesting, however, is that the motif is most prominent at those churches whose patrons were closely involved in the royal household or government. All of the early twelfth-century archbishops of York, and some of their canons, had backgrounds at the royal court. This would explain why sunken stars decorate a number of churches that were dependent on York Cathedral, namely Fridaythorpe, Kilham and Weaverthorpe. There was also William of St Calais, a central figure in the government of William the Conqueror, who proceeded to commission star-enriched capitals for his chapel in Durham Castle. These were almost certainly modelled on

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[34] The greatest concentrations of beakhead ornament can be found in Yorkshire, Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and the Thames Valley, see Zarnecki and Henry, 'Romanesque Arches', p. 21; and Newson, pp. 72–3, 82. For conflicts in Yorkshire: Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 145–95; idem, 'Ecclesiastical Responses to War', pp. 131–50. For conflicts in Herefordshire: Coplestone-Crow in Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, pp. 1–36. For conflicts in Gloucestershire: Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 146–75. For conflicts in Oxfordshire: E. Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored 1149–1159* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 46–63.

[35] Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 171, 189; idem, 'Ecclesiastical Responses to War', pp. 135, 138.

[36] See Chapter 1 and fig. B.34. Also cf. Hauglid, 'A Deliberate Style', pp. 113–31.

exemplars at the royal abbey of La Trinité, Caen.[37] Moreover, many of the new northern magnates who had risen to power under Henry I were responsible for authorising the motif at their churches, including Robert de Brus, Walter de Gant, Walter Espec and Ranulf Meschin. Ranulf's church at Long Marton is of particular interest because the west tympanum is dominated by sunken star ornament and echoes the tympanum above the former main entrance to William the Conqueror's palace at Caen (figs. B.34; O.2). The implication is that sunken stars were popular among prominent royal servants precisely because they communicated loyalty to the Crown and emphasised that power was exercised on behalf of the king.

Emulating other patrons was apparently regarded as a useful way of expressing affiliations, whether religious, social or political. For ecclesiastical patrons, sculptural motifs might have been copied in order to visually denote confraternities with other religious communities. Several of the sculptural motifs applied at Whitby Abbey can be traced to St Mary's Abbey, York, and Durham Cathedral Priory, and were presumably selected to visualise the fraternal links between the religious communities. A number of the decorative features at Durham Cathedral Priory can themselves be traced to St Mary's Abbey, York, which can be attributed, at least partly, to the fact that both sites were populated with Benedictine monks from Jarrow. The movement of churchmen offers one convincing explanation for the form of the later sculptural schemes at Carlisle Cathedral, which relate to those found at Melbourne church (Derbyshire) and are likely to have been derived from Nostell Priory. Besides Athelwold, who simultaneously served as prior of Nostell and bishop of Carlisle, it is plausible that other Augustinian canons moved between Nostell and Carlisle and this helped facilitate architectural connections between the two churches. On the other hand, fraternal links do not explain the sculptural parallels between Whitby Abbey and the Augustinian priory at Gisborough. Instead, these parallels can be attributed to the social affiliation between their respective secular patrons, Alan de Percy and Robert de Brus,[38] as well as the proximity of the churches and the movement of craftsmen between the two sites.

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[37] For William of St Calais' role in the government of William I, see Aird, 'An Absent Friend', pp. 289–91.

[38] Robert de Brus witnessed Alan de Percy's major confirmation charter to Whitby Abbey, see *Cartularium Whiteby*, vol. 1, no. 8b, pp. 33–5.

Emulation between secular lords can be ascribed to a variety of socio-political factors.[39] In some circumstances, tenurial relationships can effectively explain why minor lords copied the sculptural commissions of their superiors. This is clearly illustrated by the sculptural schemes at Birkin church which were surely modelled on those at Brayton because the patron of the former, Adam de Birkin, was a tenant of Henry de Lacy, the patron of the latter. Alan de Ferlington, another minor lord, appears to have been a tenant and close associate of Robert de Brus, and this would explain why the sculptural decoration of his church at Wilton mirrors that of Gisborough Priory. Certain motifs found among the fragments from Gisborough Priory can also be seen at Hilton church, including grotesque masks emitting tendrils of foliage and hollow chamfered mouldings filled with large beads. This can be attributed to the fact that the patrons of Hilton church, the Maisnil family, were tenants of Robert de Brus.[40]

Marriage sparked other processes of emulation, presumably as a means of expressing affinities between different families. This was evidently the case with the Paynel and Lacy families, who became connected by marriage in the late eleventh century and proceeded to commission a number of the same sculptural motifs, including the unusual crouched hare beakhead design. On top of these formal bonds of association, there was a complex web of social interactions and friendships. Robert de Brus and Walter Espec were both members of an exclusive circle of royal servants who owed their power and status in northern England to the patronage of Henry I, shared a common interest in the Augustinian order, and later fought together at the Battle of the Standard. The relationship between these magnates may partly explain why so many sculptural parallels can be observed between Robert's church at Kirkham and Walter's church at Garton-on-the-Wolds.[41]

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[39] With reference to the Herefordshire School of sculpture, Hunt and Stokes, 'Sculpture and Patronage', pp. 42–3, have argued that the main factors leading to the dissemination of particular sculptural styles among aristocratic patrons were kinship, friendship and locality ('neighbourhood').

[40] For example, the manor of Newton-under-Roseberry was granted to Robert de Brus at the beginning of Henry I's reign, but was soon tenanted to Robert de Maisnil, see Page (ed.), *History of the County of York North Riding*, vol. 2, pp. 273–6.

[41] The proximity of Kirkburn and Garton-on-the-Wolds, and the likelihood that some of the same craftsmen worked at both sites, are other factors.

During the conflicts of Stephen's reign, communicating affinities and allegiances through artistic emulation may have been regarded as a useful way of negotiating power.[42] Ilbert II and Henry de Lacy evidently modelled their sculptural commissions at Brayton and Campsall on the decorative schemes of Selby Abbey. Presumably this marked a conscious effort to express their affinity with Elias Paynel, the abbot of Selby, and further their claims to the secular lordship of Selby and the surrounding area. By mirroring the sculpture of Selby Abbey and building a castle next to the abbey, it appears that Henry de Lacy was attempting to establish himself as advocate and protector of the monastic community. An affinity also existed between the Percy and Gant families, owing to the fact that Alan I de Percy (d. *c.* 1135) married Emma, the sister of Walter de Gant.[43] Walter's son, Gilbert de Gant, was a major power figure in the East Riding of Yorkshire during the 1140s. Robert de Percy, a lesser member of the Percy family, may have sought to express his allegiance to Gilbert in two ways: first, by granting his church at Carnaby to the Gant family foundation at Bridlington *c.* 1150; and second, by commissioning the Bridlington Priory atelier of sculptors to create a font for Carnaby church (fig. L.4). It has also been suggested that the political allegiance between King David I of Scots and members of the Angevin party in western England could explain sculptural relationships between Carlisle Cathedral and churches in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire.

In other circumstances, the decision to copy sculptural motifs may have been born from a desire to compete. Religious houses endeavoured to demonstrate the power and efficacy of their respective patron saints, and architectural decoration was a highly visible way of denoting the prestige of a community and its superiority above others. The monks of Tynemouth Priory were keen to establish their independence from Durham and defend St Albans' claim to their site. This manifested itself in the cult of St Oswine which was

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[42] The same argument has been made by the present author in relation to Gloucestershire, see Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 148–9. For the political fragmentation, or 'decentralisation', of Stephen's reign, see E. King, 'The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 34 (1984), pp. 134–5, 152; K. J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, Warfare and Government in Twelfth-Century England* (London, 1993), pp. 86–8; G. J. White, *Restoration and Reform, 1153–1165: Recovery from Civil War in England* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 55–64.

[43] *EYC*, vol. 11, p. 2.

promoted as a direct rival to that of St Cuthbert.[44] St Oswine's relics required an eminent setting that could compete with St Cuthbert's new cathedral church, and this could explain why the early twelfth-century fabric of Tynemouth Priory replicates some architectural elements from Durham, namely the octagonal scallop capital. In other respects, the design scheme of Tynemouth Priory appears to have been inspired by alternative sites, including Lastingham Abbey and possibly its successor in York (St Mary's Abbey). This suggests an effort by the monks of Tynemouth to synthesise different prestigious models rather than passively emulating Durham Cathedral Priory. In doing so, they perhaps sought to communicate Tynemouth's status within northern England and its ability to rival the greatest monastic houses in the region. The same can be said for the sculptural schemes of Carlisle Cathedral, especially those added after the priory had been elevated to cathedral status. These appear to have been inspired by a number of regional sites, including St Mary's Abbey (York), York Cathedral and Nostell Priory, as well as eminent churches in western England. Meanwhile, the monks of Durham Cathedral Priory appear to have reproduced the sculptural schemes of St Mary's Abbey on a grander scale as way of communicating that they could rival and surpass their York brothers who, at that time, where receiving substantial donations from royal and baronial patrons.

A regular phenomenon in northern England is the repetition of the same sculptural motifs or designs across different sites that were connected to the same patron.[45] This suggests that patrons were keen to construct distinctive family, or house, styles. The most logical explanation for this is that patrons sought to visualise identity and ownership through sculpture. It is impossible to know whether individual motifs became widely associated with particular families or religious communities, although the implication is that ecclesiastical and secular patrons perceived the replication of certain sculptural repertoires as an effective way of conveying lordship. In some cases, repetition can be attributed to the fact that the same craftsmen were employed at several sites, and, in these circumstances, it

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[44] 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. D. X. Carpenter, 'Tynemouth Priory, version H1-Tynemouth-2016-1', *Charters of William II and Henry I*, https://actswilliam2henry1.files.wordpress.com/2014/10/h1-tynemouth-2016-1.pdf (accessed 11/11/16), p. 5, has pointed out that relations between Durham and St Albans were cordial enough in the first decade of the twelfth century for Abbot Richard of St Albans (1097–1119) and Bishop Ranulf Flambard to attend the respective translations of St Cuthbert and St Oswine.

[45] Similar patterns can be observed elsewhere in England. See, for example, Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, p. 150.

could be argued that the decision to replicate was made by the sculptors rather than the patron. To do so would be to underestimate the involvement of patrons in the design and execution of sculptural schemes. After all, patrons may have elected to employ the same atelier of craftsmen precisely because they wanted to ensure uniformity of style across different churches.

The clearest evidence that patrons actively sought to proliferate certain motifs and designs can be gleaned from those groups of churches connected to the same patron where the sculptural schemes are related but the craftsmen responsible were manifestly different. It has been observed that those churches constructed under the patronage of the canons of York Cathedral show diversity in style, yet often incorporate similar capital designs, including scallops with swollen angles and Corinthianesque types, and identical motifs, such as flowers and beaker clasps. The same is true for those churches affiliated to St Mary's Abbey, York, since similar angle mask capitals and biting animal motifs occur at geographically distant sites. For the bishops of Durham, it is possible that the griffin became a symbol of episcopal power and jurisdiction, as well as carrying layers of spiritual meaning.[46] Sculptural depictions of griffins are exceptionally rare in northern England and the only examples known to exist occur at churches belonging to the bishop of Durham. At least one example is clearly visible within the cathedral itself, on the interior face of the north nave doorway, and two pairs of addorsed griffins can be seen on the relief at Eastrington church (figs. E.32 & 83). The observation that much of the sculpture at Durham Cathedral Priory was modelled on decoration in the priory's manuscripts suggests that the design process was guided by the patrons rather than the sculptors, and that the monks and bishops were keen to create a distinctive house style.

Few secular patrons were responsible for commissioning more than one richly decorated church, making it difficult, even impossible, to gauge the extent to which particular motifs were chosen to communicate lordly identity and ownership. There were minor lords, like the Maisnil family and Roger Conyers, who appear to have been more interested in imitating sculpture at nearby monastic centres than establishing their own distinctive repertoires. On the other hand, there were magnates who founded religious houses and

[46] See Chapter 2. iii. for the presence of griffins on the vestments of William of St Calais and Ranulf Flambard, and within the Durham Cathedral Priory illuminated manuscripts.

invested in networks of churches that shared common decorative features, presumably as a means of visually delineating their lordship over an area. Robert de Brus was the secular patron of several churches, many of which share sculptural designs that can be traced to his Augustinian foundation at Gisborough. The likelihood that Robert himself stipulated the repetition of decorative features across different sites is suggested by the parallels between the sculptural schemes at Appleton Wiske church, which Robert granted to the monks of St Mary's Abbey, and those at Kirklevington and Gisborough. There are certainly variations between the Brus churches, but equally there are recurring voussoir mouldings, capital forms, and motifs, such as muzzled beasts and angle masks emitting foliage, that reflect deliberate design choices. The evidence for the sculptural commissions of the Percy family is frustratingly fragmentary, but there are clues they established a small network of churches with decoration modelled on their monastic foundation at Whitby.

Patterns of sculptural patronage are clearly valuable in revealing the ways that carved decoration in churches contributed to displays of lordship. There can be no doubt that commissioning sculpture was a costly activity and the very act of production was a mark of elite status. A further implication is that patrons would have given careful consideration to the meaning of motifs and schemes, even if they were assisted by others in the design process and were unable to personally oversee the project on a daily basis.[47] This is attested by the evidence that ecclesiastical and secular patrons consciously emulated other patrons of sculpture, especially those who were politically, socially or religiously affiliated, and deliberately replicated motifs across networks of churches. The last observation provides the best clue that carved decoration was used to construct lordly identity and convey ownership. Church sculpture was both a product and an expression of mastery over the landscape.

[47] See the Introduction for a more detailed discussion of the logistics of sculpture-production.

Chapter 4

Sermons in stone: sin, reform and landscapes of salvation

The century after the Norman Conquest of England was a period of great rebuilding as churches large and small were replaced or newly founded by secular and ecclesiastical patrons.[1] This was evidently the case in northern England, where the greatest boom in church-building occurred during the first half of the twelfth-century. Patrons increasingly turned to stone sculpture as a means of decorating new churches, and, as has been shown in the preceding chapter, this decoration became progressively more lavish as time approached the middle of the century. The growing popularity and intricacy of sculpture is all the more interesting considering the rise of the Cistercian order in the region from the 1130s onwards.[2] Early leaders of the Cistercian order were exceptionally critical of sculptural decoration. One Cistercian statute, which almost certainly dates from Stephen Harding's term as abbot of Cîteaux (1108–33), expressly forbade sculpture within the monastic compound.[3] This attitude was expounded by Bernard of Clairvaux in his *Apologia* to William, abbot of St Thierry, a rhetorical tract composed in the early 1120s. Bernard lampooned carvings of fantastical creatures, animals and armed men within the monastic cloister, his reasoning being that they served no spiritual function and distracted the monks from reading and contemplating God.[4] There is no direct evidence that this early Cistercian legislation and polemic was enacted in northern England but it would explain the lack of sculpture in the earliest surviving Cistercian buildings of northern England, which predominantly date from the later twelfth century. While carved decoration is not

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[1] Gem, 'A Great Rebuilding?', pp. 21–30.

[2] The earliest Cistercian houses were established at Rievaulx and Fountains (North Yorkshire) in 1132, and Newminster (Northumberland) in 1138. Little is known about the first churches on these sites owing to the fact that they were subsequently destroyed and rebuilt, see Fernie, *Norman England*, p. 190; B. Harbottle and P. Salway, 'Excavations at Newminster Abbey, Northumberland, 1961–1963', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 42 (1964), pp. 85–154.

[3] *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. C. Waddell (Brecht, 1999), cap. 26, p. 516; C. H. Talbot, 'The Cistercian attitude towards art: the literary evidence', in C. Norton and D. Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 58.

[4] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, vol. 3, eds. J. Leclercq and H. M. Rochais (Rome, 1963), p. 106; Bernard of Clairvaux, *'Apologia' to Abbot William*, eds. M. Casey and J. Leclercq (Kalamazoo, 1970), p. 66.

completely absent from these structures, the most intricate details amount to the simplest foliage, interlace and geometric designs.[5]

Early Cistercian attitudes towards sculpture clearly did not represent broader sentiments and it would be misguided to think that all carvings were mere frivolities devoid of spiritual significance. Bernard himself was willing to concede that church decoration was useful for rousing the devotions of the laity, and accepted, albeit reluctantly, that Psalm 25:8, 'Lord, I have loved the beauty of your house, and the place where your glory dwells', provided justification for such decoration as a means of recreating the likeness of heaven.[6] Here are important clues that the apparently inflammatory language elsewhere in the *Apologia* actually belies a more pragmatic outlook. Some scholars have also suggested that Bernard moderated his attitude toward church decoration over time, and there is much evidence to support this appraisal. For example, *c.* 1145 he conveyed jewels to Abbot Suger of St-Denis Abbey, Paris, for the purpose of creating a large and opulent gold crucifix.[7]

The idea that ecclesiastical art might serve a useful contemplative and didactic function was a standard feature of patristic texts and early medieval pastoral care. For example, Pope Gregory the Great advocated famously the use of images to educate the illiterate and ignorant in his letters to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles, written *c.* 600.[8] By the twelfth

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[5] For a summary of early Cistercian architecture, see R. Halsey, 'The earliest architecture of the Cistercians in England', in Norton and Park (eds.), *Cistercian Art and Architecture,* pp. 65–85. For sculptural decoration at northern Cistercian sites, see R. Wood, 'Cistercian Sculpture: Kirkstall Abbey and Elland Church in the Twelfth Century', *YAJ* 87 (2015), pp. 65–100. This sculpture is comparable to the simplicity, or, in Dominique Stutzmann's words, the 'ostentatious sobriety', of Cistercian manuscript illumination, see M. Sternberg, *Cistercian Architecture and Medieval Society* (Leiden, 2013), pp. 57–8.

[6] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, vol. 3, pp. 104–6; Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia*, pp. 64–6.

[7] C. Norton, 'Bernard, Suger, and Henry I's Crown Jewels', *Gesta* 45 (2006), pp. 1–11; L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (Abingdon, 2013), pp. 24–6.

[8] Gregory the Great, *Registrum Epistularum*, ed. D. Norberg (Turnhout, 1982), lib. 11, epist. 10; *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, ed. J. R. C. Martyn, vol. 3 (Toronto, 2004), p. 745. For the relevance of these letters to medieval thinking on art, see H. L. Kessler, 'Reading Ancient and Medieval Art', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), p. 1; L. G. Duggan, 'Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate?'', *Word and Image* 5 (1989), pp. 227–51; idem, 'Reflections on "Was Art Really the 'Book of the Illiterate'?"' in M. Hageman and M. Mostert (eds.), *Reading Images and Texts: Medieval Images and Texts as Forms of Communication* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 109–19; C. M. Chazelle, 'Pictures, Books and the Illiterate: Pope Gregory I's Letters to Serenus of Marseilles', *Word and Image* 6 (1990), pp. 138–53.

century, images and ornaments were being placed in churches for the benefit of the regular clergy as well as the laity in order to facilitate meditation on God, stimulate theological discourse, and educate.[9] Abbot Suger's writings on the rebuilding of St-Denis Abbey are a celebration of church decoration and craftsmanship in which art is conceived as a window to the divine, enabling the viewer to contemplate God and visualise heaven.[10] At the same time that Bernard of Clairvaux was composing his *Apologia*, Hugh of Saint-Victor was conceiving an elaborate teaching scheme in which an enormous picture of human history from the Creation to the Last Judgement, real or imagined, was the basis for a series of lectures and discussions on human salvation, known as *De archa Noe*. *De archa Noe* was designed for an educated audience and, in Hugh's own words, its function was to perfect the human soul by teaching wisdom, discipline and virtue.[11] *De Diversis Artibus*, a treatise on the arts composed in the first quarter of the twelfth century, collates many of these ideas. It was written by a German Benedictine monk, under the pseudonym of Theophilus, who proposed that art was a means of perfecting the degenerate human soul, in this case the soul of the craftsman; church decoration should recreate the likeness of Paradise; and iconography should serve anagogical and didactic functions.[12]

The relevance of these particular texts to stone sculpture in northern England might be questioned, but the unfortunate reality is that there are no extant Anglo-Norman texts outlining the spiritual function of carved decoration in churches. Contemporary writings from neighbouring regions of northern Europe therefore offer the best indication of the ideas and concerns that shaped patrons' decisions to commission sculpture, and the ways in

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[9] Several excellent examples in northern Europe are outlined by H. L. Kessler, 'Gregory the Great and Image Theory in Northern Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in C. Rudolph (ed.), *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 153–63.

[10] Suger of St-Denis, '*Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis*', eds. E. Panofsky and G. Panofsky-Soergel, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St-Denis and its Art Treasures* (2nd edition, Princeton, 1979), pp. 46–9, 62–5; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, pp. 24–5; M. B. Pranger, *Bernard of Clairvaux and the Shape of Monastic Thought: Broken Dreams* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 216–21.

[11] C. Rudolph, *"First, I Find the Center Point": Reading the Text of Hugh of Saint Victor's The Mystic Ark* (Philadelphia, 2004), esp. pp. 1–8, 78–85; idem, *The Mystic Ark: Hugh of Saint Victor, Art, and Thought in the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 1–58; G. A. Zinn, 'Exile, the Abbey of Saint-Victor at Paris and Hugh of Saint-Victor', in S. Hayes-Healy (ed.), *Medieval Paradigms*, vol. 2 (New York, 2005), pp. 93–101. There is some debate as to whether a complex mural painting ever existed at Saint-Victor, see M. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (2nd edition, Cambridge, 2008), p. 294 and fn.

[12] Theophilus, *The Various Arts*, ed. C. R. Dodwell (London, 1961), pp. 1–4, 36–7, 61–4.

which different groups of people in northern England engaged with sculptural schemes. The discussion that follows will seek to demonstrate that similar attitudes towards church decoration *did* enjoy currency in northern England. The main evidence for this will be the sculptural imagery itself, although written sources will be deployed where possible in order to help elucidate the iconography. Understanding the religious landscape of England in the first half of the twelfth century is also vital. This was a period of 'church reform' in which there were a plethora of movements, led by various individuals and groups, to alter religious ideals and practices, as well as the general behaviours of ecclesiastics and laypeople.[13] Many sculptural schemes in northern England are emblematic of local initiatives to promote sexual purity, among the laity as well as the clergy; limit societal conflict, which became a particular concern during Stephen's reign; and expand the provision of pastoral care to the laity. There are also clues that some sculptural schemes were connected to, and interacted with, liturgical offices, however this is not a main consideration of the discussion that follows.

This chapter is therefore built on the premise that many programmes of sculpture in northern England were designed to serve one or more didactic functions. Here, a passage from Theophilus' treatise on the arts is particularly enlightening:

> But if, perchance, the faithful soul observes the representation of the Lord's Passion expressed in art, it is stung with compassion. If it sees how many torments the saints endured in their bodies and what rewards of eternal life they have received, it eagerly embraces the observance of a better life. If it beholds how great are the joys of heaven and how great the torments in the infernal flames, it is animated by the hope of its good deeds and is shaken with fear by reflection on its sins.[14]

Using Theophilus' words as an ideological framework, this chapter will seek to explore sculpture from two perspectives: first, its ability to represent and admonish sinful behaviours; and second, its ability to morally educate the viewer and lead them to

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[13] See the discussion of 'church reform' and reform movements in northern England above (Introduction).

[14] Theophilus, *Various Arts*, pp. 63–4: '*Quod si forte Dominicae passionis effigiem liniamentis expressam conspicatur fidelis anima, compungitur; si quanta sancti pertulerunt in suis corporibus cruciamina quantaque uitae eternae perceperunt praemia conspicit, uitae melioris obseruantiam arripit; si quanta sunt in coelis gaudia quantaque in Tartareis flammis cruciamenta intuetur, spe de bonis actibus suis animatur et de peccatorum suorum consideratione formidine concutitur.*'

salvation. Notable themes that emerge from the sculptural imagery include sexual transgressions, violence and warfare, retribution, spiritual struggle, triumph over the devil, and salvation through the sacraments.

Representations of sin and admonitory schemes

There can be no doubt that sin, or, more specifically, the consequence of sin, was a concern for all echelons of society.[15] The broad appeal of the crusading movement, which promised plenary indulgences to participants, and the popularity of offerings to religious communities, saints' shrines and hermits demonstrate that people from all social groups were looking for new and established ways to cleanse their souls.[16] At Autun Cathedral, the tympanum of the west doorway (*c.* 1130) depicts the tormented damned along with the inscription: 'Here let fear strike those whom earthly error binds, for their fate is shown by the horror of these figures'.[17] Twelfth-century ecclesiastical and secular patrons in northern England also appear to have recognised that sculpture was an effective means of communicating sinful behaviours and the perdition that awaited the unrepentant.

Sexual impropriety was one of the primary concerns of reform-minded churchmen and laypeople.[18] Fornication was regarded as particularly perilous, hence Anselm of Canterbury's lament that not only had he lost his virginity, irreparably staining his soul, but he had also succumbed to lust and engaged in sexual intercourse outside the bonds of

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[15] See, for example, R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London, 1970); J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine, Vol. 3: The Growth of Medieval Theology (600–1300)* (Chicago, 1978); Constable, *Reformation*.

[16] M. Bull, 'The Roots of Lay Enthusiasm for the First Crusade', *History* 78 (1993), pp. 353–72; C. S. Watkins, 'Sin, Penance and Purgatory in the Anglo-Norman Realm: The Evidence of Visions and Ghost Stories', *Past and Present* 175 (2002), pp. 30–2; T. Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 150–72.

[17] D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus: Sculptor of Autun* (New York, 1961), pp. 26–7: '*TERREAT HIC TERROR QUOS TERREUS ALLIGAT ERROR NAM FORE SIC VERUM NOTAT HIC HORROR SPECIERUM*'.

[18] J. A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago, 1990), pp. 176–255.

marriage.[19] Later, in 1093, Anselm admonished Gunhilda, the daughter of King Harold, for casting aside her virginity and engaging in a sexual relationship with Alan Rufus, count of Richmond:

> Consider, I ask you, how great is the purity of spiritual pleasure, how great the impurity of carnal pleasure; what the spiritual promises and the carnal threatens, how much hope there is in the spiritual and how much delightful expectation for Christ, how much security and consolation even in this life, and in carnal pleasure how great the fear of God's judgement, how great the shame even in this life.[20]

The late eleventh-century vision of Walchelin, a parish priest in Normandy, as recounted by Orderic Vitalis, made it clear that women who had 'wallowed without restraint' in 'seductions and obscene delights' could expect countless torments in hell.[21] Two sculpted corbels at the churches of Kirkburn and North Grimston depict female exhibitionists, presumably for the purpose of illustrating the lustful behaviour and sexual immodesty that was to be avoided (figs. P.1 & 2). Both women are shown in squatting positions with their breasts bared. Whereas the North Grimston figure's hands rest above her drooping breasts, the Kirkburn female appears to be touching her genitals. The North Grimston figure is

Fig. P.1. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

Fig. P.2. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): north chancel corbel.

[19] Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946), pp. 80–3; Anselm of Canterbury, 'Meditation 2', in B. Ward (ed.), *The Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm with the Proslogion* (London, 1973), pp. 225–9.

[20] Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 4, ed. F. S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1949), ep. 168, p. 44; *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, vol. 2, ed. W. Fröhlich (Kalamazoo, 1993), p. 65.

[21] OV, vol. 4, VIII, pp. 238–41.

distinctly androgynous, even grotesque, in appearance which suggests that this corbel was designed to instil revulsion and encourage sexual restraint.[22]

Male exhibitionists are more common among the corbel tables that survive in northern England. For example, naked men are depicted at the York Cathedral-affiliated churches of North Newbald, Hayton and North Grimston (figs. C.54 & 55; P.3 & 4). All are shown gripping their crotches, although the Hayton figure appears to be actively exposing his penis and possibly masturbating. The same may be true for the naked male at North Grimston but the lower part of the corbel is too damaged to make a conclusive observation. Male exhibitionists shown exposing and touching their genitals can also be found on the façade of the early twelfth-century gatehouse at Tickhill Castle (South Yorkshire) which demonstrates that admonitory sculpture might also be introduced to secular architecture (fig. P.5).[23] There were many eleventh and twelfth-century monastic writers who apparently regarded male masturbation as a lesser vice that warranted confession and

Fig. P.3. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): recut corbel on the east side of the north transept.

Fig. P.4. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): south nave corbel.

[22] Similar arguments have been advanced by A. Weir and J. Jerman, *Images of Lust* (London, 1999), pp. 11–22; Wood, 'Augustinians and Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', pp. 20–1; and K. Hauglid, *Romanske Konsollfriser og en tolkning av konsollfrisen på Nidarosdomens oktogon* (unpublished thesis, University of Oslo, 2007), *Romanske Konsollfriser*, pp. 67–8, 77–79, who also reject the view that female exhibitionists served as fertility symbols or apotropaic devices.

[23] The gatehouse arch at Tickhill relates to that at Egremont Castle (Cumbria) which has been dated to the 1120s, see Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 284–7. Tickhill Castle was seized by Henry I in 1102 and remained in the hands of the Crown until the reign of Stephen, so it is likely that the gatehouse was constructed with royal patronage, see J. C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *Past and Present* 57 (1972), p. 52; M. Chibnall, 'Robert of Belleme and the Castle of Tickhill', in *Droit privé et institutions régionales : études historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), pp. 151–6.

Fig. P.5. Tickhill Castle (South Yorkshire): gable statue of the west gatehouse.

penance, although there were individuals who held more extreme opinions. For example, Peter Damian, the eleventh-century Benedictine reformer, wrote in his *Liber Gomorrhianus* that masturbation was equivalent to sodomy and exceptionally perilous to the soul.[24] There are two corbels at Kirkburn, one a modern replica of the other, that appear to visually conflate the sins of lust and gluttony by depicting naked men with rotund bodies (figs. P.6 & 7).[25] Hugh of Saint-Victor, in his *De Sacramentis,* juxtaposed textually the sins of lust and gluttony, identifying both as seductions of the flesh. Clerics with a gluttonous thirst for wine, Hugh argued, were also likely to be dominated by lust.[26]

Fig. P.6. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. P.7. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

[24] Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp. 212–4.

[25] Wood, 'St Mary, Kirkburn', has identified the chancel corbel as a mid-eighteenth-century restoration by J. L. Pearson.

[26] Hugh of Saint Victor, *De sacramentis Christiane fidei*, ed. R. Berndt (Monasterii Westfalorum, 2008), II. iii. 10, II. xiii. 1; Hugh of Saint Victor, *On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith (De Sacramentis)*, ed. R. J. Deferrari (Eugene, 2007), pp. 266, 375.

Reformers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries were particularly keen to promote chastity within the church and curb clerical marriage. The 1102 Council of Westminster, for example, marked a concerted effort among leaders of the English church to enforce purity among the clergy. All priests were to take a vow of celibacy and those caught engaging in sexual activities were to be barred from performing the Eucharist.[27] A couple of carvings in northern England can be read as warnings against promiscuity and temptation among churchmen. The first is a corbel on the chancel at Kirkburn which depicts a man wearing a cassock who is identifiable as a priest or regular canon of the Augustinian order (fig. P.8). At waist level, his robes part to reveal a cylindrical projection that has since been broken off. Wood has interpreted this projection as the remains of a horse or bridle, however the arrangement and proportions are overtly phallic.[28] If indeed the corbel depicted a male exhibitionist, it is possible that the offending member was deliberately broken off during the Victorian restoration.

Fig. P.8. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

The second relevant carving can be found on the chapter house doorway at Durham Cathedral Priory. One of the capitals depicts a siren, naked from the waist up with drooping, pointed breasts and a pronounced ribcage (fig. E.23). These features conjure a sense of grotesque androgyny, much like the female exhibitionist at North Grimston, while the snake she grips in her right hand is a clear signifier of her evil nature.[29] In his *Etymologies,* Isidore of Seville warned that sirens would inflame men's carnal desires and lure them to their dooms.[30] The Durham monastic community had acquired a copy of this influential work by the early twelfth century (Durham Cathedral Library, MS B.IV.15),

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[27] *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 674–80.

[28] Wood, 'Augustinians and Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', p. 21; idem, 'St Mary, Kirkburn'.

[29] This contrasts with the mermaid or siren depicted in the chapel of Durham Castle which has been interpreted as a positive symbol, see Wood, 'Norman Chapel', pp. 31–7.

[30] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum sive Originum*, vol. 1 , ed. W. M. Lindsay (Oxford, 1911), XI. iii. 30–31; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, eds. S. A. Barney *et al.* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 245.

shortly before work began on the chapter house.[31] The location of the carved siren indicates that it was restricted to a monastic audience and, by extension, this implies that there was anxiety about chastity within the cathedral priory community. Such anxiety is likely to have arisen from daily interactions between the monastic and secular communities of Durham, to which MS Hunter 100 is a possible witness. The manuscript includes medical recipes that deal with ailments pertinent only to members of the laity, namely loss of libido, which suggests medical provisions were being provided for the secular community by the priory.[32]

Fig. P.9. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

Fig. P.10. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south nave corbel (modern replica of an eroded north chancel corbel).

More ambiguous, though possibly also related to sexual immoderation, are depictions of embracing figures. The message is relatively clear at Kirkburn where a corbel presents two naked figures, one male and the other female, holding one another and looking outwards with blank expressions (fig. P.9). Two further corbels at the same site, one a modern replica of the other, depict a similar scene (fig. P.10). It is plausible that these corbels were understood to represent people surrendering to lust and engaging in the sin of fornication. Alternatively, they can be read as Adam and Eve after the Fall, although both interpretations are conjectural.

Other corbels in the region depict same-sex pairs embracing, a motif that has been associated with sodomy.[33] According to Eadmer of Canterbury, Archbishop Anselm was

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[31] Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, no. 77, p. 58.

[32] Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100, fols. 117r–118r. My thanks to Faith Wallis and Sarah Gilbert for pointing out these medical recipes.

[33] Hauglid, *Romanske Konsollfriser*, pp. 73–4.

deeply concerned by the prevalence of sodomy across England, and in the 1102 Council of London it was ruled that all known sodomites, as well as anyone assisting them in their vice, should be excommunicated and, afterwards, could only be absolved by a bishop.[34] Other early twelfth-century chroniclers emphasised the sinfulness of sodomy, including Henry of Huntingdon who contended that the White Ship disaster (1120), which killed King Henry I's son and heir, had been an act of divine vengeance since, 'All of [the passengers], or nearly all, were said to be tainted with sodomy'.[35] Two closely related corbels that are likely to depict this vice can be seen inside the churches of Eastrington (East Yorkshire) and Campsall (West Yorkshire), respectively. Each depicts two naked men in a tight and apparently sexual embrace (figs. E.100 & 101). In both cases, the dominant figure has a large moustache. Moustaches tended to be associated with virility and warrior status, as well as Anglo-Saxon ethnicity. For example, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle criticised Leofgar, bishop of Hereford, for retaining his moustache and participating in warfare against the Welsh, which ultimately led to his death in 1056.[36] The iconography of the Campsall corbel may deliberately conflate excesses of violence and lust with sodomy, since the dominant figure appears to be assaulting the other man, and the latter is clearly frowning. Where same-sex couples are clothed, the symbolism is more obscure. For example, the pair of figures on a corbel at Kilham church merely look outwards with open mouths and there is no overtly sexual interaction (fig. P.11). The same can be said for two embracing men on a corbel in the crossing of Selby Abbey (fig. P.12). Both wear flowing, ribbed robes with beaded sleeves and, although not obviously tonsured, almost certainly represent Benedictine monks. A positive message of fraternal love rather than a denunciation of monastic sodomy may have been intended instead.

The temptation to commit carnal sins was often associated with other vices, just as Hugh of Saint-Victor had correlated lust with drunkenness. Church sculptures in other parts of England and western Europe, namely France and Spain, sometimes juxtapose fornicators

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[34] *Councils and Synods*, vol. 1, part 2, pp. 678–9; R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings, 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 569–70.

[35] Henry of Huntingdon, *The History of the English People, 1000–1154*, ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 2002), p. 56.

[36] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Abingdon Chronicle, A.D. 956–1066*, ed. P. W. Conner (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 31–2; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS D*, ed. G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), p. 75. Also see R. Bartlett, 'Symbolic Meanings of Hair in the Middle Ages', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 4 (1994), esp. pp. 43–5.

Fig. P.11. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. P.12. Selby Abbey (North Yorkshire): corbel on the south side of the west crossing arch.

and demons with musicians playing horns or stringed instruments, or the musicians themselves are shown exposing their genitals. The implication is that secular, or popular, music was associated with seduction and the loosening of morals, and this may explain why some contemporary prelates, including Robert de Bethune, bishop of Hereford (1130–48), apparently denounced popular music and entertainment.[37] A number of sculptural schemes in Yorkshire are illuminating in this respect as they suggest that some local churchmen shared the same concerns. At Campsall church, a corbel depicting a rebec or vielle player with an open-mouthed expression, as if shocked or anguished, is positioned next to the corbel that represents sodomy (fig. G.39). Another corbel in this sequence shows a harpist pulling at his mouth and pouting as if to convey the threat of seduction (fig. G. 38).[38] Other musicians adorn the church at

Fig. P.13. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

[37] William of Wycombe, '*Vita Roberti Betun Episcopi Herefordensis*', ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, vol. 2 (London, 1691), p. 309: '*Cantores, mimos, histriones, turpiloquos, et hoc genus omne vanitantium nec videre curabat nec prorsus audire*'; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings*, p. 530; Weir and Jerman, *Images of Lust*, pp. 46, 71, 98, 153–4; Wood, 'Foston', p. 72; Hauglid, *Romanske Konsollfriser*, pp. 75–7; Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, p. 121.

[38] These corbels have been reset inside the church so it is unclear whether they follow their original sequence, however they are stylistically related and were certainly part of the same scheme.

Adel which was dependent on Holy Trinity Priory, York. There is a string player at the apex of the chancel arch, shown seated and cross-legged with feet or shoes that resemble hooves. The voussoir to his immediate right depicts a demon with pointed ears and bared teeth (fig. P.13). A second musician occurs on the Adel corbel table where he is surrounded by demonic heads and human faces with pained expressions (fig. G.40).[39]

One particularly unusual corbel at the Augustinian church of Garton-on-the-Wolds appears to conflate the vice of lust and the sin of immoderate violence. It depicts two embracing people of indeterminable gender, who appear to be naked, being attacked by a man wielding an axe (figs. P.14–16). Wood has associated this with the admonitory words of John the Baptist in the Gospel of Matthew (3:8–10) when he states that trees yielding bad fruit, an allegory for those unworthy of redemption, will be cut down with the axe and cast into the fire.[40] The belief that debauched behaviours would invite divine punishment was certainly in currency during this period. Henry of Huntingdon's appraisal of the White Ship disaster is one example, cited above, while the author of the *Gesta Stephani* and the anonymous author of the Beverley miracle stories rationalised violence during the reign of Stephen by presenting it as retribution for the sins of the English people and their rulers.[41]

An alternative reading of the Garton corbel can be gleaned from the sociopolitical context in which the corbel table was created, assuming it was added in the early 1140s shortly before the church was completed. This was at precisely the time that civil order had begun to deteriorate in northern England as a result of the succession dispute between King Stephen and Matilda. Walter Espec, the secular patron of Garton church, suffered greatly from the hostilities that erupted immediately after Stephen was crowned king in December 1135. His Northumberland *caput* at Wark was twice besieged and captured by the Scots, in 1135/6 and 1138, and the twelfth-century chroniclers of Hexham Abbey, John and Richard,

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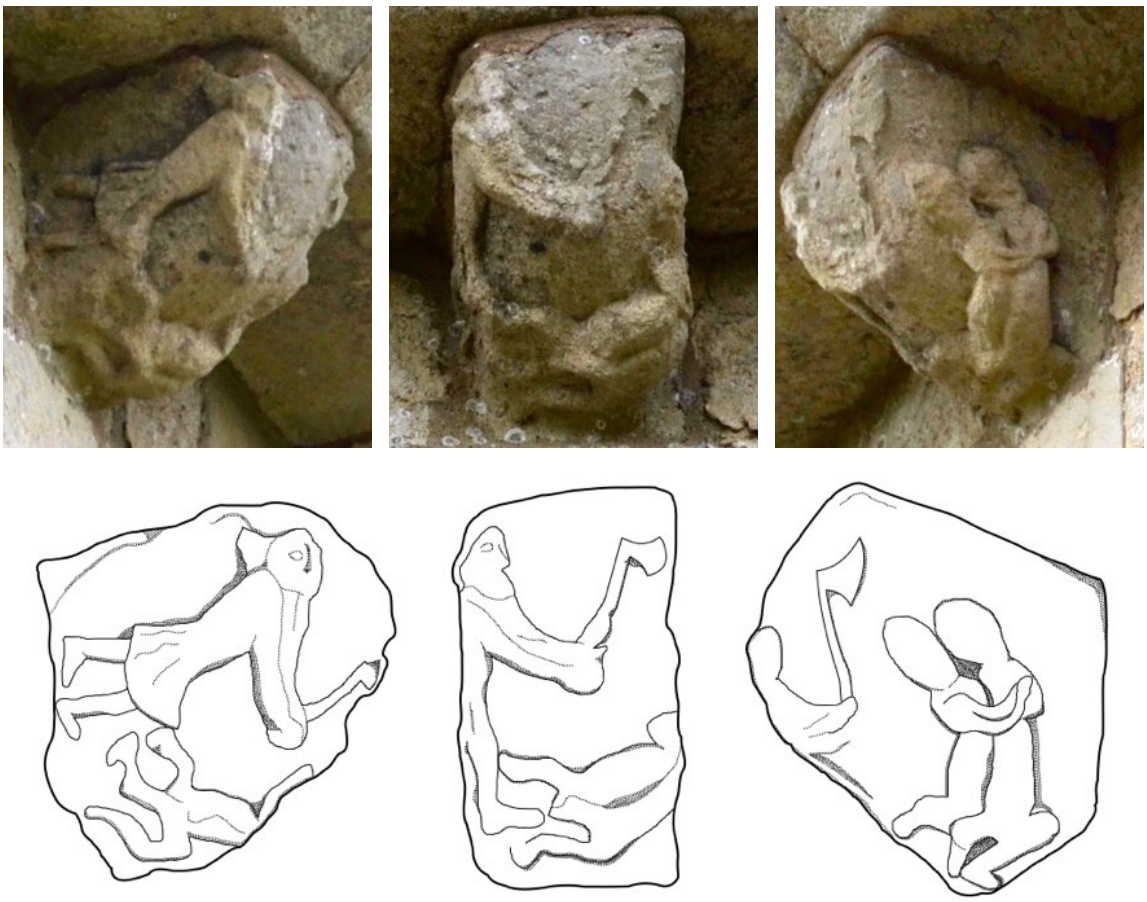
[39] Other musicians are depicted on corbels at Kirkburn and North Newbald, and on the nave doorway at Foston.

[40] Wood, 'Augustinians and Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', p. 21; idem, 'St Michael and All Angels, Garton-on-the-Wolds'.

[41] *GS*, pp. 84–7; '*Miracula Sancti Johannis, Eboracensis Episcopi*', in *Historians of the Church of York*, vol. 1, p. 302: '*Eo tempore quo Stephanus rex Anglorum regnum obtinebat, multa infortunia ac calamitates Angliam oppresserunt; et sive haec evenerunt ob perjurium, quo optimates et paene omnes regni comites ac proceres, summique pontifices rei tenebantur, seu ob castigationem vitiorum et superbiam divitiarum, quibus illius temporis homines nimium pollebant, multis adhuc manet incognitum*.'



Figs. P.14–16. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

described in lurid detail how the surrounding area was pillaged and devastated.[42] Garton-on-the-Wolds itself must have been threatened by the local territorial ambitions of William of Aumale, earl of York, and the subsequent hostilities between him, Alan earl of Richmond and Ranulf earl of Chester that were ongoing throughout much of the 1140s.[43] The corbel can be interpreted as a small but potent admonition against this violence. According to Aelred of Rievaulx, Walter of Espec was no admirer of war, and before the Battle of the Standard he expressed his preferences for friendship, religious patronage,

[42] JH, pp. 7–9; John of Hexham, 'Continuation of the *Historia Regnum*', in *Symeonis monachi opera omnia*, vol. 2, ed. T. Arnold (London, 1885), pp. 289–93; RH, pp. 39, 42–3, 46; Richard of Hexham, 'The Chronicle', pp. 145, 150–3, 157–8; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 149, 151; King, *King Stephen*, pp. 91–2.

[43] Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 157, 165–6.

games, reading history, and sleep.[44] Rhetoric aside, Walter is absent from all narrative accounts of violence in Yorkshire during the 1140s and did not issue any reparation charters which suggests that he distanced himself from local conflicts with his Anglo-Norman peers.

Other chroniclers writing in the first half of the twelfth century, namely William of Malmesbury, John of Worcester and Orderic Vitalis, were keen to emphasise the perdition that awaited members of the knightly class who wallowed in the sin of violence.[45] This was also a period when members of the regular clergy were collecting miracle stories that communicated the divine vengeance that would be meted out to armed men who violated churches and churchmen. Those collected by the religious communities of Durham, Hexham and Selby typically presented transgressors as being struck dead or wounded by the patron saint of the church or God.[46] Such miracles may have been the inspiration for at least one carving produced for the Durham Cathedral Priory-dependent chapel at Holme-on-the-Wolds. The carving in question is a doorway capital depicting a sword-wielding man suspended horizontally with a fluted swirl beneath his prone body (fig. E.79). The arrangement suggests a soldier being restrained, or perhaps even mortally wounded, by a supernatural force. By positioning the capital at the liminal space between the temporal and sacred, this scene would have served as a potent warning to any would-be transgressors. Anxiety towards violence, particularly in the context of Scottish incursions into northern England from 1135 and the disintegration of civil order in the region from 1140, could also

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[44] Aelred of Rievaulx, '*Relatio de Standardo*', pp. 183–9, esp. p. 185: '*Et certe si omnes, qui me audiunt, saperent et intelligerent, et ea quae nobis hodie ventura sunt praeviderent, silerem libentius et sompno meo requiescerem, vel luderem aleis, aut confligerem scaccis, vel si ea aetati meae minus congruerent, legendis historiis operam darem, vel more meo veterum gesta narranti aurem attentius commodarem.*' P. Dalton, 'Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace in King Stephen's Reign', *Viator* 31 (2000), p. 115.

[45] William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, eds. E. King and K. R. Potter (Oxford, 1998), pp. 32–3; OV, vol. 6, XIII, pp. 472–3; JW, vol. 3, pp. 266–7; C. Harper-Bill, 'The Piety of the Anglo-Norman Knightly Class', *ANS* 2 (1979), pp. 63–77.

[46] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de admirandus de beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, ed. J. Raine (London, 1835), ch. 65, pp. 130–4; JH, pp. 8, 23; John of Hexham, 'Continuation', pp. 290, 316–7; RH, p. 44; Richard of Hexham, 'The Chronicle', p. 154; *Historia Selbiensis*, pp. 44–7, 100–5; Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 316–9.

explain a sequence of sculpted corbels on the north nave wall of Kilham church.[47] Two depict swordsmen with shocked or anguished expressions, while a third is comparable to the capital from Holme-on-the-Wolds in that it portrays an armed man upside-down and frowning. A final example presents a man sheathing his sword and smiling (figs. P.17–20). The overarching message seems relatively clear: soldiers committing excessive violence risked divine punishment while those practising moderation could still hope for salvation.[48]

Figs. P.17 & 18. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): north nave corbels (with illustrations).

[47] For northern England during the reign of King Stephen, see JH, pp. 6–32; John of Hexham, 'Continuation', pp. 288–332; RH, pp. 39, 42–58; Richard of Hexham, 'The Chronicle', pp. 145–6, 150–78; Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 280–321; D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York', in idem, *The Historian and Character* (London, 1963), pp. 76–97; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, pp. 145–95; Young, 'Bishopric of Durham in Stephen's Reign', pp. 353–68.

[48] For a similar, though not identical, interpretation, see Wood, 'All Saints, Kilham'.

Figs. P.19 & 20. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): north nave corbels.

The monks of Durham and the canons of York were not the only religious groups who may have experimented with using sculpture as a moral commentary on violence. A capital in the nave of Selby Abbey depicts two men who are being attacked and mauled by a pair of lions (figs. F.24; P.21). The transgressions of the first man are unclear, however the second is shown naked and wielding a sword. His weapon signals that he is a member of the knightly class while his nudity could imply that his sins extend to sexual impropriety. Artistic depictions of lions can be iconographically ambiguous. In the context of this scene,

Fig. P.21. Selby Abbey (North Yorkshire): south nave arcade capital (third pier).

a double meaning may have been intended. Within Genesis (49:8–10), Psalms (104:21), Revelation (5:1–5), and the early twelfth-century writings of Philip de Thaun, the lion is a symbol of Christ as judge and dispenser of justice who metes out divine punishment to those who sin.[49] The first epistle of St Peter, on the other hand, presents the lion as a manifestation of the devil lying in wait for sinners: 'Be sober and watch: because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, goeth about seeking whom he may devour' (1 Peter 5:8). A similar interpretation was adopted by Anselm of Canterbury, who presented devouring lions as manifestations of the devil and demons.[50] Either reading of the Selby capital would have communicated that judgement and torment awaited perpetrators of immoderate violence. A similar interpretation can be applied to the nave capital inside St Mary's church, Richmond, which appears to depict a lion biting down on the head of a crouched human figure (fig. P.22).[51]

Fig. P.22. Richmond, St Mary (North Yorkshire): north-east capital of the westernmost compound pier, south nave arcade.

Other sculptural representations of perdition are relatively common across Yorkshire, although they are not always easy to decipher. Late eleventh and early twelfth-century visionary literature is useful in this respect since it offers some clues as to how ordinary members of the secular clergy and the laity understood the afterlife. The vision of Walchelin, noted above, communicates a belief that the majority of people would suffer torments after death, including respected members of the clergy. Walchelin witnessed the dead crying and wailing as they were tortured by demons or afflicted by special

[49] Philip de Thaun, *Livre des Creatures*, ed. T. Wright, in *Popular Treaties on Science written during the Middle Ages* (London, 1841), pp. 42–3. Philip was of Norman birth but soon moved to England where he received the patronage of the royal court, see J. Beer, 'Thaun, Philip de', *DNB*.

[50] Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, p. 31–2; Anselm of Canterbury, 'Prayer to St Peter', in Ward (ed.), *Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, pp. 137–8.

[51] The figure in the lion's jaws is not a piece of foliage as Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 180, has suggested.

punishments relating to the sins they had committed in life.[52] Ernan, a later eleventh-century clerk of Durham Cathedral Priory, received a related vision of the damned being tormented in hell. One condemned man 'cried out wretchedly and incessantly with dire wails and doleful howls' as he lay impaled with a scythe, while Ernan reported that hell itself was a foul bottomless valley full of countless souls.[53] A similar perception of hell is communicated by the 1125 vision of Orm, a thirteen-year-old boy of Howden parish (East Yorkshire), which was recorded a year later by Sigar, the parish priest of Newbald (East Yorkshire), and was evidently copied and circulated around Yorkshire.[54] Orm witnessed hell as a foul-smelling place deep beneath the earth's surface where the damned were tortured by demons, worms and rivers of ice. Meanwhile, other souls were shut outside the walls of Paradise in state of privation awaiting the Last Judgement. Like Walchelin, Orm reported a pessimistic vision of the afterlife in which very few souls would be admitted to heaven.[55]

Fig. P.23. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): corbel on the west side of the south transept.

Several corbels at Sigar's church in North Newbald could have been inspired by Orm's vision. Some of these appear to depict demons, which are represented by sinister bestial heads with razor sharp teeth (figs. P.23 & 24). The demonic heads are accompanied by human faces, some of them modern reproductions, with anguished expressions. The implication is that these are the souls of the damned being tormented by demons. If indeed the North Newbald corbel

[52] OV, vol. 4, VIII, pp. 236–51. H. Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth in Anglo-Saxon England: Theology and Society in an Age of Faith* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 201–64, has detected a widespread belief in post-mortem purgation within Anglo-Saxon society; for example, Bede and Ælfric described how those who died with small sins would receive temporary punishments prior to the Last Judgement.

[53] Symeon, *LDE*, pp. 190–3: '*Clamabat miser et diros ululatus ac flebiles miserabiliter uoces sine intermissione emittebat.*'

[54] For example, a copy was acquired by the Augustinians of Kirkham Priory, see A. Lawrence-Mathers, 'The Augustinian Canons in Northumbria: Region, Tradition, and Textuality in a Colonizing Order', in J. Burton and K. Stöber (eds.), *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles* (Turnhout, 2011), p. 70.

[55] Sigar, '*Visio Orm* (Vision of Orm)', ed. H. Farmer, *Analecta Bollandiana* 75 (1957), pp. 72–82; C. S. Watkins, 'Sin, Penance and Purgatory in the Anglo-Norman Realm: The Evidence of Visions and Ghost Stories', *Past and Present* 175 (2002), pp. 11–5; idem, *History and the Supernatural in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 175–9; idem, 'Landscape and Belief in Anglo-Norman England', *ANS* 35 (2013), pp. 312–3.

Fig. P.24. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): corbels on the west side of the north transept.

table was partly inspired by the vision of Orm, it is possible that the human heads with neutral expressions, communicating neither joy nor torment, represent those souls shut outside the walls of Paradise awaiting Judgement (fig. P.25).[56] A similar reading can be applied to the corbels at the churches of Adel and Kirkburn which also show a variety of anguished, grimacing and neutral-expression human heads alongside predatory, demonic creatures (figs. P.26–30). Other corbels at Kirkburn, Hart and Garton-on-the-Wolds depict human figures pulling at their mouths as if in pain or distress (figs. K.19–22; M.16–18; P. 31). A variation of this motif can be seen on two corbels at Kirkburn, one original and the other a modern replica, which show a woman frowning and pulling at her hair (figs. P.31 & 32).[57] These expressions and gestures echo the descriptions of the damned in the visions of Ernan and Walchelin, who are presented as groaning, crying and wailing.

Fig. P.25. North Newbald, St Nicholas (East Yorkshire): corbels on the east side of the south transept.

[56] Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', pp. 14–6, and idem, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church', pp. 100–2, has expressed a similar opinion that corbels depicting human heads might represent people waiting for the Second Coming.

[57] Artistic depictions of women pulling at their hair have generally been interpreted as the damned expressing despair, see M. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art* (New York, 1976), p. 18; Hauglid, *Romanske Konsollfriser*, pp. 87–9.

Figs. P.26–29 (above and left). Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): south nave corbels.

Figs. P.30 & 31 (above and left). Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north chancel corbels.

Fig. P.32 (right). Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south chancel corbel.

Some sculptures portray demons actively preying on the souls of the damned. The most conspicuous is a corbel at Kirkburn church which depicts a feline demon strangling or dragging a human figure with a chain (fig. P.33).[58] Other sculptures show human heads or bodies in the jaws of beasts or grotesques. On the basis of textual and art historical evidence, these can be understood to represent souls being attacked by demons or pulled into hell. The first epistle of Peter, cited above, introduces the idea that the devil would devour sinners, while the fourth-century apocryphal *Visio S. Pauli*, which was already being widely copied in England prior to the Norman Conquest, describes fornicators in hell being torn apart by beasts.[59] Meanwhile, the vision of Orm and various eleventh and twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts, including, most notably, the Tiberius Psalter and the Winchester Psalter, present the mouth of hell as a bestial head that would consume and expel the souls of the damned.[60] Two prominent examples of this iconography can be found on the corbel table of Kirkburn church. The first corbel depicts an upside-down human head in the mouth of a demonic humanoid mask with disproportionally large and bulbous eyes (fig. P.34). A similar motif can be seen on a voussoir of the chancel arch at Adel church (fig. P.35). The second corbel at Kirkburn

Fig. P.33. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. P.34. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north chancel corbel.

Fig. P.35. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

[58] A modern reproduction is located on the north wall of the chancel.

[59] 'The Apocalypse of Paul (*Visio Pauli*)', ed. J. K. Elliott, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford, 1993), 40, p. 636. On the popularity of the text in Anglo-Saxon England, see Foxhall Forbes, *Heaven and Earth*, pp. 89, 116–7.

[60] Sigar, '*Visio Orm*', pp. 74–5; BL Cotton MS Tiberius C.VI, fol. 14r; BL Cotton MS Nero C.IV, fol. 24r, 39r. Depictions of human bodies being devoured by beasts can be traced to early medieval stone sculpture and grave artefacts exhibiting Scandinavian or 'Germanic' influences.

Fig. P.36. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel. © Jeffrey Craine/CRSBI.

shows a canine creature biting down on the whole body of a man (fig. P.36). The latter relates to a corbel at North Grimston which appears to depict a human body in the jaws of an avian creature or beakhead (fig. P.37).[61] Several variations of this motif can be found on the Adel chancel arch (fig. P. 38). Other corbels in Yorkshire show human heads peering out from between the jaws of their bestial captor. At Fangfoss, a horse-like creature with bulging eyes opens its mouth to reveal a man's head (fig. P.39). One of the corbels in the crossing of Selby Abbey depicts a human head between the long fangs of a feline creature (fig. F.26).

Fig. P.37. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. P.38 (above). Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

Fig. P.39 (left). Fangfoss, St Martin (East Yorkshire): south nave corbel.

[61] The corbel is badly eroded. Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 165, has described it as a 'beakhead with prey'. A very similar corbel that clearly depicts a man trapped in the beak of a bird can be found at Kilpeck church (Herefordshire), see Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, p. 127.

The impulse to communicate different forms of sin and the torments of hell through sculpture was clearly felt by traditional Benedictine communities as well as the canons of York Cathedral and the new Augustinian groups that had sprung up across northern England in the first half of the twelfth century. A number of these admonitory schemes were almost certainly commissioned through the support of prominent secular lords, namely Robert I de Brus, Walter Espec and William Paynel. While it is impossible to gauge whether these patrons played an active role in the design of such schemes, the implication is that they did advocate the reform of behaviours and morals.

Representations of salvation

Not all sculptural programmes produced in northern England during the first half of the twelfth century carried negative or admonitory messages, and many challenge the perception that popular piety in this period was overwhelmingly pessimistic. There appears to have been a growing appreciation that sculpture could stimulate discourse on aspects of theology or become a vehicle for broadly educating the laity in the Christian faith. The latter can be understood within the context of the pastoral reform movement during the first half of the twelfth century.[62] There has been a tendency to regard pastoral work as the preserve of the Augustinian canons and the secular clergy,[63] yet sculptural schemes provide clues that some Benedictine communities were coordinating their own efforts to educate the laity. There is remarkable variety in the types of didactic sculptural schemes that were created across northern England in the first half of the twelfth century, which complements recent observations that reform movements were far from homogeneous and tended to have distinctive local characters.[64] For all their diversity in imagery and specific subject matter, didactic schemes in the region do tend to fall within three main topics of theology: moral theology, Christology, and sacramental theology.

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[62] S. Hamilton, 'Rites of passage and pastoral care', in J. Crick and E. Van Houts (eds.), *A Social History of England, 900–1200* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 297–9.

[63] For example, Wood, 'Augustinians and Pastoral Work', pp. 37–41.

[64] Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 3–8, 186–9; idem, *Imagining Religious Leadership*, pp. 1–6, 160–4; Diehl and Vanderputten, 'Cluniac Customs Beyond Cluny', pp. 22–6.

A number of schemes across the region can be understood in terms of moral fortification, namely that they encourage the viewer to resist temptation and combat sin. One recurring motif that can be placed in this category is that of two wrestlers.[65] Examples can be found on the north nave doorway of Durham Cathedral Priory, at two churches that belonged to York Cathedral, namely the font at Cowlam and a corbel at Kilham, and on the doorway of Foston church which was dependent on St Mary's Abbey, York (figs. P.40–43).[66] Rather than illustrating excessive violence, these sculptures show two evenly matched men grappling without weapons. Several different, though interconnected, readings are possible. The most obvious is that they represent Jacob wresting with God in the form of a man, as described in Genesis (32:24–32). Wood has expressed scepticism towards this interpretation owing to the fact that twelfth-century French and Spanish artistic traditions depicted Jacob wrestling with a winged angel, however it is plausible that the English iconography marks a regional variation that was based on a more literal reading of Genesis.[67] Other accounts of struggle within the Book of Genesis cannot be ruled out, namely the fatal encounter between Cain and Abel (Genesis, 4:8) and the conflict between Jacob and Esau (Genesis, 25:22–3).[68] An alternative suggestion by Wood is that the wrestling motif was adapted from the writings of St Paul and St Augustine who meditated on internal spiritual struggles, especially struggles against the flesh.[69] The placement of wrestlers on baptismal fonts, as at Cowlam, may have carried the added message that these struggles began as soon as you entered the world and received the sacrament of baptism.[70] It is significant that the Cowlam wrestlers are juxtaposed with the temptation and Fall of Adam and Eve, as if to emphasise that earthly struggles stem from original sin.

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[65] Similar arrangements of wrestling, or 'embracing', men can be found in late eleventh and twelfth-century sculpture in France and Ireland, see R. Stalley, 'On the Edge of the World: Hiberno-Romanesque and the Classical Tradition', in McNeill and Plant (eds.), *Romanesque and the Past*, p. 162; M. Abel, 'Recontextualizing the Context: The Dispute Capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and Storytelling in the Poitou around the Time of the Peace of God Movement', *Gesta* 47 (2008), pp. 51–66.

[66] Another pair of wrestlers can be seen on the font from Hutton Cranswick church (East Yorkshire), now held in the Hull and East Riding Museum, see Wood, 'Hull and East Riding Museum'.

[67] Cf. H. Mayr-Harting, *Perceptions of Angels in History* (Oxford, 1998), p. 4.

[68] Cf. Abel, 'Recontextualizing the Context', p. 54.

[69] Wood, 'Foston', p. 73.

[70] Wood, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 78.

Fig. P.40. Durham Cathedral: detail of north nave doorway label (interior).

Fig. P.41. Cowlam, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the font.

Fig. P.42. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. P.43. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway (rotated 45° anti-clockwise).

The Durham Cathedral Priory wrestlers can be understood within a broader scheme, found on the label of the doorway, that encourages struggle and correction to achieve salvation.[71] Above the wrestlers there is a depiction of Samson and the lion that can be interpreted as a symbol of fortitude, as well as the strength that comes from faith in God (Judges, 14:5–6) (fig. P.44). The account of Samson's fight with the lion is situated within a broader

[71] It is unfortunate that many of the carvings are eroded beyond recognition, making it impossible to judge whether they all contributed to the same overarching message. According to Greenwell, *Durham Cathedral*, p. 30 fn., one of the lozenges, now impossible to decipher, depicted 'a long-bearded figure clothed to the feet, strangling with a rope another figure whose dress reaches only to the knees, and who holds in both hands what looks like a sceptre over the left shoulder'.

Fig. P.44. Durham Cathedral: detail of the north nave doorway label (interior).

narrative regarding Samson's carnal desire for a Philistine woman, therefore the motif may also be emblematic of the struggle against lust. Complementing this is the notion of correction which is communicated by the voussoir depicting one human figure beating another (fig. E.48). The corresponding image in MS Hunter 100 is accompanied by the verse, 'Wisdom that is not willingly sought, with the rod must needs be taught'.[72] When read in this way, the motif conveys the importance of perfecting the human soul and avoiding slothfulness on the path to salvation.

Two motifs at the apex appear to complete this salvation narrative by evoking the redemptive power of Christ. The first is the *Agnus Dei*, an overt symbol of Christ's sacrifice, while the second, more ambiguous motif is that of a centaur drawing and aiming his bow at an invisible opponent (figs. E.49; P.45). On the basis of Isidore's *Etymologies*

Fig. P.45. Durham Cathedral: detail of the north nave doorway label (interior).

[72] Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100, fol. 44r: '*Afficitur plagis qui non uult discere gratis*'.

and classical literature, the centaur can be understood as a symbol of base desires and internal struggles.[73] This reading is consistent with the proposed interpretation of this doorway scheme, however it is also possible that the centaur, or, more precisely, Sagittarius, was intended as a symbol of Christ. In his early twelfth-century *Computus* (also known as the *Livre des Creatures*), Philip de Thaun identified Sagittarius as an allegory for Christ, with the bow representing the redemptive power of Christ's crucifixion. This symbolism can be traced to Gregory the Great's *Moralia in Job,* in which he compared Christ's dual nature to a rider on horseback.[74] It is perhaps significant, then, that the Durham community had acquired a two-volume copy of Gregory's *Moralia* during the episcopate of William of St Calais.[75]

Other sculptural representations of Sagittarius in northern England appear to confirm that this motif was widely used to signify Christ, especially within allegorical schemes depicting Christ's battle and victory against the devil. One of the Durham chapter house capitals depicts Sagittarius loosing his arrow at a grotesque hybrid figure with human torso, bestial head and dragon-like lower body (figs. E.22 & 24; P.46). The latter has a looping tail terminating in a serpent which the creature grips in its left hand, a clear visual manifestation of evil, whereas the centaur appears to be a force of good. It is hardly a stretch of the

Fig. P.46. Durham Cathedral: inner south capital (interior) of the chapter house west doorway.

[73] Isidore, *Etymologiarum*, vol. 1, XII. i. 43–4; Isidore, *Etymologies*, p. 249. Classical authors, namely Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, vol. 2, ed. F. J. Miller (2nd edition, Harvard, 1984), pp. 194–7, presented centaurs as beings driven by lust, gluttony and envy that were easily provoked to violence. G. Ferguson, *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art* (Oxford, 1961), p. 14, argued that these classical tropes were transmitted to Christian art where the centaur became a symbol of sinful excesses as well as the internal struggle between good and evil.

[74] Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church', p. 113 and fn; Philip de Thaun, *Livre des Creatures*, ed. T. Wright, *Popular Treaties on Science written during the Middle Ages* (London, 1841), pp. 43–44. For Philip's life and writings, see J. Beer, 'Thaun, Philip de', *DNB*.

[75] Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, pp. 38–9.

imagination to argue that this capital was designed to encourage the monks to meditate on Christ's struggle and sacrifice, while the centaur imagery could have stimulated reflection, and even discourse, on the ontology of Christ. Related scenes occur on capitals at the churches of Adel and Kirkby Lonsdale. The capital at Adel, which is found on the chancel arch, is most akin to that at Durham. Here Sagittarius, or Christ, confronts the devil in the form of a fire-breathing biped dragon or wyvern (fig. P.47). A smaller wyvern, which Wood has interpreted as temptation, is shown biting the rump of the centaur.[76] This carving would have been clearly visible to the congregation as they watched the priest perform the liturgy and would have been especially poignant as they received the Eucharist. A more complex variation of this scene can be seen on a nave capital at Kirkby Lonsdale. This is damaged but shows Christ as a centaur wielding a sword against the devil in the form of a serpentine creature with a thick looping tail (figs. D.17 & 25). Christ's sacrifice and redemptive power are signalled by the carving of the *Agnus Dei* behind the centaur, which is shown clutching the Book of Life in its forelegs (John 1:29; Revelation 5). The decorative vegetation above can be understood to represent Christ as the True Vine since it bears fruit and provides nourishment for a large bird that appears to be joining Christ in the fight against the devil (John 15:1–16).

Fig. P.47. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): outer north capital of the chancel arch.

Sculptural representations of the *Agnus Dei* are found at several sites across northern England. The motif was especially common on church doorways where it could serve as a highly visible and potent reminder of Christ's redemptive power, as well as the importance of crossing over the threshold to receive the sacraments. Tympana at Thwing and Woolley are dominated by representations where the *Agnus Dei* is shown resurrected and

[76] Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church', pp. 113–5.

triumphant while supporting the instrument of Christ's crucifixion (figs. K.58 & 64). Equally conspicuous is the triumphant Lamb of God at the apex of the south doorway gable of Adel church, which is positioned above representations of Christ in Majesty and the Four Evangelists (figs. H.26). The same motif occurs on a lintel from Cottam chapel, a fragment of tympanum at Speeton church, and a voussoir of the south doorway at Brayton church (figs. K.62 & 63; P.48). Two alternative placements of the *Agnus Dei* can be found at Kirkburn church. The first occurs on a corbel located on the south side of the nave while the second has been carved onto the large cylindrical font inside the church (figs. K.59 & 60). On the font the *Agnus Dei* is positioned below a depiction of Christ showing his wounds at the time of Judgement.[77] It is plausible that all of these carvings were produced during Stephen's reign at precisely the time that Yorkshire was riven by baronial conflicts. The *Agnus Dei* was sung as part of the Eucharist ceremony, and from the tenth century this particular chant was modified to form a prayer for peace: 'Lamb of God, you who take away the sins of the world, give us peace'. Dalton has underlined the significance of this change in relation to the Peace of God movement, and has suggested that the *Agnus Dei* was specially invoked during Stephen's reign to promote protection and peace.[78] This raises the intriguing possibility that sculptural depictions of the *Agnus Dei* were created in Yorkshire as part of local peacemaking efforts.[79]

Fig. P.48. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

[77] Wood, 'Kirkburn Church', pp. 46–8, has argued that the depiction of Christ showing his wounds represents the Ascension, however the juxtaposition of Christ and the *Agnus Dei* is more consistent with the account of the Last Judgement in Revelation.

[78] Dalton, 'Churchmen and the Promotion of Peace', pp. 100–1.

[79] A similar application of *Agnus Dei* iconography as part of peacemaking efforts during Stephen's reign can be observed in Gloucestershire, see Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 143–4, 156.

Alternative representations of Christ battling the devil may have been intended at the churches of Great Salkeld, Newton-under-Roseberry and Kirkburn. At Great Salkeld, there is doorway capital that depicts a large serpent with a coiled tail confronting a smaller quadruped (fig. D.26). The quadruped could represent a lion, however the bent legs and small tail are consistent with a lamb. Consequently, this capital can be interpreted as the Lamb of God, or Christ, doing battle with the devil. Like the nave capital at Kirkby Lonsdale, Christ is assisted by a large bird which is shown attacking the serpent with its beak and talons. The reset rectangular relief at Newton-under-Roseberry does in fact appear to depict a lion confronting a fire-breathing dragon (fig. J.33). It has already been noted that the lion in medieval Christian iconography could interchangeably represent Christ or the devil. In the context of this scene, it is likely to represent Christ the Redeemer confronting Satan the great dragon (Revelation 12:9). A related scene can be found on a window capital at Kirkburn church. Here, a lion is shown trampling on the head of a winged dragon with its front paws (fig. P.49).[80] These carvings were presumably intended for a lay audience who could reflect upon God's heavenly and earthly jurisdiction, and draw hope from Christ's triumph over the devil.

Fig. P.49. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave window capital.

Christ had other agents in the fight against the devil and these are depicted in sculpture elsewhere in northern England. The relief of St Michael vanquishing the dragon on the west front of Garton-on-the-Wolds church is the archetypal portrayal of the devil's defeat and was surely meant to convey that entering the church was the means to conquering sin (fig. M.3). A similar message may have been intended for the small carving on the doorway of Foston church which depicts an equestrian figure with a lance charging down a dragon (fig. D.29). The composition recalls near-contemporary sculptural depictions of St George and the dragon on tympana at Ruardean (Gloucestershire) and Brinsop (Herefordshire) (fig. P.50). While the Foston figure lacks obvious saintly trappings, namely a nimbus, it is notable that the Ruardean and Brinsop tympana both present St George

[80] Cf. Anselm of Canterbury, 'Prayer to the Holy Cross', in Ward (ed.), *Prayers and Meditations of St Anselm*, p. 103.

Fig. P.50. Ruardean, St John the Baptist (Gloucestershire): south nave doorway tympanum.

without a halo.[81] It is also possible that the equestrian figure was adapted from Gregory the Great's *Moralia* to represent Christ the rider, although this would be very unusual within the wider corpus of Romanesque sculpture.[82] Similar ambiguity marks the figure fighting a dragon on the gabled lintel at St Bees (fig. D.35). The lack of a nimbus as well as the absence of any visible wings or a horse discourages the identification of St Michael or St George, respectively. If, instead, the figure represents a generic solider of Christ, it would have conveyed the message that anyone can fight to overcome sin and the iconography could have resonated more strongly with a lay audience.[83]

The defeat of the devil was cause for optimism in the history of human salvation, hence the profusion of sculpture that can be associated with the Harrowing of Hell.[84] Sculptural depictions of the Harrowing of Hell in northern England are not as conspicuous as those in

[81] Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 109–10.

[82] This interpretation was offered by Wood, 'Foston', p. 72, who regarded the scene as an allegorical representation of the Harrowing of Hell. A mid-twelfth-century painting of Christ on horseback can be seen in the crypt of Auxerre Cathedral.

[83] Calverley, *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 259, proposed that the human figure represents St George or St Michael. Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 166, suggested St Michael and Sigurd. Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 281, has advocated a non-specific identification.

[84] For the theology of the Harrowing of Hell, see M. M. Gatch, 'The Harrowing of Hell: A Liberation Motif in Medieval Theology and Devotional Literature', *Union Seminary Quarterly Review* 36 Suppl. (1981), pp. 75–88; K. Tamburr, *The Harrowing of Hell in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2007).

Gloucestershire, where large mid-twelfth-century reliefs at Quenington and South Cerney present Christ driving the cross into the mouth of the devil who takes the form of a grotesque man bound by ropes or chains. Such representations can ultimately be traced to eleventh and twelfth-century illuminated manuscripts.[85] The idea that the devil had been bound and restrained by Christ was expounded by Anselm of Canterbury: 'By you hell is despoiled, by you its mouth is stopped up to all the redeemed. By you demons are made afraid and restrained, conquered and trampled underfoot.'[86] This imagery appears to have inspired corbels that depict tied or muzzled bestial heads. It has already been argued that corbels in the form of malevolent heads were used to represent the hell mouth and demons, and this complements the notion that restrained heads signify the impotence of the devil after Christ's sacrifice.[87] Such corbels are exceptionally common across northern England, with notable examples at Adel, Brayton, Butterwick, Carlisle, Fangfoss, Garton-on-the-Wolds, Gisborough, Great Ayton, Hart, Kilham, Kirkburn, Leake, North Newbald and Selby (figs. D.42; K.14, 17, 18 & 25; M.19; N.12 & 13). Evidently this symbol of human redemption had a universal appeal to different religious communities and secular patrons.

The Harrowing of Hell also presented the idea that souls previously condemned to hell were able to be redeemed after the Crucifixion since Christ had paid the debt of human sin. Anselm, in his prayer to the Holy Cross, remarked that, 'By you sinful humanity is justified, the condemned are saved, the servants of sin and hell are set free, the dead are raised to life.'[88] The imagery of resurrection can be found in near-contemporary sculpted and painted depictions of the Harrowing of Hell where naked figures are shown emerging from the open mouth of hell.[89] This raises the possibility that some sculptural depictions of human bodies in the mouths of bestial heads may actually represent the souls of the redeemed escaping the maws of hell.[90] The ambiguity of this iconography could have been

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[85] Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 71–73, 89–90.

[86] Anselm, 'Prayer to the Holy Cross', p. 103.

[87] A similar interpretation has been offered by Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church', p. 102.

[88] Anselm of Canterbury, *Opera Omnia*, vol. 3, p. 12: '*Per te humana natura peccatrix est iustificata, damnata salvata, ancilla peccati et tartari liberata, mortua resuscitata*'; Anselm of Canterbury, 'Prayer to the Holy Cross', p. 103; cf. Revelation 20:13.

[89] Turnock, *Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen*, pp. 71–73, 89–90.

[90] Wood, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Adel Church', pp. 121–3.

Fig. P.51. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of chancel arch.

deliberate, allowing the same motif to represent two opposite transcendental states and serve more than one didactic function. Alternatively, there may be nuanced differences in the iconography that would have been more readily perceptible to a medieval audience. For example, the masks on the outer voussoirs of the Adel chancel arch alternate between the aforementioned malevolent heads, which appear to be grinning as they devour damned souls, and bestial heads with closed or blocked mouths where the accompanying human heads are smiling as if they have been released from the jaws of hell (fig. P.51). These heads are juxtaposed with depictions of the baptism and crucifixion of Christ as if to emphasise that only through Christ are the sacraments and human redemption possible (figs. P.52 & 53).

Figs. P.52 & 53. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): inner north and inner south capitals of the chancel arch.

Belief in resurrection and the defeat of the devil through Christ may explain one particularly ambiguous yet ubiquitous motif found across northern England from the late eleventh century, namely a mask with foliage in and around its mouth. These masks alternate between human, grotesque and bestial forms, which raises the possibility that the general motif did not have a static meaning. Vegetation that is orderly, leafy and fruit-bearing has typically been associated with Christ, the True Vine (John 15:1–16). This association is clearly illustrated by the Westow Crucifixion relief, where shoots of foliage emerging from the foot of the cross appear to be emblematic of resurrection and redemption (fig. M.2). Where such foliage emerges from the mouths of human heads, as seen on capitals at York Minster, Appleton Wiske, Campsall, Gosforth and Liverton, the implication is that they represent souls that have been resurrected by Christ (figs. B.6; D.3 & 5; G.36; P.54).[91] By contrast, carved depictions of foliage in the mouths of grotesque or bestial masks can be interpreted in relation to the Harrowing of Hell, especially in light of Anselm of Canterbury's declarations that Christ had 'redeemed' or 'stopped up' hell, and set free the servants of evil.[92] Wood has argued that two malevolent bestial masks emitting foliage on a capital of the chancel arch at Liverton represent demons that have been restrained by Christ, although the foliage implies that they have also been redeemed and

Fig. P.54. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): south capital (second order) of the chancel arch.

Fig. P.55. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): inner north capital of the chancel arch.

[91] For similar interpretations, see R. Wood, 'Before the Green Man', *Medieval Life* 14 (2000), pp. 8–13; idem, 'Liverton', pp. 117–9; idem, *Romanesque Yorkshire*, p. 219.

[92] Anselm, 'Prayer to the Holy Cross', p. 103; idem, 'Prayer to St Mary (3)', p. 119.

transformed into forces for good like Anselm described (fig. P.55).[93] This interpretation can be applied to other regional examples of grotesque foliage-issuing masks, including those found at Gisborough, Selby, Alne, North Newbald and Healaugh (figs. C.21–23; F.14; K. 6). One example on the south nave doorway of Healaugh church is of particular interest because the feline head shown emitting and bound by tendrils resembles contemporary manuscript paintings of the hell mouth (fig. H.8).

Equally, there are many sculptures in northern England that depict human figures or animals inhabiting, rather than emitting, foliage. Foliage surrounds the naked figures of Adam and Eve on the chancel arch at Liverton as well as the fonts at Langtoft and Cowlam, which illustrates the obvious point that vegetation could represent the Garden of Eden or Paradise (figs. C.60 & 61; P.56). Within his treatise on the arts, Theophilus exhorted that the decoration of the church should reflect 'the paradise of God, glowing with varied flowers, verdant with herbs and foliage'.[94] Wood has reached the logical conclusion that naked and sexless figures surrounded by foliage, like those on a capital in

Fig. P.56. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): inner south capital of the chancel arch.

[93] Wood, 'Liverton', p. 121.

[94] Theophilus, *Various Arts*, p. 63.

Durham Castle, represent the saved in heaven (fig. B.28).[95] Naturally, this interpretation can be extended to those capitals that depict human faces peering out from between tendrils and leaves, namely the example excavated from the St Mary's Abbey site in York (figs. B.25 & 26). Greater ambiguity surrounds those sculptures that depict animals and mythological creatures surrounded by foliage, since it is unclear whether these represent the wildlife of Paradise or, alternatively, the devil and demons being restrained by the True Vine.[96] The latter interpretation could apply to those predatory creatures that are shown biting and being strangled by tendrils, for example, the lupine animals on the north nave doorway at Durham Cathedral Priory, the south nave doorway at North Newbald church and the west doorway at St Bees Priory (figs. C.21; D.21, 22 & 32). Wolves, after all, were associated with sin and the devil (Matthew 7:15; Luke 10:3; Acts 20:29). Vines themselves could become symbols of corruption and sin when they became wild and untamed (Jeremiah 2:21), which presents an alternative reading of figures tangled in foliage as souls ensnared by temptation and sin.[97]

Other schemes appear to have been designed specifically to teach the laity about the significance of the sacraments. Efforts to educate and widen the provision of baptism in the region were evidently spear-headed by Archbishop Thurstan and the canons of York Cathedral who were responsible for overseeing the design and execution of three new fonts at Cottam, Cowlam and North Grimston between *c.* 1120 and *c.* 1140. Scenes of Adam and Eve eating from the tree of knowledge were presumably depicted on the Cowlam and Cottam fonts in order to illustrate the origin of human sin and emphasise the importance of the baptismal rite in cleansing the human soul of this stain (figs. C.60 & 61). Baptism was regarded as a rite of rebirth and this may explain the martyrological scenes on the Cottam font. The depiction of St Margaret being devoured by the dragon while simultaneously

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[95] Wood, 'Before the Green Man', pp. 9–11; idem, 'Norman Chapel', p. 24.

[96] According to St Ambrose, the animals of Paradise were created by God to represent the diverse emotions of the human body, see St Ambrose, *De Paradiso liber unus*, in *Sancti Ambrosii Mediolanensis Episcopi Opera Omnia*, ed. J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, vol. 14 (Paris, 1845), XI. 49–53, pp. 298–301; St Ambrose, *Hexameron, Paradise, and Cain and Abel*, ed. J. J. Savage (New York, 1961), pp. 328–30.

[97] Similar arguments have been made in relation to contemporary sculpture in the Midlands, see Zarnecki *et al.*, *English Romanesque Art*, p. 177; Heslop, "Brief in Words", pp. 1, 8, 10; J. Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: Dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *Antiquaries Journal* 84 (2004), p. 212; Thurlby, *Herefordshire School*, pp. 139, 195.

Figs. P.57–59. Langtoft, St Peter (East Yorkshire): details of the font from Cottam chapel.

bursting from its stomach is particularly apt, since it was Margaret's faith in God that enabled her to escape from the devil and be reborn, both physically and spiritually (fig. P.57).[98] St Andrew and St Lawrence are carved in the process of their martyrdoms; the former is being tied to the *crux decussata* and the latter is being roasted over hot coals (figs. P.58 & 59). These scenes convey the notion of purification, albeit through bodily sacrifice, and for this reason they must have been considered poignant to baptismal candidates.[99] The sacrament of baptism was only instituted because God became incarnate and offered human redemption through Jesus Christ,

[98] For the Old English and Anglo-Norman lives of St Margaret, see J. Dresvina, *A Maid with a Dragon: The Cult of St Margaret of Antioch in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 24–39.

[99] F. Altvater, *Sacramental Theology and the Decoration of Baptismal Fonts* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 2017), pp. 148–50.

hence the depiction of the Adoration of the Magi on the Cowlam font (fig. M.25).[100]

This sentiment also explains why Eucharistic imagery dominates the North Grimston font.[101] Eucharistic imagery is rarely found on sculpted fonts of this period which is perhaps surprising considering its theological connection to the rite of baptism. Various near-contemporary theologians, including Anselm of Canterbury and Hugh of Saint-Victor, expounded the interrelationship between the Crucifixion and baptism and their importance in bringing redemption to mankind.[102] A representation of the Last Supper constitutes the main scene of the North Grimston font. Christ is shown blessing the bread and wine, and several large sacramental wafers, in the form of discs inscribed with crosses, can be seen on the table in front of the disciples (fig. C.63; P.60). This is accompanied by a depiction of the Deposition which completes the scheme by illustrating Christ's subsequent sacrifice (fig. C.62). The font is currently positioned at the west end of the nave, but originally it may have been placed closer to the chancel in order to be visible to the congregation as the priest performed the Mass. This integration of image and ceremony calls to mind the carving at the apex of the Fridaythorpe chancel arch which depicts the elevation of the Host (fig. C.39).

Fig. P.60. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): detail of the font.

[100] Ibid., p. 64.

[101] Ibid., pp. 156–8.

[102] Anselm, 'Prayer to the Holy Cross', p. 105; Hugh of Saint Victor, *On the Sacraments*, pp. 283–91.

Figs. P.61 & 62. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): details of the font.

There can be no doubt that the Augustinian canons of Gisborough Priory were also committed to extending the provision of baptism in Yorkshire, judging from the number of fonts that can be attributed to their patronage. The most elaborate example can be found inside Kirkburn church. This has been analysed at length, but deserves partially reinterpreting in the context of the pastoral reform movement.[103] Much of the upper register can be read as justification, or even a celebration, of the pastoral work of the regular canons who are depicted holding books and giving blessings, while Christ himself is shown performing the rite of baptism (fig. P.61). One of the scenes depicts Christ with a cruciform nimbus giving two large keys to a man holding a book (fig. P.62). This man has naturally been identified as St Peter receiving the keys to heaven, however there is a conspicuous lack of halo that would typically be applied to denote one of the apostles. There may be a valid explanation for this, perhaps a nimbus was originally added in paint, or it could be that the designers were deliberately creating ambiguity; the man receiving the keys is indistinguishable from the canons depicted elsewhere on the upper register. This scene can therefore be read as a message on sacerdotal power and the legitimacy of the Gisborough canons' pastoral work, since it appears that one of their number is being personally invested with their mission by Christ.

[103] For the most detailed analysis, see Wood, 'Augustinians and Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', pp. 40–55.

Besides fonts, doorways and arches were ideal locations for complex didactic schemes. An eclectic array of these can be found at churches belonging to the canons of York Cathedral. One of the easiest programmes to interpret is that which decorates the south nave doorway of Alne church. Nine voussoirs of the second order depict creatures found in twelfth-century bestiaries, and eight are clearly identifiable from accompanying nominal inscriptions. These include a fox, a panther, an eagle, a hyena, a caladrius and a dragon (figs. P.63–65).[104] Baxter has demonstrated that the animal designs were adapted from a bestiary that had some artistic affiliation to the earliest extant English bestiary (Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 247) which dates from the early twelfth century.[105] Bestiaries themselves were didactic texts in which each creature served as a religious allegory. This implies that the Alne doorway was designed to provide moral instruction to a lay audience, presumably with guidance from a canon or priest who could have used the doorway as the focal point of sermons. By reading each creature in accordance with the bestiary, the scheme can be understood to caution the viewers against the cunning of the devil and

Fig. P.63. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

[104] The inscriptions have since eroded but were recorded by G. C. Druce, 'The Caladrius and its Legend, Sculptured upon the Twelfth-Century Doorway of Alne Church, Yorkshire', *Archaeological Journal* 69 (1912), pp. 381–2.

[105] Baxter, *Bestiaries*, pp. 2–3, 83–6.

Figs. P.64 & 65. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): details of south nave doorway.

encourage them to contemplate the redemptive victory of Christ. For example, the fox and dragon were both emblematic of the devil, disguised and lying in wait for the heedless sinner.[106] Meanwhile, the panther, eagle and caladrius, together, can be read as symbols of Christ's victory over the devil and, having paid the debt of human sin, his ability to reward the faithful with resurrection and eternal life.[107] This overarching message is complemented by roundels of the first order which include a carving of the Lamb of God, a symbol of Christ's sacrifice, and Samson and the Lion, which has been interpreted as an allegory for struggle and fortitude (figs. P.64 & 65).

Fig. P.66. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): outer west capital of the south nave doorway.

There have been suggestions that an early twelfth-century bestiary belonging to the York chapter inspired carvings of creatures at other dependent churches, although these identifications are less secure owing to a lack of accompanying inscriptions. The first example, an unusual ovoid creature with broad legs, can be seen on a doorway capital at Kilham church (fig. P.66). Wood has interpreted this animal as a mole, presented in later bestiaries as a symbol of the sinful and unredeemed soul that has been cast into darkness. Interestingly, a similar creature occurs on the inner order of the Alne doorway (fig. P.65). At Kilham, it is accompanied by depictions of a human figure holding a blazing torch and a person immersed in a baptismal font, which suggests the entire capital sequence was meant to convey the importance of baptism in elevating the soul from darkness to light.[108] A reset rectangular relief at Fridaythorpe, which may have once decorated a lost doorway, depicts

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[106] *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the Twelfth Century*, ed. T. H. White (London, 1954), pp. 53–4, 115–6; *Bestiary: MS Bodley 764*, ed. R. Barber (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 65–6, 183–4.

[107] *Book of Beasts*, pp. 14–7, 105–7, 115–6; *Bestiary: MS Bodley 764*, pp. 30–3, 118–9, 130–1.

[108] Wood, 'Geometric Patterns', pp. 27–8.

a bird with a long neck and large tail plumage that can be identified as a peacock (fig. P. 67). Within twelfth-century bestiaries and Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, the peacock was presented as a symbol of incorruptibility and the transcendental immortality that awaits the saved.[109] This tradition among the York chapter of modelling sculpture on the bestiary appears to have continued into the later twelfth century, specifically at Riccall church with the construction of the elaborate south nave doorway in the 1160s.[110]

Fig. P.67. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): eroded relief reset in the west wall (exterior) of the north nave aisle.

Other patrons besides the canons of York Cathedral were responsible for commissioning church doorways with rich sequences of images. The south doorway at the Augustinian church of Kirkburn is one of the most enigmatic owing to the fact that it is an overwhelming compilation of geometric decoration, foliage, human figures, and animals, both real and fantastical (fig. K.45). It has been analysed in detail by Wood, who has identified the broad themes of Christian struggle, the Eucharist and salvation. Meanwhile, the overall opulence of the doorway is suggestive of light and Paradise, as if by entering the church the viewer is elevating their soul and catching a glimpse of heaven.[111] These are all logical interpretations of the scheme, although Wood's suggestion that the designers and sculptors derived their animal imagery from a bestiary is open to debate. In fact, it becomes apparent that the feline beasts, interlocking dragons and fighting quadrupeds could encapsulate a plethora of different Christian meanings, derived from the Bible, patristic works and near-contemporary theological texts.

The south doorway at Foston church, which has been attributed to the monks of St Mary's Abbey, York, seems to convey a more cogent message that incorporates many of the

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[109] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 18–9; Augustine, *City of God*, vol. 7, ed. W. M. Green (Harvard, 1972), pp. 14–7; *Book of Beasts*, p. 149; *Bestiary: MS Bodley 764*, p. 170.

[110] Mann, *Early Medieval Church Sculpture*, pp. 15, 47; R. Wood, 'The Romanesque Doorways of Yorkshire, with special reference to that at St Mary's Church, Riccall', *YAJ* 66 (1994), 59-90; idem, 'St Mary, Riccall, Yorkshire, East Riding', *CRSBI* (accessed 05/06/17); Saul, *Lordship and Faith*, pp. 45–6, fn. 13.

[111] Wood, 'Augustinians and Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn Church', pp. 25–40.

Fig. P.68. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): apex of the south nave doorway.

themes identified with its counterpart at Kirkburn. Struggle is denoted by two wrestlers, the perils of sin are illustrated by lurking demons, and agents of good and evil do battle, yet the promise of salvation is visualised by the heavenly banquet at the apex (figs. D.27–29; P.43 & 68).[112] A similar message could have been intended for the west doorway at St Bees Priory. At least two capitals depict animal and human figures tangled in foliage, possible symbols of the struggle against sin, while the three sprigs of foliage at the apex of the arch appear to be a subtle reference to the Trinity as well as the Paradise to which the ascending masks, or souls, on the arches seem to aspire (figs. D.20–23, 47 & 48). These ideas bring us full-circle to the north nave doorway at Durham Cathedral Priory, which can also be understood as a vertical arrangement of the path to human salvation. The shafts and capitals depict human figures and ferocious beasts, such as dragons, griffins and lions, tangled in foliage, as if to denote sinners and agents of evil, while the label above teaches the importance of struggle, fortitude and correction as a means of elevating the soul to Christ, who is depicted in allegorical form at the apex as Sagittarius and the lamb (figs. D. 32; E.7, 13, 32, 34, 48, 49; P.40, 44 & 45).[113]

Interpreting sculptural schemes will always remain a subjective process, even with textual sources as a guide to understanding specific images and motifs. As the preceding discussion has illustrated, it is not even certain that individual designers, patrons and viewers perceived a composition in the same way. The idea that schemes might convey more than one meaning, or a series of interconnected messages, can be compared to

[112] Wood, 'Foston', pp. 69–74.

[113] According to Isidore, *Etymologies*, XII. ii. 17, p. 252, griffins were violent creatures that would tear apart horses and humans.

contemporary exegesis of the Bible and theological texts.[114] It must also be acknowledged that certain motifs, namely geometric decoration and beakhead ornament, have not been discussed in this chapter precisely because their spiritual meanings are so enigmatic.[115] Nonetheless, it is possible to reach some general conclusions. Evidently many sculptural schemes were designed and commissioned for didactic purposes, whether admonitory or uplifting, and they are likely to have served as visual stimuli for discussions, sermons and teaching. Scholars have tended to associate didactic sculpture with Augustinian communities. While educational schemes *are* more commonly found at churches that were served by regular canons, this chapter has demonstrated that traditional Benedictine communities were also using sculpture as a vehicle for discourse, instruction and pastoral reform. Any notion that there was a clear divide between Benedictine monks and regular canons in their attitudes to sculpture must be re-evaluated.

One idea remains elusive, and that is whether patrons believed that the very act of commissioning sculpture for a church was a route to salvation. There is an abundance of charter evidence to indicate that secular patrons donated churches to religious communities for the benefit of their souls and the souls of family members, but these tell us nothing about the sculptural schemes themselves. The writings of Suger and Theophilus offer clues that people believed the creation of church decoration was a redemptive act. Theophilus expressed this from the perspective of the craftsman, whose labours were regarded as an act of sacrifice to God, but also a way of perfecting the degenerate human soul by improving those skills and talents that had been granted to mankind at the time of Creation.[116] Meanwhile, Suger evoked the same notions of labour and sacrifice to explain the spiritual benefits of commissioning and financing art.[117]

Detecting these beliefs within the sculptural schemes of northern England is all but impossible, however there is one scheme, namely the south nave doorway at Healaugh

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[114] For a similar idea, see Heslop, "Brief in Words", pp. 1–10.

[115] For an attempt to apply spiritual meanings to geometric motifs, see Wood, 'Geometric Patterns'. For a concise summary of the ambiguity of beakhead ornament, see Stalley, 'Diffusion, Imitation and Evolution', pp. 111–2 and fn..

[116] Theophilus, *Various Arts*, pp. 1–4, 36–7.

[117] Suger of St-Denis, '*Libellus alter de consecratione*', pp. 90–1; idem '*Liber de rebus in administratione*', pp. 46–7, 66–7.

church, where the act of commissioning sculpture is visually connected to the hope of salvation. The apex of the Healaugh doorway is carved with eight knelt and seated figures (fig. P.70). At the centre of the main group, a man and woman, evidently husband and wife judging from the way their arms are linked, gaze up to a solitary figure holding a sceptre and surrounded by chevron ornament. This upper figure can be identified as Christ in Majesty residing in heaven, who lowers his right hand as if bestowing a blessing upon the figures below. Wood is surely correct that these lower figures represent the patron of the church, Bertram Haget, with his wife and family, making the scene a rare example of a donor portrait in Romanesque sculpture.[118] Crucially, the iconography communicates the message that Bertram commissioned the scheme to honour God, with the hope that he and his family would be spiritually rewarded for his efforts. Here, then, is a rare glimpse into the psyche of a twelfth-century patron and it has to be wondered whether Bertram's attitude towards sculpture represented broader sentiments in northern England.

Fig. P.69. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): apex of the south nave doorway.

[118] Wood, 'Romanesque Doorway at Healaugh', pp. 61–2.

Conclusion

The development of architectural sculpture in northern England between *c.* 1070 and *c.* 1155 followed much the same trend as observed elsewhere in England. Carved decoration in the last decades of the eleventh century tended to be much plainer, with a few notable exceptions, especially within minor churches. It is also clear that during the same period most resources were directed towards the building and rebuilding of major churches. Both of these trends started to change from the beginning of the twelfth century. Geometric decoration become increasingly complex, and there was a growing demand for elaborate foliage and figure sculpture. The number of minor churches and chapels that were established or rebuilt in the first half of the twelfth century increased rapidly as ecclesiastical and secular patrons shifted their attention to rural areas. This can be partly understood within the context of church reform, especially the desire to augment provisions of pastoral care for the laity. Alternatively, the increasingly elaborate sculptural schemes commissioned at these minor churches suggests growing efforts to project status and lordship through architecture.

By analysing networks of patronage, it is evident that the traditional centre-periphery model is largely applicable to sculpture produced in northern England between *c.* 1070 and *c.* 1155. Even where important cathedral and abbey churches have been lost, it can be deduced that many sculptural forms and motifs became popular at minor churches precisely because they had first been applied at these major churches. That said, significant artistic exchanges also took place between major centres, regionally, nationally and internationally. Important centres elsewhere that influenced architectural sculpture within northern England included Caen, Bayeux, Rouen, Tours, Canterbury and Reading. Meanwhile, the two most eminent religious houses in the city of York, St Mary's Abbey and York Cathedral, were particularly influential in the spread of motifs to other cathedral and abbey churches in the region, as well as many minor churches. The fraternal links between St Mary's Abbey, Durham Cathedral Priory and Whitby Abbey, which stemmed from the northern monastic revival movement of the 1070s and 1080s, evidently facilitated artistic exchanges between the three sites in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, to the

extent that sculptors who had worked at St Mary's Abbey in the early twelfth century appear to have been subsequently employed at Durham Cathedral Priory in the 1120s.

The influence of the royal abbey at Reading on northern sculptural schemes created during the second quarter of the twelfth century is perhaps surprising considering the geographical distance, yet is readily explained through an analysis of patronage in the region. Gisborough Priory, along with its dependent church at Kirkburn, and St George's church, Doncaster, appear to have been important intermediaries, especially in the popularisation of Reading-derived beakhead ornament within northern England. The lost royal priory of Nostell is likely to have been another important intermediary, although this is difficult to substantiate on the basis of the meagre remains that survive. Archbishop Thurstan and the canons of York Cathedral, too, appear to have been agents in the spread of sculptural forms and motifs associated with the patronage of King Henry I.

It is generally the case that the most extensive and high quality sculptural schemes were commissioned by the most eminent and wealthy patrons. This is in stark contrast to other parts of England, including Herefordshire and Gloucestershire, where some of the most lavish and celebrated schemes can be found in parish churches commissioned by members of the lesser secular elite. This is hardly surprising considering the majority of landholdings in northern England were concentrated in the hands of a small group of magnates and religious communities. On the other hand, there were considerable variations between patrons with regard to the quality and quantity of sculpture that they commissioned. Imbalances in the survival of contemporary church fabrics probably obscure the picture to some degree, but there is no denying that certain individuals and groups were more inclined to fund sculptural schemes.

The most prolific independent ecclesiastical patrons of sculpture were the archbishops and canons of York Cathedral, who established a wide network of elaborately decorated churches across Yorkshire. This can be attributed to wealth of the cathedral community, who were the main landholders in Yorkshire (after the king) at the time of Domesday Book, and their zeal for reform, particularly during the archiepiscopate of Thurstan. The Benedictine monks of St Mary's Abbey, York, and the Augustinian canons of Gisborough Priory also emerge as very important ecclesiastical patrons of sculpture in northern

England, although, being new foundations, they relied on donations from benefactors and appear to have cooperated with secular patrons to establish networks of decorated churches. On the other hand, the bishops and monks of Durham Cathedral Priory appear to have invested comparatively few resources in sculpture outside the Durham peninsula, with the notable exception of Lindisfarne Priory. One explanation for this is that their revenues were primarily directed towards the rebuilding of the cathedral church and its claustral buildings until the middle of the twelfth century, as well as the construction of Lindisfarne Priory from *c.* 1125. Nonetheless, the crucial point is that both regular canons and Benedictine monks showed an interest in sculptural patronage outside their monasteries.

Similar imbalances can be observed among the commissions of secular patrons. The most prolific patrons of sculpture tended to be the 'new men' of Henry I, namely Ranulf Meschin, Robert de Brus, Walter Espec and Walter de Gant. There were also the rehabilitated members of the Lacy family, reinstated to the honour of Pontefract by King Stephen, who appear to have commissioned richly decorated churches in order to express their restored status and lordship. Nevertheless, there were other magnates who apparently channeled few resources to the production of sculpture in the region. One notable example is William of Aumale, earl of York, the main power in Yorkshire during Stephen's reign, who does not appear to have directly commissioned any notable sculptural schemes within northern England. That said, he did found the now lost Cistercian abbey of Meaux (East Yorkshire) in 1151 and a number of religious houses in Lincolnshire, as well as being a benefactor of several northern religious houses.[1] Evidently William expended much effort and many resources in his pursuit to secure political and military supremacy in Yorkshire between 1140 and 1154, and this may explain the lack of sculptural schemes in the region that can be ascribed to him. An interesting point of contrast is the patronage of the earls of Hereford, Miles (d. 1143) and Roger (d. 1155), since they commissioned many sculptural schemes within Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire, apparently as a means of projecting their lordship in disputed border areas and visualising political allegiances.[2] It has been

[1] P. Dalton, 'William le Gros, count of Aumale and earl of York', *DNB*.

[2] Turnock, 'Reconsidering the reign of King Stephen', pp. 48–93, 166.

suggested in this study that some northern patrons, including members of the Lacy family, commissioned sculpture for similar reasons.

This last point underlines another benefit of conducting a contextual study of this kind: by studying the development and patronage of sculpture across a wide timeframe and a broad geographical area, it is possible to contribute to some of the main historiographical debates in Anglo-Norman history. In the first instance, it is evident that sculptural schemes could play an important role in the negotiation of power and status after the Norman Conquest. An analysis of sculpture reveals that a complex panoply of attitudes and interests were at play. The traditional view that pre-conquest churches were demolished and rebuilt to express Norman authority and domination still holds to some extent, however it is only one part of a much larger picture. Significantly, there were Norman patrons who were sympathetic to the Anglo-Saxon past, employed native craftsmen, authorised Anglo-Saxon repertoires, and ultimately facilitated a process of cultural hybridisation. Equally, there were dispossessed Anglo-Saxon landholders who continued to hold positions of power and used sculpture to negotiate their position within the new political regime.

Sculptural schemes produced at the end of the time period in question are of interest when it comes to reconsidering Stephen's reign. Much ink has been spilt debating the extent to which England, its society, and its people were disrupted and injured by the succession dispute between Stephen and his cousin, Matilda, and the various conflicts that ensued. Judging from contemporary and near-contemporary narrative accounts, northern England was one of the most disturbed regions in the country with reports of widespread plundering and firing of crops, as well as assaults on specific towns, churches, castles and people.[3] Nonetheless, it is important to emphasise that instances of conflict and damage were generally localised and sporadic, and that chroniclers tended to use generalisations and ambiguous language that can be misinterpreted by the modern reader. Significantly, there are few signs within the corpus of sculpture and its accompanying architecture that

[3] JH, pp. 5–32; John of Hexham, 'Continuation', pp. 286–332; RH, pp. 35–58; Richard of Hexham, 'The Chronicle', pp. 139–78; Aelred of Rievaulx, '*Relatio de Standardo*', pp. 181–99; Symeon, *LDE*, 'Appendix B', pp. 280–321; *Historia Selebiensis*, pp. 96–129; OV, vol. 6, XIII, pp. 518–25; JW, vol. 3, pp. 252–7; GS, pp. 52–5, 214–9; William of Newburgh, *The History of English Affairs: Book 1*, ed. P. G. Walsh and M. J. Kennedy (Warminster, 1988), pp. 54–103; Dalton, 'Ecclesiastical Responses', pp. 131–50; H. M. Thomas, 'Miracle Stories and the Violence of King Stephen's Reign', *Haskins Society Journal* 13 (1999), pp. 111–24; Burton, 'Citadels of God'.

production was hampered by conflict. In fact, there is an argument to be made that these conflicts actually stimulated the commissioning of sculpture in certain circumstances, especially when used to signal a patron's piety, allegiances, status, and lordship over an area. Such an interpretation goes some way to explaining why the most lavish sculptural schemes in regional parish churches date from the 1140s. Assuming that disruptions during Stephen's reign were more limited or less damaging than the contemporary chroniclers and some scholars suggest, the argument can also be made that these schemes reflect a broader socio-economic and cultural trend beginning in the second half of the eleventh century, whereby sculpture-production gradually expanded and designs became increasingly elaborate.

The idea that some sculptural schemes served didactic functions may be met with scepticism in some quarters, however the argument in favour has been advanced through an integrated analysis of sculptural imagery and contemporary texts. Efforts to reform the church and the behaviours of the laity were a major concern of various parties during this period, and ecclesiastical sculpture was the ideal platform to admonish against sin, and communicate the importance of pastoral care and the sacraments on the path to salvation. It is clear that Benedictine monks as well as regular canons invested in the creation of such schemes. Moreover, it can be deduced that some secular patrons were more committed to reform than others, as evidenced by their decision to support reforming orders and commission sculptural schemes that appear to spiritually instruct and reprimand. The intense variety in the types of didactic schemes that were commissioned, even by the same patron or community, complements the findings of Vanderputten and Diehl that reform movements were neither static nor homogenous.[4]

Interpreting sculptural imagery and iconography is notoriously subjective, and this study has not sought to suggest that all schemes and individual motifs were designed to serve specific didactic functions. For example, the highly contentious argument that most types of geometric ornament carried religious symbolism has largely been avoided because there is no unequivocal evidence, written or otherwise, to prove this assertion.[5] In any case, this

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[4] Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process*, pp. 3–8, 186–9; idem, *Imagining Religious Leadership*, pp. 1–6, 160–4; Diehl and Vanderputten, 'Cluniac Customs Beyond Cluny', pp. 22–6.

[5] See Wood, 'Geometric Patterns'.

study has established that certain types of ornament, such as sunken star and beakhead, might actually serve secular functions by denoting status and political loyalties. It is also important to contemplate the idea that a single sculptural scheme might have been designed to carry several different readings, and could have been understood very differently depending on the audience. Unfortunately, there is no way of knowing how different people interacted with these schemes, nor can it be confirmed that priests and members of the regular clergy actively used them in sermons or lectures.

This study has advocated a new approach to Romanesque sculpture that uses an interdisciplinary methodology and an emphasis on networks of patronage to contribute to historical narratives of Norman England. It has also underlined the importance of establishing a symbiotic relationship between written sources and material evidence, to the effect that each is used to elucidate the other and written evidence is not given hierarchical precedence. This methodology could be readily applied to other regions of the British Isles. In doing so, it would become possible to compare and contrast attitudes to sculptural decoration across different areas and begin to understand more fully why people chose to commission and create particular schemes. It would also prove fruitful to intersect this with an exploration of patronage networks across the Channel, particularly in Normandy but also across Europe more widely.

With regard to sculpture in northern England specifically, there are a number of areas for further research. Much more work needs to be conducted and published on the architectural and sculptural fragments from lost major churches, especially those held by the York Museums Trust and English Heritage. This includes resolving issues with the cataloguing of fragments in the Yorkshire Museum collection. Future archaeological surveys and excavations at ecclesiastical and secular sites could also uncover much valuable new material. For example, the site of Wetheral Priory (Cumbria) has never been excavated and the appearance of the early twelfth-century church is completely unknown. A thorough analysis of polychromy in stone sculpture and architecture would also facilitate a deeper understanding of the original appearance these buildings.

Related to this are questions regarding the economics of sculpture-production. There is no documentation from the period to reveal the ‘cost’ of sculpture in the region, either in

monetary figures or in terms of other transactions. Records of construction costs must be sought elsewhere; for example, in the writings of Abbot Suger relating to the rebuilding of St-Denis,[6] and written evidence from the later medieval period.[7] However, these accounts may not be representative of expenditure in northern England during this earlier period, and it is only possible to glean a very abstract estimate of cost.[8] It is assumed that church-building and the production of stone sculpture were generally expensive, although how expensive would have depended on a variety of factors, such as the skill of the specialist craftsmen and the provenance of particular materials. There is much work that could be done on the latter.

By identifying the pigments used to decorate sculpture and the locations from which they were sourced, new insights could be gained on the efforts and expenditure that would have been required. The same is true for stone. It was obviously much cheaper in terms of manpower and other resources to quarry stone locally and transport it a short distance to the building site. However, the fine-grained freestone required for intricate carved work might have to be sought from further afield, resulting in additional transport costs and even the need to purchase stone and pay tolls. The creamy stone used to create most of the sculpted capitals in the chapel of Durham Castle is a case in point, if it was indeed imported from Normandy. Furthermore, identification of the stone types used in the chapel would contribute to the debate on whether these capitals could have been pre-carved in Normandy or whether Norman craftsmen worked on-site.[9] Ultimately, a better understanding of the economy and logistics behind sculpture production can lead to a better understanding of how sculptural schemes were perceived. Rather than being a simple expression of wealth, a sculptural scheme might convey a patron's mastery over the landscape and their ability to bring order to the temporal world, and this carried important religious as well as secular connotations.

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[6] Suger, '*Liber de rebus in administratione*', pp. 52–53; idem, '*Libellus alter de consecratione ecclesiæ*', pp. 102–3. Suger's writings supply broad monetary figures, but they do no offer an itemised account of building costs.

[7] W. Vroom, *Financing Cathedral Building in the Middle Ages: The Generosity of the Faithful*, trans. E. Manton (Amsterdam, 2010); G. Byng, *Church Building and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2017).

[8] See, for example, Bolton, 'Church and Money'.

[9] Galbraith, 'Notes', p. 20; Bernstein, 'A Bishop of Two People', p. 277.

The wealth of political, religious, social and cultural information that can be revealed by studying sculpture in context is remarkable. As well as exploring sculptural schemes within their immediate landscape, it is manifestly valuable to situate the corpus within networks of patronage in order to understand who was commissioning carved decoration and why. Eleventh and twelfth-century sculpture in the British Isles is ripe for further study, and it is time that these often neglected buildings and artefacts are given the attention and protection that they deserve.

Appendix
Cumbrian churches connected to Gisborough Priory

There are two Cumbrian churches that were connected to Gisborough Priory and preserve notable sculpture from the first half of the twelfth century: Bridekirk and Dearham. The sculptural schemes at both churches are unusual in certain respects, and do not relate to the architectural fragments from Gisborough or the sculptural schemes at other Gisborough-dependent churches in any significant respects. Both were donated to the canons of Gisborough by secular patrons, so the implication is that these secular patrons were responsible for commissioning the sculpture and looked elsewhere for inspiration. Photographs of the features discussed below are freely accessible on the *CRSBI* website.[1]

Bridekirk church was granted to Gisborough Priory by Waltheof, son of Gospatrick and lord of Allerdale, at an unknown date.[2] It can be deduced that the donation took place between the foundation of Gisborough Priory, *c.* 1120, and Waltheof's death, *c.* 1138.[3] It is unclear when Waltheof was granted the lordship of Allerdale, but it is possible that he held power in the area prior to William Rufus' annexation of Cumberland in 1092. Phythian-Adams has suggested that Waltheof was formally bestowed with the lordship by Ranulf Meschin *c.* 1106, in return for swearing fealty to Ranulf at the foundation ceremony of Wetheral Priory.[4] Later, *c.* 1122, King Henry I confirmed Waltheof's tenure of Allerdale.[5]

Bridekirk church is renowned for its richly carved later twelfth-century font, but of interest here is the surviving architectural sculpture which appears to pre-date the font by at least a

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[1] J. F. King, 'St Bridget, Bridekirk, Cumberland', *CRSBI* (accessed 20/09/18), https://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/5237/; idem, 'St Mungo, Dearham, Cumberland', *CRSBI* (accessed 20/09/18), https://crsbi.ac.uk/site/3895/.

[2] *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne*, vol. 2, pp. 318–21.

[3] H. Doherty, 'The twelfth-century patrons of the Bridekirk font', in J. Camps *et al.* (eds.), *Romanesque Patrons and Processes: Design and Instrumentality in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe* (Abingdon, 2018), pp. 291–312, dates the donation of the church between 1122 and 1136. For the date of Waltheof's death, see T. M. Charles-Edwards, *Wales and the Britons, 350–1064* (Oxford, 2013), p. 576. Waltheof was also the younger brother of Dolfin who was expelled from Carlisle by William Rufus' army in 1092.

[4] Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians*, pp. 30–1.

[5] Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria', p. 53.

decade.[6] The church was completely rebuilt between 1868 and 1870, at which point three twelfth-century arches were saved and reset in the modern fabric. These comprise a chancel arch, now repositioned in the north transept, and two doorways.[7] The former chancel arch is relatively plain, but exhibits a series of raised discs on the label that recall the doorway at Great Salkeld church, as well as the western nave doorways at Durham Cathedral Priory. More elaborate is the doorway leading into the south transept which features scallop capitals, voussoirs carved with frontal chevron, and a label decorated with billet ornament. The frontal chevron is comparable to that applied to the nave clerestory windows of Carlisle Cathedral, probably after 1136 (fig. N.9). This suggests that the Bridekirk doorway was created no earlier than *c.* 1140 and that a rebuilding campaign was initiated after Waltheof's death by his son and successor, Alan.[8] The second doorway at Bridekirk, located on the south side of the nave, was evidently constructed by the same craftsmen since it exhibits identical billet ornament as well as more scallop capitals and chevron ornament.

There are two idiosyncratic features of the Bridekirk south doorway that are of interest. The first is the west nook-shaft which is enriched with saltire crosses. A similar pattern can be observed on the west tympanum at Long Marton church (fig. O.2). The second is the crescent-shaped tympanum. This is carved from red sandstone and depicts a haloed male figure in a mandorla, identifiable as Christ in Majesty.[9] The stone type and technique of carving, which is in very low relief, recall the south doorway tympanum at Long Marton, the north doorway tympanum at Kirkbampton, and the relief above the north doorway at Bolton (Cumbria) (figs. O.1 & 10). This suggests the work of the same itinerant sculptor or workshop. Unusually, the Bridekirk tympanum looks to be incomplete, perhaps the result of a later recutting, with the lower position of Christ's body missing. It also looks

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[6] For a detailed discussion of the patronage of the Bridekirk font, see Doherty, 'Bridekirk font'. Altvater, *Sacramental Theology*, pp. 88–9, dates the font to the third quarter of the twelfth century, presumably on the basis of style.

[7] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', pp. 273–4; Doherty, 'Bridekirk font'; King, 'St Bridget, Bridekirk'.

[8] This observation complements the suggestion of Doherty, 'Bridekirk font', that the rebuilding campaign took place in the 1140s under the guidance of Alan and the priest of the church, Athelwold.

[9] Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture in the Diocese of Carlisle', p. 274; King, 'St Bridget, Bridekirk'.

inconsistent with the rest of the doorway in terms of style and stone type. One possibility is that the tympanum pre-dates the doorway, being an original feature of the earlier church that was granted to Gisborough by Waltheof, and was reused in the mid-twelfth-century rebuilding.[10]

The relationship of the tympanum to its counterpart at Long Marton church is potentially significant, especially in light of the fact that the Long Marton tympana were probably commissioned by Ranulf Meschin.[11] As noted above, Waltheof seems to have been granted the lordship of Allerdale by Ranulf. Assuming that the Bridekirk tympanum was carved under the patronage of Waltheof before *c.* 1138, it is possible that Waltheof was deliberately emulating his superior in order to visualise his fealty. No other tympanum depicting Christ in Majesty exists in northern England, which begs the unresolvable question of whether there was an important exemplar in the region that has since been lost.

Dearham church has also been identified with the patronage of Waltheof.[12] However, it is unclear whether Walteof was responsible for donating the building to the canons of Gisborough. The earliest extant record of the church belonging to Gisborough can be found in a charter issued by Alice de Rumilly, wife of William fitz Duncan (d. 1147).[13] William was the grandson of Waltheof and inherited Allerdale through his mother, Octreda, who was Waltheof's daughter.[14] It is possible that the church was donated to the canons at an earlier date, but this is not substantiated by the surviving written evidence.

The carved baptismal font inside Dearham church is the main point of interest. It is in the form of an large cushion capital, decorated with cable moulding, volutes, geometric ornaments, and two creatures, namely a winged dragon and a predatory quadruped. Nothing similar can be found elsewhere in northern England, making this font an anomaly

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[10] King, 'St Bridget, Bridekirk', on the other hand, thinks the tympanum is contemporary with the rest of the doorway.

[11] See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Long Marton tympana.

[12] Doherty, 'Bridekirk font'.

[13] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 6, part 1, no. 15, p. 271; *Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, vol. 1, p. 502.

[14] R. S. Ferguson, *A History of Cumberland* (London, 1890), p. 175.

within the wider corpus. Individual motifs can be compared to architecture and sculpture elsewhere in the region. For example, the cusping pattern along the rim of the font recalls the arcaded corbel tables at Kirkburn and Fangfoss, and the loose interlace pattern that dominates the south face relates to a capital design at Carlisle Cathedral (fig. N.15). On the basis of style alone, the font can be dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century.

Glossary

The definitions below have been taken and adapted from the *CRSBI* illustrated glossary, see http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/glossary/.

Abacus	The top part of a capital, not to be confused with an impost. Both of these terms have their roots in classical architecture. In a classical context the abacus is the upper part of a capital that the entablature rests on, while the impost is a heavy stone supporting an arch. For the distinction in medieval buildings, see the definition for 'impost' below.
Acanthus	A Mediterranean plant, with thick, fleshy, scalloped leaves. The Romanesque stylisation of the acanthus leaf, also called Winchester acanthus, is ultimately derived from that used in classical decoration, especially Corinthian and composite capitals, but bears little resemblance to the plant.
Addorsed	Applied to pairs of figures or creatures placed symmetrically, back to back. They are still addorsed if their bodies are back-to-back and their heads are turned to face one another.
Affronted	Applied to pairs of figures or creatures placed symmetrically, facing one another. They are still affronted if their bodies face one another with their heads turned back. Also called confronted.
Angle roll	A roll moulding on an order, masking the edge between the face and the soffit (the arris).
Angle volute	A spiral form used at the corners of Ionic and Corinthian capitals, and their medieval derivatives.
Apex	The highest point of an arch or gable.
Arcade	A series of arches supported by piers or columns. When applied to the surface of a wall it is called a blind arcade. When used ornamentally, it is called arcading.
Arch	An opening whose centre is higher than its sides. It may be a construction of stone voussoirs arranged to support each other and the weight of a wall above.
Arris	The sharp edge where two surfaces meet at an angle.
Ashlar	Squared blocks of masonry cut to an even face.
Atlas	A carved male figure used as a support (the female counterpart is a caryatid). In Classical architecture they are usually standing figures, whereas in the Middle Ages they often kneel or bend under the weight.
Baluster	A turned shaft usually combining convex and concave curves, typically found in pre-Conquest buildings.

Base	The moulded foot of a column, half-column, pier or pilaster, usually resting on a plinth. The most common medieval type is the attic base, comprising a concave moulding (scotia) between two convex ones (torus mouldings), which derives from classical architecture.
Basket weave	A variation of interlace ornament where a surface is covered with diagonally arranged intersecting strap work.
Bay	A compartment in the layout of a church, marked by shafts, main arcade and often by vaulting over each single compartment.
Beading	An ornament resembling a string of beads.
Beakhead	An ornament in the form of a bird's head, or a human or beast's head, superimposed on the roll moulding of an arch. Beakhead is predominantly found on doorways as a repeated form but occasionally also on windows and chancel arches and, as a single motif, on corbels.
Billet	An ornament consisting of a band or bands of raised short cylinders (roll billet) or square blocks (square billet) placed at intervals. Also see ‘chequerboard’.
Blind arcade	A series of arches supported by piers or columns applied to the surface of a wall.
Block capital	The simplest form of capital, in which the top is square and the bottom round. The transition between them is most simply achieved by a gradual change of profile, but there are other options. The surface may be decorated.
Bobbin	A decoration applied to rolls, especially angle rolls in archivolts, consisting of three rings of which the middle is the largest.
Bulbous base	A base of bold, convex form.
Cable moulding	A moulding in the form of a rope, often applied to the neckings of capitals and the rims of fonts. Double-strand cable has two strands of different thicknesses twisted together.
Caen stone	A high-quality limestone for masonry and sculpture, quarried in medieval times around Caen (Calvados) and along the River Orne, and exported to England in large quantities after 1066.
Capital	The architectural member which surmounts a column and supports an arch. It often provides the visual transition between a round column or shaft below and a square impost block above, which in turn supports the springing of the arch.
Caryatid	A carved female figure used as a support. The male counterpart is an atlas.

Chamfer	A diagonal surface made when the sharp edge or arris of a stone block is cut away, usually at an angle of 45 degrees to the other two surfaces. It is called a hollow chamfer when the surface created is concave.
Chancel	The east end of a church where the altar is situated, usually reserved for the use of the clergy and choir.
Chequerboard	Also known as chequer ornament, this is a decorative pattern formed from an alternating arrangement of raised and recessed squares. Also see ‘billet’.
Chevron ornament	A form of three-dimensional architectural ornament consisting of zigzags formed by mouldings. The term 'zigzag' is itself reserved for the essentially two-dimensional form. Forms are varied and complex. For an illustrated guide, see http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/resources/chevron-guide/.
Chip-carving	A simple geometric pattern bevelled into a surface. There are different forms of chip-carved decoration, including saltire and sunken star.
Clerestory	The uppermost storey of the walls of an aisled church, pierced by windows.
Column	An upright structural member of round or polygonal section, consisting of a shaft crowned by a capital. Also see ‘pier’.
Compound pier	A pier with several shafts that are attached or detached, or with half-shafts against its faces.
Confronted	See ‘affronted’.
Corbel / corbel table	A corbel is a projecting block of stone or timber to support a feature above. A row of corbels, often carved, supporting a parapet, stringcourse or the eaves of a roof is called a corbel table.
Corinthianesque capital	A medieval derivative of the Roman Corinthian capital. Eleventh and twelfth-century Corinthianesque capitals in the British Isles are usually very simplified, and can vary widely in form, but always have angle volutes and one or more rows of leaves on the faces.
Coursed masonry	A wall built with regular layers (courses) of ashlar.
Coursed rubble	A wall made with irregular stones or flints levelled up in courses.
Crossing	The central space at the junction of the nave, chancel and transepts of a cruciform church.
Crossing tower	The tower over a crossing.
Crypt	The vaulted chamber below the sanctuary or eastern arm of a church, usually at least partly underground. In claustral and secular buildings it is called an undercroft.

Cushion capital	Normally described as a capital formed by the intersection of a cube and a sphere. It has flat semicircular faces below the abacus, and the triangular lower angles of the bell are all that remain of the spherical form. The semicircular faces are called shields. In variations of the cushion capital, the angles may be keeled or tucked. The shields and the bell may be decorated with carving.
Cusps / cusping	A repeated design of curved foils meeting at points.
Dado	The area of a wall below window sill level, sometimes decorated with blind arcading and surmounted by a string course.
Diaper ornament	A repetitive geometric surface decoration composed of small lozenges or squares. Cf. ‘chip-carving’ and ‘sunken stars’.
Fluting	A series of shallow, concave grooves. In the Classical period, fluting was applied to the surface of shafts and columns, but its use was more varied in the Middle Ages.
Freestone	Any good quality fine-grained sandstone or limestone which cuts well in all directions.
Frieze	A horizontal band in the plane of the wall decorated with ornamental or narrative relief.
Gable	The triangular upper portion of a wall to carry a pitched roof.
Gallery	A storey above the aisle, opening on to the nave, also called a tribune. It is as wide as the aisle below it, and usually has its own windows.
Groin vault	A vault produced by the intersection, at right angles, of two tunnel vaults. The curved intersections are called groins.
Herringbone	The term is usually applied to masonry laid diagonally along horizontal courses, each course laid in the opposite direction to that below it, resulting in a zigzag pattern. Herringbone masonry is traditionally associated with pre-Conquest buildings but there is ample evidence that it was used in the late eleventh century, and even in the early twelfth.
Hoodmould	See ‘label’.
Impost	A horizontal projection immediately below the springing of an arch, sometimes immediately above the capital, sometimes used instead of a capital. Not to be confused with an abacus. The most common twelfth-century forms are chamfered and hollow-chamfered. Either the upright face or the chamfer may be decorated, and there may be a quirk or an angle roll between face and chamfer.
Interlace ornament	A form of decoration where individual carved strands or straps are intertwined, usually forming geometrical designs. There are many variations of the this ornament. Also see ‘basket weave’.

Jamb	The upright side of an archway, doorway, window or other opening. Also see ‘reveal’.
Label	A projecting moulding above an arch or a lintel to deflect water. Also called a hoodmould or a dripstone.
Label stops	The terminations of a label, often sculpted.
Lintel	A horizontal beam of stone or timber, bridging an opening. Often used in conjunction with the tympanum. When a lintel is triangular at the top, it is called a gabled lintel.
Lozenge	A diamond-shaped compartment.
Mandorla	A round or elliptical halo usually framing the figure of Christ.
Mask	Another term for a disembodied decorative head, usually grotesque or bestial in form.
Necking	The circular moulding at the bottom of a capital.
Nook capital / nook shaft	A capital/shaft set in the angle of a pier, respond, jamb of a doorway or window.
Opus reticulatum	A masonry technique where square stones are placed diagonally.
Orans / orant	A male or female figure with their hands raised in prayer.
Order	One of a series of recessed arches and supports on an arch.
Palmette	A classically-derived foliate form, often with voluted outer leaves
Pier	A vertical support, or pillar. The term may refer to a cylindrical support (column), or square or composite pillars.
Pillar piscina	A piscina (used for washing Eucharist vessels) in the form of a short shaft with a base and a capital hollowed out to carry water, usually set against a wall alongside an altar.
Plinth	The projecting block beneath the base of a column, or projecting courses at the foot of a wall. The upper edge is usually chamfered or moulded.
Quirk	A deeply incised groove between mouldings.
Quoins	Blocks of ashlar forming the corners of buildings.
Respond	A half pier or half column bonded into a wall that supports one end of an arch or arcade.
Ribs	Arches forming part of vault.
Roll moulding	A convex moulding of a semi circular or greater section. If applied to the soffit of an arch, it is called soffit roll, if to the face of an arch, it is called a face roll.
Rosette	A circular motif in the form of a rose or flower.
Roundel	A circular relief, usually filled with figures or decoration.

Sanctuary	The area at the easternmost end of the church, immediately around the main altar.
Sawtooth ornament	An enrichment in the form of a band of raised triangles.
Scallop capital	A development of the cushion capital, where the shields and cones are multiplied to form double scallop, triple scallop or multi-scallop capitals. Scallop capitals are susceptible to a large number of variations, of which the commonest include recessing the shields, or defining them with a groove; sheathing the cones; or carving wedges, fillets or rolls between the cones.
Shaft	The trunk of a column between the base and capital.
Soffit	The underside of an arch or lintel.
Springer	The first stone of an arch or vaulting rib above the springing point.
Spur	A pointed ornament seen on pier bases, running from the moulding of the base onto the angle of the square plinth. It is sometimes carved with foliage or heads.
String course	A horizontal course projecting from a wall, often moulded and at times richly carved.
Sunken stars	A form of chip-carving where a series of radiating bevelled compartments create the illusion of a star.
Trefoil / trilobed	A leaf or capital with three parts.
Trellis ornament	A pattern consisting of incised intersecting diagonal lines, forming lozenges.
Triforium	The area of a wall, often arcaded, above the main arcade level and corresponding to the rafters of an aisle or gallery roof. Although it may contain a wall passage, it is not a gallery.
Tympanum	The segmental field filling the head of an arch, generally over a doorway. It usually rests on a lintel.
Vault	An arched ceiling of stone.
Volute	A spiral scroll, usually applied to refer to the spirals at the angles of Corinthianesque capitals. The term is also applied more widely to refer to any form of spiral ornament.
Voussoir	An individual wedge-shaped stone that collectively forms an arch.

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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.

Fig. D.21. St Bees, SS Mary and Bega (Cumbria): north capital (3rd order) of the west doorway.

Fig. D.22. Same as above.

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.

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

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

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

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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.

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

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

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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).

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

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

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).

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.

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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.

iii. The bishops and monks of Durham Cathedral Priory

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

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

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

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

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).

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

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

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).

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

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

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

Fig. E.18. Durham Cathedral: roundel of the west nave doorway (east face).

Fig. E.19. Same as above.

Fig. E.20. Canterbury Cathedral: crypt capital. © Deborah Kahn.

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

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

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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.

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).

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.

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.

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).

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

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.

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.

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).

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

Fig. E.50. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 7r.

Fig. E.51. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 63r.

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

Fig. E.53. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 7v.

Fig. E.54. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 63r.

Fig. E.55. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 34r.

Fig. E.56. Durham Cathedral Library, MS Hunter 100: detail of fol. 37r.

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

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Fig. E.59. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): remnants of lozenge pier, north nave arcade.

Fig. E.60. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): remnants of fluted pier, 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.

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Fig. E.65. Lindisfarne Priory (Northumberland): corbel, south-east crossing.

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Fig. E.67. Lindisfarne Priory Museum, English Heritage (Northumberland): corbel from Lindisfarne Priory (acc. no. 81077130). Photograph taken with permission from English Heritage.

Fig. E.68. Lindisfarne Priory Museum, English Heritage (Northumberland): corbel from Lindisfarne Priory (acc. no. 81077132). Photograph taken with permission from English Heritage.

Fig. E.69. Berwick-upon-Tweed Barracks (Northumberland): corbel from Lindisfarne Priory (acc. no. 81077131). © English Heritage.

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Fig. E.71. West Rounton, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): font.

Fig. E.72. Lanchester, All Saints (County Durham): chancel arch (west face).

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.

Fig. E.75. Osmotherley, St Peter (North Yorkshire): outer east capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. E.76. Bolam, St Andrew (Northumberland): capital on the north side of the chancel arch (west face).

Fig. E.77. Bolam, St Andrew (Northumberland): capital on the north side of the chancel arch (east face).

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Fig. E.79. Etton, St Mary (East Yorkshire): capital (reset inside the nave) from St Peter's church, Holme-on-the-Wolds.

Fig. E.80. Same as above.

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.

Fig. E.83. Eastrington, St Michael (East Yorkshire): frieze reset in the north wall of the north porch.

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Fig. E.85. Durham Cathedral: inner north capital (interior) of the chapter house west doorway.

Fig. E.86. West Rounton, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): font.

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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.

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).

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.

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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).

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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.

Fig. E.111. Osmotherley, St Peter (North Yorkshire): beakheads on the inner order of the south nave doorway.

iv. The monks of Selby Abbey

Fig. F.1. Map of sites associated with the Selby monastic community.

Fig. F.2. Selby Abbey: south nave arcade (looking west).

Fig. F.3. Selby Abbey: north nave arcade (looking west).

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.

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.

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Fig. F.13. Selby Abbey: easternmost capital of the north nave arcade.

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.

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).

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Fig. F.19. Selby Abbey: north corbel of the east crossing arch.

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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.

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Fig. F.25. Trondheim, Archbishop's Palace Museum (Norway): corbel.

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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.

v. The Lacy Family

Fig. G.1. Map of sites associated with the Lacy family.

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.

Fig. G.6. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): corbels on the north face of the west tower.

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.

Fig. G.9. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): human beakhead of the south nave doorway.

Fig. G.10. Same as above.

Fig. G.11. Brayton, St Wilfrid (North Yorkshire): crouched hare beakhead of the south nave doorway.

Fig. G.12. Same as above.

Fig. G.13. Quenington, St Swithin (Gloucestershire): crouched hare beakhead of the south nave doorway.

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Fig. G.16. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): tympanum of the south chancel doorway.

Fig. G.17. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. G.18. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway.

Fig. G.19. Same as above.

Fig. G.20. Selby Abbey: capital in the first bay of the south nave gallery.

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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.

Fig. G.24. Birkin, St Mary (North Yorkshire): altered window on the east side of the apse.

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Fig. G.27. Same as above.

Fig. G.28. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): west face of the west tower.

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.

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).

Fig. G.34. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): loose nook-shaft capital.

Fig. G.35. Same as above.

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.

Fig. G.38. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): corbel reset on the south wall of the chancel (interior).

Fig. G.39. Campsall, St Mary Magdalene (South Yorkshire): corbel 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.

vi. The monks of Holy Trinity Priory, York, and the Paynel family

Fig. H.1. Holy Trinity Priory, Micklegate, York: illustration (after Collingwood) of a lost fragment formerly located in the porch.

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.

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.

Fig. H.6. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): north respond of the chancel arch.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

Fig. H.20. Mesland, Loir-et-Cher, Notre-Dame (France): detail of the west doorway. © Daniel Jolivet.

Fig. H.21. Same as above.

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.

Fig. H.26. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): gable of the south nave doorway.

Fig. H.27. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): crouched hare beakhead on the outer order of the chancel arch.

Fig. H.28. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. H.29. 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.

Fig. H.32. Drax, SS Peter and Paul (North Yorkshire): corbel reset in the porch.

Fig. H.33. Drax, SS Peter and Paul (North Yorkshire): corbel reset in the porch.

vii. The monks of Tynemouth Priory

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.

Fig. I.4. Tynemouth Priory, Prior's Chapel: Corinthianesque nook-shaft capital, acc. no. 81071422. © English Heritage.

Fig. I.5. Same as above.

Fig. I.6. Tynemouth Priory: detail of the easternmost north nave pier capital.

Fig. I.7. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): crypt capital.

Fig. I.8. Lastingham Abbey (North Yorkshire): south chancel arch capital.

Fig. I.9. Map of sites associated with Tynemouth Priory.

Fig. I.10. Old Bewick, Holy Trinity (Northumberland): west faces of the chancel and sanctuary arches.

Fig. I.11. Old Bewick, Holy Trinity (Northumberland): north chancel arch capital.

Fig. I.12. Seaton Delaval, Our Lady (Northumberland): illustration of the chancel and sanctuary arches, after R. J. S. Bertram (1905).

Fig. I.13. Seaton Delaval, Our Lady (Northumberland): illustration of the eroded west doorway tympanum.

viii. The monks of Whitby Abbey

Fig. J.1. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged label stop excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430619. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.2. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): illustration of damaged label stop excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430618. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.3. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): label fragment excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430777. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.4. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430614. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.5. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): corbel excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430759. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.6. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): voussoir excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 88074137. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.7. Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert (Cumbria): soffit of the south nave doorway.

Fig. J.8. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430770. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.9. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 88074139. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.10. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430706. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.11. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): corbel excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430760. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.12. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): corbel excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430721. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.13. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): voussoir excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430743. © English Heritage.

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Fig. J.16. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): north capitals of the chancel arch.

Fig. J.17. Whitby, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch.

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Fig. J.21. Seamer, St Martin (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch (west face).

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Fig. J.31. Great Ayton, All Saints (North Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway arch.

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Fig. J.34. Newton-under-Roseberry, St Oswald (North Yorkshire): reset relief (west face) on the south side of west tower.

Fig. J.35. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): outer west capital of the north nave doorway.

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Fig. J.37. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): damaged capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 81430713. © English Heritage.

Fig. J.38. Hilton, St Peter (North Yorkshire): south capitals of the chancel arch (west face).

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Fig. K.3. Same as above.

Fig. K.4. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280254. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.5. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Whitby Abbey site, acc. no. 88074101. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.6. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280294. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.7. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88070193. © English Heritage.

Fig. K.8. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): section of string course excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280250. © English Heritage.

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Fig. K.11. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: capital from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.100. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

Fig. K.12. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: capital from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.76. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

Fig. K.13. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: arch head from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.53. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

Fig. K.14. Helmsley Archaeology Store (North Yorkshire): nook-shaft capital excavated from the Gisborough Priory site, acc. no. 88280285. © English Heritage.

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Fig. K.17. Hart, St Mary Magdalene (County Durham): corbel in the north nave aisle.

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Fig. K.21. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): modern copy of fig. K.20 on the south nave exterior.

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Fig. K.28. Durham Cathedral: detail of the south nave triforium (first bay).

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Fig. K.39. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north chancel window capital.

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Fig. K.41. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the south nave doorway (east side).

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Fig. K.47. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: voussoir from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.26. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

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Fig. K.63. Speeton, St Leonard (North Yorkshire): fragment reset in the north nave wall (interior).

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x. The canons of Bridlington Priory and the Gant family

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Fig. L.5. Flamborough, St Oswald (East Yorkshire): font. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. L.6. Bessingby, St Magnus (East Yorkshire): font.

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Fig. L.8. Bessingby, St Magnus (East Yorkshire): font.

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Fig. L.11. Flamborough, St Oswald (East Yorkshire): capitals on the south side of the chancel arch. © John McElheran/CRSBI.

Fig. L.12. Wold Newton, All Saints (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway. © Rita Wood/ CRSBI.

Fig. L.13. Speeton,St Leonard (North Yorkshire): fragment reset in the south wall of the chancel (interior).

Fig. L.14. Speeton,St Leonard (North Yorkshire): fragment reset in the north wall of the nave (interior).

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Fig. M.11. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): south nave doorway label. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. M.12. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): west impost of the south nave doorway. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. M.13. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): west capital (1st order) of the south nave doorway.

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Fig. M.21. Garton-on-the-Wolds, St Michael and All Angels (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel.

Fig. M.22. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): south nave corbel. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

Fig. M.23. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel. © Rita Wood/CRSBI.

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xii. The canons of Carlisle Cathedral

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Fig. N.2. Conjectural plan of St Mary's cathedral priory, Carlisle, as it appeared *c.* 1150, after C. G. Bulman (1937).

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Fig. N.34. Aspatria, St Kentigern (Cumbria): reset arch above the vestry doorway. © James King/CRSBI.

Fig. N.35. Corbridge, St Andrew (Northumberland): east side of the south nave doorway.

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Fig. N.42. Reading Museum and Art Gallery: capital from Reading Abbey, no. 1992.106. © R. Baxter/CRSBI.

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Status in stone: lordship and landscapes of power

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Chapter 4
Sermons in stone: sin, reform and landscapes of salvation

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Fig. P.35. Adel, St John the Baptist (West Yorkshire): detail of the chancel arch.

Fig. P.36. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): north nave corbel. © Jeffrey Craine/CRSBI.

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Fig. P.56. Liverton, St Michael (North Yorkshire): inner south capital of the chancel arch.

Fig. P.57. Langtoft, St Peter (East Yorkshire): detail of the font from Cottam chapel.

Fig. P.58. Same as above.

Fig. P.59. Same as above.

Fig. P.60. North Grimston, St Nicholas (North Yorkshire): detail of the font.

Fig. P.61. Kirkburn, St Mary (East Yorkshire): detail of the font.

Fig. P.62. Same as above.

Fig. P.63. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): south nave doorway.

Fig. P.64. Alne, St Mary (North Yorkshire): detail of south nave doorway.

Fig. P.65. Same as above.

Fig. P.66. Kilham, All Saints (East Yorkshire): outer west capital of the south nave doorway.

Fig. P.67. Fridaythorpe, St Mary (East Yorkshire): eroded relief reset in the west wall (exterior) of the north nave aisle.

Fig. P.68. Foston, All Saints (North Yorkshire): apex of the south nave doorway.

Fig. P.69. Healaugh, St John the Baptist (North Yorkshire): apex of the south nave doorway.

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