A STUDY OF STONE SCULPTURE FROM CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND c. 1092 – 1153 WITHIN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Ph.D. THESIS

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT THE CONTENTS OF THIS THESIS ARE ENTIRELY THE

WORK OF JOSEPHINE CHAPMAN CAMPBELL.

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Acknowledgements

My interest in art history goes back to the 1970s at St Andrews University and an honours degree in Medieval History and Fine Arts, followed later by an MA in medieval art at the Courtauld Institute, supervised by Professor George Zarnecki, Professor Peter Lasko, Professor John Lowden and Dr Deborah Kahn. My MA thesis examined the twelfth-century stone fragments of Old Sarum cathedral and this period of art and its sculpture became a lifelong fascination. Several years later, after raising a family and achieving other ambitions, I returned to Edinburgh to aim for a Ph.D. under the watchful eye of John Higgitt. It has taken longer than anticipated to complete but has been achieved at last. My love and thanks go to my three children who have encouraged and supported this venture all the way. I wish to dedicate this work to the memory of John, who I have known since university days, and whose wise and consistent guidance enabled me to the reach the conclusion of this study. I will remember him as a kind and gentle man who provided many hours of quiet and inspiring refuge as I struggled to prevail in the early days. Without his relentless certainty that I could achieve this, it would not have been possible. I would also sincerely like to thank Dr Tom Tolley who has taken over as supervisor since John's death and his cheerful and positive role these past months has encouraged me towards the finishing post. It has been a fascinating road of discovery and after the Ph.D. will emerge the novel, based on the characters and places I have come to know along the way.

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Frontispiece, St Bees lintel-stone, detail

Preface

This thesis is the first study to survey and analyse the full extent of Cumberland and Westmorland's stone sculpture from the Norman and Scottish period. The aims of the thesis are to place the surviving stone sculpture within the context of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century art and culture and to identify sources of style, content and iconography and links with other artistic media. These are achieved through discussion of aspects of stone sculpture from a variety of sites and detailed examination of specific carvings: the lintel-stone at St Bees; the font at Bridekirk; four principal doorways: St Bees, Great Salkeld, Torpenhow and Kirkbampton. No surviving object of stone sculpture, architectural or free-standing, can be associated with a specific document or patron, but detailed analysis indicates the surviving carvings provide valuable visual evidence of Norman culture and the role of stone decoration within it. The final chapter concludes the study and considers the development of the parochial system which required churches and the possible patrons involved.

Prior to this study, there has been little discussion of these carvings in the art-historical literature. The lintel-stone at St Bees and the font at Bridekirk have attracted some scholarly attention, but, elsewhere across the region, the surviving sculpture has remained comparatively unnoticed.[1] The pre-Conquest carvings from the Anglian and Norse periods have been comprehensively analysed and catalogued in the *Corpus* (Map 6). The historical aspects, however, of the emergence of Cumberland and Westmorland into the modern age have been extensively discussed and documented.[2] The history of the area has been explored by several authors in the Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society. These articles, contributed by authors with local expertise, cover all aspects of the area's history, including discussion of church buildings and sites. Canon James Wilson's contribution

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[1] The sites are mentioned in Pevsner with little comment about the sculpture. Malcolm Thurlby introduced selected architectural sculpture in 2000 at the BAA Conference in Carlisle.

[2] Phythian-Adams lists a comprehensive bibliography of the historical literature of the region.

to the Victoria County History of Cumberland, Volumes 1 and 2, is unsurpassed by later authors in the majority of his views.[3] This literature has provided invaluable sources of information to an outsider of the region and forms much of the basis of historical discussion in this thesis. The study of Carlisle by Henry Summerson is comprehensive.[4] This volume has been expanded by Charles Phythian-Adams in his study of the region up to 1120.[5] Geoffrey Barrow, through his work on the relationship of Cumberland and Westmorland with Scotland, and John Todd, a resident of Cumberland, through historical studies based on surviving documentary evidence, have provided painstakingly accurate assessments of aspects of the region.[6] Todd's work on the priories of St Bees and Lanercost are meticulously researched.[7] Richard Sharpe, in the past few years, has also contributed to the interpretation of documentary material, Pipe Rolls and surviving charters.[8] Scholarly thinking continues to develop as archaeological and sculptural evidence emerges, exemplified by the excavations at Whithorn throughout the past fifteen years. The loss of sculpture from the major part of the original Norman cathedral in Carlisle and the disappearance of Wetheral Priory detract from an understanding of sculptural development across the region and the influences upon it. To compensate for this loss, comparisons with other major sites and other artistic media from elsewhere are introduced.[9]

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[3] *VCH.*
[4] Summerson.
[5] Phythian-Adams.
[6] Barrow.
[7] J. M. Todd, *Lanercost Cartulary*, vol. cciii, Surtees Society (Gateshead, 1997).
[8] R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092-1136,' *CW2* Tract Series. vol. XXI (April, 2005), pp. 5-67.
[9] The term 'Romanesque' is used only when citing authorities. Sculptural styles, techniques and motifs are referred to as 'Norman' or 'eleventh' or 'twelfth-century'. In the opinion of this writer, the term 'Romanesque' to describe the overall style of the region's sculpture is misleading due to the disparate nature and unique qualities of much of the carving. Other terminology used is as follows: 'motif' is the individual part of a composition; 'style' is the treatment of the motif by the sculptor to produce a particular effect, governed by skill and experience. Both motif and style are subject to prevailing and traditional infuences. Motif can be selected, style is dependent on the individual sculptor; 'technique' describes how the sculptor achieved the overall effect and the tools employed. The technique of the sculptor influences style and intricate detail requires fine tools and expertise; 'influence' implies a link with other artistic material but does not confirm direct connections between sites and carvings. No piece of stone sculpture can be linked with certainty to another site and influences stem from a variety of sources and traditions; 'interpretation' is used in iconographical discussions referring to the process of adaptation of traditional themes as Norman influences disseminated throughout the region.

List of Abbreviations

AA	*Archaeologia Aeliana*
AB	*Art Bulletin*
AJ	*Architectural Journal*
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference of Anglo-Norman Studies*, 1-11, ed. R. Allen Brown (1979-82), 12, ed. M. Chibnall (1990)
Anderson	Anderson, A.O., (ed.), *Early Sources of Scottish History, A.D. 500-1286* (1922), Vol. 2
A-SC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. D. Whitelock (London, 1961)
BAACT	*British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*
Bailey	R.N. Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England* (London, 1980)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAACT	*British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*
Barrow	G. Barrow, *Kingdom of the Scots* (London, 1973)
Burl Mag	*Burlington Magazine*
Calverley	W.S. Calverley, 'Early Sculptured Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2*, extra ser., xi, W.G. Collingwood, (ed.)
Collingwood	W.G. Collingwood, 'An Inventory of the ancient monuments of Cumberland', *CW2* xxiii (1923), pp. 206-76. Addendum *CW2*, xxvi (1926)
Corpus	Cramp, R., et al., *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-north-of-the-Sands, British Academy (1984-
Corpus	The *Corpus of* ROMANESQUE SCULPTURE *in Britain and Ireland*
CRO	Cumbria Records Office at Carlisle, Kendal, Barrow and Whitehaven
Curwen	J.F. Curwen, *Castles & Towers of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, CW* extra xiii (1913)
CW 1 and 2	*Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and. Archaeological Society,* (1), Old Series 1866-1900; (2), New Series from 1901 (Kendal)
CW (Extra)	CW Extra Series (from 1877 Kendal)
CW (Record)	CW Record Series (formerly called the Cartulary Series) *(from 1897 Kendal)*
CW (Tract)	CW Tract Series (from 1882 Kendal)
DB	Domesday Book
Drake	C.S. Drake, *The Romanesque Fonts of Northern Scandinavia* (Woodbridge, 2002)
Dugdale	William Dugdale, & R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum,* (London, 1655-73)
ESC	A.C. Lawrie (ed.), *Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153* (1905)
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ERA	*English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200* (London, 1984)
Farrer	Farrer, W., 'An Outline Itinerary of King Henry I', *HER* 34 (1919), pp. 303-382, 505-579
Fernie	E. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000)
F-J., *N.W.*	G. Fellowes-Jensen, *Scandinavian Settlement Names*

	in the North-West (Copenhagen, 1985)
Holmcultram	F. Grainger, *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, ed. W.G. Collingwood, *CW* Record Series *vii* (Kendal, 1929)
JBAA	*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*
JWCI	*Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*
Kapelle	W.E. Kapelle, *The Norman Conquest of the North. The Region and its Transformation 1000 – 1135* (Durham, 1979)
Kermode	P.M.C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses* (London, 1907)
Keyser	C. Keyser, *Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolical Sculpture still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain* (London, 1927)
Lanercost	*The Lanercost Cartulary* (CRO MS DZ/1), ed. J.M. Todd, Surtees Society, Vol. 203 and *CW* Record Series, Vol. xi (1997)
Lawrie	A.C. Lawrie, *Early Scottish Charters prior to A.D. 1153* (Glasgow, 1905)
Nicolson and Burn	J. Nicolson and R. Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland*, 2 Volumes (1777)
Page	R.I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes* (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 1999)
Perriam and Robinson	D.R. Perriam and J. Robinson 'The Medieval Fortified Buildings of Cumbria', *CW*. Vol. xxix (1998)
Pevsner	*Buildings of England*, Cumberland and Westmorland (1967), reprinted 2000
Phythian-Adams	C. Phythian-Adams, *Land of the Cumbrians, A Study in British provincial origins, A.D. 400- 1120* (Aldershot, 1996)
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*
Regesta	C. Johnston & H.A. Cronne, *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii (Oxford, 1956)
RHCM	Royal Commission of Historical Monuments
St Bees	*The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, J. Wilson, ed. (Surtees Society, Vol. 126, 1915)
Summerson,	'Medieval Carlisle,' Vol. 1, *CW*, Extra Series, xxv (1993)
Symeon	Symeon of Durham *Historia Regum*, T. Arnold Ed. Rolls Series (1885)
TDGNHAS	*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society*
Thurlby	*The Herefordshire School of twelfth-century Sculpture* (Logaston, 1999)
Thurlby 2006	*The Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston 2006)
VCH	*Victoria County Histories*, Cumberland, Vols. 1, 2, J. Wilson, (ed.) 1901
WANHM	*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*
Wetheral	*The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, *CW* Record Series 1 (1897), ed. J.E. Prescott
Whellan	W. Whellan, *History and Antiquities of Cumberland and Westmorland* (1860)
YAJ	*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*

Catalogue

1) Aspatria, St Kentigern,

2) Bassenthwaite St Bega

3) Bolton, All Saints

4) Bowness-on-Solway, St Michael

5) Bridekirk, St Bridget

6) Brigham, St Bridget

7) Bromfield, St Mungo

8) Burgh-by-Sands, St Michael

9) Caldbeck, St Kentigern

10) Carlisle Cathedral, St Mary

11) Cliburn, St Cuthbert

12) Cross Canonby, St John

13) Dearham, St Mungo

14) Gilcrux, St Mary

15) Great Clifton, St Cuthbert

16) Great Salkeld, St Cuthbert

17) Isel, St Michael

18) Kirkbampton, St Peter

19) Long Marton, St James and St Margaret

20) Morland, St Lawrence

21) Ormside, St James

22) Plumbland, St Cuthbert

23) St Bees, St Mary and St Bega

24) Torpenhow, St Michael

25) Warwick-on-Eden, St Leonard

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INTRODUCTION

The counties of Cumberland and Westmorland merged with Lancashire-north-of-the-Sands in 1974 to form the modern county of Cumbria. This thesis studies the surviving sculpture from Cumberland and Westmorland. The county boundaries closely follow the boundaries of the lordships identified by the Norman administration (c. 1100) and described in Chapter 1. Carlisle was taken over by the Normans in 1092 and the city and surrounding region were administered by them until 1136 when Carlisle was repossessed by David I (until 1153). The sculpture examined in this thesis belongs to this period of Norman-inspired government and Scottish domination of Carlisle and is found throughout the lordships: the royal demesne and forest of Carlisle including much of the Eden Valley; Allerdale to the south-west covering the coastal tract and the fertile valley of the Ellen; Copeland stretching southwards to the Duddon, with its narrow coastal belt and extensive upland areas to the interior; Greystoke, a small lordship south of Carlisle; Gilsland, north-west of the Eden valley; Liddesdale and Westmorland, centred around Appleby and Kendal; Greystoke and Wigton, south of Carlisle (Map 1).

The sculpture surviving from the region is not extensive and does not, therefore, represent an identifiable 'school' with uniform regional characteristics. An accurate picture of its original scale and distribution is hindered by the loss of buildings and carvings as the majority of churches have been extensively altered or rebuilt since the period covered by this study. Although it is probable that stone churches from this period were originally located on the majority of sites, many have disappeared and there is insufficient evidence to suggest widespread stone decoration throughout the region. The sculpture survives both on the original buildings and also in fragmentary form. Some sites have only one or two pieces: one beak-head survives at Cross Canonby (st John); other sites are profusely decorated, Torpenhow (St Michael)for example, illustrates an array of sculptural features above south doorway and chancel arch.

This thesis provides the first major study of Norman stone sculpture of the region which has, until now, received scant attention from art historians.[1] The complex social and cultural history and the long tradition of stone-carving conspire to make this a unique area of study.[2] Whereas pre-Conquest sculpture from the Anglian and Norse periods has been examined in detail, the sculpture from the Norman and Scottish eras in the north-west has been largely neglected.[3] This study describes and highlights important aspects of the carvings to portray a mixed but cohesive culture where several strands of artistic legacy, language and religious belief merge to create stone buildings adorned with carved detail of significance for the art and social historian. Two of the objects under scrutiny, the lintel-stone at St Bees and the font at Bridekirk, together with complete churches such as Torpenhow and Kirkbampton, provide exceptionally high quality and interesting examples of twelfth-century stone sculpture.

Questions raised relate to: sources and origins of style, motif and iconography; influence of the previous artistic traditions; dissemination of ideas; relationship with Norman sculpture elsewhere, the possible patrons involved and the meaning and function of the carvings. The problems associated with the study are: extensive loss of churches and sculpture; dearth of written documentation (Cumberland and Westmorland were not included in the Domesday survey);[4] no church or carving linked with certainty to a specific patron; few monastic foundations; late arrival of Norman organisation. The positive aspects of the study, however, are the varied cultural milieu present in the region, the strong tradition of stone sculpture and the survival into the twelfth century of indigenous language and culture. Due to the region's geographical position close to the Irish Sea, Ireland, southern Scotland, the north of England and Wales, the thesis shows how different cultures and traditions can merge, even under autocractic governments, into strong artistic societies, where talent and craftsmanship thrive and where religious

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[1] Malcolm Thurlby examined several sites for his paper at the BAA Conference in Carlisle in 2000.
[2] The pre-Conquest stone-carving from the Anglian and Norse periods has been comprehensively studied and discussed by Rosemary Cramp, Richard Bailey and others.
[3] *Corpus.*
[4] A small part of Westmorland was included in the survey.

buildings and their decoration form a significant part of both the urban and rural ways of

life. The surviving pieces of sculpture illustrate the impact on the region of the opulent

and invasive Norman culture and the survival of indigenous languages and artistic

traditions. Representing a variety of style, content, iconography and technique, the

diversity of the material is a feature of this study. In conclusion, parochial organisation is

considered, possible patronage conjectured and the thesis summarised.

The definitions of 'Cumbria' and 'Cumbrian' in the literature are varied and sometimes

obscure. In this thesis, these terms are explained through reference to individual sources

and the term 'Cumbria' in the modern sense does not apply. The boundaries of Scottish

and English Cumbria remained nebulous until the middle of the twelfth century. The

indigenous people of Cumbria, the Cumbrians, are mentioned in the literature: a tenth-

century chronicle describes the Cymric tribes on the western coast of Britain as Cumbri.[5]

Edward the Elder ruled over the kings of the Scots, Cumbri and Strathclyde Welsh in 901.[6]

William of Malmesbury describes Uwen as 'Egenius, king of the Cumbri'.[7] Uses of the

term 'Cumbria', prior to 1100, are listed in an article in the Transactions.[8] The 1291 papal

returns imply Cumbria in the eleventh century reached from Loch Lomond, north of

Glasgow, south to the Rere Cross on Stainmore.[9] Strathclyde and Cumbria are often

interchanged in the literature. Barrow defines Strathclyde and Cumbria of the eighth and

ninth centuries thus: 'The British kingdom of Strathclyde or Cumbria recovered much of

its ancient power and began to expand southward from the Clyde valley into the basins of

the rivers which flow into the head of the Solway Firth, Nith, Annan, Esk, Liddel, Irthing

and Eden.'[10] The northern limit lay at the Clach nam Breatann (Briton's stone) in Glen

Falloch, to the Rere Cross at the western edge of Stainmore Common in the North Riding

of Yorkshire. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the kingdom of Strathclyde declined as

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[5] *Ethelwerd's Chronicle*, ed. A. Campbell, Nelson's Medieval Texts (1962), p. 515.
[6] *Florence*, ed. P. McGurk, Oxford Medieval Texts, Vol. I, p. 117.
[7] *William of Malmesbury*, ed. Mynors et al, Oxford Medieval Texts, Vol. I, p. 147.
[8] T.H.B. Graham, 'Cumberland', *CW2* xxv (1925), pp. 274-281.
[9] Cal. Doc. Scot., Vol. ii, p. 15.
[10] Barrow, p. 142.

the power of Northumbria and the northern kingdoms spread.[11] Ties between the north-west of England and north of the border remained strong throughout this period and after 1018 and the death of Owein the kingdom of Cumbria remained under Scottish control.[12] David's titles were *Cumbrensis regionis princeps* and *princeps Cumbrensis* but this does not imply he held sway before 1124 over the areas to the south of the Solway.[13] *Westmoringa* was originally north Westmorland and the boundaries of this region are uncertain before the middle of the twelfth century. This shire first appears in the Pipe Rolls of 1130 when it also incorporated the land of Kentdale, including Kendal and possibly Lonsdale. Cumberland incorporated the area north of the River Duddon, including ninety miles of coastline to the mouth of the River Eden, to the Esk and the Liddel, bordered on the east by the Lakeland dome of hills and the basin between the Rivers Tyne and Solway. The border with Scotland was tentatively established in 1092, but was pushed to the south when David I reoccupied Carlisle and re-established in 1157 on the line of the Esk.[14]

The district boundaries of Cumberland and Westmorland that developed into the lordships and parishes of the twelfth century were based to a great extent on geographical features, notably rivers and lakes. These boundaries were probably well established before the arrival of the Normans. The contrasting topography and geology of Cumberland and Westmorland influenced not only boundaries but also dispersal of settlement throughout history and continued to do so into the Norman period where settlements were largely concentrated on the river valleys and coastal regions. The region was naturally isolated from the rest of the country by inhospitable terrain, broken by the strategic road network centred on Carlisle which aided William Rufus's invasion in 1092.[15] The rivers: Eden; Ellen; Derwent; Esk; Duddon, flow towards the western seaboard and it was in valleys and

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[11] D. P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: a survey of historical development to 1092', *CW2* lxii (1962), pp. 77-94.

[12] Barrow, p. 143.

[13] *ESC*, pp. 45, 46. See also the discussion of his titles by Duncan, pp. 60, 61, 46, 'non vero toti Cumbrensi regioni dominabatur'.

[14] J. Todd, *Northern History*, Vol. 43 (2006), pp. 11-19.

[15] Perriam and Robinson, pp. 90, 212.

on coastal flats that indigenous people and new settlers developed their economies. The

River Eden flowed north-west into the Solway, with several tributaries, Lyvennet, Petteril

and Caldew, surrounded by high ground. The inland and upland regions were sparsely

populated and the broken topography housed several sub-cultures. South of the Solway,

on the broader coastal plain, settlement was more widespread and the Forest of Carlisle,

later Inglewood, dominated the central moorland area, disrupted in places by higher

ground where alternative settlement patterns developed (Map 5). Around the Firth lay the

marshes with a maritime economy based on fishing and salt and open to sea routes to north

and west.[16] The remote coastal strip was notorious for its marsh and bog, further identified

by its place-names.[17] West Cumberland was separated from the Eden by central

mountains: the River Wampool flowed into Morecombe Bay and provided a natural

boundary for new settlements.[18] South of the Wampool lay the extensive lordship of

Allerdale (Map 3). At the top of the Vale of Eden lay 'Westmoringa Land', now

Westmorland, separated from the western seaboard by a stretch of mountainous terrain.

The coastal strip west of these mountains stretched from the Wampool to the Duddon with

uplands to the east. Egremont was divided from Cockermouth by moorland stretching

from Cleator Moor north to Dean Moor. South of St Bees, the Muncaster Fell divided the

area from Millom. The geological formation of the area also influenced the pattern of

settlement, affecting landscape and surface soil cover (Map 7). The Cumbrian dome

comprises ancient rocks with a bleak landscape surrounded by carboniferous limestones

with sandstones and shales to the north and south. St Bees sandstone is found along the

coast, west of a limestone escarpment. East of the Eden, hard, red Lazonby sandstone is

still used in building. Churches and sculpture are carved principally from these two red

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[16] H. Summerson, 'The Place of Carlisle in the Commerce of northern England in the Thirteenth
Century', in P.R. Cory and S.D. Lloyd, (eds.), *Thirteenth Century England*, I (1985),
p. 145, 6; G. Neilson, *Annals of the Solway until A.D. 1307* (1974 reprint), p. 21; barges were still used
in Carlisle in the thirteenth century.

[17] F-J, *NW*, pp. 76, 174.

[18] For example, Burgh-by-Sands, R.L. Storey, 'The Manor of Burgh-by-Sands', *CW2*, liv (1955), pp. 119-
131.

sandstones and the more durable magnesian limestone. Quarries are scattered throughout the region, recorded on early maps and many still in use.

The circumstances leading to the Norman invasion of Carlisle in 1092 illustrate the complex politics of the region and the close links with the Scottish kingdom. Malcolm of Scotland invaded Cumberland in 1070 with an army of Galwegians.[19] The boundaries of Cumberland at this date are undocumented but David's *Inquisitio* of 1120 suggests the borders ran from coast to coast.[20] A Carlisle Chronicle of 1291 states that Malcolm did seize Cumbria by right, regarding the Cumbrians as his own subjects, and describes the extent of Cumbria for the year 1069 as between the Clyde and the Duddon.[21] Dolfin was appointed lord of Carlisle (about 1072).[22] In 1090, Malcolm Canmore invaded Northumberland ending the settlement achieved at Abernethy in 1072, challenging the growth of Norman power in the north.[23] William Rufus reinstated William of St Calais in Durham and, although he negotiated a settlement with the Scots in 1091, he moved into Carlisle in 1092.[24] In 1092, 'the king went north with a large force, restored the town and built and garrisoned the castle, driving out Dolfin who had lands there. He returned south and sent country folk with their families to farm the land.'[25] The Norman king did not return to Carlisle before his death in 1100 but immediately new measures were put into effect to control the area around Carlisle and construct a castle. The reorganisation initially concentrated on Carlisle and the Norman aim was to set up a fortified border state as a bulwark against further Scottish aggression.

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[19] Symeon, II, pp. 196,199. Gospatric was expelled to Flanders.
[20] *ESC*, no. 50.
[21] *VCH*, II, p. 228, n. 4.
[22] Gospatric died in 1074 and left three sons: Gospatric; Dolfin; Waltheof, the latter who became the first Lord of Allerdale.
[23] Kapelle, pp. 148-9.
[24] *A-SC.*, s.a., 1092, E, p. 169.
[25] Summerson, p. 16; H.P.R. Finberg, 'Charltons and Carltons', *Lucerne* (1964), pp. 144-160; F-J, *NW*, pp. 181, 186; place-name evidence shows that six sites in the region refer to these 'churlish folk'; five mention 'Carleton', one, 'Carlatton'. It is argued these references to 'Carleton' are related to Scandinavian settlement beyond Cumbria, perhaps Lincolnshire, where these people were reputed to have originated.

Dolfin was not an insignificant leader and Carlisle in 1092 was probably defended by a castle, may have had a coinage and there were at least three churches.[26] The writ from William Rufus to 'William, son of Thiérry and all his lièges of Carlisle, to all who abide beyond the Lowther, in Westmorland' suggests a possible connection between Carlisle and the Eden valley even before 1092.[27] The construction of stone churches before 1092 is possible, considering current trends elsewhere, in Yorkshire and Durham. The omission of the majority of Cumberland and Westmorland, Durham and Northumberland, from the Domesday Book suggests an isolated region but does not provide evidence of a disorganised society.[28] After 1087, William Rufus granted the lordship of Ewecross Wapentake (southern Westmorland and Cumberland) to Ivo de Taillebois and this area became Copeland, Burton-in-Lonsdale and Kendal, creating a band running across from the sea to the Yorkshire border on a similar scale to Richmond to the east.[29] The establishment of Ivo de Taillebois by William Rufus suggests a clear policy of creating compartments to control the region although no other baronies are documented prior to 1092.[30] In 1092, the Norman king granted Durham jurisdiction over Carlisle, confirmed by Thomas I of York before his death.[31] Durham's claims to Gilsland were still recognised by Thomas II.[32] After 1100, however, York appears to have strengthened its interests over Carlisle, encouraged by the new king although little clarity regarding

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[26] Recent excavations of 1988 suggest the settlement was more literate than previously thought, D.W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), p. 7, ns. 3, 4. This contradicts Florence of Worcester's comment regarding a deserted Carlisle.

[27] H. H. E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', *AA* 4th ser. 7 (1930), pp. 33-56, p. 38.

[28] The persistence of Scottish interests, the quasi-independence of the region and the traditional customs of forinsec service supported this isolation but also attest to a social and political structure in place. The 1212 *Testa de Nevill* shows that cornage or noutgeld persisted into the thirteenth century in parts of Cumberland and Westmorland. The cornage of the north-west was paid by cattle direct to the king, a custom which by the mid-twelfth century had become unpopular. The landowners owed a triple duty to the sovereign: to pay noutgeld or cornage; to provide forinsec service, to guard the border and to provide military service against the Scots; and endemot, to attend the county courts.

[29] W. Farrer and J.F. Curwen, 'Records relating to the Barony of Kendale', *CW* Record Series iv-vi (1923-6), suggesting a date of 1091-2, perhaps as early as 1087. Ivo gave the church of Kirkby Lonsdale to St Mary's Abbey, York, in 1089.

[30] The term *copeland* means 'borrowed' or 'bought land' and it is possible that the area given to Ivo was made up of several smaller Norse estates. What the opposition was to his acquisition of this region is undocumented. See R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', *CW2* xxi (2005), pp. 37-40,

[31] H.H.E. Craster, 'A contemporary record of the pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', *AA*, 4th series vii (1930), p. 38, no. 4, 'curam et archidia conatum de Caerlon et provinciae eius'. This responsibility was confirmed to Ranulf Flambard.

[32] Phythian-Adams, pp. 32-34, 110, 111, 133-136, 196, for the lordship of Gilsland.

Durham's control is forthcoming until after 1122 and Thurstan's increased interests in the region and the founding of the Priory.[33]

In 1100, after the unexpected death of William Rufus, the government of Henry I strengthened in the north-west although Henry did not visit Carlisle until 1122 when the Augustinian Priory was founded, but stamped his authority on the region with leaders such as Ranulf le Meschin, appointed as 'Lord of Carlisle', based at Appleby and probably began the construction of a stone castle.[34] The exact date of Ranulf's arrival is unknown but his Benedictine foundation at Wetheral was probably begun about 1106.[35] Henry's position in the north-west was secured by the introduction of such men, relocated from Normandy, Flanders and Lincolnshire.[36] They supervised the administration of castles and government, receiving land and tithes in return.[37] After 1100, with the establishment of the lordships, many smaller settlements changed ownership, illustrated by the appearance of many names with the suffix 'by', particularly linked to Norman names.[38] Vills and towns were established by the Normans across the region and the requirement for church buildings increased as the population grew and new settlements thrived alongside existing ones.

During the chaotic aftermath of Henry I's death, David I of Scotland (who succeeded his brother, Alexander, in 1124) resumed control of Carlisle unopposed. No document links David with any church in Cumberland or Westmorland but it is possible this period of Scottish occupation further inspired the building programme, mirroring the Scottish reform programme which included at least nine religious foundations and several smaller churches attributed to his inspiration.[39] In 1136, David invaded northern England and Richard of Hexham relates that David captured Carlisle together with Wark, Alnwick,

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[33] For a comprehensive explanation of the relationship between York and Carlisle, see R. Oram, *David, The King who made Scotland* (Edinburgh, 2004), pp. 148-160.

[34] For the founding of the castle at Appleby, see R. Sharpe, op. cit., p. 49.

[35] The date of the foundation cannot be later than 1112 as Abbot Stephen of York, who died in 1112, is named as a beneficiary, *Wetheral*, pp. 1-5, no; Dugdale, I, p. 398.

[36] R.W. Southern, 'The Place of Henry I in English History', *Proceedings of the British Academy* 48 (1962), pp. 127-69.

[37] 'To a remarkable degree, the Norman settlement of the north was the result of Henry's gifts of land to his 'friends', Kapelle, p. 197.

[38] F-J, *NW*, pp. 288, 330.

[39] The church at Thursby, in which no Norman work survives, was reputedly built by David.

Norham and Newcastle.[40] Another historian comments on the guile of the king's actions.[41] His involvement in ecclesiastical affairs is documented by twelfth-century writers.[42] In 1136, he met King Stephen at Durham who conferred on Prince Henry English Cumbria, Doncaster and Huntingdon.[43] David used the castle in Carlisle as a royal residence and, from archaeological evidence, he may have completed the massive walls, gate-house and keep after 1136.[44] The discovery of silver at Alston ensured the founding of a mint in the city.[45] There are several documented visits by the king, but no foundation, however, for assuming Carlisle a capital city.[46]

David I of Scotland knighted Henry Plantagenet on 22 May 1149 at Carlisle. He died on 24 May 1153, a year after the death of his own son, Henry. In April, 1157, his grandson, Malcolm IV, met Henry II at Chester, and, with Ranulf, son of Ranulf le Meschin, gave up all claims to Cumberland, Westmorland and Northumberland, which reverted to English rule. Gilsland, also, became part of England for the first time in 1157. Henry's requirement for a strong base on the Scottish border maintained Carlisle's importance throughout these years, despite the see remaining vacant after the death of Aethelwold on 6 May 1156. In 1150, the Cistercian abbey at Holmcultram was founded as a daughter-house of Melrose by Prince Henry, supported by Alan, son of Waltheof of Allerdale.[47] Close relations were maintained between Cumberland and Scotland through

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[40] Richard of Hexham, Historia de gestis Regis Stephani et de bello de Standardo, in *Chronicles of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, iii (London, 1886), p. 145.

[41] Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold (London, 1879), pp. 258-9.

[42] Barrow, p. 48; John of Hexham, 'He founded and sufficiently endowed with land and income the abbeys of Kelso, Melrose, Newbattle, Holm Cultram, Jedburgh and Holywood ... and in other places. Symeon, ii, pp. 330-1.

[43] *Chronicles of Stephen*, op. cit., p. 146. The treaty reached at Durham with Stephen allowed David to keep Carlisle, while returning Newcastle to the English. Technically, however, David's son, Henry, by paying homage to Stephen, held the fief of Carlisle, not his father. The achievement of this Treaty of Durham for David was the confirmation that he held Carlisle. David was in Glasgow in 1136 for the consecration of the new cathedral and was accompanied by magnates such as William fitz Duncan, and the Earls of Strathearn and Fife, but with no representative from Cumberland or Westmorland.

[44] Perriam and Robinson, pp. 70, 71; G. Neilson, 'The Keep of Carlisle', in *Notes and Queries*, 8th ser., Vol. 8 (1895), pp. 321-3; Curwen, pp. 95-110, for detailed chronology with illustrations; *A-S.C.* 1092, a 'turris fortissima', erected by William Rufus; Fordun reports that David built the stone keep and assumes the royal demesne as his own, giving property in Carlisle to Hexham Priory, *Priory of Hexham*, Vol. I, p. 59.

[45] David already had mints at Roxburgh and Berwick, Summerson, p. 42.

[46] Summerson, p. 41.

[47] *Holmcultram*.

this well endowed and influential foundation which became one of the richest abbeys of the north.[48]

Few documents survive relating to political or ecclesiastical history prior to and in the early years of the Norman government of Carlisle. All original documents pertaining to the foundation of cathedral and priory are lost. Gospatric's Writ (Appendix ii) is a fortunate survival and is variously dated between 1050 and 1070.[49] It illustrates an ordered society in the region with the emphasis on a ruling and a servile class, providing evidence of social and cultural stability before the Norman invasion.[50] Two twelfth-century documents provide evidence of Carlisle's status in the late 1120s, illustrating contacts with other regions and increasing movements of people. The Pipe Roll of 1130 describes how officials from Carlisle and Appleby travelled to Winchester to attend the Exchequer's audit, supervised by Bishop Roger (Appendix iii).[51] Accounts for Carlisle refer to Hildred of Carlisle and, for Appleby, Richard fitzGerard.[52] The second document, surviving in a later copy, is a writ-charter from Henry I to Hildred of Carlisle and his son, Odard, designed to be read aloud at a local assembly (Appendix iv).[53] The king addressed the gathering, 'Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John, and Odard the sheriff, and all his sworn men French and English of Cumberland greeting'. Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John were the king's justiciars in the north in the 1120s and 1130s. The king gave to Hildred and Odard the land which 'was held by Gamel son of Bern and the land which was held by

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[48] The Augustinian Priory of Lanercost was founded between 1165 and 1169 by Robert de Vaux on the banks of the Irthing in the former lordship of Gilsland. Dedicated to St Mary Magdelene, it may have been the daughter-house of Pentney in Norfolk. The foundation was given lands and churches which formed the most part of its wealth, including Walton, Irthington, Brampton, Carlatton and Farlam. Indeed, the de Vaux family gave every church within Gilsland to either Lanercost or to Carlisle.

[49] Phythian-Adams, pp. 173-183. This author disputes the early dating of the Writ and places it c. 1067-9, based on the similarities of the text and the names with the Wetheral foundation charter of c. 1106. This is unproven and the date remains unknown.

[50] Summerson, p. 8.

[51] J. Wilson, 'Domesday Book, Pipe Rolls and Testa de Nevill', *VCH* Cumberland i (1901), pp. 295-425.

[52] *PR*, 31 Henry I, pp. 133-43; Wilson, ibid, pp. 311-2; this information only suggests the presence of a sheriff but does not confirm the status of Cumberland and Westmorland as established counties with their own sheriff. There is, however, no evidence in the Norman period in Carlisle, between 1092 and 1136, of a meeting at Carlisle of the shire court.

[53] R. Sharpe, 'Address and delivery in Anglo-Norman royal charters', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. M.T. Flanagan and J.A. Green (Basingstoke, 2005), p. 32.

Glassan son of Brictric'.[54] It is possible that the sheriff of Northumberland, Odard of Bamburgh, acted as sheriff in Cumberland and Westmorland during this period which implies these areas were not yet considered as fully developed shires in their own right.[55] Dating these documents is difficult due to the variety of wording used: the earliest appears to be an address by William Rufus to 'W. fitz Thierry and all his sworn men of Carlisle and to all who live beyond Lowther'; a second charter is addressed by William Rufus again to 'G. the sheriff and his [the king's] barons of Carlisle'. This is the only address referring to a sheriff in Carlisle by a Norman king.[56]

The *Inquisitio* of David I (1120) also offers ecclesiastical and social information.[57] Grants of churches, land and other rights are increasingly listed throughout the twelfth century although compared to several areas, the north-west is relatively sparsely documented. The charters from Wetheral, St Bees, Holm Cultrum and Lanercost remain of fundamental importance as surviving evidence. The *Testa de Nevill* (1212), compiled by the Sheriff of Cumberland, lists contemporary landowners and their historical rights back to Henry I's reign. The *Cronica de Karleolo* (drawn up in 1291 by the canons of Carlisle) defines the extent of Cumbria in 1069, from the Rivers Clyde to the Duddon in the south.[58] A fragment of disputed value in the Wetheral Charters is the *Distributio Cumbirlandiae ad Conquestum Angliae* (late twelfth century) which describes a legal dispute over possession of the Honour of Cockermouth.[59] There are no documents relating

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[54] B. Dickins & others, *The Place-names of Cumberland*, English Place-Name Society (Cambridge, 1944-52), pp. xxxi-xxxiii, lists the settlement with *-by* names formed during this period. Gamblesby and Glassonby, near Kirkoswald, have retained their names to this day but the identities of Gamel and Glassan are unknown.

[55] The office in Northumberland was held by the same family for at least four generations, G.W.S. Barrow, 'The Scots and the north of England', in *The Anarchy of King Stephen's Reign*, ed. E.J. King (Oxford, 1994), pp. 231-53, 239. Other names appear in Carlisle: Richard de Meisi, William fitz Baldwin and William fitz Erembald (the latter two Flemish names) suggesting a small group of wealthy men administered Carlisle for the king at this period.

[56] *Regesta*, p. 478, datable between January 1096 and May 1099, R. Sharpe, op. cit., p. 27, n. 59. Two further acts from Wetheral, after 1120, address the men of Carlisle and six acts in Henry I's name address the men of Cumberland or both Cumberland and Westmorland, including the writ-charter for Hildred of Carlisle.

[57] Translated by H.H.E. Craster, 'A contemporary record of the pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', *AA*, 4th ser. 7 (1930), pp. 33-56, at p. 38, (no. iii); Phythian-Adams suggests this land of Lowther is modern Westmorland, rather than north of the river Lowther.

[58] *VCH*, I, p. 299.

[59] *Wetheral*, p. 384. Dugdale printed this with the title 'Chronicon Cumbriae', Dugdale, iii, p. 584; *VCH*, p. 298. The twelfth-century documentary ambiguities concerning the term 'Cumbria' are clear in any discussion of David's role at this time in the north-west. The *Inquisitio* of 1120-1 or 1123-4 refer to

to specific church-building or decoration although several churches, manors and vills are referred to in grants and gifts by benefactors.[60] The church at Bridekirk is an example and is discussed in Chapter 3. The foundation charter from the Priory of Wetheral provides information about the new Norman social organisation and also the residue of the indigenous society in the region. The late thirteenth-century cartulary was printed in full by Prescott with supplementary material from other sources.[61] The foundation charter from the Priory of St Bees also illustrates aspects of this mixed society, discussed in Chapter 2.

Place-name evidence, used with extreme caution, outlines language survival and distribution across Cumbria north and south of the Solway. Before the mid-seventh century many were speakers of a p-Celtic language, or Cumbric, closely related to Welsh.[62] Anglo-Saxon incomers from Northumbria mixed with these people south of the Solway during the late sixth and early seventh centuries. Place-names of Cumbric origin are in three main areas: in Gilsland, east of Carlisle; in the vicinity of Ullswater; on the limestone ridge north of Cockermouth.[63] By c. 700, Cumberland and Westmorland had become part of the kingdom of Northumbria and the more prosperous areas became Anglo-Saxon.[64] The Gaelic and Cumbric peoples, and, later, the Norse settlers, remained in the less fertile and less accessible settlements. The Northumbrian dynasty continued after the Viking invasions through intermarriage and the Anglo-Saxon language persisted,

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'Cumbria' as the area from north of the Solway and Esk to the earldom of Lennox in the north. In the same document, the introduction relates that David did not rule over all of Cumberland. In 1128, the newly-established Tironensian Abbey at Roxburgh was granted the right to 'apply chrism' to any bishop of Scotia or Cumbria, referring to the area north of the Solway. Another reference to the payment of the king's pleas also relates to the 'Cumberland' in the diocese of Glasgow, covering the 'whole of Cumberland'. In the charter to Robert de Brus and also in a grant to Wetheral Priory, however, the use of the term 'Cumbrian' indicates the area now considered Cumberland, the latter document addressed to 'all his responsible men of all Cumberland, French, English and Cumbrian'. The Annandale charter does not refer to Cumbria, but to Cumberland, in relation to Ranulf's lordship. The Wetheral charter also refers to 'Cumberlandia', not Cumbria, which equates to modern Cumberland. The references to Cumbrians, *Cumbrenses*, are wider, particularly after 1136.

[60] Whellan lists numerous examples throughout the parishes.
[61] *Wetheral*, pp. 395-467; the original is in the CRO, Carlisle.
[62] Cumbric as a language persisted and may have revived in the tenth and eleventh centuries under the over-lordship of the kingdom of Strathclyde. It is possible the language was still being spoken into the twelfth century.
[63] See J. Todd's article, 'British Cumbric Place-Names in the Barony of Gilsland, Cumbria', *CW2* xx (2004), pp. 89-97. These names are rare on the coast and in the valleys settlements where Norse settlements predominated.
[64] The Anglo-Saxons had connections with Ireland, Iona and with the Mediterranean through missionaries and travellers, producing objects such as the Bewcastle Cross.

a factor proven by the list of names in Gospatric's Writ (Appendix ii). The Norse and Hiberno-Norse element of the cultural mix of people remained strong well into the twelfth century, supported by place-name evidence.[65] Extant pre-Conquest stone sculpture is discussed comprehensively by Cramp and Bailey in the *Corpus*, a crucial body of material of both Anglian and Norse periods. The survival of these carvings implies the existence of significant religious sites and possible churches across the region, for example, Gosforth. The region had been settled by a variety of people of Norse origin from Norway and the Northern Isles and other Scandinavian regions, who continued to arrive into the Norman period.[66] The evidence from place-names and sculpture suggest widespread influence of this culture as settlers mixed with indigenous Christian communities.[67] Place-names create a picture of pastoral settlement by the end of the eleventh century with *scale* and *shield* referring to shielings or temporary huts.[68] After 1100, both sorts of settlement existed with the greater density of population in the coastal regions, the Eden Valley, the area to the west of Carlisle and the northern parts of Westmorland.

The following discussion of stone sculpture from Cumberland and Westmorland is based on these years: from 1092 and William Rufus's arrival in the north-west, through the period of Ranulf le Meschin's *potestas* of Carlisle and Henry's control, in absentia, over the city and its royal demesne, the ongoing development of Carlisle, its cathedral and priory, to the period of David's occupation of what had become an English city of ecclesiastical significance.

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[65] F-J, *N-W*, p. 68.

[66] D.P. Kirby, 'Strathclyde and Cumbria: a survey of historical development to 1092', *CW2* lxii (1962), p. 86; Anderson, p. 451.

[67] D.N. Dumville, 'The Churches of North Britain in the First Viking Age', 5th Whithorn Lecture (1996), p. 26. Other settlers were of Norse-Gaelic origin, the Gallgoidal people, from the Northern Isles and the south-west of Scotland, who were a predominant influence in the cultural development of specific parts of the Cumbric lands south of the Solway, Galloway and the Isle of Man in the ninth and tenth centuries.

[68] The movement of sheep and cattle is confirmed by the frequent occurrence of *erg*, meaning 'summer pasture'.

CHAPTER ONE

SCULPTURE, CHURCHES AND SCULPTORS

Introduction

i)   Lordships

ii)   Survey of sculpture

iii)   Churches, masons, sculptors

iv)   Dating sculpture: documents, comparative material, sculptural features,

style and iconography

v)   Religious foundations

vi)   Saints

vii) Sculpture before c. 1100

viii) The origins of Carlisle Cathedral and sculpture after c. 1100

ix)   Conclusion

Introduction

Chapter 1 introduces the majority of sites where sculpture is found in order to illustrate

points of discussion about the sculpture in general and also as comparative material for the

significant carvings which are the main focus of the study: the lintel-stone at St Bees, set

in the wall to the west of the present parish church; the font at Bridekirk (St Bridget); four

surviving doorways from four churches: St Bees, west doorway (St Mary and St Bega);

Kirkbampton, north doorway (St Peter); Torpenhow, south doorway (St Michael); Great

Salkeld, south doorway (St Cuthbert). These carvings dominate the study due to

interesting aspects of content and style and epitomise all aspects of the study of this region

(Map 1).

The lintel-stone illustrates the persistence of Scandinavian aspects of culture in this area

and other previous artistic traditions. Its content and iconography relate it to Norse,

Hiberno-Norse and Irish art and culture, whereas the style of carving places it within the Norman period. The font at Bridekirk is a remarkable survival in stone from the twelfth century with its variety of iconography and pattern and its high quality carving. These aspects, together with the runic inscription, raise questions about the society which created the sculpture and the background of the sculptor who carved it. The font displays continuing Scandinavian cultural aspects together with influences of Norman sculptural development, apparent through the relationship with other artistic media. The discussion of four surviving doorways places the architectural sculpture in the twelfth-century artistic development and illustrates the combination of contemporary motifs and style with traditional themes. The sculptures have many unique features and, if the survival rate had been greater, it is possible to conjecture that the north-west once had a rich heritage of Norman stone sculpture matching the prestigious legacy of stone-carving from the previous Anglian and Norse periods.

This chapter identifies the surviving sculpture on sites grouped according to the lordships created in c. 1100 as the present parish boundaries largely follow those of the twelfth-century (Maps 1, 2). This provides an understanding of the location of the sculpture within historical and geographical contexts. Throughout the chapter, the problems associated with the study are identified: the lack of documentation; the diverse style and content of the carvings; the variety of ethnic groups; the paucity of religious foundations and, hence, clear influences. No document survives to connect any piece of sculpture with other sites elsewhere. The role of the sculptor is discussed, using examples from the north-west and other regions to identify how ideas travelled to this area and how the building trade expanded. The criteria for dating are established and discussed in relation to surviving carvings in the development of the twelfth century, in Carlisle and surrounding region. The chapter is comprehensively illustrated by photographs, references to comparative material and Catalogue, providing a concise coverage of aspects of the sculpture.

Establishing a chronology of stone sculpture during the late eleventh and twelfth

centuries in the north-west is hindered by the lack of documents before 1130. Those

mentioning churches as gifts, although invaluable, do not provide proof of the date of

decoration. The loss of material from the region is enormous and fragments remain from

less than one hundred buildings and, of these, few churches are complete. The furniture

and furnishings of the buildings, with the exception of seven stone fonts, have also entirely

disappeared. The loss of wall paintings detracts from visualising the appearance of the

original buildings, their status and function, and who was responsible for their design. The

gifts recorded to monasteries; roods, altars, vestments and chalices also applied to parish

churches, and their loss leaves the stone sculptural decoration in isolation without

comparative material in other media. This lack of evidence increases problems of

understanding the purpose of remaining sculpture and its role within the society of the

region.

i) **Lordships** (Map 2)

The role of 'Lord of Carlisle' was bestowed on Ranulf le Meschin although the exact

date of his appointment is undocumented but is generally accepted to be during the early

years of Henry I's reign.[69] Henry supported Prince David after 1107 and the death of the

Scottish king, Edgar, and Ranulf and David witnessed charters relating to the king's

government from 1100. The process of the establishment of local government in the

north-west, based on lordships, vills and castles, may have begun in the last eight years of

the eleventh century but, by the end of the first decade of the twelfth, the Normans and

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[69] *VCH*, p. 240, n. 2. There is, however, some evidence Ranulf may have gone north during the last decade of
the eleventh century as the *Testa de Nevill* records all present owners and titles back to Henry I and
Ranulf's appointment is not mentioned. There are also versions of the foundation charter of Wetheral
Priory that mention William, not Henry, as king, which could infer his appointment was under the previous
leader.

Ranulf le Meschin were well established. With the foundation at Wetheral completed by 1112, it is also possible the cathedral church in Carlisle was begun at an early date.[70]

Ranulf le Meschin founded two lordships, Burgh-by-Sands and Liddesdale, both in strategic locations towards the Scottish border and easily accessible to the central power base of Carlisle. He gave Burgh to Robert de Trivers, who also received the custody of the forest of Cumberland and the manors of Kirkoswald and Lazonby in return for cornage and endemot.[71] The barony included the manor of Burgh, with the hamlets of Loughburgh, Sheild, Dykesfield, Boustead Hill, Thurstonfield, Moorhouse and Wormanby.[72] The presence of a motte and bailey structure at Burgh and its associated communities suggests the presence of at least one church, perhaps more. These settlements and their development form the basis of understanding how church-building and sculpture developed across the region. Liddesdale was granted to Turgis Brundos, a Fleming, and there is also evidence of a motte and bailey construction.[73] Turgis has been identified with Turgis de Rossedale who was given Eskdale by David I after 1124.[74] He is also mentioned in a charter made to the Hospital of St Peter, York.[75]

The barony of Gilsland remained in the possession of the Gaelic chieftain, Gille, son of Bueth, after a failed attempt by William le Meschin, Ranulf's brother, to oust the established leader.[76] In 1135, Gille is mentioned within a jury gathered by David I seeking endowments of Glasgow cathedral in Cumbria, north of the Solway.[77] Five other baronies

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[70]   J.C. Dickinson, 'Walter the priest and St Mary's, Carlisle', *CW2* lxix (1969), pp. 102-14.
[71]   R.L. Storey, 'The Manor of Burgh-by-Sands', *CW2* liv (1955), pp. 119-131.
[72]   The *Testa de Nevill* relates the barony, like others, was held of the king by cornage. An annual payment of £10, still payable in the fourteenth century.
[73]   Perriam and Robinson, p. 233, illustrating a map of 1552 with the motte clearly shown; T.H.B. Graham, 'Turgis Brundos', *CW2* xxix (1929), pp. 49-56.
[74]   J. Todd, *Northern History*, op. cit., vol. 43.
[75]   Turgis built the castle at Castletown and, in 1122, became a tenant 'in chief' to the king, subject to the payment of fifty-six shillings a year for cornage, T.H.B. Graham, op. cit., p. 51.
[76]   J.Wilson, *VCH*, I, p. 305, and II, p. 340, confirms only two baronies were created under Ranulf. Gilsland remained independent until 1157.
[77]   Barrow, p. 147. The precise reasons for this exception to the Norman takeover are not clear but the small strategic lordship remained in Gille's hands until 1157 when it was granted, together with Corby and Castleton, to Hubert de Vaux by Henry II. The Charter for this gift, dated at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, was witnessed by the Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, the Earl of Norfolk and others, including Turgis Brundos. Prior to 1157, Gilsland was subject to *noutgeld* and a mixed economy, apparent from the charters, and the practice of transhumance, suggest it may have been a 'multiple estate' of the pre-Conquest period, perhaps less wealthy than the other lordships created and supported by the Normans.

were created by Henry I: Copeland; Allerdale-below-Derwent; Greystoke; Levington and Wigton. Copeland (or Coupland), previously included in the region under the control of Ivo de Taillebois, was given to William le Meschin after his failed attempt to acquire Gilsland.[78] The Norse name Copeland, 'bought land', perhaps reflected a pre-Norman arrangement, either bought by or from a Norse group.[79] William married Alice de Romilly and acquired further lands and with his headquarters at Egremont, he organised a hierarchy to establish his position.[80] He founded the Priory of St Bees on the coast, four miles from Egremont (between 1120 and 1134).[81]

Allerdale-below-Derwent was governed by Waltheof (identified with Gospatric's only legitimate son and his heir, half-brother to the Dolfin ejected from Carlisle in 1072) but it is not known whether he was already in possession of the lordship before 1100 or whether he was given the lordship by Henry I. Allerdale was an extensive area, incorporating several miles of coastline (Map 3). The northern boundary was the River Wampool but when the Derwent was established as the southern boundary is not known. The Normans realised the importance of established local leaders in their quest for domination and Waltheof had important family connections, including his grandmother, a daughter of Earl Uhtred of Northumbria, and Elgifu, who was Edward the Confessor's sister.[82] His son, Alan, was closely involved with founding the Cistercian Abbey of Holm Cultram in 1150.[83] Waltheof's relationship with David of Scotland is apparent in his gifting of Bassenthwaite church to Jedburgh Priory.[84] William le Meschin had implored his own knights to donate gifts to the new priory at St Bees and local landowners did likewise: Waltheof, who presented the new priory with Stainburn and the church of St Mungo,

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[78] Perriam and Robinson, p. 97, for map of Copeland.
[79] F-J, *NW*, pp. 115, 417, where the author suggests this derives from the Norse 'kaupaland',
    'bought land'. The hamlet of Copeland in Westmorland and a further example in Northumberland suggest
    a common use for the name.
[80] Perriam and Robinson, p. 102, for illustration; King, 1665, Farrington, 1825, Fielding, 1822.
[81] *Wetheral*, (Appendix 4); R. Sharpe, op. cit., pp. 64-5.
[82] R.K. Rose, 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church', Studies in Church History 18 (1982), p.
    129.
[83] *Holm Cultram*, pp. 117-20.
[84] Nicolson and Burn p. 89.

Bromfield; Ketel, who donated churches, including Morland and Workington.[85] The

conditions of Waltheof's lordship after 1100 are unknown, but, as a loyal supporter, he

received the gift of the Honour of Cockermouth where he built his new castle, removing

the caput from Papcastle, possibly utilising the stones at Cockermouth.[86] Nothing remains

of this twelfth-century building.[87] Two documents from the early fourteenth century, the

Distributio Cumberlandie and the *Chronicon Cumbriae*, throw some light on the

development of this area but must be treated with caution as they were produced as

support to a lawsuit between Allerdale and Cockermouth and bias is inevitable.[88]

Other baronies were created to substantiate the Norman power base. Greystoke is an

example where an English lord retained his position and Henry confirmed Forne, son of

Sigulf, as Lord of Greystoke with the caput at Greystoke Castle (Map 4).[89] This was a key

position on the east-west route through the central mountains. Levington was created as a

barony along with Linstock and Scaleby, north of the Eden.[90] Levington was granted to

Richard de Boyvill, who became 'de Levington', and included the manors of Orton and

Kirkandrews-on-Eden, Skelton in Inglewood, Rockcliffe and Westlinton. Linstock and

Carleton were given to Walter the Chaplain who transferred the associated rights to the

Priory of Carlisle in about 1120. Scaleby Manor was granted by the king to Richard the

Ryder or Richard Tylliol and became a barony. These probably had motte and bailey

structures which, certainly in the cases of Scaleby and Linstock, developed into stone

buildings.[91] Wigton was originally part of Allerdale, but was given by Henry I to Odard in

1100 (Map 3).[92] Wigton was held by cornage, became a hereditary title, handed down to

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[85] *St Bees*, nos. 28, 29.

[86] Perriam and Robinson; p. 22 for Papcastle, p. 90 for Cockermouth.

[87] Curwen, pp. 127-33, for detailed chronology and illustrations. T.H.B. Graham, op. cit., p. 85.

[88] English translations by J. Wilson are found in T.H.B. Graham, 'Allerdale', *CW2* xxxii (1932) pp. 35-37; *St Bees*, p. 491.

[89] Perriam and Robinson, p. 186; Curwen, pp. 705-6. This building contained a fourteenth-century tower similar to Burgh-by-Sands church and possibly Wigton.

[90] Perriam and Robinson, p. 68, for map of Carlisle and surrounding baronies. All had castles.

[91] For Scaleby Castle, Perriam and Robinson, p. 86; Curwen, 'Scaleby Castle', *CW2* xxvi, pp. 398-413. Scaleby and Linstock preserve traces of moats, and a thirteenth century tower survives at Linstock. A motte and bailey construction existed at Liddelstrength and this barony was the most strategically-placed lordship during the years of Ranulf and Henry I, marching with Dumfries to the west and Roxburgh to the north.

[92] R. Sharpe, op. cit., on the identity of Odard, pp. 7, 15-17. The *Testa de Nevill* mentions a 'hall in demesne' at Wigton, but perhaps the Roman site of Old Carlisle served as the caput. Wigton was given to

Adam, son of Odard, and again to Odard, son of Adam.[93] How far Ranulf Le Meschin's rule altered the established system is not clear but at least part of the old system of hundreds and wards must have disappeared.[94] With the establishment of these baronies, the old royal hundredal courts vanished and the emphasis changed from a landed basis of the judicial system to one dictated by the relationship between people.

The Forest of Carlisle, later Inglewood, created after 1100, was bounded by: the Eden to the north and east; the Eamont to the south; Caldbeck water to the south-west; to the west, Allerdale, separated from the forest by a large area of high moorland and the Chalk Beck and the old Roman road to the west between Thursby and Carlisle (Map 5). This demarcation of Norman hunting grounds sometimes disrupted established settlement.[95] It is possible the initial stages of afforestation were begun soon after 1092 under Odard rufus's direction and, from Gospatric's writ, it is clear that Cardew and Cumdivock had rights before the Norman invasion which were preserved thereafter within the forest boundaries.[96] It is, therefore, conceivable that further rights existed in the forest on the rougher areas of poor pasture for the grazing of animals, a practice followed by the Norse settlers and perhaps earlier still.[97] Henry after 1120 reserved Carlisle and the Forest as royal demesne, with the exception of the barony at Dalston, the majority of which lay on the west side of the river Caldew. With the increasing clarification of parish and deanery boundaries, the forest appears to have been split by the Cardew into the Carlisle and Eden sections and was administered on behalf of the Crown (a post held originally by Robert de Trivers). The area known as East of Eden was not in the strictest sense a lordship or barony created by the king but a recognisable collection of manors east of the Eden, adjacent to the royal forest, suggests these lands were granted to lesser nobility with

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the Abbey of Holm Cultram.
[93] *VCH*, Pipe Rolls, nos. 1181, 1204, 353, 395.
[94] Tait, *Cartulary of Chester Abbey*, i, p. 102, of Ranulf of Chester, 'et si aliquis index aut sectarius hundredi....'.
[95] Great and Little Salkeld along the east boundary and Wetheral and Corby to the north.
[96] Phythian-Adams, p. 179.
[97] F.H.M. Parker, 'Inglewood Forest', *CW2* x (1910), pp. 6-7; 'Inglewood Forest, II', *CW2* vi (1906), pp. 163, 165, 166; F-J, *NW*, pp. 87-91; only vills established within the forest, however, had rights of grazing within forest bounds.

attached privileges. The building of the twelfth-century stone church at Great Salkeld could have been a result of this lesser patronage.[98]

ii) **Survey of sculpture within the lordships** (Map 1)

(a)   **Allerdale**[99] (Map 3)

There are two churches at Bassenthwaite, dedicated to St Bega and to St John. The plain chancel arch and south doorway of St Bega are original and, although this church was given by Waltheof to Jedburgh Abbey, it was not an ornate building in terms of stone decoration. Ten churches in Allerdale with surviving stone decoration illustrate the use of chevron. At Brigham, a doorway with chevron has been reset from elsewhere in the church and short stretches of Norman frieze pattern are set to the right and left of the chancel arch (ill. 36, Cat. 6). At Bromfield (St Mungo) chevron encloses the tympanum of billet pattern over the south door (ill.39, Cat. 7).[100] In the nave at Bromfield, short stretches of frieze decoration with saltire crosses are found, similar to those at Cumrew and Morland (ills. 42, 67, 68, Cat. 20). At Caldbeck (St Kentigern) a reset doorway with chevron and beak-head survives, probably belonging to the original twelfth-century building, now much altered (ill. 47, Cat. 9). At Aspatria (St Kentigern) the arch rebuilt above the doorway into the vestry is carved with chevron, providing evidence of an originally ornate building (ill. 1, Cat. 1). This motif is found on both reset doorways at Bridekirk but not on the chancel arch, where billet moulding dominates.

Spur features at Bridekirk at the base of the chancel arch, rebuilt into the present church, suggest possible links with the design of the original cathedral in Carlisle where the interior doorway east of the crossing is carved with chevron (ill. 15, Cat. 5, 10) and

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[98] The manors of Ainstable, Renwick, Melmerby, Kirkland and Kirkoswald were given to Adam, son of Swein, and Langwathby to Henry, son of Swein, Perriam and Robinson, p. 117.

[99] Aspatria, Bassenthwaite, Bridekirk, Brigham, Bromfield, Caldbeck, Camerton, Cross Canonby, Crosthwaite, Dearham, Gilcrux, Hayton, Ireby, Irthington, Isel, Kirkbride, Plumbland, Torpenhow, Uldale, Wigton.

[100] A close comparison is found on the tympanum at Twywell (Northamptonshire).

spurs are found on crossing pier bases. It is probable that the original north nave aisle doorway of the cathedral was carved with chevron (replaced in 1813). The spurs are also found at Isel (St Michael) and chevron decorates the doorway but is not used on the chancel arch (ill. 87, Cat. 17). The present church at Isel contains much of its original twelfth-century structure, evident in north and south walls of chancel and nave, chancel arch and south doorway (ills. 85, 86). The west and east walls have been rebuilt and a vestry added along the north side of the chancel and the original church may have had a tower. Two original windows survive on the north side of the nave. The chancel arch has a string-course below the arch and the capitals and bases are similar to those of the south door. The octagonal font has been defaced. The scallop capitals at Isel are also similar to those of the cathedral crossing and those on the inscription face of the font at Bridekirk, perhaps illustrating lost examples of the feature in the original church at Bridekirk (ill. 19, Cat. 5).

The beak-head motif is found only on two sites. The south doorway at Caldbeck illustrates a complete set of beak-heads which are carved with individuality and character (ill. 47, Cat. 9).[101] The original two-cell plan may have had an apse, destroyed when the chancel was extended in the late twelfth century and again in the sixteenth century. This doorway decoration and two round piers on the north side of the nave and two octagonal piers on the south side and part of the north chancel wall are all that remain from the original Norman church. A similar beak-head is found loose on the porch at Cross Canonby (St John) which may have belonged to an original doorway (ill. 66, Cat. 13). Parts of a cross-shaft and cross-head and part of a hogback (tenth century) a grave-marker and part of a grave-cover (eleventh century) are in the church. Apart from the fragment of the cross-head which is made of carboniferous sandstone, all are carved from red St Bees sandstone.[102] The fragment of the cross-head is part of the 'spiral-scroll school'.[103]

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[101] Gospatric, son of Orm, gave both church and hospital to Carlisle Priory soon after 1170, confirmed by a document in the CRO of 1332. Ranulf (forester of Inglewood) gave a grant to the Prior of Carlisle (after 1122) to build a hospital at Caldbeck, and a church may have been constructed at the same time.

[102] *Corpus*, pp. 87-90, ills. 218-234.

Norse influence on Norman sculpture is illustrated by the font Dearham (St Mungo) a church with many original features but which has been substantially altered and enlarged over the centuries. The font is carved on four sides with a variety of interlace and dragons (ills. 71, 72, 73, Cat. 14) and comparisons are made between this sculpture and the lintel at St Bees (ill. 41, Cat. 23). Norse influence is also evident on three cross-fragments, discovered during excavation in 1880, and now set within the church: the cross-shaft and head by the south door are of St Bees sandstone; two pieces rebuilt into the church walls are carved from yellow and grey carboniferous sandstone and illustrate complex pagan or Christian iconography.[104]

During excavations of 1882 by Calverley, foundations were discovered which may belong to an earlier stone church prior to the two-cell Norman building which supports the possibility that many of the Norman stone churches replaced earlier stone structures. The present tower belongs to the fourteenth century but may have replaced an earlier one. The fragments of two arches, carved with chevron, still evident in the church, suggest this church was, like many others in the region, ornately decorated on the south doorway and surrounding the chancel arch. The church at Plumbland (St Cuthbert) represents another example, although in this case the chevron chancel arch has been preserved, reset at a higher level. Fragments of carved stone in the vestry include chevron voussoirs and the south doorway was perhaps a further example of a decorated doorway, corresponding to the chancel arch. The best surviving example of the close relationship between the carving of south doorway and chancel arch is found at Torpenhow where similar motifs and technique have been employed (ills. 122, 124, Cat. 24).

At Isel, there are two separate fragments from a cross-shaft and a fragment of a grave-cover, the latter built into the interior north side of the chancel arch.[105] There is also a quoin stone in the north-west corner of the gable of the church of unknown date, possibly a cross-head fragment and a sundial set in the exterior west jamb of the south window of the

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103 *Corpus*, pp. 33-40, map on 37, fig. 8.
104 *Corpus*, pp. 94-96; ills. 250, 252-68, 264; one piece belongs to the 'spiral-scroll school'.
105 *Corpus*, pp. 118,119; ills. 371-8, 384-9, 379.

chancel.[106] The present church is, however, of early twelfth-century date, with its decorated south doorway and affinities with Carlisle cathedral and other sites, discussed below.

Possible pre-conquest churches in this area are Gilcrux (St Mary) and at Kirkbride (St Bridget). The original chancel arches and naves are narrow, suggesting a possible pre-Conquest date but the exterior masonry is ashlar. At Gilcrux, an opening through the chancel wall on the south side could be pre-1092 (ill. 76). One original window is visible in the north-west corner of the chancel but there are no original doorways. The church at Kirkbride (St Bridget) is an original two-cell plan with a square-ended chancel (ill. 91). The south doorway is plain and the blocked north doorway is narrow with a flat lintel above. There are two original windows on the north side of the nave and the plain chancel arch. There is no evidence of decorative carving.

Chevron and heads are found in the original church at Torpenhow (ills. 127, 128).[107] During excavations in 1913, evidence of a pre-Norman stone church was discovered, with a long nave, similar to the example unearthed at Dearham. The western end of the chancel, the chancel arch and the walling above the nave arcades and two windows in the north chancel wall are original. Many stones are considered re-used Roman material, perhaps from the Roman camp at Old Carlisle or Petriana. The chancel arch is decorated with figural and foliate capitals, the one on the north side square, and on the south, octagonal (ills. 130, 131, 132). A capital on the north-west corner is similar in design (ill. 123). The south doorway, highly decorated with chevron and cable designs and similar grotesque capitals to the chancel arch, is examined in Chapter 4 (ill. 124). At Irthington (St Kentigern), the chancel arch capitals link with developments in Scotland and similar examples survive at Beaumont (St Mary).[108] The chancel arch columns have base spurs.[109]

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[106] *Corpus*, Appendices C, D, pp. 173,174.
[107] The will of John Corom of Bothel. The name refers to the hill on which the present church stands and the parish included Bewaldeth and Snittlegarth, Blennerhasset and Kirkland, Bothel and Threapland, Torpenhow and Whitrigg. Bewaldeth is now included in the parish of Bassenthwaite. The dedication is first mentioned in a document, dated 1319.
[108] Rutherglen and Douglas, N. Cameron 'Classical Forms',
[109] Pevsner puts these examples late in the century but an earlier date cannot be ruled out.

(b) **Carlisle**[110] (Maps 1, 8)

The main feature of this area, in the vicinity of Carlisle, is the complete disparity of

style and content of the sculpture. Three examples from three sites illustrate the disparate

styles: the font at Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael); the north doorway at Burgh-by-Sands

(St Michael) with its continuous beak-head ornament; the tympanum at Kirkbampton (St

Peter). This variety perhaps reflects the many social groups in the area, although different

dates are also probable.

The site of the church at Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael) is close to Hadrian's Wall

(Cat. 4). The church has much of its original stonework intact and, in the west wall, the

re-use of Roman stone is evident. The plain south doorway is original as is the window in

the north wall of the chancel. This lack of decoration may point to an early date, but a

strip of cable moulding beneath the north window of the chancel indicates that the original

church may have been ornate, although it is possible this carving is Roman. A stone

carved with shallow chevron is set in the south chancel wall to the east of the porch.[111]

The presence of the decorative font, carved on four faces with detailed foliate design and

basketwork patterns, supports the possibility the original church was carved with other

ornamental features (ills. 11, 12).

Beak-heads are found at Burgh-by-Sands (St Michael) on the north doorway, where the

uninterrupted beak-head design on the orders and shafts is more akin to southern examples

than northern comparisons (ills. 44, 45, Cat. 8).[112] A small tympanum also survives on the

east wall of the church. One Norman capital, with no ornament, survives at Dalston as

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[110] Aikton, Arthuret, Beaumont, Bewcastle, Bowness-on-Solway, Brampton, Burgh-by-Sands,
       Cambok, Carlaton, Carlisle St Cuthbert, Castle Carrock, Crosby-on-Eden, Cumrew,
       Cumwhitton, Dalston, Denton, Eston, Farlam, Great Orton, Grinsdale, Hayton, Irthington,
       Kirkandrews-on-Eden, Kirkbampton, Kirklinton, Rockliffe, Scaleby, Sebergham, Stanwix,
       Stapleton, Thursby, Walton, Wetheral. The sites with sculptural features are Aikton,
       Beaumont, Bowness-on-Solway, Burgh-by-Sands, Cumrew, Cumwhitton, Dalston and
       Kirkbampton.
[111] This also occurs at Cumwhitton and Great Orton. Chevron reset in exterior walls
       is also found elsewhere, for example, Penmynydd (St Gredifael), Wales, M. Thurlby, *Romanesque
       Architecture and Sculpture of Wales* (Logaston, 2005), p. 219, fig. 304.
[112] Avington, Berkshire.

testament to the original church of the early twelfth century. The church at Kirkbampton (St Peter) illustrates an example of a completely original early twelfth-century church and provides one of the most ornate surviving doorways, discussed in Chapter 4. The chancel arch is also decorated with chevron and other features related to the cathedral at Carlisle and elsewhere. The two-cell plan is unaltered and illustrates that size was not important when considering the amount of stone decoration applied to a church-building (Cat. 18).

At Aikton, the narrow Norman chancel arch survives with columns and scallop capitals with a single-stepped arch above and a round font with its surface detail defaced. The chancel arch is close in dimension and decoration to the original arch at Beaumont (St Mary) now reset as the south doorway. This church is on the site of a Roman fort and the church comprises re-used Roman stones from nearby Hadrian's Wall. Built soon after 1100, both churches had simple two-cell plans with square chancels and devoid of sculptural decoration. This lack of ornament may point to a date prior to 1100 and link these plain buildings with churches such as Gilcrux and Kirkbride, possible examples of stone buildings built before c. 1100. At Beaumont, two re-used small window arches are found in the north wall of the vestry and in the wall above the churchyard, suggesting the original church was of small, similar to the surviving examples at Isel and Kirkbride. In 1692, St Mary's formed a single parish with nearby Kirkandrews, of which nothing survives from the twelfth-century building.

(c) **Westmorland**[113] (Maps 1, 8)

The churches featured in the discussion from this area are: Bolton; Brough; Cliburn; Great Clifton; Long Marton; Morland. Except for Brough (St Michael), these buildings survive with their original two-cell plans. The church at Bolton (All Saints) is one of the most picturesque churches in the region and, although it has been substantially renovated

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[113] Appleby St Michael, Appleby St Lawrence, Asby, Askham, Bampton, Barton, Bolton, Brough under Stainmore, Brougham, Cliburn, Crosby Garrett, Crosby Ravensworth, Dufton, Great Clifton, Kirkby Stephen, Kirkby Thore, Lazonby, Long Marton, Lowther, Morland, Musgrave, Newbiggin, Ormside, Orton, Ravenstonedale, Shap, Warcop.

over the centuries, it retains several sculptural features: the decoration of the south and north doorways; the decorative panel on the north façade of the building paired with an inscription panel (Cat. 3). The standard two-cell plan is evident from the original building. At Brough (St Michael), the south doorway is decorated with beak-head motifs, similar in type to the two loose survivals found at nearby Ravenstonedale. Due to the stylised nature of their features and their comparative large dimensions, these may well be from the late twelfth-century. At Appleby (the church dedicated to St Michael and possibly built during the years of Ranulf le Meschin's domain), one fragment of a cross-shaft was found used as a lintel over a Norman doorway. Made of sandstone, the iconography of struggling beasts and human figures could reflect Christian or pagan meaning.[114]

The churches of Cliburn and Great Clifton (both dedicated to St Cuthbert) are almost identical in dimension and plan and the two south doorways are decorated with chevron and crudely carved heads to either side (ills. 63, 64, Cat. 11, 12). The uncarved tympana may have been painted. The building at Morland (St Lawrence) however, is more substantial in dimension and impression. The tower is perhaps pre-Conquest but the presence of a corbel-table surrounding calls for a cautious approach to this date (ill. 98). The importance of Morland is underlined by its mention in the Wetheral Charter and the fact that Bishop Michael of Glasgow was buried there. A feature found at Morland which connects it with another site is the saltire cross pattern above the window on the north of the nave, found at Cumrew, now built in to the barn adjacent to the vicarage, once part of the demolished twelfth-century building (ills. 67, 68). There are three strips of this pattern and, bearing in mind other pieces may have been lost, it is possible a doorway, perhaps the south doorway, was decorated with this pattern. Three chevron voussoirs also survive from this latter site as further links to Morland and it is possible the same workshop was involved. Another site where this pattern is found is at Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael) rebuilt into the lintel of a window in the north wall of the chancel and at Bromfield (St Mungo).

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[114] *Corpus*, pp. 110, 111; ills. 335-9; Bailey, p. 140, fig. 30.

In contrast to these examples in its building technique and decoration is the church at Long Marton (St Margaret and St James). The tympana are unusual and unsophisticated in their portrayal of rare subjects (ills. 94, 95, Cat. 19). The pre-Conquest building techniques evident on the north-east corner of the church do not, however, imply a pre-Conquest date for the building (ill. 96). It is, however, possible this church belonged to a date prior to 1092 as the tower at Morland suggests building in stone was well-practised in the area. Connections are evident with the church at Bolton through similarities of the north and south doorway, set opposite each other across the nave. At Long Marton, the west doorway was part of the original building as testified by the tympanum. It is possible that there was also a west doorway at Bolton, perhaps one that provided access into a tower as at other sites such as Caldbeck, although there is not evidence as yet for a west tower at Bolton. At both Long Marton and Bolton, the north doorways in red sandstone contrast markedly from the building fabric of the walls, which comprise lighter sandstone and limestone blocks. Their existence supports the possibility of workshops constructinge these decorated doorways and delivering them to the sites where the bulk of the buildings were being erected.

(d)   **Cumberland**[115] (Map 1)

The majority of churches in this area have been extensively altered and little architectural or sculptural material remains. There is little extant sculpture in this area, originally a collection of small manors, except for the south doorway at Great Salkeld (ill. 78, Cat. 16). At Addingham, there are four cross-fragments, a slab with an incised cross and a hogback, situated in the present church.[116] The type of small cross has parallels across the region, however, at Aspatria and Brigham, and into south-west Scotland.[117] The

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[115] Addingham, Ainstable, Castle Sowerby, Croglin, Dacre, Edenhall, Great Salkeld, Greystoke, Hutton-in-the-Forest, Kirkland, Kirkoswald, Lazonby, Melmerby, Ousby, Penrith, Renwick, Skelton.

[116] *Corpus*, pp. 45-48, ills. 1-20.

[117] *Corpus*, Ardwall Island, Drummore, Craignarget, Kilmorie, Mochrum, Kirkmadrine and

hogback has stronger links with Yorkshire than with examples in the north-west, for example, Wycliffe and Brompton.[118] Part of a cross-socket or possibly a stoup and a second stoup also survive on this site which are of uncertain date and may belong to the late eleventh century.[119] The date ranges from the sixth to the eleventh century for these pieces and all are carved from St Bees sandstone on which the site stands. The example of the spiral-scroll ornament on one cross-head is the only example of this decoration away from the coastal belt. The sculpture suggests the importance of this site and it is possible the the Normans perpetuated this significance with a stone building of some status.

(e) Copeland (Allerdale-above-Derwent)[120] (Map 1)

Also referred to as Egremont or Allerdale-above-Derwent, Copeland (or Coupland) remained in the diocese of Chester until 1856 when it became part of the diocese of Carlisle. The majority of twelfth-century churches have been replaced. The castle gateway at Egremont survives, although ruined. The spurs on the bases of the gatehouse are found at Carlisle and other sites to the north (ill. 74). The herring-bone masonry is clearly visible on the south wall, a feature not found elsewhere in the north-west. The church at Gosforth (St Mary) has been extensively altered but the plain south doorway has been rebuilt into the south wall with one continuous roll moulding. The plain piers of the chancel arch are also original. No sculpture survives from the churches of Beckermet St John or Beckermet St Bridget although pre-Conquest fragments suggest these were long-established religious sites. The sculpture from St Bees is examined in detail below, in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4 (ills. 102-120).

Whithorn.
[118] Bailey, pl. 22.
[119] *Corpus*, p. 16, ills. 602-5, 609.
[120] Arlecdon, Bootle, Cleator Moor, Distington, Drigg and Carleton, Egremont, Ennerdale and Kinnisdale, Eskdale, Gosforth, Haile, Irton, Lamplugh, Millom, Moresby, Muncaster, Nether Wasdale, Parton, Ponsonby, Rottington, St Bees, St Bridget Beckermet, St John Beckermet, Seascale, Ulpha, Waberthwaite, Weddicar, Whicham, Whitehaven.

(f) Carlisle Cathedral

The sculpture from Carlisle cathedral includes the corbel table, carved capitals in the clerestory, architectural sculptural features and the two loose capitals discovered in 2002 (ills. 50, 51, Cat. 10). The clerestory capitals and the two loose capitals, possibly from the priory buildings, illustrate two different phases of the construction of the cathedral and priory buildings and are invaluable as pointers towards dating the early parts of the cathedral building and illustrating the developing influences from beyond the region at early and later stages of the development of the priory. The capitals of the clerestory survive in situ and represent unique examples of this type of carving in Cumberland and Westmorland. The Corinthian capitals with their strong geometric designs have close links with early sculpture in the Durham Castle chapel crypt and with Normandy, where both pre- and post-Conquest capitals are carved with similar definition.[121]

iii) Churches, masons and sculptors

No surviving stone church in Cumberland or Westmorland can be precisely dated. The papal taxation returns of 1291 provide the earliest list of parish churches in England, Wales and Scotland (Appendix i).[122] From this list, there were 128 parish churches in Cumberland and Westmorland and no mention of chapels. Triermain is documented as a chapel and the mention of others, Loweswater, Eskdale and Ennerdale, imply several more existed across the region. Settlement names with *kirk* or *kirkja* also imply church sites and probably buildings.[123] Churches with *kirkja-by* names, for example, St Bees and Kirkby Lonsdale, could have been church sites renamed by Hiberno-Norse settlers. The survival of Anglian and Norse stone-carvings across the region provides clear evidence of a

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[121] Several examples are found in Normandy; at Caen, in La Trinité and at Graville-Sainte-Honorine (c. 1100), G. Zarnecki, *1066 and Architectural Sculpture* (London, 1966), pl. xv, a,b,c.

[122] (London, Record Commission, 1802).

[123] G. Fellowes-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles: The evidence of place-names containing the element *kirkja*', *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress* (Oslo, 1987), pp. 295-307; F-J. *NW*, p. 34.

thriving and widespread religious organisation (Map 6). The survival of crosses and cross-fragments indicate possible churches on the sites.[124] Churches with Anglian crosses, therefore, could have been in existence before 900, those with Norse carvings, after this date.[125] The churches with chapels, for example, St Bees and Brigham (and perhaps Warwick-on-Eden) may date back to the Anglian period, although, in the case of St Bees, lack of Anglian stones reduces this possibility.[126] From sculptural evidence, twenty-five churches may have existed in Cumberland and Westmorland before 900; a further twenty-five, from the evidence of place-names and crosses, may have existed prior to 1092, including St Bees. This number probably represents the minimum and there were, in all probability, many more. If 128 churches are listed in 1291, then it is possible to speculate that at least half were in existence by 1092, possibly in stone and providing suitable sites and materials for new churches built and decorated by the Norman and continental settlers. This percentage complies with the rest of England where more precise information has survived and where many churches were erected during the reforming period of the tenth century.

Few Norman churches survive unaltered in Cumberland and Westmorland. These were based on a two-cell plan with a raised square chancel, sometimes with a tower to the west, for example, Brigham (St Bridget) (ill. 36, Cat. 6).[127] A south door served as the main entrance with another door from the chancel and sometimes a north door. The splayed windows were narrow as illustrated at Torpenhow (ill. 121, Cat. 24).[128] The ruined foundations in the churchyard at Bridekirk illustrate the original two-cell plan and the chancel is almost identical in dimension to nearby Torpenhow (ills. 13, 133, Cat. 5, 24).[129] The churches of Gilcrux and Kirkbride used thick walls, narrow doorways and small

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[124] R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), p. 137.

[125] I owe this information to John Todd.

[126] For the role of Brigham and St Bees as possible minsters, see chapters 2 and 5.

[127] Five church drawings survive in fourteenth-century additions in the Lanercost Cartulary, *Lanercost*, nos. 4, 37, 45, 77 and 93, which show this two-cell plan. The two-cell plan of St Kentigern, Grinsdale, for example, is drawn in the margin of no. 93, the church granted to Lanercost no later than 1174, *Lanercost*, p. 139.

[128] The drawing of the church at Farlam shows the plan of the twelfth-century church, together with five windows and three high crosses above the roof. This church was granted to Lanercost priory between 1164 and 1174, *Lanercost*, p. 125.

[129] The east wall of the chancel measures 7.50m and the north and south walls 2.25m.

dimensions and there are unusual altar recesses in both churches (ills. 75, 92, Cat. 15).

These small dimensions and narrow doors are not proof of an early date, although Gilcrux

is considered to be one of the oldest surviving buildings in the region.

The re-use of cut stone is apparent in several buildings: Cross Canonby (St John);

Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael); Upper Denton; Workington (St Michael). The church

at Cross Canonby (St John) retains much of its original appearance and its architectural

features were to an extent determined by the re-use of Roman stone on site. The tall

chancel arch and the north side of the chancel are of cut Roman stone (ill. 65, Cat. 13). Its

plan followed the two-cell type. The church at Bowness-on-Solway was also constructed

of Roman stone from Hadrian's Wall, evident on the western façade and the north wall of

the chancel. A short length of cable moulding set in the window of the window on the

north side of the chancel could also be Roman.[130] The chancel arch of Upper Denton

appears to be a reconstructed Roman arch, the former perhaps originating from the Roman

fort of Birdoswald. Recent excavations at Workington (St Michael) have revealed Anglian

carved stones were used in the Norman fabric, and an earlier stone church may have

existed on the site.[131] The church at Wigton (St Mary) was demolished in 1788.[132] The

twelfth-century church was similar in plan to the nearby churches of Warwick-on-Eden

and Upper Denton. The interesting aspect of this church at Wigton was in the discovery

beneath the modern building of inscribed Roman stones originally used in the building

fabric.[133] Several of these churches were already in existence by 1086.

Possible pre-1092 work is found at Morland and Upper Denton. Other buildings which

illustrate early techniques are: Brigham; Ormside; Kendal; Heversham; Kirkby Lonsdale;

Beetham; Burton and Kirkby Stephen. The south doorway of the church at Ormside (St

James) with its narrow proportions and uncarved tympanum are perhaps one of the oldest

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[130] A fragment of similar moulding survives at Bridekirk.
[131] J.R. Mason and H. Valentine, 'Finds of pre-Norman Stones at St Michael's Church, Workington', *CW2* xxviii (1928), pp. 59–62.
[132] W.G. Collingwood, 'Wigton Old Church', *CW2* xxvii (1927), pp. 96–102.
[133] Several pre-Conquest churches in Yorkshire were constructed of cut Roman stone, sometimes with surviving Roman inscriptions: Ryther, Hovingham and Kirkby Hill, R.K. Morris, 'Churches in York and its Hinterland: Building Patterns and Stone Sources in the 11th and 12th Centuries', p. 192, fig. 84.

churches in the region.[134] Other authors consider pre-Conquest remains in only three

examples: Ormside; Morland and Long Marton.[135] Some churches illustrate Saxon

techniques of building and, in some cases, forms of decoration.[136] At Cross Canonby, for

example, the quoins at the south-west angle of the chancel and huge stones in the arch

jambs derive from traditional pre-Conquest techniques evident at, for example, Escomb,

but in the Cumberland example the larger dimensions of the arch suggest later, perhaps

Norman, influence. Fernie's recent discussion of evidence suggests a less exacting

approach to dating pre- and post-Conquest buildings.[137] In this region, dating these earlier

buildings is particularly hazardous due to the period of nearly thirty years between 1066

and 1092. Many of these buildings could be post-Conquest but also pre-Conquest when

related to the north-west. There are no hard and fast boundaries and a flexible approach to

dating the earlier sculpture is vital.

Of the chapels, or structures associated with chapelries, little is known. The chapel of

Triermain reminds us that wood and wattle-work were used into the twelfth-century for

ecclesiastical building.[138] The Register of St Bees provides several examples of chapels

and many were offered to the new Priory church. The chapel of Kirksanton, for example,

was dependent on the church at Millom, whereas others were independent.[139] How far

these chapels developed into higher status and, in some cases, into parish churches with

burial rights and associated privileges is unclear, and many of these buildings have

disappeared. In the St Bees charters, two references illustrate the later development of

Eskdale and Loweswater from chapel to parish church.[140]

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[134] Bouch, p. 9.
[135] R.K. Rose, 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church', *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982), pp. 119-135, P. 125.
[136] *RHCME (England)* (London, 1936), pp. 167-9, 175-7, 185-7.
[137] Fernie, p. 208; in Yorkshire, the church at Wharram-le-Street is an excellent example of the use of pre-Conquest design features well into the twelfth century and the tower was imitated at St Andrews, St Rule.
[138] *Lanercost*, p. 385, no. 346.
[139] *St Bees*, no. 441, n. 3; no. 28.
[140] *St Bees*, nos. 371, 389. Whether these chapels, like those on Orkney, were built of stone is unknown. In Norway, chapels were related to the local administrative structure of government, patronised by the king, for example, at Oddernes. The rune-stone set in the chancel reads 'Eyvind, St Olaf's godson, built this church on his inheritance', as a private chapel, which was promoted into the parish church in the twelfth century. In Scotland, too, archaeological evidence suggests a spate of private chapel-building in the eleventh century.

Several church towers survive in Cumberland and Westmorland but dating these
structures is difficult without documentation. The tower of at Morland (St Lawrence) has
been variously dated from pre-Conquest to about 1120 (ill. 99, Cat. 20).[141] The tower at
Ormside may be contemporary with its late eleventh-century doorway.[142] At Bridekirk, a
Victorian photograph illustrates a square tower to the west of the nave, similar to the tower
at Long Marton of twelfth-century date. The lower section of the present tower at
Brigham (St Bridget) may belong to the original twelfth-century structure (ill. 36, Cat. 6).
The tower Workington (St Mary) was rebuilt in 1780 but the lower part of the structure is
of original twelfth-century date.[143] The Norman fabric at Workington is substantiated by
the decorative arch in the tower with a large soffit roll between hollow chamfers, a form of
arch found elsewhere in buildings related to the third and fourth decades of the twelfth
century.[144] At Caldbeck (St Kentigern) the doorway set into the eighteenth-century tower
is unmoulded and the only entrance into the tower (ill. 46, Cat. 9). The Norman stone
building has been extensively altered.[145] At Appleby (St Lawrence) the tower is
constructed of ashlar masonry of Norman date. The tower has solid walls, round-headed
windows and the only entrance is the narrow door from the nave as found at Caldbeck and
Morland. At Burton, Westmorland, the arched entrance from the tower into the nave is
twelfth-century which suggests the tower structure is also of this date.[146]

The art of stone sculpture was integral to church-building in the Norman period but
there is no information about the people employed to construct churches or carve

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[141] Pevsner, pp. 17, 278; H.M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture* (Cambridge, 1965), Vol. 1,
pp. 446-8. The later date of 1120 is suggested by the gift of this church by Ketell or Chetell,
son of Eltreth, to St Mary's Abbey, York. The donor was alive shortly after 1120 which suggests a
possible date for the reworking of the church, although this does not establish a definite date of
construction of the tower. The narrow arched doorway leading into the present nave was part of the
original design.

[142] Pevsner, p. 281.

[143] Whellan, p. 473. A connection between Workington and Durham Cathedral and Lindisfarne Priory is
possible in the unusual feature of the stairway leading into the north-west corner of the tower, perhaps
reflected in the lost St Mary's Abbey, York, to which St Mary's church belonged. The outer doorway
of the tower has chevron decoration also found in the towers at Dacre and Burton-in-Kendale.

[144] Carlisle, for example, between the south transept and the south aisle of the presbytery, c. 1130.

[145] At Caldbeck, there is documentary evidence of a hospital and both church and hospital are documented as
gifts to Carlisle Priory by Gospatric, son of Orm, some time before 1170, perhaps as early as 1120, when
Gospatric was about twenty years old.The original charter is lost but a confirmation of these grants to
Carlisle Priory, dated 1332, is found in the CRO, Carlisle.

[146] Perriam and Robinson, p. 331. The church is dedicated to St James and illustrates Norman work
at the west end of the nave but no sculpture remains.

architectural stone decoration and furniture. There are no documents relating to the masons' trade although similarities between buildings, in plan or elevation, do suggest some sort of organisation but there is no description of the hierarchy of the workforce and how plans were prepared and followed through. The only name that survives, 'Rikarth', is carved on the font at Bridekirk and whether this was a common practice in this region can only be assessed in relation to other comparisons. The surviving churches and sculpture provide the only evidence of the building trade.

With the growing consolidation of the religious aspect of society into a parish system, whether based on traditional lines of demarcation or not, the necessity for churches inevitably grew. These churches became the focus for daily life for the communities throughout the region and were central to a Christian-based life. They had to be financed and both the lords and the lesser nobility chose to uphold their own status and that of their families on earth and their eventual salvation in heaven by organising and funding buildings in stone on their own territories. The accompanying decoration was dependent on the availability of money and labour. Given that each church would take several months, if not years, to construct, it is possible that patrons used more than one mason's yard within their own territory. Clusters of churches across Cumberland and Westmorland suggest another scenario, where the same designers were employed and possibly the same masons but different sculptors. This is based on conjecture as the exact dates for the sculptured decoration is uncertified. These churches, however, do imply the same patron was involved. The churches at Bridekirk, Isel and Torpenhow are just a few miles apart and have many similar features: the dimensions at Bridekirk and Torpenhow are almost identical; the south doorways and chancel arches were all decorated; the plans are identical; it is possible all three had original towers. The sculptural details are, however, dissimilar although the chevron pattern is common to all three and the style suggests different sculptors were involved, perhaps using similar ideas for doorway decoration. This implies that sculptors worked independently of masons. The base spurs at Isel and Bridekirk suggest a link between these two churches and are not found at Torpenhow. It is

possible these features were a mark of a particular school of sculptors or, perhaps, a sign of a particular patron. Two churches in Westmorland, Long Marton and Bolton, also have similar designs and almost identical dimensions, although the long-and-short work at Long Marton is not so marked at Bolton. Both include an unusual north doorway, both carved in red sandstone, inserted into limestone facades. It is possible these doorways were carved elsewhere and transported to the church building, again, implying different tradesmen were involved in different parts of the building. The two churches, at Clifton and Cliburn, are almost identical in design and in the decoration of the south doorways, implying either the same patron or the same workshop was responsible for their construction.

Stone was either quarried from local hillsides or re-used from previous buildings and carvings. Roman stone is re-used on several sites: Bowness-on-Solway; Beaumont; Kirkbride; Nether Denton. Roman and pre-Conquest carved stones were also re-used in the fabric: Aspatria; Cross Canonby; Wigton, where beneath the twelfth-century building was found several inscribed Roman stones.[147] The building-stone used across the region was generally related to the geology of the site and numerous quarries existed (Map 7).[148] There are exceptions, however, where stone was brought in from elsewhere.[149] The tympanum at Bridekirk is carved from St Bees sandstone although the church was built from local carboniferous limestone. The significance of this is unclear but the stone or the finished carving was moved several miles to its present position. The specific choice of stone is also apparent at Bolton and Long Marton where the doorways and decorative sculpture are from red sandstone, whereas the majority of the building stones are limstone (ills. 6, 97, Cat. 3, 19). Studies in Normandy have also revealed that stone was moved considerable distances, depending on its function.[150] There is, to date, no comprehensive

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[147] W.G. Collingwood, 'Wigton Old Church', *CW2* xxvii (1927), p. 97.

[148] There are four recorded quarries within a five-mile radius of Cockermouth, including one at Brigham with pre-Conquest and Norman carvings.

[149] L.L. Holmes and G. Harbottle, 'The twelfth-century Arch at the Cloisters Museum: stone analysis', *Gesta* xxxiii, pp. 24-27, discusses different stone used for archivolts, capitals and jambs.

[150] Three different stones are used at Moissac and Bourges, A. Blanc, P. Lébouteux, J. Lorenz and S. Débrand-Passard, 'Les Pierres de la cathédrale de Bourges', *Archaeologia*, no. 171 (1982),

study of stone types across Norman England and Scotland but in some cases, the choice of stone appears to have been significant.[151]

Norman sculpture in the north-west, both earlier and later carvings, illustrates the use of different methods and tools to create different effects.[152] Less skill was required in the carving of repetitive architectural motifs, for example, chevron or saltire cross motifs. Whether they were carved on site or mass-produced at the quarry and then transported is unknown and may have depended on local circumstances. Other sculpture, for example, the weathered capitals on the west doorway of St Bees, illustrate the use of fine tools in their decorative detail. One probable method of transposing motifs and patterns was the use of templates to transfer designs from one object to another.[153] The sculptor of the font at Bridekirk may have used templates for aspects of his design, for example, the two dragons on the inscription face which are identical in outline and detail but reversed (ill. 35). Templates may also explain why many carvings have identical motifs on both sides of compositions, often reversed, and why carved features are only partially reproduced. An example of this is the small panel at Bolton on the exterior south wall of the nave where the two knights ride identical horses and face each other in combat (ill. 3, Cat. 3). The sculptor has added small details to distinguish the two figures as the one to the left has no banner on his lance.[154] The two-headed monster above the baptism on the font at Bridekirk illustrates how sections of figures and motifs could be taken from templates,

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pp. 22-35. Some French stones were transported about thirty miles, M.-A. Sire, 'Le problème de la conservation du décor sculpted sur portail-sud de l'abbatiâle Saint-Pierre á Moissac', Bullétin de la Société Archaeologie de Tarn-et-Garonne cix (1984), pp. 135-45.

[151] For extensive information about stone, see D. Parsons, *Stone Quarrying in England AD 43-1525* (Chichester, 1990), for Canterbury, T. Tatton-Brown; also J. Blair and N. Ramsay (eds.), *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products* (London, 1988); for Caen stone use, T. Tatton-Brown, 'La Pierre de Caen en Angleterre', in M. Baylé, *L'architecture normande au Moyen Age* (Caen, 1997), I, pp. 305-14.

[152] Pre-Conquest carvings provide evidence of how the sculptor's use of tools. The carving of hogbacks and slabs necessitated the transporting of blocks of stone of considerable weight. The crosses were carved from more than one piece and there is evidence of drilled holes to join the sections together (Bewcastle and Gosforth). Most crosses stood directly on the ground or were placed within a socket, for example, the decorative base at Brigham. How the designs were laid on to the stones can be identified, for example, at Gosforth, where the edge of decorative panels is visible, carved with shallow lines, almost invisible when painted. On the Saint's Tomb at Gosforth, the unfinished crucifixion scene also illustrates how the sculptor worked the stone gradually to depict increasing detail.

[153] Cross-shaft, Brompton (North Yorkshire); cross-shaft, Bolton-le-Sands (Lancashire).

[154] Several Roman examples illustrate combat scenes with explanatory inscriptions, for example, the Tombstone of Sextus Valerius Genialis, Cirencester (Gloucestershire).

depending on the space available (ill. 23, Cat. 5). On the centaur and narrative face of the font, the heads of the figures are similar in shape and dimension, but turned in two directions. The profile heads on the inscription face are very similar and the eye of the dog and the running figure are identical (ill. 19). The head of John the Baptist tilts forward, similar in type to the smaller head of the sculptor (ills. 24, 25). Whether this detail depended on templates or adherence to a well-used motif is hard to determine with the considerable loss of surface detail. Although this does not prove the existence of templates for these smaller details, it does suggest that models or patterns are being used across the surface. Other features of the font, the trees, acanthus and decorative motifs could also have been laid on the stone using a template, made of leather, wood or even a light metal and easily transportable.

Patterns used on several sites provide evidence of the movements of sculptors and ideas.[155] There are no surviving pattern-books from the north-west and the sculpture provides the only evidence. Examples of transposed motifs are illustrated on the fonts at Dearham and Bridekirk and the beak-head designs at Caldbeck, mirrored at Cross Canonby. The designs such as the lengths of saltire crosses at Cumrew may have been designed and cut on site, perhaps made to order, but the beak-heads required specific models to follow.[156] The tympanum at Bromfield with its distinctive billet pattern is not repeated in Cumberland and Westmorland in the surviving material but has close affinities with other tympana elsewhere.[157] Whether this was a format used by sculptors on a

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[155] The use of a double motif in Norman sculpture is common in the south, for example, on the carvings from Reading Abbey and suggests sculptor would cut corners in order to achieve the enormous number of carved stones required. From the extant material, the cloister at Reading was extremely ornate and constructed within five years, completed c. 1125. The unusual fact that the capitals and abaci were carved from single pieces of stone suggests expense was not an issue but several examples survive where the designs of the figural and foliate capitals and springer-stones have been 'mirrored', for example, the double lion design of Caen stone, carved from a single piece of stone. On another capital, two winged figures are set in beaded mandorlas and are identical, even down to the smallest detail of the delicate drapery lines. On another side of this example are two addorsed dog-like creatures, set in circular foliage.

[156] In Herefordshire, two tympana, one at Brinsop, representing St George killing the dragon, and one at Stretton Sugwas where Samson and the lion are illustrated, are closely connected to two tympana in France at Parthenay-le-Vieux (c. 1120), particularly in the stance of the figure of St George as he rides from left to right, his cloak billowing behind. These are two relatively complex designs and point to direct imitation, requiring the skill of an artist to sketch the French scenes well enough for the craftsmen in England to comprehend.

[157] The pattern is repeated on four sides of a capital at Moissac, c. 1100, a site with affronted

widespread basis, copied from patterns which travelled with the workshops, is not clear but the strong similarities of design and motif cannot have happened by chance.[158] It is unlikely that manuscript models were available to the rural sculptor and the spread of particular motifs can only be explained by the use of models being provided for the sculptor, for example, the fleshy Byzantine blossom, found in several manuscripts, for example, the Bury Bible, and in stone sculpture, on the font at Bridekirk, and on sculpture elsewhere, for example, Hyde Abbey.[159] This motif also appears on a single capital at Brigham and in miniature on the font at Bowness-on-Solway (ills. 11, 12).

On both pre-Norman and Norman sculpture, there are traces of tool marks and masons' marks on many carvings. Examples are found at Lanercost Priory on the surviving refectory walls of the late twelfth century. Chisel marks are evident around the sundials carved into the south wall of the church at Isel. Chisel and punch marks and drilled holes remain on several carvings. The surface detail of, for example, the Bridekirk font's lion-mask on the inscription face is delicately carved with a very fine tool, perhaps made of metal or sharp stone (ill. 28). Other holes across the stone surfaces imply metal attachments were added to increase the status of the object, for example, on the font at Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael) where small holes are visible across the decoration. A similar technique is found on the doorway at Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) where the eyes above the door may have been filled with metal (ill. 78, Cat. 16).[160] Like the surviving example at Cross Canonby (St John), several of the beak-head voussoirs surviving from Reading have drilled holes across the surface (ill. 66, Cat. 13).[161] The tympana of the Boar and of St Michael fighting the Dragon, Ipswich, illustrate the use of drilled holes across

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beasts, masks and enmeshed foliage similar to the content of the font at Bridekirk, M. Durliat, *L'Art Roman* (Paris, 1982), p. 162, pl. 61.

[158] Examples are found at Twywell (Northamptonshire) and Wales (Yorkshire). A similar pattern is found in Worcestershire at Ribbesford (St Leonard) on the left capital of the north doorway with three rows of billet, Thurlby, p. 97, fig. 158. These rows of billet are also found in Herefordshire, at Aston (St Giles) on the lintel, Thurlby, p. 88, fig. 146.

[159] *ERA*, p. 173, no. 128e.

[160] A voussoir from Reading Abbey, of Caen stone, carved with two identical lions with tendrils spewing from their mouths, facing each other, illustrates drilled holes for eyes.

[161] *ERA*, p. 174, fig. 129, for Reading.

the surface, some which appear to have no purpose but were perhaps filled with decorative metal of some kind.[162]

Other tools were required for carving of different styles. The flat style of the Bowness font was achieved by removing much of the background and moulding the edges. The required tools were different from the etched designs of other contemporary carvings, for example, the Bridekirk font or the figures at Torpenhow. These discrepancies of style raise the question how individual the sculptors could be in creating the carving with the tools available. The carving on the font at Dearham is flat similar to the two tympana at Long Marton which are almost scratched on to the surface and in some places the background appears level with the subject matter (ills. 71, 72, 73, 95, 96, Cat. 14, 19). The figures on the tympanum at Kirkbampton (St Peter), however, or the lintel at St Bees, are cut almost in the round, for example, the underneath of the central dragon at St Bees and interlace on the right of the composition which is almost carved to resemble real basket-work (ills. 41, 103). The tympanum at Bromfield (St Mungo) illustrates a chequered pattern of squares across the surface. These were carefully designed and the tools used were extremely fine as the lines are etched and each square lightly hewn away so, when painted, light would reflect evenly across the slanting surfaces (ill. 40). Similar fine tooling are found in the saltire cross patterns on two fragments surviving in the same church (ills. 42, 43).

A surviving example of a foliage capital from Canterbury (c. 1100) illustrates this deep undercutting and the marks of the chisel used to etch not only the background out of the Caen stone but also the deeply incised lines of the surface. Although related to manuscript design of the scriptorium of St Augustine's, there is nothing painterly about the style of this carving, despite the remnants of paint on its surface.[163] The capitals in the clerestory of the cathedral have a similar style of clear definition of pattern and the angles and geometric lines are deeply undercut, producing a well-defined surface (ills. 52, 54-58, Cat.

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[162] *ERA*, pp. 164, 165, nos. 121, 122.
[163] D. Kahn, *The Romanesque Sculpture from Canterbury* (London, 1982), p. 51.

10). The depiction of the sculptor at work is rare before the end of the twelfth century and the appearance on the font of a signature is unusual at this period (ill. 25). It is possible that huge numbers of these signatures are lost but the relatively small number existing, for example, at Canterbury, suggests these craftsmen were still held in small esteem and the status of these craftsmen remains unrecognised until later in the century.[164]

iv) **Dating the sculpture: documents, comparative material, sculptural features, style and iconography**

Attempting a chronology of sculptural development and applying dates to carvings is hampered by the lack of documents and poor survival rate. It is possible, however, to construct a framework using the carvings to identify aspects of development akin to other areas of the country. Firstly, documentary references to church foundations and to gifts and grants of churches providing evidence at least of their existence, although these cannot determine the date of decoration. Secondly, comparisons with other sculpture provide evidence of dating where buildings are documented or are within known time limitations. Thirdly, there are sculptural motifs which do not appear prior to a specific date, for example, chevron, widespread only after c. 1100. Finally, elements of style place some sculpture in a dated framework where specific features illustrate a progression, for example, the use of the dampfold technique in sculpture and other arts.

Documentary evidence relating to church buildings is scarce but two buildings can be imprecisely dated through documentation and historical events: St Bees and Carlisle Cathedral. Churches are occasionally mentioned as gifts (Bassenthwaite (St Bega), given

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[164] Examples of portraits increase as the twelfth century progressed; the tomb of St Vincent, Avila (c. 1150) illustrates the sculptor, chisel in hand, chipping away at sarcophagus. At Chartres, in the north apse window (c. 1225), two sculptors are depicted carving statues for the cathedral, one, like the Italian example, with a chisel, the other, like the Bridekirk portrait, with hammer and chisel. An example in glass is found at Rouen in the window of the chapel of St John. By the fourteenth century, in Italy, sculptors were frequently represented, for example, in the cathedral bell-tower in Florence, where the sculptor works surrounded by several tools, including a square and a drill.

by Waltheof of Allerdale to Jedburgh Priory) and tithes were also granted, for example,

Ranulf le Meschin granting tithes from his demesnes in Appleby, Mauld's Meaburn and

Great Salkeld to st Mary's Abbey.[165] The foundation document of William le Meschin's

priory at St Bees and its related charters survive, suggesting a date between 1120 and

1134. The circumstances surrounding the foundation and the evidence for the role the

church played in the emerging parish are discussed in Chapter 2. The doorway was

probably designed for the priory church although whether the construction had reached the

west end by 1135 is unknown (ill. 106). An engraving illustrates an ornate doorway on the

north side of the nave of which now there is no trace.[166] Part of the original string-course

suggests this part of the north wall belonged to the original church and similarities with the

early parts of the cathedral building in Carlisle substantiate this date (ill. 119). The corbel

table, consisting of human and grotesque heads, similar to those at Carlisle, survives on

the north wall of the chancel and nave and much of the north transept is original (ills. 117,

118). The west doorway is striking with its multiple orders, combination of chevron,

heads and beak-heads and foliate capitals (ill. 106). For St Bees, therefore, there is

documentary evidence, a patron, comparative sculpture and evidence from the architecture

that does suggest this doorway belongs to c. 1135.

The date of the earliest parts of Carlisle Cathedral is disputed but could be as early as

1102 (Cat. 10).[167] Recent excavations suggest that Carlisle prior to the Norman invasion

was a more thriving community than some contemporary comment suggests and a

previous church may have stood on the site of the present building.[168] In the parishes

itemised in Appendix i (from the papal taxation of 1291) all the known parishes are listed

except two: St Mary's, Carlisle, which was part of the priory from an early date; Warwick-

on-Eden. It is possible that the church at Warwick was designed and built as a bishop's

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[165] *Wetheral*, no. 4; Summerson, p. 10.

[166] Perriam and Robinson, p. 98.

[167] Phythian-Adams, pp. 28-29; J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', *CW2* xlv (1945), pp. 134-43. It is also argued the cathedral building may have been begun after the foundation of 1122, Summerson, p. 88. An earlier date still could be argued if the early parts of the cathedral are linked to developments at Old Sarum and Durham.

[168] D.W.V. Weston, op. cit., p. 7.

chapel for Aethelwold; it has been recently suggested that the composition of the apse with its distinctive pilaster strips, unique in England, may reflect the original east end of the cathedral in Carlisle (ill. 135, Cat. 25).[169]

The charters from Wetheral Priory indicate that several churches, including Morland, already existed which, although does not necessarily assist in dating stone decoration, establishes the fact that the church was flourishing prior to 1100 and probably before 1092 and supports the probability of several stone churches in existence before 1092.[170] A stone church at Wetheral possibly existed on the site of the Norman church, built by Ranulf le Meschin, dedicated to the Holy Trinity and St Constantine. Michael, Bishop of Glasgow (1109-1114), was buried at Morland, suggesting a church of significance, and the tower suggests a pre-Conquest date. The donors involved in the Wetheral and St Bees' foundations support the significance of the new monasteries in the region although there is no specific mention of the building of churches.[171]

Several churches are mentioned in documents as gifts, for example, Bridekirk. These documents do not, however, provide proof of date but confirm the existence of a church on the site.[172] Waltheof of Allerdale gave Bromfield church and manor to St Mary's Abbey but this does not prove he was responsible for its construction.[173] The gift of the chapel at Warwick to the foundation by Ranulf le Meschin is also not proof of the existence of the present building but the confirmation of the chapel by Henry I to St Mary's Abbey (c. 1131) supports the possibility the Norman church was constructed by this date. This fits

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[169] N. Stratford, BAA Conference (Carlisle, 2002). The chapel (*capella*) of Warwick is first mentioned in a charter of Henry in 1131.

[170] Appleby, Kirkby Stephen, Morland, Wetheral, the chapel at Triermain.

[171] *Wetheral*, no. 2, p. 236.

[172] Waltheof of Allerdale gave the vill of Apelton and others to the church at Bridekirk. Waltheof and Alan were also benefactors of churches at Aspatria and Cross Canonby and also associated by grants to: Carlisle Priory; St Bees; St Mary's Abbey, York; the Priory of Hexham. The church at Dearham (St Mungo) has associations with the lords of Allerdale and the town and manor of Dearham were given to Dolphin, son of Gospatric, and to one Simon Sheftlings by Alan. An example of this process of gifting is illustrated by parish of Dean, a small area of three miles square, bounded on the north by Brigham parish, comprising the townships of Dean, Branthwaite, Ullock, Pardshaw and Deanscales. William le Meschin gave the township of Dean and the manor of Branthwaite to Waltheof, although there is no mention in this gift of a church. The church of Dean, dedicated to St Oswald, was rebuilt in the fifteenth century, on the site of an ancient church of nave and chancel, placed near but not in the village itself. Although no sculpture survives from this particular example, it does illustrate the practice of gifting settlement and associated church sites, if not buildings, a practice which may have roots in the pre-Conquest societies.

[173] Whellan, p. 211.

with the possibility that the east end was an imitation of the east end of the early cathedral in Carlisle. Base spurs in both buildings also existed at Wetheral. The church at Kirkby Lonsdale (St Mary the Virgin), with its three decorative piers on the north side of the nave, is linked with similar decoration at Durham cathedral (ill. 93). Ivo de Taillebois gave the church of 'Cherkeby Lonnesdale' to the Abbey of St Mary, York, in 1093, together with its associated lands.[174] The name 'Cherkeby' suggests an earlier Norse settlement with a church prior to Ivo de Taillebois's gift of the lands by William Rufus (see Chapter 2).

A feature of this area's carved stone survival is the paucity of contemporary comparative material in the region. Links are discussed, however, with motifs, chevron, saltire cross pattern, beak-head, found across the Norman kingdom. The surviving sculpture at Bridekirk, in its fragmented form, illustrates three aspects of style, although whether these belong to one phase of building is unknown: the flat Christ in Majesty of St Bees sandstone above the south doorway has little in common with the deeply cut chevron and scallop capitals of the door (ills. 14, 16); the architectural sculpture with its different function from the decorative carving outlines the shape of the architectural details (ills. 14, 18); the font, in the church, bears no relation in style to either the tympanum or the doorway carving (ills. 19-22). The tympanum has been cut down and is broken across the centre (ill. 16, Cat. 5). There is no record of the carving in the original church. At Elkstone (Gloucestershire) a tympanum with a similar subject is dated as late as 1150.[175] The surrounding of the Christ figure with the evangelist symbols or angels in other compositions suggest this Christ at Bridekirk may have been part of a more complex composition.[176]

Certain sculptural features from this period do not appear prior to specific dates: chevron ornament; corbel-tables; carved tympana. The use of chevron in Cumberland and Westmorland was widespread and the majority of decorated buildings have incorporated

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[174] R. Sharpe, op. cit., p. 38, n. 88, for references of gift, Dugdale, iii, p. 9. A stone church is mentioned in the Domesday Book, i.e., before 1086.

[175] Keyser, no. 117.

[176] At Water Stratford (Buckinghamshire) and at Elstow (Bedfordshire) full length Christ figures are set in mandorlas with attendant figures, dated c. 1100.

chevron within the decorative scheme. Where the churches are plain, Kirkbride or Cumwhitton, chevron was not used. Where doorways were decorated chevron appears to have been a popular format, illustrated at Clifton and nearby Cliburn where the south doorways are the only decorated aspects of the buildings, both with rudimentary chevron voussoirs surrounding what may have been painted tympana (ills. 63, 64, Cat. 11, 12). The fragments from Cumrew also suggest the original doorway of chevron and saltire cross pattern was similar to the doorway at Morland (ill. 67) where the same patterns survive in fragmented form. Elsewhere, chevron is found, not only above south doorways (Torpenhow and Isel) but also above chancel arches (Torpenhow and Plumbland) (ills. 127, 87). At Kirkbampton, where carved chevron is used over the elaborate north doorway and above the chancel arch, a zig-zag pattern has been incised on to the voussoirs (ill. 89, Cat. 18). This pattern was almost certainly painted to give a three-dimensional effect, perhaps a less expensive option. Kirkbampton is an example of chevron on a doorway which appears early due to its small dimensions and unsophisticated style. The chancel arch in this church was lined with a flat, diagonal pattern etched on the voussoirs which may have been painted (ill. 91).[177] Into the twelfth century, the pattern spread across the country and into Scotland and to Ireland, becoming one of the most recognisable features of twelfth-century sculpture.[178]

The corbel-table on the cathedral at Carlisle, above the clerestory windows on the east and west faces of the south transept, on the north and south side of the nave and above the aisle windows on the north face of the nave, are related to the examples at St Bees and point to a possible connection between the two buildings (ills. 48, 117, Cat. 10, 23). There are examples of these corbels on large prestigious buildings, notably the cathedral of Old Sarum and the Abbey church at Reading (c. 1120) and on smaller parish churches, Kilpeck

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[177] The early examples of chevron are not widespread: on the crossing arch of Cerisy-la-Forêt (possibly as early as the 1080s); Anselm's crypt (1096); Durham, on the ribs of the south arm of the transept (c. 1110-1120).

[178] A list of the varying types of chevron is found in Fernie, pp. 276-277. See also, A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', *JBAA* 3rd ser. 30 (1967), pp. 131-9; G. Zarnecki, 'Twelfth-century Sculpture in Normandy and England', *ANS* I (1978), pp. 180-2; D. Kahn, 'Twelfth-century Architectural Sculpture in Kent', Ph.D. Thesis, University of London (1982), p. 47.

(Herefordshire).[179] Many examples of corbel-tables are found in Yorkshire.[180] Corbels are also found on larger buildings of an earlier date, for example, Chichester (c. 1080).[181] The use of figural corbel-tables is a feature unknown on smaller buildings before c. 1110, for example, Kilpeck (c. 1134), on the crossing tower at Castor (Northamptonshire, c. 1114 – 1124) and at Cassington (Oxfordshire, c. 1123). Carved tympana also provide an indicator for dating as these are unknown before c.1100 and only become widespread with the beginning of the twelfth century. The two tympana at Long Marton, above the south and west doorways, illustrate the variety of tympana subject matter available to sculptors (ills. 95, 96). Together with the carved examples at Long Marton, Bridekirk, Kirkbampton, Burgh-by-Sands and Bromfield, there are several uncarved tympana which were almost certainly painted, Great Clifton, Cliburn and Ormside (ills. 63, 64).

Certain motifs and aspects of style establish links between sites across the region. The unusual angle spurs provide links between Carlisle and other sites, perhaps through patronage, either royal or aristocratic. The saltire cross pattern at Cumrew is similar to designs at Morland, Bromfield and Bowness-on-Solway (ills. 42, 67, Cat. 4, 7, 20). It is not clear whether these geometric patterns which were relatively simple to imitate were transported from site to site through patron choice or via the masons. Although there is no documentary record of a patron with a site in the north-west, there are examples elsewhere of direct influences of a travelling patron : Oliver de Merlimond's travels in south-western France and the importation of specific ideas to Herefordshire.[182] In Gloucestershire, there are sites where identical motifs occur: on the south doorways of Quenington and South

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[179] Reading was contemporary with the decoration of the east end of Bishop Roger's church at Old Sarum (c. 1125-30) where geometric ornament dominated. The fragmentary sculpture from Old Sarum illustrates a significant building with extensive influence across the West Country and into Wales. The church at Portchester (St Mary), founded in 1113 as an Augustinian priory, is an example of this connection. One example from St Bees is similar to an example from Old Sarum, a square stone with an encircled diamond incised with a cross.

[180] K. Lundgren and M. Thurlby, 'The Romanesque Church of St Nicholas, Studland, (Dorset)', *Dorset Proceedings* 121 (1999), pp. 1-16; Appendix II provides a list of smaller churches with corbel-tables in Norman Britain.

[181] R.D.H. Gem, 'Chichester Cathedral: when was the Romanesque church begun?', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference* 3 (1980), pp. 61-64.

[182] G. Zarnecki, 'Regional Schools of English Sculpture in the Twelfth Century', (unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, Courtauld Institute (1950), p. 218; Thurlby, p. 26. Aspects of the style and content of stone sculpture at Shobdon strongly suggest direct influence.

Cerney, where a distinctive form of beak-head is found which recurs at Avington (Berkshire), derived from Reading Abbey.[183] A more stylised version of this type of beak-head, joining the jambs to the shafts of the doorways, is found at Burgh-by-Sands (ill. 44, Cat. 8).[184] The similarities of motif and its application in these examples cannot be explained by geographical location or similar church status but do confirm the transmission of motifs between sites, whether organised by patron or craftsmen.

Stylistic features also help to date certain pieces of sculpture, illustrated by the dampfold technique of drapery on the font at Bridekirk (ills. 31, 32). The development of dampfold is a useful dating tool as its portrayal of drapery shows a progression through dated examples, the St Albans Psalter and the screen carvings at Durham and the application tends to become more stylised (see Chapter 3). The tympanum at Bridekirk illustrates the problems of over-simplifying the progression of style. It is damaged and has been cut from its original state, but the flat style is not proof of an early date (ills. 31, 32, Cat. 5). Similar techniques are found on the tympana at Ipswich representing conflict scenes and these belong to the third decade of the twelfth century.[185] At Long Marton, the dragon above the south doorway with a pair of wings and a sword has no known parallels (ill. 96).[186] To the left is a quatrefoil knot, a quadruped and a long neck, wings outspread and a long beak. The plain west doorway with its single-order arch and undecorated jambs has a lintel carved with a line of joined triangles. The tympanum comprises two stones, the lower half carved with a saltire cross pattern which suggests a twelfth-century date, found at Cumrew, Morland and Bromfield, and is common in tympana carvings.[187] Above, the left scene represents a figure swallowed by a dragon; the right, a dragon with a curved knotted tail. The rare iconography of both scenes is related to the legend of St

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[183] *ERA*, pp. 167, 174, fig. 129.
[184] A further example of this continuous decoration around the doorway is found at Iffley (Oxfordshire), E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 167.
[185] *ERA*, p. 164.
[186] The figure probably represents St Margaret. She invokes the power of the cross in her fight against evil and, in Byzantium, also had the role of protector of holy places, L. Drever, 'Margaret of Antioch, the Demon-Slayer, east and west: the iconography of the predella of the Boston *Mystic Marriage of St Catharine*', *Gesta* xxxii (1992), pp. 11-19, fig. 5, p. 14.
[187] G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, Vol. I (New York), p. 130; Keyser, fig. 54.

Margaret, suggesting the carving belonged to the original church but provides no definite proof of date.

The font at Bridekirk has no stylistic or iconographical parallels in the region but its survival suggests the possibility there may have been similar complex iconographical programmes. With no monastic foundations in the north-west before 1106 and the slow evolution of the priory at Carlisle, the dissemination of reading material and decorated books may have been slower than elsewhere. Other literature, bestiaries, herbals, epic poetry and dramatic literature required by the aristocracy, were increasingly popular. Specific motifs, for example, the floriated flowers, are linked to earlier material. Foliage and figures are found at St Bees, Great Salkeld and Brigham, in stone decoration from the pre-Norman period and into the twelfth century.[188]

v) **Saints**

A study of the region's saints illustrates a mixed cultural heritage.[189] The most popular saints chosen for the dedication of churches and chapels were St Mary and St Michael, related to both pre-Norman and Norman sites. St Michael was adopted by the Scandinavian settlers before 1092 reflecting his popularity on the Isle of Man and in Dumfriesshire. Carlisle was never a centre of historical writing compared with Durham or York and nothing survives, but the region did inspire contemporary writing about Celtic saints. The popularity of saints' lives in the twelfth century encouraged interest in these traditional figures and contemporary writers, William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, Symeon of Durham, Ailred of Rievaulx, Jocelin of Furness and Everard (first Abbot of Holm Cultram), wrote of saints: St Ninian; Kentigern; Patrick; Helen; and the Irish saints, Adamnan and Cumin.[190] These Lives of Saints defended the validity and use

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[188] *Corpus*, Appendix A.
[189] T.H.B. Graham, and W.G. Collingwood, 'Patron saints of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2* (1924), pp. 1-27, provides a comprehensive list of all the saints recorded in the region and churches and chapels associated with them.
[190] Ailred of Rievaulx, *Vita Niniani*, ed. Forbes, 1, pp. 137–57; *Vita Kentigerni*, ed.

of the pre-Conquest saints.[191] The little known Jocelin was a monk of Furness Abbey, writing about Kentigern, Patrick and Saint Helen.[192] Ailred, who spent his adolescence in King David's court, wrote a Life of Saint Ninian.[193]

There is no document before the twelfth century that establishes with certainty any church dedication but it is reasonable to suppose that the majority of dedications belong to the eleventh and twelfth century buildings or earlier.[194] Several churches in Cumberland and Westmorland constructed during this period carry traditional Celtic dedications.[195] The majority of churches in the region are dedicated to pre-Conquest saints, including twenty-seven dedications to St Michael.[196] The seven dedications to St Cuthbert reflect numerous examples in south-east Scotland, Yorkshire and Northumberland.[197] Eight present churches are dedicated to St Mungo or St Kentigern, seven probably constructed during the early twelfth century.[198] The retention of traditional saints was a widespread practice, especially across areas with Celtic affiliations, for example, Wales. The Norman reaction varied and, across the north-west, the emphasis on traditional Celtic saints presents a contrast to Northumberland and Durham.[199] It is not recorded who chose the dedications for churches constructed at this time but the surviving evidence emphasises the mix of Celtic, Anglian, Norse and Hiberno-Norse cultures and the Norman desire to retain them. The links between Cumbria south of the Solway and Scotland were always strong, notably through David I's influence, and traditional saints were common in Scottish

Forbes, pp. 29–119; R.K. Rose, 'Cumbrian Society', op. cit., p. 131.

[191] A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 – c. 1307* (London, 1974), pp. 105–185.

[192] *Vita Kentigerni*, ed. Forbes, pp. 29-119, pp. 159-242.

[193] [Ailred of Rievaulx,] *Vita Niniani*, ed. Forbes, pp. 1-26, pp. 137-57.

[194] Farlam is one example where the dedication was altered.

[195] T.H.B. Graham and W.G. Collingwood, 'Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2* xxv (1925), pp. 1–27.

[196] O. Chadwick, 'The Evidence of Dedications in the Early History of the Welsh Church', *Studies in Early British History*, ed. N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1954), pp. 173-88; F. Bond, *Dedications of English Churches, Ecclesiastical Symbolism, Saints and Emblems*, (Oxford, 1914), pp. 36-41 for St Michael; for list of English saints, pp. 17-25. St Michael is the third most popular saint after the Virgin, All Saints and St Peter with 687 churches dedicated to him in England.

[197] T.H.B. Graham and W.G. Collingwood, 'Patron Saints of the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2* xxv (1925), pp. 1-27, lists the dedications of the churches and chapels of Cumberland and Westmorland, of which over half are verified by medieval sources, of these half relate to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

[198] K.H. Jackson, 'The Sources for the Life of St Kentigern', *Studies in the Early British Church*, ed. N.K. Chadwick (Cambridge, 1958), pp. 273-357.

[199] J.V. Gregory, 'Dedication Names of Ancient Churches in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland', *AJ* 42 (London, 1885), pp. 370-83.

dedications also. Glasgow cathedral was dedicated to Mungo and there is only one church dedicated to this saint outside Cumberland and Westmorland and Scotland.[200]

The traditional saints east of the Pennines also found popularity in the north-west and St Cuthbert is celebrated in numerous sites, including Carlisle.[201] The cult of St Cuthbert was especially popular after the opening of his tomb in 1104.[202] It was not just in Carlisle that the saint was honoured but in fifteen rural churches, for example, Clifton and Cliburn, two-cell churches with decorative features on the south doorways. St Cuthbert's feast-day became a day of statutory celebration and Symeon of Durham comments on the saint's association with Carlisle.[203] Carlisle was the only English diocese not to have a burial place of a saint.[204] The traditional Irish saint, Bega, was combined with Mary in the new Priory of William le Meschin at St Bees and at Bassenthwaite. Her inclusion in a Norman Priory foundation illustrates her relevance to the locality and the Norman desire to foster tradition. The legend of St Bega is recorded in several folios in a manuscript printed in Carlisle in 1842.[205] Her bracelet, O.E. *beag*, became a relic within the church, and inspired local munificence.[206] Three altars in the Priory church are recorded, the great altar, and two altars to St Mary and St Bega, all referred to in the charters.[207]

In any discussion of traditional saints, it is important to examine the date of the introduction of the cult, and by whom. For example, St Bride could have been introduced in the seventh century or by Norse people from Ireland in the tenth century or introduced by Strathclyde rulers in the tenth century. It is even possible that David introduced her cult into Scotland after 1136. The relevance of this Irish saint is illustrated by six church

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[200] Simonburn (Northumberland); F. Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, 3 Vols. (London, 1899), pp. 36, 67, 75, 100.

[201] Carlisle was reputed to be religious centre c. 700; two Lives of the saint survive, Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, anonymous, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert*, ed., trans. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1940).

[202] *Symeon*, II, pp. 236-7.

[203] *Symeon*, I, p. 199.

[204] J.V. Gregory, 'The Dedication Names of Ancient Churches in the Counties of Durham and Northumberland', *AJ* 42 (London, 1885), pp. 370-83.

[205] *VCH*, pp. 178, 179, Cotton MSS Faustina B. iv. ff. 122-31. This has been ascribed to the late twelfth century, (Sir Thomas Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials*, Rolls Ser. I., pp. 224-225), but could be considerably later; *The Life and Miracles of St Bega*, ed. and trans., G.C. Tomlinson (Carlisle).

[206] *St Bees*, nos. 67, 342, 362, 399.

[207] *St Bees*, Introduction, pp. xxxi, xxxii, nos. 415, 421, 33, 384, 90, 151, 153, 412.

dedications and two villages, Bridekirk and Kirkbride, perhaps a third at Calder Bridge).

The sites of Bridekirk and Beckermet St Bridget have fragments of pre-Conquest carving

suggesting earlier religious sites, possibly pre-Conquest churches.[208] The area

distinguished by her veneration lies between the Esk and the Wampool, close to the coastal

belt of Hiberno-Norse settlement.[209] Bridekirk and Brigham are centrally placed and, to

the south-west, are Moresby, Beckermet St Bridget and Calder Bridge. Within this area, at

Bridekirk and Brigham, is found the distinctive spiral patterning, a style coined by Richard

Bailey as the 'spiral scroll school' of the tenth-century.[210] This defined area also has the

greatest concentration of hogback carvings with distinctive tall proportions, decorated with

human figures.[211] Her cult may pre-date Norse occupation, due to settlements containing

her name, for example, Kirkbride, on the River Wampool. There is no documented

evidence of a chapel or relics in the church at Bridekirk or other churches dedicated to this

saint nor does an illustrated Life of the Saint survive although several legends persist in

Celtic literature. She was reputedly abbess of Kildare and her life is anecdotal, based on

miracle stories.[212] St Bridget can be used as an example of the close relationship between

many of the traditional saints and legendary figures. For the twelfth-century audience,

their role was a religious one, an object of veneration, and a narrative one, part of a story, a

legendary figure to be honoured.

The dedication of Wetheral priory to the Holy Trinity and St Constantine is an example

of the combination of saints. It is interesting to note that both Wetheral and St Bees were

assigned joint dedications. Constantine was king of the Scots and is recorded at a meeting

with Owain, 'king of the Cumbrians', in c. 927 and appears in the annals regarding the

ancient kingship of Cumbria.[213] Fordun shows that King Constantine of Scotia 'protected

with all valour the inhabitants of the territory of the Cumbrians and the rest of his

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[208] *Corpus*, pp. 54-56, 74, ills. 41-51; Pevsner, pp. 65, 77; Collingwood, pp. 130-131, fig. facing p. 130; R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London, 1989), p. 137.

[209] Graham and Collingwood, 'Patron Saints', p. 11; R. Morris, ibid., pp. 52-3.

[210] *Corpus*, p. 74, ills. 124–126, 129–130; Bailey, pp. 223-229, 93, fig. 11.

[211] Bailey p. 93, fig. 11.

[212] D.H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 56, 7. Nineteen English dedications to St Bridget survive. She personifies compassion, healing, light and fire and is the patron saint of blacksmiths.

[213] A.P. Smyth, *Scandinavian York and Dublin* (1987), II, pp. 11-12; *Symeon*, I, p. 76.

dominions in England'.[214] Although the extent of Constantine's power over the lands south of the Solway is unknown, the settlement known as Scotby, three miles south of Wetheral, could reflect a pre-Norman name and is certainly recorded before David retook Carlisle in 1136.[215] It has been suggested that this settlement had royal connections prior to the Norman era.[216] Ranulf's foundation at Wetheral, therefore, could reflect in its dedication reference to the royal associations of the site. King Constantine may have been one of the abbots on the site of a previous monastic community and it is possible the dedication by Ranulf to Constantine linked it with the royal Scottish dynasty.[217] Edingham in Galloway is also dedicated to St Constantine and may also reflect Scottish aspirations on the borders between Strathclyde and Lindisfarne dioceses.[218] Although this use of Constantine appears to support the Scottish side, the use of Kentigern suggests a more amicable approach as he and his master St Serf or Servanus were important saints in the border districts of southern Strathclyde.[219] It is possible that the inclusion of Constantine in the dedication of the new priory reflected Ranulf's intention to remain on amicable terms with the Scottish throne. His close relationship with David, Prince of Cumbria after 1107, has already been noted.

The dedication of new buildings after 1092 was, without doubt, a significant part of the founding of a church, whether it was being rebuilt or started anew. Whether the dedications we know today were all chosen at this time or whether they reflected earlier ones is difficult to establish due to lack of documentation. If, however, the examples of Wetheral and St Bees are taken, it is clearly probable that many dedications reflect ancient associations of particular saints with the sites. Patrons and audience chose their

[214] M.O. Anderson, *Kings and Kingship in Early Scotland* (1980 edn), pp. 212-15, Appendix 3, 'Fordun's list sources'.
[215] F-J, *N.W.*, pp. 17, 39; *Wetheral*, p. 41.
[216] Phythian-Adams, p. 116, n. 34.
[217] A. Macquarrie, 'Early Christian Religious Houses in Scotland: foundation and function', in Blair and Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care*, p. 26.
[218] D. Brooke, 'The Deanery of Desnes Cro and the church of Edingham', *TDGNHAS*, LXII (1987), pp. 52, 53, 55-56.
[219] Phythian-Adams, p. 117, ns. 41, 42.

dedications with great care, reflecting religious, political and perhaps cultural signifance of the saint and the history of the site.

vi)   **Religious Foundations**

The Normans established foundations at Wetheral, St Bees, Carlisle and Calder in Cumberland and Westmorland, respecting traditional saints, including Sts Constantine, Bega and Bridget. Wetheral Priory was founded between 1106 and 1112 as a cell of St Mary's Abbey in York, previously also the recipient of Ivo de Taillebois' generosity. Almost certainly founded by Ranulf le Meschin, the date cannot have been later than 1112 as the deed mentions Abbot Stephen of York as the beneficiary, abbot from the date of the first foundation in 1086 until his death in 1112.[220] The only authentic charter, however, dates from after Ranulf's departure to Chester.[221] There were already churches and chapels in the Eden valley, some, like Morland (St Lawrence), built of stone.[222] Henry I endowed the new monastery with several privileges.[223] The right of sanctuary was also secured by the king and similar liberties were granted by him as with churches at York (St Peter) and Beverley (St John).[224] The range of donors illustrates the power and importance assigned to these foundations and the boundaries of the manor at Wetheral are carefully set out.[225] The relationship between religious and lay organisation is defined and other privileges mentioned, for example, the fishing rights on the Eden.[226] It has been suggested an earlier monastery existed on the site with connections to the Scottish king, Constantine.[227] No sculpture survives from the priory buildings and the present parish

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[220] Dugdale, I, p. 398; *Wetheral*, nos. 1-5, no. 1; this document was added in the fifteenth century and could be a forgery although there seems little reason for this.

[221] *Wetheral*, no. 5 is a grant of Henry I which is perhaps a forgery, R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule', op. cit., p. 26, note 54. The genuine charter is dated after 1121; *RRA-N*, Vol ii, nos. 1752-3.

[222] *Wetheral*, p.xiv.

[223] *Wetheral*, nos. 5, 8. No. 8 is the genuine charter by Henry I, dated 1121x32; see *RRA-N*, Vol. II, nos. 1752-3. Neither charter is evidence of royal support for the foundation.

[224] *Wetheral*, Appendix C.

[225] *Wetheral*, no. 236.

[226] *Wetheral*, no. 2.

[227] Phythian-Adams, p. 117.

church dates from the fifteenth century. In the eighteenth century, stones from the priory were removed to Carlisle for use in building.

The foundation charter of the Priory of St Bees defines ecclesiastical and social aspects of the region and other areas with reference to Yorkshire, Ireland, the Northern Isles and the Isle of Man. Founded as a cell of St Mary's Abbey (York), with six monks, the links with York remained strong. The date of the foundation cannot be earlier than 1120 because of the reference to Archbishop Thurstan and William, son of Henry I (William died in 1119 and Thurstan was not consecrated archbishop until 19th October, 1119).[228] It is possible it was as late as 1134.[229] The gift was for the dedication of the King, the Archbishop of York, and for the souls of Queen Maud and William the Atheling.[230] William's priory was supported by local gentry.[231] One charter, 'Carta prima Willielmi Meschyn', announces his intention to found a church to God, St Mary and St Bega, preserved in a fourteenth-century manuscript.[232] The witnesses were tenants of William in Copeland, and, with the exception of Coremac Gille Becoc, all are found in later charters, referred to as benefactors of the Priory.[233] A second charter confirms the gifts to the Priory, including the Chapel of Egremont and the churches of Witingham and Bothel with their parishes.[234] Another charter grants to the monks all the woodlands and liberties of Copeland not including hunting hart, hind, boar or hawk. A fourth charter, given by Ranulf, William's son, adding the manor or Avenderdale, confirms these donations. The document reveals a Christian-based feudal organisation in place under Norman rule, supported by ecclesiastical and lay figures, including Archbishop Thurstan and William's wife, Cicely, already co-founders of the Priory of Skipton.[235] Several local gifts to the

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[228] Symeon, p. 110.
[229] R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule', op. cit., pp. 64-5.
[230] *St Bees*, Liber I, p. ii.
[231] *St Bees*, p. ii, no. 1.
[232] B.L. Harley 434.
[233] Dugdale, p. 576, Appendix 1.
[234] *St Bees*, nos. 1,2,3,5,6,7.
[235] Dugdale, vi, p. 203.

Priory are listed in the charters following the foundation.[236] Connections with York, the Isle of Man, Ireland and Scotland are all documented.[237]

The wording implies an earlier church, dedicated to St Bega, existed on the site called 'Cherchebi', *Kirkeby*, and the parish stretched from Whitehaven to the Ehen in the south.[238] The later name of 'Kirkebybecoc', meaning 'village of Bega's church', was in use by the twelfth century and a witness to the earliest charter is named 'Coremac Gille becoc' (Coremac, servant of Bega). Additions to the St Bees parish by Ranulf, son of William, who founded the Abbey at Calder in 1134, made it one of the most extensive in Cumbria by the mid-twelfth centuries.[239] St Bega was the traditional saint of the area as the place-names suggest and the survival of Norse carvings implies a religious site of historical significance. The monastery provided impetus for the developing ecclesiastical system. Nearby, Millom was a church of considerable standing with at least one chapel dependent.[240] In comparison with other areas of the newly established Norman kingdom, and, considering the extensive area of the north-west, the paucity of religious foundations is a feature of this study. From other examples, Reading, Winchester, St Albans, these foundations were hugely influential on the development and extent of stone sculpture and, with the complete loss of Wetheral and Calder and the destruction at St Bees, the lack of these buildings detracts from an understanding of how the content and style of stone-carving disseminated across the region. However, it is probable that these were ornate buildings and therefore infuential within the region.

vii) **Sculpture before c. 1100**

Stone churches probably existed before 1092 although there is no documentary proof to suggest a definite pre-1092 date for any sculpture. Some carvings suggest an earlier date

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[236] Dugdale, p. 576.
[237] The Priory of Nendrum was created as a cell of St Bees in the 1170s.
[238] *St Bees*, Introduction, p. iv, 27, I, 'vj carrucatas terre in cherchebi'.
[239] *St Bees*, nos. 10, 39, 'manerium quod vocatur Avenderdala', nos. 186, 191, for the name of 'Kirkbebeghog'.
[240] *St Bees*, no. 441, n. 3. The foundation of Calder Abbey 1134 by Ranulf le Meschin, son of William le Meschin, continued the tradition of noble patronage although nothing survives of the original buildings.

through style and content.[241] It is perhaps more relevant to refer to an overlap period

spanning the years from c. 1050 to c. 1100. Buildings such as Bridekirk through their

different sculptural styles illustrate the possibility of two stages of construction. The

tympanum of the Christ may have belonged to an earlier building, perhaps ordered by

Judith after the death of Waltheof, her husband, whose power base was at Papcastle in the

1070s (see Chapter 3). The architectural sculpture from the chancel and doorways belongs

to the next stage of construction. The tympanum may have been re-used in this second

church. Another example is St Bees where the lintel-stone does not appear to belong to

the same phase of decoration as the west doorway and other architectural sculpture.

Dating simple architectural plans and simple sculpture, for example, crosses lightly carved

on grave-slabs, is conjectural. Carvings such as the cross-slab at Arlecdon and the slab at

Whitehaven with its flat chevron lines are difficult to date with precision.[242] There were

no sudden breaks with tradition and artists and patrons continued to produce sculptured

stone, not always in the latest fashions. At Cumwhitton, in the south transept wall, a stone

has been reset, carved with a flat chevron pattern, similar to this carving at Whitehaven

(ill. 69).[243] The original setting for these stones is unknown.

Addingham was an ancient settlement of considerable importance and the surviving

five carved stones suggest and it may have had a minster church.[244] After 1092, the area

surrounding Addingham (including Great and Little Salkeld) was incorporated into the

royal forest and became royal demesne and neighbouring vills such as Gamblesby and

Farmanby were granted to settlers (Map 5). Ranulf le Meschin's mention of all his men

'French and English' in the Wetheral Charter soon after 1106 identifies significance of

these incomers.[245] Nothing remains of the first stone church at Addingham although two

carved stones suggest possible building activity soon after the Norman arrival. One, part

of a cross-socket, is located in the churchyard; a second, in the porch, is a damaged but

[241] *Corpus*, Appendix A, for example, Addingham.
[242] *Corpus*, p. 162.
[243] Another example of this is found at Great Orton, where a similar stone of chevron has been reset in the original south wall of the chancel. See n. 526.
[244] Phythian-Adams, p. 103.
[245] *Wetheral*, p. 1.

recognisable stoup, both of St Bees sandstone.[246] The fine diagonal tooling and the deep

cutting of the moulding on the stoup are similar to a cross-head in Whitehaven Museum,

dated by Cramp as late eleventh-century.[247] Other examples in Whitehaven Museum are

two architectural fragments which were part of the same carving.[248] This time the stone is

white sandstone and although only one face of the carving survives, the original object

may have been a lintel, screen or font. The elaborate plant-scroll is reminiscent of the font

at Bridekirk, although the Whitehaven fragment lacks the sophistication of the font

designer. A cross-head at Cumwhitton illustrates a rosette motif of ten petals, suggesting

the tradition of carved stone crosses may have spanned the Conquest (ill. 70).[249]

Like the tympanum at Bridekirk, with its flat, painterly style, the two tympana at Long

Marton may belong to the final years of the eleventh century and this is perhaps supported

by the long-and-short technique of building evident on the north-west corner of the

building (ill. 97). The argument against this, however, is the standard two-cell plan of the

church which closely relates to that at Bolton where twelfth-century sculptural motifs are

found (ill. 2). The inclusion of the north doorway on both churches also links these two

and it is possible the tympana were carved by conservative craftsmen following other pre-

Conquest examples (ills. 6, 98).

viii) **The Origins of Carlisle Cathedral and sculpture after c. 1100**

No original documents establish the chronology of cathedral or priory buildings during

the first quarter of the century and no cartulary survives. It is possible the Priory was not

founded until 1122 when Henry I visited Carlisle.[250] The earliest grant referring to it, in a

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[246] *Corpus*, p. 161.

[247] *Corpus*, p. 170, ills. 656-9. Similar patterns are found at Kelloe and St Machars Cathedral, Aberdeen, n. 526.

[248] *Corpus*, p. 170, no. 2, ills. 660-3.

[249] Another cross-head of this Maltese type survives at Arthuret, considered by Collingwood to be Norman. These crosses are compared with the Kelloe cross and the fragment in St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen, N. Cameron, 'A twelfth-century Cross-head in St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen', *JBAA*, cxlii (1989), pp. 63-66, pl. XV.

[250] Summerson, p. 32.

translation from a manuscript, is by Waltheof.[251] A transcript of a charter of Carlisle's

first bishop, Aethelwold, survives in the CRO (1150).[252] Aethelwold, Prior of Carlisle and

Nostell and formerly Henry I's confessor, was consecrated Bishop (August 6th, 1133).[253]

The charter refers to lands and churches that belonged to Walter the Priest.[254] A transcript

survives in the Bodleian Library and is dated c. 1150.[255] Walter became the first Prior of

Carlisle, receiving the manors of 'Linstoc' and 'Karleton' in return for cornage and there

are medieval references to support Walter the Priest's part in the foundation.[256] He is,

however, also mentioned as a priest appointed by William Rufus.[257] Another tradition

suggests there was already a religious community of some kind before the Priory but this

is unlikely.[258] The charter establishes beyond doubt that Henry was the founder of the

Priory and that Walter the Priest was involved at an early date in its development.[259] A

definite date, however, is not certified by either of these facts as the priory could have

been founded in the king's absence. There are later accounts, including the register of

Bishop William Strickland, which describe this Walter as a wealthy Norman who came

from Normandy with William I and who acquired 'the church of Carlisle and the church of

Stanwix, with their chapels and vills around Carlisle'.[260] It is suggested the king's officers

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[251] Possibly dated c. 1125, the church of Cross Canonby and the chapel of St Nicholas at Flimby are given to the new priory at Carlisle. Waltheof, his son Alan and his wife are mentioned but there are no further witnesses listed; Harleian MS 1881, calendared in *Register and Records of Holm Cultram*, p. 26, no. 66a.

[252] A copy is also in Oxford, Bodleian Library, St Edmund Hall MS 7/2, f. 148; this document is fully discussed in Summerson, pp. 30-33, and edited by him, 'Aethelwold the Bishop and Walter the Priest', *CW2* xcv (1995), pp. 85-91.

[253] J. Wilson, 'The Foundation of the Austin Priors of Nostell and Scone', *SHR*, 7 (1910), pp. 141-59; D. Nicholl, *Thurstan, Archbishop of York (1114-1140)* (York, 1964), pp. 147-8.

[254] Linstock, Rickerby, High and Low Crosby, Walby, Brunstock, Carleton and 'the other Carleton' and the churches of St Cuthbert in Carlisle and Stanwix. These are to be held in a similar manner to those of Henry and other benefactors.

[255] Bodleian Library, Oxford, St Edmund Hall MS 7/2, f. 148; H. Summerson, 'Aethelwold the Bishop and Walter the Priest: a new source for the early history of Carlisle Priory', *CW2* xcv (1995), pp. 85-91, p. 85; C.R. Davey, 'Medieval Grants to the Priory of Carlisle', *CW2* lxxi (1971), pp. 284-286.

[256] J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Austin Canons', *CW2* xlix (1950), pp. 247-250.

[257] J. Leland, *Collectanea*, 2nd edn., vol I (London, 1770), pp. 120-1.

[258] H.S. Offler, 'A note on the early history of the Priory of Carlisle', *CW2* lxv (1964), pp. 176-181.

[259] J. Denton, 'An Account of the most considerable Estates and Families in the County of Cumberland (ed. R.S. Ferguson), *CW1* Tract Series (1887), pp. 6-7.

[260] From the lost register of Bishop William Strickland, now preserved in BL, Lans. MS 721, ff. 54-54v; J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins', op. cit., pp. 112-3; 'a certain chaplain called Walter, who had come over with William the Conqueror, obtained the churches of Carlisle and Stanwix with their chapels and vills. This Walter abounded in wealth and began to found a most noble church in the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary within the walls but died before it was finished'. The excavations of 1988 discovered the foundations of the Norman church of St Albans had

in Carlisle, Hildred and his son, Odard, may have been involved in the building of the priory.[261]

Aethelwold's charter confirmed to the Priory all other lands and possessions given in charity with several witnesses: Robert the Archdeacon; Ughtred de Carlatton; Ralph Engaine and Enoch de Walton. Ralph (Lord of Burgh through his marriage connections) is recorded as an early benefactor of the Priory.[262] Enoch is described as parson of Walton prior to 1158 and Hubert of Vaux's acquisition of Gilsland.[263] This implies that Triermain chapel, in Gilsland, was commissioned by Aethelwold as first bishop of Carlisle.[264] The charter confirms the involvement of Henry and his erstwhile confessor.[265] It does not prove an early date and, with no mention of property within Carlisle, only the church, raises questions about Walter's role in the city and the relationship of the established church within the royal demesne. The *Book of Fees* also mentions Walter as a canon of the Priory and that Henry gave Linstock and Carleton to him.[266] In 1122, when Henry's only visit to Carlisle is recorded, no mention is made of the Priory, only castle and towers.[267] This is not definite proof, however, that the Priory had not been started. It is not known whether the king journeyed across the region to visit the foundations of St Bees or Wetheral. Eleven years later, the ecclesiastical see was established in Carlisle with Aethelwold as its first bishop. Carlisle at last competed with other regional cathedral cities with its priory, cathedral building, castle, and rising merchant class. The discovery of silver at Alston in the 1120s, the growing trade in wool and other commodities, the

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been imposed on pre-Conquest graveyards where Anglian and Norse fragments were found. No date is documented but the cult of St Alban was popular in the first decades of the twelfth century, notably in Northumberland (Tynemouth, supported by Henry).

[261] W.P. Hedley, 'Odard Vicecomes', *CW2* lix (1959), pp. 41-50.
[262] *Wetheral*, nos. 186-188, 387; Dugdale, p. 144.
[263] *Lanercost*, Vol. II, nos. 346, 453-455; for dating see Vol. I, nos. 170-1, n. 33.
[264] Summerson, 'Athelwold the Bishop and Walter the Priest', op. cit., p. 86.
[265] J. Denton, 'An Account of the most considerable estates and families in the County of Cumberland', *CW Tract Series* (1887), pp. 96-97; J. Wilson, 'The First Historian of Cumberland', in *SHR*, Vol. 8 (1911), p.12.
[266] *RRA*, no. 1491.
[267] *SHR*, I, p. 119.

increasing cosmopolitan population and organised government brought stability and prosperity to the region.[268]

The majority of the stone sculpture discussed in the thesis, including the font at Bridekirk, almost certainly belongs to the period after 1100 in Cumberland and Westmorland when Henry I's government was imposed on the region by Ranulf le Meschin and the region increasingly opened up to outside influences. It is possible the emerging cathedral building in the city had a wide impact on the stone churches ordered and constructed during the first thirty years of the century. After 1100, the emphasis on Carlisle as a military stronghold of strategic importance formed the basis for its growing status as an ecclesiastical centre. The state of the church in Carlisle prior to the Normans is unclear but the discovery of Anglian carvings and recent evidence of a Norse burial site suggests the city had once been a significant site.[269] From recent excavations, a previous church may have existed on the site prior to the construction of the Norman cathedral.[270] Foundations of a chapel dedicated to St Albans and a burial site support the theory for a third church. The lost register of Bishop William Strickland refers to Walter's 'churches of Carlisle and Stanwix with their chapels and vills' and it is possible St Albans was one of these chapels, already in situ before 1092.[271] Although no documents provide proof of dating, many carvings under discussion probably belonged to the first thirty years of the new century when opportunities for patronage were extensive. Not only the newly created lords and their families, but also families well established in the region utilised opportunities to create wealth and status. The growing requirements of the population for baptism, marriage and burial necessitated new buildings, many of them profusely decorated. Apart from the foundations at St Bees and Wetheral and the priory in Carlisle,

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[268] The date of the discovery of silver at Alston is unknown. Remnants of Viking silver probably originated ultimately in the orient, J. Graham-Cambell and C.E. Batey, *Vikings in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1998), p. 227.

[269] Summerson, p. 31.

[270] Summerson, p. 11.

[271] B.C. Jones, 'St Albans' Church and Graveyard, Carlisle', *CW2* xc (1990), pp. 163-183; the earliest reference to this church is found in the Pipe Roll of the Exchequer (1201), *VCH*, I, p. 388.

churches were designed by local people, living in rural communities, speaking a variety of languages across the region.

The developing cathedral in the city of Carlisle and its associated priory buildings, probably begun soon after 1122, must have been a source of inspiration for the remaining lordships (Cat. 10). The fragments remaining in Carlisle cathedral and those mentioned in the literature provide important evidence about the significance placed on the building. Only the crossing, two bays of the nave and the north and south transepts remain and the original east and west ends have disappeared. The corbel-table and fragments of string-course, although weathered, are in their original position on both north and south walls of the surviving nave section and the south transept (ill. 48). Twenty capitals remain in the clerestory which clearly belongs to the original Norman building.[272] Capitals and bases are found in the crossing. One remaining Norman doorway from the south choir aisle into the cloister is blocked but still visible. During the excavations of 1855, evidence emerged of an ornate doorway with interlaced shafts, foliate capitals and carved mouldings.[273] These surviving features assist identifying the building's links with other sites and its influence in the rest of the region.

The original plan of the Norman cathedral was cruciform with seven or eight bays.[274] This plan with two apsidal chapels and an apsidal east end is similar to but not identical to the plan of Old Sarum, begun at the end of the eleventh century by Bishop Roger, suggesting further evidence for a possible early date for the beginning of the cathedral building. The remaining piers of the nave are similar to those at Durham.[275] In the

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[272] L. Hoey, 'The design of twelfth-century clerestories with wall passages in Normandy and England', *Gesta* xxviii (1989), pp. 78-103, where St Étienne, Caen and Durham's south transept compare with Carlisle, p. 79, fig. 1; p. 84, fig. 8.

[273] Purday, C., *Architecture of Carlisle Cathedral: lecture delivered on 19 March 1855*, Carlisle, Thurnam, (1859).

[274] D.W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), p. 10, n. i. See plan on same page after Bulman, C.G. Bulman, 'The Norman Priory Church at Carlisle', *CW2* xxxvii (1937), p. 46.

[275] D.W.V. Weston, ibid., pp. 10, 11. The relationship between Carlisle and Durham is unclear in the early years of the twelfth century. Later contemporary comment is scathing about Carlisle. A charter of Thomas of York refers to the 'archidiaconatum de Carleoli'. William Rufus had instructed Carlisle to obey Durham before 1100. Despite Durham chroniclers' claims of St Cuthbert's involvement in Carlisle, little comment is made regarding the north-west. Upper Denton parish remained within Durham's diocese until the eighteenth century. The barony of Gilsland, however, although not under English lordship, appears to have been under the English bishopric of Carlisle, not Durham, for ecclesiastical purposes from 1133. Aethelwold's involvement in the founding of Triermain, however, questions Durham's influence in

parishes itemised in Appendix i, all known parishes are listed except Carlisle and

Warwick-on-Eden (St Leonard), possibly built as a chapel for the bishop of Carlisle,

suggesting a special status for these two sites. The chapel of Warwick was a gift to St

Mary's Abbey by Ranulf le Meschin.[276] The plan and design of this church are unique in

this country and it has recently been suggested the round, pilastered apse may reflect the

original end of the cathedral (ill. 135).[277] The reset chancel arch at the west end of the

nave has similar scallop capitals and base spurs to those of Carlisle.[278] The single-incised

chevron on the abaci at Warwick is also found in the cathedral (ills. 49, 134). The angle

roll-moulding of the south presbytery aisle of the cathedral occurs at Warwick, Bridekirk

and Isel, where base spurs are also found (ills. 15, 88). It has been suggested that the

peculiar chevron of the south doorway at Isel carried on chamfered imposts and plain

jambs and similar carving at Corbridge in the south doorway of the church of St Andrew

could reflect lost detail at Carlisle.[279] A more complex type of this chevron is found at

Aspatria, a church granted to Carlisle by Waltheof (ill. 1).[280]

The capitals in the cathedral clerestory are unique to the region although one feature,

the mask facing across the south transept on the inner face of the capital, is similar to a

single mask carved on the north side of the chancel arch at Kirkbampton (ill. 91, Cat. 17).

Their definitive angles, volutes and deeply cut geometrical designs are closer to early

examples in Normandy and Durham than the more intricate flowing carvings of the west

doorway of St Bees or the figural and bestial carvings at Torpenhow or Great Salkeld (ills.

78, 132, Cat. 16). The capitals are of similar but not identical dimensions and the

decoration illustrates subtle variations but the overall impression is of high quality and

practised workmanship. The surfaces were almost certainly painted as a piece of painted

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this Scottish lordship, implying the ecclesiastical border at this date lay north of the political one. Links
with Durham traditions remained strong, however, at the lower levels of the growing parish system as
fifteen churches in Cumbria may have had medieval dedications to St Cuthbert, perhaps as early as the
twelfth century.

[276] Whellan, p. 188; *VCH, Cumberland*, II, p. 184.

[277] N. Stratford, *BAA Conference* (Carlisle, 2002).

[278] Pevsner, p. 198.

[279] M. Thurlby, *BAA* Conference (Carlisle, 2002).

[280] R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', *CW2* xxi (2005), p. 59, n. 161.

plaster with red lines delineating the surface survives on the wall of the clerestory (ill. 59).

Other examples of similar capitals are found in the three surviving churches in Caen: La

Trinité; Saint-Étienne; Saint-Nicholas. Similar volute shapes and geometric designs are

found in the crypt of La Trinité.[281] Other examples are found in the crossing and

clerestory of Saint Étienne and the corbel table on the exterior of the east end resembles

that of Carlisle.[282] Volute capitals are found in the nave and aisles of St Nicholas and,

again, on the original apsidal east end, the corbels are close in type to those at Carlisle.

Much of the original fabric of the three Caen churches belongs to the eleventh century.

From these comparisons, it is possible the cathedral was begun shortly after 1100 and

Ranulf le Meschin's part in its development cannot be ruled out.

The only surviving remnant of the priory at Wetheral is the fifteenth-century gatehouse

overlooking pastureland where the priory buildings once stood.[283] To date, no carved

stone from the twelfth-century priory has been identified. The nearby church of the Holy

Trinity is mainly fifteenth-century but two features in the nave connect the site to the early

work at Carlisle, Egremont and perhaps the lost priory: in the nave, three piers alternate

from round to octagonal to round, a system found at St Bees, Morland and Torpenhow; the

bases at Wetheral have been renewed, but one example on the south-eastern pier of the

nave may be original and its base is carved with triangular spurs, similar to those found in

the cathedral. It is possible the church at Wetheral originally had a similar plan and

elevation to the cathedral, perhaps also an inspiration for the church at Warwick. Even if

these churches were related through patronage, it is impossible to know the chronology of

the building.

Other isolated links with Carlisle are found in surviving buildings, for example, the

north doorway at Bolton (All Saints), where the angle roll-moulding with its single billet

hood is found on the second window of the north nave clerestory at Carlisle. Several

cushion capitals at Bolton have outlines incised on the outer faces similar to those at

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[281] L. Musset, *Normandie Romane, La Basse Normandie* (Zodiaque, 1975), pls. 24, 28, 29, 30.
[282] The plan of St Nicholas is also very close to the first cathedral with two apsidal chapels and the west end with three chapels, L. Musset, ibid., p. 108.
[283] Perriam and Robinson, p. 223 for illustration.

Carlisle (ills. 4, 49). Also at Bolton, the left capital of the south doorway has a double row of saltire crosses, found at Carlisle, at Cumrew, Morland, Bromfield and Bowness-on-Solway and below the carved tympanum on the west door of Long Marton (ill. 5). Details from Kirkbampton also relate to those of the cathedral, for example, the angle roll with chevron of the chancel arch (ill. 91). Here, the incised chevron of the abacus on the left of the chancel arch is found at Carlisle and also Warwick. The chequered pattern on the face of the inner left capital at Kirkbampton is also found at Bromfield on the tympanum above the south doorway (another church belonging to St Mary's Abbey) (ill. 42, Cat. 7).[284] A surviving capital from St Mary's illustrates four scallops on each face, a scheme also found at Kirkby Lonsdale, on the north nave arcade pier, both with incised edges as found in the cathedral at Carlisle (ill. 49). There are also sculptural details at Kirkby Lonsdale found at Gosforth (dedicated to St Mary, belonging to St Mary's Abbey). Perhaps the decoration of Wetheral priory also reflected lost sculpture from this Yorkshire abbey (founded by Reinfrid and Aldwin during the revival of the monastic movement in the north-west after 1066). The surviving sculpture from the abbey dates from later in the twelfth century and illustrates an ornate and highly decorated site.[285]

The two capitals found in Carlisle in 2000 are significant in that they provide possible information as to the quality and design of the cloister arcade in the monastic buildings (ills. 50, 51, Cat. 10).[286] Both are carved in the round and are of small dimensions, similar to cloister capitals from Reading Abbey.[287] Carved with intricate detail, of basket-work and vine leaves, there are comparisions in the region: the font at Bowness-on-Solway and the St Bees lintel have similar weaved interlace designs but from different sources (ills. 11, 103). A capital from Norwich provides another comparison.[288] The same basket-work

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[284] *VCH, Cumberland*, II, p. 181.

[285] *ERA*, pp. 204-208.

[286] It is conceivable these stones came from the destroyed priory at Wetheral when the remnants were transported to Carlisle for building.

[287] *ERA*, pp. 168, 169.

[288] Illustrated in G. Zarnecki, *1066 and Architectural Sculpture* (London, 1966), pl. XIVa, b; these stones are linked to Cerisy-la-Forêt, Normandy.

design, beading and berries are found on a stone capital at Checkendon (Oxfordshire).[289]

The palmette design is similar to, but not identical with, the design between the scallops of

the crossing pier in the cathedral (ill. 49). Scallop capitals and plain abaci are found on the

renewed doorway from the south choir aisle and the middle order is carved with a double

row of chevron. The capitals are of interest as the identical leaf designs or palmettes

between each scallop are repeated across all four, beneath alternating semi- acanthus and

half-beaded circles. The leaves are reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon foliage than

contemporary sculpture.[290] This pointed leaf motif is also found on west doorway capitals

at St Bees (ill. 106, Cat. 23). The cable design on the abaci of the south side of the west

doorway are found on several sites, for example, Bowness-on-Solway and Bridekirk as

fragments and surrounding the north doorway at Kirkbampton (ill. 89).[291]

ix) **Conclusion**

Although the extent of early influences of Norman culture on sculpture across

Cumberland and Westmorland are unclear and the early sculpture difficult to identify with

certainty, it is clear that, by 1100, the new government, headed by Ranulf le Meschin by

1106, provided opportunities, inspiration and finance for church-building and decoration.

During the first thirty years of the century, despite an absent king, but under strong

leadership, Norman and local leaders saw the merging of the region with the Norman

kingdom. Artistic ideas from the rest of the realm spread as the wealth and status of the

region grew. The founding of the priory at Carlisle, followed, in 1133, by the creation of

an ecclesiastical see, strengthened this growing importance as a religious and cultural

centre. The huge losses of sculpture and church buildings detract from an accurate picture

of these years but, through the evidence of what does survive, contacts with other areas of

the kingdom were established and several stone churches were profusely decorated.

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[289] L. Stone, *Sculpture in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), Pl. 35B, c. 1135.

[290] R. Cramp, *Grammar of Anglo-Saxon Ornament* (London, 1984), p. xxvi, fig.11.

[291] Other examples are found in the south, for example, in Northamptonshire (Castor and St Peter),
c. 1140, L. Stone, *Sculpture of the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), Pl. 44.

The inspiration for building continued with the resumption of Scottish rule under royal patronage. In Carlisle, work on the cathedral and the castle continued and the keep was completed during this period. In the surrounding area, several carvings including the surviving arch at Aspatria and beak-heads at Caldbeck could be as late as 1135, based on comparison with other examples. During these twenty years of Scottish rule, no surviving documents may be linked to any church or its decoration. David's cathedral in Glasgow was dedicated in 1136 and from this building only one painted voussoir survives; it possibly belonged to a window arch.[292] The palmettes of this isolated example are similar to the crossing capitals at Carlisle, although the painted examples are set within a defined triangle, found in manuscript painting and the rare surviving wall paintings.[293] Other examples in stone are found at Dunfermline, on the west side of the south-east doorway, at Durham on the south-west doorway and on capitals from St Bride, Douglas and Rutherglen, Glasgow.[294] It has been possible to illustrate across the region that the Norman period encouraged and organised a large number of stone churches on largely traditional religious sites where, in some cases, stone churches may have existed prior to the twelfth-century buildings. There is a variety of style and motif used in the doorways and chancel arches and, together with the font at Bridekirk, these suggest a high level of craftsmanship existed across the region. The following chapters examine these principal carvings in detail.

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[292] N. Cameron, 'The Painted Voussoir in Glasgow Cathedral', *JBAA* cxxxix (1986), pp. 40-44, pls. XI-XV; C.A. Ralegh Radford and E.L.G. Stones, 'The Remains of the Cathedral of Bishop Jocelin at Glasgow, c. 1197', *AJ* xliv (1964), pp. 220-32.

[293] London, British Library MS Cotton Nero C IV, f. 21; the string-course of Anselm's chapel, Canterbury.

[294] N. Cameron, op. cit., p. 42.

CHAPTER TWO

THE LINTEL-STONE AT ST BEES

Introduction

i)   History of St Bees and the Bega Cult

ii)   Site and church

iii) Style

iv)   Comparative material and sources

v)   Iconographic: sources and comparisons

vi)   Conclusion and date

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the carved stone, assumed to be a lintel-stone, above the wall to

the west of the west door of the church at St Bees (ill. 106, Cat. 23). The discussion

introduces the site, describes the residue of the Norman church, examines the site's

association with the Irish saint, Bega, and discusses the style and content of the carving.

(A full description of the carving is found in the Catalogue). Comparative material in

stone and other media are introduced to identify the sources for the style and content. The

iconography is examined, discussing the identification of the central figure and the sources

for the iconographical content. In conclusion, suggestions for the date and original

position of the carving are proposed, introducing another possibility for the stone's

original function. The discussion highlights the problems associated with the study of

stone sculpture in this region during the period covered by the thesis: the paucity of

documentation, the lack of knowledge of the church on the site prior to the Norman church

of the 1120s; the little evidence for the date and nature of the priory church and buildings

founded by William le Meschin between 1120 and 1134. An examination of the stone,

however, introduces many positive aspects of the study of this region's sculpture: the

variety of ethnic groups, the persistence of Norse and other cultures into the Norman era, the presence across the region of a strong and varied tradition of stone culture through the preceding centuries and the proximity of St Bees and surrounding area to the influences from the Irish Sea provinces and beyond.

i) **History of St Bees and the Bega Cult**

Our knowledge of the settlement at St Bees and its surrounds prior to the foundation of the Benedictine Priory by William le Meschin is limited to conjecture based around legend, place-name evidence, sculptural and archaeological finds (Maps 1, 6). Professor John Todd's succinct article which advocates a possible minster at St Bees sums up all known facts about the site's background.[295] Any conclusions about the pre-Norman church are based on the interpretation of what is known of the region and the specific site of St Bees.

It is possible the Norse settlers took over an existing church system, perhaps a minster, centred on St Bees, which in turn developed under the Norman clerics into the parish system of the twelfth century. There is evidence supporting the existence of an earlier church on the site of the priory: five Hiberno-Norse cross-fragments have been discovered, two of which survive. All are dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries, supporting the probability that a building of some sort, perhaps stone, existed here as a centre of worship during this period. The existence of an earlier church is also supported by the use of the word *cherchebi*.[296] The Norse word *kirkja-byr* meaning 'settlement by a church', suggests that the Hiberno-Norse incomers took over a settlement here already in possession of a church-building.[297] This, together with the cross fragments, suggest the existence of a church at St Bees from the early tenth-century. It could be speculated from the use of the

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[295] www.stbees.org.uk/publications/jt_paper/minchu.htm; J.M. Todd, 'The pre-Conquest Church in St Bees, Cumbria: a possible minster?' CW3 iii (2003), pp. 97-108.

[296] *St Bees*, p. 27, no. 1.

[297] G. Fellowes-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles: the evidence of place-names containing the element *kirkja*', *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress* (Oslo, 1987), pp. 295-307; F-J, *NW*, p. 34.

word *kirkja-byr* that it was a site of some considerable significance. John Todd concludes

the cult of St Bega may belong to the period of Norse occupation rather than the

traditionally-held view of the seventh century.[298] He suggests that the only known source

of the stories supporting an early date for the cult, the medieval *Life and Miracles of St*

Bega, is misleading in its conclusions. Whatever the origin of this cult, the incoming

Normans gave the saint equal status in the dedication of the new priory, a significant factor

in understanding the attitude of William le Meschin and his family and followers to the

kind of church community they encountered in the lordship of Copeland.[299] St Bees

became a centre of pilgrimage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, raising this saint to

significant status in the eyes of the Christian world.[300] This assimilation of an existing

saint, assuming this to be the case, is widespread across the north-west as the dedications

to St Bridget, Kentigern or Mungo and Cuthbert attest, and it points to a fusion of

ecclesiastical ideals rather than a Norman imposition.[301] William le Meschin would have

known the advantages of maintaining peaceful relations with established settlers, and, if St

Bees was the important centre the evidence suggests, the inhabitants of the late eleventh-

century community valued their church highly.[302]

The list of witnesses from the first charter and subsequent charters referring to St Bees

are predominantly Norman, associated with William le Meschin.[303] This does not,

however, preclude the role of local people in the founding, building and embellishing of

the priory buildings. The charter was a legal document, underlying the financial and

religious status of the priory. The suggestion that the 'parish' or church-building held

rights of sanctuary also supports the importance of the site, although this is uncertain and

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[298] J.M. Todd, op. cit., Dugdale, p. 395. Dugdale cites Leland, *Collectanea*, Vol. iii, p. 36.
[299] The joint dedication at Wetheral also has particular significance, Phythian-Adams, pp. 117-8.
[300] J.M. Todd, 'St Bega: Cult, Fact and Legend', *CW2* lxxx (1980), pp. 30-31.
[301] Phythian-Adams, pp. 72-3, pp. 117-8, p. 127 for Kentigern.
[302] J.M. Todd, 'The pre-Conquest Church in St Bees, Cumbria: a possible minster?' *CW3* iii
(2003), pp. 97-108. From a study of place-names, the Norse settlers had colonised the
more important and flourishing areas, including several that retained their Anglo-Saxon names,
G. Fellowes-Jensen, 'Scandinavian Settlement in Cumbria and Dumfriesshire: the place-name
Evidence', in Baldwin and Whyte, *Scandinavians in Cumbria*, pp. 80-81.
[303] *St Bees*, p. xxviii.

the liberties referred to may reflect other freedoms.[304] Sanctuary rights were found in

several previous cultures and were not restricted to Norman dominions but it is interesting

that Wetheral Priory also held rights of sanctuary, although the use of the term *grith* (peace

cross) is not used in the St Bees documents.[305] St Bees priory may have had certain rights

due to being a cell of St Mary's, perhaps also the case with Wetheral.[306] John Todd,

however, suggests these rights may have been older in the case of St Bees, comparing

other examples (Hexham, Beverley and Ripon) where rights date from the seventh

century.[307] Whether sanctuary rights affected the role of the stone decoration of doorways,

boundaries or crosses is difficult to assess due to loss of material.

St Bega was almost certainly already established in the surrounding area before the

acquisition of the site by the Normans as the survival of two pre-Conquest cross fragments

attest.[308] Three altars in the church included the altar of St Bega and the altar of St Mary

and there are references to all three in the cartulary.[309] The church of St Bega was

renowned for her relics, including her bracelet, inspiring local munificence.[310] (The

nearby church at Bassenthwaite is also dedicated to the saint). Several local gifts to the

priory are listed in the charters following the foundation.[311] Later in the twelfth century,

connections with the Isle of Man, Ireland and Scotland are documented: the Prior of St

Bees, for example, was given lands in the Isle of Man and was summoned to attend the

lords when required.[312] The priory of Nedrum was created as a cell of St Bees in the

1170s.[313] Between 1154 and 1181, Archbishop Roger Pont l'Eveque confirmed to the

priory all churches, chapels and titles in Copeland with all their lands.[314] Associations

with Scotland are confirmed by the inclusion of grants from David I and the Lords of the

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304 Phythian-Adams, p. 118.
305 *Wetheral*, Appendix C, pp. 490-2.
306 *St Bees*, p. xxviii; Phythian-Adams, p. 117.
307 J.M. Todd, op. cit., pp. 97-108.
308 The 'Standing Cross' and the 'Norse Cross' survive. Three further fragments have been lost.
309 *St Bees*, Introduction, pp. xxxi, xxxii, nos. 415, 421, 33, 384, 90, 151, 153, 412.
310 *St Bees*, no. 67, where Bernard of Ripley pays a rental to preserve a light before the relics. Also nos. 342, 362, 399.
311 Dugdale, p. 576.
312 *St Bees*, pp. xiv, xv.
313 Dugdale, p. 575.
314 The chartulary of St Mary's Abbey makes frequent references to St Bees, listing abbots and priors.

Isles.[315] The priory of St Bees remained independent of York and relatively small, with no

mention of royal patronage.[316] The dedication of the priory reflects the close relationship

with St Mary's Abbey, York, and the growing cult of the Virgin.[317]

ii)   Site and church

From the evidence, it is clear that St Bees was not an ordinary parish due to its size,

boundaries, history and insinuations from the documents.[318] The oldest parts of the church

found on the site today dates from the building begun by William le Meschin and his

family between 1120 and 1134. If William came north during the first decade, even the

second, of the twelfth century, it in unlikely he would have delayed ten years, possibly

more, before building or rebuilding a stone church at this chosen site. It is possible,

however, that an existing stone church was deemed adequate for the Norman settlers on

their arrival and only later, some years after his establishing power across Copeland, was

the decision made to found the new priory. Without archaeological excavations, it is

impossible to know what sort of building existed before the Norman church. There may

have been a group of clerics already on the site, worshipping in a building appropriate to

the role of the site with some sort of accommodation within the community. It is possible

the lintel-stone may belong to an earlier stone building, discussed below.

A tradition of stone-building was well established in the north-west by 1092, evident

from churches at Morland, Long Marton, Gilcrux and Kirkbride, and the site at St Bees

with long-standing religious significance probably had a church of stone before 1100.[319]

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[315]   Dugdale, p. 575, lists David I, Guthred and Raydnald, Lords of the Isles, among the donors;
Kapelle, pp. 204-208; *St Bees*, p. xvi.

[316]   In 1291, the cell was valued at £66 13s. 4d., Dugdale, iii, p. 580.

[317]   England was at the forefront of the growing cult of the Virgin Mary in the late eleventh
and twelfth centuries, illustrated in sculpture by, for example, a surviving capital from
Reading Abbey of her coronation, c. 1125. The abbey was dedicated to St Mary and it
is possible a tympanum carved with scenes from the Life of the Virgin once adorned the west
doorway, of which the example at Quennington (Gloucesteshire) nearby is a surviving
copy, G. Zarnecki, 'The Coronation of the Virgin on a capital at Reading Abbey', *JWCI* 13
(London, 1950), pp. 1-12.

[318]   J.M. Todd, op. cit..

[319]   The presence of other minster churches in the region is discussed in the final chapter.

Whatever the circumstances William le Meschin encountered on his arrival, he decided to build, not only a church at St Bees, but also a priory, dedicated to a local saint with whom he had presumably little previous knowledge or association, and also to St Mary, a reference perhaps to the Priory in York or the cathedral in Carlisle although when its dedication was chosen is unknown. The surviving pieces of Norman work remain on the west front and along the north nave walls: the string-course; the corbel-table along the entire length of the north side of the nave; the west doorway, complete but severely weathered (ill 106);[320] internally, the west piers of the nave and north transept and window belong to the original buiding. An engraving suggests the existence of a north doorway from the west end of the nave, also decorated with three orders, no longer visible.[321] The priory buildings lay to south and the south wall remains but, without archaeological excavations, the size and dimensions of the buildings remain unclear. Although initially only for seven monks, the buildings were later enlarged. A gateway to the west of the church is illustrated in a surviving engraving although the date of this is unknown and no trace survives.[322] Other gateways existed, at Wetheral and Selby (Yorkshire), a foundation with other decorative aspects in common with the buildings at St Bees.[323]

iii) **Style**

The composition of the lintel-stone fills the shape of the stone, cut for a specific architectural requirement. The stone is deeply carved and the figures are rounded, evident despite the erosion of the stone (frontispiece to Volume One). The sculptor has composed the design by integrating five different features: central figure and dragon, three interlace patterns and bird. Unlike many manuscripts or stone cross comparisons, the sculptor of

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[320] A similar string-course with zig-zag motifs is found at Monmouth Priory, which belonged to the building erected between 1120 and 1145 under the patronage of William fitz Baderon II.

[321] Perriam and Robinson, p. 98.

[322] Perriam and Robinson, p. 233.

[323] Perriam and Robinson, p. 223; the gatehouse ruins here date from the fifteenth century. The gatehouse at Egremont is another example.

the lintel follows his own design within borders dictated by the doorway.[324] Nothing

survives in wood from the north-west, but the widespread use of this medium is clearly

indicated by the amount of Scandinavian objects.[325] The familiarity with wood-carving is

apparent in smooth, rounded forms and moulded edges and the absence of panels between

areas of carving. Specific features relate to wood-carving, for example, the eyes of the

two beasts are almond-shaped and very close to the eyes of the figures of the wooden

capitals of Urnes stave church (c. 1120).[326] The interlace pattern A is identical to the hair

on a wooden figurine gaming piece which is described as 'densely woven basket-plait'.[327]

This detail is also carved as an interlace knot.[328] Many tools for carving and treating wood

have been found and the techniques of using gesso to mould and colour the surface is

illustrated on surviving objects.[329] The lintel was probably coloured and ornamented and

specific details picked out. The covering of gesso softened the contours and shape of the

figures. The actual carving provided the outline but the additional detail was highlighted

by colour. There are numerous examples of painted stone, for example, the Braemore

Rood, which bears traces of white primer, goldleaf on the clouds surrounding Christ and a

red pigment added between Mary's head and halo.[330]

To carve a composition of this size the stone was laid on the ground and worked from

above. This enabled access to apply different tools to the surface and to rub smooth and

modelled features on to the stone, for example, the curving tail of the dragon. It also

allowed the sculptor to use grids, if necessary, to draw out patterns on to the surface,

before carving in stone. The use of grids and compasses to lay out specific designs for

book illumination applied to sculpturing a flat stone surface also.[331] Pattern A, which fills

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[324] The Bewcastle Cross, for example, has well defined areas of space to enclose both pattern and figural sculpture, *Corpus*, ill. 117.

[325] M. Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque Decorative Sculpture* (London, 1965), pp. 18-21.

[326] M. Blindheim, ibid, pls. 128, 130.

[327] J.T. Lang, 'Viking Age Decorated Wood', *Royal Irish Academy* (Dublin, 1988), p. 50, pl. II.

[328] J.T. Lang, ibid., p. 53.

[329] M. Blindheim, *Painted Wooden Sculpture in Norway, c. 1100-1150* (London, 1970), p. 20.

[330] R.N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto, 1996), pl. 34.

[331] G.R. Evans, 'The Influence of quadrivium studies in the eleventh- and twelfth-century Schools', *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975), pp. 151-164, illustrates a mathematical diagram from an Augustine manuscript, now Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 352, f. 1 (p. 153) used to construct a commentary, based on a quadrivium text of Boethius.

the whole frame on the right-hand side of the composition, is found in Hiberno-Saxon manuscript illumination, a subject discussed by several art-historical scholars.[332] Without the original colouring, it is difficult to be exact about the sculptor's specific aims when using this pattern. Examples from earlier interlace designs suggest the geometric precision was intended to contrast with other subject matter and that colour would enhance this purpose.[333] Through the imaginary application of colour to these patterns, the relationship with manuscript designs becomes much clearer. The complexity of pattern found in illumination, for example, in the Book of Kells, is more difficult to produce in stone due to the nature of the material but does not detract, however, from the skill involved in the carving of these geometrical patterns.[334] The tradition of interlace was kept alive through art and objects available for sculptors in stone to view, wooden and metal objects, jewellery, tapestries and silks.

A study by Gwenda Adcock revised the earlier theories of interlace and their construction.[335] The author illustrates from sculptural evidence how interlace is laid out on a square grid to determine the width of the strands. Woven interlace appears to be the basis for six basic patterns which are used as 'mirror image' motifs. This is also discussed by Professor Bailey with regard to dating Viking Age sculpture in Northumbria where he suggests the sculptors used templates from other stone and metal sculptures.[336] Adcock establishes that edge lines and hole points at the edges were used to determine the

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The lay-out resembles pattern C in outline but there is no way of establishing what method the lintel sculptor used to construct his lay-out.

[332]   J.R. Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times* (London, 1904), pp. 257-78; J.R. Allen and J. Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, 3 Vols. (Edinburgh, 1903), Vol II, pp. 140-307; J. Guilmain, 'An Analysis of some Ornamental Patterns in Hiberno-Saxon Manuscript Illumination in relation to their Mediterranean Origins', in *the Age of Migrating Ideas, Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt, (eds.), Procs. of the second International Conference on Insular Art (Edinburgh, Jan. 1991), pp. 92-103.

[333]   The cross-carpet page of the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, f. 210v, illustrates a linear pattern adjacent to the curving bird-forms. The illuminator emphasised the pattern through the use of red and blue paint.

[334]   Book of Kells, f, 27v, illustrates a similar but not identical pattern to the pattern B, again using this design to fill corner areas. The design on f. 7v is varied within the corner spaces, used as a back-drop for the Madonna and Child miniature.

[335]   G. Adcock, 'The Theory of Interlace and Interlace Types in Anglian Sculpture', Anglo-Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture and its context', ed. J.T. Lang, *BAR*, British series 49 (1978), pp. 33-45.

[336]   R.N. Bailey, 'The Chronology of Viking Age Sculpture in Northumbria', pp. 173-185, 180.

strands.[337] Listing eleven different pattern types, this formula provides the standard grouping of interlace patterns. Following this analysis, it is clear that patterns A and B on the lintel are standard interlace patterns, adhering to specific types, perhaps taken from another monument on site. Does this suggest they have no symbolic meaning in relation to the whole scene? It seems likely this is the case due to their repetition on several examples of stone-carving.[338] Pattern C, however, does not fit into any category as defined by Adcock or Cramp which implies a specific intention or an unusual source, portraying a sign or possible symbol relevant to this context.

iv) **Comparative material and sources**

The composition of the lintel is unique amongst surviving carving in the region. Individual parts of the composition, however, recur in earlier and contemporary sculpture and other artistic media. Sources for these motifs and patterns are found in previous artistic traditions, in the north-west, and beyond. The sculptor has assembled different designs and adjusted them to fit the shape of the stone. The pattern borders on the right and left of the figures have not been cut by re-use and the composition appears to have been made for a specific position in a stone building. The surface detail of the lintel has been eroded but a series of small holes, for example, on the tail of the dragon, suggests there may have been further attachments and ornament, now lost.[339]

There are no carvings in stone in Cumberland and Westmorland to compare with the style of the lintel. Of the nine carved stones that survive above doorways, the St Bees example is the most plastic and sculptural. The style of both tympana at Long Marton and the Christ figure at Bridekirk is painterly and flat, carved in low relief (ills. 95, 96, Cat. 5, 19). The tympanum at Bromfield is purely geometric with billet detail on the doorway which survives in its original position (ills. 39, 40, Cat. 7). On the font at Bridekirk, the

[337] Adcock, op. cit., p. 40.
[338] *Corpus* for several examples in the region.
[339] R.N. Bailey, ibid, p. 8.

centaur's body on the centaur and narrative face is round but on a smaller scale and fits

neatly into its frame, whereas the sculptor at St Bees has disregarded borders and created a

less coherent scheme. The St Bees dragon is fleshy and rounded and, when viewed from

below, extends out beyond the picture plain by up to five centimetres (frontispiece to

Volume One).

There are examples of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century carvings with similar

individual details. The diminutive head can be compared in type to two fragments from

Bury St Edmunds Abbey. There is no suggestion of direct link but the similarities

illustrate the extraordinary ubiquitous nature of the Norman sculptural motifs and ideas.

One is a capital which illustrates a small figure slaying a dragon with a spear. Carved on

two sides, it was originally part of a doorway.[340] The bare head is in profile and the

inflated right arm clutches a sword resembling the St Bees dragon's tail, a round form set

against flat ground. On the Bury capital, the head of the dragon marks the corner of the

capital shape, with its open mouth and long tongue. The style of this capital has been

closely related to north Italian sculpture.[341] A second fragment from Bury, a small profile

head, probably from a capital, is similar with a long face and large eyes. Badly weathered

like the St Bees head, this has been compared with manuscript heads, for example, figures

from the Life and Miracles of St Edmund (c. 1130).[342] The similarities perhaps point to a

manuscript source for both. Two further southern sculptures display stylistic

characteristics that relate to the lintel and support the possibility of earlier dating. These

are the Romsey Rood, Hampshire, considered pre-Norman, and the two fragmentary

scenes excavated in the eastern crypt at Winchester (c. 1030).[343] The Winchester

'Sigmund relief' was identified by Zarnecki as 'Romanesque' because of the bold,

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[340] *ERA*, p. 162, fig. 117.
[341] G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Objects at Bury St Edmunds', *Apollo* lxxxv 64 (1967), pp. 412-3; C. Verzar Bornstein, 'The Capitals of the porch of Sant' Eufemia in Piacanza', *Gesta* xiii (1974), pp. 15-26. Anselm, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds (1121-1148) was an Italian.
[342] *ERA*, p. 95, no. 20.
[343] R.N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto, 1996), pls. 30, 33.

monumental carving and rounded forms.[344] The lintel shares with these carvings stylistic aspects that belong to the Norman period.

Other stone comparisons exist, for example, a lintel-stone survives in south-west Scotland, at Linton (Roxburghshire) still *in situ* above the south doorway, which represents a knight on a horse in combat with two beasts (ill. 94). Although this is also considerably weathered, the subject matter is still discernible although much of the detail has been lost. The style has a similar plastic quality as the lintel and the figures of the horse and beasts are rounded and plump. The dimensions are also similar, supporting the possibility the St Bees carving rested above the doorway of a relatively small building. This stone at Linton has been dated as late as the mid-twelfth century although the church to which it belonged was built in the early part of the century, based on a simple two-cell plan of nave and chancel. As with the stone at St Bees, dating this carving is difficult due to lack of comparative material.

Doorways at Kirkbampton, Bromfield and two at Long Marton, all in their original positions, illustrate the practice of setting a lintel beneath a carved tympanum (ills. 39, 90, 95, 96).[345] At Kirkbampton, the worn carving over the north doorway is difficult to decipher but could represent David.[346] The dimensions fit precisely with the twelfth-century doorway and there is no evidence the stone was altered. The figures are carved along the oblong lintel and the semicircular stones above are placed around three individually cut stones filling the central space. The surrounding arch and the stone above the lintel are carved with an uneven chevron pattern. At Bromfield, the pattern is neatly and expertly set within the shape of the stone. An alternative arrangement is found at Long Marton above the west doorway where the lintel is plain and was probably painted. The semicircular tympanum above depicts the illustration and the lintel stone is wider than the tympanum stone.

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[344]   Bailey, ibid, p. 103.
[345]   There is another example at Dinton (Buckinghamshire) over the south doorway, Keyser, p. 14. Other examples where figurative tympana have one or more rows of saltire cross decoration below are found at Croxdale (Durham), Dumbleton (Gloucestershire), Findern (Derbyshire), Kencott (Oxfordshire), Newton Purcell (Oxfordshire), Pennington (Lancashire) and Tissington (Derbyshire).
[346]   Keyser, p. 28.

Unusual shapes are found at Langport (Somerset) over the south doorway, where a central 'Agnus Dei' with a circle is supported by two angels.[347] The figures sit neatly in the plain frame surrounding the carving. Whether this was its original setting is not known but the masonry surrounding the carving is undisturbed. The shape emphasizes the central feature of the 'Agnus Dei' which may have been the sculptor's intention. Another similar shape with more emphasis on the central vertical is found at Downe St Mary (Devon), reset above the south doorway.[348] The composition sits within the outline and the profiled dragon's head with a large eye resemble the St Bees beast. The tympanum over the north doorway at Hoveringham (Nottinghamshire) shows the contest between St Michael and the dragon carved on a recessed area beneath the surrounding arch of plain voussoirs. The lintel is carved with a dragonesque scroll and St Paul and St Peter to either side.[349] Another Nottinghamshire example is at Southwell illustrating David and the Lion and, again, the asymmetric shape appears to be original.[350]

There are no surviving tympana in the north-west similar in design to the lintel-stone but the three interlace patterns are found separately carved in stone in the region and elsewhere within different contexts indicating their popular usage. In stone, metal and manuscripts, interlace has a long and complex history. The 'Adam' stone in the church at Dearham (St Mungo) is possibly early twelfth century and offers a striking parallel to the lintel in an area of pattern formed by a continuous band in circular knots adjacent to the inscribed name 'Adam'.[351] The combination of interlace and figures, one helmeted, his foot crushing a serpent are also similar. The font at Dearham illustrates an area of design on its south face close to pattern C which suggests the use of templates (ills. 71, 72, 73, Cat. 14). In order to fit the space, the ends of the continuous line are broken and the volutes of the corners of the cushion shape are curled echoing the circular pattern. The billet pattern on the font is found on the tympanum at Bromfield where the squares have

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[347] Keyser, fig. 108.
[348] Keyser, fig. 72; Romilly Allen, p. 285.
[349] Romilly Allen, pp. 163, 255, 259, 272, 274, 319, figs. 43, 115, 120.
[350] Keyser, fig. 142; Romilly Allen, p. 273.
[351] *VCH*, p. 276.

been designed to fit the round shape of the stone, executed with considerable skill (ill. 39).

In both cases, the pattern was almost certainly painted to produce a decorative effect. At

Bridekirk, the inscription face of the font illustrates a form of interlace where the

interlocking circles are adapted to another use and surround two small figures. On the

baptism face of this font is another interpretation of Pattern A where the tree to the left of

St John rises in a symmetrical design which culminates in bunches of berries. The round

font at Torpenhow translates the interlace motif into a less delicate architectural form (ill.

125).

At Rowston (Lincolnshire) the tympanum is inserted into the interior wall of the tower.

An identical example to pattern C is found on this stone, filling the square space to the left

of the circular pattern of incised ovals, with, above, a line of pattern close in type to

pattern B with interlocking circles.[352] At Cury (Cornwall) a line of five interlocking

circles and two semicircles similar to pattern B run across the tympanum over the south

doorway.[353] This Cornish example illustrates the juxtaposition of this pattern with twelfth-

century features, billet, lozenge and cable mouldings, surrounding the arch of the doorway.

In the church of St Clement at Sandwich (Kent) another row of beaded circles interlock

with a beaded zig-zag line. Like the St Bees pattern, these are self-contained circles

although a central line runs along the centre.[354] The tympanum over the south door at

Penmon Priory (Anglesey) illustrates a four-legged, lion-like creature with a dragon's head

biting a lion's tail. Below the beast (and partially above) is a line of interlace, similar to

pattern A.[355] Another example is found at Stoke Canon (Devon) where a design close to

pattern C occupies the upper register of the east face.[356]

Sculpture from the West Country, including Shropshire and Herefordshire, also

illustrates themes of combat and interlace decoration. A group of mid-twelfth-century

sculptures from the lost church at Alveley (Shropshire) includes interlace and figural

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[352] Keyser, fig. 25b. The central feature of this example is a Maltese Cross, Romilly Allen, p. 253; other examples of this cross are found at Portskewett (Monmouthshire) and Wold Newton (Yorkshire).
[353] Keyser, fig. 13.
[354] Keyser, fig. 3.
[355] Romilly Allen, p. 386, fig. 150; Kendrick, p. 63; Collingwood, fig. 158.
[356] Drake, p. 11, pl. 9.

scenes in close proximity.[357] Samson and the Lion are illustrated, also found at Stretton

Sugwas (Herefordshire), and St Michael in combat with a serpent, unusually without

wings.[358] A fragment in the wall of the local Inn represents a beast or dragon, its head in

profile, with a long tongue protruding from its open mouth, a large tear-drop eye and

pointed ears. Like the St Bees beast, the body is covered with scales. The interlace

pattern comprised of strands at Alveley is similar to the south transept capitals of

Worcester Cathedral and, for both, Anglo-Saxon illumination, based on the Winchester

School manuscripts, has been cited as source material.[359]

Interlace is also found on the corbel-table at Kilpeck and at Shobdon (Herefordshire) on

the inner arch of the lost south doorway and on pillars, known from drawings.[360] No

design at Shobdon is identical to the patterns at St Bees although two pillars are covered

with a continuous line of ring-plait beneath abaci decorated with a snarling dragon and

pairs of elongated birds. The array of pattern and decoration and the inclusion above the

original south doorway of a tympanum suggests that local traditions and perhaps sculptors

were involved in this otherwise French-inspired decoration, from Poitou and Saintonge.[361]

Some Herefordshire fonts display a variety of interlace designs, for example, Eardisley,

which illustrates two types of design on the rim and base.[362] In Irish carving, well into the

middle of the twelfth century, examples of this design are found.[363] On the portal at

Killeshin (Leix), now ruined, two rows of interlace are carved on the south capital of the

west doorway close to pattern A adjacent to the geometric motifs.[364] The capitals at

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[357] J. Hunt and M.A. Stokes, 'Sculpture and Patronage in a Shropshire Manor: a group of
       12th-century sculptures from Alveley', *JBAA* cl (1997), pp. 27-47, pls. IX-XI. A similar beast and
       interlace are found on the font at Chaddesley Corbett (Worcestershire).
[358] Another example is found in the Perigord, at Bessé.
[359] G. Zarnecki, 'The Romanesque Capitals in the South Transept of Worcester Cathedral',
       in G. Popper, (ed.), *BAACT*, I, *Worcester* (1978), pp. 38-42; similar patterns occur in the
       Bayeux Tapestry and in Durham Cathedral MS A.II.4, f. 65.
[360] Thurlby, p. 55, fig. 69, p. 58, fig. 71; for Shobdon, p. 72, fig. 123, p. 75, fig. 128, after G.R. Lewis, *The
       Ancient Church of Shobdon* (London, 1852).
[361] Thurlby, p. 73. The date of this church is c. 1135.
[362] Drake, pl. 28. Other examples are the font at Sherbourne, fig. 23, and the font at Dolton, pl. 69.
[363] At Killeshin, on a capital; at Timahoe (Leix), on the tower doorway; H.G. Leask, *Irish
       Churches and Monastic Buildings*, I, (Dundalk, 1955), pl. VIa and fig. 60.
[364] F. Henry, *Irish Art*, Vol. 3 (New York, 1967), pl. 132, no. 2; H.G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic
       Buildings*, I (Dundalk, 1955), pp. 102-106. Although ruined, this is one of the most decorative Irish
       Buildings, probably belonging to the middle of the twelfth century, illustrating the survival of the Urnes
       style, Pl. Via. Chevron, foliate and bestial and mythical designs cover the doorway, figs. 56, 57.

Killahoe, probably mid-century, depict interlace close to pattern A.[365] Interlace is found

above the tower doorway at Timahoe (Leix), combined with human and bestial heads.[366]

The doorway at Dysert O'Dea and the chancel arch at Clonmacnoise display the

combination of geometric motifs, human and grotesque heads and a variety of interlace

types.[367] The motifs on the Irish buildings, however, retain their own flavour and it is

unlikely there was a direct connection between a particular Irish building and the carving

at St Bees.

In France, interlace survives in stone sculpture although, again, no direct contact is

suggested. Three voussoir sections from Saint-Raphaël near Excideuil (preserved in the

Fogg Museum), c. 1120, illustrate how the use of interlace in stone sculpture persisted into

the twelfth century in France.[368] The pattern on these fragments across all three stones is

similar to pattern B although masks with deeply-drilled eyes are incorporated into the

tendrils and the detail is undercut and etched with fine lines. The content and the style of

carving are similar to carvings found at Tourtoirac and elsewhere in western France where

exterior archivolts were important features of architectural decoration.[369] The south

doorway at Paray-le-Monial (Burgundy) has three ornate shafts decorated with a three-

strand basket design close to pattern A but in the round.[370]

v) **Iconography: sources and comparisons**

The use of interlace pattern adjacent to the theme of conflict has been used by artists

throughout the history of Christian art, on doorways, furniture, floors, in mosaic and in

stone. In this sense, the sculptor of the lintel is following a tradition well established

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[365] T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe', *JBAA* 134 (1981), pp. 31-57.
[366] H.G. Leask, op. cit., fig. 60. Bases here are carved with bearded masks on three sides, the fourth with a bulbous root formation, fig. 59. Other decorative bases are found in Irish buildings, fig. 49.
[367] Other stone carvings which are similar in design and detail are found: Magheram (Co. Derry), on the lintel belonging to the early twelfth century; Cormac's chapel on the tympanum of the north door (c. 1134); Ardmore, the lintel-stone above the south door.
[368] B.W. Stoddard, 'Romanesque Sculpture from the church of St Raphaël, Excideuil', *Gesta* x (1971), pp. 31-37, fig. 17.
[369] Examples are: a carved frieze surrounding the chevet at Jarnac-Champagne; the portal at Bessé (near Périgeux); Cénac (near Bessé) where interlace surrounds an abacus in the choir.
[370] R. Oursel, *Bourgogne Romane*, Zodiaque (1979), pl. 63.

through previous centuries and found in manuscripts, wood, textiles and stone, from Ireland to the east. The earliest examples of interlace, found across all artistic media, appear in the sixth century, transmitted from Mediterranean lands, including Egypt, via textiles and silks. Jewellery found in south-west Scotland from the sixth century illustrates roundels with beading and interlace similar to pattern A.[371] Given the ubiquitous nature of the patterns, the lintel ornament is thus unsurprising. The precise source, however, of the patterns on the lintel are unknown and too much material has been lost to form a clear picture of how and when these ideas pervaded the area around St Bees and by what method they were transported to the region.

Interlace was used both for decoration and for symbolical purposes and perhaps certain knots were intended to keep the devil away, especially appropriate above doorways.[372] If symbolism was intended at St Bees, it supports the probability that this stone once stood as a lintel above the doorway into a stone church, perhaps the building which stood on site prior to the Norman priory church. The significance of the three different types of interlace on the carving is unclear and caution must be exercised in any discussion of symbolism in interlace pattern. It is equally possible for the patterns to have been designed as pure decoration.[373] When books such as the Lindisfarne Gospels or the Book of Kells are considered, the intricate patterns decorating their pages support the theory of pure decoration as it is hard to accept that every twisting line and sinuous curve has meaning. Perhaps, in some case, meaning was intended; in others, the pattern was merely used to fill space. The Book of Kells, for example, illustrates both aspects of interlace.[374] On the stone lintel, however, careful use of specific pattern and the creation of a composition using these patterns beside the main combatants could be suggestive of an

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[371] L. Laing, 'The Mote of Mark and the origins of Celtic interlace', *Antiquity* xlix (1975), pp. 98-109, figs. 2,3; the author states 'Coptic influences are the starting-point for any study of Celtic interlace', p. 108; textile, Whitworth Gallery, Manchester with interlace border.

[372] E. Kitzinger, 'Interlace and Icon: Form and Function in Early Insular Art', *The Age of Migrating Ideas, Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt, (eds.), Procs. of the Second International Conference on Insular Art held in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (Jan. 1991), pp. 3-15, p. 3.

[373] E.H. Gombrich, *The Sense of Order* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 262-4.

[374] The Book of Kells, f. 7v, illustrates patterns that relate to the cruciform subject; f. 188r with its circular interlace and serpent heads appears to be pure decoration within its context.

intended meaning for interlace. The lintel at St Bees follows more the tradition illustrated by the entrance at Monkwearmonth or the carefully designed entrance steps to the Hypogée des Dunes (Poitiers) than to manuscript pattern or interlace found on early Northumbrian crosses.[375]

The theme of combat is a recurring one in stone sculpture and illustrations survive from all periods illustrating hero and dragon, frequently surrounded by interlace ornament.[376] The struggle on the lintel retains a sense of control and the three interlace patterns with clear boundaries do not dissipate into the main subject. Anglian and Hiberno-Norse artistic material was readily available across the north-west, especially at St Bees with close links to Ireland, the Isle of Man and the Irish Sea provinces. Connections across the Pennines also are evident, typified in sculptural material from Ryedale (Yorkshire), considered offshoots of tenth-century York metropolitan art and illustrating persistent Anglian features in Scandinavian sculpture.[377] The tenth-century Ryedale carvings illustrate how artists adapted and interpreted existing motifs to suit their needs and the dragon motif survived through changing cultures. The head of the dragon at St Bees, with gaping mouth and curled snout, large, tear-drop eye and small ears is a monumental version of stone carvings found at Sinnington and Levisham, Hackness and Kirkdale (Yorkshire).[378] Here, the beasts are organic and immersed in interlace, whereas on the lintel it has emerged to be a monumental form in its own right but the individual type is similar. The fusion of animal and plant detail in earlier Norse carving has emerged on the lintel into a more compartmentalised surface where the motifs are separated into their own space. The curling tail of the dragon ends in a small profile head. Instead of fangs, the dragon's mouth spews a thick stem of interlace which extends into Pattern B, ring-plait interlace above the bird (frontispiece to Volume One). This extension of body into pattern

[375] R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* County Durham and Northumberland (1984), pp. 74-6; figs. 896-909, for 'Acca's Cross'.

[376] A Roman example is a metope relief from Taranto, illustrating a soldier on a horse defeating a fallen figure with a sword, J.C. Carter, 'Relief Sculptures from the Necropolis at Taranto', *American Journal of Archaeology,* lxxiv (1970), pl. 29.

[377] J.T. Lang, 'Continuity and innovation in Anglo-Scandinavian Sculpture', in J.T. Lang, (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* III, York and Eastern Yorkshire (Oxford, 1991), pp. 41, 176, 209.

[378] See J.T. Lang, ibid., for photographic illustrations.

is found in Hiberno-Norse metalwork, for example, a recently discovered copper mount

from Rerrick, near Dundrenan.[379] The beasts on this mount have been related to the

animal decoration of the Lindisfarne Gospels (c. 700) and to the tradition of paired beasts

found on Pictish stones.[380]

There are numerous examples of interlace patterns, often associated with combat, in

earlier stone sculpture from the north-west.[381] One example of pattern A occurs on a

cross-head fragment at Gosforth.[382] The right and left arm have two rows of broad flat

interlace bands. A second example at Gosforth is on the 'Saint's Tomb', a damaged

hogback stone found in 1897 under the north-west corner of the nave, with two rows of

pattern A along one side.[383] On each end are scriptural scenes of Christ crucified and

resurrected, juxtaposed with interlace and geometric decoration of the sides. At St Bees,

pattern A decorates the lintel adjacent to the central scene of the figure in combat and

these carvings illustrate Viking elements fusing with scriptural repertoire.[384] The cross-

fragment at Dearham illustrates a further example of this pattern.[385] The red sandstone

cross-shaft at Bromfield has broad raised bands surrounding the shaft in horizontal lines.[386]

The type of design and the sculptural treatment are very close to the lintel. The cross-shaft

at Cross Canonby illustrates on one broad face an area of pattern close to pattern A with

wide straps, closely woven with angled corners.[387] This stone illustrates additional Norse

influences in writhing beasts and twisted dragons. The registers are framed with cable

moulding, similar to the pattern around the tympanum at Kirkbampton (ill. 90).[388] The

west face of the Irton Cross on the upper register and a socket stone at Brigham illustrate

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[379] N. Whitfield and J. Graham-Campbell, 'A Mount with Hiberno-Saxon chip-carved animal ornament from Rerrick, near Dundrennan, Kirkcudbrightshire', *TDGNHS* (2002*)*, p. 1.

[380] Aberlemno, for example.

[381] *Corpus* for several examples.

[382] *VCH.*, p. 270, fig. 132. This may have been the head of the fishing-stone.

[383] *VCH.*, p. 271; *Corpus*, pp. 206-7.

[384] T. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), p. 125, fig. 21.

[385] *VCH*, p. 271.

[386] *Corpus*, p. 80, ills. 173-6.

[387] R. Bower, 'Notes on discoveries at Cross Canonby church, near Maryport', *CW* 1, v (1881), pp. 149-52; *Corpus*, pp. 87-90, for cross-shaft, ills. 218-21. Made of St Bees sandstone, the stone is in good condition and reflects both Anglian and Norse traditions.

[388] *VCH*, p. 273; *Corpus*, p. 89, ills. 232-4.

further examples of pattern A but with greater background space evident on both.[389] Flat,

stone surfaces allowed for innovation on behalf of sculptors to utilise patterns according to

available space.

Pattern B is a common feature of stone, manuscript illumination and metalwork

designs. Known as ring-plait or 'closed-circuit pattern', it is found across the northern

regions, Durham, Yorkshire, the north-west and south-west Scotland.[390] Examples are

found in stone at Osmotherley (North Yorkshire), Aycliffe (Co. Durham) and, in carved

bone, Ferryhill (Co. Durham).[391] At Ferryhill also, there are two animal heads similar to

the head on the tail of the dragon at St Bees, which replace the loops at the end of the

pattern, also found at Aycliffe.[392] The knotwork and combination of animals and pattern

on these slabs recall the Anglian tradition, and it is clear that in Yorkshire, which has a

good survival of carved stones from this period, resulted a fusion of traditions.[393] The

pattern recurs on an architectural fragment from Dumfriesshire, found close to the

Ruthwell Cross. The pattern on this fragment only illustrates three and a half circles of

interlace but it may have belonged to a door jamb or lintel of up to seven complete circles

of the pattern.[394] Traces of mortar on this fragment support this theory and there is a

further example of a lintel-stone with this pattern at Ripon.[395] There are fragments of

architectural sculpture with interlace: at Whithorn, Hoddam, Kirkcudbright (St Cuthbert),

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[389] *Corpus*, pp. 115-117, ills. 355-64, 367-8. Due to its decoration, this cross is dated by
Rosemary Cramp as 'late pre-Conquest'. Unfortunately, nothing survives of the inscription. See also,
P.M.C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, or the Inscribed and Sculptured Monuments of the Isle of Man (London
and Derby, 1907), p. 19; R.N. Bailey, 'The Sculpture of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-north-
of-the-Sands in the Viking period', unpubl. Ph.D thesis, 3 vols, University of Durham (1974), pp. 20, 23-
4, 83; R. Cramp (1984), pp. 15, 198.

[390] G. Adcock, 'The theory of interlace and interlace types in Anglian Sculpture', in J.T. Lang, (ed.), 'Anglo-
Saxon and Viking Age Sculpture', *BAR*, Brit. Ser. 49 (Oxford, 1978), pp. 33-45, fig. 2.10.

[391] Osmotherley, W. G. Collingwood, 'Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture in the North Riding of
Yorkshire', *YAJ* 19 (1907), pp. 267-413, p. 288; Aycliffe, R.J. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone
Sculpture*, 1, County Durham and Northumberland (Oxford, 1984), pl. 11.

[392] Interlace patterns are also found within the Ryedale sculptures, discussed in relation to the head of the
dragon. Cross-heads at Middleton and Hovingham are carved with adaptations of ring-plait and circular
interlace, carved around the shape of the stone and determined by it.

[393] J.T. Lang, 'Some late pre-Conquest crosses in Ryedale, Yorkshire: a reappraisal', *JBAA* 3 xxxvi, (1973),
p. 22.

[394] J. Williams, 'An Architectural Fragment from Ruthwell, Dumfriesshire, *TDGNHAS* lxxv (2001),
p. 30, fig. 2, showing the detail of the fragment very close to Pattern B. The use of the fragment as a door
jamb or lintel was first suggested by Collingwood.

[395] J. Williams, ibid, p. 30, lists the other sites where simple and complex versions of this pattern are found
on pre-Conquest carving, for example, at Jedburgh and Hexham. More complex examples occur in
Durham and Northumberland.

suggesting the pattern was not unusual.[396] The early twelfth-century cushion capitals at Kirkcudbright imply this form of decoration was still in use into the Norman era. As at St Bees, the combination of traditional pattern and contemporary ideas flourished together and from the evidence of this fragment, it is fair to suggest many stone churches were decorated with a variety of pattern, including interlace.[397]

Pattern B occurs frequently in earlier stone carving in the north-west. The Gosforth Cross illustrates two variations where the upper panel on the west face comprises four interlaced circles in broad bands.[398] Beneath is a pattern of four interlocking circles. The early eleventh-century cross-shaft from Whalley (Lancashire) is similar although there are three circles joined by triangular interlace, not a circle as on the lintel.[399] The cross-head and shaft at Dearham (of St Bees sandstone) illustrates similar interlace.[400] The plaits and spirals of the Dearham cross are found on the 'Norse' and the 'Standing' crosses which also illustrate pattern B.[401] The sculptor of the lintel may have been aware of these carvings. Two other similar examples are found, both of an early twelfth-century date: at Dearham, on the 'Adam stone'; secondly, at Rowston, on the tympanum.[402] At Dearham, the use of a template is possible as this pattern recurs, albeit in an altered state, on the font. At Cross Canonby (St John), a cross-shaft fragment is carved on four sides: on one broad side is a basket-work pattern identical to pattern A and tapered, like the lintel pattern, to fit the stone shape, surrounded in this case by a cable moulding on two sides.[403] Along one narrow edge lies a pattern identical to pattern B although there are four circles and two half circles at both ends. The second broad face is covered with three animals biting their own backs with profile heads and open mouths, curled lips and almond-shaped eyes similar to the lintel. The second narrow side is filled with a sinewy serpent which appears

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[396] *Corpus*, cross-slab, p. 38, ills. 688-91; links with Norse sculpture in Cumbria, pp. 31, 38. It is possible a school of sculpture derived from this centre, *Corpus*, pp. 38, 137.

[397] Another fragment at Ruthwell represents a capital with rudimentary arcading and roll-moulding, similar to those found at Durham c. 1093.

[398] Kendrick, op. cit., p. 69, for map of distribution of round-shaft crosses, pl. XLIV, p. 2.

[399] Kendrick, ibid., p. 64; *Corpus*, pp. 31,2, 94, ills. 250, 252-5.

[400] Kendrick, ibid., pl. XLV.

[401] *Corpus*, pp. 33-37, for a discussion of the 'spiral-scroll school', including distribution map.

[402] Keyser, p. 30, for Rowston; for Dearham stone, *Corpus*, pp. 94-96, no. 1, considered tenth century.

[403] *Corpus*, pp. 87-88, no. 1, tenth century, see p. 88 for bibliography. This piece illustrates Anglian and Norse sculptural elements.

to extend into human form.[404] One of twelve fragments surviving from Brigham, one cross-head has a square design on a square surface.[405] A similar design is found on the cross at Dearham, where the upper part forms an arch, adapted to the space.[406] The lower part of the pattern with the base line curving into circles resembles the lintel in terms of idea, but not in detail. Similarities with the ornament are found in early Irish crosses, for example, the cross at Ahenny, which illustrates on its four arms interlace strap-work close to pattern A on the lintel.[407] On the shaft of the west face is a square pattern close to pattern C.[408] Two cross-bases at Kilkieran and Lorrha also depict areas of interlace in square registers similar to pattern A (also found on the Bewcastle Cross). At Kilkieran, there is a register to the left of this design that closely resembles pattern B, with interlocking circles.[409]

Interlace patterns are found in earlier manuscript illumination and metalwork.[410] Unlike surviving stone-carving, which in the majority of cases has remained *in situ* on the sites for which it was designed, manuscripts were transported with ideas of pattern, motif and symbolism. Interlace is found in Irish manuscripts contemporary with the cross at Ruthwell and influences from northern Italy, Rome and Byzantium were brought into the northern regions by travellers from the east.[411] The ultimate inspiration, however, may have been designs from Celtic metalwork and jewellery, illustrated in the Book of Durrow which epitomises the use of this type of decoration, not only in variety of design, but also in the precision with which they were devised and executed. Possibly created in Iona, this manuscript compares in some details with other surviving books, for example, the Book of

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[404] *Corpus*, pp. 87-90.

[405] *Corpus*, pp. 74-79 for Brigham fragments; p. 75, ills. 133-6.

[406] *Corpus*, p. 94

[407] M. Werner, 'On the Origins of the form of the Irish High Cross', *Gesta*, xxix (1990), pp. 98-111, p. 100. The author considers the Palestinian cult of the wood of the True Cross important in the seventh and eighth centuries, influencing the development of wooden crosses, e.g., Iona.

[408] F. Henry, *La Sculpture Irlandaise pendant les Douze Prémiers Siècles de L'ère Chrétiens* (Paris, 1933), pl. 21.

[409] F. Henry, ibid., pl. 26.

[410] Books were used for missionary work and the lavish Gospel books were intended to impress and convert. The Book of Durrow (675), the Lindisfarne Gospels (698) and the Book of Kells (800) all illustrate interlace on their carpet pages, initial pages and elsewhere. Crosses often featured in the centre of the page.

[411] *ERA*, p. 166; Collingwood, pp. 120-125.

Kells, illustrating how ideas were spread and to some extent how artists were reproducing these ideas and patterns.[412]

Interlace on stone sculpture in the Norman period remained popular and appeared in the south of England and in Normandy, where the predeliction for pattern persisted after the Conquest into the twelfth century.[413] In England (Norwich, Ely, Milbourne Port and Steyning) and in Normandy (Fécamp, Saint-Georges-de-Boscherville) interlace finds a place in stone decoration.[414] The cloister capital at Norwich illustrates two wingless dragons with open mouths and pointed ears entwined in thin foliage tendrils, reminiscent of the Urnes style, and parallels are found in metalwork. As in the case of St Bees, the Norwich area retained strong Viking connections into the twelfth century.[415] This pattern occurs at Barnack (Northamptonshire), used here in relation to the architecture.[416] In the upper part of the tower, the north and south windows are elaborately carved with interlace ribbons in a figure-of-eight pattern.[417] In the Hereforshire region, interlace was popular into the middle of the century, at Kilpeck, Shobdon and on several fonts.[418] In the north-west, a fragment of a capital, probably from the cloister of the priory at Carlisle (c. 1130), is carved with the same pattern as pattern A, although, in this case, it stretches around the stone more like a basket-weaving (ill. 50).[419]

The main protagonists at St Bees, hero and dragon, have been extricated from the patterns into their own space. If the Norse interpretation is accepted within a Christian

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[412] M. Werner, 'The Cross-Carpet Page in the Book of Durrow: the Cult of the True Cross, Adomnan and Iona', *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), pp. 124-223, folio 1v. The Book of Durrow is now in Dublin, Trinity College MS 57 (A.iv.5). The carpet-page of the Book of Kells, Trinity College MS 58 (A.i.6), f. 33r. Interlace is also found on the carpet-page of Persian books, for example, Florence Bibl. Laur. Orient MS 81, f. 127, a Persian Diatessoran, C. Nordenfalk, 'An Illustrated Diatessoran', *Art Bulletin* I (1968), pp. 119-140. There are also objects of metal and bone in the Tullie House Museum from both Anglian and Norse periods, carved with strands of interlace similar to those of pattern A, representing just a fraction of these objects once widespread across the region.

[413] M. Baylé, 'Interlace patterns in Norman Romanesque Sculpture' *ANS* XIII (1983). Ideas spread from the workshop at La Trinité, Caen, to sites such as Lion-sur-mer where Scandinavian ideas and those from the legacy of Anglo-Saxon England persisted.

[414] G. Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', Proceedings of the British Academy (1966), Pls. XIV, a and b; XVII, a and b; XVIII, a; XIX, a and b; XXII, a and b.

[415] *ERA*, p. 167, no. 126; J.A. Franklin, 'The Romanesque cloister sculpture at Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. F.H. Thompson (1983), pp. 56-70.

[416] J. and H. Taylor, 'Architectural Sculpture in pre-Norman England', *JBAA*, 3rd ser. 29 (1966), p. 25, fig. 13.

[417] Another use of this stone transennae is found at East Lexham (Norfolk), J. and H. Taylor, ibid., fig. 176.

[418] Thurlby, pp. 78, 98.

[419] Examples of this use of interlace on capitals are found in Armenia, for example, at Zvarnots, in the cathedral, R. Oursel, *Floraison de la Sculpture Romane* (Zodiaque, 1973), p. 32, fig. 6.

context, it is possible the patterns have no specific meaning and are pure decoration. This does, however, seem unlikely, given their prominence in the composition and the original position of the stone, as it must have been, set above a doorway or perhaps part of a screen. This was a composition in stone probably above an entrance intended for all to see.

The iconography of the carving is based on the subject of conflict although the identity of the central figure is unclear. Here, in the north-west, the dragon-slayer also forged links between traditions and cultures and between religious and magic ideals, between Norse mythology and Christian ethic. The figure conveyed the image of the saint and the warrior.[420] In Cumberland, the two-headed dragon appears on the font at Bridekirk and this largescale example at St Bees may have been one of many such examples across the region. The theme of the hero vanquishing the beast remained popular throughout the Norman period in all artistic media. The illustrations of heroes or gods defeating monstrous creatures can be traced to classical, eastern and Egyptian mythologies and early Christian examples are associated with triumphal imagery and magical practices.[421] Objects illustrating the hero with symbolical content were also used as protective measures against ill-health and it is possible there was a magical aspect intended by the content of the lintel. Images were passed down by myth, legend and artistic objects and the central character was adapted accordingly within each culture. Many examples of this practice are found in the east, in stone and wall paintings, for example, a tenth-century wall-painting of St George and St Theodore, who preceded St George as the serpent-slayer on horseback, slaying a double-headed dragon at Yilandi Kilise.[422] The concept of the dragon-slayer also spread into Turkish art and literature of the twelfth century and the two-

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[420] O. Pancaroglu, 'The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer, forging paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia', *Gesta*, xliii (2004), p. 151, illustrates a savious saint with a compound identity, 'Chederle', a saint and a warrior; p. 153, fig. 2, illustrates a silver amulet with the Holy Rider, Ashmolean, Oxford.

[421] C. Walter, *The Warrior Saints in Byzantine Art and Tradition* (Aldershot, 2003), pp. 33-38. In Anatolia, the popular theme illustrated the hero on horseback and is found in stone, jewellery and coins. Silver anulets from the region belonging to the twelfth century illustrate the Holy Rider iconography.

[422] O. Pancaroglu, op. cit., p. 155.

headed dragon is found frequently in Islamic metalwork.[423] Representations of dragons and beasts are thus found throughout artistic traditions, culminating as combatants in Anglian, Norse and Norman carving. Creatures of the artist's and storyteller's imaginations, these monsters appear as illustrations to a story and support an ideal or religious text. There is no one source for the dragons of the Norman period. Already present in literature and art, their re-use by sculptors after the arrival of the Norman regime was a natural continuation of iconography and symbolism, whether Norse or Christian. The epitome of this process is illustrated on the stone at Jevington (Sussex) where the Christ figure plunges his cross-staff into the Viking dragon.[424] The sarcophagus relief excavated from St Paul's churchyard, dated c. 1030, illustrates again the dragon and serpent but, here, surface decoration minimises the power of the creature with its ornate surface decoration articulating the limbs.[425] A stone frieze at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire) illustrates birds, monsters and fighting figures.[426] These carvings anticipate the later dragons at Ipswich, Southwell and St Bees, where cultures merge into a single aspiration of the heroic defeat of evil.[427]

The identity of the figure at St Bees is unclear. St Michael is a possibility. The saint appears frequently in twelfth-century sculpture and his popularity in the region is clarified by twenty-seven churches in Cumberland and Westmorland dedicated to him.[428] The saint appears four times in the scriptures: two references in the Old Testament and two in the New.[429] The Book of Revelation introduces the saint and contains other references to the dragon. This scene of conflict between good and evil epitomising the war in heaven is the

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[423] A. Daneshvari, 'The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of the Saints of Islam', in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*, ed. G. Martin Smith and C.W. Ernst (Istanbul, 1993), pp. 15-25. These monsters are found in all artistic media, throughout Europe and across boundaries of political power, at Claveau d'Évrecy in stone, on an ivory pen in the Musée d'Essen, on a brooch discovered in Orkney and on a cross at Kirk Michael in the Isle of Man.

[424] L. Stone, *Sculpture in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), p. 29.

[425] *ERA*, p. 149, no. 95; see also, J. Graham-Campbell and D. Kidd, *The Vikings* (London, 1980), pp. 168-73.

[426] L. Stone, op. cit., Pl. 14A.

[427] *ERA*, pp. 164, 165, nos. 122, 123; for detailed comment, see K.J. Galbraith, 'Early Sculpture at St Nicholas's church, Ipswich', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, xxxi, part 2 ((1968), pp. 172-84.

[428] Phythian-Adams, pp. 97, 139.

[429] Daniel 10, vv. 13-21; Daniel 12; Jude 9, vv. 8-10; Revelation 12, vv. 7-9.

most common representation of the saint.[430] His veneration was due both to the mystical passages in the Scriptures describing his character and also to the legends of his miraculous apparitions: in Daniel, he is one of the chief princes; in Jude and Revelation, he is the contender against the devil or the dragon. This is how he is most commonly represented in eleventh- and twelfth-century sculpture, with sword or spear.

After the Conquest, illustrations of the saint in sculpture became increasingly widespread throughout England as leader of the heavenly host against the dragon or devil, or as chief of the angels. The majority of eleventh- and twelfth-century examples of the saint show a profile figure in combat with the dragon, to the right with a cross lance or, to the left, with a vertical lance. There are several examples of the saint above church entrances and eight illustrate a sword rather than a spear.[431] A sword and a shield were two of his relics at Mont-Saint-Michel and representations of him also illustrate a sword, for example, at Southwell Minster and at Hoveringham, where the saint confronts the Great Beast type of dragon.[432] The relief of St Michael fighting the dragon at Ipswich illustrates the saint with wings outstretched and a sword above his head, brandishing a shield, his right hand holding a sword in a vertical position.[433] These examples of similar iconography differ in style from the St Bees lintel with their flat, linear carving and finely etched surface detail. The Ipswich dragon has a long snout, small wings and a long tail that curves into a figure-of-eight. The surface of its body is covered with scales with a pronounced spiral over the elbow, linked with Scandinavian metalwork traditions, especially the decorative Urnes style of the south-east.[434] At St Bees, the full, rounded figures of hero and dragon find comparisons in tympana of the twelfth-century, at Harnhill (Gloucestershire) and at Ault Hucknall (Derbyshire), where the figure has been identified

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[430] Revelation 12, 13, 16, 20.
[431] J.T. Lang, 'St Michael, the Dragon and the Lamb on Early Tympana', *TAASDN*, new ser. 6 (1982), pp. 57-60.
[432] E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 17, fig. 108; Keyser, fig. 66.
[433] *ERA*, p. 164.
[434] *ERA*, p. 167.

as possibly St George.[435] A cross centred between the figures and in the semicircular

tympanum above is illustrated in the legend of St Margaret with a small animal and the

Agnus Dei.[436] A wingless St Michael is found on an arch moulding at Walmsgate

(York).[437]

The figure at St Bees perhaps represents a secular knight, either with a known identity

or as a literary figure such as Beowulf. Jousting knights do feature on several carved

stones, for example, the relief stone set in the north wall of the church at Bolton with its

accompanying Old French inscription (ill. 3).[438] The lintel at Linton (Roxburghshire) is

traditionally thought to be a representation of an ancestor of the Somerville family (ill. 94).

It could refer to a spiritual or moral commentary as found in the St Albans Psalter on the

Beatus page.[439] These secular figures continue the pre-Conquest tradition of the

hero/saint/warrior versus the dragon-serpent found in previous literature in Scandinavian

and eastern culture.[440] Other examples are found across the country: Ribbesford; Charney

Bassett; Downe St Mary; Shalfleet and Whippingham.[441] Carlisle grew throughout the

period as a centre of romantic literature and its reputation spread across Europe by the

middle of the century. Little survives of this oral tradition but one poem, composed in

French, tells the epic story of Fergus and the Black Mountain, set in the lands surrounding

Carlisle, extending to the Lothians, Roxburgh, Jedburgh and Liddesdale and introducing

the theme of courtly love, combat, hunting and dragon-slaying. It is an illusionary

romance, yet contains elements of realism combined with a legendary world of heroic

figures and the quest for love and honour.[442] The Arthurian romance by William has many

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[435] Keyser, figs. 139 and 145; *AJ*, lxii, p. 143.
[436] Romilly Allen, figs. 137, 274, 285, 366.
[437] Pevsner, p. 120, for church.
[438] The text is hardly legible but appears to include two names. A similar relief is found at at Fordington, Dorset, dated c. 1100, Pevsner, p. 227.
[439] Moulding at St Margaret's, Walmgate (York); on the font at Kirby (Yorkshire), on a slab at Coningsburgh (Yorkshire); on the font at Thorp Arnold (Leicestershire) and on a capital of the chancel arch at Streetley (Derbyshire), Romilly-Allen, p. 276.
[440] O. Pancaroglu, op. cit., p. 151.
[441] Keyser, figs. 68, 71, 72, 86.
[442] Written by the mysterious Guillame le Clerc, this poem probably belongs to the middle of the century, echoed in the 1170s by the writings of Chrétien de Troyes, often cited as the father of Arthurian romance, who based much of his characterisation on earlier Celtic legend. His poem, *Yvain*, dating from about 1177, is based around the main character, son of King Urien, and the place-names in the poem relate to central and southern Scotland. Clearly, this region provided a cluster of folklore and legend utilised by

elements of Celtic folklore and it is possible the representation of the hero figure is following a Scandinavian saga.

The distinctive features of the St Bees composition are the lack of shield and the figure's hand raised to his mouth which introduces a third possible interpretation. From comparative material, this figure could represent Sigurd, the Norse hero from the Volsunga saga, which appears in a number of literary versions.[443] The earliest Old Norse or German versions of the stories in their present form are found in thirteenth-century manuscripts but it is generally accepted the origins go back to the period of Viking invasions in the north-west. The basis of Scandinavian beliefs was pantheistic, a belief in several deities, and a close awareness of the natural and supernatural world. The progression into a Christian dogma was straightforward, especially as the concepts of good and evil in the shape of god and hero were basic to both cultures.[444]

The Sigurd story was well known, demonstrated by many illustrations of various episodes.[445] Loki kills Otter, one of Sigurd's brothers, when disguised as an otter, and their father, Sigmund, demands gold in recompense although this gold has been cursed. The other brother, Fafnir, kills Sigmund to keep this gold for himself and turns himself into a dragon to guard the gold. The gods intervene and Odin tells Sigurd to dig a pit, concealing himself, to trap Fafnir, killing him by stabbing him in the belly with Sigmund's sword, repaired for him by Regin, the blacksmith. It is Regin that instructs Sigurd, the victor, to roast the heart of the dragon, but, in doing so, Sigurd burns his thumb, and, sucking it, discovers he knows the language of the birds who tell him of Regin's treachery in his desire to kill Sigurd and take the gold. Sigurd thus slays Regin and rides away with Grani, his horse, and the gold. Several illustrations of the story from the giving of

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the writers of epic poetry of the time, fostered by the aristocracy.

[443] A capital at Reading may be another illustration of an episode from the saga although this is disputed by Zarnecki, E. Ettlinger, 'A Romanesque Capital from Reading Abbey', *Berkshire Archaeol. Journal*, Vol. 68 (1975-6), pp. 71-75.

[444] This is illustrated by the appearance of the Sigurd legend in several carved stones; in Manx, Scotland, Yorkshire and the north-west, where the hero epitomises the conquest of evil by good, easily translated into Christian values. St Michael and Sigurd represented similar ideals, man engaged in combat with a dragon or monster of superior strength. These ideals were easily assimilated by the Anglo-Norman period, the fighting of the infidel, the requirement for valour and courage and the emerging concept of courtly love.

[445] Listed by H.R. Ellis Davidson, 'Sigurd in the Art of the Viking Age', *Antiquity* xvi (1942), pp. 216-36.

Sigmund's sword to the death of Regin are found across the north, in Yorkshire, Lancashire and the Isle of Man.[446] There are several pre-Conquest illustrations of the story in the north of England, including the Nunburnholm Cross.[447] The continuing popularity of the story is shown in the Norwegian wood-carvings of the twelfth-century.[448] The story is eloquently retold by Kermode but two scenes are relevant here.[449] On killing the dragon, Sigurd roasts the beast's heart, and, in doing so, burns his thumb. Placing it in his mouth, he immediately understands the language of the birds which tell of impending treachery while his horse stands nearby. The figure at St Bees holds a sword in his right hand but there is no evidence of a shield in the left. Instead, he holds his thumb to his mouth. A bird rests in a circle below. The dragon is evidently dying, prostrate on the ground, its huge mouth open. Does pattern B, as itemised in the Catalogue, represent the roasting flesh of the dragon on the spit? Is it conceivable the second head emerging from the dragon's tail represents a horse?

The inclusion of the bird in the composition must be a significant factor and a connection between this motif and the rest of the composition, although unclear, was intended. The bird set in a circle with its head over its back, apparently asleep, is unusual. Examples of birds are found as representations of the symbol of St John the Evangelist in the form of an eagle. This symbol derives from Ezekiel's vision of a man with four faces: lion, ox, eagle and man.[450] The bird on the lintel, however, due to its lone position, is unlikely to represent the evangelist unless there were other carvings adjacent to the lintel, now lost, which continued the iconography, although the lintel decoration appears to form a composite whole. In this case, the sculptor may have used an illustration of an

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[446] *ERA*, pp. 150, 151, no. 97, the so-called 'Sigmund relief', Winchester City Museum, dated c. 1030 or twelfth century. No other illustrations of the episode with the wolf survive in stone.

[447] J.T. Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England', *YAJ* 48 (1976), pp. 83-93.

[448] M. Blindheim, *Norwegian Romanesque Decorative Sculpture* (Oslo, 1965), pls. 197-9.

[449] Kermode, pp. 170,171.

[450] Ezekiel, I, 10. An early example in ivory from the Carolingian 'Court School' is found in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

evangelist symbol within his own composition for the specific meaning required on this carving. It might also refer to a falconer, a feature found on the Bewcastle Cross.[451]

Episodes from the Sigurd legend occur in several carvings including: four stone cross fragments from the Isle of Man; the Halton Cross (Lancashire); a grave slab in York; the Franks Casket; two examples in Sweden, dated to the eleventh-century; wooden examples in Norway from the twelfth-century.[452] The eleventh-century Winchester carving perhaps represents Sigmund, Sigurd's father.[453] None of these stone examples can be precisely dated but Kermode believes the Manx examples may belong to the eleventh century.[454] The York slab appears to belong to a similar date.[455] The damaged stone from Malew (Isle of Man) depicts a man in a helmet stabbing a dragon with a sword.[456] Above is a second helmeted figure, his sword in its hilt, roasting the beast's heart on a spit held in his right hand. The flames are represented by three pointed fingers. His left hand is held to his mouth and above is interlace of diagonal rings. This same ringed pattern, the pointed helmet, the hand in the mouth, the dying dragon, all these could be interpreted at St Bees, where the two episodes of the story are compressed into one scene. On the cross, the two scenes are separated by a border, by space and time. On the lintel, the sequence of narrative scenes of the cross has been simplified and there may have been other narrative stones set alongside this 'scene' as a continuous story.

A second version of the story is carved on the cross slab from Jurby.[457] This time, the upper scene represents the killing of the dragon. Below, the figure stands with his thumb in his mouth, wearing a helmet similar to the St Bees figure and with circular interlace and a turned pattern and a horse. The Andreas cross-shaft is another version of the story but with similar subjects: dragon; small figure with a conical helmet; horse; bird; interlace. The fourth example from the Isle of Man is the stone from Ramsay (Maughold) although

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[451] E. Kitzinger, op. cit., p. 11, fig. 1:10, discusses this example on the cross as a reference to the patron, occupying the lowest position on the stone.
[452] R.N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 92, 93.
[453] M. Biddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* IV, pp. 317-18, 321.
[454] Kermode, pp. 179-80.
[455] W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age* (London, 1927) p. 159.
[456] Kermode, pl. xliv, p. 176.
[457] H.R. Ellis Davison, op. cit., fig. 1; Kermode, pl. 93a.

the scene here is later in the saga.[458] Stylistically, this piece has been placed as late as the mid-twelfth century; the other scenes are dated to the late eleventh century.[459] It is possible all these stones were erected on the island by those claiming to descend from Sigurd. Whatever the exact dates were for these pieces, they illustrate the persistence of Norse iconography in the Isle of Man and elsewhere and strands of this culture persisted on the mainland. The connections between St Bees and the Isle of Man are documented in the charters from the Priory.[460] It is possible that ideas for carving and illustration came to St Bees from the island with the travelling monks. Motifs may have been transferred from Scandinavia to the north-west through the medium of tapestries and weapon decoration. A poem of the early eleventh-century from the court of Olaf the Holy describes a tapestry on a wall which illustrates the slaying of a dragon and the roasting of a heart.[461]

The stone at Halton (Lancaster) also illustrates the Sigurd legend with a man in a conical helmet, thumb in mouth, and a stick with three irregular rings, a bird and a blacksmith.[462] Tosti, lord of the manor at Halton, claimed descent from Sigurd.[463] A date in the early eleventh century is suggested for this carving.[464] A slab in York Minster also depicts the story on two faces; one scene of the death of Fafnir, the dragon; the second, the beheading of Regin and loading of Grani with treasure.[465] This stone carries the most elements of the story outside the Manx examples. Kirkby Hill and Ripon also illustrate crosses with the roasting scene.[466] The tenth-century Nunburnholme cross-shaft (North Humberside) is damaged but could illustrate the heart-eating scene.[467] It is probable here

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[458] Kermode, pl. xlvi, p. 178.
[459] Kermode, p. 180.
[460] *St Bees*, pp. xiv, xv; Dugdale, p. 575.
[461] H.R. Ellis Davison, op. cit, p. 227, after H. Schuk, 'Sigurdsristingar', *Nord. Tids. F. Vetenskap* (1903), p. 218.
[462] H.R. Ellis Davison, ibid., fig. 4.
[463] R.S. Calverley, 'Notes on the early sculptured crosses, shrines and monuments in the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW* Extra Series (1899), p. 183.
[464] W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses* (London, 1927), p. 159; T. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art*, pl. XLII.
[465] J.T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, III, York and Eastern Yorkshire (Oxford, 1991), ills. 37, 145, 147.
[466] J.T. Lang, 'Sigurd and Weland in pre-Conquest carving from northern England', *YAJ* xlviii (1976) pp. 83-94.
[467] J.T. Lang, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, III, Yorkshire and Eastern Yorkshire (Oxford, 1991), pp.191-193, ill.728; J.T. Lang, 'The Sculptors of the Nunburnholme Cross', *AJ* cxxxiii (1976), pp.75-94.

that the Sigurd scenes were added later, a testament to the survival of the saga's popularity in the representation of the combat between good and evil.[468]

In Sweden, a number of carvings, in both wood and stone, illustrate the Sigurd saga. Two memorial stones, from the early Christian period in Sweden, are found at Ramsund and Gok (Sodermanland).[469] The runic inscription on the Ramsund stone announces its erection by Sigrid in memory of her husband Holmger. The dragon is the vehicle for the inscription and represents the ornamental border of the scenes which illustrate, among others, the scene of the man holding his thumb to his mouth. Two birds rest in a tree. The second stone at Gok is considered a copy of the Ramsund stone and is the work on an inferior hand.[470] Wood-carvings in three church portals in Norway illustrate an art now entirely lost in Cumberland and Westmorland.[471] The portals from Hyllestad, Veigusdal and Gaarden Gavelstad depict the figure in the pointed hat, sucking his thumb. The three rings roasting on the stick are clearer in the wooden examples due to the nature of the craft. Perhaps the St Bees stylised rings represent a symbolical version of this episode in the story, assuming this symbolism was clear to all viewers. The roasting scene is shown at Veigusdal and here a lone bird sits on a tree behind. The profiled head with the conical hat is close to the St Bees figure.[472] These carvings illustrate the variety of compositions of Sigurd scenes supporting the St Bees identification of the hero although the lintel composition is not repeated elsewhere on extant material. If the carving does represent a reference to the Sigurd legend, it was considered important enough to be carved on a lintel, in all probability, on a religious building.

At nearby Gosforth (St Mary) fragments may relate to the Sigurd legend, although this is disputed.[473] The cross at Gosforth illustrates the juxtaposition of Christian and Norse motifs, notably the story of Loki, although in a different context.[474] Other fragments

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[468] J.T. Lang, ibid., pp. 78,79.
[469] H. Ellis, op. cit., figs. 5, 6.
[470] H. Ellis, op. cit., p. 222.
[471] Hauglid, R., *Norwegian Stave Churches* (Oslo, 1970), trans. by R.I. Christophersen.
[472] H. Ellis, op. cit., p. 225, fig. 8.
[473] *Corpus*, pp. 100-103.
[474] Bailey, pp. 87-91; figs. 43, 45; pls. 4, 28, 29.

illustrating the Sigurd saga were discovered in the foundations of the twelfth-century walls of the church here at Gosforth although this has recently been disputed by Professor Bailey.[475] This mingling of Christian motifs and Norse mythology on the cross could have been found at St Bees in this much later building. Norse settlers continued to arrive into the twelfth century and many were already Christian. But in a story-telling society, the value of sagas persisted into the twelfth century and Christianity, itself based on legend, did not stamp out traditional heroic literature.

The use of these epic scenes on grave-slabs and crosses illustrates the ease with which a non-Christian hero merged with Christian symbolism. The hero is a central figure in the tenth- and eleventh-century stone-carving of the north-west and figures such as Sigurd took on a Christian meaning, with possible eucharistic associations, becoming the epitome of this heroic stance against evil forces. Man engaged in combat with a monster of greater size and superior strength is the ideal for this period.[476] The dragon provided continuity of ideas linking various aspects of the struggle against evil. The illustrations of Sigurd in the north-west and elsewhere may have inspired images of St Michael and, as the cult of the saint strengthened, his importance in a Christian context over the epic hero took over. But the format of the hero and the dragon remained, as is evident from the number of tympana across the country illustrating St Michael, in both Norman and lingering Scandinavian styles. The tympana at Southwell, Hoveringham and Ipswich are later versions of the same ideal, popularising St Michael as the hero figure. The story of Sigurd is more than a representation of one aspect of the human condition. It is a complete story, told from start to finish, including several aspects and characters. Various scenes from the epic are included in stone sculpture, designed to portray different aspects of the hero. While St Michael illustrations represent good versus evil, the Sigurd stories illustrate other emotive subjects: greed, deceit, courage and the struggle to overcome aspects of evil. Unlike St Michael, Sigurd was a man, reared in a royal household, whose father was killed in battle.

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[475] *Corpus*, pp. 100-103.

[476] The carving at Jevington (Sussex) is another version of this type, where the gigantic Christ thrusts his cross-staff into the mouth of the Viking-type dragon.

The spiritual aspect of his life is always apparent as it is Odin who commands the horse

Grani to be delivered to him when he becomes a man. Regin, his dwarf tutor and mentor,

tells him stories of his own brothers, shape-shifting into the otter and the fish. These

shamanist beliefs were endemic in Norse, Gaelic and Celtic mythology.[477]

The iconography of the carving remains a mystery and, as a result, several layers of

meaning could be attached to the stone, whose scale and expertise suggests this was a

composition intended for a public viewing, either above a doorway or within a church-

building. Doubtless, many pieces of sculpture from this period and earlier periods were

imbued with a liturgical meaning, intended to convey a message related to the eucharist.

Certainly, this is true of manuscripts, for example, the Book of Kells, where scholars have

proposed symbolism in the full page miniatures and in the text itself.[478] The carving at St

Bees, however, although a complex and mysterious composition, requires a cautious

approach to applying too much symbolism to the content. The theme of conflict, as

discussed, relates to many traditions and literary sources and need not, in this case, refer to

a tradition of biblical and patristic concepts. The presence of the dove also could be a

reference to a Sigurd or other epic although, certainly, a Christian interpretation of the bird

in relation to the baptised Christian being or the Holy Spirit cannot be ruled out.[479] There

does not, however, appear to be enough evidence for a case of inherent Christian

symbolism within this carving, although, due to the loss of the original context and painted

surface, any conclusion about the meaning and, therefore, function, of the stone remains

uncertain.[480]

vi) **Conclusion and date**

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[477] The otter, fish and seal or silkie still appear in Scottish folklore.

[478] S. Lewis, 'Sacred calligraphy: the Chi Rho page in the Book of Kells', *Traditio* 26 (1980), pp. 139-59.

[479] Bede, *In Lucae evangelium exposition*, CCSL 120, p. 84, refers to the significance of the dove's descent into the body, the church.

[480] The use of inscriptions as explanatory aids is found in twelfth-century manuscripts, for example, the Mosan Floreffe Bible (London, BL Add. MS 17738), where the meanings of the pictorial content are clarified by inscriptions, f. 187.

Just as the interpretation of the iconography of the carving is uncertain, so also is its date within the development of stone sculpture in the region especially as the original function is also unclear. The disparity of the sculptor's style with the architectural sculpture of the present west door suggests this stone was not manufactured at the same date and probably belonged to a previous building. This assumes the present west doorway belonged to the church built by William le Meschin. If this church had been begun at the east end as was common practice, the west doorway may have been completed after his death, perhaps by his son, Ranulf, founder of Calder Abbey in 1134.[481] The problem of dating the lintel is thus compounded by the various dates attributed to this west door, from 1120 and the founding of the priory, to the 1160s.[482] Whellan describes the lintel built into the outside wall of the south aisle as a 'Saxon impost', with a bas-relief of Beowulf (?) and the dragon.[483] Collingwood suggests the lintel belongs to the end of the pre-Norman era, perhaps into the twelfth century, due to aspects of interlace, a survival of earlier styles and a continuity of tradition.[484] Keyser suggests a pre-Conquest date and raises doubts about the identity of St Michael, although no alternative identification is presented.[485] Pevsner describes the lintel as Norman with details of the Anglo-Danish tradition.[486] Zarnecki sees it as Romanesque and interprets the figure as St Michael.[487] Cramp describes the iconography as twelfth-century and the decoration as Scandinavian.[488]

The lintel may have belonged to a previous stone church, built on the site prior to William's church, but after the arrival of the Normans, as early as the 1070s. The presence of Ivo de Taillebois in the region by the mid-1080s is another possible inspiration.[489] The

[481] Son of William le Meschin, Ranulf introduced Savigniac monks at Calder abbey in 1134, which suggests his father was dead by this date. Cistercian catalogues confirm the date, J. Wilson, *VCH Cumberland*, ii (1901), p. 174.
[482] Pevsner, p. 183.
[483] Whellan, p. 478.
[484] *VCH*, p. 275.
[485] Keyser, p. 166.
[486] Pevsner, p. 184.
[487] *ERA*, p. 166.
[488] *Corpus*, p. 41.
[489] R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule', pp. 39, 40. Ivo could have been granted lands in the north-west before 1092, F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), p. 298, who suggests a date as early

years after Ivo's founding of the church at Kirkby Lonsdale until William le Meschin's

acquisition of Copeland are undocumented and movements of ideas and people may have

begun before 1092 and the usurping of Dolfin in Carlisle. Ivo's successor, Nigel

d'Aubigny, the king's justice in the region around Kentdale, remains a shadowy figure but

he may have introduced ideas for sculptural decoration from the south.[490]

If the figure's identity as Sigurd is accepted, it introduces another possibility as to the

stone's original function. The composition could have been part of a sequence of stories,

carved as set of reliefs, on a rood-screen within the church or as decoration on a wall

space. This is pure speculation and, as no other carving has been discovered which would

support this suggestion, remains only a possibility. If part of a screen, the date of the

carving could then be assigned to as late as the middle of the century, in comparison with

the screen reliefs at Durham, c. 1160.[491] However, if it belonged to a set of reliefs placed

within the architecture of the building, the carving could belong to an earlier date, in

comparison with other surviving carvings put to this use, for example, the 'Sigmund' relief

in Winchester, illustrating an armed figure and a prostrate figure being licked by a wolf.[492]

If inspired by fables rather than the epic hero, this fragment could be seen as a stone

couterpart to the tapestry.[493] This raises the possibility that the St Bees stone was copied

from a tapestry, perhaps of Scandinavian origin, illustrating epic scenes, which found its

way to St Bees. Although the original location of the stone remains a mystery, the

possibility that it belonged to a series of carvings, each part of a story, is supported by the

composition which appears to portray several simultaneous events through the imagery.

If, however, in its original context, other scenes were carved to lead up to and beyond this

composition, the mystery identity of the central figure could be solved.

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as 1083.

[490] R, Sharpe, ibid., p. 42.

[491] *ERA*, pp. 188, 189, no. 154a and b. The suggestion these formed part of a rood-screen was made by A.W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest* (London, 1934), p. 149.

[492] The 'Sigmund' relief fragment, found in 1965 in Winchester, perhaps formed part of a set of reliefs, illustrating episodes from the Volsunga saga, M. Biddle, 'A late Saxon frieze sculpture from the Old Minster', *Antiq. J.*, xlvi (1966), pp. 329-32. The carving at Winchester has been compared to the content of the Bayeaux Tapestry of c. 1070, notably in the type of armour portrayed.

[493] Few twelfth-century stone friezes survive due to the alteration of buildings but one example is on the façade of Andlau church, Alsace, R. Will, *Alsace Roman* (Zodiac, 1970), p. 262, pls. 103-11.

In conclusion, lack of documentation prevents any certainty about the orginal location and function of the stone at St Bees and few definite statements can be made about the carving. It represents several threads of artistic tradition in stone, wood and metalwork and the unusual and uncertain iconographic content and eclectic background of Irish and Hiberno-Norse tradition, immersed in Norman style, make for an enigmatic piece of sculpture. The original position, date and purpose of the carving within the stone church to which it belonged remains unknown. There is as yet no evidence that it was incorporated into the twelfth-century church although its dimensions do correspond to the opening of the west door. The content and iconography imply, but do not prove, an earlier date for the carving and its discovery in the south wall of the nave suggests it may have belonged to an earlier church, demolished after 1120, and replaced by the new priory church of William le Meschin. A possible connection could be made with the church at Kirkby Lonsdale, with the use of the Norse terminology, 'Cherchby', which suggests there were churches within both Norse communities. The church at Kirkby Lonsdale was gifted to St Mary's Abbey; perhaps Ivo's death in 1094 delayed the gifting of the church at St Bees until the region was taken over by William le Meschin although the date of his arrival in the region is uncertain. He may have wished to gift his own church and priory, not a previous building, to the abbey, inspiring his plans to construct a stone church to replace the one constructed under the patronage of his Norman predecessor. Although the designers and builders of this new priory were aware of established traditions in the area, they were also subject to influences coming in with Norman settlers, reflected in the carving of the west door. It is possible the lintel was considered old-fashioned and unsuitable for the new building in its emphasis on the dragon, the diminutive figure, the priority given to the ornament and the obscure message conveyed by the iconography. Despite its location on a church site, the lintel appears to illustrate more of a metaphorical than a direct Christian message although this would not in itself preclude it from being acceptable by the Normans whose art after 1120 in the region continued to use decoration, traditional pattern and obscure detail in the stone-carving that survives.

The lintel stands at the threshold of sculptural developments of the late eleventh and early twelfth century where greater plasticity combined with an increasing attempt at realism in narrative scenes. The content, however, owes much to the insular tradition of the north-west and, as a result, it does not fit neatly into the development of stone sculpture of the twelfth century. Stylistically, it can be distinguished from previous survivals but the use of interlace and the possible Norse iconography tend to look back towards the insular past than forward to Norman monumental sculpture of the mid-century in the south. What the external influences were on this insular tradition is difficult to assess and the examples used here as source material and comparative material are merely to establish a place for the lintel within an ongoing process of emerging ideas and aims within the art of stone sculpture.

The lintel looks back to the age of decorative ideals; of dragons, combat, interlace and interrelated legend and epic. It was a time and a place of mixed influences and converging traditions, a transitional period at a meeting of prevailing values and incoming Norman trends from the south where many established concepts were undergoing a radical rethinking by patron and artist. What differentiates the lintel from many Norman carvings is the emphasis on pattern over figure, almost concealed by the dragon. The sculptor has reinterpreted patterns and story to create his own composition and produced a unique carving whose original provenance may never be known. Whether St Michael or Sigurd, or another heroic figure of unknown identity, whether carved as a lintel or as part of a set of reliefs, the stone remained in the proximity of the priory. Whether it was included in the fabric of the new priory church of William le Meschin will never be proven but its survival and discovery in the south wall suggests it was considered at least of some interest within the new foundation and proves Scandinavian aspects of society were evident in St Bees into the twelfth century. The distribution of these examples across Lancashire, Yorkshire, Manx and into Cumbria supports a thriving continuation of Norse culture, discussed below in connection with the runic inscription at Bridekirk. It remains

one of the most enigmatic pieces of sculpture to survive from the north-west and illustrates

the problems and fascinations associated with this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FONT IN THE CHURCH OF ST BRIDGET, BRIDEKIRK

   Introduction

i)   The twelfth-century church and Waltheof of Allerdale

ii)   Shape, style and technique and comparative material

iii) Sources for motif and pattern

iv)   Comparative material in stone and other media

v)   Iconography, sources and purpose

vi)   Runic inscription and the sculptor

vii) Conclusion and date

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to place the font in the development of sculpture in the north-west after 1092, to establish sources for its content and iconography and to examine the significance of the runic inscription. The chapter is divided into seven parts: a summary of the site, the twelfth-century ruin, the extant sculpture and Waltheof of Allerdale; a discussion of the shape of the font and the style and technique of carving; an examination of the sources for patterns, motifs and figures; an introduction to comparative material in stone and other media; a discussion of iconography in relation to scriptural and other sources; the identities of the narrative scene on the west face and the beasts are examined within the tradition of saints lives, bestiary and fable and other literary sources; the leaf-types and foliage and possible symbolism are analysed; the cross and rosette are discussed and other parallels introduced, in stone and other media, from contemporary and previous examples; the runic inscription is compared with other inscriptions in the north-west and the background of the sculptor discussed; finally, in conclusion, the date for the carving is

suggested and the font is placed in the mainstream development of twelfth-century sculpture.

Little comment has been made by art historians regarding the font and it has been variously dated from pre-Conquest to later in the twelfth century. Whellan describes the font in some detail and lists several interpretations of the inscription, considering it of pre-Conquest date.[494] Stephens attributes it to Richard of Durham, a sculptor who worked in Northumberland in the third quarter of the twelfth century, making the connection through the name 'Rikarth' within the inscription.[495] Calverley discusses the font in his extensive coverage of pre-Conquest stone carving in the north-west, suggesting an Italian influence on the style and content.[496] The iconography is discussed by Bond, who compares it with Italian sculpture.[497] Prior and Gardner date it to the middle of the twelfth century.[498] The font is discussed by Collingwood in the *Victoria County History* and motifs are compared to other sculpture.[499] Romilly Allen discusses the carving in relation to the symbolism of font sculpture and the Baptism.[500] Pevsner describes the font as 'one of the liveliest pieces of sculpture in the country' and dates it to the middle of the twelfth century, suggesting Italian influences on the style.[501] Zarnecki dates it to the second half of the century.[502] Boase mentions it in relation to later northern sculpture at York and Durham.[503] Page discusses the inscription in some detail, relating it to other runic inscriptions in Cumbria and elsewhere and examining the runes in detail, indicating a twelfth-century date.[504] Cramp mentions the font in the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, Cumberland and Westmorland, placing it between the end of the pre-Conquest traditions and the establishment of Norman trends in Cumberland and Westmorland.[505] Drake's study of

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[494] Whellan, p. 285.
[495] G. Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments* (Copenhagen, 1884), p. 168.
[496] Calverley, op. cit., p. 69.
[497] F. Bond, *Fonts and Font-covers* (London, 1907), p. 68.
[498] E. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cumbria, 1912), p. 94.
[499] *VCH*, p. 76.
[500] Romilly Allen, pp. 287, 365.
[501] Pevsner, p. 78.
[502] G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1953), p. 59, pls. 71-2.
[503] T. Boase, *The Oxford History of English Art* (Oxford, 1953), p. 224.
[504] Page, pp. 185-189.
[505] *Corpus*, p. 41.

European fonts represents a comprehensive catalogues with a useful appendix of the fonts discussed in the book. His categorisation is based around both form and decoration of fonts and his examination of Swedish fonts are particularly engaging.[506] Regarding the Bridekirk font, he makes little comment about its meaning and describes the west face narrative as a scene of the Temptation and Expulsion, neglecting to mention other possibilities including a scene from the life of St Bridget. A MA thesis of 1996 examines the font in detail and is useful in its comparison with other baptismal fonts of the twelfth century. The author also suggests this same iconography for the west face.[507] The work of the Swedish scholar, Folke Nordstrom, published in 1984, analyses the iconography and discusses comparative sculptural motifs of fonts from the eleventh to the thirteenth century in northern Europe but makes no reference to the font at Bridekirk.[508]

The fonts surviving across England and Wales illustrate a variety of shape, material, quality, style, technique and content. Their survival as examples of church furniture is invaluable in understanding the original appearance of small parish churches, most of which have lost their original furnishings and painted surfaces. Although several have been defaced, for example, the font at Isel, their comparatively large dimensions and heavy material used for their construction, stone or lead, ensured their survival during iconoclasm. Their position within the church allowed the congregation to see detail and explanatory inscriptions and, for the modern art historian, fonts are easily accessible, preserved from erosion and the finest details of carving can be identified.

Font iconography varies across the country, and many are carved with geometric designs and shapes easily copied from other media or craftsmen. Arcading and circular motifs are particularly popular, especially on round fonts, for example, at Torpenhow (St Michael) and on the square but defaced font at nearby Aikton.[509] The figural and historiated scenes of many fonts are often related to baptism and many variations of the

[506] C.S. Drake, *The RomanesqueFonts of Northern Europe and Scandinavia* (Boydell, 2002).
[507] A.K. Wagner, *An Investigation of the Twelfth-Century Baptismal Font in the Parish Church in Bridekirk, Cumbria*, MA thesis (Washington, 1996).
[508] F. Nordstrom, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts* (1984).
[509] C.S. Drake, op. cit., p. 4, pl. 340, for example.

scene survive. Fonts were created as liturgical objects and, where funds and patronage allowed, were often sophisticated and expensive items produced in an expanding society. Churches and their contents provided status symbols for patrons and congregation alike and the carved fonts were an integral part of the church furniture on display. Iconography and design, whether based around the sacrament of baptism and the promise of salvation or mere decoration were intended to satisfy the requirements of patron and congregation.

The role of baptism was to provide a commitment to faith for the person baptised throughout life. Both the moment of baptising and the resulting life are affirmed in the New Testament where it is seen as a beginning and a continuation.[510] Baptism promised salvation and involved a choice, to follow God or not. Confession was required by adults but the purpose of infant baptism offered similar rewards. Baptism was seen as the starting point of faith, for individual, family and community. Hence the public place of the font in church, where all could see the decoration and witness the act of baptising, whether infant or adult. The faith and prayer of the congregation was involved in the baptism of the individual and the imparting of the Holy Spirit. Font decoration was visible on entering the church door and often illustrated the struggle between good and evil, emphasizing redemption and forgiveness of sins offered by baptism.[511] Fonts assumed the imagery once adorning the walls of baptistries.[512] Earlier writers considered the cleansing with water at baptism akin to a new birth, linked to the crucifixion and resurrection of Christ.[513] The physical aspect of the font also symbolised the womb, the source of life, a metaphor found in St Paul's epistles.[514] The seldom recorded practice of 'font burial', where a new font is placed above the old, also continues through the twelfth century, although there is no evidence for this at Bridekirk.[515] References to birth, life and death were all intended through these objects.

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[510] John, 3; Matt. 3, 11; Luke 3, 16.
[511] O. Cullmann, *Baptism in the New Testament* (London, 1950), pp. 9-23.
[512] J.G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, 1962), pp. 2-4.
[513] St John Chrysostom, St Ambrose and St Augustine.
[514] W. Bedard, *The Symbolism of the Baptismal font in Early Christian Thought*, Ph.D. thesis (1951), p. 23.
[515] D.A. Stocker, 'Fons et origo: the symbolic death, burial, resurrection of English font stones', *Church Archaeology*, Vol. 1 (1977), pp. 17-25.

The aim of this chapter is to describe and discuss the font, its style, decoration and iconography and to identify its place in the tradition of stone sculpture in the north-west. The discussion interprets the imagery and suggests its purpose, where possible, within the function of the font. The decoration of this liturgical object for those who witnessed and used it in their daily lives must have been significant although definitions and meanings of detail and ornament are uncertain. The study of the font, however, does suggest that every detail was carefully chosen and had a purpose in the creation of the whole. The questions revolve not merely around the distinctive style, which has no surviving parallel in the north-west, but also the wealth of iconography and the enigmatic runic inscription. The high quality of carving, eclectic use of motifs and sense of drama suggest a skilled sculptor. In conclusion, the date for the carving is suggsted, placing the font in the historical and artistic traditions of Cumbria and in the broader context of art in the twelfth century.

i) The twelfth-century church and Waltheof of Allerdale

There is no documentary evidence to confirm the font was originally made for the church of St Bridget although its survival on site suggests this was a probability (Cat. 5). The documentation regarding the church at Bridekirk is minimal and there are no references to the font before the sixteenth century. The dedication of the church to St Bridget suggests the site's long-standing religious significance and the importance of the saint is illustrated in the immediate area by another three churches dedicated to her: Brigham; Beckermet St Bridget; Kirkbride, and several over the Solway into south-west and western Scotland. These four sites possess fragments of pre-Conquest carving which supports the probability of religious significance prior to 1092.[516] Bailey has identified a

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[516] *Corpus*, p. 74, for Bridekirk cross-shaft fragment; pp. 54-56, ills. 41-51, for fragments at Beckermet St Bridget; Collingwood, pp. 130-131.

distinctive group of carvings which he labels the 'spiral-scroll school' which includes the pieces at Bridekirk and Beckermet St Bridget.[517]

It is probable that the font was made for the church built on this site in the early twelfth century after the Normans had established a power base in Carlisle. Fortunately, the carving has survived the vicissitudes of time. To the east of the apse of the present nineteenth-century church lie the foundations and ruined square chancel, built of rubble masonry, which suggest an early twelfth-century date (ill. 13). The two-cell plan and dimensions, deciphered from these foundations, are linked with other surviving churches in the vicinity, for example, Isel and Torpenhow (St Michael), which have similar original plans and almost identical dimensions (ill. 86, Cat. 17).[518] The two carved doorways of the original church at Bridekirk, one from the nave and a smaller priest's door, perhaps from the south side of the chancel, and the chancel arch were reset in the Victorian church and are unrelated to the font in style and iconography but confirm the original church was considerably ornate with little expense spared and following the current sculptural trends. The shaft on the left of the south doorway is intricately carved (ill. 17).[519] The tympanum of Christ repositioned above the south doorway, carved in St Bees sandstone, has no stylistic links with the font or the architectural sculpture and may belong to an earlier stone building, discussed below (ill. 16).

Churches at Isel and Torpenhow (St Michael) and several other examples suggest widespread building activity at the time across the immediate vicinity and a ready supply of stone produced by several limestone quarries recorded in the area (Map 7). A photograph visible in the present church, taken shortly before the original stone church was dismantled, shows the small two-cell plan building with a square tower at the west end. Without further excavation, it is impossible to establish the date of this tower but it may have belonged to the original building. Similar towers existed at Isel (St Michael)

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[517] *Corpus*, pp. 33-38, fig. 8.

[518] The east wall of the chancel measures 7.50m wide, the north and south chancel walls are 2.26m in length.

[519] Other examples of this form of shaft decoration are found at Egleton (Rutland) on the chancel arch and at Healaugh (Yorkshire), also on the chancel, although in both cases the decoration is on a larger scale, resembling strap-work.

and Dearham (St Mungo) and those still standing at Long Marton (St James and St Margaret), Brigham (St Mungo) and Little Bolton (All Saints) suggest these may have been widespread. The presence of the tower could imply the church's importance, a factor supported by the carved doorways, tympanum and chancel arch. For a church of this status, an elaborately-carved font would not have been unreasonable. It is possible the font belonged to the original church built in the early part of the century, suggested by one small piece of evidence found in the similarity of the scallop capitals on the inscription face to those in the crossing of the cathedral in Carlisle, features also found at Isel and Warwick-on-Eden.

The first known reference to a church at Bridekirk is undated but belongs to the early twelfth century and refers to a grant by Waltheof, referred to as a son of Gospatric, Earl of Northumbria or Bernicia, giving to the church of Bridekirk the vill and church of Apelton. Waltheof received Allerdale from Henry I and the land between the Cocker and the Derwent from William le Meschin.[520] He gave by charter to the church of St Bridget 'the vill of Apelton and all the vills adjacent thereto, the house [domum] belonging to St Bridget, free of .... and all the benefits of that house, also the church and all its appurtenances in alms, to E (the priest) and El., son of Erlaf the priest'. This charter was made with the consent of Waltheof's wife, Sigrid and his sons Gospatric and Alan and all their relatives and friends and for the benefit of their souls and the souls of their forbears ([parentum]. El., son of Erlaf, was called Waltheof's 'cognato meo et alumpno' [perhaps his brother-in-law and personal servant]. The witnesses were Gerard, the chaplain, Suan the priest, Lyulf and Uchtred, brothers, sons of Uchtred, Tenbald, Steward of Ivo, Wald son of Buet, Roger son of Aldan, Uchtred, son of Gamal, Ulf son of Gamal. This is an impressive list of Anglo-Scandinavian names. Alan, son of Waltheof, confirmed this charter with some alterations before he died (c. 1150). The name of the beneficiary was then Athelwold, clerk, son of Erlaf, the priest. Alan and his mother witnessed with Robert, chaplain, Swain and Acca, priests, Uthred son of Uthred, William, son of Waltheof, and

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[520] Dugdale, p. 144.

Egelward and Orm, his brothers, sons of Dolfin, Chetell, son of Ulfchill and Chetell, son of Robert.

Waltheof died about 1138 and his widow, Sigrid, married Roger, son of Gilbert of Lancaster, brother of William of Lancaster I, who was the son of Ketel Eldredson and Christiana Taillebois, daughter of Ivo Taillebois.[521] Both Waltheof and his son Alan were benefactors of Carlisle Priory after its foundation in c. 1122 and Alan was one of the benefactors of Holm Cultram Abbey in 1150.[522] Walter, who became prior of Carlisle about 1140, was also a member of this family. Eilward, son of Dolfin, was his brother and was related to Earl Gospatric by Eilward's marriage to Gospatric's daughter, Maud. Waltheof and Alan and Waltheof, his son, were also benefactors of churches at Aspatria (St Kentigern) and Cross Canonby (St John) and are mentioned with reference to grants to Carlisle Priory, St Bees, St Mary's Abbey, York, and the priory of Hexham, confirmed by William le Meschin and his descendents.[523] Two further charters from the thirteenth century record the gift of Bridekirk and Dearham churches to St Mary's Priory, Gisborne, by Alice de Romilly.[524]

In 1703, Bishop William Nicholson of Carlisle saw the church and remarked on its poor repair.[525] The windows were enlarged and a tower added in 1720. In 1860, the church was again described in poor repair.[526] The present church was constructed in 1868.[527] The first reference to the font is in the sixteenth century when the Appleby antiquarian, Reginald Bainbrigg, claimed the font, then at Bridekirk, originated at Papcastle, originally a Roman settlement and the seat of the earls of Northumberland until the 1070s.[528] There is no record of a stone church here and the castle was rebuilt at Cockermouth by Waltheof of Allerdale.[529]

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[521] St Bees, nos. 22, 223, 232.
[522] *Holmcultram*, pp. 91, 92. Waltheof gave the churches of Aspatria and Cross Canonby and a chapel at Flimby to the priory, R. Sharpe, 'Norman rule', p. 59.
[523] *VCH Cumberland* II, p. 139. This charter was confirmed in 1175.
[524] *Wetheral*, p. 49, nos. 245, 386; Dugdale, vi., p. 270.
[525] Nicolson and Burn, p. 78.
[526] Whellan, p. 285.
[527] The church was built by Messrs. Cory and Ferguson.
[528] Calverley, op. cit., p. 36.
[529] Perriam and Robinson, pp. 22, 90.

Ranulf le Meschin was established in Appleby as Lord of Carlisle some time after 1100 and gave the chapel of St Leonard's, Warwick-on-Eden, to St Mary's Abbey, York.[530] The reset chancel arch in the church at Bridekirk has base spurs similar to those at Warwick, also found at Wetheral, Isel and in the crossing of the cathedral in Carlisle.[531] Base spurs are not a common feature of Norman architectural sculpture and may provide possible links between churches. Although these and other decorative details cannot prove patronage links, the designers of the church at Bridekirk were aware clearly aware of current trends. [532] The fonts remaining in the churches at Isel, Torpenhow, Dearham, Aikton, Bowness-on-Solway and the fragment from Carlisle, confirm the popularity of these decorative pieces of church furniture. It is probable that every church, however small, constructed during this period was furnished with a stone font.

The tympanum of Christ above the south doorway is, despite its worn condition, a distinctive carving (ill. 16). There are no surviving tympana in the region to compare with the content but similar compositions are found elsewhere, for example, the tympanum reset above the doorway of the chapel at Prestbury (Cheshire).[533] The tympanum here represents Christ in Majesty, flanked by two angels. It is carved from soft red sandstone, although the capitals and shafts of the church are carved from grey limestone, found across the immediate area. The voussoirs with heads are also of sandstone and were transported from elsewhere to the site.[534] The carving of the tympanum is flat and damaged but the background red wash is still apparent. The architectural sculpture here at Prestbury belongs to the parish church decorated in the second quarter of the twelfth century and provides another example, like Bridekirk, of stylistic discrepancy between tympanum and doorway carving. The style of both tympana is similar and, although no links can be documented between the sites, the return of Ranulf le Meschin to Cheshire after 1120 must at least be considered.

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[530] Phythian-Adams, pp. 23-43, on the arrival of the Normans; Whellan, p. 188; *VCH*, Cumberland II, p. 184.
[531] These spurs are also found at Egremont Castle and at Irthington (St Kentigern).
[532] Examples are found in Lincolnshire and Normandy, for example, Frampton (St Mary).
[533] Keyser, pp. 42-43; N. Pevsner and E. Hubbard, *The Buildings of England: Cheshire* (Harmondsworth, 1971), pp. 315-6; illustrations available on Corpus website, www.crsbi. ac.uk/ed/ch/prest/index.
[534] M. Thurlby, *The Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture of Wales* (Logaston, 2006), p. 217.

ii) **Shape, style and technique and comparative material**

All eight registers of the font are designed with a clear sense of composition and laid out with clarity. The decoration has a sense of purpose across the surface and a story to tell. The square form of the stone has assisted the sculptor but his own sense of balance and design is illustrated in, for example, the symmetry of the rosette and cross face (ill. 22). Although on four separate sides, the composition runs across the borders of the stone and details extend over other motifs to create a sense of continuity and depth. The sword of the left-hand narrative figure, for example, disappears behind the moulded edge above. The column to the right of the lower register beneath the scroll also frames the narrative scene of the baptism face, providing a common border. The combination of form and pattern on the font runs across the surface in a controlled format. The sword of the figure on the narrative and centaur face disappears behind the frame of the scene which connects the action of the figures with the edge of the frame (ill. 31). The running decoration of the inscription face appears chaotic but lies within the boundaries, contrasting with the clarity of the decorative cross and the baptism scene. Despite the variety of figures, the sculptor has illustrated his total control over the composition and the story unfolding across the stone surface.

The font's rectangular shape may have been dictated by the original stone, perhaps a Roman altar, and determined the lay-out of the decoration in horizontal tiers. The sculptor used the shape to lay out his design clearly across the surface. In architectural sculpture, a similar use of shape was illustrated by the use of cushion capitals to inspire decoration, for example, at Canterbury, Westminster, Reading, Hyde, Romsey, Christchurch Priory, Rochester and Durham.[535] The variety of font shapes suggests they were shaped from convenient stones on site or re-used from earlier carvings. The font at nearby Aikton is

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[535] D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1991), pp. 40-46. The combination of detail and underlying form became a feature of the complex schemes of French and Burgundian portals.

square, set on an octagonal and probably later base. It is carved on all four sides with a row of three arcade motifs and the corners have been planed down to form flat areas between the decorative detail. The rim is broad and flat and the surfaces between and around the decoration may have been painted.[536] The font in the church at Torpenhow (St Michael) survives intact and is ornamented with a row of arcading, similar to the damaged example at Aikton (ill. 125). The damaged square font at Isel (St Michael) may have been decorated but has been defaced and no detail is evident. The font at Dearham (St Mungo) is another example which is quite unique in the cushion capital shape, iconography and flat style (ills. 71, 72, 73, Cat. 14). The font at Bowness-on-Solway has little in common with the font at Bridekirk, apart from the highly skilled hand involved in the precision of the detail (ills. 10, 11, 12, Cat. 4). It is a profusely ornamented object with fine detail raised from the surface with defined motifs although the leaf-forms and decorative detail are not treated with the imagination of the Bridekirk example. The recently discovered capital fragment from Carlisle, perhaps from the cloister of the priory, is close to the font at Bowness in its basket-work detail and clear definition (ill. 50). The stone piscina set in the south wall of the chancel at Torpenhow (St Michael) has an identical rosette motif as the font and, in both cases, the moulded treatment of the motifs and the precise rendering of the detail is similar (ill. 126).[537] This stone at Torpenhow is set in the original wall but it is not established whether it is a Roman survival or carved in the twelfth century. A fragment of cable moulding in the church at Bridekirk is identical to the surround of the piscina stone, although the original purpose of this stone is also unknown.[538]

A rectangular font at Lenton (Nottinghamshire) is larger than the Bridekirk example but is also carved profusely with detail and narrative.[539] A rosette motif with three lines of

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[536] Another similar example is at Crambe (Yorkshire), F. Bond, *Fonts and Font-Covers* (London, 1908), p.25.

[537] G. Ewart, 'Dundrennan Abbey, Archaeological Investigation within the South range of a Cistercian House in Kirkcudbrightshire', *TDGNHAS* lxxv (2001), p. 170, illustrates a fragmentary stone cross found during these excavations with an identical rosette, possibly belonging to the twelfth century when Fergus of Galloway established contacts with the Cistercians.

[538] This stone had disappeared from the church at the author's last visit.

[539] G. Zarnecki, 'The Romanesque Font at Lenton', *BAACT* xxi (1998), pp. 136-142.

petals occupies the centre of the cross, perhaps a Tree of Life.[540] The remaining three sides are carved with biblical narrative, including the baptism. A square font at Aston-le-Walls (Northamptonshire) is decorated with four different designs and, apart from a bird's head and three human masks, the entire scheme is decorative. A square font at Coleby (Lincolnshire) also uses architectural definitions to articulate space.[541] Columns, shafts and capitals have been used but in a cruder technique than at Bridekirk or Lenton. A rectangular font at Reighton (Yorkshire) is entirely decorated with geometric motifs.[542] Columns, capitals and shafts are integrated with a variety of rosette decoration, carved skilfully in low relief. The square shape could represent a tomb or sarcophagus for the Christ crucified and the decoration is linked to the Baptism scene where the cruciform nimbus above Christ promises hope from the shape of the river beneath, reminiscent of a tomb. Messages of death across the decoration are linked to those of new birth and growth. Creation imagery is found on the inscription face where the sculptor carves his sculpture and trees and leaves flourish. The cross-arms end in living tendrils and the mask spews foliage perhaps as a pagan reference to spring and the Green Man, a common symbol of creation and growth in twelfth-century art.[543]

The style and technique of carving on the font have no comparisons in Cumberland and Westmorland but comparative sculpture from elsewhere, however, places figure and drapery style in the development of twelfth-century sculpture. The font represents a precious survival due to both the originality of design and pattern and also the skill of the sculptor who has made full use of the whole surface area to carve as many ideas as possible. The two narrative scenes, the baptism and the narrative scene with three figures, provide the main text, despite being allocated the same amount of physical space across the surface as other imagery providing footnotes to the meaning and significance of these stories. The bestial characters, the 'inhabited scroll', the inscription and the formal array of acanthus and design are carved with as much care and attention as the main scene of the

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[540] Drake, p. 11.
[541] Drake, p. 10, pl. 6.
[542] Drake, p. 10, pl. 4.
[543] K. Basford, *The Green Man* (London, 1978), p. 9.

baptism. A close inspection of the style across the four surfaces confirms that one hand

carved the font, using different tools and methods of application to define the variety of

motifs within their context and, despite contrasting imagery, there is an underlying sense

of balance throughout. The details are carved in relief from a flat ground, evident, for

example, behind the baptism figures and on the centaur and narrative face, where the three

beasts above and the narrative scene below contain little extraneous detail. The inscription

face is the 'busiest' in terms of filling the space with decoration, but here also the flat

ground sets off this detail in a clear and consistent way. The decoration is carved about

half a centimetre above this ground and the edges are moulded into the surface of the

detail but each piece of the picture stands out clearly. The sculptor has used a chisel to

carve out the stone behind the detail and in some cases has cut in behind, producing an

effect of shadow and depth. This is apparent on the row of decoration immediately above

the inscription, where, for example, the front leg of the dog is almost in the round (ill. 26).

The hammer of the sculptor is also carved in high relief (ill. 25). His style is distinctive

and his technique uniform across the surface illustrating the use of several tools to create

the different effects. The sculptor has used all available tools and decorative motifs at his

disposal to create vibrancy and movement across the four stone surfaces.

Figures

The figures on three faces of the font are of three different types: the small, running

figure and the portrait of the sculptor of the inscription face; the solemn figure of John the

Baptist and the small Christ child; the three enigmatic figures of the centaur and narrative

face. The sculptor has carved the figures according to their different functions and

characteristics. The three narrative figures are in dramatic poses with a variety of gesture

and expression and a hint of dampfold drapery; the figure of St John is set in a solemn

static pose, his long, serious face and his flat robe, incised with detailed hair; the bare torso

of Christ is round with a freshness of youth; the small figures on the inscription face are

carved in the same style, but they both represent different types, the 'sculptor' has a long, gaunt face set in three-quarter profile, the running figure in full profile with short hair and a fringe. The sculptor has carefully represented the figures within different contexts illustrating his skill and his awareness of the variety of characteristics of each scene portrayed on the font surface.

The depiction of drapery revealing aspects of the body beneath, termed 'dampfold', is a characteristic of twelfth-century art, found in manuscripts, wall-painting, ivories, metal and stone. On the font, the tentative use of this technique is evident on the narrative figures on the centaur and narrative face, implying the sculptor was not outside the main stream of artistic development (ill. 21). The drapery of figures on the wall paintings at Berzé-la-Ville (c. 1110) gave the technique its name, coined by Koehler in 1941, and Byzantine origins are probable.[544] The artist of these frescoes may have also been a sculptor due to the light and shade used in the colouring and the moulding of the features. The style is found in several manuscripts, for example, the Bury Bible (c. 1130), associated with Magister Hugo, a master of many trades.[545] The dampfold technique is not consistent across this manuscript, suggesting perhaps another hand.[546] The technique is found in all media. The font at Walton-on-the-Hill (Surrey) illustrates this technique in lead, where three apostles are clothed in dampfold drapery over their knees, set beneath arcading mounted on decorative shafts and cushion capitals.[547] The seal of Bury Abbey also illustrates a more developed use, representing St Edmund enthroned with orb and flowering rod.[548] An ivory cross in the Cloisters Collection (New York), date and provenance unknown, is similar in figure and drapery style (c. 1125).[549] An oval pyx, also of ivory, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, illustrates the early stages of the style and the

[544] W. Koehler, 'Byzantine Art in the West', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* I (1941), p. 63.
[545] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2; only the Book of Job, Vol. 1, survives.
[546] It is fully developed on the frontispiece to Numbers, f. 70; to Deuteronomy, f. 94 and to Ezekiel, f. 281v.
[547] Drake, pl. 371.
[548] *ERA*, p. 313, no. 356. This seal, c. 1150, is considered the work of Master Hugo due to the similarities of style with drapery in the Bury Bible; see also, Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1953)*, pp. 7, 28-9; R.M. Thomson, 'The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *Suffolk Record Society*, Vol. xxi (1980), p. 52, no. 51.
[549] I owe this opinion to Professor Peter Lasko.

soft u-shaped folds, t-shaped hems and bare feet are similar to the figures on the centaur and narrative face.[550] Later forms of dampfold became more stylised and pronounced and drapery was divided into panels and ridged folds, termed curvilinear, in, for example, the Winchester Bible.[551] Two sandstone slabs, carved with two scenes, survive in Durham and probably once belonged to a screen.[552] One panel illustrates the Transfiguration and the second scenes of the Resurrection.[553] The figure of Christ with the Magdalen is close to Moses expounding the Law in the Bible, in gesture, stance and drapery.[554] Winchester is another centre where dampfold is evident and artists from here travelled extensively as the paintings at Sigena illustrate.[555]

The sources for the dampfold style have been described as a 'combination of Byzantine classicism and English mannerism'.[556] It was a popular device but its widespread use cannot be assumed as so much material has been lost, especially in the form of wall paintings. The technique required a certain level of skill on behalf of the artist. Examples of the technique can be found in the eastern Mediterranean early in the twelfth century, for example, Asinou (Cyprus).[557] This form of dampfold is more plastic than many English examples where the decorative possibilities of the style were popularised by artists, with a greater emphasis on the linear aspect of the technique. On the font, the decorative aspect combines with a growing naturalism in the figures which, when compared with those at Asinou, are more relaxed and natural in their poses, the hems of their garments lying across the surface in a haphazard way. A possible intermediary was Burgundy, for

[550] *ERA*, p. 218, no. 191, dated probably early twelfth century. The drapery is in the early stages of dampfold similar to the figures on the centaur and narrative face of the font; J. Beckwith *Ivory Carving in Medieval England* (London, 1972), no. 19, ills. 25, 42-45 (with bibliography).

[551] *ERA*, pp. 120-122. The manuscript was probably produced in Winchester c. 1160. Five artists can be detected through stylistic differences. The Master of the Leaping Figures worked in the curvilinear drapery style of the Bury Bible.

[552] *ERA*, pp. 188-9. no. 154; Zarnecki, op. cit., pp. 32-3, 58, pl. 67; F. Saxl, *English Sculpture of the twelfth-century* (London, 1954), ed. H. Swarzenshki, p. 66; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages* (Pelican, 1955), pp. 82-3, pl. 64.

[553] The panelling and the balance of figures connects this carving with manuscript design, for example, the Bury Bible, and close similarities can be found.

[554] F. 94 of the Bible.

[555] It is possible that artists employed on the Winchester Bible travelled as far as Sigena, Spain, to paint the chapter-house frescoes. The Spanish examples are related to later versions of dampfold, for example, the figure of St Paul, St Anselm's chapel (Canterbury Cathedral) and the Lambeth Bible (c. 1170).

[556] J. Geddes, *St Albans Psalter, A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London, 2005), for drapery style of the Alexis Master.

[557] O. Demus, *Twelfth-century Mural Painting* (London, 1970), p. 171.

example, illustrated by the wall-paintings at Berzé-la-Ville and manuscripts such as the Cluny Lectionary (c. 1110).[558] Byzantine, Italian and Mosan influences are found in the Bury Bible.[559] A widespread dissemination of the technique is evident across Europe, confirming the huge distances that ideas and motifs travelled for artists to learn and adapt in their own surroundings.[560]

There are early signs of dampfold in the St Albans Psalter in the seated figure of, for example, the angel of the Three Marys at the Sepulchre where the circles over the figure's knees defines the legs beneath.[561] In this case, German sources are possible through the Ottonian Renaissance, keeping in close touch with contemporary Byzantium, a movement which culminated in the work of Roger of Helmashausen. The use of this style to articulate the body beneath clothing was a logical step towards naturalism but many examples never lost their decorative appeal, such as the Master of the Leaping Figures in the Winchester Bible.[562] On the font, this love of decoration is, however, not exploited on the drapery on the narrative figures below the centaur and cannot be termed purely decorative but rather an attempt to portray movement and atmosphere by adding realistic features. There is no true understanding of the body beneath the cloth as illustrated towards the end of the century in, for example, the work of Nicholas of Verdun, but the sculptor has created movement and drama within the landscape, while adhering to the details of the story.

Beasts, vegetation and decorative motifs

The bestial, foliate and decorative details are carved in a uniform style although using different tools to convey the sense of the individual motifs. The surface detail is incised

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[558] B.N. Lat. 2248, f. 29, Christ in the Pentecost scene.

[559] *ERA*, p. 108. Master Hugo's style is clearly influenced by Byzantine method of articulating the human figure.

[560] Anselm, Abbot of Bury from 1121-48, was Italian and was formerly Abbot of SS. Alexius and Sabas, Rome, a monastery founded under Greek patronage. Hugo was open to foreign influences and also the traditional insular style already established at Bury.

[561] T.S.R. Boase, op. cit., pls. 35-38; J. Geddes, op. cit., p. 54.

[562] *ERA*, p. 121, no. 64a.

on the raised motifs and a range of cutting tools has been used to produce varied widths of line. The decoration of the circular motif on the south face is carved in broad symmetrical lines whereas the draperies of the small figures on the inscription face and the central figure of the narrative and centaur face are carved in fine lines, conveying a natural sense of cloth. The whiskers on the lion-mask above the inscription are merely scratched on the surface and almost invisible (ill. 28). The patterns carved on the two affronted 'dragonesque' creatures are ornate and profuse; beading, feathers, large eyes and curling mouths, all carved with precision (ill. 35). The edges are moulded and softened with rubbing and there are areas of detail of utmost delicacy. The figures are carved in a rounded way illustrating a sense of body shape, especially apparent on the centaur. The creatures on the inscription face, however, although still raised and moulded, have a flatter, more ornamental surface.

Depth is created not only from details extending beyond the frames but within the decoration itself. The end of the curled leaf above the name 'Rikarth' extends over the scroll almost touching the 'P' letter beneath (ill. 19). This is also apparent on the baptism face, where three large leaves of the tail extend over the beaded circle beneath and beyond, the two upper ones trailing over flat ground, the one below over the tail resting on the frame beneath (ill. 23). In the same scene, the head rests on the body, seen from above, and the eyes draw the spectator down to the scene beneath. This head is very close to the beast on the rosette face to the right of the circle, whose mouth grasps the central motif, again creating depth and plasticity (ill. 30). The centaur grasps the two beasts with sculptural hands which extend out beyond the raised surface of the figures (ill. 33). This is true also of the small figure on the inscription face chasing the dog and swallowing a bunch of fruit which is carved almost in the round (ill. 19). His left foot disappears behind the stem of the acanthus, once again providing the sense of depth and in this case dramatic movement. The clear symmetry of the formal composition of the rosette face contrasts sharply with the running narrative of the inscription face and the drama of the two narratives, the baptism and the scene below the centaur (ills. 20, 21, 22). The style and

technique of carving, however, are similar. There is, however, less freedom of expression on the rosette face, although the heads of the beasts are similar in type to those of the dog and dragon above the baptism (ills. 26, 27). Again, the vegetation and bestial detail is carved with competence and clarity.

iii) **Sources for motif and pattern**

The font is a unique combination of artistic tradition and an accumulation of several strands of sculptural development. Although many aspects of its content and detail suggest a twelfth-century date, other features belong to earlier traditions and have been reinterpreted and re-used by the font sculptor in his contemporary context. The combination of motif and pattern on the font is inconceivable without the sculptor's knowledge of and recourse to earlier artistic legacies. To identify specific sources for individual motifs, it is necessary to look at the panels separately across the font as each face offers different reactions to tradition. The variety of content across of the font is due, not only to the sculptor's imagination and skill, but also to his interpretation of the material available to him from which to copy, re-use and re-invent for his own purposes. How this was done, whether with pattern-books, templates or whether he observed earlier material at first-hand is unknown but his awareness of traditional designs is illustrated across several parts of the composition.

The rosette face with its unusual cross and distinctive rosette appears isolated from the rest of the decorative scheme and may have been based on a specific design for both rosette and cross. This formal composition greets the modern onlooker on entering the church through the south doorway but the original setting for this face is unknown. The cross with its moulded terminals is balanced by the circular motif beneath, reminiscent of Roman carving, readily available throughout the area.[563] The meaning has probably altered but the sculptor has utilised the shape of the cross and the orb to create a specific

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[563] A Roman fragment in Carlisle museum ilustrates a similar rosette.

composition across one face of the font. Further comparative material for this combination of cross and circular motif is discussed below.

The inscription face with two tiers of decoration suggests further sources available to the sculptor (ill. 19). Earlier carving provided inspiration for foliage patterns, individual flower motifs and bestial motifs.[564] The two dragonesque creatures confront each other in a harmless way and no combat appears to be intended (ill. 35). The profile head on the right-hand side of composition is almost identical to that of the dog beneath, also in profile, also spewing a foliage tendril from its mouth. The small ears, the tear-drop eye and the long straight snout are found frequently in earlier sculpture of all periods.[565] The font sculptor has injected realism into a purely decorative motif and isolated the animal from the vegetation. The beasts on Norse carvings are often an extension of interlace; on the font, they have their own space in the composition.[566] Similar beasts are found at Kirk Michael and Kirk Braddan on the Isle of Man.[567] Beading is confined to the row of curling acanthus beneath the inscription (ill. 26). It is difficult to pinpoint origins for this form of decoration but sources can be traced to Anglo-Saxon metalwork of the seventh century where compositions were set within beaded bands of one or two rows.[568]

The baptism face of the font is a complex mix of imagery and a culmination of source material (ill. 20). The baptism scene is unusual in its composition but the sculptor was perhaps following a specific model in order to incorporate the main characters into the scene. The central figure of St John places the emphasis on him rather than the Christ child which may possibly reflect how the font was first positioned in the church. The stance of St John and the Christ child set in rising waters with the dove in descent reflect

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[564] *Corpus*, Appendices A-C.

[565] The Sinnington crosses, produced in Yorkshire during the second quarter of the tenth century when the area was under strong Norse influence, illustrate similar profiles. The motifs on these crosses relate not only to other Yorkshire carving but also to sculpture from the Irish Sea provinces and the Isle of Man, where Viking coins also prove continuing links between the two areas. One example is carved on a cross-head at Levisham and represents a profile dog-head almost identical to the font example, although its body is more decorative.

[566] *Corpus*, ill. 336, the cross at Great Clifton, for example.

[567] Kermode, nos. 101 and 105.

[568] For example, two cast copper-alloy dies, Suffolk, L. Webster and J. Backhouse, (eds.), *The Making of England: Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (London, 1991), pl. 40a. Beaded borders also appear in Irish metalwork, for example, a brooch from Killamery. This metal beading probably developed from filigree designs on jewellery.

earlier traditions.[569] The Byzantine blossoms, however, behind the two dragons is typical

of twelfth-century manuscripts and does not necessarily involve earlier material.[570] What

can be related to pre-Conquest carving, however, are the tightly controlled berries, both

within lined borders and also carved freely against the background, as found above the

inscription (ill. 26). Here the sources are Anglian and both triangular and enclosed berries

are found in Angian sculpture across the region.[571] The sculptor has used berries

specifically as space fillers and they are fitted neatly into crevices between tendrils against

the flat surface.

The head of the monstrous beast above the baptism and that of the beast on the right of

the rosette are seen from above, a feature of stone and metalwork traditions (ill. 23). Two-

headed monsters are found in eastern and Islamic metalwork.[572] Similar heads are found

on the Ruthwell and Rothbury crosses and their origin may be linked to beast-head

terminals in German metalwork, where Christian and pagan meanings are found.[573] The

label-stops on the south doorway and chancel arch at Deerhurst (Gloucestershire) represent

snarling beasts, perhaps wolves, and are also seen from above, anticipating the twelfth-

century examples in the nave at St Bees and at Torpenhow, on the outer order of the south

doorway (ill. 128).[574]

The centaur and narrative face of the font owes least to earlier stone-carving and the

narrative scene looks to contemporary influences from the south and from other media (ill.

21). The beasts above, however, are classical with smooth, round surfaces and it is

possible the sculptor was thinking of a Roman carving for his inspiration. The treatment

of the surface is well modelled which would also correspond to such a source although the

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[569] The Baptism of Christ, mosaic, Ravenna Baptistery, mid fifth century, J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmonsworth, 1979), p. 39, fig. 24.

[570] For example, London, BL, Cotton MS Vit. CXII, f. 134, initial I, D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1991), fig. 84.

[571] *Corpus*, p. xxv-xxvii.

[572] A. Daneshvari, 'The Iconography of the Dragon in the Cult of Saints of Islam', in *Manifestations of Sainthood in Islam*, ed. G. Marton-Smith and C.W. Ernst (Istanbul, 1993), pp. 15-25.

[573] J. Hawkes, 'The Rothbury Cross: an Iconographic Bricolage', *Gesta* xxxv (1996), pp. 77-94; E. Kitzinger, 'Anglo-Saxon vine-scroll ornament', *Antiquity*, x ((1936), pp. 61-71; for Ruthwell Cross, see W.G. Collingwood. 'The Ruthwell Cross and its relationship to other monuments of the early Christian age', *TDGNHAS*, ser. 3, v (1918), pp. 34-84.

[574] Similar heads are found at Ewenny priory and at Llandaff cathedral, M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), p. 97, fig. 123.

curviliniear aspect of the central centaur displays his love of line and pattern. The use of Roman models by Anglo-Saxon sculptors has long been recognised, both of Roman and Carolingian origin although here, in the north-west, the inspiration was probably purely Roman.[575] Clearly, due to the survival rate of these carvings, they were widely accessible, both *in situ* in ruined buildings and as stone to be re-used in alter building.

iv) Comparative material in stone and other media

The sculptor of the font was aware of developments in other arts and may have been trained in several disciplines and the carving cannot be understood without close comparison with other artistic media. The pride in his work is illustrated by the inscription naming the sculptor and his portrait beneath and his renown may have resembled that of Magister Hugo in Bury St Edmunds, master of many trades. These comparisons with other media not only help establish a possible date for the font but also suggest aspects of the sculptor's background and how such craftsmen were viewed by society. Close links with manuscript painting, ivory-carving and metalwork can be detected across the font, notably on the figures on the centaur and narrative face and their drapery and, on the inscription face, running figures, mask, acanthus foliage and decorative detail (ills. 19, 21). The rosette face has noticeable links with the tradition of stone-carving and the baptism face is close to the literary and scriptural tradition in its portrayal of the biblical story although the symbolical creature above is also found across all media, in stone, ivory and metalwork (ills. 20, 22).[576]

Comparative material in stone for aspects of the font-carving is more difficult to establish than other media due to the loss of material. There are no carved figures in the

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[575] J.T. Lang, 'Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries', *The Age of Migrating Ideas, Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, ed. R.M. Spearman and J. Higgitt, Procs. of the Second International Conference on Insular Art (Edinburgh, 1991), pp. 261-267.

[576] *ERA*, p. 249, the Gloucester candlestick, 1107-1113, Victoria and Albert Museum. Three dragons form the feet and other bestial creatures are enmeshed with human form. The close links between the design of the candlestick and contemporary English drawings suggest the coppersmith was also a draughtsman.

north-west surviving to compare with the font figures. Comparisons are, however, found in the south of the country and, although direct links between sites are not suggested, the transmission of ideas and motifs were reaching this relatively remote area as the century progressed. The three figures below the centaur are comparable with the figures of the high quality capitals from the cloister arcade of Norwich.[577] The figure on the left of the narrative stands in a frontal pose, with two feet resting on the lower frame of the picture (ill. 31). The upper body turns towards the central figure, the right arm bending across his body, raising the sword. A figure on a double capital from Norwich illustrates a similar pose.[578] The head is too damaged to allow a comparison with the facial features of the font figure, but the drapery detail survives intact. The long garment of the capital figure is delicately carved with intricate lines of pattern following the body beneath, indicating the shape of the legs. The use of dampfold is evident but still undeveloped. At Winchester, a capital fragment illustrates eight seated figures beneath arcades.[579] The figures are damaged but three features compare with the figure style on the font. Firstly, the falling drapery resting on the capital necking is close to the left-hand figure on the centaur and narrative face and a beaded cloak reveals an under garment. Secondly, the grounds are plain behind the figures which are undercut in places, for example, behind the shoulders, giving a sense of depth and perspective beneath the arches. Thirdly, the gestures suggest movement and convey a sense of drama. The figure in the centre has similarities with the figure of Noah with his mallet on the west front of Lincoln. In a tunic, he is set within a rectangular frame against a flat ground.[580]

The sculptor has utilised the pose and head position of St John to convey expression and, although the facial features are damaged, enough detail is evident to introduce a dramatic element. His head tilts forward, set in three-quarter profile from the flat ground, with a long pointed beard, a fringe and long hair swept back over the neck and collar. His

[577] J.A. Franklin, 'The Romanesque Cloister Sculpture at Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. F.H. Thomson (London, 1983), pp. 56-70.
[578] *ERA*, p. 167, no 126, for general discussion of the capitals at Norwich.
[579] *ERA*, p. 163.
[580] H.D. Holesworth, *Sculpture in England* (London, 1951), pl. xxiii. These carvings are dated 1141 at the earliest.

nose is elongated and continues around into the eyebrows. The mouth droops in a serious expression and the edges extend down into the beard. This figure of St John can be compared with sculpture and other media elsewhere (ill. 24). The elongated head and harrowed facial type are reminiscent of the two reliefs at Chichester, the Christ at Bethany, and the Raising of Lazarus, although the font figure is carved on a much smaller scale.[581] Further comparisons in stone with the Chichester reliefs are found on a fragment from Toller Fratrum (Dorset) which illustrates St Mary wiping Christ's feet.[582] The head with its large eyes, long nose, drooping mouth and exaggerated cheek bones are close to the kneeling figure on the centaur and narrative face of the font although the drapery is different (ill. 21). A fragment, perhaps from a screen or a font, now preserved in a conglomeration of carved stone in the church of St Cuthbert, Norham (Northumberland) illustrates a similar figure with a long face in three-quarter profile, although the surface details have been damaged (ill. 101). The figure's arm passes behind a pillar just as the sword of the narrative figure on the font crosses the boundary line of the scene, creating a sense of movement and depth.

The head of St John and the left-hand figure on the centaur and narrative face are echoed in a fragment of a head from Old Sarum which may have belonged to a screen.[583] The long, thin face, large ears, long hair and drooping mouth beneath the moustache are similar. The same beaded cloak beneath the saint's head is found on the centaur and narrative face (ill. 31). The head of Christ is more rounded in form, although the same drooping mouth is clear and is portrayed as a youth, without beard or moustache, although the serious expression remains. The two active figures on the inscription face are carved in a similar style but the faces and heads are very different. The portrait of the sculptor is portrayed in three-quarter profile and the detail of the hair and the long face and forward tilt of the head are close to St John (ill. 25). The face has no beard and the youthful impression is supported by the movement of the legs, outstretched arms and the tunic

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[581] G. Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1979), pp. 106-120.
[582] G. Zarnecki, ibid., pl. XXVIc.
[583] *ERA*, p. 160, no. 114.

falling in a play of curved lines around the figure's kneeling leg. This figure dances whereas the St John figure steps forward with purposeful solemnity. The running figure has a profiled face, open mouth swallowing the bunch of fruit, fringe and large nose (ills. 19, 26). A second capital from Hyde Abbey illustrates a similar profile head of a youth biting a bunch of fruit to the running figure above the inscription.[584] The short fringe, the high nose and open mouth emphasized by an incised line are close in type. The style of these capitals is compared to those at Norwich and dated to the second or third decade of the twelfth century.[585]

The closest parallels to the decorative and bestial motifs on the font are found in sculpture which is thought to belong to the years spanning the Conquest of the kingdom by the Normans, from 1066 to perhaps a few years after 1100 as the Normans established their hold over the region. This is puzzling as, in many respects, the style and content of the font place it well into the twelfth century. Similar to the font foliage is the decoration on an architectural fragment in Whitehaven Museum where one face of the stone survives illustrates part of a large plant-scroll. On the left is an elaborate leaf-flower and bunches of fruit, its stem coiled tightly with a second leaf-flower emerging from the coils. This flower has a cluster of three oval, scooped leaves, with two similar leaves filling the space below.[586] The stone has been cut down and its original function not clear. Similar details are found on cross fragments at Cumwhitton and Arthuret (ill. 70), carvings which have been related to other stones, for example, a cross-head in St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen and the cross at Kelloe.[587]

For comparisons with the font creatures, there are few examples in the north-west. There is a cross-base, carved from St Bees sandstone, in the Carlisle Museum and Art

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[584] *ERA*, p. 172, no 128d.

[585] J. Franklin, op. cit., p. 58.

[586] *Corpus*, p. 170.

[587] N. M. Cameron, 'A Romanesque cross-head in St Machar's Cathedral, Aberdeen', *JBAA*, cxlii (1989), pp. 63-66, pl. xva, b; the Kelloe cross, xvd, *ERA*, pp. 208, 9, fig. 176. Only a small number of twelfth-century crosses survive, for example, at Falkirk (Stirling). Earlier crosses or fragments with similar motifs survive at Nith Bridge (Dumfriesshire), fragments at Abercorn (West Lothian) ,Whalley (Lancashire), Hexham (Northumberland). In Cumberland, the pattern is found at Dearham and Carlisle, *Corpus*, p. 94, no. 1, p. 84, 85, no. 1. The Kelloe cross is comprehensively discussed by J.T. Lang, 'The St Helena cross, Church Kelloe, Co. Durham', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 5th series, v (1977), pp. 105-9 where he argues for close iconographical links with Mosan metalwork.

Gallery, of unknown provenance, found in the garden at Tullie House.[588] Although worn, the carving of beasts on three sides is still visible. Fabulous creatures have a pre-Conquest ancestry and could be related to Icelandic and Pictish legends.[589] Exotic or barbaric animals illustrating allegorical and spiritual truths or secular moral fables are found in numerous eastern and classical examples.[590] Sculpture from influential centres, Durham and Canterbury, Old Sarum and Reading, from the end of the eleventh century inspired artistic development across the country and into Normandy and the use of bestial motifs was common in all media. Although direct connections cannot be established between the font and these centres, aspects of the sculptural detail merge with ideas of the first decades of the twelfth century.

The twelfth century comparisons are more numerous although, once again, no direct links are proven between the north-west and comparative sites. The chapter-house at Durham was completed under Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133-40) and the nave may have been completed by 1128.[591] Four pilasters survive from the chapter-house, carved with human figures beneath capitals and affronted beasts with beaded tails set in a beaded cushion design. The profile heads are carved in high relief and their pricked ears, almond-shaped eyes and curling hair down their necks are close to the winged bipeds of the inscription face. The finely-worked geometrical and foliate ornament of the font is apparent on the interior face of the south-west doorway into the cloisters where dragons blend into foliage and the cushion shape is outlined with a beaded edging.[592] The juxtaposition of beaded and unbeaded scroll and the curled acanthus leaves protruding from the surface, the details of wings and heads incised with fine lines and beaded decoration, are features found on the inscription face and the creature above the baptism

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[588] *Corpus*, p. 171, ills. 668-171.

[589] W.G. Collingwood, 'On some ancient sculptures of the devil bound', *CW2* iii (1903), pp. 380-9, pp. 383-4.

[590] Bestiary tales exist in late Saxon art and also in Pictish art, Henderson I (1982), pp. 90 -97. The body coiled from the hip is found in Pictish beasts, for example, Aberlemno, Romilly Allen, fig. 227a; for Meigle 9 and 11, figs. 343b, 345a-b.

[591] E. Fernie, 'The twelfth-century Churches of Dunfermline Abbey', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews, BAACT*, XIV, ed. J. Higgitt (Leeds, 1994), pp. 25-27.

[592] N. Cameron, 'The twelfth-century Sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey: Durham versus the Vicinal', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews, BAACT*, XIV, ed. J. Higgitt (Leeds, 1994), pp. 118-121, pl. XXIIIA.

(ills. 19, 23). The profusion of carving contrasts sharply with the plain moulding above these capitals, carved with semi-acanthus motifs akin to the border of the rosette face (ill. 22). The nave north door capitals are similarly carved but here the motifs are set in a diamond shape and cut in deep relief. The foliate design at Durham is adjacent to chevron design, similar to those found in the south doorway at Bridekirk (ill. 17). The bronze lion-face with distinctive curled hair (probably related to rights of sanctuary) at Durham is close in type to the creatures of the font, especially the mask above the inscription (ill. 28).[593]

These beasts can be linked to initials of the earlier Carilef Bible, where knotted foliage and figures combine with cat-masks and interlace. This legacy of Norman-inspired illumination at Durham is apparent on the font.[594] In stone, two reliefs in the treasury of Durham cathedral, discussed in relation to the dampfold technique, probably belonged to a rood screen.[595] Three other features compare with the font: firstly, the grounds are plain and the figures are raised and moulded with soft outlines (the affronted dragonesque creatures on the inscription face of the font illustrate this); secondly, details on the panels, for example, the tree trunk set between Christ and Mary Magdelene, are carved almost completely in the round (this applies to the legs of the central figure in the baptism scene and the tree behind); thirdly, the abundance of surface detail, etched in tiny lines, is common to both.

At Canterbury, earlier comparisons are found in the capitals of the crypt illustrate aspects of the development of stone sculpture after the Conquest and the relationship with other arts, notably manuscript illumination, epitomising various sources and influences.[596] Line drawing and detail began in these carvings to fuse with plastic qualities of the early twelfth century; Anglo-Saxon detail merging with classical form. This is, in essence, the process visible on the font as several strands of traditional art, both insular and continental,

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[593] A similar bronze head is in the British Museum, found at Lindsel (Essex), *ERA*, p. 256, no. 266.

[594] Durham, A.II.4, T.S.R. Boase, op. cit., p. 223.

[595] L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), pp. 82-83, pl. 64; G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1953), pp. 32- 3, p. 58, no. 67.

[596] D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1991), p. 23.

combine in centres such as Canterbury and perhaps Carlisle, but, due to the loss of the

priory buildings and the west doorway, the extent of Carlisle's influence is difficult to

clarify. The capitals of the crypt at Canterbury are reminiscent in several respects of

manuscript initials from Canterbury, Winchester and elsewhere.[597] The fleshy acanthus of

the crypt carvings is found across the media, for example, a fragment of an ivory

decorative panel in the British Museum, c. 1100, illustrating a man in a short tunic,

enmeshed in circular foliage.[598] A surviving foliage capital from St Augustine's Abbey

(Canterbury) also illustrates this relationship with manuscript design, where the

symmetrical, veined leaves are moulded on to a flat surface, deeply etched behind the

detail, reminiscent of the foliage detail on the rosette and inscription faces of the font and

on the tree to the left of John the Baptist (ills. 19, 20, 22).[599]

The cathedral building at Old Sarum (begun by Roger of Salisbury soon after 1102)

and the foundation of Henry I at Reading, 1125, were key centres of influence during the

first thirty years of the century. As the king's chancellor, Roger was an influential patron

of the arts, and the influence of the sculpture at Old Sarum and Sherbourne Castle was

widespread across the West Country and into Wales.[600] The contacts between Roger of

Salisbury and Ranulf le Meschin are discussed in the final chapter. The use of grotesques

and monsters on the sculpture of Roger's buildings is typified by the gable with two lions

which survives in Salisbury Museum.[601] The sculpture from Reading Abbey, with its

variety narrative and decorative motifs, its variety of foliage and monsters, was another

source of inspiration for sculptors and workshops moving north and west during the 1120s

and 1130s.[602] The font beasts have links with stone fragments from Hyde Abbey, related

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[597] D. Kahn, ibid., pp. 46, 47 for comparisons with manuscripts.
[598] *ERA*, p. 217, no. 189. This piece is linked with Canterbury initials, the Gloucester candlestick and Norwich stone capitals.
[599] *ERA*, p. 156, no. 108. This leaf-type is close to B.L. MS. Arundel 91, f. 206v, initial 'B'.
[600] For Old Sarum, see J. Chapman Campbell, 'The Sculptural Fragments from the Cathedral at Old Sarum', MA thesis, Courtauld Institute (1984).
[601] *ERA*, p. 63.
[602] *ERA*, nos 127 a-s; the sculpture from Reading must have been of enormous interest to other patrons at the time and evidence suggests from the fragments that survive that no expense was spared by the king in the emulation of Cluny.

to Reading, in the style of carving and in their type.[603] The deep undercutting and details overlapping the picture frames, twisting beaded stems and foliage tails and beasts are similar, but more developed at Hyde. One capital illustrates a bipedal dragonesque creature with its head curved back over its body which it bites with open jaws. Its tail curls around in another circle and ends in a three-petalled Byzantine acanthus with a central flower very similar to the beast above the Baptism. The rounded beads set within incised lines and the beast's soft belly are similar.[604]

The beasts of the crypt capitals at Canterbury are also related to these details. The two creatures above the inscription are similar to a capital in St Gabriel's Chapel.[605] The Canterbury creatures are raised from a flat ground, with moulded edges and etched surface detail. Double incised lines emphasizing the mouth, large tear-drop eyes, the pointed ears set against the flat plain moulding, the feet and claws, are all similar. A second capital in the crypt of a demonic figure straddling two addorsed grotesques has similar stylistic features to the creatures on the font.[606] The curled hair and the long, beaded tails are close. The frontal pose of the demon and his outstretched arms carved almost in the round are close to the centaur as he clasps the two beasts to right and left (ill. 21). The use of decoration across the borders of the panels is tentative on the font but it is a feature which recurs in architectural sculpture, not only at St Bees and Great Salkeld (ills. 78, 107), but also elsewhere, in the tower arch of St Kyneburgha, Castor (Huntingdon) where foliage and beasts extend around the stone surface and on both volute and cushion capitals from Southwell Minster (c. 1120).[607]

The font's design and content can only be fully explained in relation to other media. Manuscripts from centres such as Canterbury, Winchester, St Albans and Bury St

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[603] *ERA*, pp. 172, 173.

[604] J.A. Franklin, 'The Romanesque cloister sculpture at Norwich Cathedral Priory', *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. F.H. Thompson (1983), pp. 56-70, for comparisons between Hyde and Reading. A Winchester capital fragment with a winged beast is similar to the font beasts, L. Stone, op. cit., Pl. 51B.

[605] D. Kahn, *Romanesque Sculpture of Canterbury Cathedral* (Texas, 1991),V. I.

[606] D. Kahn, op. cit., pl. IV.

[607] G. Zarnecki, op. cit., pp. 29-30. The stone font at Alphington (Devon), c. 1120-30, illustrates Sagittarius and a beast with a tail ending in a berry. The figure's leg crosses the circular interlace as on the inscription face of the font, L. Stone, *Sculpture in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), p. 38, Pl. B.

Edmunds illustrate decorative detail and figure types found across the surface of the font. The books produced in Carlisle, St Bees and Wetheral do not survive, nor is it known what was produced at Old Sarum, but the transmission of ideas through this medium at this period is beyond question. Work on the cathedral and priory at Carlisle was progressing through the 1120s but there are no manuscripts surviving. Although the sculptor probably never viewed these books, other sites do illustrate the enormous influence these scriptoria had on surrounding artistic production and their content reached the world of masons and sculptors. At Lincoln, for example, where no monastic priory existed, the Cathedral library was producing influential books as early as 1100.[608] Durham Cathedral Priory was another centre of influential illumination: Bede's Life of St Cuthbert (c. 1100) was the earliest Norman manuscript with a narrative cycle and inspired several later versions.[609]

The Abbey of Bury St Edmunds produced several surviving books and links with St Albans are discussed below in relation to stylistic development.[610] Canterbury also was an important centre of illumination and text and illustration were imitated elsewhere, for example, Rochester. These monastic or cathedral sites produced individual artists with distinctive styles and the repetition of motifs between sites illustrates again how far these ideas travelled. Some books illustrate the presence of several hands, for example, the Winchester Bible, where the Master of the Genesis Initial is responsible for at least five initials, the Master of the Leaping Figures six and other hands are identified, the Morgan Master, Amalekite Master and the Master of the Gothic Majesty.[611] Although these artists can only be identified by their style, not their signatures, they do suggest possible workshops and artists as travelling professionals, transporting ideas and style.[612]

The figures of the centaur and narrative face are connected across the composition and the sculptor has used various methods to achieve this; gestures, the position of the hands and faces, the figures' attitudes and the use of the panel frames (ill. 21). These features are

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[608] *ERA*, p. 91, Lincoln Cathedral Library, MS A.1.2; Lincoln MSS A.3.17, B.3.5, B.2.3.

[609] Oxford, University College, MS 165.

[610] New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS 736, the Life and Miracles of St Edmund, King and Martyr.

[611] *ERA*, pp. 120, 121.

[612] M.A. Farley and F. Wormald, 'Three Related English Romanesque Manuscripts', *Art Bulletin*, xxii (1940), pp. 157-61.

also found in manuscript illumination, for example, the St Albans Psalter (c. 1130) where this sense of drama is portrayed, in contrast with the earlier calligraphy of Anglo-Saxon drawing and painting.[613] The figures are solid and the scenes filled with a sense of drama and strong colours used throughout perhaps illustrate the font's original appearance. These panels and the figures within have been related to both Ottonian and Byzantine influences, but the white highlights of the illumination, found in Byzantine painting and a hallmark of the manuscript, are lost on the bare stone of the font, and there is no way of knowing if the artist ever utilised this feature.[614]

The font has lost all traces of colour but the preservation of colour in manuscripts presents an idea of its original appearance. The use of colour was widespread on stone in both pre-Conquest and Romanesque carving.[615] Not only is the font without colour, but it has lost its original context within the Romanesque church, tapestries, furniture and paintings. Not only would paint have given the stone a more vibrant surface, but details could be highlighted and greater expression applied to the faces. Delicately chiselled details would stand out more clearly if etched with paint. The loss of a wealth of wall paintings has removed another art-form which may have also provided many parallels. There are fragments of this art which illustrate similar trends to those found in manuscript painting, the use of gesture and drama found in the St Albans Psalter and the development of dampfold to denote movement and realism in drapery. The surviving wall paintings in the chapter-house of Sigena (Aragon) which illustrate New and Old Testament figures and scenes are related to Canterbury and Winchester manuscripts and wall painting fragments in the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre at Winchester.[616] The fragment of painted decoration

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[613] *ERA*, p. 93, no. 17; O. Pacht, *The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth-centuryEngland* (London, 1962); O. Pacht, C.R. Dodwell and F. Wormald, *The St Albans Psalter* (London, 1960).
[614] The use of highlights is found in manuscripts also, for example, the Bury Bible.
[615] R.N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 5-7; M. Thurlby, *The Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture of Wales,* (Logaston, 2006), pls. 1-16 illustrate examples of painted masonry.
[616] *ERA*, p. 134.

surviving in the clerestory of the cathedral in Carlisle suggests the interior walls were once richly decorated although in this case there is no evidence of narrative scenes (ill. 59).[617]

Perhaps other inscriptions were painted around the plain mouldings of the registers, providing comment and explanation, a feature found in manuscripts.[618] This balanced division of the rectangular faces of the stone into two registers is reminiscent of manuscript page divisions and earlier sculptured crosses which may have been explained through inscriptions.[619] Devices are used in manuscripts to connect scenes, for example, the sword disappearing behind the frame above the narrative scene on the centaur and narrative face, a technique found in, for example, the Averboden Bible (c. 1150) where soft edges of the drapery, delicate moulding of detail and the use of compositional space are similar.[620] The composition of the font was a carefully considered design and its message was both instructive and entertaining. If this is true of an object such as the font in a small country church in the north-west, it is possible to begin to understand the importance of the artist's role within these communities and beyond.[621]

Several other decorative details of the font are found in manuscripts, for example, at Canterbury where the crypt capitals have already been linked to illumination and several

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[617] There are numerous examples across the country where remnants of painted decoration are found, for example, in Wales, at Chepstow Castle in the great hall, Thurlby, 2005, p. 129, pl. 1, and at Blyth Priory (Nottinghamshire), on a shaft in the south nave arcade, Thurlby, 2005, p. 130, pl. 4; a comprehensive survey of wall paintings across the country is currently being carried out by David Park and Sharon Cather of the Courtauld Institute. See also, D. Park 'The "Lewes Group" of Wall Paintings in Sussex', *ANS*, 6 (1984), pp. 200-35; D. Park, 'Romanesque Wall Paintings at Ickleton', in N. Stratford (ed.), *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, pp. 159-69; D. Park, 'Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman? Wall Paintings at Wareham and other Sites in Southern England', in S. Cather, D. Park and P. Williamson (eds.), *Early Meadieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 225-47; S. Rickerby and D. Park, 'A Romanesque *Visitatio Sepulchri* at Kempley', *Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991), pp. 27-31; D. Park, 'The Interior Decoration of the Cathedral', *St Cuthbert and Durham Cathedral, a Celebration*, ed. Pocock (Durham, 1995), pp. 57-67; D. Park and H. Howard, 'The Medieval Polychromy of Norwich Cathedral', in I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and H. Smith (eds.), *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese* (London, 1996), pp. 378-409; H.P. Maguire, 'A Twelfth-Century Workshop in Northampton', *Gesta*, 9 (1970), pp. 11-25; See also E. Fernie, *An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral* (Oxford, 1993), p. 101, for mixing stone of different colours.
[618] For example, the Sherbourne Cartulary, c. 1145, London, BL Add MS 46487, f. 52v, *ERA*, p. 109.
[619] W.G. Collingwood, *Crosses of the pre-Norman Age* (Edinburgh, 1927), fig. 62, the cross at Ilkley which illustrates clear panels containing the decorative details.
[620] Liège, Bib. Del'Université, MS 363 C, f. 57.
[621] William of Malmesbury writes of Lanfranc's Canterbury paintings that they drew all eyes to the ceiling. Twelfth-century literature praises beauty in a new way, reminiscent of classical and Arabic writings, for example, Reginald of Durham remarking on the beauty of St Cuthbert's vestments. Not just beauty but also proportion is praised. For example, Guibert of Nogent in his autobiography at the start of the century announced, 'we praise the rightness of proportion in an idol of any material'.

comparable motifs can be found, for example, the leaping dog on the inscription face.[622] These creatures are found across a range of manuscripts, including those influenced by the St Albans school and later books at Winchester. The St Albans artists used dragons as tails for initials while Canterbury used dragons to create the whole initial. The style of certain details of the font relate to earlier books, for example, the Durham Carilef Bible and the earlier Romsey Psalter, written at Winchester for Romsay Abbey in the late tenth century.[623] A Beatus initial illustrates a small figure, running barefoot, grasping at the foliage set in roundels. The exquisitely modelled hands and feet are similar to those on the inscription face of the font.[624] These details are also found in linen or silk embroidery wall hangings. Due to the fragile nature of the material, few of these survive but one example probably from Lower Saxony in the Victoria and Albert Museum (c. 1150) illustrates two apostle figures and an incomplete third standing beneath a decorated arcade and surrounded by a floral border. The gestures and long fingers, the bare feet standing at a variety of angles and the drapery designed in v-folds are all similar to the figure-types on the centaur and narrative face.[625] These silk and cloth wall-hangings and altar-covers were easily transportable and must have been a powerful source of direct influence on the emerging art of stone sculpture. The delicate lion-mask above the inscription has many parallels in illumination. A later Winchester manuscript provides an example where the two circles of the 'B' are joined by a mask, shown from above, whose surface detail corresponds exactly with the character on the font, with its flat nose, almond-shaped eyes and pricked ears, all picked out with precise lines. Two strands extend from the open mouth and separate into roundels.[626] The variety of leaf-types on the font can be parallelled across the media, especially the acanthus motifs, found in manuscripts in England and Normandy. The manuscripts produced at Canterbury at the end of the eleventh and the early twelfth century have features in common with late eleventh-century

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[622] D. Kahn, op. cit., pp. 50-51.
[623] London, B.L. Harley MS 2904.
[624] A-S Cat., p. 42, no. 27, pl. 11. The Beatus initial is found on f. 4.
[625] P. Williams, (ed.), *The Medieval Treasury, The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1986), p. 139.
[626] Oxford, Bodleian Lib. MS Auct. E. inf. 2, f. 2, initial 'B'.

manuscripts from Jumièges and St. Ouen and in Norman-inspired manuscripts in Durham.[627]

There are no surviving ivory-carvings from the north-west but certain features of the font can compare to this art. A piece of whalebone, the end of a portable altar, in the British Museum, illustrates the Virgin and St John attending the crucified Christ on the cross.[628] The figure style is close to the narrative figures. This small object has also been connected with the stone fragments at Norwich.[629] The two small figures on the lower register of the inscription face of the font are similar to in ivory figures. A pierced ivory fragment in the British Museum, found at St Albans, illustrates a small kilted figure, enclosed in leafy tendrils, arms outstretched, clutching a circle of stems above his shoulders.

The decoration of the inscription face, dragons, running figures, foliage and inscription compare with metalwork, for example, the Gloucester candlestick.[630] The candlestick is linked to contemporary manuscript illumination and stone sculpture, for example, the crypt capitals at Canterbury. Only a fraction of English twelfth-century metalwork survives but contemporary sources hint at the extent of original production and the esteem in which these precious objects were held. According to one of its three inscriptions, the Gloucester candlestick was made for Abbot Peter of Gloucester (1107-1113) and the monks of the Benedictine Abbey of St Peter (now the cathedral). Decorated with openwork beasts and human figures enmeshed in foliage, the base is formed from the heads and bodies of dragons, carrying naked figures. The four Evangelist symbols are set in beaded medallions on the central knop, joined by nielloed silver flowers. Winged beasts, a centaur and other dragons carry the inscriptions and three dragons support the rim of the cup, the edges clamped in their jaws.[631] The iconography, like the font, is unclear but the second inscription on the outer rim suggests the struggle between good and evil, virtue and

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[627]   B.L. Add. MS. 17739, f. 2; in stone, this inhabited scroll is found: the south aisle of St Andrew, Steyning (Sussex, c. 1120); Bibury (Gloucestershire); Canterbury; in Normandy, at Fécamp and St Bertin.
[628]   Franklin, op. cit., pl. XVIIIb.

[630]   A. Harris, 'A Romanesque Candlestick in London', *JBAA* (1964), pp. 32-52; *ERA*, pp. 41, 73, 249.
[631]   *ERA*, p. 249.

vice. The decorative and grotesque aspect of the object appears to override the narrative, a feature of the font but due to the compartmentalisation of the font surface, the clarity between the two is more pronounced than on the metal object. This continuous, twisting and coiling decoration links the candlestick to contemporary and earlier manuscripts.[632] A second metal object in the Victoria and Albert Museum is a bronze and silver ewer in the shape of a griffin, the beast found on the centaur and narrative face of the font, combining the characteristics of bird and lion.[633] There is a pair to this example in Vienna, shaped as a dragon, reminiscent of eastern images of fabulous beasts represented on Byzantine silks and popularised in southern Europe and Sicily by the beginning of the twelfth century.[634] The candlestick is related to ivory-carving, for example, an ivory book-cover in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where the beasts and acanthus are similar to the font motifs also.[635] The foliage and lions are close to the Canterbury crypt capitals.[636] The inhabited scroll, the enmeshed figures and the acanthus of the font and the candlestick are also found on the fragment of a liturgical comb which, like the font, is divided into decorative panels with an inscription on one side. The helmeted warrior figure on this comb is very similar in type to the figure at St Bees and has been linked to the figures on the Bayeux Tapestry, again illustrating the interrelationship between media and the movement of ideas and motifs across large distances.[637]

Lead fonts produced in the first half of the century provide a clear indication of the close relationship between stone and metal, not only in the decorative designs employed across the surface, but also in the use of both materials to create these liturgical objects.[638] Thirty lead fonts survive in England, sixteen manufactured during the twelfth-century,

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[632] B.L. MS Arundel 60, f. 13; B.L. Cotton Claudius MS E.V. f. 49r.
[633] P. Williamson, (ed.), *The Medieval Treasury, The Art of the Middle Ages in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1986), p. 137.
[634] Ewers were also frequently shaped as fabulous beasts, dragons or horses, and were used for washing celebrants' hands at Mass.
[635] J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carving in Medieval England* (London, 1972), no. 89, ills. 155-6.
[636] G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture, 1066-1140* (London, 1951), pl. 49.
[637] The Alexis Master of the St Albans Psalter has been identified by some authors as the goldsmith, Anketil, who worked at St Albans, providing another example of artists working on more than one material, J. Geddes, op. cit., p. 63.
[638] G.C. Dunning, 'The Distribution of Black Tournai Fonts in England', *Antiq. J.*, xxiv (1944), pp. 66-88; G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Lead Sculpture* (London, 1957).

possibly a faction only of the original number due to the re-use value of the material.[639] There are groups of lead fonts, for example, those designed and made in Gloucestershire, which suggest workshop practice. Six of these Gloucestershire fonts, for example, the Lancaut font, now in Gloucester cathedral, carry similar designs of delicate arcading, decorated shafts and figures alternating with leaf scrolls.[640] Cast as flat strips, the surface was then welded into its round shape and the decorative motifs moulded on to the surface, a process requiring intricate design and considerable skill. The decorative surface and the figures seated within arcades are reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon traditions.[641] A second example of this pre-Conquest manuscript influence in these fonts cast in lead is found at Lower Halstow (Kent) which, although damaged, clearly illustrates fine detail and decorative architectural motifs that can be linked to the Winchester school of illumination. The Bridekirk sculptor has utilised the figural styles, the articulated drapery and the feet resting on the lower mouldings found on these fonts, but has confined the use of architectural settings to the lower register of the inscription face.

The style of the font carving has specific connections with wood-carving. The figure holding the chisel chips at the curled stem of foliage beneath which a small curl of wood is evident and the detail is raised from the background. This is a wood-carving practice, where the edges or the raised motifs are carefully softened and rounded like sanded wood. Wooden sculpture is extremely rare from this period and, in this country, only the head from South Cerney (Gloucestershire), originally part of a crucifix, survives.[642] The long face and bearded and drooping mouth are found on the font. This head has been compared to the heads from the Chichester reliefs and those of the St Albans Psalter. The whole group is related in style to contemporary and earlier German sculpture. An outstanding example of a similar wood head on a crucifix survives from St George (Cologne). The facial features and expression are similar to St John. Wooden Madonnas and Child

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[639] England was a major producer of lead in the twelfth century.
[640] *ERA*, p. 247, no. 243.
[641] For example, the Regularis Concordia, B.L. Cotton MS Tiberius A.III, f. 179, second half of the eleventh century, made at Christchurch (Canterbury).
[642] *ERA*, p. 160, no. 115.

states, many of which survive on the continent, recall the small frontal figure of the Christ child on the font. The lack of surviving wooden carvings from this period is a huge loss in the understanding of objects such as the font which could have been made in a workshop where stone and wood were carved side by side. Wooden churches in Scandinavia were still being constructed well into the century.

There are Italian examples of stone sculpture that correspond with aspects of the font style but no direct links can be proven. The Cathedral at Modena was begun in 1099 and was probably completed by 1120. Unusually, the name of the main sculptor is inscribed on the west doorway and the carving of inhabited scrolls, small figures set in architectural detail, head-types and the bare feet lying on the base of the scene are reminiscent of the font carving.[643] At Modena, the Genesis relief of the Duomo illustrates a creation scene and the shape and details of God's face are close to John the Baptist, with beard and long hair and high cheek-bones. The Tree of the Expulsion scene is also similar.[644] His use of a frieze to enclose his narrative subjects suggests his knowledge of classical sculpture. Fragments from a similar frieze survive at Cremona, carved by sculptors who knew of Wiligelmo's style, perhaps trained by him.[645] In the Parma Baptistery, in the scene of the Labourers in the Vineyard, one of the figures is similar to St John, with the head tilted forward, the left foot forward although the font drapery is flatter and less classical.[646]

In conclusion, there is an attempt, through style and technique, to adapt the figures to their meaning within the composition. The solemnity of St John and the small but robust torso of Christ correspond with the liturgical message of the font. The figures on the centaur and narrative face recall actors in a play with their variety of pose, gesture and sense of drama. The small figure on the inscription face runs through the woods, in pursuit of the small animal, whether dog, fox or wolf, with a lightness of movement

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[643] G. Zarnecki, *Art of the Medieval World* (New York, 1975), pls. 266, 267, 268.

[644] G.M. Crichton, *Romanesque Sculpture in Italy* (Cambridge, 1938), pl. 1.

[645] Another sculptor who signed his name was Niccolo, responsible for the sculpture surviving in the Abbey of Sagra di S. Michele, near Turin, thereafter at Piacenza, Ferrara and Verona, where he signed his work with confidence. His style appears in Toulouse in the 1120s in the cathedral of St-Étienne. At Pavia (S. Michele) the seven-petalled acanthus on the west doorway is close to that of the font's south face.

[646] G. M. Crichton, ibid., pl. 33b.

emphasized by the use of the small surface detail. The 'sculptor' beneath the inscription again shows youth and energy and joy in his work. The movement and immediacy of these figures in their daily environment offset the staged drama of the west face and the prolonged seriousness of the baptism scene. Whatever his background and the roots of his style and technique, the font sculptor has utilised his training and his human observation to produce this carving.

v) **Iconography, sources and purpose**

The iconography of the font is varied and eclectic, reflecting the complex ethnic background in the north-west and the prevailing artistic ideas and sources. Its purpose was liturgical and didactic, emphasizing the significance of baptism and the content derives from a variety of contemporary and earlier sources. Reference to the scriptures and the symbolism of fable and bestiary are combined with patterns and ornament found ubiquitously throughout earlier and twelfth-century art. The two narrative scenes and the decorative details illustrate religious, social and literary aspects of contemporary thinking. This discussion of iconography examines and interprets the two narrative scenes, establishing possible sources and parallels in stone and other media. The identities of the creatures and their significance within the rest of the iconography are discussed. The decorative motifs and patterns are analysed and related to earlier traditions and contemporary examples. The juxtaposition of biblical and profane characters, of monsters and foliage, are frequently found in eleventh- and twelfth-century art. In the portals of France and in the manuscripts produced before and after the Conquest, acrobats are carved and painted beside holy figures, epitomised at Chartres on the west front of the cathedral. Manuscript initials also carry images of everyday life with beasts and grotesques which are extraordinarily realistic. Carved stone represents naturalistic genre scenes beside scenes of holy solemnity. The iconography across the font is one of vibrant contrasts, scenes busy with detail and motif and also figural scenes where little extraneous detail is found.

The panel with John the Baptist, on the present north side of the font, provides the central key to understanding its function as a liturgical object. Representing the baptism of Christ, it provides the basis for the remainder of the decoration and yet, surprisingly, the sculptor has placed it on the lower register, beneath the towering monster and extensive, leafy decoration above. The meaning of each detail is perhaps lost to the art historian through the loss of other inscriptions and church furniture, but this scene clearly states the religious nature of the font and its place within the liturgy. The rest of the surface decoration supports this message. The presence of the beasts could be a reference to Christ's triumph over evil.[647] The beasts are, however, given equal space to the figures and there is no sense of struggle or drama between them. In this respect, the message could be related to the Eucharistic requirements of the decoration of the church, supported by the use of typological juxtaposition of Old and New Testament.[648] The importance of baptism to bestow grace was affirmed by Bede in the Commentary on St Luke's Gospel and his assurance that through baptism it is possible to resist Satan and all evil is surely illustrated on the font.[649] Bede's Homilies place great emphasis on the Baptist's importance, as the forerunner to Christ, the Redeemer, and the role of the dove in the desert.[650] The emphasis on the baptism scene on the font gave the object a specific purpose in the church as, for most of the year, it would remain unused and merely an object on view to a congregation, the majority of whom would have been baptised. It cannot be seen as a mere didactic tool, placed in the small church where the villagers were already converted to the faith. The object was also a source of pride for those who commissioned the church and those who worshipped within. In manuscripts, also, the

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[647] Psalm 90:13, 'Thou shalt tread upon the asp and the basilisk, the lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet.'

[648] G. Henderson, 'The John the Baptist Panel on the Ruthwell Cross', *Gesta* xxiv (1985), pp. 3-12. The Ruthwell cross presents another stone monument with varied and unusual iconography, the meaning of which has been a source of long debate. The identity of the figure of St John with the lamb on the cross remains uncertain.

[649] Luke 4; Bede, *In Lucae Evangelium Expositio*, ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXX (Turnhout, 1960), p. 93.

[650] Bede, *Homeliarum Evangelii Libri II*, ed. D. Hurst, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina CXXII (Turnhout, 1955). The importance of Bede's writings is also evident in analysing the iconography of the Ruthwell cross, G. Henderson, op. cit., p. 8.

emphasis on baptism was not so much to convert but to ensure the faith was kept, sins were cleansed and, with the help of saints and the Holy Spirit, Satan was banished.[651]

The baptism scene is carved on the lower register, representing the baptising of Christ by St John the Baptist (ill. 24). The interpretation is unmistakeable and the simple, balanced composition reflects the font's liturgical function. There are two figures: St John, placed centrally, touching with his right hand the shoulder of the small, unbearded Christ figure in the waters of Jordan. His left arm touches Christ's back and the dove of the Holy Spirit descends from above. Two trees frame the scene, designed to fill the space with patterned branches and ornamental leaves. There are six scriptural references to the baptism of Jesus, including one in each Gospel, and the composition on the font is closest to the account in St Matthew's Gospel.[652] The font scene illustrates the Spirit descending before Christ emerges from the water. The scriptural references to the baptism are juxtaposed to the threat of evil and temptation, personified perhaps by the large beast in the register above the Baptism. The hairy cloak of St John also follows a scriptural reference from the Gospel, frequently represented in sculpture but the position of St John's two hands is unusual.

Similar compositions are found in Italy from the fourth century: a fresco in the Catacombs of SS Pietro e Marcellino illustrates similar details; the frontal torso of Christ, the large, descending dove and the hand of the Baptist on Christ's shoulder.[653] The simplicity of the font interpretation of this scene is rare and the closest parallels are found in early sculpture and ivory-carving, for example, a stone relief from a sarcophagus.[654] Similar iconography is found in a fifth-century ivory relief, illustrating a central Christ as a boy, with the Baptist stepping forward, the descending bird and the tree to the right. In

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[651] The Book of Kells has lavish illustrations referring to the baptism, possibly aimed at exorcism, J. O'Reilly, 'Exegesis and the Book of Kells: the Lucan genealogy', 'The Book of Kells', *Procs. of a conference at Trinity College, Dublin* (1992), pp. 389, 390. It is clear from the evidence of these manuscripts and Bede's writings that baptism was central to the practising of the Christian faith.

[652] Matthew 3, v. 16.

[653] G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, trans. J. Selgman (London, 1971), p. 132, fig. 347.

[654] Schiller, ibid., fig. 349.

this case, the River Jordan is not depicted.[655] Sixth-century examples represent Christ as a

youth and the dove descends as the Holy Spirit, although from the hand of God.[656] The

water is illustrated in horizontal lines as on the font. In Syrian examples, the water is

heaped in a mound.[657] Syrian art also introduces the angel which frequently appears in

baptism scenes across the west from the sixth century, for example, on the Monza

ampulla.[658]

The lack of an angel on the font is not unusual and there are similar arrangements on

other English fonts, for example, at Castle Frome (Herefordshire).[659] The central figure of

the baptism scene is that of St John, not Christ, with his face set at an angle to the surface,

although his body is in profile. Other fonts where this scene is illustrated place Christ in

the centre.[660] St John's left hand touches Christ and is not holding a basin containing

chrism.[661] Affusion, or the pouring of water over the baptised head, was popular but here

aspersion or sprinkling of water is more likely.[662] The position of Christ's arms is not

found on other fonts and implies vulnerability and he ressembles a naked baby rather than

the Christ-child.[663] The dove, not the Hand of God, is represented above, another

departure from the standard representations. The simplicity of the scene is captured on a

nave capital at Barneville, Normandy, but here the figure of Christ is bearded and carved

as the central figure, rising from a mound of striated water with St John kneeling to his

right, pouring water over is right hand.[664]

The variety of figure poses in the narrative scene suggests a possible intention to

convey a sense of drama, a manuscript feature of the early twelfth century, discussed

above in relation to the St Albans Psalter.[665] The frontal pose of the figure to the left and

[655] Schiller, ibid., fig. 350.
[656] Schiller, ibid., p. 134, figs. 356-8.
[657] Twelfth-century examples are on the north window at Chartres and on a portal at Le Mans.
[658] E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France, The Twelfth Century* (Paris, 1973), p. 75.
[659] Drake, pl. 26; Thurlby, fig. 188.
[660] Castle Frome, Gresham, Lenton, Shorne, Southfleet and West Haddon.
[661] This is indicated on the copy of the font in the Victoria and Albert Museum.
[662] J.G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, 1962), pp. 23-26.
[663] At Lenton, Christ raises his arms; on the font of St Nicholas (Brighton) he offers a blessing.
[664] L. Musset, *Normandie Romane* (Zodiaque, 1975), p. 97.
[665] J. Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter, A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London, 2005), pp. 62-66.
The use of gesture is apparent throughout the illustrations, for example, the angel in the the Three Marys

the profile of the central figure invite the viewer into the scene. This aim at pictorial narrative is found in the Psalter, where the use of gesture, pose and expression contribute to a sense of drama.[666] The use of dramatic imagery in art to convey a heightened sense of liturgical drama can be found in the Carolingian period, for example, in the Drogo Sacramentary. In this manuscript, the use of temple-like frames surrounded the figures to enhance the sense of drama being played out.[667] The Book of Kells (c. 800) is another manuscript where the use of dramatic figure and theatrical background is found.[668] The close relationship between this manuscript and stone-carving, particularly Pictish carving, has been long recognised.[669] Particular motifs, for example, round shields and crouching warriors, are found in stone crosses, from Kells and the Clonmacnois region.[670] The relationship between scribe and sculptor may have been closer than hitherto recognised, whether in the ninth or the twelfth century.[671]

The two trees in this narrative probably contributed to the meaning and significance of the sacrament of baptism but it is not possible to define the exact nature of the symbolism intended. The tree behind St John emerges from a shell, a motif also found above the beast and on the rosette and inscription faces (ills. 19, 20, 22). The trees could represent the Tree of Life or Knowledge although the inclusion of three branches could represent the Trinity and the grapes the communion wine. What is unusual is the amount of space the trees occupy in comparison to the relatively small figures. St John is central but the tree to

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[666] at the Sepulchre, p. 56.
O. Pächt, op. cit., pp. 12-13; J. Geddes, ibid., pp. 61-66, identifies the principal artist of the Psalter as the Alexis Master. The author suggests a variety of sources for his distinctive style: Ottonian Germany; central Italy; Byzantium; northern France and England. Similar sources could be suggested for the font figures although the decoration retains insular and traditional sources.

[667] R.G. Calkins, 'Liturgical Sequence and Decorative Crescendo in the Drogo Sacramentary', *Gesta*, xxv (1986), pp. 17-25. The cross is also used in this manuscript to create drama, Paris Biblioteque Nationale, MS lat. 9428, ff. 15v, 16.

[668] For example, the figure of Christ beneath the decorative arch and cross-like columns, f. 114r, 'The Book of Kells', *Procs. of a Conference at Trinity Collage, Dublin* (1992), ed. F. O'Mahony, Pl. 28. The Canons II 3-III, f. 3v, is another example, Pl. 4.

[669] J. Romilly Allen, 'Report on the sculptured stones earlier than AD 1100', *PSAS*, 74 (1890-91), p. 426; I. Henderson, 'Pictish Art and the Book of Kells' in *Ireland in early medieval Europe, studies in memory of Kathleen Hughes* (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 79-105.

[670] C. Hicks, 'A Clonmacnoise workshop in stone', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 110 (1980), pp. 5-35, where the author finds specific parallels with the Tower Cross at Kells.

[671] R. Stalley, 'Scribe and mason: the Book of Kells and the Irish high crosses', *The Book of Kells: Procs. of a Conference at Trinity College Dublin* (1992), ed. F. O'Mahony, pp. 257-269.

the left towers over him and fills the space behind his head as he bends towards Christ.

Foliage is found throughout earlier stone sculpture, particularly throughout the Anglian

period, reproduced by sculptors in a variety of ways with, no doubt, a variety of

meaning.[672] Trees are, however, less common and these on the font are not repeated

elsewhere in surviving carving. Whatever the meaning intended as part of the

iconographical scheme, the sculptor appears to have been liberal with his imagination. By

the eighth century, the vine had become the Tree of Life, illustrated on a cross-shaft at

Auckland (St Andrew).[673] A cross-shaft at Dacre (Cumberland) illustrates a tree-scroll

enmeshed with beasts which is a flatter version of the font trees but still more formal than

the heavy branches carved behind the Baptist.[674] In manuscripts, the Tree of Life is

epitomised in the Book of Kells, where trees are both space fillers and central features,

often enmeshed with beasts.[675] In these early manuscripts, the portrayal of the tree motifs

tend to be more stylised than on the font where the sculptor has attempted some sort of

naturalism in the trees. The variety of foliate ornament on the font supports the

widespread feature of twelfth-century sculpture, the layered meaning of so much of the

detail. Perhaps the message portrayed through the font iconography was clear to those

who worshipped beside it at that time, but it still remains the possibility that several

meanings were intended.[676] The scene is illustrated on several fonts from the twelfth

century, in England and on the continent.[677] Many variations exist, for example, on the

font at Lenton (Nottinghamshire) which illustrates Christ with his arms raised and St

John's arms around his waist. The hand of God appears from above instead of a dove.[678]

The upraised hands here suggest prayer or perhaps the Christ figure in the act of emerging

from the water. Upraised hands also appear on the capital of the chancel arch at Adel

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[672] *Corpus*, Ill. 102, for example, the Bewcastle Cross.

[673] W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman age* (1927), fig. 50.

[674] W.G. Collingwood, ibid., fig. 58; *Corpus*, pp. 90, 91, Ills. 235-9. The plant-forms are also found at Workington and Whitehaven and on a fragment from Hexham. The similarities between the acanthus on the font and a later stone fragment from Workington is discussed above, p. 127.

[675] 'The Book of Kells', *Procs of a conference at Trinity College, Dublin* (1992), ed. F. O'Mahony, Pl. 15, f. 19v.

[676] G.R. Evans, *The Language and Logic of the Bible: the earlier Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1984), discusses the medieval insistence on multiple meanings.

[677] Drake, pl. 44, for Fincham font.

[678] Drake, pl. 12.

(Yorkshire).[679] On the font at Kirkburn (Yorkshire) St John places his right hand on

Christ's head, not shoulders, and holds a book in his left hand. The scene is also

illustrated in manuscripts, for example, the Benedictional of St Aethelwold.[680] Continental

examples of the scene illustrate similar features but no identical composition is extant.[681]

The flamboyant beast above the baptism, amphisbaena, salamander, hydra, dragon or

serpent, does not follow any standard literary type and its role here cannot be explained in

biblical terms (ill. 23).[682] Filling the frame, it overshadows the baptism, with its foliated

tail spilling into a spiral across the surface, decorated with detail. Perhaps it was intended

to represent the snake in the Garden of Eden as a typological scene adjacent to the baptism

and its head peers down towards the figures below, threatening with its three-forked

tongue the hope in salvation. Two further explanations are possible, the hydra's

association with the waters of Baptism or the possible symbolism of the beast with

Christ's Harrowing of Hell where Christ defeats death and returns to a new life.[683] It

remains one of the most intriguing and unusual representation of a monster in twelfth-

century art. The use of bestial characters, the profane, in contrast to the divine, the sacred,

is illustrated in stone sculpture as a source of both decoration and symbolism. An early

example in stone is found on the Rothbury cross (Northumberland) where hellish monsters

are contrasted with the dignity of the Apostles watching the Ascension of Christ on the

cross.[684] On the Ruthwell Cross (c. 700) and on the cross at Bewcastle, Christ again stands

triumphant above the beasts of hell.[685] Into the twelfth century, the display of corbels, for

example, on the exterior of St Bees or Carlisle, contrasts with the divine aspects of the

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[679] Romilly-Allen, p. 290, fig. 106.
[680] B.L. Add. MS 49598, E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1006, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, Vol. 2 (London, 1976), no. 23.
[681] G.H. Crichton, op. cit., p. 65. In the Baptistery in Pisa, there are scenes of the Life of John the Baptist but the figures are more natural. The same small frontal figure of Christ with a cruciform-nimbus and the Baptist's hand resting on the shoulder are found in both. At Lucca (S. Michele) on the architrave are carved a winged dragon, centaur and a mermaid with two tails. As in the scene of the centaur and narrative face, figures predominate on several Italian carvings, for example, in the scene of the Martydom of St Regulus in another Lucca church (St Martino). The figure of Regulus also resembles the St John of the font. The drapery falls over the base of the composition and the spears extend beyond the frame, similar features to the narrative figures of the font.
[682] J.G. Davies, *The Architectural Setting of Baptism* (London, 1962), p. 81, refers to the creature as a 'hydra'.
[683] J.C.J. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (London, 1983), p. 124.
[684] W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the pre-Norman Age* (1927), figs. 94, 95.
[685] G. Henderson, 'The John the Baptist Panel on the Ruthwell Cross', *Gesta* xxiv (1985), p. 5, fig. 3.

building and other decoration. The font also, across its surface, illustrates this juxtaposition, all the more obvious due to the small scale of the object and the close proximity of the details.[686] A variety of genres of twelfth-century writing and literature provided an array of characters for sculptors to use and the artists' love of the grotesque, amusing and profane is a feature across artistic media.

The emphasis on font decoration in general during this period underlies the increasing contribution made by carved detail to aspects of liturgical practice. For this reason, it is unlikely the connection between the two scenes on the baptism face was purely arbitrary. The two balanced compositions use similar motif and detail, for example, the semi-shell motif at the top of the upper register is represented in reverse beneath the tree behind St John (ill. 24). Similar circles appear on other fonts, for example, at West Haddon and Darenth.[687] A variety of circular motifs also appears on the font at Reighton, where the overall design is based on geometrical decoration.[688] The two star motifs, one on the beast, one on the ground within the tail, are found on other fonts, for example, Newenden, Kent, and Altarnum, Cornwall.[689] These circular discs are illustrated in various forms on Irish and Northumbrian crosses and, on a cross-head at Castledermot (Co. Kildare) they appear to represent five loaves.[690] In the crucifixion scene on the cross at Sandbach, the two circles above Christ represent the sun and the moon in place of the two angels above the cross, perhaps a reference to the scriptures where the darkness covers the whole earth.[691]

The present west side has suffered extensive damage but the main figures are still clearly visible. The upper scene illustrates mythical combat above a narrative which, although unidentified, is probably Christian. Unfortunately, the font has been cemented

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[686] N. Kenaan-Kedar, 'The Margins of Society in Marginal Romanesque Sculpture', *Gesta* xxiv (1985), pp. 15-23.

[687] Drake, pls. 20, 22.

[688] Drake, pl. 4.

[689] Drake, pls. 39, 49, 25. This Cornish group of fonts are profusely carved with foliate and bestial ornament, including discs containing flowers of six or eight petals. The font at Callington has eight petals and a three-leaved plant form enclosed in a semi-circle, not unlike the tail of the beast above the Baptist.

[690] Another example is found at Lastingham, Collingwood, op. cit., p. 110.

[691] Matthew 27, v. 45.

close to the west wall of the church and viewing and photographing the two panels is not

easy. The cast in the Victoria and Albert Museum illustrates the scene although the lack of

detail in the copy is evident and it does not represent a true likeness to the stone original.

Both panels concentrate on the main characters, with three beasts above and three human

figures below and there is little extraneous detail across the surface (ill. 21). The drama is

conveyed by the position and gestures of the figures. The tree in the lower scene

represents a naturalistic date palm, the branches spread out over the upper right-hand

corner of the panel, overshadowing the slender figures to the left. The two female figures

are dressed in a similar costume with a jewel clasping their cloaks and it is possible they

represent one personality from a set of narratives, perhaps continued elsewhere in the

church in painting or other decoration, and originally explained by an inscription.

Calverley described the scene as the Expulsion in the book of Genesis.[692] Examples are

found on the circular font at Kirkby and a stylised version at Hook Norton (Oxfordshire),

where Adam and Eve are named with inscriptions.[693] Calverley identified an angel on the

left and Eve clutching the Tree of Knowledge and this iconography would fit with the

baptismal liturgy.[694] In earlier representations of the Expulsion, the angel is winged or

Adam and Eve are naked, for example, on the fonts at East Meon and Waltham and on a

Swedish example at Vange.[695] The composition on the font, however, does not support

this interpretation nor does it follow the scriptural description and as yet no parallels have

been found. It has also been described as an illustration of the Temptation and Fall of

Adam and Eve although no parallels exist for this composition.[696] A further biblical

interpretation could be the Massacre of the Innocents, although this is also unlikely.[697]

The scene is illustrated on the fonts at Cowlam and Ingleton (Yorkshire). At Ingleton, the

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[692] W. Calverley, 'Notes on the Early Sculpted Crosses, Shrines and Monuments in the present Diocese of Carlisle', *CW* Extra Series xi (1899), pp. 68-71.
[693] Drake, pl. 23, 36.
[694] F. Bond, *Fonts and Font-Covers* (London, 1904) p. 171.
[695] F. Nordstrom, *Medieval Baptismal Fonts* (Oslo, 1984), p. 127, fig. 72.
[696] Drake, p. 10.
[697] Matthew 2, vv. 16-18.

Massacre is shown in detail and King Herod wields a sword and a soldier with an axe are about to slay a kneeling child.

Another possible interpretation is a representation of a scene from the Life of St Bridget. Churches at Brigham, a possible early minster, Beckermet and Kirkbride, also confirm the importance of her cult. It is possible this legendary figure who was the abbess, then St Brigid of Kildare may have developed from the original Celtic goddess of the same name. Many aspects of pre-Christian cult practices were incorporated into Celtic Christianity, in Ireland, south-west Scotland and north-east England.[698] Only one legend links St Bridget to a sword where she champions the poor but it is possible there were others stories which, whether written down or not, have been lost.[699] If, however, both figures represent the saint, there is no link between her and a date palm to which she is bound on the font. The link with healing and the saint could be significant. It is possible there was a hospital near the site associated with the saint celebrating her name and status. This possibility is supported by other sites, for example, the hospital at Calbeck, given to Carlisle priory by Gospatric.[700] Lives of the Saints became increasingly popular in the twelfth century manuscripts.[701] A northern example is the Life of St Cuthbert and, in the south are two English narratives: the St Albans Psalter and the Life, Miracles and Offices of St Edmund.[702] There are stylistic links between the font and all these manuscripts, discussed above. Representations in stone are rare in English sculpture, although several examples survive in French carving, for example, at Autun, where many scenes from the Life and Miracles of St Martin are depicted.[703] The narrative scene possibly refers to a literary scene, perhaps based on a poem or epic tale. Carlisle was a growing centre of romantic literature during the period.

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[698] A. Ross, *Pagan Celtic Britain: Studies in Iconography and Tradition* (London, 1967), chapter 8.

[699] A. Dunbar, *A Dictionary of Saintly Women* (1904), p. 133.

[700] *VCH* Cumberland, quotes Dugdale, that Gospatric, born c. 1120, son of Orm, gave the hospital and church of St Kentigern (Caldbeck) to Carlisle Priory, before 1170.

[701] Oxford University College, MS 165.

[702] *ERA*, p. 95, no. 20.

[703] L. Seidel, *Legends in Limestone* (London, 1999), fig. 83.

The upper scene on the centaur and narrative face is badly damaged, where the rim of the font has been desecrated, but three protagonists are visible. From its stance, the central figure may have vanquished the two on either side. Centaurs and mythical creatures were ubiquitous in the twelfth century and were probably inspired by classical and eastern models (ill. 33). They may have served as symbolical reminders to the congregation of the presence of evil.[704] Henry of Blois imported Roman sculpture and stone remnants from the Roman era were, of course, visible to the sculptor at Bridekirk and elsewhere. The central creature is a centaur, frequently illustrated all artistic media. A stone example is found on the south doorway of the tympanum at Kencott (Oxfordshire).[705] Centaurs also appear on fonts, for example, at Hook Norton (Oxfordshire) and at West Rounton (Yorkshire).[706] The font at Hook Norton clarifies the centaur's identification with Sagittarius through the inscription and, like the font, wears a beaded collar. Centaurs are found on earlier stone sculpture in Scotland, for example, at Meigle (Perthshire) on a cross where the centaur holds a branch and an axe in each hand.[707] In Ireland, they appear on the bases on the crosses at Kells and Monasterboice.[708] Centaurs are often illustrated adjacent to mermaids and are linked with them in the Bestiaries.[709] In the Bayeux Tapestry, there are two pairs of centaurs and one isolated example beneath the scene where Harold rescues a Norman soldier from the sands.[710] The creature corresponds with the meaning of strength and honour. On the font, the centaur is represented as a creature of valour, successfully fighting off two protagonists on either side.

Precise identification of these beasts and their significance is not possible. But how did the people of Bridekirk view them? Were they mere decoration or were they significant

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[704] C. Hicks, *Animals in Early Medieval Art* (Edinburgh, 1993), p. 275.
[705] Keyser, fig. 70. Another is carved on a chancel arch capital at St Mary, Alne (Yorkshire). Two are carved in the chapter-house at Durham and one on a capital from Winchester.
[706] Drake, p. 22, pl. 6.
[707] Romilly Allen, p. 365.
[708] F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions (800-1020)* (London, 1967), pl. 87, for Monasterboice. The helmeted figures on the cruxifixion panel of this cross are thought to have influenced the slab at Penrith, possibly twelfth century, although similarities with the plaque from Clonmacnoise suggest an earlier date, *Corpus*, p. 141.
[709] C. Hicks, op. cit., p. 198.
[710] *ERA*, pp. 42, 80. The border motifs of the tapestry are both ornamental and commentaries on the main events. Probably made in England, c. 1082, the tapestry follows a long tradition of epic designs from the Anglo-Saxon period.

for the patron and congregation? Their origin could be scriptural, for example, Christ trampling the Asp and the Basilisk, or St Michael fighting the dragon.[711] They could be legendary, as in the case of St George, representing the power of good and evil. They could perhaps be moral, illustrating Vices and Virtues. Literary sources undoubtedly influenced twelfth-century sculpture, for example, Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and the *Physiologus*. The *Psychomachia*, epitomising the conflict between good and evil, was composed in the fifth century, using female figures, Vice and Virtue, and survives in illustrated manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh centuries.[712] The figures are often armed with swords and numerous fonts in England and Scandinavia are decorated with this subject matter, for example, at Southrop (Gloucestershire) and Stanton Fitz Warren (Wiltshire), c. 1160.[713] At Southrop, Misericordia is illustrated brandishing a sword: Synagogue is depicted as a drooping figure. In both cases, the subjects are identified by their inscriptions. The figure on the left of the font scene is richly dressed and bears a sword and may be female with the long headdress, although this not clear from the facial detail.[714] Could these two protagonists be identified with a character from the *Psychomachia*?[715]

The Greek *Physiologus*, the basis for the Bestiary tradition, blends distinct attributes of individual animals into Christian symbols, providing a ready supply of imagery, while preserving a link with ancient science.[716] The Christian doctrine of redemption was illustrated by these symbolic images and this use of animal imagery is found in the stone tradition of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses and the manuscript tradition.[717] In Gospel books, tiny creatures combine with lettering, a tradition epitomised in the Book of Kells

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[711] Psalm 90, v. 13.

[712] For example, London, B.L., MS cotton, Titus D. XVI, *ERA*, p. 93, no. 16. This book was probably produced at St Albans, influenced by the Alexis Master.

[713] Drake, p. 18, pl. 24 for Southrop. These examples illustrate figures beneath arcading.

[714] Pevsner, p. 78.

[715] Drake, p. 18. *ERA*, p. 93, no. 16, London, BL, MS Cotton, Titus D.XVI, is an example of a manuscript illustrating Prudentius, Psychomachia and other tracts.

[716] Translated into Latin in the fifth century, the *Physiologus* inspired the tradition of the Bestiary, the *Book of Beasts*. The seventh-century *Etymologies* of Isidore of Seville comprised twenty books on human knowledge, the longest based on animals and their characteristics. This text also influenced the development of Bestiaries, *ERA*, p. 133, no. 86, Bestiary, Aberdeen, University Library, MS 24, where Adam naming the animals is explained by a text by Isidore of Seville.

[717] The eighth-century Canterbury Psalter, B.M. MS Vesp. A.1.

which abounds with a variety of animals, some remarkably naturalistic in rendering and genre.[718] In the *Physiologus*, the mermaid was a siren which could have a bird's body or a fish tail. The creature to the right of the font centaur has a bird-like head and a twisted fish-like tail, perhaps a reference to a mermaid. The creature to the left of the centaur resembles a bird's head and body, the tail ending a flower. Centaurs appear in herbals as Chiron, who was given powers of healing with herbs by Zeus and another example represents the contest between Diana and the Centaur.[719] Herbals were increasingly popular and realistic from the end of the eleventh century and were produced at several centres of illumination, for example, Bury St Edmunds and Canterbury.[720]

The writers of the Bestiaries suggested everything in creation had its own specific purpose and used every living thing as a symbolical message to instruct mankind. Different creatures offered different messages, reflected in the Bible. The natural world was re-organised in Christian terms and given symbolical meaning.[721] The monsters, serpents, dragons, basilisks, manticores, reflected oriental barbaric animals and many representations in these books were of everyday life and realistic animals. Dogs, for example, represented faithfulness. The eagle symbolised the Resurrection, based on a scriptural passage, and may link with the font's function, to provide new life through baptism.[722] The eagle also became the symbol of St John the Evangelist.[723] Plants provided symbolical meaning for Christian virtues: the bramble, the burning bush; the chestnut, chastity; clover, the Trinity; ivy symbolised eternal life and attachment to Christian values. The Tree of Jesse represented the genealogy of Christ, springing from Jesse, the father of David.[724]

[718] For example, f. 48r: Matthew 7:6-12.
[719] B.L. Sloane, MS 1875, f. 17v, M. Collins, *Medieval Herbals* (London, 2000), fig. 57.
[720] *ERA*, p. 105, no. 36, 'Herbal and Treatise on the medicinal qualities of animals attributed to 'Sextus Placitus'', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 130, ff. 43-44.
[721] R. Barber, *Bestiary* (London, 1999).
[722] Psalm 103, v. 5, 'thy youth is renewed like the eagle's'.
[723] Ezekiel 1:5-10.
[724] Isaiah, 11:1-2.

Although the designer was probably aware of the current Bestiary tradition the variety of creatures portrayed do not follow exact types as portrayed in these books.[725] It is unlikely they were direct sources for the font design and unlike the sculptor had actually seen a manuscript of a Bestiary. It is, however, possible, the patron, whether Waltheof or another, had seen such a book and the sculptor worked from verbal description or sketches. The creature above the baptism is a fantastic and imaginative creation but does not correspond to a particular description in the literature. The nearest parallel is the amphisbaena, a two-headed beast with a circular body (ill. 23).[726] These creatures with two heads appear on the borders of the Bayeux Tapestry where the heads represent two different animals. The Tapestry has been described as a 'powerful piece of visual propaganda' as the images are clearly set out to convey a specific meaning.[727] The sources for this tapestry border are defined as Anglo-Saxon manuscripts and Byzantine and Persian silks, where Bestiary animals are prevalent. Many examples are found in manuscripts.[728] Just as writing was the process of committing the spoken word to paper, so, too, objects like the font and the tapestry collected a multitude of ideas to cconvey a message but instead of using words have represented this message through decoration and individual motifs.

The two beasts on the rosette face are individual and unusual and have been described as the griffin on the left and the cetus on the right (ill. 30). In the Bestiaries, the griffin represents a winged creature, signifying the Devil.[729] Alternatively, the griffin can also carry souls to heaven. The head is seen from above and is very close to the head above St John (ill. 23). On tympana at Ampney St Mary (Gloucestershire) and at Ridlington (Leicestershire) the griffin confronts a lion.[730] At Milbourne Port (Somerset) a capital

[725] X. Muratova, 'Bestiaries: an aspect of medieval patronage', *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed. S. Macready and F.H. Thomson (London, 1976), p. 120.
[726] X. Muratova, 'The Study of Medieval Bestiaries: problems, enigmas and quests', paper read during the symposium, 'The Bestiary in Art', London, *Soc. Antiq. And Linnean Soc.* (1976).
[727] S. Lewis, *The Rhetoric of Power in the Bayeux Tapestry* (London, 1999), p. 2.
[728] E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, Cambridge, CCC, MS 183, f. 42v, initial 'D', (Cat. 6, pl. 19); Oxford Bodl. Lib. Junius 27, f. 148v, f. 71v, (Cat. 7, pl. 23).
[729] Romilly Allen, p. 370.
[730] Keyser, pls. 52, 48.

illustrates the creature confronting a warrior.[731] The two beasts on the inscription face are dragonesque in type but the precise meaning of their confrontation is indeterminate (ill. 19). Such confronted beasts are common in twelfth-century sculpture, on fonts and capitals, for example, at Chaddesley Corbett (Worcestershire).[732] Of the five hundred and thirty beasts depicted on the Bayeux Tapestry, most are set in pairs, either confronted or addorsed.[733] Often they appear as a mirror image, as if a template has been used. This is true of several patterns on earlier stone carving.[734] Examples of these paired combatants are found at Canterbury and Durham.[735] At Lincoln, they are carved on the west doorway of the cathedral.[736] At Lullington (All Saints), a similar composition is carved on the north doorway tympanum (c. 1100). These creatures are dissimilar in a variety of features, tails, heads and scale, and they are divided by a luxuriant plant set vertically above the border on which the front legs of the dragons rest. The leaves are similar to those on the cross and the central stem is beaded like the scroll beneath. The two creatures are possibly basilisks, kings of the serpents, confronting each other and biting the plant. Similar paired beasts are found on other fonts.[737] They could represent salamanders, winged serpents which would explain the lack of back legs. Associated with enduring fire, they could symbolise the Harrowing of Hell imagery, thus linking with the Baptism theme.[738] Five Norman fonts surviving are illustrated with salamanders.[739]

The church of St Mary, Adel (Yorkshire) is one of the most elaborately decorated twelfth-century churches in the north. The tympanum of the south door beneath the pointed gable illustrates Christ in Majesty below an Agnus Dei. To the right are the symbols of St John and St Luke, to the left St Mark and St Matthew. The lamb, lion, bull and eagle are realistically portrayed with careful attention to detail. The eagle, carved in

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[731] G. Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture*, op. cit., pl. XIX.
[732] Drake, pl. 27.
[733] C. Hicks, op. cit., p. 252.
[734] G. Zarnecki, op. cit., pl. XIV, 3.
[735] D. Kahn, op. cit., p. 71, ill. 138.
[736] F. Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought* (London, 1971), p. 321, fig. 204.
[737] F. Bond, *Fonts and Font-Covers* (London, 1908), p. 181; for basilisks, A. Payne, *Medieval Beasts* (London, 1990), p. 84.
[738] J.C. Wall, *Porches and Fonts* (London, 1912), pp. 258-9.
[739] F. Bond, op. cit., p. 185.

profile, with head raised, and wings carved against its back, is remarkably close to the right hand affronted dragon on the font. It is possible that similar models were used, from drawings or pattern books, applying the motif to a different context and meaning.

The lower panel of the inscription face is divided by the runic inscription (ill. 26). The profiled figure on the right runs to the left, devouring grapes. The dog also runs to the left, barking, possibly warding off the evil personified in the mask or 'green man' motif (ill. 28). The vegetation is smooth and carved in overlapping planes and the viewer's eye is led from right to left, to rest above the beginning of the inscription. The two small figures running across the inscription face of the font are typical of an array of characters found in stone, manuscripts and metalwork. The sculptor's identity is certain and the second figure may be his apprentice or another mason, working on the same site, involved in the production of another stone artefact. His identity will never be known but his presence balances the composition and links the vegetation and beaded stems across the surface. The dog accompanying him may refer to some aspect of country life, farming or even hunting. It could be wolf or a fox. In the Q-Celtic language, the same word was used for all three, dog, wolf and fox.[740] Magic birds in migration are found on Celtic coins and birds and fish are found in burial sites.[741] Celtic gods were associated with animals, for example, Cernunnos, half-wolf, half-stag.[742] Legend, folklore, magic and shamanist beliefs abounded across the region with its long history of story-telling and the epic but, as the majority of stories and legends were never committed to writing, much of this oral tradition has vanished.

The animals may be linked to Bestiary ideals to convey specific characteristics.[743] Clergy utilised the message of fables from the pulpit, although their depiction was more

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[740] Certain animals may have been associated with specific Celtic tribes, many of which have animal names, for example, the Fox and Little Goat clans of the Dalriadic Scots. Dalriada was an ancient Hiberno-Scottish kingdom which covered modern Argyllshire, M. Dixon-Kennedy, *Celtic Myth and Legend*, (London, 1996), p. 101. The Brythonic or P-Celtic language covered Wales, Cornwall, Brittany and the Goidelic or Q-Celtic language covered the Irish, Scottish and Manx lands.

[741] A. Malraux, *The Voices of Silence* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 137-144, for Celtic coins and their style. The author states 'we find as much diversity in these coin-makers at their best as in Romanesque sculpture,' p. 138.

[742] Gundestrup Cauldron, 1st Century, B.C., Copenhagen; coin from Lemovices (Haute-Vienne), Malraux, ibid., p. 143.

[743] The bestiaries popularised ideas about animals, whereas Pliny still formed the basis for veterinary science.

widespread in France, for example, the tympanum at Bourges (St Ursin).[744] An example

of a fox is found on a capital at Alne (St Mary) where birds are pecking a fox feigning

death.[745] The inscription above reads 'Vulpis'. A capital at Canterbury illustrates a fox

with a flute.[746] A fox appears on a coffin lid in the priory church of Bridlington

(Yorkshire).[747] Another interesting example is found at Melbourne (Derbyshire), in the

church of St Michael, where a fox, stork and vessel are carved on one capital and foxes on

two others.[748]

The twelfth century saw a continuing growth of vernacular and poetic literature.

Carlisle became a centre of dramatic and epic writing, perhaps developing from the wealth

of Celtic and other traditions including the legend of Rheged which survives to this day.[749]

Elsewhere, writers such as Abelard wrote of the human qualities of literary and biblical

figures, for example, Sampson, identifying these heroes with humanity as part of the

growing sense of humanism across Europe.[750] Other writers produced some very high

quality drama, for example, Hildegard of Bingen, in an allegorical play called the *Ordo

Virtutem*, using language and imagery to convey emotion and tragedy.[751] Within this body

of medieval literature, it is possible to identify many aspects; rhetoric, number symbolism

and allegory. The iconography of the font, when seen against this backdrop of a wider

literary movement and an expanding sense of drama and epic, becomes more intriguing

when the loss of its immediate surroundings is considered.

The upper register of this face bears an unusual design of a cross which has no parallels

in stone-carving from this area and there are no clues as to source or model for the motif

(ill. 29). The four arms of equal length end in moulded terminals, the upper and lower

merging into the plain borders. The lateral arms extend into stems of foliage which divide

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[744]   E. Mâle, *Religious Art in France, the Twelfth Century*, p. 339, fig. 240.
[745]   L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), pl. 58a.
[746]   D. Kahn, op. cit, p. 72.
[747]   K. Varty, *Reynard the Fox: a study of the fox in medieval English art* (London, 1967), ill. 165.
[748]   K. Varty, ibid., ill. 161.
[749]   Phythian-Adams, pp. 57-60.
[750]   For Abelard, see C.H. Haskins, *The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century* (reprinted London,1982), pp. 257-60, 351-355, 378, 379, 393.
[751]   P. Dronke, *Poetic Individuality in the Middle Ages: New Departure in Poetry 1000-1150* (Oxford, 1970).

and curve back towards the centre with pointed leaves. The closest parallels for these are found in other media, for example, representations of metalwork crosses in the eleventh-century Winchester Liber Vitae and in the twelfth-century Winchester Psalter.[752] A painted example is found illustrated in an initial 'H', where the sides and ends of the letter sprout into foliage.[753] Crosses also occur on several manuscript carpet pages.[754] Crosses with enlarged ends are a feature of many Anglo-Saxon crosses, for example, the cross-head at Irton, but the acanthus terminals are unparalleled in stone.[755] A pillar stone at Killnasggart (Co. Armagh) illustrates a geometric form of this.[756] Several crosses appear on tympana and fonts. The cross on the font at Lenton has three arms extending outwards, dividing and folding back, but again, with only geometric motifs attached.[757] At Ashford (Derbyshire) the tympanum is carved with a central column, surmounted by a symmetrical foliate pattern emerging from its top.[758]

Coins of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries illustrate cross-and-fleur designs where the cross extends into two strands of foliage and divides back into floral motifs, very similar to the cross on the font. One example is a penny struck at York about 1141 and attributed to Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester.[759] A second example is a coin struck in Northumberland, probably at Corbridge, for Henry (son of David I of Scotland) about 1138.[760] A silver mine was established at Alston, near Carlisle, by 1122 and coins were being minted at Carlisle by 1135.[761] Mints at York, Durham and Corbridge, were already

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[752] London, B.L. MS Cotton, Tiberius C.VI, Winchester, c. 1050, *ERA*, pp. 85, 86; E. Temple *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts illuminated in the British Isles, 2 (1976), no. 98, pls. 302-11.

[753] E. Temple, ibid., Cat. 93, fig. 115, B.L. Harley 5431, f. 38v; Cat. 39, Lambeth Palace Lib. 200, f. 69, initial 'I'.

[754] The Book Of Durrow and the Book of Kells, for example.

[755] *Corpus*, ill. 359.

[756] Romilly Allen, p. 103.

[757] Romilly Allen, p. 308.

[758] Keyser, fig. 43.

[759] *ERA*, p. 337, no. 449.

[760] *ERA*, p. 378, no. 454.

[761] Summerson, pp. 25-6; the discovery of silver at Alston, perhaps as early as 1120, may have been the reason the king did not replace Ranulf as lord of Carlisle. Although it is not yet established whether the minted coins from Carlisle were of Alston silver, the presence of this resource would have been of significant value.

in use by 1100 and it is reasonable to assume coinage was in use in the north-west soon after the arrival of William Rufus, certainly by the third decade of the century.[762]

The tradition of the living cross does not become established until the fourteenth century and most surviving examples are illustrated in wall paintings where the allegory of the Living Cross represents the dispensing of Divine Justice.[763] In these later examples, cross-arms extend into hands, whereas on the font, they grow into acanthus leaf-forms but the rarity of the motif brings its origin and source into question. The later anti-semetic role of this motif is irrelevant on the font but the sources for its purpose here could be related to the origins of the Italian and eastern European examples and, as early as the twelfth century, the Jews were accused of collaboration with heretics, for example, the Hussites, and many stories abounded in written and spoken words. An unusual cross-type with expanded terminals is found on small incised stone slabs, for example, the Hartlepool name-stone, Durham Cathedral Library (c. 700).[764] This cross has semicircular terminals, the same radius as the central circle, similar to one illustrated on the Lindisfarne Gospel carpet pages.[765] This type of cross also appears on later Irish name-stones, for example, at Clonmacnois (Offaly).[766] Carved stones with this same cross-type, some with runic inscriptions, have been discovered beneath York Minster and the incised form of decoration and flat surfaces suggest these stones, probably associated with burial, were originally painted, perhaps with other ornament and descriptive inscriptions.[767]

The rosette is an integral part of the design and may have its source in local Roman sculpture found on, for example, a tomb in Carlisle Museum. Roman sculpture might

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[762] R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria, 1092-1136', *CW2*, xxi (2005), pp. 55-56. The fist mention of the mine is by the Norman, Robert de Torigni, *Chronica*, s.a. 1133, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, Rolls Series 82 (1884-9), p. 123.

[763] Bologna, S. Petronio, wall painting by Giovanni da Modena.

[764] *Corpus*, p. 36; W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of a pre-Norman Age*, fig. 30.

[765] There is also a grave-marker from Lindisfarne with a similar cross. Similar cross-types are found at Ripon, Northallerton and Heysham, W.G. Collingwood, figs. 104, 116, 128. An Anglian origin for this motif is suggested, *Corpus*, p. 36. For the background of Anglian art, see R.N. Bailey, 'The Sculpture of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire-north-of-the-sands in the Viking period', unpublished Ph.D thesis, 3 vols., University of Durham, I (1974), pp. 49-57.

[766] *Corpus*, p. 32; F. Henry, *Irish Art during the Viking Invasions 800-1020* (London, 1967), pl. 90; for metalwork plaque at Clonmacnoise, *Corpus*, p. 141, ill. 672.

[767] *Corpus*, grave-marker, p. 126; sculptural ornament in general, pp. 56, 58, 67, 83, 85, 129.

have inspired the beast types, for example, two crouching beasts above a tomb stone in the Carlisle Museum.[768] This motif is found in later northern carving: crosses at Ruthwell (Dumfriesshire) and Lastingham (Yorkshire), on a fragment from Dundrennan (Dumfriesshire) and at Torpenhow, above the piscina, considered a Roman stone set in the twelfth-century church.[769] The rosette on the font may be connected with the cross above, symbolising the cross and orb found on contemporary seals, for example, the seal of Henry I, where the cross arms extends into foliage like the font cross.[770] Five other rosettes are carved on the font, indicating the possible use of templates (ill. 20). Their relevance to the designer and sculptor will never be known but it is unlikely they are merely space-fillers. Similar rosettes are found in Irish carving of the twelfth century, notably set into the gable above the north porch of Cormac's chapel, Cashel.[771] In western France, Roman imperial victory symbolism gained popularity in the late eleventh and early twelfth century and the combination on the font of a circular disc with two attendant beasts may reflect a similar inspiration. An example of this Gallo-Roman inspired imagery is found on the altartable in Saint-Sernin (Toulouse) and in the cloister at Moissac.[772] Although no direct influence is suggested, the links illustrate the constant flow of ideas across the north-west of Europe between sites and how the north-west area was susceptible to new ideas from further afield.[773]

The overall composition of the cross above the rosette feature is most closely paralleled in carving found in Armenia where stone crosses are decorated with a variety of pattern

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[768] J.M.C. Toynbee, *Art in Roman Britain*, p. 161, no. 89, pl. 86; F. Haverfield, *Catalogue of the the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones in Carlisle Museum*, p. 37, no. 103.

[769] G. Ewart, 'Archaeological Investigation within the south range of a Cistercian House in Kirkcudbrightshire', *TDGHAAS* lxxv (2001), p. 170, for example of rosette on cross face at Dundrennan; for the Ruthwell carving, *Corpus*, pp. 19-22 for date, Ills. 628-7; for Lastingham, *Corpus*, pp. 13, 126, 136 for crosses.

[770] *ERA*, p. 302, no. 330.

[771] H.G. Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, I (Dundalk, 1955), Pl. IX.

[772] M. Durliat, 'L'atêlier de Bernard Gilduin á Saint-Sernin de Toulouse', *Anuario de Estudios Médiévales* I (1964), pp. 521-29, figs. 1-7; A French example is found on two frieze sections from Saint-Raphael, near Excideuil (c. 1130) where two crouched and decorative angels support a central Agnus Dei with halo and cross. Although the Agnus Dei concept is replaced on the font by a rosette, the overall composition is similar. Other iconographical aspects are found on French sites, for example, the running dog of the inscription face is similar to those found over the porch at Cahors and on the façade at Angouleme, where two dogs chase a stag through foliage.

[773] C. Daras, *Angoumois Roman*, Collection Zodiaque (1961), pl. 44; the theme of hunting and pursuit, especially of dogs after other animals, is found extensively in the region.

found in the north-west, in Wales and in Ireland. Several of these carvings illustrate a decorative cross with foliate or ornamental terminals above circular motifs, many accompanied by carved inscriptions. One example at Echmiadzin is purely decorative, carved with minute detail and repetitive foliate patterns.[774] A second example of the same type is carved with a similar floriate cross above a circular orb decorated with interlace. Interlace fills the background beneath an inscription in Armenian runic style lettering above.[775] Another example at Amaghou Noravank illustrates a seated Christ with a book flanked by two apostles at the top of the stone, set in arcades. Beneath are four lines of runes.[776] Again, no direct connection is suggested although the extensive travels of the crusaders during this period must be considered as a possible vehicle for the transmission of ideas and motifs.

The iconography of the vegetation of the font is ambiguous and only speculative conclusions can be drawn with regard to the symbolism or local significance of these plant-forms. There are twelve different leaf-types illustrated. The variety is unusual on a single object and the sculptor has relished the decorative aspect of the leaves as they curl and stretch across the surface, filling corners, embellishing tails and decorating trees. Are they symbolical in their own right or do they only have meaning when placed alongside the remaining content? They appear to be designed to fit the space, creating surface pattern, depth and movement in the composition. More stylised than naturalistic, the impression of the vegetation is different on all four faces of the font. On closer inspection, specific details have been re-used across the surface, in varying positions and on different scales. For example, the curled acanthus of the foliage to the right of the cross is very close to the example above the inscription (ill. 19). The triangular shape of the four leaves surrounding the cross is found beneath the inscription, but here the detail has been incised. On the rosette face, the same detail is moulded. This also applies to the treatment of the fruit. The two triangular bunches on the inscription face are carved both with and without

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[774] R. Oursel, *Floraison de la Sculpture Romane* (Zodiaque, 1973), p. 43, fig. 19.
[775] R. Oursel, ibid., p. 40, fig. 17.
[776] R. Oursel, ibid., p. 47, fig. 22.

a raised border. Similar berries are found on the baptism face, two paired bunches, in the

tree on the left of the scene (ill. 20). These berries as found in pre-Conquest carving are

placed in defined categories by Rosemary Cramp.[777]

The same semi-acanthus form is used on the tail of the creature on the right of the

circle, beneath the tree behind St John, representing a leaf to the left of the dog (ill. 23).

The central shell of the disc on the rosette face is identical to two circular 'flowers'

beneath the inscription (ills. 22, 26). Another leaf-type is the three large, pointed leaves on

the baptism face across the circular tail of the creature (ill. 23).[778] These are carved with a

plain triangular border surrounding three strands denoting the leaf surface. The sculptor

has used identical shapes and method to construct the wing of the 'dove' and the wing of

the creature above it, simply the same format but reversed (ill. 20).

Books of herbals were revived in the early years of the century and illustrations of the

natural world became increasingly perceptive and accurate.[779] The illustrations were

varied, instructive and anecdotal, although the style of decoration in many examples

became noticeably stylised as the century progressed. Specific plants were related to

healing qualities and supported by drawings and were sometimes portrayed in a

particularly individual and natural way.[780] The font vegetation, although stylised, supports

the rest of the iconography in symbolical terms. Whether the sculptor intended to portray

naturalistic detail is unlikely given the multiple uses of several leaf motifs across the

surface. Their purpose seems to have been connecting devices across the stone surface

rather than representations of the real world or meaningful symbolical emblems. Whether

the scrolls on the inscription face are related to the traditional vine scroll motif remains

speculative. The two scrolls, however, are not identical and the upper row is unbeaded

(ills. 19, 26). There is no obvious compositional or decorative reason for this. The same

juxtaposition of beading and unbeading is found on the crossing capitals at Carlisle (ill.

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[777] *Corpus*, p. xxvii.
[778] These pointed leaves are also found on capitals, in the Cathedral, at St Bees and at Irthington.
[779] M. Collins, *The Medieval Herbal* (London, 2000), p. 205, B.L. Harley 1585.
[780] M. Collins, ibid., B.L. Harley 4986, p. 205; Aberdeen, University Library MS 24, f. 23v, illuatrating a cat. Lincoln was a centre of bestiary production and had close wlinks with the theological school at York.

49).[781] The leaves are not identical and are placed in a variety of angles and the same

scroll is carved on three trees on the baptism and centaur and narrative faces, (ills. 20, 21).

On the tree behind St John the scroll is symmetrical and resembles painted interlace (ill.

24).[782] These are not true vine scrolls but the adjective 'scrolled' can be applied to their

form. The tree on the centaur and narrative face is the most naturalistic and possibly

represents a date palm.

These details are similar to decorative aspects of manuscripts and scroll forms appear

on the Tree of Jesse in the Winchester Psalter.[783] A Worcester manuscript illustrates a

calendar with similar details in both figural and foliate decoration to the font.[784] The

figures on this side are related to Canterbury illumination, for example, a Canterbury

manuscript of c. 1120 from Christchurch.[785] The variety of beasts and human faces with

stylised hairstyles, large noses and carefully modelled feet are close to the figures on the

inscription face. This manuscript has been linked to numerous small figures on the

Bayeux Tapestry, other Canterbury manuscripts and the capitals of the crypt.[786] Another

early manuscript is the Bible of the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Martial de Limoges, c.

1070, where curled acanthus, entwined stems and profiled heads such as those on the

inscription face are found.[787] A manuscript from Rochester Cathedral Priory illustrates

dragons, Winchester acanthus and small figures very close to the inscription face of the

font.[788] Several other similar representations of this foliage are found in manuscripts with

similar stems and the same method of separating branches.[789]

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[781] Also found on the capitals at Durham.

[782] Trees created from interlace appear in manuscripts, for example, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS. 169, for a leaf closely linked to the Master of the Morgan Leaf and the Winchester Bible, *ERA*, p. 122, no. 65.

[783] *ERA*, pp. 85, 86, for bibliography for Psalter.

[784] Cambridge, St John's College, MS B 20 (c. 1120-1140), *ERA*, p. 98, no. 23. The figure for April, for example, pruning his crops is close to the sculptor figure on the font. The May figure has a similar profile, outstretched arms, fringed hair style and detailed bare feet to the figure above the inscription.

[785] D. Kahn, op. cit., fig. 64, London, BL, Harley MS 624, f. 128v; fig. 68, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.2.34, f. 79v, initial A.

[786] London, B.L. MS Cotton Claudius E.V., f. 49, *ERA*, no. 41; D. Kahn, *Romanesque Sculpture at Canterbury* (Texas, 1991), p. 25.

[787] See initial 'L', Paris, Bib. Nat. MS lat. 254, f. 10.

[788] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.4.7., f. 75, *ERA*, p. 107, no. 42, the St Jerome Commentaries on the Old Testament; A.W. Klukas, 'The Architectural Implications of the Decreta Lanfranci', *ANS*, VI, p. 148.

[789] London, B.L. Royal MS 5.B.XV, f. 3, a St Augustine manuscript; Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.114, f. 36v, initial 'I' (c. 1180).

There are also possible stone sources for the foliate details of the font. On stone fragments surviving from the pre-Conquest period are carved many examples of dragons, serpents and other creatures among interlace, foliage and decoration and the underlying theme is man's encounters with real and symbolical monsters.[790] The Gosforth and Great Clifton crosses illustrate clearly this attitude in several ways.[791] The winged animals of the Waberthwaite cross facing each other across the stone are another example of this tradition.[792] The use of lush foliage on carving from the period before and after the conquest has already been discussed and this use of vegetation formed part of the long established tradition of stone sculpture.

The symbolic content of the font iconography introduces the realm of the uncertain and the unknown which is an aspect of art historical study of this period. Whether each individual piece of detail was loaded with meaning and when put together for the audience helped to establish the overall message of the decoration is simply unprovable. There are those who see every aspect as important; others see these details as mere caprice. Much has been lost from these original churches and contexts and it is difficult to establish an argument for symbolism on the font and elsewhere, but, on the other hand, given the nature of the period, the superstition, the tradition of epic and hero, of monsters and dragons, combined with the strength of religious aspiration amongst rulers and ordinary people alike, there must have been something symbolical. In the opinion of this writer, the font carving has to have some elements that are more than pure ornament. Unfortunately, no contemporary opinion or description survives to support this way of thinking and St Bernard's criticisms of the beasts and monsters are well known. The church at Bridekirk was a small village church, built amongst the trees and marshes of the forests, close to the eastern mountains, not far from the shores where invaders and settlers had arrived for

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[790] *Corpus*, Ills. 432, 433, fragments of a cross-shaft from Lowther. This carving also illustrates interlacing, medallions and triangular leaves. One beast appears to have two heads and a curled tail. Another face shows possibly three snakelike creatures. Cramp describes the animals as English but aspects of the decoration are linked to sixth-century scrolls from Khirbet-El Beida,Syria. Similar creatures in stone are found at Easby (Yorkshire), T.D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949), p. lxii.

[791] *Corpus*, pp. 110, 100.

[792] R.N. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (Toronto, 1996), p. 82, fig. 40.

centuries. The land was full of magic, of shamanist beliefs, of the power of different gods and beings and also a growing belief in the power of the Christian god. The conversion to this single God, however, did not preclude former beliefs and local traditions. Even today, across the rural areas of Cumberland and Westmorland, old beliefs and Celtic traditions survive in rural areas. Within this environment of thought and habit, it is very probable that the decoration was significant in its meaning for all who surveyed it.

Three kinds of explanation are presented with regard to the design of Norman buildings: aesthetic, practical and symbolic.[793] In the case of the possible symbolism of the font, all three are again possible aspects of the sculptor's choice of narrative and pattern. The aesthetic is obvious as is illustrated by the study of eleventh- and twelfth-century art. The love of decoration, of colour, of pattern and design and, as the century progressed, of the dramatic, are integral parts of Norman art, in all media. The practical aspect of the font's shape and decoration is more limited, except that if the sculptor worked from a used stone object, which is probable, his design was to a degree limited. Thirdly, just as symbolism is considered to have been hugely influential on the design and layout of buildings and their decoration, so, with the font, it is probable the decorative details and layout also formed an overall message.[794] The columns with spirals at Canterbury, Durham and Waltham appear to have been carefully chosen with reference to the sanctuary, the chancel.[795] If the original position of the font was known, it would enable a clearer view of how the decoration was intended to fit with the rest of the decoration and design of the church.

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[793] Fernie, p. 107.

[794] Fernie, for references to symbolism in architecture, pp. 110 for Lincoln; for the liturgical arrangements at Durham and the significance of the spiral columns, see p. 134; the nave column patterns at Waltham, given to Durham after the Conquest, p. 184.

[795] R. Plant, 'English Romanesque Architecture and the Holy Roman Empire', Ph.D. thesis, University of London (1998), pp. 114-119. Spiral columns are also found in other media, ivory, stone and metalwork, for example, the Deësis, marble relief in the south aisle of S. Marco, Venice, early twelfth century, J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (Harmonsworth, 1979), p. 279, fig. 244; on lead fonts, for example, at Lancaut (Gloucestershire), *ERA*, p. 247, no. 243.

vi) **The Runic Inscription and the sculptor**

Runic inscriptions of various alphabets have survived on objects from the first century across Europe, serving many different purposes: magical, religious, personal, humorous and devotional. They were used also as tradesmen's marks, signatures and even graffiti, scratched on rocks, stone, ivory and bone. The beginnings of the runic alphabets and from where they originated is unknown but they developed as languages developed and people moved across Europe. Of the five most common alphabets, or Fuþark, the font runes belong to the most common, the Germanic or Norse.[796] The inscription is an integral part of the decoration, raising several questions about the designer and maker of the font and the congregation for whom it was intended (ill. 26). A religious object of high quality and a key piece of church furniture illustrates this society's acceptance of the Norse language in speech and on display.

No other fonts with runes survive in this country. Runic inscriptions are found primarily on memorials and dedication stones, in Norman-French and Latin.[797] From place-name evidence, it appears that individual communities retained their own languages well into the century, leaving the political and ecclesiastical leaders to communicate in Norman-French, a form of Middle English and written Latin.[798] Although the characters are runic, the text is closer to Middle English and the rhyming couplet supports this link. It is apparent that Norse runes were accepted among the population who spoke and read English in the north-west in the early twelfth century and were a natural choice for patron and congregation.[799]

The runes run across the width of the font on the lower register. Measuring 1cm in height, they are carved between two shafts and fit neatly into the composition. Two letters are indistinct.

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[796] The remaining four types are Anglo-Saxon, Danish, Manx-Jeran and Orkney, P. Johnson, *Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain* (Glastonbury, 2001), p. 3.

[797] Verse was encouraged in works of art from the tenth century by the Benedictine monastic reform movement, E.C. Teviotdale, 'Latin Verse Inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon Art', *Gesta* xxxv (1996), p. 99.

[798] It is suggested Cumbric survived into the twelfth century, Phythian-Adams, p. 168.

[799] F-J. *NW*, for several examples of Norse names of the eleventh and early twelfth century.

The runes read: ..'+ricarþ : he : mē : iwroctē : … : to : þis : me : rđ : Ger [..] : mē : broctē'.

The text reads: 'Rikarth he me iwrokte and to this mirth gernr me brokte'.

The most recent translation of the inscription is as follows:

'+Rikarth hath me made, and … brought me to this splendour'.[800] The letters 'Ger [..]' are indeterminate. There has been some debate regarding their possible reference to a second name, but Page disputes this.[801] There is no indication of contemporary Norse influence on the language but the origin of the runes is Scandinavian. The 'th' instead of 'd' belongs to this form. Six of the letters are common to all stages of development of runes and seven belong to the later stages of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[802] The name Rikarth in this form could be Norse or Germanic, popular in eleventh century England, especially so in the north.[803] The identity of Rikarth and his relationship with the carving and the church is unclear. Is this the signature of the artist, the rune-master or the patron and was the rune-master also the sculptor? There are examples in the Isle of Man where the inscription explicitly states the rune-master is not one and the same with the sculptor.[804]

This combination of Norse writing and the English language suggests the society for which the font was designed was eclectic and it is possible the use of runes upon religious objects was not an uncommon practice in twelfth-century Cumberland.[805] The runes as they appear in this form testify to well-established Norse settlers, fluent in the English language, between the Wampool and the Esk and along the coast where the Irish saint Bridget is most venerated.[806] The runes suggest a patron comfortable with traditional values and it is possible the dedication of the church, if already St Bridget, inspired the use of runes through links to other traditional Norse or Celtic sites, dedicated to her.[807] The

[800] Page, p. 185.
[801] M.D. Forbes and B. Dickins, 'The Inscriptions of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses and The Bridekirk Font', *Burlington Magazine* 25 (1914), pp. 24-29.
[802] Page, p. 195.
[803] T. Forssner, *Continental Germanic Personal Names in England* (Uppsala, 1916), pp. 213-214.
[804] H. Shetelig, (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* VI (Oslo, 1954), p. 222.
[805] The runes scratched in the south transept of Carlisle Cathedral belong to the early stages of the building.
[806] Bailey has coined the group of sculptures in this area as 'Beckermet Group', *Corpus*, pp. 38, 39, fig. 9.
[807] The Irish St Brighid was the Christianised version of the old Celtic goddess Brighid. Daghdha, the Irish king/god had three daughters, all named Brighid. The worship of Brighid survived well into the Norse era

inscription illustrates two languages in close contact, almost combined, in north-west England in the early twelfth century. The development of language is aways changing and the merging of two within the runic inscription should not be seen as unusual. This is, however, the only English example in stone where runes coincide with English epigraphy, although the practice is found occasionally in manuscripts.[808] The twelfth-century attitude to runes may have started to see them as a rather curious and slightly eccentric script, perhaps connected with traditional magical powers.[809] In later twelfth-century manuscripts, mistakes are found in the copying of runes into the text, illustrating their use in this context was no longer for an audience speaking and writing this language.[810]

Six further examples of Norse epigraphical runes are found in England, four in the north-west: Carlisle, Dearham, Conishead Priory, Pennington, all considered twelfth-century; two in Yorkshire, Skelton-in-Cleveland and Settle.[811] They demonstrate the continued use of this script after the arrival of the Normans, providing evidence of the persistence of Norse language in this area into the twelfth century and identifying their continuing strong links with the church, evident in the Anglian period also.[812] The runes in Carlisle, scratched and now framed on the south transept wall, begun as early as 1102, read: 'Tolfin: urait pasi runr a pisi s tain', which translates as 'Dolfinn engraved these runes on this stone'. The Old Norse name, Dolfinn, shows Engish influence in its spelling and it was a common name in the area.[813] The 'f' and 'd' are late types, suggesting the carver was speaking this Scandinavian language after the arrival of the Normans, supported by the fact the earliest date for this part of the cathedral is 1092.[814] The word

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and beyond.

808 St John's College, Oxford MS 17, f. 5v, an elaborately tabulated page, listing several runic variations, Page, pp. 69, 70.

809 R. Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 47.

810 B.L. Cotton MS, Domitian A9.

811 The two Yorkshire examples are a small fragment of sundial with a fragmentary Old Norse inscription and a piece of slate with two runic letters scratched across the surface.

812 There are 36 known Anglian runes, all connected with religious carvings. Stone runes are found in Scandinavia with at least 2,400 in Sweden and 32 recorded in the Isle of Man.

813 T. Forssner, *Continental Germanic Personal Names in England* (Uppsala, 1916), pp. 213-214; G. Stephens, op. cit., p. 663.

814 R. Plant, unpublished paper at BAA Conference, Carlisle, July, 2001. E. Charlton, 'On an inscription in runic letters in Carlisle Cathedral', *AA* new ser. 3 (1859), pp. 65-68.

order on this stone corresponds exactly to that of the Maughold stone on the Isle of Man.[815]

The inscription on the 'Adam' stone at Dearham commemorates an individual in death and is dated to the twelfth century, another indicator of the survival of this language. The runes in elaborate decorative capitals are damaged but appear to read: 'May Christ his soul save'.[816] The fragmentary inscription discovered on the reverse of a thirteenth-century altar from Conishead Priory (Lancashire-north-of-the-Sands) is another example of these late runes, reading: 'Dotbert', a name not found in Scandinavian or English. The same 'e' and 't' forms are found at Bridekirk. They suggest a new influx of Scandinavian influence through incomers into the area after 1092, perhaps from the Isle of Man, where runes remained in widespread use into the twelfth century.[817]

The re-used tympanum carved above the door of St Michael's, Pennington (Lancashire) is poorly preserved. Despite no documentation, it is considered to be post-Conquest in style.[818] The semi-circular stone illustrates an angel with wings outstretched above a row of dogtooth decoration. A triple-strand border runs around this central theme with a runic inscription carved along the middle strand. It may have been part of a larger composition, re-used in this position and the inscription added, perhaps in the construction of the new church. The text is transliterated as follows: '..kml : [.]et[.] : pe [.] : kirk : hub [.] rt : m [.] sun : u [.] n : m- .[819] He suggests the first two letters are lost but could have spelt the name 'Gamal'. He also accepts the personal name Hubert. If two names are carved, these runes are used to honour those responsible for both the carving and the building. The title 'masun' is questioned by many as being too early for a reference to this occupation.[820] The inscribed stone at Beckermet St Bridget is not runic but the existence of this carving is another link between the Bridekirk inscription and St Bridget.

[815] M. Olsen, *Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain*, p. 202.
[816] Calverley, p. 92. This is not accepted by Page, p. 186.
[817] A.M. Cubbon, 'Viking Runes: outstanding new discovery at Maughold', *Journal of the Manx Museum* 7 (1966), pp. 23-26.
[818] A. Fell, *A Furness Manor: Pennington and its Church* (Ulverston, 1929), pp. 217-219.
[819] Page, pp. 186-7.
[820] Page, p. 186.

The word *iwrochte* is Old English for *made* and may differentiate the craftsman from the commissioner who ordered it. From these comparisons, it seems probable that *Rikarth* was the craftsman or the designer of the programme. Page disputes the inclusion of the second name *Ger* but eighteen pre-Conquest inscriptions illustrate the naming of another person involved in the making of an object.[821] Two examples where 'the maker' is mentioned are the cross-fragment at Great Urswick where the inscription reads: 'Lyl (made) this' and the sundial at Kirkdale, 'And Hawarth made me and Brand the priest'...[822] This inscription is in Latin lettering naming the carver, the patron saint, the priest, the landholder, the king and the earl, and was probably carved between 1055 and 1065 when Tostig was Earl of Northumbria. It seems Hawarth was the craftsman and Brand was responsible for drafting and laying out the text, and both are Norse names. The Kirkdale stone explains that Orm, son of Gamal, bought the derelict church and rebuilt it.

It is possible the inscription at Bridekirk refers to the whole building, not just the font. No previous building is recorded although the tympanum with its flat style could belong to an earlier church. A church in poor condition requiring rebuilding might have attracted a local patron. The font inscription does not appear to tie in with the rest of the stone decoration in the twelfth-century church but so much of the original furnishing and embellishment is lost, no conclusion can be drawn. Perhaps there were books and other carvings in wood based on Norse traditions and produced by other artisans of the same background. The font inscription may have been one of many inscriptions in the church, painted and carved on other parts of the building and its furniture, denoting ownership and rights. Mere paint could be removed, carved runes could not. The cross at Margam (Glamorganshire) was reputed on first discovery to bear traces of black paint on its inscription.[823] The cross-shaft fragment at Great Urswick (Cumberland) bears traces of paint.[824] Numerous examples of paint traces are found on both pre-Conquest and later

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[821] E. Okasha, 'The Commissioners, Makers and Owners of Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 7, ed. W. Filmer-Sankey and D. Griffiths (1994), p. 73.
[822] *Corpus*, Yorkshire, pp. 164, 166, ills. 568-573.
[823] R. Bailey, *England's Earliest Sculptors* (1966), p. 7.
[824] E. Okasha, op. cit., no. 87.

carving.[825] If there were other inscriptions on the font, the reason for the carved signature as opposed to painted lettering would have distinguished it from textual or didactic inscriptions. Other painted inscriptions were perhaps included on the plain mouldings of the font to clarify the meaning of the sculpture but, if so, the carved runes were given prominence.

There are few artists' signatures in English twelfth-century sculpture and it is rare to find a signature with a representation of the artist at work. A fragment of a voussoir, which may have been a keystone, originally belonged to St Augustine's Abbey (Canterbury).[826] The inscription in Latin reads: 'Robertus me fecit'. Whether Robertus was the patron, the master-mason, the monk in charge or the artisan, is unknown. The stylised face, with large, almond-shaped eyes and beard are close to the capital sculpture in the crypt and associated manuscripts.[827] A capital from Romsey Abbey is also inscribed with 'Robertus me fecit', the word 'fecit' inferring this to be the signature of the sculptor.[828] The tympanum at Wynford Eagle (Dorset) is also inscribed with the word 'fecit'.[829] There are, however, several names in sculpture on the continent associated with carving and other arts.[830]

Once the font has been inscribed in stone, the name of the sculptor acquired a permanence unusual in the arts of this period. With the inclusion of his name, Rikarth (assuming this was the sculptor's name) was guaranteed to be remembered.[831] His identity, however, is impossible to establish for certain and the name was common in the north-west. It has been suggested that Rikarth could be a sculptor, recorded at Durham

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[825] R.N. Bailey, op. cit., pp. 5-7. For coloured inscriptions, see D. Tweddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture* IV, p. 113; S. Cathar, *Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England*, p. 38.

[826] *ERA*, p. 156, no. 107.

[827] D. Kahn, op. cit., p. 50; Camb. St John's College, MS 8, f. 219.

[828] L. Stone, *Sculpture in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), Pl. 35A. This building is considered to belong to the highest standards of construction, similar to Durham, Fernie, p. 175; Robertus may have been the main architect but this remains conjecture.

[829] Keyser, fig. 58.

[830] A list of these is supplied by Marcel Durliat, *L'Art Roman* (Paris, 1982), pp. 586-9, for example, Accepto, Italian sculptor, c. 1040, who worked for, Gilbertus, and Geoffrey, a sculptor in wood, recorded on the left doorway of the cathedral at Puy as 'Gauzfredus me fecit'.

[831] W. North, 'Ivories, Inscriptions and episcopal self-consciousness in the Ottonian empire', *Gesta*, xlii (2003), pp. 1-8. Inscriptions were important in the Ottonian period, for example, a Byzantine ivory plaque depicting Hodegetria now in the Museum für Spätantiken und Byzantinische Kunst in Berlin', no. 2394.

and Norham after 1150 or another craftsman, Richard of Wolveston (also working c. 1170).[832] Richard, the designer and architect of Norham Castle is mentioned in early sources.[833] Richard of Wolveston may have worked at Bowes Castle for Henry II.[834] The likelihood of his association with the font at Bridekirk is unproven and unlikely as nothing at Norham survives to link this site with the font at Bridekirk. There is, however, a carved stone in the church of St Cuthbert (Norham) which illustrates a stooping figure, now damaged, which has similarities with St John, not so much in style but in type (ill. 101). If this figure belonged to a screen or font from the first Norman church at Norham, its date would be earlier in the century than this named architect and the figure style supports this.

A pre-Conquest sandstone slab has been re-set into the church of St Mary Castlegate (York). The dedication script is mixed Latin and Old English. The text reads: -[…] : M[I]NSTER SET[TON …]ARD GRIM AESE ; O[N NA]MAN DRIHTNES HAE[LGES] CRISTES SCA MA[RI. SC]E[:] MARTINI ; SCE C[…]TI OMNIVM SCOR[VM CONS]ECRATA ; EST ; AN[…]- VIS IN ; VITA ; ET[…] GRIM and AESE are Old English names. This provides another example of the use of inscriptions to record the names related to the building of a church. Three examples on the Isle of Man also illustrate stone inscriptions naming those responsible for the creation of the object.[835] The first is from Braddan Old Church, discovered in 1991. The verb 'kiri', 'made', is unmistakeable and this is preceded by what could be the remains of the signature of the craftsman.[836] Two fragments of cross-slabs, from Andreas and Michael, record in runic script the name of the sculptor, Gaut.[837] This sculptor's influence is apparent on other carvings.

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[832]   J. Harvey, *English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550* (London, (1954), p. 225.

[833]   Reginaldi, *Libellus De Admirandis BeatiCuthberti Virutibus* (reprinted 1835), pp. 94-96.

[834]   J. Harvey, op. cit., p. 301.

[835]   M. Olsen, 'Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, Ireland and the Isle of Man', *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. H. Shetelig (Oslo, 1940-54), pp. 151-233. J.G. Cumming, 'On the Inscribed Stones of the Isle of Man', *Proc. of the Royal Irish Academy* (1853-7), p. 6.

[836]   Page, p. 223.

[837]   Kermode, pp. 15, 26.

There are pieces of stone sculpture which illustrate the use of non-runic scripts in the early twelfth century. Two are found in Ipswich and are, on stylistic grounds, carved by the same sculptor. The relevant feature here is the use of two languages to inscribe the stone, one a lintel, the other a tympanum. The boar tympanum has a Latin inscription around the rim:

'IN DEDICATIONE ECLESIE OMNIUM SANCTORUM', ('At the dedication to the church of All Saints'). The inscription on the lintel, now only legible at the base of the carving, is in Old English and reads:

HER:SCE//MIHAEL;FEHTPID//DANE;DRACA, (Here St Michael fought the dragon.)

The style and iconography of both are Scandinavian. Only one other signature on a font survives at Little Billing where the sculptor's name, Wigbertus, referred to as craftsman and stone mason, dominates the decoration.[838] Perhaps the practice of painting artists' signatures on stone was more common than carving with the loss of the majority of signatures.

Of the approximately eighty runic inscriptions surviving in this country, the iconography covers both pagan and Christian concepts.[839] Over thirty runic crosses survive in the Isle of Man, illustrating episodes from pagan stories, including *Ragnarok*, Odin and Thor.[840] As in the case of the font, the combination of Christian liturgy and heathen ideal are mixed with ease.[841] The Isle of Man runes find parallels in Orkney where the Earl Rognvald was skilled in runes and the composition of poetry.[842] Those found in the Maeshowe site in Orkney are thought to be twelfth-century created within a rich Christian culture, perhaps considered fashionable rather than purely practical, relating to the spoken language.[843] The circumstances may have been similar in the north-west

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[838] F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers* (London, 1908), p. 113.

[839] E. Okasha, *Hand-list of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971); E. Okasha, 'The commissioners, makers and owners of Anglo-Saxon inscriptions', in W. Filmer-Sankey and D. Griffiths, ed. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* (Oxford, 1994), pp. 71-7.

[840] P. Johnson, op. cit., p. 27.

[841] *Ragnarok* was a myth tracing the destiny of the Gods, featuring Odinn, the master- shaman, and the raven. On discovering the runes, he became the god of language, speech and wisdom.

[842] In Iceland and Norway also, reference is made in the literature of the use of runes amongst distinguished men. I owe this information to Richard Oram.

[843] Orkney has the greatest concentration of surviving runes in the British Isles, most found at

where all surviving runes are thought to be late eleventh- or early twelfth-century. They

may have been part of a romantic recreation of the glorious past, a glimpse of the world of

Norse legend, reinforced with a Christian message. The runic gravestone from Kilbarr,

Barra, illustrates perhaps the earliest Norse runes found in Scotland. The runes are

displayed in two columns of the stone; on the other is an interlaced cross the a key and

scroll pattern.[844] This is another example of Norse runes on a Christian object, this time

associated with death and burial. The font runes are used in connection with salvation and

rebirth.

If runes were no longer in daily use as a common feature of stone and painting, it is

surprising that the form of runic lettering on the font is Old Norse, associated with the

Viking period at its heyday, in the ninth and early tenth centuries. It was in general the

'Jaer-type' of script that was transported to the British Isles, a form most commonly found

in the south-western areas of Norway.[845] This is the script associated with the majority of

Isle of Man crosses, although there are several variations within the island, many related to

runes found in northern and western Scotland, for example, the stone at Cunningsburgh

(Shetland).[846] In the Abbey Museum on Iona lies a fragment of a grave-slab found in

1962.[847] The decorative detail is not of particularly high quality and appears to copy a

second stone, also in the Museum. Despite the poor quality of double-ribbon cross and

square interlace, along one border lies a runic inscription. The nature of the runes is

personal and devotive rather than artistic, suggesting the language may be more relevant

where the rune-spelling suggests an early eleventh-century date.[848] These examples

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Maeshowe, dated late eleventh- and twelfth- century. One set of runes scratched on a wall
reads in Germanic runes: 'Ingibjorg, the fair widow. Many a woman has gone stooping in here.
A great show off', P. Johnson, *Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain* (Glastonbury, 2001), p. 28.

[844] The stone is in the National Museum of Scotland. The script reads: 'after Thorgerth, Steinar's daughter, this cross is raised.'

[845] H. Shetelig, (ed.), *Viking Antiquities in Great Britain and Ireland* VI (Oslo, 1954), p. 155.

[846] H, Shetelig, ibid., p. 159, fig. 56. This is thought to represent a grave-slab of the mid-eleventh century.

[847] I. Fisher, *Early Medieval Sculpture in the West Highlands and Islands*, RCAHMS (Edinburgh, (2001), fig. 69. The inscription reads: 'Kali, son of Olvir, laid this stone over Fugl his brother'. The words are separated by small crosses. The runes have been cut by a knife, not the same tool used for the rest of the decoration.

[848] I. Fisher, ibid., p. 130. A second example of runes in commemoration is found on the island of Barra on a fragment of a cross-slab, a stone considered to have counterparts with examples on the Isle of Man. The ring-less type of cross also has links with Govan slabs and stones in Argyllshire but the runes are closer to pure Scandinavian types.

illustrate a persistent use of the Norse language across maritime regions and the combination of the language with Christian stone monuments. These are people of Norse origin who have assumed a Christian faith, at least as far as burial customs are concerned. Runes were also carved on simple objects, or scratched on rock faces, suggesting the use of the script was not confined to educated people, to churchman, artists and patrons. It was also a language of simple people, hermits, perhaps, or travellers or pilgrims.[849] An example of this is found on the Isle of Arran, where a runic inscription belongs to the late thirteenth-century, found in St Molaise's Cave. Seven other runes here are of a twelfth-century date, carved alongside simple crosses. The majority of the runes include a personal name, associated with the carving of the stone.[850] This suggests the runes were carved to record the presence of a person, presumably in the language spoken by these individuals, not necessarily intended for common viewing. What the runic survival from these coastal areas suggests is the continuing usage of the script and language well into the twelfth century.

The runes of the Isle of Man have been extensively studied over the past century and it has been established that the fashion for their use extended from the tenth to the twelfth century. Several types of script are evident, including the use of *ogham*, or tree script, designed to be cut in wood and resembling the trunk and branches of a tree. Recent discussion suggests this language and written script was more widespread than originally imagined. An example was found recently at Selkirk.[851] Two types of script are found at Maughold in the Isle of Man where Norse runes are written alongside oghamic lettering, perhaps for didactic purposes within the church.[852] This didactic purpose is another possible use for the runes on the font, especially if painted inscriptions were also used to complete the story of the object as a whole. If this were the case, it would suggest the village population constituted mainly Norse-speaking people.

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[849] A stone fragment with two runic letters was found in 2007 in a field near Jedburgh, an area where seven hogback tombs have been located with a radius of 15 miles.

[850] I. Fisher, op. cit., pp. 62, 63.

[851] A. Moffat, *The Borders* (Selkirk, 2002), p. 126.

[852] H. Shetelig, op. cit., p. 205.

The Ruthwell Cross and fragments at Dewsbury (West Yorkshire) are inscribed (in the second case on the cross-head and combined with plant scrolls) and there are other carvings, for example, Otley (West Yorkshire), where blank mouldings must have carried painted inscriptions.[853] Readily recognisable Christian iconography and specific formats were adhered to in stone-carving, for example, the Anglo-Saxon practice of showing Christ with a halo. Norse carvings, for example, at Gosforth, introduced variations.[854] The sculptor is, therefore, following a tradition of didactic sculpture, using specific scenes to educate and entertain worshippers as well as enhancing the church environment. Specific programmes were designed and twelfth-century sculptors took advantage of the new surfaces provided by fonts to illustrate their iconography. The use of typology as a way of explanation of scriptural scenes is found in previous carvings, for example, at Masham (North Yorkshire), and if the west face does relate to an Old Testament scene, this juxtaposition with the Baptism conforms to an accepted format of religious explanation.[855]

The font sculptor has dipped into many sources of material and, as in other examples, for example, the Sigurd stones of the Isle of Man, has happily combined combat which may be pagan-based with Christian symbols, the Baptism and the Cross. This compatibility is a striking feature of the font, epitomised by the exuberant beast overshadowing the Baptism beneath. Without painted, explanatory inscriptions it is unclear where the message portrayed by the programme of decoration begins nor is it known how the font was originally sited. Programmes on previous stone crosses are often clearer, with scenes set in clear compartments. The story on monuments such as the Gosforth Cross, illustrating the Norse *Ragnarok* saga, ends in the crucifixion which appears to be the climax of the story.

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[853] *Corpus*, pp. 135, 137. The plant scrolls of the Otley cross are also a feature of Cumbrian carving, for example, a cross-shaft fragment at Penrith (St Andrew). For Dewsbury inscriptions, *Corpus*, pp. 55, 56, 85, 86, W.G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of a pre-Norman Age* (London, 1927), fig. 73.

[854] For the iconography of the Gosforth Cross, see *Corpus*, pp. 100-104.

[855] For Masham, *Corpus*, pp. 17, 20.

The original position of the font is unknown.[856] Due to its relatively small proportions, wherever placed, the carved inscription would be below the height of a standing or kneeling adult. The inscription emphasized the importance of Rikarth, responsible for the stone. The stone used to create the font, by the inscription wording, is given a life of its own. The subject of the sentence could refer to sculptor, Rikarth, rune-master, patron; the stone, however, is the object. 'Hath me made', in other words, the font, the carving, the sand-stone slab from which it is fashioned, is given credence by the formation of the sentence and the use of the pronoun when describing the carving. How such carvings were viewed by the twelfth-century audience of Bridekirk can only be conjectured. The runes reflect a multi-lingual society and patron, an environment at ease with continuing Scandinavian elements at the very heart of their community, the place of worship, the church. It represents a pride of workmanship or of ownership and a sophistication enhanced by the runes and artistically balanced by them. Such inscriptions may have been standard within several churches in the north-west, where Scandinavian traditions thrived.[857] It is impossible to conclude the sculptor of the font, whether Rikarth or another, was not employed on other objects elsewhere in the locality and perhaps beyond. The survival of the font-carving in Cumberland is less surprising if the amount of runic inscriptions elsewhere to the north and north-west is considered. The font at Bridekirk is, however, unusual for its use of the language within the sacrament of baptism, of birth, not death. These more remote areas suffered less from the desecration of buildings and monuments and perhaps it is fair to suggest that Cumberland and Westmorland in the twelfth century had a considerable number of carved inscriptions which have simply disappeared over the centuries. The inscriptions supports the probability that Norman settlers and their continental comrades did not usurp existing traditions and local way of life and speech within the existing communities of the north-west, many of which

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[856] Whellan, p. 285, describes the font inscription facing the south door in 1860.

[857] The excavation programme at Whithorn, begun in 1984, has revealed the probability of a thriving Norse community into the twelfth century, involved in manufacturing raw materials of the region in exchange for imported goods. A fragment remains of a timber church on the site which also proves the strong religious elements of such a community, J. Graham-Campbell and C.E. Batey, *Vikings in Scotland* (Edinburgh 1998), pp. 202-205.

remained strongly Scandinavian in character. The *status quo* was maintained. It seems unlikely that Norman settlers would have learned Norse script, although the popularity of romantic tales and accounts of marvellous deeds centred on Carlisle through the century welcomed Norse sagas. The runes and signature reflect a multi-lingual society and an environment at ease with continuing Scandinavian elements at the heart of their community, the church. The inscription represents a pride of workmanship and ownership, specifying the background of the sculptor, patron and congregation and the object is enhanced by the inscription and artistically balanced by it.

vii) **Conclusion and date**

In conclusion, the carving on the font at Bridekirk incorporates several threads of artistic tradition across its surface. It also looks to the future in the attempt at realistic portrayal of figures and drapery and dramatic gesture and stance. The runic inscription represents a rare insight into a society bound by Scandinavian language and tradition, still widespread across the region and south-west Scotland. The almost complete loss of wooden churches and artefacts has denied the art historian a bank of knowledge about these people. Norse literature, however, remained as popular as ever and the concept of the hero and the evil one were an integral part of contemporary thinking, along with the devotion to God and the significance of liturgy and eucharist in daily life. As has been illustrated, the use of runes on objects combining both pagan and Christian associations was common. The portrait of the sculptor, Rikarth, along with this inscription proclaiming his own importance, underlines a humanist attitude co-existing with heathen traditions and Christ's teachings.

The style of the seven figures and the drapery of the centaur and narrative face figures in particular provide the strongest clue to the font's date. In the opinion of this writer, through stylistic comparisons and taking the historical circumstances into consideration, the carving belongs to the third decade of the century, a period of flourishing, innovative

and eclectic art across the north-west. The style and content correspond to the emerging trends of this time, although identifying any single influence on its style and purpose is misleading. The figure types are found in manuscripts produced during these years, at Canterbury, St Albans and elsewhere, mirrored in other arts, metalwork and ivories. The decoration of the font is part of the vigorous development of stone sculpture which began with the capitals from the crypt at Canterbury and linked to metalwork such as the Gloucester candlestick and related manuscripts. The whole carving represents a fusion of a variety of elements drawn from many sources which coincided with the blossoming of a new culture in the region around Carlisle after the Normans established their way of life among the traditional aspects of society in the region. The love of inhabited scroll and decorative imagery found across the media and on the font is still apparent at Lincoln as late as 1140 but here a change is also witnessed in the increasing plastic qualities of the figures and the solemnity of the decoration, perhaps inspired by St Denis and the Île de France movement towards the dominance of the figure in sculpture.

The font may belong to the decade when the priory buildings in Carlisle were being constructed and the cathedral crossing and nave were already completed. The inscription face illustrates two scallop capitals beneath the two ends of the inscription which correspond closely to those of the crossing at Carlisle. Assuming the building was begun at the east end, the crossing may have been under way by about 1120. After 1122, when the priory buildings were begun, it is possibly a large part of the original cathedral fabric was in place. The leaf motifs of the loose capital and the reconstructed north doorway and the circular motifs on this doorway both appear on the font, suggesting a similar date for the cathedral crossing, the priory buildings and the font. The runic inscription found on the west wall of the south transept during the excavations of 1855, like the font, underlines the continuing use of the runic language and Norse society into the twelfth century and is another connection between the two sites.[858]

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[858] Page, p. 12.

Of the Bewcastle Cross is has been said that every scene represents a particular relationship between a figure, either human or divine, and the animal and bird world.[859] This description could also apply to the imagery and runic inscription on the font. Elements of Christianity merged with folklore and popular belief with an ease which is deceptive in its simplicity. Norse and Norman, conservative and precocious, the font provided its early twelfth-century audience with a feast of complex imagery and colourful pattern, illustrating a message which has been eroded through time. For the contemporary art historian, however, it is a fortunate survival as a piece of the finest stone sculpture remaining in the country.

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[859] *A-S.C.*, p. 69.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SCULPTURED DOORWAYS AT ST BEES, KIRKBAMPTON, GREAT SALKELD AND TORPENHOW

Introduction

i) Sites

ii) Style, content and comparative material

iii) Sources

iv) Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the sculpture of four sites: the west doorway at St Bees (Sts Mary and Bega); the south doorways at Torpenhow and Great Salkeld (St Michael and St Kentigern) and the north doorway at Kirkbampton (St Peter) (Cat. 23, 24, 16, 18). These four sites have been selected as they are surviving examples of ornate doorways, carved with a variety of decoration which, through stylistic analysis with comparative material, belong within the second quarter of the twelfth-century. The carvings illustrate the development of the art of stone sculpture and how, when applied to buildings, it reflects the changes in society during this period. The form and content of these doorways raise questions of influence on sculpture and how these influences were disseminated. The transmission of ideas and the sources and influences on the content of the carvings are examined, using examples from sculpture elsewhere, particularly doorway carvings. The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate that, by c. 1120, sculptural ideas and techniques introduced by the Normans had permeated throughout the region and decorated doorways

followed sculptural trends while also adhering to traditional themes illustrated, for example, by free-standing stone crosses, a number of which survive intact.[860]

Following a summary of the religious and practical significance of doorways, the sites and surviving documentary evidence related to them are described. Detailed descriptions of the doorways are found in the Catalogue. Carved details and motifs are discussed to establish possible dates for the sculpture, placing the doorways in the development of stone-carving in the early twelfth century. Comparisons with pre-Norman carving and twelfth-century sculptured doorways in the north-west and elsewhere, in England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland, are discussed. The questions raised by the discussion are how far traditional ideas and patterns were still used and whether there is enough evidence to suggest direct links with other sites. In conclusion, the similarities with contemporary stone sculpture place the doorways in the development of church decoration during the early part of the twelfth century.

Little has been written about these doorways. Whellan makes no comment about the sculpture at St Bees but assigns a date of about 1150 for the doorway.[861] Pevsner dates the St Bees doorway to about 1160 and links it to Yorkshire doorways of similar design.[862] The lack of historical comment is unfortunate as the erosion suffered by the soft sandstone has seen a marked deterioration of the carving in recent years and many details have now disappeared (ill. 106). The doorways at Kirkbampton, Torpenhow and Great Salkeld have received scant comment from historians although all are mentioned by Pevsner who regards the sculpture at Torpenhow as 'crude and barbaric'.[863]

The embellishment of doorways represents one of the most striking features of sculptured decoration of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries. The tradition is also

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[860] Those at Ruthwell and Gosforth illustrate the relationship between sculpture and architecture in the design and lay-out of their narrative scenes, *Corpus*, pp. 100-104 for Gosforth cross; Ills. 628-7 for Ruthwell cross; in Anglo-Saxon architecture also, there is evidence of the decoration of facades and door openings, with panels and strips, for example, Monkwearmouth from the seventh and eighth centuries and Breedon from the ninth, and recent excavations at Winchester have revealed how much has been lost, H. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 Vols (Cambridge, 1965-78), for all decorative features.

[861] Whellan, p. 478.

[862] Pevsner, p. 183; M. Thurlby, BAA Conference paper (Carlisle, July 2002).

[863] Pevsner, pp. 193, 4.

common in early medieval periods and examples survive where the decoration of doorways is profuse, often with a combination of knotwork and dragonesque patterns, perhaps to ward off evil influences. An English example survives on a doorway from the church at Monkwearmonth, constructed in 674 by Abbot Benedict Biscop.[864] In the twelfth century, surviving portals of France and Italy illustrate detailed patterns and narratives displayed on doorway tympana and capitals: doorways at Ely, Malmesbury and Kilpeck are just three English examples of similar ornament. In cathedrals and village churches across the Norman kingdom, the practice of decorating doorways became widespread. In the north-west, too, doorways were decorated with a variety of traditional patterns and contemporary motifs: heads; beak-heads; chevron and other patterns, on orders, capitals and tympana. What survives is just a fraction of the original array of decoration.[865]

Doorways were significant as points of entry into a sacred space where redemption and salvation could be acquired. Whether symbols of their faith, or for practical matters such as the sealing of marriage vows, they were considered as entrances into a sacred realm. Wedded couples are depicted in later art pronouncing their vows beneath carved archways.[866] Doorways provided entrances to holy places and, in biblical terms, the open door is a symbol of the Christ.[867] In the rural churches of the north-west, the frequent use of three doorways on small churches suggest different access for different community members. North and south doorways existed, for example, at Cross Canonby (St John). In other examples (Kirkbampton and Isel), the doorway on the south side of the chancel probably was reserved for religious personnel. At Long Marton, Bolton and Caldbeck, the original churches had three doorways, including west doorways leading into the tower. Chancel arches were also decorated as entrances into hallowed space, for example, at

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[864] R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England,* County Durham and Northumberland (Oxford, 1984), pp. 125-6, figs. 612-3, 616-7.

[865] A single capital at Dalston or a beak-head at Cross Canonby suggest the original churches were decorated. Many other sites have lost all trace of carving.

[866] Robert Campin's painting in the Prado, for example, where a twelfth-century arch is depicted. This practice may have been widespread.

[867] 'I am the door. Anyone who enters through me will be saved', John 19, v. 9.

Torpenhow and Kirkbampton (ills. 91, 122). In some cases, for example, Torpenhow, doorway decoration and chancel arches are linked by specific decorative motifs. Where plain doorways survive, chancels are also undecorated (Kirkbride, Ormside or Upper Denton). In other cases, for example, Bridekirk, the doorway and chancel arch decoration are unrelated and possibly reflect a different date or patron, or a specific symbolical aim for each part of the church. Entrances to secular buildings, castles and halls, were also decorated and there are examples of secular architecture adorned with detail, recalling perhaps the idea of the Triumphal Arches of classical times.[868] In the north-west, the gatehouse at Egremont was ornamented and surviving base spurs are found in Carlisle cathedral and several other sites (ill. 74).[869] The significance of doorways, religious or secular, may have been practical, for example, the resolving of legal disputes and conflicts and dispensing judgements. There are several references to arbitration undertaken in church doorways which perhaps accounts for the popularity of carved representations of conflict above.[870] Colour used on stone, now lost, was perhaps significant in relation to the function of a specific doorway.[871] There are examples of surviving red pigment on doorways and chancel arches.[872] The doorways discussed here were never intended to be isolated from the whole building. They were part of a whole exterior and interior plan, much of which would have been painted. Without the original physical and intellectual context, the language of the doorway decoration and its function in relation to the whole church is now largely lost. Markets still exist today in front of churches and trade agreements and bartering took place. The frequent surrounding of doorways with zodiac signs and cycles of the months convey a sense of relationship with a rural population.[873]

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[868] Fernie, p. 21, fig. 21, Exeter gatehouse; several doorways are decorated with paired lions symbolising power, exemplified at Ferrara Cathedral, in the reconstructed Porta dei Mesi, and these lions were often connected with the throne of Solomon, the Old Testament judge.

[869] Isel, Bridekirk, Warwick-on-Eden. Wetheral and St Bees also had gatehouses, now lost.

[870] In Spain, court sessions in church doorways persist to this day, for example, 'in galilea', Pérrecy-les-Forges, 1108.

[871] Roger of Helmashausen describes the decoration of red doors which may have been common in the dispensing of justice *Schedula Diversa Artium,* Roger of Helmashausen (1110-1140).

[872] Traces are visible on the left jamb of the third order of the chancel arch Foston (Lincolnshire, St Peter), Pevsner, p. 284.

[873] For example, Kilpeck (Herefordshire) and Iffley (Oxfordshire), E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 167, fig. 146 for Iffley; Thurlby, p. 49, fig. 33 for

Official measurements of length, weight and time were perhaps available in porches and

portals and the number of surviving sundials in church entrances (Isel) suggest a 'common

clock' for the settlement. These criteria are how the following doorways should be seen:

places of commitment, judgement, discussion and devotion and as statements of wealth

and status in a growing society.

i) **Sites**

The church at St Bees, dedicated to St Mary and St Bega, survives, in part, from the

Benedictine Priory founded not earlier than 1120 by William le Meschin. The church has

been considerably altered and enlarged since its foundation (Cat. 23).[874] The priory

buildings have disappeared but the remains of the first priory church are evident in parts of

the south and west wall, north transept wall and north chancel wall.[875] An engraving of

1747 illustrates the western gatehouse, of which no trace now remains.[876] The vaulted

gatehouse at nearby Egremont survives, similar in design, suggesting the possibility that

the same workshops worked on both secular and religious buildings.[877] Other twelfth-

century sculptural features are two label-stops in the nave, the corbel-table of twenty-four

heads along the chancel north side and remnants of string-course on the north side of the

church (ills. 105, 118, 119, 120). An engraving illustrates an elaborate north doorway of

two orders.[878] A south door also led into the monastic buildings.[879] Through stylistic

comparisons, the present west doorway appears to belong to the first priory church, begun

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Kilpeck.

[874] Perriam and Robinson, p. 102, for illustration of c. 1825 by J. Farrington; Curwen, pp. 134-7, gives
a brief chronology with illustrations but no plan; C.A. Parker, 'The Gosforth District', *CW2* Extra Series
xv (1926), 2nd edn., revised by W.G. Collingwood.

[875] Whellan, p. 428; *VCH*, II, pp. 179-181.

[876] Perriam and Robinson, p. 98.

[877] Illustrations by King, (1665), etching by J. Farrington, c. 1825, engraving by T. Fielding, c. 1822.

[878] Perriam and Robinson, p. 98, illustrates an etching of 1774 from the north-west of the church
with a tower; F. Grose, *The Antiquities of England and Wales*, 8 Vols. (London, 1773).

[879] Dugdale, p. 576. The lintel-stone was discovered near this doorway. Several stones were discovered
on a building site in the village which may have belonged to this doorway, carved with a chevron
pattern. They were unfortunately not catalogued and have since disappeared.

after 1120 (ill. 106). The main door was the imposing entrance, facing those who entered

gatehouse in the western wall of the priory.

The parish of Torpenhow lies south of the River Ellen, between Plumbland, Isel and

Ireby, and includes four townships (Cat. 24, Map 3). The manor of Torpenhow in

Allerdale was granted to Uchtred, son of Fergus of Galloway, in the 1140s, by Alan, son

of Waltheof of Allerdale, including reference to homage, cornage and other demands,

although the church is not mentioned.[880] From the evidence of the original plan and

sculpture, the building belongs to the early part of the twelfth century, when Waltheof was

Lord of Allerdale (until his death in 1138). From the popularity of St Michael across the

region, it is possible this dedication belongs to this period, although no mention is made

before 1319.[881] The original plan of the present church was a simple two-cell building

with a rectangular, aisleless nave separated by a chancel arch from the raised square

chancel. The chancel has been lengthened eastwards and two aisles added. The

dimensions of the chancel are identical to those at Bridekirk, where the ruined square

chancel still remains (ill. 13). There may have been a tower at the west end of the church

although now only a bell-cote remains. A photograph in the nave at Bridekrik, taken in

the mid-nineteenth century, shows a tower at the west end of the original church. The date

of the tower is unknown but it is possible that a similar feature existed at Torpenhow. The

thick walls and splayed windows at Torpenhow are found at Isel, where much of the

original church survives, including a north window similar to the surviving example at

Torpenhow (ill. 122). The stones used may have come from the Roman Camp of Petriana,

or Old Carlisle.[882] The piscina stone in the south wall of the chancel at Torpenhow may be

an original Roman stone although it is close to a design on the font at Bridekirk (ills. 126,

30).

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[880] Whellan, p. 255.
[881] There are twenty-seven dedications to the saint; for the significance of St Michael in the Eden Valley, Phythian-Adams, p. 97.
[882] Roman stones are evident in the fabric of several buildings, Cross Canonby, Bowness-on-Solway, Beaumont, Kirkbride and others.

The parish of Great Salkeld lies in Leath Ward, part of the county of Cumberland, bounded on the west by Allerdale-below-Derwent, south by Westmorland and east by the county of Durham (Cat. 16). Great Salkeld lies just west of the River Eden, on the boundary of what was once royal forest (Map 2).[883] The name Salkeld appears to combine O.E. *salig* or *salh*, meaning willow and the Old Norse word for spring or small river, *kelda*, and the village lies on sandstone with several springs nearby due to the rock formation.[884] On the opposite bank, Little Salkeld was once part of the parish of Addingham (Map 1). From the lay-out of the two villages and the division by the river, it is possible these settlements, originally Norse in origin, were laid out by the Normans as two planned villages.[885] The settlement which developed into the parish lay on the line of castles leading south-east from Carlisle possibly constructed by Ranulf le Meschin, including Bowes, Brough and Appleby.[886] The tower added to the church in the thirteenth century may have replaced an earlier one, bearing witness to the continuing need for defence along this route.[887] As early as 1120, mention is made in the Wetheral Charter of tithes at Salkeld, gifted to the Priory by Ranulf le Meschin.[888] A second gift of these two churches includes estates in Westmorland, Great Salkeld and Maulds Meaburn.[889] The church lies to the north-east of the village overlooking the Eden valley and is constructed of red Lazonby sandstone, quarried from the immediate area (ill. 77, Map 7).

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[883] Phythian-Adams, pp. 41-42; p. 40 for map of the area of forest between the Solway and the River Eamont, illustrating Great Salkeld on the eastern boundary of the Forest of Carlisle.

[884] Several local names derive from Anglian or Norse language, for example, Easy Foot, or *Fit*, Norse for clay meadow. Others are associated with the historical connection with the royal forest, for example, farms called Inglewood and Hindwell Close.

[885] Another example of village planning is found at St John and St Bridget Beckermet, Copeland.

[886] The castle at Burton-in-Lonsdale is linked with Ivo de Taillebois. It was in the king's custody in 1129, R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', *CW2* xxi (2005), p. 49, n. 127; also, n. 90 for Ivo de Taillebois.

[887] Other similar towers survive or are recorded in drawings, for example, at Scaleby, although the rest of the church is eighteenth century, Perriam and Robinson, p. 85; see also, T.H.B. Graham, 'The Manor of Scaleby', *CW2*, xxi (2005), pp. 398-413.

[888] Ranulf's territory clearly encompassed this settlement, close to the Eden, to Carlisle, Wetheral, Warwick-on-Eden and Appleby. The castle at Appleby is mentioned in a deed of the gift of the 'church of St Michael and the church of St Lawrence of my castle of Appleby' to St Mary's Abbey, *Wetheral*, pp. 13-14, no. 4. These buildings have been associated with the expedition of 1092 but this is unproven, W.D. Simpson, 'Brough under Stainmore. The castle and the church', *CW2* xlvi (1946), pp. 223-83, and 'The town and castle of Appleby. A morphological study', *CW2* xlix (1950), pp. 118-33. Other authors suggest Ranulf built the castle at Appleby and, if so, the church at Great Salkeld could also have been under his patronage, Summerson, p. 21; Kapelle, p. 206; D.F. Renn, *Norman Castle in Britain* (London, 1968), pp. 118-20.

[889] *Wetheral*, pp. 13-14. The two documents are witnessed by the same names.

The parish of Kirkbampton includes Bampton Great, Bampton Little and Oughterby.[890] The church at Kirkbampton (St Peter) is a small two-cell building on a low hill in the centre of the modern village (ill. 89). The main entrance in to the church lies unusually on the north side although there is evidence a south doorway once existed, now blocked. Nothing is known of the foundation of the church but the proximity to Carlisle and profusion of carving indicates a wealthy patron.[891] The north doorway faced the original settlement and suggests the Norman church may have been built on the site of an earlier building.

ii) **Style, content and comparative material**

Detailed descriptions of the sculpture of the four doorways are in the Catalogue. The sculptural content is varied and there is no evidence for common workshops although there are isolated features in common, for example, the chevron ornament. The west doorway of St Bees, despite its increasingly weathered state illustrates an array of pattern and an expertise of carving which befits its size and position on the west front of a large building. The south doorway at Torpenhow survives as one of the most intriguing doorways from this period and, once again, the standard of carving is high (ill. 125). These carvings at Torpenhow are now protected by a porch, as are the doorways at Kirkbampton and Great Salkeld, where the sculpture illustrates an individual style and unusual iconography. The carved features at Great Salkeld suggest a more rustic technique by the sculptors (ill. 78). The detail at Kirkbampton is weathered and difficult to decipher, especially over the tympanum but, clearly, the doorway was carved with pride and some degree of talent as the subject is unusual and the decorative detail varied and balanced (ill. 89).

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[890] Whellan, p. 172. The parish lies between Burgh-by-Sands, Aikton, Bowness-on-Solway and Orton. The first recorded owner was Hildred of Carlisle, see Appendix iv.

[891] Whellan, p. 173. The author describes the church as 'an ancient structure, the great arch and doorway of which are in the Saxon style'.

This section considers the style and content of the stone decoration of the doorways and introduces comparative examples in the north-west and beyond: England, Wales, Ireland, Scotland and France. The doorways are inextricably linked to the architecture of the buildings. In all four cases, they are set within original twelfth-century walls, evident from the masonry surrounding them. The loss of interior decoration and furniture detracts from the overall scheme but, nevertheless, the carvings portray a sense of pride in the building and its decoration. Several motifs are repeated across the doorways and these can be compared with examples elsewhere to establish a clearer idea of date and movement of ideas, patterns and techniques to the north-west from other regions. The differences in style and content suggest there was no direct connection between the sculptors and different workshops were used on different sites. The features in common, however, identify a common language available to mason and sculptor. These new patterns reflect the increasing demand for fashionable sculptural decoration. Features such as chevron, the introduction of several orders, decorative capitals and carved heads are common to the four sites. The differences between the doors underline the importance of the role played by individual patron, designer, mason or sculptor.

The first motif in common is chevron, used throughout the twelfth century in all regions and particularly popular in the decoration of doorways.[892] Its origins are linked to the incoming Norman government and coincide with the crusading movement. The date of its first appearance on a window at Chepstow Castle in the 1070s is now disputed and probably belongs to the early twelfth century.[893] The use of this popular and easily applied motif spread rapidly across the country and, by 1120, chevron is found in the larger buildings of Durham, Dunfermline and Carlisle where the original door of the north nave aisle, replaced in 1813, was decorated with this motif.[894] There are links between Chepstow Castle, Carlisle and other northern sites, including the lost St Mary's Abbey.[895] It is found across the country as decoration on doorways of parish churches and monastic

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[892] Its sources and development has been examined by several scholars, A. Borg, op. cit., p. 132.
[893] Thurlby, p. 38.
[894] D.W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral History* (Carlisle, 2000), p. 23.
[895] Thurlby, p. 18, fig. 22.

buildings, throughout England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland. As a sculptural motif and

design feature, it was popular with patrons and artisans alike. The employment of this

ubiquitous motif on the four doorways is evidence of the use of contemporary fashion in

the north-west and provides further examples of the pattern's versatility.[896]

Simplicity and lack of sophistication do not indicate an earlier date. When considering

the chevron ornament, therefore, of these doorways, the comparative complexity of the

design at Torpenhow does not imply a later date than, for example, the rather crude

application at Kirkbampton. The chevron at Great Salkeld is unusual in its uneven

application to the doorway and no comparisons survive in the north-west (ill. 78). When

compared with St Bees or Torpenhow, these carvings illustrate a cruder interpretation of

the motif. Although the features of the heads on this doorway are rustic in nature, the

sculptor's skill is evident in chevron application. At Torpenhow, Kirkbampton and Great

Salkeld, the doorways are set in original walls constructed in the second or third decades

of the twelfth century. The earliest examples of chevron which formed a lozenge pattern

were popular by the second quarter of the twelfth century.[897] The appearance of this type

of application at St Bees, Torpenhow and Great Salkeld illustrates builders of the north-

west were aware of sculptural developments in the south through the transmission of ideas

and workforces.

The lozenge-shaped pattern on the inner arches and the vertical diamond motif on the

corner of the west capital adjacent to the door of Great Salkeld are found on the capital on

the north of the St Bees doorway (ills. 81, 107). This type also occurs on the Kirk

Yetholm fragments and on the south door at Dunfermline Abbey.[898] The added detail

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[896] A. Borg, op. cit., p. 130. He also follows its development from a two-dimensional motif, perhaps derived from painted decoration into a three-dimensional sculptural design, dividing the pattern into six basic types, from the simple design which could best be described as zig-zag, to free-standing chevron. Borg uses examples primarily from Oxfordshire where up to one-third of all surviving Romanesque churches use chevron design within their stone decoration. The motif is found frequently in contemporary and earlier manuscripts as an architectural decoration and as a pattern in its own right, illustrating linear and plastic qualities. It is used as a symbol also, for example, in the Beatus manuscripts, representing the second coming of Christ.

[897] For example, Fritwell, A. Borg, op. cit., pl. XV.

[898] The abbey was founded in 1128 by David I and consecrated in 1150. The surviving doorways probably belong within these dates, N. Cameron, 'Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews', (ed. J. Higgitt), *BAACT* xiv (1994), for detailed discussion of this doorway, Pls. XXII A,B.

within the lozenge form at Great Salkeld is indicative of an individual application of a standard format, whether instigated by patron or craftsman. The embossed cross on the lowest voussoir of the left-hand side of the door may have had a function within the overall scheme. The lozenge above is divided in half by a vertical ridge and the one above this is plain. On the opposite side, the lower one contains a unique pattern of two crosses set in squares, with the two lozenges above once again illustrating the vertical line. The intricacy of carving compared to the solid stones at Torpenhow does not imply a later date. The overall design and some detail at Torpenhow and Great Salkeld have similarities but are not close enough to suggest common patronage or workmanship.

The chevron at St Bees has many counterparts implying the workshop decorating the west front and perhaps the lost north door were well versed in sculptural developments elsewhere (ill. 106). The type of chevron at St Bees is similar to several other major sites, for example, Carlisle, Old Sarum Cathedral and Reading Abbey.[899] The similarities between the corbel-table heads and those at Carlisle indicate possible links between the sites which is to be expected as both buildings were under construction simultaneously.[900] The building and its decoration at Old Sarum under the direction of Bishop Roger had an enormous impact across the West Country and into Wales.[901] Direct connections are unproven and no documentary evidence links these sites, but similarities support the inspiration of patrons, the possible use of pattern books and the movement of sculptors between major sites.[902] The significance of William le Meschin and the foundation's association with St Mary's Abbey established St Bees' importance in the area, close to the castle at Egremont and with satellite churches and chapels across Copeland.[903] The

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The Yetholm fragments are located in the vicarage garden in Kirk Yetholm.

[899] At Old Sarum and Reading, the survival of beak-heads suggests these were combined with chevron ornament in doorways as found at St Bees and Caldbeck. There are no beak-heads surviving from Carlisle but chevron decorated the original south doorway of the south transept, D.W.V. Weston, *Carlisle Cathedral* (Wigton, 2000), pp. 11, 23.

[900] If the earlier date for Carlisle's priory is accepted, the buildings would have been well underway by 1120 and the possible date for the start of William's priory.

[901] M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2005), pp. 220, 221, 222, 225, 335, 337.

[902] Close links are found between Old Sarum and, for example, sculpture at Kilpeck, Thurlby, p. 31, where corbel-heads probably followed the same models.

[903] *St Bees*, p. 1.

cloister of Reading Abbey was richly decorated with beaded chevron arches, as the surviving fragments illustrate.[904] Although it is not possible to link this building with St Bees through documentation, the use of chevron at St Bees along with other Reading features such as foliate and figural capitals and beak-head design suggest William le Meschin was keen to emulate current trends. The chevron at St Bees is set radially from the centre of the doorway with voussoirs of varying widths (ill. 110). The loss of original doorways at Carlisle and Wetheral has removed possible sources of inspiration for St Bees.[905]

There are several sites with comparative chevron in the north-west and numerous buildings have disappeared which may also have illustrated these doorways. At Bridekirk, the two doorways reset in the south porch and the south transept east wall display similar radial chevron although the stones are narrow and topped with a double billet-hood with double-scallop capitals below (ills. 14, 18, Cat. 5). At Isel (St Michael), the south doorway of two orders comprises radial voussoirs decorated with chevron, similar to St Bees, but set underneath the angle roll-moulding and the inner order has chevron in the arch set above plain jambs (ill. 87). Isel and Bridekirk are linked to the cathedral in Carlisle through base spurs beneath the chancel arches (ills. 15, 88). The chevron type is also close to the ornament of the south doorway of St Andrew, Corbridge (Northumberland), also linked to Carlisle.[906] The chevron in the clerestory at Carlisle is, however, of a more shallow type close to the example at Aspatria (St Kentigern) where an arch with chevron has been rebuilt into the vestry wall (ill. 1, Cat. 1). This decoration may have belonged to the chancel arch, similar to Torpenhow, as the stones are unweathered. This church was gifted to Carlisle.[907] The fragments from Cumrew suggest a doorway

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[904] *ERA*, p. 170.

[905] Perriam and Robinson, p. 223, for illustration of gatehouse.

[906] In 1122, Henry I granted churches of Newcastle, Rothbury, Newburn, Warkworth and Corbridge (St Andrew) to the monastery at Carlisle. Part of the church at Corbridge was built from Roman stone from the nearby Roman site of Corstopitum. The arch between the tower and the nave, also found at Morland and Caldbeck, was a complete Roman arch. As at Morland, the tower at Corbridge may be pre-Conquest.

[907] R.K. Rose, 'Cumbrian Society and the Anglo-Norman Church', in S. Mews, (ed.), *Religion and National Identity: Studies in Church History* 18 (Oxford, 1982), p. 129.

once rich in chevron and saltire cross decoration (ills. 67, 68).[908] Nothing survives of the original church but, in comparison with other buildings, for example, Long Marton, there may have been three doorways (ill. 98). At Morland, lengths of radial chevron which may have also belonged to a chancel arch are placed above two windows on the interior of the wall (ill. 100, Cat. 19). The tower has a row of corbels around the base similar to the type found at St Bees (ill. 99). Chevron is also found on the west portal at Kirkby Lonsdale (St Mary) where the inner order corresponds to early work at Durham (before 1128).[909]

Chevron at Torpenhow is given prominence on both the south doorway and chancel arch where similar style and content suggest the same craftsmen were employed (ills. 122, 124, Cat. 23). Traces of a lost north doorway are visible from the church interior and suggest another doorway which may have been decorated as was the case at St Bees.[910] The chevron at Torpenhow is applied to inner and outer sides of the order above the south doorway, formed of fairly uniform-sized voussoirs (ill. 125). The outer lines of the patterns are shallow, with V-shapes pointing outwards to the second order of cable moulding. The pattern on the inside of the arch is cut more deeply with lozenge shapes set uniformly around the arch (ill. 127). Both St Bees sandstone and pale limestone are used, suggesting the doorway was originally painted.[911] The capitals of two orders of the south doorway are undecorated and may also have originally been decorated with painted patterns. The chevron above the chancel arch is more plastic and the style of carving suggests the same sculptors were employed. The identical dimensions of the chancels at Torpenhow and Bridekirk are not supported by similar sculpture, suggesting the masons and sculptors employed on these churches were working independently. The two fonts at

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[908] Perriam and Robinson, p. 146 for reconstruction of doorway.

[909] M. Thurlby, 'The Roles of Master Patron and the Master Mason in the first design of Durham Cathedral', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason et al (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 161-184, pl. 22. See also, K. Galbraith, *Notes on Sculpture at Durham*, unpublished BAA paper for Durham (March, 1977), pp. 11-12. See also, H.P. Maguire, 'A Twelfth-Century Workshop in Northampton', *Gesta* IX (1970), pp. 11-25.

[910] Perriam and Robinson, p. 98, after Grose.

[911] Comparisons in chevron type are found in Scotland. At Dunfermline, on the south doorway, double chevron motifs are divided by a row of lozenges with raised crosses within each shape, similar to those found at Great Salkeld. Similar chevron patterns are found on fragments at Kirk Yetholm in Roxburghshire although the carving is less plastic in style.

Torpenhow and Bridekirk, although no documents prove these were originally carved for these two sites, are also different in form, style and content. Due to the destruction of churches in the immediate surrounds, it cannot be assumed this group of sculptors did not work elsewhere, but it is worth noting that architectural similarities do not imply sculptural ones. The chevron type over the south door at Bridekirk is close to Great Salkeld in its plain form, uneven voussoir widths and use of both light and dark stone (ills. 14, 78). The complexity of pattern found at Torpenhow is not repeated here.

The heads of the doorway and the capitals of the chancel arch at Torpenhow relate to other sites.[912] Sculptors followed lively character types for heads, whether from drawings or other representations, in silk or tapestry. These heads and the three surviving in the nave are similar to those on the south doorway at Torpenhow, here forming ends of the outer order (ill. 128). One horse-head at St Bees is particularly close to the Torpenhow examples, with the tear-drop eyes, long snouts and bridled nose (ill. 105).[913] The stark expression and geometrical formation of the heads at St Bees and Torpenhow contrast with the mellow figures on the font at Bridekirk or the characteresque facial types at Great Salkeld.

At St Bees, the decoration of the capitals is a striking combination of profuse detail running over the surface combined with an adherence to capital shapes beneath and the abaci above (ills. 115, 116). Despite the ornament, however, a tight control has been maintained on the architectural definition. The flowing style and balanced compositions are distinctive despite the eroded nature of much of the stone and it seems probable that one hand was employed. The scheme appears to have been designed and executed as a composite whole and the sculptor has produced an array of decoration which not only runs

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[912] The label-stop at St Bees and the head at Morland to the right of the south doorway are of the same type.

[913] Western France has a number of sites where these heads are carved, above doorways and as corbels. Some remain *in situ*, for example, on the tympanum at Beaulieu. A collection belongs to the Fogg Museum and comprises a variety of heads and horse-heads close to St Bees and Torpenhow. Thought to have come from Saint-Raphael (near Excideuil) these well preserved carvings provide important comparisons. Still evident on one head's mouth, ear and nostril are traces of bright pink polychromy, suggesting the original sculpture was vividly coloured, F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', *JBAA*, 3rd ser., xx-xxi (1957-8), pp. 1-34 (reprinted in G. Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1979), vi, pp. 1-35.

across the horizontal line of the capitals across the doorway, but which clearly emphasizes the individual parts of each order (ill. 107). The capitals retain their shape and sculptural space but are connected by decorative details of foliate scrolls and leaves, providing a balanced overall scheme. The neckings and abaci also have been carved, although only remnants of this decoration remain (ills. 111, 112). The cable design on the necking to the left of the doorway and the indistinct saltire pattern on the abacus above are testament to the profusion of pattern that originally existed (ills. 109, 110). The details at St Bees have been etched in high relief with distinctive outlines and design. This is clear from, for example, the capital adjacent to the south of the doorway where the two circular motifs are still apparent (ill. 108). Carved in high relief, the surface detail is visible. A variety of shapes have been used to convey this sense of space and design: circles, triangles, diagonals. This is apparent on the capital to the north of the door where the division between the cushion shape of the capital is clearly outlined by a vertical triangle of a pointed leaf (ill. 107). The leaf has a central vein which runs vertically to a point, coinciding with two cushion outlines, from right to left. The circular outlines to the cushions and scrolled foliage beneath provide a clear and impressive contrast to sharp, clear lines of the triangle between. A similar design is found on one of the surviving capitals, considered from the lost priory at Carlisle (ill. 51).[914] The survival of surface decoration on this capital suggests the entire surface was originally highlighted with delicate detail. The small panel on the outer capital south of the doorway, set in a cable frame, departs from the unity of the other capitals, but is in its original position (ill. 112). The picture is set apart by its frame but functions as a capital above the southernmost shaft. The small frontal figure with huge arms and monkey-like creature are differentiated from the rest of the design, not only by the sculptured 'picture' frame, but also by the figural aspect of this motif.[915] The carving, however, is in a similar style, the figures raised from the ground with a sense of movement and design found across the doorway.

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[914] I owe this information to Professor Eric Fernie.
[915] There are similar figures at Cliburn and Bolton.

The capitals at St Bees and Great Salkeld are linked not by style but by the inclusion of lively detail, running figures and foliage. The details of capitals and heads at St Bees suggest the original condition has been considerably muted by erosion.

The doorway capitals at Torpenhow (Cat. 24) are plain and undecorated although the outer order is terminated by two heads on both sides of the doorway, a feature found elsewhere, for example, at Morland (Cat. 20). It is, however, the chancel arch capitals that provide a unique and striking example of the skill and character of the craftsmen and patron. The south capital of pale sandstone is square decorated with human and animal figures, standing and staring across the space beneath the arch (ill. 130). The north capital is octagonal, carved in darker red St Bees sandstone and illustrates intertwined and struggling figures, perhaps symbolising the entry to hell (ill. 131). The capital above the north-west nave pier also illustrates similar figures, carved by the same hand (ill. 123).

The capitals at Great Salkeld relate to the more weathered examples at St Bees in the running decoration and profuse detail (ill. 78, Cat. 16). The style, however, is flatter with detail etched rather than moulded. Despite the exuberant detail, the format and content of each capital surface has been clearly devised and the figures, creatures and human heads used in the design are set neatly within their own space. The right-hand side of the doorway contains three capital carvings of very different content (ill. 84). The inner capital with the array of human heads recalls the south capital of the chancel arch at Torpenhow (ill. 131). Each head, although more cartoon than portrait, is defined and set in a raised circle. Between this design and middle capital of the entwined serpent is a flat surface which may have been painted (ill. 82). The serpent scene is carved deeply from behind and the serpent form is round and fleshy, curving into the space with a sinuous twist. The outer capital on this side with the dragon head, jaws open, chewing its tail behind, is flatter and could almost have been carved by a different hand (ill. 83). The details on the dragon have more in common with the Bridekirk font creatures, with flat, raised surfaces incised with detail etched across the stone (ill. 27). Above, the abaci are carved with a variety of rose and acanthus decoration, deeply cut and related to manuscript

border decoration (ills. 82, 84). Although these abaci are damaged, some detail is still evident. This organised, continuous acanthus detail contrasts with the hard lines of the chevron above and the running profusion of the capitals below, especially apparent on the left-hand side of the doorway.

The style of the beak-heads and other heads of the doorways varies across the four sites and indicate different workshops were employed, although with access to similar material. The application of detail and figure differs markedly despite the eroded nature of these motifs. At St Bees, the heads are on a monumental scale compared with the delicacy of design on the capitals and it is possible that two hands were employed on different motifs (ills. 107, 108). The significance of the distribution of heads along the orders is unclear but the design is unlikely to have been chosen at random. The scale and character of the heads are similar to the carvings along the corbel-table on the north side of the nave and were produced at the same stage of building (ills. 117, 118). The heads at Great Salkeld are, like those of St Bees, dispersed haphazardly along the three orders of chevron above the doorway, without apparent consideration for a balanced programme (ill. 78). There are no beak-heads included in the arrangement. The style of the carving is very close to the detail on the capitals and it is likely that one or two hands created the whole doorway. The detail is still evident and the sculptor is humorous in his character sketches, particularly of the animal heads. The shape of the faces follows the curve of the arch but certain design features protrude beyond the flatter chevron decoration to either side. The almond-shaped eyes are defined, similar to those found in contemporary manuscripts, for example, the St Albans Psalter.[916] The heads are by the same hand who carved the capital on the right-hand side of the door with the row of skulls (ill. 84).

There is little surviving sculpture in the north-west to compare with these doorways. Many original doorways have disappeared but it is possible that many sites were decorated with beak-heads and heads. The surviving examples of beak-head decoration at Caldbeck (St Kentigern) and Cross Canonby (St John) are close to the Reading Abbey type, small

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[916] J. Geddes, op. cit., pp. 21, 24.

scale with clearly defined eyes and surface detail.[917] The examples at Caldbeck, on the inner arch of the porch, belong to the original south door of the church (c. 1120) (ill. 47, Cat. 9). The Cross Canonby example is close in style and type which suggests this, too, belongs to the original church (c. 1120), possibly by the same workshop (ill. 66, Cat. 13).

In Scotland, the south-west doorway of Dunfermline comprises three orders decorated with chevron, enclosed by an arch of repeated squares and rosettes. The effect of recession is enhanced by the use of chevron to create depth. The chevron is less sculptured than on the west door of St Bees and is similar to carving on the nave doorways at Durham.[918] In Yorkshire, examples compare to the surviving beak-heads at Cross Canonby and Caldbeck. The south doorways of Brayton and Riccall have probable French sources, for example, the west portal of Mesland (Loir-et-Cher).[919] Two heads at Caldbeck with flattened cheeks and long thin snouts are similar to the crisp example in the nave at St Bees and the weathered specimens in the doorways at Torpenhow and Morland (ill. 128).[920] The beak-heads at St Bees are similar to those at Carlisle and at Morland and several comparative examples can be found in the south.[921] The Brough examples (St Michael) in the west doorway (c. 1130) combined with chevron, are similar to the St Bees type.[922] Three of these heads have leaves issuing from their mouths, reminiscent of Canterbury manuscript figures. This type of head is also found in York (St Margaret), at Prestbury (Cheshire) and Aberffraw (Anglesey).[923] Two loose examples at Ravenstonedale are monumental and wolf-like in comparison and possibly belong to the late twelfth century.

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[917] *ERA*, p. 129.
[918] A. Borg, op. cit., pp. 122-40; N. Cameron, 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey: Durham Cathedral versus the Vicinal', BAACT xiv (ed. J. Higgitt), pp. 118-25, especially p. 119.
[919] F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque arches decorated with human and animal heads', *JBAA*, 3rd ser. XX-XII (1957-8), pp. 1-34, pl. XIII.
[920] Another well known example is at Deerhurst (Gloucestershire), E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912), p. 131, fig. 111. The heads at Deerhurst are very close to examples at Kilpeck, Herefordshire, and may derive from earlier metalwork or wooden churches, due to their similarity with heads found on stave churches, Thurlby, pp. 24,25.
[921] Old Sarum and Kilpeck, Thurlby, pp. 31, 32; *ERA*, pp. 176, 177.
[922] *RCHME*, Westmorland, p. 49, pl. 12.
[923] M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), p. 217.

The north doorway at Burgh-by-Sands illustrates a unique set of beak-heads which have survived in a well preserved state (Cat. 8). The beak-heads are elongated with flat, triangular heads, the mouldings pecked by beaks, not grasped by them as at St Bees. The motif continues around the doorway down the extent of the jambs and those on the arch above the doorway are a little larger than those below. Six voussoirs are wider than those of the shafts and are carved with grotesque faces, still evident. Doorways with continuous decoration are unusual and usually dated in the second half of the century due to the complexity of decoration, for example, Iffley (Oxfordshire).[924] The two doors on this church are profusely decorated with chevron and beak-heads and the south doorway with chevron, rosettes and beasts. Due to the stylisation of these carvings, they may belong to a later date and not to the original church (c. 1120) (ill. 44). The domical vault and rib-vault of the building, however, link with earlier buildings, for example, Rochester Castle, c. 1130, and other elements are close to churches such as Kilpeck (Herefordshire), suggesting that Iffley and Burgh-by-Sands may belong to this earlier stage.[925]

Selby Abbey (Yorkshire) is another building associated with St Bees through its gatehouse and west front, illustrating profuse decoration running across the capitals.[926] The principles of the capital design at St Bees: cushion shape, running foliage and tight compositional control are close to the capital of the first column of the south nave arcade at Selby.[927] Little remains of the priory buildings but the west doorway of four orders with profuse carving which survived until the eighteenth century was similar in design and decoration to the St Bees door.[928] The remaining nave capital may reflect doorway capitals. The sculpture at Selby has been linked to Kirkby Lonsdale and may reflect lost work at St Mary's Abbey.[929] The influence of Durham at Kirkby Lonsdale has often been

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[924] E. Priory and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge,1912), p. 167, fig. 146;

[925] Fernie, p. 224, 37. The central tower and rib-vaulteed chancel are close to Cassington (Oxfordshire), before 1123, *RCHME: City of Oxford* (London, 1939), pp. 151-4.

[926] M. Thurlby, *BAACT* conference, Carlisle, 2000.

[927] I owe this information to Professor Thurlby. E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Selby Abbey', *BAACT: Yorkshire Monasticism: Archaeology, Art and ArchitectureFrom the 7ᵗʰ to the 16ᵗʰ Centuries* (Leeds, 1995), pp. 40-9

[928] Dugdale, Vol I, p. 100

[929] The church at Kirkby Lonsdale was given to St Mary's Abbey by Ivo de Taillebois, between 1090 and

cited in the carved piers of the three western bays of the north nave arcade, related to those

of the nave at Durham, but this influence may have come from York (ill. 93). It is possible

the remaining piers were decorated with painted design to balance the carved

decoration.[930] The alternating round and compound piers at Kirkby Lonsdale may be

linked to those of St Bees.[931]

Churches in Yorkshire may reflect lost sculpture from St Mary's Abbey.[932] One

surviving capital from the abbey illustrates a mask in interlace, found in 1955, and is the

only known carving to survive from the abbey, founded in 1089 and to which both St Bees

and Wetheral priories were given (Chapter 5). The face has links with earlier Celtic-style

carvings and also the atlas masks of Durham Castle chapel.[933] Two masks carved in the

clerestory of the cathedral in Carlisle are of the same family (ill. 61).[934] Decorative

doorways and capitals carved with foliage and beasts, decorated abaci and shafts are found

at Alne and Brayton, dated to the second quarter of the century.[935] At Ricall (St Mary),

the south doorway is carved with features similar to those of St Bees, but considered of a

date c. 1160.[936] The decoration of the capitals trails over the edges of the stone, also

incorporating the figures of St Peter and St Paul. Several motifs, including beak-heads and

other heads, are arranged radially around the doorway. At Adel, the south doorway has

four profusely carved orders and the chancel arch is equally decorated with chevron, beak-

heads and figural capitals. The middle capitals on north and south sides are carved with

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1094. Surviving sculpture from St Mary's has similarities with both Carlisle and Kirkby Lonsdale, for example, the incised scallop capital, common to all three.

[930]   R. Oursel, *Poitou Roman* (La-Pierre-qui-Vire, 1975) for painted patterns on columns; Fernie, pp. 279-80. A comprehensive survey of wall painting is currently being undertaken by David Park and Sharon Cather; D. Park, 'The 'Lewes Group' of wall-paintings in Sussex', *ANS* 6 (1984), pp. 200-35.

[931]   There are no documents, however, linking Durham and St Bees in the early years of the twelfth century during Ranulf Flambard's episcopate (1099 – 1128). The capitals of the south-west doorway from the Durham cloister illustrate a similar variety of design controlled by the cushion capital shape with dragons and foliage. The high relief and crisp surface detail allows an impression of the original appearance of the St Bees doorway.

[932]   *ERA*, p. 153. Similar capitals with masks and foliage are found in early Norman buildings, For example, Chepstow, Blyth Priory and Gloucester Cathedral crypt, M. Thurlby, op. cit., pp. 37-38. Examples in Normandy are found at Graville-Ste-Honorine, M. Baylé, *Les Origins et les developments de la sculpture romane en Normandie: Art de Basse-Normandie*, no. 100 (Caen, 1991), ill. 615.

[933]   E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912), fig. 126.

[934]   Another example is found at Kirkbampton on the chancel arch.

[935]   L. Stone, *Sculpture in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1955), Pls. 57A, 58A.

[936]   Pevsner, p. 328, ill. 9.

beasts, a centaur and a horseman with a lance. The connecting arches are carved with beak-heads and chevron.[937] At Barton-le-Street, the doorway is decorated with chevron, beading, creatures with huge, staring eyes and the jambs are arranged in panels with birds, lions and decorative foliage.[938] At Healaugh, the south doorway is carved with beak-heads and entwined beasts across the capitals.[939] In Lincolnshire, several carved doorways show similar features to St Bees and Great Salkeld. One example is the original south doorway at Allington (Holy Trinity), above which are carved two human heads and two animal heads, one with a beak, one with pointed ears with bulging eyes and a wide snout, particularly close to the grotesque heads at Great Salkeld.[940] Also illustrated on this doorway are double scallop capitals with raised aris between the scallops similar to those found at Carlisle and related buildings, for example, Isel (Cat. 17).[941]

In Scotland, there are two sites in Roxburghshire where only fragments remain and the original churches are lost. The carved stones in the present church at Hobkirk (Bonchester Bridge) and the fragments from the lost church at Kirk Yetholm (Roxburghshire) illustrate this combination of chevron with ornate capitals, running foliage, masks and dragonesque figures. Enough survives to suggest the original buildings were designed with at least one ornate doorway. The stones at Hobkirk are now built into the modern font but two double capitals and two capitals carved with masks suggest a carefully conceived doorway design, albeit of relatively small proportions (ills. 8, 9, 10). There is one surviving voussoir carved with chevron from this site which is similar to the two voussoirs from Kirk Yetholm, although these latter stones are carved on three sides, similar to those found *in situ* on the south doorway of Dunfermline Abbey. A stone recorded at Bonchester, carved

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[937] Corpus for illustrations: another sumptuous south door is at Kirkby Malzeard where two orders of columns support three arches with chevron. The church at Kirk Bramwith (St Mary) has a similar door at the west end of the nave with chevron and beak-heads and the chancel arch is decorated with figural capitals. The small church at Edlington (St Peter) has an unusual south doorway with unbroken abaci and capitals decorated with chevron and beak-heads reaching to the ground, similar to the arrangement surviving at Burgh-by-Sands.

[938] L. Stone, op. cit., Pls. 58, 59, c. 1160.

[939] L. Stone, ibid., Pl. 56A.

[940] Corpus for Lincolnshire.

[941] Pevsner, p. 97.

with a head, thought to belong to the same period, has now been lost, but may represent a voussoir from the doorway carved with a human or beak-head motif.

At Dunfermline, the west doorway comprises five orders, differentiated through patterning, creating a sense of entering a tunnel, perhaps similar to a recessed doorway of Bishop Hugh de Puiset's hall in Durham Castle.[942] The doorway at St Bees, of four orders, has a similar sense of depth, supported by the same bold carving technique (ill. 106). Only one of the six original shafts at St Bees survives. On the west door at Dunfermline, the shafts, four of which are replacements, appear slender and delicate compared to the weight of the carving above. If the shafts had survived at St Bees, the carving of the doorway sculpture would have created a greater sense of lightness. The slender shafts at Dunfermline, alternately round and octagonal, add a corresponding delicacy to the detail above the arches and along the abaci. It is possible to decipher voussoirs of grotesque heads alternating with stylised patterns and other motifs on the outer order, now difficult to identify.[943] The church at Dunfermline was consecrated in 1150 but begun by David of Scotland in 1128, the same year the abbey at Selkirk was moved across the borders to Kelso.[944] The radiating voussoirs, distinctive at Dunfermline, were also found on the destroyed cathedral of St Giles, Edinburgh.[945] The immaculately preserved heads on the north chancel arch provide another insight into the original masks and grotesques at St Bees. The arcading may have derived from the decoration surrounding the north doorway at Dunfermline.[946] At Dalmeny (St Cuthbert), one of the best preserved twelfth-century churches, the south doorway is an elaborate feature of the

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[942] L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), p. 63.

[943] J.S. Richardson, *The Medieval Stone Carver in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1964), p. 26, suggests the depiction of an eagle, a wyvern, a Tree of Life and a pattern of interlace.

[944] E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque churches of Dunfermline Abbey', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews, BAACT* xiv ed. J. Higgitt (Leeds, 1993); N. Cameron, 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey: Durham versus the Vicinal', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrews, BAACT* xiv ed. J. Higgitt (Leeds, 1993), pp. 118-23.

[945] This doorway is known from an engraving, recorded on the front of *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1859).

[946] Two weathered arches from ruined buildings at Whithorn and Jedburgh compare with St Bees and these Scottish examples with deeply recessed orders, the use of chevron and figural and ornamental capitals. At Whithorn, there is evidence of grotesque masks above the hood-moulding. A voussoir in the National Museum of Scotland, from Kirknewton (Midlothian) illustrates chevron and a grotesque, similar to those at St Bees and Great Salkeld.

building.[947] The church is not documented but, from comparison with other sculptural decoration on buildings associated with David, a date in the late 1120s and early 1130s is reasonable. The outer arch order carries grotesque heads, carved in high relief, which alternate with bestiary and religious figures in low relief.

In Ireland, Cormac's Chapel was begun in 1127.[948] There are features of the chapel consistent with the decoration of St Bees. The chancel arch of four orders has human heads carved on the piers of the second order. The voussoirs are carved with human heads with naturalistic features. Human masks also decorate the eastern side of the chancel arch and on the ribs of the vaulting and human and animal heads are found across the capitals. The north door, originally the main entrance, is profusely carved with chevron, rosettes set in diamonds and a human head at the apex, features found at St Bees, Great Salkeld and Whithorn. There are loose heads surviving from St Fin Barre's Cathedral (Cork) similar to those on the chancel arch at Cormac's Chapel, again related to the St Bees type.[949] A ruin with obvious decorative links to the chapel is at Kilmalkedar (Kerry).[950] Blind arcading, chevron, animal heads and beaded decoration are evident, illustrating the use of this standard repertoire of motifs in small, simple buildings. The arcading is similar to the form used at Dalmeny. This profusion of carved doorways and arches is also found at Killeshin (Leix) where the recessed doorway uses three types of stone.[951] The capitals have a variety of human heads, some with beards, others clean-shaven, and the pilasters are decorated with small beasts and human heads, devoured by monsters. The rosette motif on the inner order is very close to the motif at Dunfermline, Dalmeny and Great Salkeld (ill. 81).

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[947] N. Cameron, ibid., p. 120. For Dalmeny, see RCAHMS *Midlothian and West Lothian*, no. 322.

[948] *Annals of Loch Ce*, confirmed by other annals.

[949] J. Bradley and H. King, 'Romanesque Voussoirs at St Fin Barre's Cathedral, Cork', *Journal of The Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland* 115 (1985), pp. 146-151.

[950] M. Thurlby, op. cit., pp. 85, 205, 211, 216.

[951] For extensive discussion about the use of stone types in building, see L.F. Salzman, *Building in England, down to 1540* (Oxford, 1967, reissued, 1997; D. Parsons, *Quarrying and Building in England AD 43-1525* (Chichester, 1990) with discussion about Canterbury, Derbyshire and Norfolk; R. Gilchrist, 'Norwich Cathedral: a biography of the north transept', *JBAA* 151 (1998), pp. 107-36.

The west doorway of the ruined church at Dysert O'Dea (Clare) was rebuilt into the south wall of the present church. Of four orders, the outer is carved with a range of human heads and beak-heads. The chevron is, like St Bees, deeply cut, set at right angles to the door. The doorway of St John Brendan's cathedral, Clonfert (Galway), whose ancestry is traced to Cormac's Chapel, has links with the north door of Killeshin.[952] The doorway of five orders is carved with a remarkable display of geometric and animal heads and the pediment is topped by a finial set between human heads. Two later examples in Ireland illustrate how this doorway type persisted well into the century and explains why the St Bees doorway has often been considered later. The west door of the ruined church at Clonmacnoise (Offaly) was built after 1172 by Queen Derbhorgaill of Breffny.[953] Although the individual motifs and application of chevron differ from the St Bees door, the overall scheme and resulting effect is similar. Recessed and beaded chevrons mingle with beasts and foliage on the Irish door. The reset south doorway at Killaloe cathedral, dated towards the middle of the century, also provides a later echo of the doorways of St Bees and Great Salkeld with its combination of heads and chevron with decorated capitals.[954]

In Wales and the West Country, there are examples of the combination of heads, chevron and other ornament. Fragments from Bangor cathedral can be associated with Penman Priory, Aberffraw, Chester and other sites in Cheshire.[955] For example, a fragment of interlace decoration, perhaps from a screen at Bangor, is close to the lintel section of the tympanum at Penmon Priory, *in situ* above the south doorway. The pattern is a stylised version of the interlace at St Bees but, despite the inclusion of the fighting dragon in the subject matter at Penmon, there is nothing in style or technique to link these sites. The scallop capitals of the south transept in St John the Baptist (Chester) are not only found at Penmon but also in Ireland, at Cashel and Killaloe, and at Carlisle and Warwick-on-Eden, although there is no documentary or other proof of a connection (ill.

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[952] M. Thurlby, op. cit., p. 279 for Clonfert.
[953] M. Thurlby, ibid., pp. 215-6, figs. 302 which show similarities with Welsh examples.
[954] T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe', *JBAA* 134 (1981), pp. 31-57.
[955] M. Thurlby, op. cit., for extensive discussion and illustrations of these examples.

134). Ranulf le Meschin came to Chester in 1120 and with the appointment of Bishop David (1120-1139) and inspired by Henry I, the cathedral at Bangor was begun.[956] Like Carlisle, the dimensions of this Welsh building were small compared with the cathedrals under construction at Winchester and Durham. The plan at Bangor has more in common with the small chapel at Melbourne (Derbyshire), built for Henry I, where the base spurs found at Carlisle, Egremont Castle, Warwick-on-Eden and other sites also survive (ills. 53, 74). The manor of Melbourne was granted by Henry I in 1133 to the first bishop of Carlisle, Aethelwold, and it is possible he built the church at Melbourne, which, as with Warwick-on-Eden, might provide some clue to the original appearance of Henry's cathedral in Carlisle (ill. 135).[957]

In the church of St Beuno, Aberffraw (Anglesey), a blocked arch is set in the west wall, decorated with an inner order of chevron, the outer order carved with twenty-six grotesque heads linked with interlacing.[958] The flat, frontal heads are reminiscent to those at Great Salkeld but the wide, staring eyes and broad noses with projecting tongues are more grotesque than the Cumberland example. Similar heads are also found at Clonmacnois, a building completed in 1167.[959] Other earlier comparisons between these heads combined with interlace are found at Dalmeny and Dunfermline, in the west portal, already linked to St Bees. Although the interlacing at Aberffraw is reminiscent of the Irish tradition, there are no sites where the combination and head-type could suggest a direct link.[960] The church of St James, Kilkhampton (Cornwall) also portrays flat, wide heads but, again, the comparison is not close enough to warrant direct links or common workshops. The type of chevron at Aberffraw is, however, close to examples of the motif found at Penmon Priory and at St John's Cathedral (Chester).[961] The heads surrounding the reset doorway at

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[956] Thurlby, ibid., p. 193; work had progressed enough for Gruffudd ap Cynan, Prince of Gwynedd, to be buried here in 1137.
[957] R. Gem, 'Melbourne Church, Derbyshire', in Supplement to the *AJ* 146 (1989); M. McCarthy, 'The Origins and Development of the Twelfth-century Cathedral Church at Carlisle', in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Mundy, *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (1996); F. Ross, *Melbourne Church* (1994).
[958] Thurlby, op. cit., p. 214.
[959] T. O'Keeffe, *Romanesque Ireland: Architecture and Ideology in the Twelfth Century* (Dublin, 2003), p. 262.
[960] Thurlby, op. cit., p. 216.
[961] Thurlby, p. 217. I am grateful to Professor Thurlby for this information.

Prestbury chapel (Cheshire) are similar in their squat features and square jaws to the examples found at Great Salkeld. Masks with stems protruding from their mouths are also found in Cheshire, for example, on the doorway of the chapel at Prestbury which, like the Whithorn example, is weathered. These masks are close to the examples at Bonchester and the miniature head on the east face of the font at Bridekirk. Other heads at Penmon priory, although weathered, are set in frames and the oval faces are reminiscent to those at Great Salkeld, the mask on the left-hand capital of the chancel arch at Kirkbampton and the mask in the clerestory of the cathedral (ill. 61). The font at Penmon Priory survives and is carved from a tapered stone which may have originally served as a cross base but the decoration probably belongs to c. 1120-30, illustrating the strength of artistic tradition in the region, closely associated with its decorative past.[962]

A group of doorways in Norway are termed the 'Hopperstad group' and belong to the second quarter of the twelfth century, illustrating a similar profusion of decoration running over the architectural features. These wooden carvings may reflect an art entirely lost in the north-west. Hopperstad, Ulvik and Al are examples of a new type of stave church doorway.[963] The decoration of the capitals and abaci is carved without borders and not confined to architectural shape. In some cases, the shafts and bases are also carved, for example, the doorway of the south transept of Vaja church, Gudbandsdal (c. 1130).[964] The east capital is carved with affronted dragons enclosed in the circle, close to the west door in detail, design and style.[965] Other Norwegian examples are in Stavanger cathedral (c. 1130) and in fragments from Trondheim in the Cathedral Museum.[966]

There are several examples where the combination of chevron, beak-heads and other heads surrounding carved tympana. English examples are found at Siddington, Lullington, Quenington, Prestbury, Elkstone and Kilpeck.[967] Tympana are commonly throughout the

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[962] F. Bond, *Fonts and Font-Covers* (London, 1908), p. 99.
[963] M. Blindheim, *Romanesque Carved Sculpture in Scandinavia* (London, 1965), p. 49.
[964] M. Blindheim, ibid., pl. 163.
[965] M. Blindheim, ibid., pl. 110.
[966] M. Blindheim, ibid., pls. 8, 17, 88, 90.
[967] Keyser, figs. 131, 1, 130, 128, 117 and 32, respectively.

early twelfth century although there are few examples with extensive narratives as are found in France.

In the north-west, several carved and uncarved tympana survive, for example, at Cliburn and Cross Canonby (ill. 64). The churches at Cliburn and Clifton, near Great Salkeld, illustrate how, in buildings of similar date and identical plan, chevron can be applied in different ways, providing different effects. In both cases, a plain, stone tympanum survives beneath the chevron. These differences may have depended on available finance and patron choice but do not imply an earlier date or, indeed, a building of lesser status. Both churches at Cliburn and Clifton are dedicated to St Cuthbert but there are no documents relating to their foundation. Similar in design and dimension, with two-cell plans and square chancels, much of the original fabric survives on both sites. The south doorways provide an insight into the different types of doorways that could be chosen by the patron (ills. 63, 64). The church at Cliburn has a simple order of plain chevron, carved in nine voussoirs around the arch, encasing a plain tympanum above a plain lintel above undecorated capitals (ill. 63, Cat. 11). The chevron design is accompanied by two frontal figures at each end of the stone lintel, kilted with large heads and arms raised. The flat surfaces, now devoid of detail were covered with painted decoration. Just a short distance from Cliburn, Clifton has a similar original two-cell church where simple chevron encircles a doorway with a plain tympanum set, this time, not on a lintel but on capitals protruding from both sides, resting above the simple stone jambs (ill. 64, Cat. 12). Other uncarved tympana are found at Appleby (in St Michael), here a re-used hogback stone, at Great Ormside (St James) and at Cross Canonby (St John). The example at Clifton provides evidence of probable painting as render survives between the tympanum stone and the voussoirs, similar to examples found in elsewhere across England and in France, for example, at Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe (Vienne).[968] Similar plaster fragments are visible above the plain tympanum in the nave of Blyth priory

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[968]   R. Oursel, *Haut-Poitou Roman*, 2nd edn. (La Pierre-qui-Vire, 1984), pl. 20.

(1088).[969] The plain tympanum in the first storey of the west wall of the presbytery of

Carlisle Cathedral illustrates this feature in use into the third decade of the twelfth century.

The tympanum at Bridekirk uses chevron as a surrounding ornament, in this case with a

double-billet hood with double-scallop capitals (ill. 16). Another example is at Bromfield

(St Mungo), a site connected by the checkered pattern of its tympanum to Kirkbampton,

on the inner left-hand capital (ill. 39).

iii) **Sources**

The inspiration for patterns and motifs may have derived from the variety of small,

accessible objects made of metal or cloth. Due to their vulnerability, these aspects of the

artistic heritage of this region along with the art of wood-carving have almost completely

disappeared. Recently, greater emphasis has been placed on the importance of metalwork

as a source for pre-Conquest and twelfth-century sculpture.[970] The 'Norse' cross at St

Bees combines Norse and Celtic motifs and designs.[971] Plait-work designs resemble

metalwork although the technique of application is entirely unrelated.[972] Wooden

sculptural finds illustrate similar profusion, for example, those from the Oseberg Ship

Burial of the ninth century.[973] Similar scrolls are found in the twelfth-century door jambs

in Norway (Hallingdal and Gudbrandsdal) but here the palmettes and bunches of fruit

appear next to the beast-heads and dragon wings.[974] Interlace patterns and designs on

doorways have been found throughout the history of Christian art.[975] The inference of

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[969] M. Thurlby, op. cit., pl. 4.

[970] *Corpus*, pp. 140-2. In discussion about the plaque at Penrith, it is argued that the closest parallels for the stonework are found in two sets of Irish metal plaques, one from Clonmacnoise, the other from Dungannon, P. Harbason, 'A lost crucifixion plaque of Clonmacnoise type is found in county Mayo', in H. Murtagh, (ed.), *Irish Midland Studies* (Athlone,), pp. 24-28.

[971] *Corpus*, pp. 145-147.

[972] The Brayton Fibula and the Gold Armlet, found at Aspatria, are two Cumberland examples of this widespread art. The birds and beasts of the Ormside Cup at York are another exuberant example.

[973] Klingender, *Animals in Art* (London, 1971), p. 113, fig. 90.

[974] Blindheim, op. cit., p. 49, fig. 187.

[975] E. Kitzinger, 'Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular Art', *The Age of Migrating Ideas, Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, R.M. Spearman and J. Higgit, (eds.), Proceedings of the Second International Confernece on Insular Art held in the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh (Jan. 1991), pp. 3-15, p. 4.

these designs is to protect in some way, perhaps through symbolism, from the powers of evil. The small carved shaft with a repetitive interlace pattern at Bridekirk in the south portal may reflect decorative features now lost at Carlisle as the spur motifs on the chancel bases are also found in the cathedral (ill. 17). Pairs of intertwined beasts also feature and perhaps the dragons on the doorways at Great Salkeld and St Bees developed from previous traditions, widespread throughout Christian art and architectural decoration. The dragons at Great Salkeld and St Bees on capitals combine with foliate scrolls (ills. 83, 109). The inclusion of beak-heads and other heads, however, suggests the involvement of patron or designer with specific requirements. The original church at St Bees was a comparatively modest building in size when compared with monastic buildings elsewhere but the doorway would have been an impressive entrance.

There are various sources for the motifs used in the design of the capitals across the four doorways. Many examples of the stone sculptural tradition of Anglian and Viking derivation stood intact and Roman stones were also evident on the sites. The sculpture related to developments elsewhere in sculptural techniques and design but many masons were local and sculptors employed ideas from earlier stone monuments along with new fashion. The two cross-fragments at St Bees have already been mentioned.[976] The 'Norse' Cross survives in two fragments, discovered beneath the west front of the church before 1876.[977] The spiral-scroll ornament is evident on the cruciform head.[978] Below are two rows of three-strand stopped-plait ornament. Another design is a single row of rings, interspersed with pellets. The Gosforth Cross, still in the church yard, illustrates a small figure on the shaft in a square frame close to the capital with outstretched arms.[979] At Brigham survive thirteen cross fragments from a variety of periods, including a fragment

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[976] *Corpus*, p. 145, ills. 543-5, 550. The beast head is linked to the fragment at Beckermet St John. The confronted animals recall the birds of the Waberthwaite, fragment, *Corpus*, p. 151, ill. 582. The 'standing cross', dated to the late tenth century, lies in the graveyard to the north of the church (0.50m by 0.20m). Worn interlace with incised strands is still visible on the head. On the broad face, one strand ends in an animal's head with a thin ear, open mouth and almond-shaped eye. Two more confronted animals disappear into interlace beneath.

[977] E. Knowles, 'Fragments at St Bees', *CW* Old Series (1876), pp. 27-80.

[978] *Corpus*, pp. 33-40, fig. 8.

[979] *Corpus*, ill. 304.

of a capital with foliate ornament and long tendrils running over the surface.[980] The veined

leaves of a red sandstone cross-shaft fragment are close to the long triangular leaves on the

north capitals at St Bees (ill. 109). The medallion above may have been attached to a leaf,

a motif also found on the capitals, although worn.[981] The motif of the buds and leaves was

traditionally a popular one across the north-west in pre-Conquest decoration, a feature

discussed also in relation to the font-carving. Other fragments at Brigham include cable

moulding, circular interlace and entwined animals, all motifs found on the capitals of all

the sites.[982]

The importance of wood-carving tends to be overlooked in any discussion about the

sources and inspiration for the decorative vocabulary of stone-carving. Due to the nature

of its material, the vast majority of this art has disappeared, not only the artefacts but the

buildings also. What does survive, notably in the stave churches of Norway, is of

invaluable importance to understanding some of the fascinating faces and monsters that

have emerged in stone by the middle of the twelfth century. It has already been suggested

that the heads at Deerhurst which belong to a building constructed before the Norman

Conquest derive from gable end heads on wooden stave churches.[983] The use of such an

array of foliage types across capitals and surrounding arch orders suggest an awareness of

natural detail. The art of wood-carving was accessible to the majority of people whereas

the use of stone had to become more specialised by its very nature. To build a wooden

church and to carve detail upon it required less organisation and manpower to create the

finished product. Perhaps it is fair to say that wood-carving remained a widespread and

specialised craft throughout this remarkable period of building in stone.

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[980] *Corpus*, pp. 74-79, p. 163.
[981] *Corpus*, p. 74, ills. 1311-2. This small fragment belonged to a large cross. Similar leaves and medallions are found at Hexham and Lowther.
[982] *Corpus*, ills. 168-9. Interlace at Brigham is close to the lintel designs, *Corpus*, ill. 135.
[983] These are also linked to metalwork, for example, the seventh century Sutton Hoo burial finds, A.C. Evans, *The Sutton Hoo Burial* (London, 1989).

v) **Conclusion and date**

The doorways represent examples of ornate parish church decoration in rural locations in Cumberland and Westmorland, carved by local craftsmen and sculptors many of whom may have learned their trade further afield. For the patrons, it was a time of establishing status and position and of identifying family and heritage and the patterns above these entrances introduce possible beginnings of heraldic identities in stone rather than mere capricious ornament. If it is believed that the sculptural decoration, combined with the rest of the church furniture within, formed an integral part of the whole scheme, then it is impossible to dismiss these additional patterns as being mere space-fillers. Once painted and perhaps gilded with precious stones, the effect was sumptuous, entrances to church interiors for worship and meditation or for practical business and commitments on the thresholds. The sculptors were not merely carving decorative objects but architectural units also. When the variety of shapes, crosses, diamonds, circles were introduced, they were also creating a whole, a scheme of stone and ornament with a clear design and carefully planned dimensions. They produced, not just objects of beauty within a world of illusion, but also buildings to stabilise their Christian ideals and to symbolise power of individual families. These Christian buildings were designed as spaces within which to worship God, but the decoration was designed to mark out the maker and creator of the building, whether patron or designer.

The doorways at St Bees, Torpenhow, Great Salkeld and Kirkbampton are still in their original position surrounded by early twelfth-century fabric. Although the first three churches have been enlarged and lengthened, the doorways are still intact. Much has been lost from the original appearance of the church interiors, but the decoration of the doorways allows an idea of the whole building as witnessed in the twelfth century. This discussion of their content has focused on four important sites in the north-west and examined the links with not only present sculptural developments in the Norman kingdom but also introduced questions about the ideas which affected the development of stone

sculpture at this period. With individual characteristics and styles, and carved by different hands, the doorways bring the north-west in line with developments across the Norman world of the early twelfth century. They stand as monuments to those who designed and ordered them and those who carved the detail, illustrating the extraordinary power of new ideas diffused by the Norman settlers which affected every village and every sculptor in the region.

CHAPTER FIVE

Parochial development and patronage: conclusion

The date of the foundation of each parish in Cumberland and Westmorland and how the system developed is beyond the scope of this thesis. Suffice to say, as in Scotland north of the Solway and south-eastern Scotland, in Yorkshire and the north-east, a process was unfolding by the end of the eleventh century to create an ecclesiastical organisation which has remained in place until the present day. At parochial level, as in Scotland and Wales, wherever older traditions survived, the influence of York and even Canterbury initially remained slight and the system was organised and run by local people, whether of Norse of Cumbric origin. The Church continued to flourish through these years and church-building and decoration accompanied this growth. The question remains as to why so many churches were required at this time? One answer must point to the increase in people and settlement after the 1090s but this, in itself, is only half the answer. Clearly, the stone church became not only a symbol of status to the local landowner and the people belonging to the site but also provided funds for the area's monastic houses: Carlisle, Wetheral, St Bees, Calder, Holm Cultram and Lanercost. It is still remarkable, however, how many village churches which became parish churches during this period are within such a small radius of each other. The churches of Bridekirk, Torpenhow and Isel, for example, are within a radius of four miles, all on traditional sites.

Little is known of church organisation in Cumberland and Westmorland before 1092 and how far the boundaries of the emerging parishes went back in time can only be conjectured. It is probable, however, that these boundaries emerging in the twelfth century corresponded to established divisions, in many cases dependent on geographical factors, especially rivers and mountains. The system was aligned more to Scottish Cumbria and to Wales, the lands of the Celtic language, than to the ecclesiastical organisation of the southern Anglo-Saxon lands. It is possible that St Bees and Brigham as minster churches

were centres of ancient parishes, established in the Anglian era prior to Hiberno-Norse settlement.[984] The conversion to Christianity by the Norse settlers must have been influenced by an already established church which attracted these incomers into a secure religious organisation. The stone sculpture survivals and evidence of place-names confirms the continuity of Celtic and Anglian traditions, settlement pattern and language into the Norse period and many aspects of Anglian culture were assimilated by the Scandinavian settlers. The basis for the organisation of the church and the boundaries involved was almost certainly laid down during this period of Anglian occupation.

The church at St Bees may have had an extensive sphere of influence across the region although any evidence of a monastery at St Bees founded in the seventh century by St Bega has been discredited.[985] When and why the saints first became associated with the site is unknown but at that point the significance of the site must have been established within the region. The parish of *Kirkeby* extended from Whitehaven to the Ehen.[986] Place-name evidence suggests an early church: the first known reference to the site in the foundation charter is *Cherchebi*, meaning 'settlement by a church' or 'settlement by Beghoc's church'.[987] The Norse carvings support the theory of an earlier religious site. The Honour of Cockermouth in the Derwent valley was given by William le Meschin to Waltheof of Allerdale who moved his caput from Papcastle to Cockermouth.[988] The village of Brigham lay within the boundaries of Allerdale, on the border of the Honour and its proximity to Cockermouth may have given it specific significance to Waltheof. Similarly, St Bees was only five kilometres from Egremont. The assumption could be that

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[984] Other minster churches are probable, at Morland and Kirkandrews. The evidence for these is succinctly explained by Phythian-Adams, pp. 97-98, 148.

[985] J.M. Todd, 'The pre-Conquest Church in St Bees, Cumbria: a possible minster?' CW3 iii (2003), pp. 97-108.

[986] *St Bees*, introduction, p. iv; p. 27, no. 1, 'vj carrucatas terre in cherchebi'. When these boundaries Became established is unknown but could go back to the moment St Bega was adopted in the region.

[987] *St Bees*, p. 27, no. 1. The names with the element *kirkja* may suggest a settlement by a church, perhaps of Norse origin, or earlier. Other examples are: Kirkby Kendal; Kirkby Lonsdale and Kirkby Stephen. The later name of *Kirkebybecoc*, meaning 'church of Bega', was in use by the twelfth century and a witness to the earliest charter is named *Coremac Gille becoc, Coremac*, servant of Bega, which may have been two people. The name *Kirkbybeghog* appears in later charters. Additions to the St Bees parish by Ranulf, son of William, made it one of the most extensive in the region.

[988] On his death, this lordship and Egremont united after the marriage of Alice de Romilly to William fitz Duncan.

these churches had special status due to their proximity to secular or even royal headquarters. The extent of Cockermouth Castle is clear from an engraving of 1620.[989] There could, however, be an alternative suggestion that the historical importance of both St Bees and Brigham lay in their minster status, with extensive lands and rights, attracting William le Meschin to Egremont and Waltheof to Cockermouth.[990]

The development of religious organisation into the parish system of Cumberland and Westmorland is difficult to define through lack of consistent documentation. In the regions covered by the Domesday survey, the organisation of the church appears to have become fragmented prior to the Conquest.[991] The minster and hundred system may have existed in the north-west, based on the vill or tun, not the hundred as in the south and the churches would have had parochial rights and duties. In the south, several churches were taken over by monasteries or directly by the crown but, in Cumberland and Westmorland, the lack of known monastic foundations before 1100 suggests that, if minsters formed the basis of church organisation or at least part of it, then it was political figures who assumed control, enhancing their positions by the building of churches on old and new sites.[992] In the south, older minsters run by bishops often coincided with the old hundreds system; parishes with more recent churches appear to correspond with vills and manors. It is this latter feature that relates to Cumberland and Westmorland where the increasing settlement after 1092 ensured not only new settlements but also the renovation of old. Just as in the southern tip of the area, covered by the Domesday survey, the old minsters were being threatened by the new system of land ownership and management, in the north-west the

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[989] Perriam and Robinson, p. 88.

[990] T.H.B. Graham, 'The Honour of Cockermouth', *CW2*, xxix (1929), pp. 69-70; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *CW2*, lxxxvi (1986), pp. 122-3.

[991] F. Barlow, *The English Church1066-1154* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 184-186; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005) for general comment.

[992] One of the distinguishing features of a parish church or parochial chapel is the right of burial. Stone sculpture illustrates the importance of burial for Anglian and Norse societies and this element of religious organisation persists into the twelfth century. From the survival of stone burial monuments, especially hogback stones, it is possible to be more precise and determine the location of Norse power centres. To what extent were these burial sites of ancient origin or belonged to Norse societies of the tenth and eleventh centuries requires further archaeological research, but it is probable the Normans acquired existing burial grounds and their associated rights and privileges. As with the evidence of the church-buildings, these burial grounds suggest the majority of churches of the twelfth century were constructed on older religious sites in order to assume these associated rights.

minsters of St Bees and Brigham, if they existed, were redefined under the new manor and vill system encouraged under the Norman government. Whatever previous system existed prior to 1092, parishes like St Bees which emerge from the early twelfth century comprised several settlements, in part due to the large areas of under-populated lands in the interior of the region, governed by geography and landscape. Parishes created around a single township are only found along the coast, near Carlisle and into the Eden valley, implying these individual settlements were well populated.[993] The earliest complete list of Cumberland parishes is found in the Papal Taxation of 1291 (Appendix i).[994]

The pattern of lordships across the north-west after 1092, consolidated by Henry I, continued unaltered throughout the twelfth century apart from the addition of Gilsland in 1157 (Map 2). These secular divisions formed units of individual power bases and followed the pre-Conquest ecclesiastical divisions.[995] How far back these divisions go is unknown.[996] The parochial system that developed is based to a large extent on these established boundaries (Map 8). After 1092, William Rufus's direction for the church in the area south of the Solway, once part of Scottish Cumbria, was to grant Durham spiritual jurisdiction.[997] After 1100, both York and Thurstan and Glasgow and John's persistent claims over the region were finally resolved by the creation of the see at Carlisle in 1133. The creation of the Augustinian Priory in 1122 had been supported by the York primate,

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[993] J.M. Todd, 'The pre-Conquest Church in St Bees, Cumbria: a possible minster?' CW3 iii (2003), pp. 97-108.

[994] Bouch, Appendix I, p. 15. The study of place-names provides evidence for parochial development into the twelfth century and changing ownership of land. The Norman impact can be traced through the introduction of names with a continental aspect to them attached to the Norse *by* for settlement, for example, Moresby, Canonby, Parsonby, Scotby and Flimby. These compounds are found in the vicinity of Carlisle and along the coastal region, close to established routes and across the Solway in south-west Scotland. Other Norman-influenced names, for example, with -castle attached, are found in Westmorland and Lancashire although these combinations may have been introduced later.

[995] G.W.S. Barrow, 'The pattern of lordship and feudal settlement in Cumbria', *JMH* I, no. 2 (July 1975), pp. 117-139, p. 124.

[996] In Wales, secular and ecclesiastical boundaries coincided and were assimilated by the Normans and similar rights were established. Scottish Cumbria's secular divisions inherited by David I in 1124 also depict a relationship to rural deaneries and the surviving documents from David's reign, including his *Inquest* of c. 1120, reveal the close relationship between the secular and ecclesiastical borders.

[997] These rights were confirmed by Thomas to Ranulf Flambard, H.H.E. Craster, 'A Contemporary Record of the Pontificate of Ranulf Flambard', *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th ser. vii (1930), p. 38, No. 4. Thomas II still recognised Durham's claims to part of Cumberland and Westmorland. N.F. Shead, 'The Origins of the Medieval Diocese of Glasgow', *SHR* xlviii (1969), pp. 220-5.

closely connected to the canons of Nostell Priory.[998] The antagonism between Glasgow and York through these years influenced Carlisle's development and also underlined its significance but the remainder of Cumberland and Westmorland probably remained largely unaffected. The dispute was a question of status, rather than practical considerations. After 1136, King David's presence in Carlisle seems to have provided stability during the years of civil strife throughout the rest of the kingdom. Whatever the roots of the parochial system in Cumberland and Westmorland it was clearly established by the second decade of the twelfth century as the widespread building of churches proves, following similar boundaries to the lordships fermented by Ranulf le Meshin. The foundations at Wetheral, Carlisle, St Bees and Calder clarified and supported the emerging ecclesiastical system. An increasing number of churches were required to service the local communities, providing vehicles for baptism, marriage and burial and as central places within communities, for discussion, trade and social events. It was a time of growth, certainly, but the foundations were already in place as Henry I took the throne and, with royal and ecclesiastical support, as in the Scottish kingdom, religious life became ordered for all inhabitants of the region. The system laid down has remained largely unchanged to this day.

No piece of stone sculpture in Cumberland or Westmorland can be linked through documentation with a specific patron. Sufficient evidence survives, however, regarding the movement of possible patrons and their association with churches to suggest involvement in building and decorating of stone churches through the period of study. A key source of information about the movement of patrons lies in the documents associated with the activities of Henry I.[999] These men (and women) attracted workforces, ideas and styles associated with church decoration to Cumberland and Westmorland. Henry's reign saw the proliferation of stone churches across the country and into the border regions of

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[998] J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of Carlisle Cathedral', *CW2* xlv (1946), pp. 134-43; for Nostell, J. Wilson, 'The Foundation of Austin Priories of Nostell and Scone', *SHR* vii (1910), pp. 141-59; D. Nicholl, *Archbishop of York* (York, 1964), pp. 130-5, for discussion of text.

[999] 'Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-35', *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, Vol. II, ed. by C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne, from the collection of H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1956); W. Farrer, 'Itinerary of Henry I', *HER* (1919).

the north-west, Wales and Scotland. It was a building trade encouraged and financed by a powerful minority of men and women, inforced on the ground by an expanding social hierarchy, intent on furthering the Norman kingdom and their own earthly and heavenly prizes. The local inhabitants, the ordinary folk, became caught up in the flow of ideas and became masons, artisans and craftsmen. Huge numbers were involved and without the aid of local people the enormous programme of building was unattainable. Not only Normans, but also Norse, French and Flemish, and perhaps Italians and Greeks, entered the region on a tide of commerce and the acquisition of land and title.[1000] Indigenous lords and aristocracy became involved, increasing their status, rights and wealth as the parochial system emerged and churches required. A sense of social order is illustrated by Gospatric's Writ, and underlines each surviving document thereafter, notably those concerning Wetheral, St Bees and surviving charters (Appendix ii). These documents, seals and the early coinage support an organised society of ethnic complexity, flourishing within the Norman realm.

Four possible patrons, among countless others, considered here are: Ivo de Taillebois, Waltheof of Allerdale, Ranulf le Meschin and David I of Scotland. There were many other possible patrons, for example, Forne, son of Sigulf, and Walter Espec, mentioned in several documents, and their role in church-building is probable.[1001] The importance of women also must be recognised and it is probable that Lucy, married to three Norman lords, including Ivo and Ranulf, must have been influential in the creation of new buildings.[1002] The role of the two wives of Henry I, Matilda and Adeliza, associated with monastic foundations in Normandy and the south of England, for example, Reading, may also have been an integral but unrecorded aspect of the cathedral's growth. These men were embroiled with the government of kingdom and church and had direct influence on

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[1000] Summerson, p. 19. In Carlisle, a royal officer, Richer, referred to his men 'French and English', already suggesting an influx of continentals into the area; *Wetheral*, no. 1.

[1001] Phythian-Adams, pp. 29, 30, 179, 180; R. Sharpe, 'Norman rule in Cumbria 1092-1136, xxi *CW2* (2005), pp. 30-32. The 1130 pipe roll mentions Walter as justice in Northumberland, Durham Yorkshire and Westmorland.

[1002] R.E.G. Kirk, 'The Countess Lucy: singular or plural?', *The Genealogist* new ser. 5 (1889), pp. 60-75, 131-44, 153-73. The identity of Lucy is clarified by Richard Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136, xxi *CW2* (2005), pp. 36-46.

the emerging ecclesiastical system. Their money, power and influence were extensive and must not be underestimated. This discussion presents documentary evidence which traces their movements countrywide and their links with important sites, identifying their potential roles in the transmission of ideas and masons, inspiring and funding new buildings. Ivo, through his marriage to Lucy in 1083, acquired extensive tracts of lands in Lincolnshire and, after 1086, was granted large areas of Kendal and Westmorland by William Rufus.[1003] Waltheof was possibly already in a position of power in 1092 as Lord of Allerdale; Ranulf married Lucy, widow of Ivo de Taillebois and Roger de Romara and was Lord of Carlisle and Westmorland until 1120; David's presence in the region south of the Solway is unrecorded before 1124 but, as Prince of Cumbria and then as King of Scotland, he retained a persistent interest in Carlisle.[1004]

Defining precisely the extent of Ivo's territorial power is difficult. One document attests to the extent of his lands, a deed in which he grants to St Mary's Abbey in York half of his demesne at Kirkby Stephen with the church and land at Winton. Included also in this gift were the churches of Kirkby Kendal, Heversham and Kirkby Lonsdale, the vill of Hutton Roof in Kendal, the church of Beetham with land at Haverbrack, the church of Burton-in-Kendal and the church at Clapham in Yorkshire.[1005] The five parish churches of this gift are evidence of the extent of his lands within Westmorland and, forming a continuous line of land, they divided present-day Lancashire-north-of-the-Sands from Lancashire to the south.[1006] The extent of Ivo's territorial wealth is suggested by this

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[1003] R. Sharpe, op. cit., pp. 37-43.

[1004] The significance of these patrons also lies in the construction of stone castles across the region, for example, Cockermouth, built by Waltheof, Appleby, by Ranulf, Roxburgh, by David, among many others. Any discussion of these buildings lies beyond the scope of this study but it is clear that master-masons and those responsible for the design of churches were also responsible for the cretion of secular buildings and their decoration, M. Hislop, 'Bolton Castle and the Practice of Architecture in the Middle Ages', *JBAA* cxlix (1996), pp. 10-23; T.A. Heslop, 'Orford Castle, Nostalgia and Sophisticated Living', *Architectural History* xxxiv (1991), pp. 36-58. Both authors confirm medieval architects were not confined to building churches and other religious buildings.

[1005] The deed is not found in any surviving volumes from the cartularies of St Mary's Abbey; it was printed by Dugdale, iii, p. 9, and reprinted in *Monasticon*, iii, p. 553 (no. xx), reprinted by Prescott, *Wetheral*, p. 412 (appendix no. xv), and by W. Farrer and J.F. Curwen, *Records Relating to the Barony of Kendale*, CW2 iv (1923-6), i, p. 377.

[1006] The vill of Dalton, in the parish of Burton-in-Kendal, is across the boundary into Lancashire, although it was not mentioned in the list of Roger le Poitevin's possessions in Domesday, J. Tait, *VCH*, Lancashire, ii, p. 181 and n. 50.

document but the full extent of his lands remains uncertain. It is, however, possible that he

owned lands as far as Appleby and Penrith. If so, this would explain Ranulf le Meschin's

later association with Appleby, inherited by marriage with Lucy, Ivo's widow. Other

opinion suggests Ivo's lands extended to the Irish Sea, including Copeland and Furness.[1007]

Ivo de Taillebois' lands in Lincolnshire fill almost two folios of the Domesday record

for that region.[1008] He founded, with his wife, Lucy, the priory of Spalding (between 1083

and 1086) which was within the estates inherited by Lucy from her father (Thorold of

Lincoln).[1009] In May 1092, William Rufus was in Lincoln for the dedication of the new

cathedral, and, from there, the king went north to secure Carlisle.[1010] The peasants

introduced into Carlisle and its surrounds by the Normans almost certainly came from

Lincolnshire and it is possible that it was Ivo who organised tenants from his own lands in

1093.[1011] He died in 1094 and there is no record of any acquisition of lands in Cumberland

but the possibility of his acquiring Appleby does suggest he was more familiar with the

area than previously suggested.[1012] The Domesday record lists lands in the north-west held

by Earl Tosti of Northumberland in 1065, including Kirkby Kendal and Kirkby

Lonsdale.[1013] It is possible that, under William Rufus, these lands were divided between

Ivo and Roger between 1086 and 1092, which suggests Ivo could be termed the first lord

of Cumberland.[1014] How early the Norman king planned his northern conquest is unknown

but with the establishment of these two powerful figures in the region it is possible it was

as early as 1086. After 1092, Ivo would have been the closest Norman baron to Carlisle

and it is reasonable to suppose he was given new responsibilities in the north-west.

Although the documentation associated with Ivo de Taillebois does not refer specifically

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[1007] J.C. Holt, *The Northerners. A study in the reign of King John* (Oxford, 1961), p. 214; R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', *CW2*, xxi (2005), p. 39, n. 90, lists other and their sources; F-J. *NW*, P. 115.

[1008] *Domesday Book* (1086), fols. 350ra-351vb. 101 holdings are marked.

[1009] R.E.G. Kirk, 'The Countess Lucy: singular or plural?, *The Genealogist*, new ser. 5 (1889), pp. 60-75, pp. 131-44, pp. 153-73.

[1010] John of Worcester, ed. Darlington & McGurk, iii, pp. 62-3; Summerson, I, p. 17.

[1011] R. Sharpe, op. cit., p. 37.

[1012] Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, Vol. I, p. x. It is possible Kentdale was given to Nigel d'Aubigny, although no document survives to support this.

[1013] *DB*, I, 301vb-302ra. The lands of Roger le Poitevin are also listed, including parts of Westmorland, also formerly held by Tosti.

[1014] R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule', op. cit., p. 40.

to his building of churches, it is probable, given his foundation at Spalding and the

importance assigned to the churches presented to St Mary's Abbey, that he inspired

building and sculptural decoration of churches on his newly acquired lands. He was well

acquainted with Lincoln and its sculptural developments and, through his wife Lucy, had

amassed huge tracts of lands, with associated churches and chapels.[1015] It has already been

suggested that Ivo may have been involved with an early stone church at St Bees to which

the lintel-stone may have belonged (Chapter 2).

Waltheof's status as Lord of Allerdale appears undisputed throughout the early years of

Norman occupation although when he acquired these lands is unknown. He appears to

have been in a position of power after 1092.[1016] The division of the area into lordships

after 1100, supervised perhaps by Ranulf le Meschin in the king's name, left his status

intact. Despite his indigenous non-Norman roots, he was accepted into the highest ranks, a

position assumed by his son, Alan. With powerful connections and the royal associations,

Waltheof's position never appears threatened, despite the ejection from Carlisle in 1092 of

his brother, Dolfin. Descended directly from Waltheof I, Earl of Northumbria (d. 1006)

and Gospatric I (d. 1072), he was a brother of Dolfin and Gospatric II, Earl of Dunbar (d.

1138). Waltheof's father, Gospatric, almost certainly had inherited the land of Allerdale,

but this is only based on the form of his name and his reputed wealth.[1017] One of his

sisters, Gunhilda, married Orm, whose father was a witness in the Wetheral foundation

charter and was, like his father-in-law, known to Ranulf le Meschin.[1018] The other sister,

Maud, married Dolfin, son of Ailward, who became the first documented lord of

Workington, where Waltheof is known to have owned the church of Stainburn.[1019]

Allerdale was the only lordship to use the Gaelic-Norse *dalr,* similar to Lonsdale and

[1015] See Chapter 2, conclusion, for his involvement with Kirkby Lonsdale and perhaps the early church at St Bees.
[1016] R. Sharpe, op. cit., p. 54, suggests Waltheof may have held Allerdale before Ranulf's rule but stresses there is no evidence to support he was lord of Allerdale before 1092.
[1017] Phythian-Adams supports the conclusion that Waltheof was lord of Allerdale prior to 1092, p. 128.
[1018] Phythian-Adams, pp. 128, 137. Orm, son of Ketel, was granted Flimby, 'town of the Flemings', T.H.B. Graham, 'Allerdale', *CW2,* xxxii (1932), p. 36; *St Bees,* p. 248, n. 1; for the Flemish wool trade, P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: the Grocer's Company and the Politics and Trade of London 1000-1485* (Yale, 1995), pp. 10, 17, 19-21; F-J, *NW,* pp. 26, 30, 33, 319.
[1019] *St Bees,* pp. 60, 61, no. 32, n. 1.

Kentdale to the south and the borderlands to the north, Eskdale, Annandale and Nithsdale.[1020] It is probable that this name and region emerged during the tenth century under Hiberno-Norse or Gaelic impetus.[1021] This suggests the lordship was a separate political entity, set apart through historical circumstances from the remainder of the mainland. Allerdale's proximity to Carlisle supported the status of the lord of Allerdale, owning a house near the church of St Cuthbert in the city, almost certainly before Ranulf le Meschin arrived.[1022] William Rufus seized Carlisle together with its immediate surrounds with little apparent concern for the extended region. No military support for Dolfin from the surrounding lords was forthcoming suggesting these autonomous leaders were either unconcerned about the fate of the city or were aware of potential advantages of Norman wealth. They would have known of the process of the Norman takeover of the Welsh lands to the south where many indigenous princes and lords remained in power with Norman support, a situation that suited both sides. This continuity of Waltheof's status is apparent as he is the first named local lord in the Wetheral charter, followed by Forne, son of Sigulf, and lord of Greystoke (died c. 1130).[1023] Forne's importance is supported by the creation of Thornby, near Gamelsby, close to the borders of Aikton and Thursby parishes.[1024]

There are references to Waltheof concerning grants and gifts of lands and churches.[1025] The most significant for this study are the references to the manors of Bridekirk and Apelton with the church of Bridekirk given by Waltheof to Gisborne Priory, confirmed by his son, Alan.[1026] His widow, Sigrid, married Roger, son of Gilbert of Lancaster, brother

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[1020] Phythian-Adams, p. 127; G.S.W. Barrow, 'The Pattern of Lordship and Feudal Settlement in Cumbria', *Journal of Medieval History* I (1975), p. 126.

[1021] Phythian-Adams, p. 127.

[1022] B.C. Jones, 'The Topography of Medieval Carlisle', *CW2* lxxii (1972), p. 90.

[1023] *Wetheral*, no. 1.

[1024] Phythian-Adams, pp. 30, 179, 180; although Forne, son of Sigulf, is recorded several times in relation to documents of Henry, Waltheof is not mentioned.

[1025] *St Bees*, pp. 29, 334, no. 330, p. 355, no. 355, n. 2, p. 492.

[1026] *Whellan*, p. 285; This is the first known written reference to a church at Bridekirk. Waltheof gave by charter to the church of St Bridget, 'the vill of Apelton and all the vills adjacent thereto, the house [domum] belonging to St Bridget, free of .... and all the benefits of that house, also the church and all its appurtenances in alms, to E (the priest) and El., son of Erlaf, the priest.' This charter was made with the consent of Waltheof's wife, Sigrid, and his sons, Gospatric and Alan, and all their relatives and friends and for the benefit of their souls and the souls of their forbears or relations, ([parentum]. El., son of Erlaf, was

of William of Lancaster I, son of Ketel Eldredson and Christiana Taillebois, daughter of Ivo Taillebois.[1027] Both Waltheof and Alan were benefactors of Carlisle Priory and Alan was the founder of Holm Cultram Abbey in 1150.[1028] Again, the references to 'the son of' which occur frequently in these documents, underline the extent of continuity among the upper class of the region. The manors of Brigham and Eaglesfield were gifted by William le Meschin to Waltheof together with the ancient church of Brigham.[1029] The barony of Cockermouth was also given to Waltheof by William.[1030] The manor of Aspatria was also given to Waltheof by Ranulf le Meschin, although Aspatria was already within the Allerdale boundaries.[1031] Ranulf was comfortable with re-establishing power bases and lands traditionally held by indigenous aristocracy.[1032] There are records of Waltheof also bestowing manors on his own men, for example, the manor of Bromfield is given to Melbeth, his physician, although the church of Bromfield was given to St Mary's Priory, York, emphasizing the status given to churches.[1033]

Waltheof's role in establishing, building and decorating of churches and his connection with religious houses is probable. The church at Bassenthwaite (St Bega) was given by Waltheof to Jedburgh Abbey.[1034] The remaining Norman fabric of this church is undecorated and whether it was built by Waltheof or a lesser patron is unknown. This gift

called Waltheof's 'cognato meo et alumpno' [perhaps his brother-in-law and personal servant or kinsman]. The witnesses were Gerard, the chaplain, Suan the priest, Lyulf and Uchtred, brothers, sons of Uchtred, Tenbald, Steward of Ivo, Wald son of Buet, Roger son of Aldan, Uchtred, son of Gamal, Ulf son of Gamal, illustrating a strong Scandinavian element in the local society. Alan, son of Waltheof, confirmed this charter with some alterations before his death in c. 1150. The name of the beneficiary was Aethelwold, clerk, son of Erlaf the priest. Alan and his mother witnessed with Robert, chaplain, Swain and Acca, priests, Uthred, son of Uthred, William, son of Waltheof and Egelward and Orm, his brothers, sons of Dolfin, Chetell, son of Ulfchill and Chetell, son of Robert. Waltheof, son of the Earl Gospatric, died about 1138.

1027 *St Bees*, nos. 22, 232, 223.
1028 *Holmcultram*, pp. 91, 92; Walter, prior of Carlisle about 1140, was also a member of this family; Eilward, son of Dolfin, was his brother and was related to Earl Gospatric by Eilward's marriage to Gospatric's daughter, Maud. One and a half miles from Bridekirk, the manor of Tallantire was also granted by Waltheof to Odard, son of Liulph.
1029 Phythian-Adams, p. 127.
1030 Phythian-Adams, p. 126; T.H.B. Graham, 'The Honour of Cockermouth', *CW2*, xxix (1929), pp. 69-70; A.J.L. Winchester, 'Medieval Cockermouth', *CW2*, lxxxvi (1986), pp. 122-3.
1031 Waltheof's grant of the church, a house in Carlisle and valuable relics, including two stones from the Holy Sepulchre, was confirmed by Henry II in 1175, *VCH Cumberland*, II, p. 139.
1032 Whellan, p. 203.
1033 Whellan, p. 211.
1034 This practice of granting churches to monastic foundations was also followed by the king, who gave to the new priory in Carlisle the parish church of Penrith and 6 churches in Northumberland, *RRA-N* II, no. 1431; *VCH Cumberland* II, p. 9.

underlines connection with English and southern Scottish religious houses. It is possible

Waltheof visited these areas and witnessed early developments at Kelso and Roxburgh and

numbers of churches being constructed across the region under the auspices of David and

his Norman lords.[1035] Waltheof's association with the church at Bridekirk, the close

proximity of his family to this area and records of patronage associated with other

churches, indicate that he may have ordered the church at Bridekirk, using not only local

craftsman to construct the building but also new ideas and sculptors linked to the growing

importance placed on south doorways and their meaning and purpose. It is, indeed,

possible this man was responsible for the commissioning of the font within the church,

perhaps designed and carved by Rikarth. The proximity of Allerdale to Carlisle ensured

Waltheof's awareness of the growth of the cathedral and priory buildings. He is recorded

as one of the early benefactors of the priory in his gift of the church at Cross Canonby, the

chapel of St Nicholas, Flimby and the church at Aspatria to the new foundation.[1036]

Significantly, Ranulf le Meschin is recorded in Lincolnshire in 1101 as a local

justiciar.[1037] The role of Ranulf in the north-west during the period after 1100 and

certainly after 1106 until his transfer to the earldom of Chester in 1120 is, in the opinion of

this writer, crucial to the understanding of the development of Norman sculptural

techniques and designs in the first two decades of the twelfth century. Churches

mentioned as gifts do not imply personal involvement but Ranulf's founding of Wetheral

Priory underlines his awareness of the need for a well established church as part of

securing political stability in the region. The significance of the royal associations with

Constantine has already been discussed and the choice of Wetheral was hugely beneficial

to the ambitious Norman.[1038] His involvement in the growth of Carlisle and its cathedral is

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[1035] David's involvement in the development of the church before 1124 and certainly thereafter
is covered in detail by R. Oram, *David, the King who made Scotland* (Stroud, 2004), Chapter 9.

[1036] A plot of land in Carlisle is also recorded which raises interesting questions about property ownership
within urban boundaries. A seventeenth-century copy of this document was found at Cockermouth
Castle, C.R. Davey, 'Medieval Grants to the Priory of Carlisle', *CW2*, xlv (1971), pp. 284-6. A copy also
survives in the cartularies of Holm Cultram priory. Both were confirmed by Henry II, c. 1175, J. Wilson,
'The Name of the bishop's manor of Bewley before 1300', *CW2*, iii (1903), pp. 246-9.

[1037] *Regesta*, nos. 531, 534.

[1038] Phythian-Adams, p. 151.

not documented but it is probable that he was involved in its early stages, emulating other powerful figures, for example, Bishop Roger of Salisbury.[1039] The clerestory capitals of the cathedral support an early date for the building programme with links to Durham and Normandy. Ranulf's marriage to Lucy, Ivo's widow, some time after 1101, confirmed his position and his landed wealth.[1040] Ranulf's move to the north-west around 1106, perhaps earlier, illustrates the king's awareness of the need for a strong military presence. Ranulf constructed the castle at Appleby as his base and it is possible he ordered the rebuilding of the two churches in this town.

The first recorded document referring to Ranulf's role as justiciar in Lincolnshire refers to a letter 'to Robert, Bishop of Lincoln, Ranulf le Meschin, Osbert the sheriff, Pirot, son of Colsuen, and all of Lincolnshire'.[1041] The second is a charter to St Évroul, which includes Ranulf as a witness.[1042] The third is a notification to Osbert, the sheriff of Lincolnshire and 'Ranulf and all the barons of Lincolnshire'.[1043] Queen Matilda witnessed this document but it is not clear from the wording whether Ranulf is included among the barons or given a higher status. In a notification by the Queen to 'Osbert, Sheriff of Lincoln, Ranulf le Meschin and all of Lincolnshire', he is isolated from the rest of the group and similarly in a precept by Henry which refers to the churches of the bishopric.[1044] Ranulf's position in Lincolnshire is influential but undefined. He is still recorded in Lincolnshire in 1105 and again possibly in 1106 where reference is made to St Mary's of Lincoln.[1045]

A crucial reference to Ranulf belongs to a Winchester document addressed to Ranulf, Osbert and the barons of Lincolnshire, granting the church of St Benedict of Wigford to St

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[1039] It has already been suggested in Chapter 1 that the original plan of the cathedral could have reflected that of Old Sarum, begun c. 1102. The apse at Warwick, another church associated with Ranulf could also be similar.

[1040] Through Lucy, Ranulf became closely involved in Spalding priory and also St Nicholas of Angers, two foundations close to her heart, *Regesta*, nos. 1376, 1602, 1635, 1167.

[1041] *Regesta*, p. 10, no. 531.

[1042] *Regesta*, p. 10, no. 533.

[1043] *Regesta*, p. 10, no. 534.

[1044] *Regesta*, p. 10, no. 537; all these documents are dated June or July, 1101.

[1045] *Regesta*, p. 48, no. 727, where he is mentioned together with Osbert the sheriff and his lieges, both French and English; Farrer, *Itinerary*, p. 97; *Regesta*, p. 52, no. 746.

Mary of Lincoln.[1046] The connections between Lincoln, Winchester and Old Sarum are significant as, at all three sites, cathedrals were under construction and must have been the subject of great interest. In 1106, Ranulf is appointed by the king to a panel of 'judges' to hear a complaint in Yorkshire against Osbert the sheriff.[1047] His close connection with Lincoln and Salisbury through Roger and Alexander in the early years of the century must also point to Ranulf's knowledge of events at Old Sarum and Sherbourne Castle, if not the myriad of smaller buildings which echoed the new styles and bold content of the sculpture at Old Sarum, including those of the West Country and Welsh border.[1048] Bishop Roger was a renowned patron of the arts and enough of his buildings have survived, albeit in the case of the cathedral only in fragments, to allow an appreciation of his influence.[1049] The complete disappearance of Wetheral is a huge gap in the knowledge of Ranulf as a patron of the arts. The similarities between the plan of Roger's cathedral building at Old Sarum and the original building at Carlisle, discussed in Chapter 1, support the possibility that Ranulf's patronage was involved in the early years of the Carlisle building.

Ivo de Taillebois administered the upper Eden valley after 1092 until his death in 1094.[1050] Ranulf's marriage to his widow, Lucy, after the death of her second husband, Roger, may have prompted his focus on the north-west. Indeed, although still documented in Lincolnshire in 1106 and later, it is possible that Ranulf was involved in the Appleby district as early as 1094 soon after the death of Ivo. There is, however, no evidence for the suggestion that the castle and borough of Appleby were begun in 1092.[1051] The castles

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[1046]   *Regesta*, p. 50. One of the witnesses here is the Bishop of Salisbury.
[1047]   *Regesta*, p. 62, no. 796.
[1048]   M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), pp. 218-225 for Old Sarum's influence.
[1049]   R.A. Stalley, 'A Twelfth-century Patron of Architecture: a Study of the Buildings erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102-1139', *JBAA*, 34 (1971), pp. 62-83.
[1050]   The precise date of his death is unknown but Lucy was quickly married to Roger fitz Gerold de Roumare, and produced an heir, Odard. Roger died c. 1098. It is possible Roger had An interest in Ivo's territory although there is no evidence for this, Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, vol. I, p. x.
[1051]   W.D. Simpson, 'Brough under Stainmore: the castle and the church', *CW2*, xlvi (1946), pp. 223-83; W.D. Simpson, 'The town and castle of Appleby: a morphological study', *CW2* xlix (1950), pp. 118-33, offers two different theories for the date of Ranulf's arrival. Opinion differs about Ranulf's involvement in the building of castles, Summerson, p. 21, suggests he built Appleby, Brough, Bowes and Burton-in-Lonsdale. There is no evidence supporting this and, indeed, the exact dates and patrons of these buildings is unknown. Farrer suggests Burton-in-Lonsdale was built by Ivo de Taillebois, R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', xxi (2005), p. 38, n. 90, Farrer, *Records of Kendale*, pp. 147-8.

constructed across Westmorland formed a chain of fortresses, culminating in the fortress at

Carlisle. Evidence also tells of many motte and bailey structures in the region, although

many were later walled in stone.[1052] Appleby, Brough and Brougham castles started out as

these structures.[1053] Ranulf's involvement with the growth of the town and churches is

supported by a document granting to St Mary's Abbey, 'the church of St Michael and the

Church of St Lawrence of my castle at Appleby'.[1054]

There are features that connect the early cathedral at Carlisle to other buildings, for

example, the base spurs, found also at Bridekirk, Isel, Warwick-on-Eden, Irthington and

Egremont Castle, the latter constructed by William le Meschin. Also in these examples

survive distinctive capitals with multi scallops (ill. 49). These are both found in the

church of St Mary, Frampton (Lincolnshire) where the capitals of the tower arch are

distinctively scalloped and the bases have spurs. The font in this church also displays

lozenge-shaped spurs on the bases of the north-east and south-east sides, beneath an

intersecting arcade.[1055] There are numerous examples of isolated motifs and sculptural

detail which link the early buildings of the north-west and those of Lincolnshire and the

south and south-west of the country. When considering how these ideas travelled, it must

be considered that patrons inspired and organised much of the building and decorating

trade in order to advance their status and their income. Two documents from Dover of

about 1110 mention Ranulf as one of the witnesses but no longer with reference to

Lincolnshire and it is possible that by this time he had moved to the north-west and the

monastery at Wetheral was under construction.[1056]

[1052] Burgh-by-Sands and Liddesdale, for example, where excavations have been carried out, revealing motte and bailey foundations, Phythian-Adams, pp. 138, 139; R.L. Storey, 'The Manor of Burgh-by-Sands', *CW2*, liv (1954).

[1053] For Appleby, Perriam and Robinson, pp. 252, 3; plan, p. 253; Brough, pp. 262, 3; Brougham, p. 264. Brough and Brougham were sites adjacent to Roman camps and it is most likely that stone was used in their construction from this source. Many motte and bailey structures were built on existing sites.

[1054] *Wetheral*, pp. 10-12, no. 3. RCHM *Westmorland* (London, 1936), pp. 7-12, 50-53, describes castles at Appleby and Brough. In 1856, the foundations of the north wall of the nave of St Lawrence was uncovered revealing that the original church built by Ranulf was only fractionally smaller than the building of today.

[1055] Pevsner, pp. 284, 285; base spurs are also found in the east end of Hereford Cathedral, c. 1115; at Tewkesbury Abbey in the nave clerestory (c. 1120); Reading Abbey, illustrated in a drawing by J. Buckler, B.L. MS Add. 36400A. In Normandy, examples are found at Saint George-de-Boscherville in the north transept apse.

[1056] *Regesta*, p. 69, no. 829; p. 92, no. 941.

A significant reference to Ranulf lies in a document produced at Reading in about 1111, where he is listed as a witness to the granting to St Mary of Abingdon and St Andrew of Colne various gifts and churches.[1057] This suggests he was aware of developments at Reading Abbey and possibly the nearby church of Abingdon, influenced by ideas emanating from the new site.[1058] A document dated as late as 1114 from Worcester records Ranulf again as a witness to a notification by the king for a grant of a church to St Mary of Lincoln. His name heads the list of witnesses but stands isolated from that of the 'barons and sheriffs of Lincolnshire'.[1059] Another notification by the king, also possibly as late as 1114, includes Roger of Salisbury, Robert of Lincoln, others and Ranulf as witnesses.[1060] This supports again the suggestion that Ranulf was a close compatriot of Roger of Salisbury. If as late as 1114, Ranulf would have already had several years in the north and the building programmes at Wetheral, Appleby and probably Carlisle were under way. In December, 1115, a charter was signed at St Albans by Ranulf and other witnesses. This is significant for many reasons; not only were a plethora of important figures present, for example, Roger of Salisbury, but also the styles and content of St Albans manuscripts and sculpture appear in the sculptured font at Bridekirk. The St Albans Psalter was not begun for another ten years, but links between sites at this period are probable. St Albans by 1120 was an important centre of art and sculpture and its specific style had repercussions in many directions, for example, the carvings at Chichester, of unknown date, but considered about 1130.[1061] These stone carvings are related to the new use of drama, pose and gesture as illustrated by the Psalter and related paintings, further discussed in relation to the font at Bridekirk.

A document from some period between 1110 and 1115 from Winchester features Ranulf at the head of a list of dignitaries.[1062] A Reading document, probably of 1111, includes Roger of Salisbury and Ranulf, regarding land at Abingdon 'by St Frideswide's

[1057] *Regesta*, p. 100, no. 981; Farrer, *Itinerary*, p. 287.
[1058] *ERA*, pp. 167-174.
[1059] *Regesta*, p. 114, no. 1043; Cotton MS. Vesp. E. XVI, f. 8; Dugdale, viii., p. 1273.
[1060] *Regesta*, p. 121, no. 1077; Cotton MS Claud. D. X. f. 72; Farrer, *Itinerary*, p. 269.
[1061] *ERA*, p. 93, no. 17, for the St Albans Psalter; M. Durliat, *L'Art Roman* (Paris, 1982), p. 162, pl. 64.
[1062] *Regesta*, p. 130, no. 1116.

church'.[1063] A document belonging to Reading for the first time addresses the 'ministers and liéges of Cumberland and Westmorland', confirming the churches of Appleby, St Michael and St Lawrence, to St Mary's, York 'with their lands and tithes on both sides of the river and the tithes of the demesnes of Mauld's Meaburn and Salkeld, given by Ranulf Meschin. Eustace fitz John was one of the witnesses.[1064] This name appears regularly within the documents related to the king, for example, in a notification by him to Eustace and others in Yorkshire in 1128, (including Forne, son of Sigulf) and another document from the same year addressed to 'Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John, and Odard the sheriff and all the King's lieges, French and English, of Cumberland.[1065] Ranulf remained a close ally of the king and is documented with him at Barfleur in Normandy in 1120, witnessing a charter in relation to the abbey of St Vigor.[1066] After 1122, he is referred to as Ranulf, Earl of Chester, a title which he never acquired in the Carlisle region.[1067] After 1120, the region around Carlisle and the area to the south-east, Ranulf's 'potestas', was divided into Carlisle and Westmorland, run by sheriffs and overseen directly by the king, who made his one and only visit to Carlisle in 1122.[1068] By this date, it can be assumed that Ranulf was already in his new role.

David I's act of 1124, bestowing Annadale on Robert de Brus, 'whatever customs Ranulf had', does support the probability that Ranulf's position was one to aspire to and emulate.[1069] It is likely that Ranulf encountered the young Prince David several years previously. The Scottish prince was brought up in the royal household, a friend and later brother-in-law of Henry I. His education, language, manners and cultural outlook were continental although, once king, his priority was his Scottish heritage. As Prince of

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[1063] *Regesta*, p. 132, no. 1128; copies in Cotton MSS Claud. B. VI, f. 140v; Farrer, *Itinerary*, p. 356.
[1064] *Wetheral*, pp. 26, 27, no. 9; Nicholson and Burn, I, p. 322; Dugdale, ii, p. 585, (xix); Farrer, *Itinerary*, p. 431.
[1065] *Regesta*, p. 220, nos. 1557, 1560.
[1066] *Regesta*, p. 139 and p. 151, no. 1233.
[1067] The most probable date for his investiture as Earl of Chester is Epiphany, 1121, *Regesta*, 1243, which provides the earliest reference to his title, appointing Richard de Capella to the see of Hereford, R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092-1136', *CW2* xxi (2005), p. 51, n. 132; P. Chaplais, 'The seals and original charters of Henry I', *HER* 75 (1960), pp. 260-75, pp. 265, 273.
[1068] Kentdale was not included with Carlisle until 1856.
[1069] R. Sharpe, op. cit., p. 48; *Wetheral*, p. 398; Lawrie, pp. 48-49, no. 54; G. W.S. Barrow, *The Charters of David I* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 61-2, no. 16.

Cumbria during the reign of his brother Alexander and then as King of Scotland, David retained interests in Cumbria south of the Solway although is unrecorded there before 1124.[1070] The development of Cumberland's church during these early years of the twelfth century cannot by studied in isolation from Strathclyde, Tweeddale and Teviotdale and the role of David before and after his accession to the throne. The relationship between the areas is, however, hampered by lack of documentary evidence for contact and much remains supposition. Thus, David's role in the growth of the church and its buildings in Cumberland and Westmorland remains shadowy but, in the opinion of this writer, is crucial to understanding the sculpture produced during the first half of the century. Edgar's legacy ensured David's control of Teviotdale and Tweeddale and the lands within the jurisdiction of the bishops of Strathclyde. His titles were *princeps and dux*, *Cumbrensis regionis princes* and *princes Cumbrensis*.[1071] Before his accession in 1124, therefore, David already had status, albeit not regal, in the north-west and the geographical proximity and easy eccess between the Eden valley and the border valleys to the north-east must have ensured his contact with the lands surrounding Carlisle. That he knew of Ranulf is a certainty: that the two men were friends is a possibility that cannot be discounted. Even before 1124, David was introducing his Norman friends to positions of power and status in his Scottish realm, eight of whom are listed in the Annandale charter.[1072] After 1124, although King of Scotland, David's cultural experience and aspirations remained essentially Norman. Contemporary comment supports this view.[1073]

The churches in Scotland linked with the patronage of David I are numerous and, from evidence of other stone churches founded in Edgar's reign, for example, Edrom (in 1105), it is possible that David began work on a stone church at Selkirk soon after its foundation

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[1070] David's early whereabouts are little known. He was last documented in England in 1107 and until 1113 and the foundation at Selkirk of his Tironensian abbey, there is no mention of him. It is possible, apart from Normandy where he had inherited lands, he spent time in the Cumbrian lands south of the Solway.

[1071] Lawrie, nos. 45, 46; A.A.M. Duncan, *The Kingship of the Scots 842-1292* (Edinburgh, 2003), pp. 60, 61, For a discussion of these titles; R. Oram, *David, the King who made Scotland*, p. 63.

[1072] The list included Eustace fitz John, typical of Henry I's 'new men'. No Gaelic magnates were invited as witnesses. The document is addressed to David's 'French' and 'English' subjects.

[1073] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* ii, p. 476, describes David as 'more courtly' than his brothers'.

in 1113, although nothing remains of the carved stone.[1074] How far the building had progressed before 1128 is not clear but two sites in Roxburghshire have surviving sculptural fragments which perhaps reflected David's patronage. The sculptured capitals at Bonchester and the fragments from Yetholm, only 8 miles from Kelso, illustrate the current developments of stone-carving in the Scottish border country during this period (ills. 8, 9, 10). The combination of geometric design and foliate capitals with grotesques is found at both sites, a feature found at Great Salkeld and St Bees, and perhaps a feature of the lost building at Selkirk.

A document from 1130, after David's accession to the throne of Scotland but before Henry's death, includes several dominant names. Addressed to the Archbishop of York and 'all his barons of Yorkshire, Cumberland, Northumberland and Westmorland: that he has given to Ivo son of Forne all the land which his father held from the King in chief'. The witnesses are David, Geoffrey the chancellor, Robert de Brus, Geoffrey fitz Payn and Miles of Gloucester.[1075] The inclusion here of Robert de Brus is important for the connection between Cumbria north and south of the Solway and the role of the newly appointed Scottish landowners.[1076] Other names appear frequently in the documents, for example, Turgis Brundos, who occupied the manor of Liddel until Ranulf le Meschin's departure in 1120.[1077] No documents associate him with a church but this manor was significantly sited between England and Scotland. Another lord who had retained his position after 1092 was Forne, son of Sigulf, lord of Greystoke. His status remained after 1100 and his lands were confirmed by Henry I in the 1120s, establishing the right for his

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[1074] From the evidence of surviving carving at Kelso, David's awareness of current trends is a certainty and there is no reason to suppose that Selkirk, even in its short existence, was not following contemporary stylistic ideas and techniques.

[1075] *Regesta*, p. 237, no. 1639; Reg. of Greystoke Charters, f. 142; Farrer, *EYC.*, no. 1237.

[1076] *Regesta*, p. 32, no. 648; Farrer, *Itinerary*, p. 176; a document places this Norman baron firmly in the centre of operations dated 1103 and signed at Windsor where Robert's authority is established: 'noone is to hunt in this land without the leave of Robert Brus'. The witnesses include David, brother of the Queen. Robert's long 'reign' is confirmed by a document as late as 1128-1133 to the canons of Bridlington Priory. Robert is listed among the witnesses alongside the king, Thurstan, Archbishop of York, Ralph, Bishop of the Orkneys, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert, Bishop of London, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, John, Bishop of Rochester, Adelf, Prior of St Oswald, Nostell, and others.

[1077] *Testa de Nevil: Book of Fees*, Vol. 1, p. 198 (1920).

heirs to succeed to the lands.[1078] His son, named Ivo, was perhaps named after the Norman

lord who first appeared in the district after 1092. The charter was confirmed by David I

and Robert de Brus.[1079]

Glasgow and its surrounding district is described by Barrow as 'one of the best

regulated districts in the realm'.[1080] Alexander had ruled a vast tract of land in the south-

west of Scotland, including Nithsdale, creating a protective ring of fiefs surrounding

Glasgow: Renfrew; Mearns; Strathgryfe; Kyle Stewart; Annandale; Eskdale; Ewesdale and

Liddesdale. His status was princely in the region, 'regio' used for the area of rule and

'princeps' for his title.[1081] Michael was appointed to the bishopric of Glasgow (between

1109 and 1114) and was buried at Morland illustrating his connections with north and

south of the Solway.[1082] He was consecrated by Thomas, Archbishop of York, but

remained much of his life at Morland and, possibly, at Hoddom.[1083] After 1114, David

appointed John as bishop of Glasgow, consecrated by Pope Paschal II.[1084] The see of

Glasgow, however, notably under Bishop John, rejected York's dominance. This took

place before 1118 as Thurstan had not yet been consecrated as archbishop of York. John

was David's tutor and was inspired by the movement arising from Tiron Abbey, near

Chartres, leading to the foundation of monks at Selkirk.[1085] On his appointment, the issue

of York's supremacy was avoided following the death of Thomas II until Thurstan's

consecration to the see in 1119, although John was consecrated in Rome by Pope Paschal

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[1078] The writ charter of c. 1124 x 1127 was found in the Howard of Naworth archive, now Durham University Library MS HNP/C201/7, f. 42v.

[1079] Herefordshire and Lincolnshire illustrate examples of manorial patronage, D. Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, 1953), pp. 54, 66; capitals and corbels on the church are very close to other Lincolnshire examples, Bicker, Ancaster and Allington, suggesting a workshop may have been involved in the area. The church at Alveley with its lavish decorative scheme was probably inspired and paid for by Guy Lestrange, who held the manor in 1155, using the decoration as a statement of his family's rising fortunes. Other examples of possible manorial patronage are documented in the Domesday survey, for example, at Feniston (Lincolnshire) which held two churches and two priests and was given by Alan de Creun to Crowland Abbey in 1114.

[1080] G.W.S. Barrow, *The Charters of David I* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 2.

[1081] *Glasgow Registrum*, ii, pp. 3, 4.

[1082] J. Dowden, 'The Bishops of Scotland' (Edinburgh, 1912), pp. 294-5.

[1083] A.O. Anderson, *Scottish Annals from English Chroniclers* (1908), p. 193.

[1084] Barrow, op. cit., pp. 203-4; *ESC*, no. 267.

[1085] *ESC*, no. 270.

II in the previous year.[1086] In 1122, Thurstan suspended John who went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem and on to Rome where he was ordered to return to Scotland by Calixtus. In 1125, the papal legate discussed the whole matter with David at his Roxburgh seat and, in 1127, Henry persuaded Thurstan to soften his stance in return for David's support for Matilda.[1087] The dispute epitomises the rather tenuous relationship between emerging Scotland and its hold on Carlisle and surrounding region. Despite the links between David and the Augustinian priories at Scone, Holyrood and Nostell, he and Bishop John opposed the foundation at Carlisle. John was threatened with excommunication and retired to Tiron until 1139 and the arrival in Carlisle of Alberic. Although he returned to Glasgow, he remained recalcitrant until his death in 1147. In 1147, Herbert (Abbot of Kelso) was appointed to Glasgow without demands from York and Archbishop William fitz Herbert.[1088] The issue of sovereignty was still unresolved by David's death in 1153, but it was St Andrews, not Carlisle or Glasgow, which became the centre of the Scottish church.[1089]

As early as 1114, David gave an annual payment of £5 from the estate of Hardingstone (Northampton) to Glasgow, for the construction and renewal of the cathedral, the only gift recorded before 1136, although others can perhaps be presumed.[1090] Little is known of the chronology of the building programme of Glasgow cathedral, but the choir and the crossing were probably complete by the time of the dedication in 1136, the same year David occupied Carlisle. A Glasgow archdeacon, recorded in 1127, bears a Norman name and contacts continued with the continent.[1091] Despite the aggressive nature of some of David's actions, especially in the 1130s, his crucial role in the ecclesiastical development

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[1086] *A-S.C.*, H, s.a. 1114.

[1087] Hugh Sottewain, 'Archbishops of York', in Raine, *Historians of York*, ii, p. 217; R. Oram, op. cit. pp. 79-81.

[1088] *John of Hexham*, p. 321; R. Oram, op. cit., p. 154.

[1089] Ferguson, P.C., *Medieval Papal Representatives in Scotland: Legates, Nuncios, and Judges-Delegate, 1125- 1286*, Stair Society 45 (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 39, n. 66.

[1090] *Glasgow Registrum*, I, nos. 3,6,7,8,9,10; the eighth-penny of all his profits of justice throughout Cumbriam whether they were rendered in coined money or in kind'; G.W.S. Barrow, *David I and the Church of Glasgow*, p. 8.

[1091] D.E.R. Watt, 'Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticannae Medii Aeri ad annum 1638 (2nd draft, St Andrews, 1969), p. 170.

of Scotland is stressed by contemporary writers and those of the later twelfth century who describe his attitude to the reform of the church as his fundamental duty as king.[1092]

These, then, are just four of the possible patrons of stone sculpture across the lordships and royal demesne of the north-west during this period. There were, doubtless, many others who remain undocumented and unrecorded. The nature of patronage from other areas of the country where documentary evidence has survived suggests that a whole range of men and women inspired and funded the building of stone churches to answer the growing need for parochial churches across the land. The choice of stone decoration was dependent on many aspects of these people's lives, not merely their ability to pay, but also the access to sculptors, to stone and to knowledge and their own individual aspirations for status and heavenly reward. Despite the lack of firm evidence, and the loss of vital records from Carlisle and elsewhere, the role of men such as Waltheof of Allerdale, a non-Norman lord who quickly adapted to the new order without loss to himself or his family, and Ranulf le Meschin, a Norman knight who acquired regal status and wealth in the region through his loyalty and courage, are crucial in understanding the progress which accelerated in the early years of the twelfth century to bring the region into line with developments of the Norman kingdom elsewhere.

The sculpture from Norman Cumberland and Westmorland has been the subject of this study and the main carvings which survive have been presented and discussed in detail. It has not been possible to assign a specific patron to any church or stone-carving nor can a definitive chronology be assigned to surviving sculpture. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence, albeit piecemeal, to suggest the development of the parochial system across Cumberland and Westmorland during the Norman and Scottish periods, from 1092 until 1153, and the building of churches to accompany this trend. The sculptural evidence suggests that traditional societies flourished alongside incoming continental communities and that the Norman overlay was not as severe as elsewhere in England, perhaps due to the co-operation of the indigenous people and their leaders. It is remarkable that, unlike the

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[1092] R. Oram, op. cit., p. 79.

situation on the Welsh marches, there was little opposition from within Allerdale or Copeland or the area in the vicinity of Carlisle, with the exception of Gilsland, and, even in this case, Ranulf le Meschin seems to have acceded quickly to the demands of the local chief, Gille. It is clear the Normans took over an existing system of government as illustrated in the Writ of Gospatric although there is no way of knowing exactly how this government was structured or how far its powers stretched throughout this remote region.

The sculpture identified and studied in this thesis illustrates, despite its fragmented state, an eclectic society. Local artists and craftsmen were ready to assimilate ideas introduced by the Normans and to experiment with the new fashions and designs being brought in by masons, patrons, monks and travelling artists. The sculptors also adhered to traditional themes and patterns, illustrated on the lintel-stone and on the font. The doorways at St Bees, at Torpenhow and elsewhere illustrate a pride of workmanship equal to anywhere in the Norman kingdom and the loss of the sculpture at Carlisle and Wetheral may have denied us further sculptural gems, given the possible patronage of Henry I and Ranulf le Meschin and their knowledge of the southern centres of architectural and sculptural development. The name 'Rikarth' signed on the font provides a glimpse of this pride and the acquisitive nature of the craftsmen. The font is a unique survival, but it is unlikely, given the high quality of the work and the extraordinary variety of its iconography, that this was the only piece of stone sculpture that Rikarth carved. The huge numbers of fonts and other furniture including screens, now lost, suggest the probability other fonts existed, carved for different churches, perhaps with Lives of Saints, New and Old Testament scenes and a myriad of decorative pattern and ornament.

The role of the story-teller was an integral part of society and so, too, the sculptor in stone had a significant part to play in the creation of the surroundings in which these people lived and worshipped and in the meaning and significance of the carvings which have disappeared over the centuries. That the carvings were part of an overall scheme within each individual building cannot be doubted, but it is beyond the bounds of this study to attempt to assign meaning to individual motifs and patterns. To segregate the

detail or to decipher each carving as a separate entity is to misunderstand the overall

purpose of the carved decoration within the context of the world which created this art-

form. The loss of so much material, not just in stone, but in all the arts, makes any

aspiration for meaning a hazardous one. Stories were illustrated in all the arts and story-

telling formed the basis of their lives and entertainment.[1093] The majority of the population

could neither read nor write and stories and illustrations were as much for didactic

purposes as for the delight of the onlookers. The icon, the image and the myriad of detail

across the carved stone communicated the religious message to the congregation but also

added other essential aspects: beauty, humour, vulgarity and imagination mixed with

themes of conflict, fear and hope.[1094] Without doubt, the epics and romances fuelled

inspiration for carving and decoration and the stone sculpture which survives is just a

glimpse of a world which has since vanished. For this reason alone, what remains is a

vital link with the past, providing a clue to twelfth-century thinking and aspirations, of

their relationship to their God, to the natural world and to each other. The sculpture at St

Bees, at Bridekirk, on the doorways, in fragmentary form on many sites and surviving in

the cathedral, can only be understood within the cultural context that created the

decoration. The tradition of stone sculpture persisted in the region with the arrival of the

Norman and continental settlers and the use of this material by the Normans was a natural

progression of this art which had flourished for hundreds of years through different

cultural periods. The role of mason and sculptor and the art of stone sculpture emerged

during the twelfth century.

[1093] Chrétien de Troyes describes an ivory saddle carved with scenes from the tales of Aeneas, C.J. Campbell, 'Courting, Harlotry and the Art of the Gothic Ivory-carving', *Gesta* 34-35 (1995-6), pp. 11-19.

[1094] The combination of liturgy and imagery is illustrated by Byzantine churches where each part of the church was symbolical. The use of decorative columns in Anglo-Norman buildings, for example, at Kirkby Lonsdale, may also reflect this division into specific areas of purpose, R. Ousterhout, 'Temporal structuring in the Chora Parekklesion in the church of St Savios in Chora in Constantinople, 1316-21', *Gesta* 34-35 (1995-6); H. Wybrew, *The Orthodox Liturgy:the Development of the Eucharistic Liturgy in the Byzantine Rite* (London, 1989), pp. 139-44, for the eleventh-century writings of Nikolaos of Audida, linking the life of Christ and the liturgy.

The Normans came to establish Cumberland and Westmorland as part of their kingdom. This was the intention and eventually it was achieved. The churches that were built during this period reflected their aspiration to control and to organise and were symbols of status and growing wealth and offered the promise of salvation to all. Whole communities benefitted from the stability created by the Norman government, employing as it did both Norman incomers and indigenous inhabitants of the region. The art of stone sculpture which accompanied the building of churches across the region was no random art, a mere whim of patron or craftsman. The language spelt out in the carvings was understood by all, reinforced by paintings, tapestries, floor tiles and other church furniture. Every church told its own story, of links with a specific saint, or a patron, imbued with magic and drama, with story-telling and legend, reinterpreted and reproduced by the sculptors and artists for the lords and the laiety. Ultimately, the convergence of many traditions: Roman classicism; Celtic superstition; Nordic saga; Irish folklore; indigenous pattern and Norman innovation with its connections with the rest of Europe and Byzantium formed the bases of the sculptural ornament still apparent in the surviving fragments from Cumberland and Westmorland.

APPENDICES

i) List of parishes of 1291

ii) Gospatric's Writ

iii) Pipe Roll of 1130

iv) St Hildred's writ-charter

i)   **List of parishes of 1291**

'The following list, taken from the returns for the papal taxation of 1291, may be of interest as shewing the ancient parishes of the diocese. They are grouped under their ancient deaneries.

Carlisle: Crosby on Eden, Denton, Walton, Brampton, Irthington, Farlam, Grinsdale, Hayton, Cumwhitton, Cumrew, Rockliffe, Sebergham, Aikton, Beaumont, Great Orton, Burgh-by-Sands, Arthuret, Stapletong, Kirklinton, Eston, Bewcastle, Cambok, Carlaton, Castle Carrock, Kirkandrews on Eden, Thursby, Bowness-on-Solway, Dalston, Wetheral, Carlisle St Cuthbert, Scaleby, Kirkbampton, Stanwix.

Allerdale: Wigton, Kirkbride, Bromfield, Aspatria, Bolton, Ireby, Uldale, Caldbeck, Crosthwaite, Isel, Bassenthwaite, Torpenhow, Plumbland, gilcrux, Bridekirk, Cross Canonby, Dearham, Camerton.

Westmorland: Brough under Stainmore, Kirkby Stephen, Ravenstonedale, Musgrave, Crosby Garret, Warcop, Asby, Orton, Ormside, Appleby St Lawrence, Appleby St Michael, Morland, Cliburn, Long Marton, Dufton, Kirkby Thore, Newbiggin, Shap, Bampton, Askham, Lowther, Clifton, Brougham, Barton, Crosby Ravensworth.

Cumberland: Edenhall, Kirkland, Ousby, Castle Sowerby, Renwick, Lazonby, Kirkoswald, Croglin, Ainstable, Melmerby, Dacre, Greystoke, Hutton in the Forest, Addingham, Penrith, Skelton, Great Salkeld.

All known parishes are included, except Warwick, presumably considered only a chapel, and St Mary's, Carlisle, which was part of the priory.'[1095]

ii) Gospatric's Writ (translation)

Gospatric sends friendly greetings to all my *wassenas* and to every man, free man [*freo*] and *dreng*, dwelling in all the lands that were Cumbrian, and to all my kindred. And I inform you that I give my consent and full permission that Thortfynn mac Thore be as free in all things that are mine in Allerdale as any man may be, either I myself or any of my *wassenas* in *weald*, in scrubland [*freyth*], in enclosures [*heyninga*], and in respect of all things that are above the earth and under it, as far as Caldbeck. And it is my will that the men dwelling with thorfynn at Cardew and Cumdivock shall be as free, along with him, as Melmor and thore and Sigulf were in the days of Eadred. And let no man be so bold that – with what I have given to him [?] – anywhere break the peace [*girth*] which [?] Earl Siward and I have granted him as freely as to any man living under the sky. And let everyone abiding there by as free of gel as I am and as Waltheof and Wygand and Wibert and Gamell and Kunyth may wish [*willan*], and all my kindred and dependants [*wassenas*]. And it is my will that Thorfynn shall have sake and soke, toll and team, over all the lands in Cardew and Cumdivock that were given to Thore in the days of Moryn, free from the obligation of providing messengers [*bode*] and witnesses in the same place.[1096]

iii) Pipe Roll Entry of 1130 for Carlisle

CARLISLE [1] Hildred renders account for £14 16s 6d of the old farm of Carlisle and of the king's manors.

[1095] Bouch, pp. 15, 16.
[1096] Phythian-Adams, p. 173, Appendix 1.

On the works of the city of Carlisle, viz, in making a wall around the city, he paid out £14 16s 6d. And is quit.

[2] The same Hildred for the new farm. In the treasury £45 10s 0d. In agreed payments 113s 4d. In lands given by the king's writ to Richard Rider 13s 4d of land. And he owes £4 5s 8d.

[3] The same Hildred renders accound for 3oz of gold and 15d by weight. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit.

[4] William fitz Balwin renders accound for 30s for the old farm of the king's garden of Carlisle. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit. The same William owes 30s for the farm of the same garden in the year now ending.

[5] Richard Ryder owes £9 16s 0d from the cornage of the fifth year back. And the same Richard owes £8 from the cornage of the fourth year back. But it likewise remains in the demesne manors of the king. And the same Richard owes 73s 6d from the cornage of the third year back. And the same Richard renders account for £80 and 108s and 8d for the cornage of last year. In the treasury £62. And in gifts by the king's writ to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle £10 towards the building of the church. And in pardons by the king's writ to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle 37s 4d. And in works on the wall of the city of Carlisle £6 2s 0d. And he owes £6 9s 4d.

[6] And the same Hildred renders account for £80 and 108s and 8d for the cornage. In the treasury £31 16s 0d. In payments by the king's writ to the knights and serjeants of Carlisle £42 7s 7d. In pardons by the king's writ to the canons of St Mary of Carlisle 37s 4d. And he owes £9 7s 9d.

[7] And the same Richard renders account for 20s of the old farm of his land. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit.

[8] Hildred and Odard his son render account for 40s for the grant of the land of Gamel fitz Bern. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit.

[9] Hervey de Vesci owes £10 for the wife of Swein fitz Alric and her dower.

[10] The burgesses of Carlisle render account for 100s from the old farm of the silver mine. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit.

[11] William and Hildred owe/render account for £40 of the farm of the silver mine for the year now ending.

[12] Odard the sheriff renders account for £10 from the old farm for the pleas of Carlisle that pertain to the shrievalty. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit.

And the same Odard owes £10 from the year now ending for the pleas of Carlisle that pertain to the shrievalty. And the same sheriff owes 55s for the small please of Walter Espec and Eustace fitx John. And the same sheriff owes 4 marks for the other pleas of Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John.

New pleas and agreements

[13] Roger de Stoch' owes 2 hunters for the land and houses that belonged to Werri the Fleming in Carlisle.

[14] Richard Ryder owes 5 marks for the land that belonged to Etard for such service as any free man does for his land.

WESTMORLAND

[1] Richard fitz Gerard of Appleby renders account for 79s and 4d of the old farm. He paid it into the treasury. And is quit.

[And the same R]ichard renders account for 103s 4d for the cornage from last year. In the treasury £4 10s 0d.

[....] the lands of outlaws who fled 13s 4d. And is quit.

[2] [..]non' renders account for the new farm of Westmorland. In the treasury £26 19s 0d. [Iin payments] agreed 60s.

[And he owes..]s. 5d.

[3][....] renders account for the cornage.

In the treasury £43.

[....]

[4] […] renders account for 40s that he should become porter of Appleby castle. In the treasury 20s.

[5] [..] renders account for 22 marks and 9d from the small pleas of Walter Espec and Eustace fitzJohn. In the treasury 7 mnarks.

[… for the other pleas] of Walter Espec and Eustace fitz John 8s. 4d.

[And heowes…£.] 11s. 8d.

[6] […] owes 15 marks for the pleas of Eustace fitz John concerning lesser men.

[7] [And Richard] de Rullos owes 1 mark of gold in order to be justly treated in his lord's court.

iv)   **Writ-charter to Hildred of Carlisle**

Writ-charter granting to Hildred of Carlisle and his son Odard the land that was Gamel son of Bern's and the land that was Glassan son of Brictric's, the king's drengs. October 1129 x September 1130.[1097] Henry king of the English to Walter Espec, Eustace fitz John and Odard the sheriff and al his sworn men French and English of Cumberland greeting. Know that I have given and granted to Hildred of Carlisle and his son Odard the land which was held by Gamel son of Bern and the land which was held by Glassan son of Brictric, my drengs, rendering to me thereof every year in service the rent of animals just as other free men French and English render who hold of me in chief in Cumberland and doing other service thereof such as other free men do for me for thie lands. And I will and command that they shall hold as well and in peace and as honourably in wood and field in water and in all other things as my other free men of Cumberland hold. Witness.

[1097]   R. Sharpe, 'Norman Rule in Cumbria 1092 -1136', *CW2* (2005), p. 12, for full bibliography and Latin text.

SELECTED CATALOGUE

1) Aspatria (ill. 1)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Kentigern
Sculpture	arch over vestry doorway, west arch, font

2) Bassenthwaite St Bega

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Bega
Sculpture	plain north doorway

3) Bolton (ills. 2-7)

County	Cumbria, (pre-1974, Westmorland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	All Saints
Sculpture	south doorway, north doorway and two reliefs
	South doorway worn hood-mould decorated with six-petalled rosettes, carved along five separate stones, each with four rosettes, totalling twenty motifs. Left-hand double capital illustrates a figure holding two staves, right-hand capital with winged figure of unknown identity.
North doorway	set beneath two reliefs, similar ornament to south doorway, but worn. Scalloped capitals.
Two reliefs	carved from Lazonby sandstone. Left relief with two combatants on horseback bearing lances and shields. Pointed

Anglo-Norman helmets, one knight with banner on his lance.

Smaller panel to right carved with an inscription in Old French,

but the only letters visible may translate 'Sir Lawrence de Vere

gives to the men of Bolton'.

Dimensions (approximate)

South doorway

w. (of opening)	1.30m
w. of capitals	0.52m
h. of capitals and abaci	0.39m
h. of capitals	0.29m
w. of abaci beneath arch	0. 52m
d. of abaci	0.26m
h. of left-hand figure	0.20m

North doorway

w. (of opening)	1.30m
Relief	0.65m x 0.40m
Inscription	0.45m x 0.30m

4) Bowness-on-Solway (ills. 11, 12)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Michael
Sculpture	font, two lengths of saltire cross pattern
	church built largely Roman stones Font bowl original and in
	good condition, decorated with vine scrolls and strap-work.

5) Bridekirk (ills. 13-35)

County	Cumbria, (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Bridget
Sculpture	south doorway, east doorway, tympanum, chancel arch, font piece of cable moulding in the nave, now lost. East doorway with billet moulding on outer order and scallop capitals with plain shafts, abaci and bases.

Dimensions

South doorway

h. (including tympanum)	2.89m
w. (including abaci)	2.30m
h. (top of abaci to floor)	1.95m
h. (base of tympanum to floor)	2.06m
h. of shafts including capitals and bases	1.77m
h. of shafts	1.47m
h. of capitals	0.42m
w. of capitals adjacent to doorway	0.29m
w. of bases	0.27m

Tympanum

d.	0.40m
d. (at lower end)	0.24m
w. (to outside edges)	1.44m

Font

(inscription and centaur and narrative faces)

h. (from floor)	0.90m
w. (at base)	0.70m
h. of upper register	0.25m
h. of lower register	0.32m
w. at division of registers	0.54m
inscription w.	0.02m – 0.03m

(rosette and baptism faces)

w. of plinth at floor level	0.60m
h. (from plinth)	0.59m
w. (at base)	0.39m
w. (at division of registers)	0.46m
h. (of upper register)	0.27m
h. (of lower register)	0.32m
w. (at top)	0.49m
h. of cross	0.20m
w. of rosette	0.18m

Description

The four faces of the font are described as follows: the present east face is called in the 'inscription face', the south face, the 'rosette face', the west face, the 'centaur and narrative face' and the north face, the 'baptism face'. Carved from a single piece of grey magnesian limestone, the rectangular object lies on a low plinth, possibly of later date (pl. 55). The basin is a deep rectangle and tapers slightly towards its base. The decoration is carved across four faces, each divided into two registers by plain mouldings. A similar

moulding runs around the top of the upper panels which has been slightly damaged. The font measures 0.42m x 0.34m externally and the basin 0.395m x 0.315m, with a depth of 22cm. The decorative panels measure 60cm in height, but the lower registers are 64cm. These dimensions make the font one of the smallest of its type in the country.[1098]

Inscription Face (ill. 19)

The description begins with the face of the font which currently faces east and which carries the inscription. The original position of the font is unknown.[1099] This side is divided into two horizontal registers by a continuous plain moulding. Above are two affronted beasts consuming beaded acanthus. Their forefeet touch, resting on the flat ground and the bodies are concealed by wings and curl into beaded acanthus stems designed as tails culminating in beaded stems. Their necks are decorated with stylised curls. The design is carved in low relief, surface details finely etched and the wings are cut in broad, chiselled strokes. The facial details are fine and shallow and the acanthus motifs are modelled with projecting leaves, etched with tiny surface detail.

In the lower register are two horizontal bands of decoration, divided by the runic inscription incised on a scroll which runs between two columns, placed at the corners of the font. The letters measure 1cm to 2cm high and fit exactly on to the scroll beneath. Above the inscription, three and a half circles of unbeaded acanthus stems lie against flat ground, ending in flowers. Three bunches of vines occupy the intervening spaces. To the right, a small, kilted male figure runs to the left, his right arm clutching a stem and biting a bunch of grapes. The profile face with large almond-shaped eyes is finely carved, his fringed hair falls neatly behind the shoulders and his bare feet are finely carved. To the left of this figure are two circular stems. A third is occupied by an animal running to the left, its face in profile, biting the foliage. Its eye is similar to that of the kilted figure and the ears resemble those of the beasts above. To the left is a mask viewed from above with

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[1098] Drake, p. 10.
[1099] Whellan, p. 285.

large, almond-shaped eyes and a detailed wrinkled nose. Two stems extend from its open mouth, curling into circular motifs.

Below the inscription are two circles of beaded stems, springing from the flower-like motifs above. A small man in profile kneels to carve the beading on the stem. He holds two tools; a mallet in his raised right hand, a chisel in his left hand carving the stem. A small curl of shaved stem is visible. The vest clings to the figure's chest and the kilt is etched over the kneeling leg with tiny 'nested v-folds'. The lower leg is bare and the delicately modelled bare foot rests on the ground. To the right, circles end on a small tail which curls around the beading. The scene is set beneath the inscription between two corner columns in high relief with plain abaci and scallop capitals.

Rosette Face (ill. 22)

The upper register of the south side is occupied by a cross with four arms of equal length which culminate in moulded terminals. Above and below, these extend into the frames of the register. The arms to the right and left extend into two beaded stems, which divide into double stems, each terminating in beaded foliage motifs curling back towards the cross. The four central leaves are of similar design and point towards the four central corners of the cross. The edges of the leaves are moulded and the profuse surface detail varies in depth and modelling. The outer leaves curve back towards the centre and their ends curl up away from the flatter stems beneath, similar to those of the east face. A circular boss motif lies between the curved stems on either side.

The register beneath represents a rosette with a central boss set in a cabled circle between two beasts, their front feet resting on the rosette. The one on the left has a profile head with swept back ears and large, almond-shaped eyes and the long body culminates in a sweeping tail, with hind legs resting on the ground. The second head is seen from above with defined eyes and ears biting the central rosette. The long body twists down into an acanthus tail ending in a shell motif. The surface detail of both creatures in finely chiselled. The rosette and two beasts are framed by a rectangle of semi-acanthus motifs

surrounding the central area. They are symmetrical on the upper and two side borders but the bottom row uses half motifs. The leaf design of the two upper corners is identical. The lower left corner has a long leaf motif, curled in two halves and the lower right motif is a curled acanthus leaf. The whole surface is moulded and detailed, with soft edges and flat grounds and the arms and lower legs of the beasts are carved in high relief.

Centaur and Narrative Face (ill. 21)

This side of the font is the most damaged, although the area of damage is largely confined to the top beneath the original rim. The upper register contains three figures, one resembling a centaur in the centre and a beast to either side. The head of the central centaur is destroyed. Only the front leg is carved and the rear leg stretches out beneath the beast. The second beast steps forward and rests on the moulding beneath. The upper half of the body is frontal and the right hand clutches the front paw of the beast to the left; the left hand clutches the neck of the beast to the right. Both arms carry beaded bracelets and a beaded necklace circles the body. The body is carved in profile and stretches across the composition. The tail curls up towards the beast on the right. The left beast has only a profiled head, a winged body and front legs. The short tail ends in a flower motif with four large petals and a central boss. The beast on the right has a long neck ending in a pointed jawline which bites the left arm of the centaur. The tail spirals round in a circle and the front legs rest on the centaur's back. The surface detail of the three figures is finely carved.

The narrative scene below contains three figures set in a landscape. The figures project from flat ground. The figure on the left faces to the right and is dressed in a long tunic with a scalloped hem, covered by an elaborate cloak, the hem of which is decorated with a zigzag pattern. The face is set in three-quarters profile and is finely chiselled with a large eye and the nose is damaged. The raised right arm holds a long sword in high relief which extends beyond the upper frame. Facing is a male figure, dressed in a short tunic, holding a club in his raised right arm. The detailed hand and fingers are carved distinctly and the

bare feet are modelled with fine detail. The right foot steps down over the lower edge of the frame. Between the two figures is a damaged area, where an area of detail appears to have been erased from the stone but may have represented a shield. Behind kneels a female figure, facing towards the right, wearing a veil over her long hair. Her arms stretch around the trunk of the tree with a huge branch stretching out over the centre of the composition. The branches are carved in depth and the upper part of the trunk resembles a cushion capital.

Baptism Face (ill. 20).

The present north face illustrates two bands of decoration, divided above and below by the continuous moulding. The upper scene represents a fantastic two-headed creature occupying the space with its long body which curls into a three-leafed flower on the left. The head of the creature turns back and bites its upper tail, its nose pointing directly to the head of the figure in the register beneath. The triangular head is shown from above with large eyes and a finely detailed nose and the long neck stretches almost vertically towards a semi-shell motif in the centre of the upper moulding. The second neck extends to the right, curling up towards the corner, culminating in a similar head in profile. This head grasps a stem which divides into three separate stems below, ending in circular discs enclosing five-petalled acanthus. The body is raised on two short legs and one foot rests on the flat ground and the left leg is lifted towards the right of the scene. The surface of this body is carved with fine detail and a decorated wing lies flat against the stomach with long and short feathers depicted. The underneath of the creature extends into a beaded tail, past the biting head and below the lower pointed leaf of the flower within the curled tail. The centre of the large flower illustrates the same shell acanthus as the three examples on the right, curved around a protruding boss. There are two similar bosses, one in the corner beneath the tail, the other beneath the curling neck in the centre of the composition. Two flower motifs appear, one on the neck of the creature with nine petals, the other within the

tail on the flat ground with eight petals. Another circular disc is below the second neck curving to the right-hand corner of the composition.

Below, a bearded figure occupies the centre of the scene stretching the height of the composition. His head bends towards the small baptised figure and his hair is swept back. His garment portrays rough hair and reaches his knees. His legs and feet are bare and finely carved, his right leg carved almost in the round; his left leg steps towards the centre. The water is striated with horizontal lines. The head of the small torso is framed by a cruciform-nimbus and, although the details of his face are damaged, the delicate carving around the eyes and mouth is evident. A large bird descends from above the tree to the right, its beak touching the small figure. Two trees frame the composition. The one on the left is symmetrical and the trunk rises from a shell motif. The tree on the right carefully frames the edge of the scene and the trunk is carved from a complex root formation. The trunks, branches and leaves of the trees are carved in a variety of depths: the root designs in high relief and the surfaces of the raised details finely carved. The ground surface rises gently to the right of the picture. The details are carved with precision and confidence and the plain grounds set off the raised detail of both decorative and figural motifs which are finely carved. The whole surface area represents detailed and expressive work in balanced, carefully conceived compositions.

6) **Brigham** (ills. 36, 37)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Bridget
Sculpture	doorway with chevron reset from elsewhere in church. Short stretches of Norman frieze pattern on right and left of chancel arch.

7) **Bromfield** (ills. 38-43)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Mungo
Sculpture	south doorway with chevron, tympanum with chequered pattern, two fragments with saltire cross decoration

8) Burgh-by-Sands (ills. 44, 45)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Michael
Sculpture	north doorway, tympanum

9) Caldbeck (ills. 46, 47)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Kentigern
Sculpture	south doorway, beak-head, north chancel wall

10) Carlisle Cathedral (ills. 48-62)

County	Cumbria
Diocese	Carlisle (before 1133 under Durham's jurisdiction)
Dedication	Holy and Undivided Trinity
Sculpture	doorway, capitals and bases in crossing
	capitals in clerestory
	two loose capitals
	corbel-table and string-course

Twelfth-century parts of building constructed with dark grey ashlar. Two original bays of nave and south transept from early building.

String-course   runs along exterior north and south faces of nave and east face of the south transept.

Corbel-table   extensively restored, runs above clerestory windows on east and west face of south transept and on north and south faces of nave and above aisle windows on north face of nave. Chevron on exterior of nave above clerestory and aisle windows. Arches above the aisle windows are edged with circular lozenges. Plain south doorway into nave, possibly doorway from original cloister. Scalloped capitals, chamfered imposts and chevron in transept arches and bases with angle spurs are found on north-west pier and beneath arch opening into nave north aisle. Neckings and arches plain. Window interiors of two orders, with scallop capitals and labels decorated with billet motifs. A double band of chevron decorates orders and labels of clerestory windows in south transept.

18 carved capitals in clerestory. 4 inaccessible, 14 above the south transept reached by interior access. Carved of grey ashlar with similar dimensions and a variety of geometric designs. Plain abaci and bases. Possible evidence of paint on wall behind with red lines visible.

Dimensions (approximate)

North doorway (considered by Eric Fernie as Victorian)

h. of opening	4.30m
w. of opening	2.80m
w. of opening (door)	1.28m
max. depth	0.69m

left-hand capitals

h. including necking	0.20m
max. w. (N)	0.21m
max w. (W)	0.21m

right-hand capitals

h. including necking	0.202m
max w. (N)	0.21m
max. w. (E)	0.205m

Clerestory capitals

(14 catalogued, 4 inaccessible)

	h.		w.	
i)	0.45m		0.45m
ii)	0.45m		0.41m
iii)	0.47m		0.48m
iv)	0.47m		0.47m
v)	0.47m		0.41m
vi)	0.45m		0.44m
vii)	0.44m		0.44m
viii)	0.44m		0.44m
ix)	0.44m		0.44m
x)	0.44m		0.44m
xi)	0.45m		0.44m

xii)   0.45m   0.44m

xiii)   0.44m   0.44m

xiv)   0.45m   0.44m

small section of plastered stone with red lines

11) Cliburn (ill. 63)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Westmorland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St Cuthbert

Sculpture   south doorway with plain tympanum, chevron and figures

12) Clifton (ill. 64)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Westmorland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St Cuthbert

Sculpture   south doorway with plain tympanum, chevron and figures

13) Cross Canonby (ills. 65, 66)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St John

Sculpture   blank tympanum and plain chancel arch, loose beak-head

14) Dearham (ills. 71-73)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St Mungo

Sculpture   doorway in south-western wall, remnants of arch in north wall

of chancel, font, 'Adam'stone

15) Gilcrux (ills. 75, 76)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St Mary

Sculpture   damaged font

The church is considered one of the oldest in this part of

Cumberland. No architectural sculpture. Font, damaged with

evidence of tool marks, suggesting originally decorated.

16) Great Salkeld (ills. 77-85)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St Cuthbert

Sculpture   south doorway

Dimensions (approximate)

South doorway   inner order, 9 voussoirs, second order, 14 voussoirs,

third order 18 voussoirs

h. (ground to inner order)

h. (to top of abaci)   1.40m

w.   1.50m

h. of inner capitals   0.25m

d. of inner capitals   0.35m

w. (three inner orders) 0.29m

w. (outer order)   0.16m

Description

There are no documents relating to the building of the church at Great Salkeld but, from

the evidence of style and content, the south doorway which survives probably belonged to

the first quarter of the twelfth century. The capitals were cleaned of white plaster in 1898

and, with the rest of the doorway, are well preserved, protected by the porch built at a later

date. The doorway consists of a combination of foliate and figural capitals and orders of

chevron interspersed with heads and beak-heads above. The dimensions are relatively

small and the doorway narrow but the decorative scheme surrounding the doorway is

profuse when considering the small dimensions of the original church. The three orders

are carved with a chevron pattern following a regular rhythm around the arch although

both light and dark stones are used. The stones are set in such a way that the central rim of

the chevron follows a precise line from one stone to the next. This rim may have been

painted to stand out from the stone behind. These stones are echoed on either side by

incised zig-zag lines, emphasizing the pattern, again, probably painted. Carved from one

piece of stone, the double chevron on the inner order contains patterns set in the central

squares that are repeated across both sides. The squares, for example, within the chevron

above the abaci to right and left, illustrate a cross motif with a central boss and four equal

arms. These stones are carved with chevron on both sides despite the inner side of the

stones set up against the actual doorway. What is clear from the continuation of this

double chevron around the arch is that the doorway did not carry a tympanum in its

original state. The heads are carved on adjacent voussoirs with different characters, all

with furrowed brows.

The three capitals on the west side of the doorway rise vertically in tall proportions

from plain neckings. The broad abaci above are carved with entwined stems of foliage

and circular motifs which contrast with the angular chevron above. The cushion shapes

are picked out by semi-circular designs. The west capitals have three vertical diamond

motifs which stand on the other edge, dividing the decoration to the right and left, close to the capital on the north of the St Bees doorway. The three capitals east of the doorway are different in design, perhaps the work of a different hand. The shapes are similar in proportion but no attempt has been made to indicate the cushion shape beneath the decoration.

17) **Isel** (ills. 86-88)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Michael
Sculpture	south doorway, chancel arch, north doorway, font

north and south walls of nave and chancel original. South doorway original although two shafts missing. Some chevron voussoirs and right-hand capital replaced. Sundials possibly twelfth century. Blocked north doorway in chancel and window by vestry door original and undecorated. Two original windows in north wall of nave.

18) **Kirkbampton** (89-91)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Peter
Sculpture	north doorway, tympanum, chancel arch

Description

The north doorway at Kirkbampton is undoubtedly in its original position although, due to the small dimensions of the church and doorway, the building has sometimes been described as Saxon due to the small proportions of the church and doorway.

The use of chevron within the decorative scheme, however, proves without doubt, that this is twelfth-century decoration and belongs to the original church. Eroded and damaged, several details are unclear but enough survives to establish a figural tympanum above the doorway, interpreted variously as David with his crook or a Bishop and crozier, fighting a lion or bear.[1100] Whatever the iconography of the scene, in its original painted and undamaged state, it would have provided a striking effect above the north doorway into the building. The use of a north doorway as a main entrance is not common and the reasons for it here may have been determined by the original stone church on site prior to this twelfth-century building, where the earlier foundations dictated the plan and projection of the later building. The south door of the nave, although blocked, is still visible. The tympanum is carved across the lintel stone and two semi-circular stones above. The outer edge of the lintel section is carved with a cable pattern which continues around the enclosed tympanum to create the inner order of the doorway. Three orders surround this central section, the second of plain chevron, spaced evenly around the tympanum decoration; the next of chevron although on this order, the voussoirs are less even. The chevron type is identical to the second order. The outer order comprises a billet pattern similar to that at Torpenhow. There is no additional surface decoration and the original pattern may have been painted to add colour and definition. The abaci beneath the orders are of similar width to the capitals beneath and carry a diagonal decorative pattern, much eroded, but still apparent on the middle abacus of the left side. Beneath are scallop capitals on the second and third jambs but the inner capitals to either side of the door which support the lintel stone are plain. The neckings and jambs, which are all original, are also undecorated. The tympanum is worn but figures are distinct, possibly illustrating David and the Lion.

19) Long Marton (ills. 95-98)

[1100] Romilly Allen, pp. 203-8; W. Calverley, 'Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle', *CW2* new ser. (1915), p. 214.

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Westmorland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St James and St Margaret
Sculpture	south and west tympana, north doorway

Two original windows on the north wall. Two tympana above south and west doorways belong to original church. Blocked doorway on north side of nave opposite south doorway similar to south and west doorway.

20) **Morland** (ills. 99, 100)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Westmorland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Lawrence
Sculpture	saltire cross pattern on exterior above south-east windows,

chevron above west window of the north aisle and north transept north windows.

corbel-table on tower

one octagonal pier with scallop capital in north arcade

21) **Ormside**

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Westmorland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St James
Sculpture	plain doorway with uncarved tympanum, possibly original

tower, mid-century scallop capitals on nave arcade (similar to Carlisle and Warwick-on-Eden)

22) **Plumbland**

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Cuthbert
Sculpture	plain reset doorway and chancel arch with chevron

23) St Bees (ills. 102-120)

County	Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Mary and St Bega
Sculpture	west doorway, string-course, corbel-table, lintel-stone

Dimensions

Lintel-stone

h   4.70m (max)

w   1.65m (at base)

d   2.40m

w   1.22m (at back)

Description

The lintel-stone (0.47m x 1.65m) is carved from one slab of grey limestone and was discovered built into the south wall of the nave during restoration and it is not known whether it belonged to a stone church on site before 1120, or the original priory church or a building elsewhere. Although weathered, most of the decorative detail is clear.[1101] A bipedal dragon, facing towards the right, occupies the centre of the composition, its head

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[1101]   The stone used is magnesian limestone, not the St Bees sandstone of the immediate area. The limestone is less subject to erosion and the lintel carving has survived better than the west doorway which is largely of St Bees stone.

turned back over its back towards the left, its mouth wide open, with a curled upper lip, revealing five sharp teeth, three above, two below. The body of the beast stretches towards the left of the composition in a single-looped tail ending in a small profiled beast's head with a tear-drop eye, the sharp corner pointing to the neck. The dragon's chest is marked with scales whereas its neck, body and tail are undecorated. Only one wing is visible, with three long feathers emerging from an area of smaller feathers. The ears are small and sharp and the large eye is almond-shaped, the pointed corner towards the creature's neck. The front leg is bent and the small, undecorated foot joins the edge of the interlace pattern to the right. A small human figure is standing behind the body of the beast. Wearing a conical helmet, his face is in profile, with a long nose and small chin. His left arm is bent and he appears to hold his hand close to his mouth. Above the hand is an indistinguishable object. In his right hand, he raises a short sword with a curled hilt.

There are three separate interlace patterns, described as pattern A, pattern B and pattern C. Pattern A is the area of pattern on the right of the composition and illustrates a self-contained area of turned pattern, consisting of single, broad strands looping back six times on the left at right angles. Each strand runs from these loops diagonally to the opposite edge of the composition, forming a broad, enmeshed register of interlace, adapted to fit the space.[1102] Pattern B occupies the upper-left area of the lintel and is a self-contained pattern of two circles enclosed in a central circle connected to the two outer half circles, termed a closed circuit strand.[1103] The strand on the bottom-right of the pattern runs beneath the small beasts' head in the dragon's tail and into the mouth. Pattern C is below pattern B and is a strand running in a continuous line, forming the shape of a central cross with looped ends set in a square with looped corners. Variations of this type are classified, but not this exact design.[1104] The circular loops are unusual. Below pattern B, a bird sits on a curved branch, enclosed in a circle with its head tucked into its back.

[1102] *Corpus*, pp. xxix-xlvi, for a classification of interlace ornament.
[1103] *Corpus*, p. xxxii.
[1104] *Corpus*, pp. xliv-v.

Description of West Doorway

The west doorway at St Bees comprises four orders, the outer three carved with chevron with heads carved in deep relief, placed at intervals along the arches. The content of the cushion capitals is difficult to decipher due to severe erosion. Individual motifs and details can be detected but many details are lost. It is, however, this array of detail running across the capitals and the combination of beak-heads and other heads set amid chevron that gives the doorway a sense of profusion and grandeur. The decoration of three orders is carved from a combination of red St Bees sandstone and pale grey sandstone and was probably originally painted. The outer order comprises twenty-five radial voussoirs carved with chevron, surrounded by a plain hood mould running continuously around the edge with a head beneath the apex. There are five heads, including a beak-head and a ram's head, carved along this arch. Above the moulding, the keystone represents another carved face on the stone wall.[1105] The middle order consists of another continuous row of nineteen radial voussoirs. The stones are of similar length but narrower than the outer order, reducing in width towards the centre of the arch. Three masks and a beak-head survive, although they have lost their surface detail. The inner order consists of sixteen voussoirs which are worn and little detail remains. There are two beak-heads, one to either side of the doorway. The orders culminate in square abaci above decorated capitals, six to the south and six to the north of the doorway. The abaci are decorated with geometric detail and foliate ornament, the outer on the north side of the door illustrates a worn saltire cross pattern, also found on the fragmentary string course on the north of the building.

The eight single and two double capitals are carved with a profusion of ornament and the cushion shape of the capitals beneath is apparent. One slender, plain, round shaft survives of light-coloured stone. The round bases, set on square plinths and chamfered bases, are almost completely worn away.

Of the five heads on the outer order, two horse-head motifs with a circular motif in the centre are identical. On the fifth voussoir from the north is carved a distinctive ram's head

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[1105] On a Victorian post-card, this is described as the face of Christ, but is now badly eroded.

with a curved nose, two large eyes and curling horns. The eroded face carved on the outer voussoir is human. Beyond this is a beak-head, with a long, curved beak still visible, rolled over the moulding of the arch beneath with two large, almond-shaped eyes. The heads of the middle order are large and imposing. A beak-head is carved on the seventh voussoir from the edge, the long beak still decipherable and the head beyond this may have been human. The small human heads on the inner arch are distinct and one may represent a tonsured monk.

There are twelve capitals on the west door, discussed as follows, from north to south: capital 1 is worn and the detail difficult to decipher. The shape of the cushion capital is evident, the abacus damaged and no detail remains. The capital has similar dimensions to the inner pairs of capitals and the necking bears a faint trace of cable pattern. Capital 2 displays a cushion shape with decoration deciphered within the circle on the west face of the stone. The pattern is symmetrical, depicting two acanthus leaves with additional stems and the area beneath the cushion outline is damaged with no visible detail. On the corner of the capital a decorative motif divides the two faces. The inner face of this capital is too damaged to identify any decoration. Capital 3 is comparatively well preserved and the cushion shape is emphasized with the corner highlighted by a pointed leaf motif with adjoining foliage strands above. The two faces of the capital are carved with an identical pattern of foliate scrolls and acanthus. The flat surface of the abacus is divided by an etched line, above which no decoration survives. Below are traces of a geometric line of a dog-tooth pattern. Traces of a cable pattern are visible on the necking. Capital 4 is carved from the grey sandstone and no details are discernible, except for a faint trace of scrollwork on the south face. The cushion shape is apparent but the necking has almost vanished. The abacus is of darker sandstone and its shape is preserved but no detail is visible. The double capitals 5 and 6 are also eroded but there is some detail that can be detected. On capital 5, the cushion shape is again emphasized on the west face of the stone which would have originally mounted two shafts beneath. The abacus and the necking are damaged and no detail is visible. Capital 6 is surmounted on one shaft,

smaller than the capitals to the north. A pattern of stems and acanthus is apparent and it is possible a small figure runs among these on the west face. The decoration runs on to the adjoining capital across the corner but is very indistinct. The abacus has been renewed at a later date and the necking is considerably eroded.

South of the doorway the decoration of the double capital 7 and 8 is too damaged to decipher. The inner abacus has been renewed but no detail is visible. Capital 9, of red sandstone, bears traces of acanthus motifs and a circular design on its north face. The cushion shape is again evident in the carving and the corner has been outlined by a pointed leaf, similar to capital 3. Capital 10 is carved in the pale sandstone and the design covers two faces with foliate scroll. The necking is eroded, but the abacus has two incised lines and a moulding between with faint traces of a cable pattern. Capital 11 is of red sandstone and the detail is carved in high relief. The two faces are designed with a circular pattern, enclosing a medallion, possibly holding heads and between the faces two stems join into one at the corner of the capital. The cushion shape is clearly visible on the west face, enclosing a foliate design and the abacus and necking are eroded with no detail. Capital 12 illustrates a small, kilted figure in a frontal pose with two large arms stretching out, following the curve of the cushion shape. It could be an angel with curved wings and perhaps a halo and it appears to be robed. The head is turned to one side towards a small figure, with bent knees, perhaps a monkey. The sense of movement is clear and the wings are designed around the shape of a cushion capital. The decoration is placed in a square panel with a cable border decoration on two sides. The piers and bases of the doorway are worn and only one original single shaft is still in situ on the south side of the doorway. The double shafts to the south of the doorway survive on original weathered bases. A valuable addition to the existing knowledge of the doorway is found in an engraving of 1823.[1106] This depicts the detail of the orders surrounding the doorway and the capitals and abaci. The north capitals appear to be carved with foliate designs, possibly incorporating dragon motifs. The south capitals are equally profuse and the small figure

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[1106] This is by John Coney, illustrated in Dugdale, p. 575. The north door is not illustrated here.

with arms outstretched still evident today is clearly illustrated. The capital to the inside appears to be carved with circular medallions enclosing heads. The original corbel table survives with twenty-four heads on the north side of the church with a fragment of string course. Several stones have been recovered from the surrounding area which may have belonged to the original Priory and have yet to be catalogued.

24) Torpenhow (ills. 121-133)

County	Cumbria (pre 1974, Cumberland)
Diocese	Carlisle
Dedication	St Michael
Sculpture	south doorway, chancel arch, fragment of cable moulding in window of north wall of chancel, font, capital, piscina.

Description

The south doorway at Torpenhow survives as one of the most intriguing carvings in Cumberland and Westmorland. Covered now by a porch, it is carved of a combination of red St Bees sandstone and lighter magnesian limestone, the patterning and the figures upon the capitals are still clearly visible. The doorway is set in its original stonework in which is set a sundial above the apex. The doorway has three orders; the outer carved with a roll-moulding along the inner curve adjacent to a flat surface on the outer. The middle order is carved with a triple row of cable moulding, going in opposite directions to form a resemblance to a zig-zag pattern. The cable design is also found on a fragment at Bridekirk and inset in a window ledge at Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael), already mentioned in connection with the re-use of Roman stone. The second order of the arch of the south doorway also illustrates this cable pattern. The inner order is carved with chevron which lies against a wooden tympanum, clearly not original. The chevron pattern is carved with each segment of the pattern on different voussoirs, seventeen different stones in total. On both sides of the doorway, the outer order is completed by a worn

head, not human; the head on the right of the doorway is possibly a horse or serpent, with staring eyes and a long snout, possibly harnessed.

There are two pairs of abaci supporting the two inner orders, both carved with a simple horizontal pattern which may have been painted to complete the decoration of the arch above. Both sets of capitals are carved. From left to right, the first is carved with a series of heads set in two horizontal rows, very similar to those of the south capital of the chancel arch within the church. They appear to be human heads although one may illustrate a dog. Below these figures is a plain necking. The inner capital is a double capital of elongated scallops, each above its own plain necking and jamb. On the eastern side of the door, the double capitals are repeated, carved with clear precision, similar to but on a smaller scale than those in the church to either side of the south chancel arch capitals. The last capital on this side is carved with three heads which resemble rams or beasts. The surface detail has been eroded and it is not possible to identify facial features but the right-hand head carries a circular horn. The two outer jambs are carved from one piece of stone; the left one from St Bees sandstone, the right from limestone and there appears to be no carved decoration across either surface. The significance of the different stone used is unclear. The two jambs set against the doorway beneath the double scallops are carved from blocks of stone, in lighter sandstone except for two blocks of darker St Bees stone on the eastern side of the doorway which correspond to a dark stone the other side of the jamb on this side. If originally painted, these differences would then have been of no significance and merely a result of practical use of stone available. The circular bases on both sides are eroded but undamaged.

25) Warwick-on-Eden (ills. 134, 135)

County   Cumbria (pre-1974, Cumberland)

Diocese   Carlisle

Dedication   St Leonard

Sculpture chancel arch reset in west end of nave, scallop capitals and corn motif similar to crossing of Carlisle cathedral. Pilastered apse may reflect early work at the cathedral, now lost. Base angle spurs found in the cathedral.

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MAPS

Map 1 : Twelfth-century church sites and religious foundations

1)   Denton
2)   Farlam
3)   Cumrew
4)   Cumwhitton
5)   Wetheral
6)   Warwick-on-Eden
7)   Burgh-by-Sands
8)   Kirkbampton
9)   Bowness-on-Solway
10)   Kirkbride
11)   Wigton
12)   Bromfield
13)   Aspatria
14)   Plumbland
15)   Gilcrux
16)   Cross Canonby
17)   Dearham
18)   Torpenhow
19)   Caldbeck
20)   Ireby
21)   Bridekirk
22)   Isel
23)   Bassenthwaite
24)   Brigham
25)   St Bees
26)   Egremont
27)   Beckermet St Bridget
28)   Gosforth
29)   Penrith
30)   Great Salkeld
31)   Alston
32)   Long Marton
33)   Bolton
34)   Clifton
35)   Cliburn
36)   Morland
37)   Appleby
38)   Ormside
39)   Ravenstonedale
40)   Kendal
41)   Kirkby Lonsdale
42)   Brough
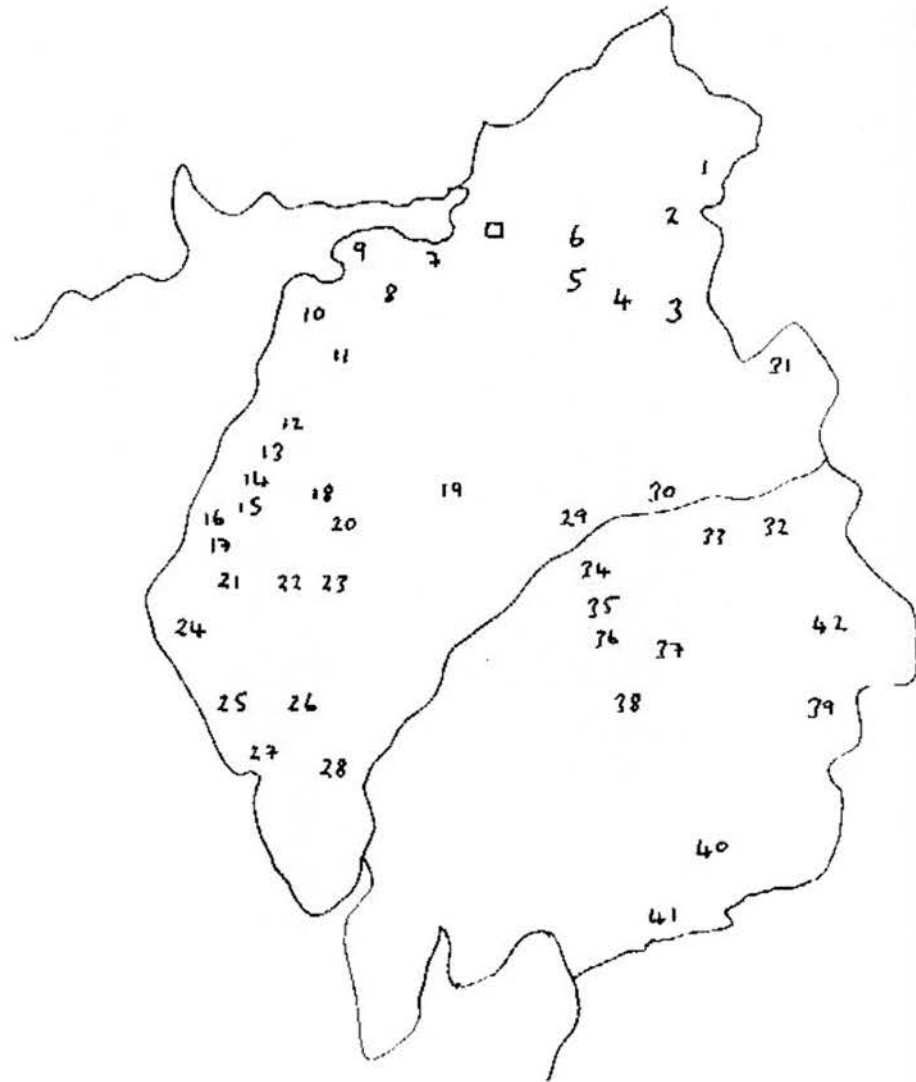
Map 2 :   The Lordships and Royal Demesne, c. 1100
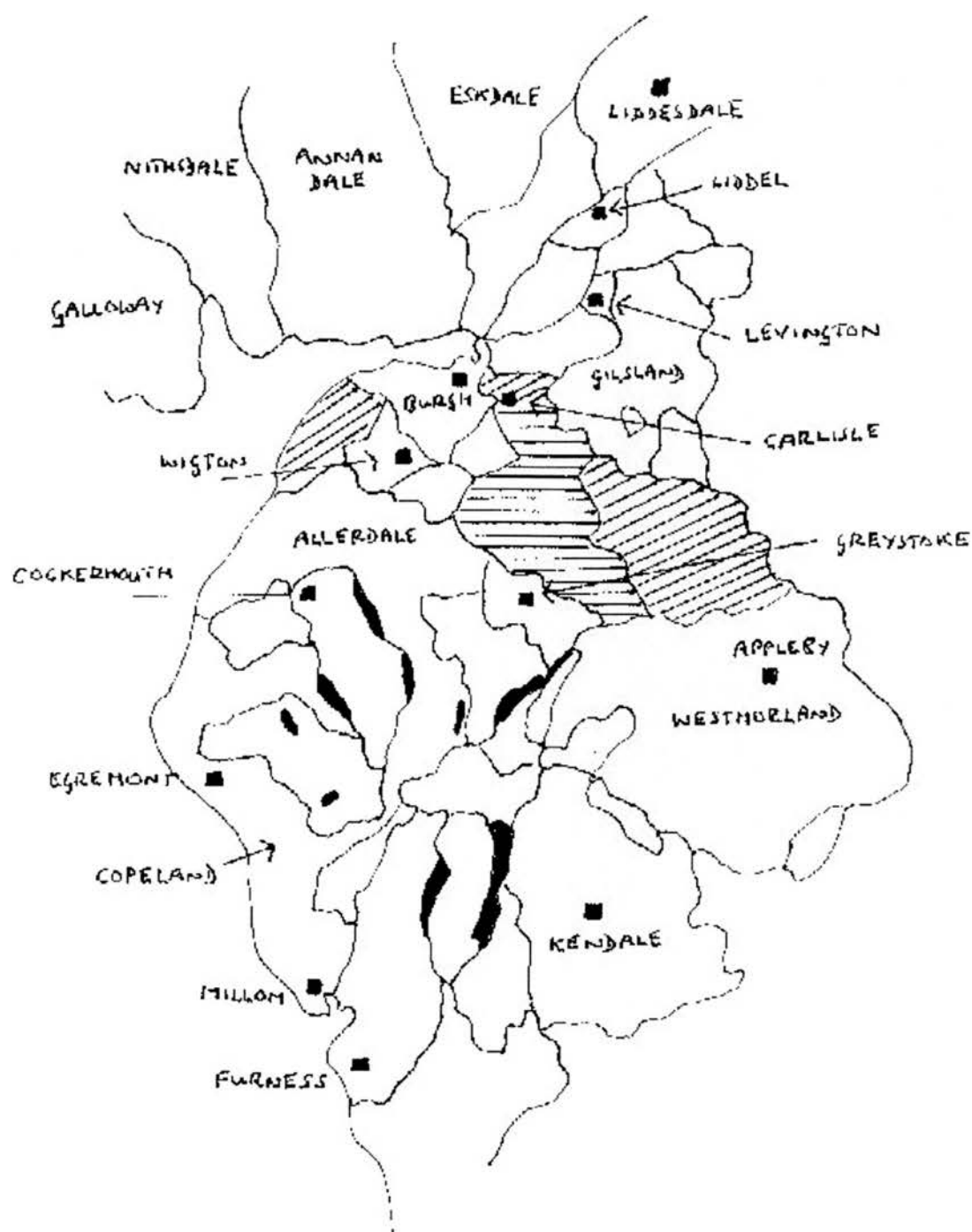
| | - - Royal Forest of Carlise | | - Royal Demesne |

Map 3 : Allerdale, sites with sculpture
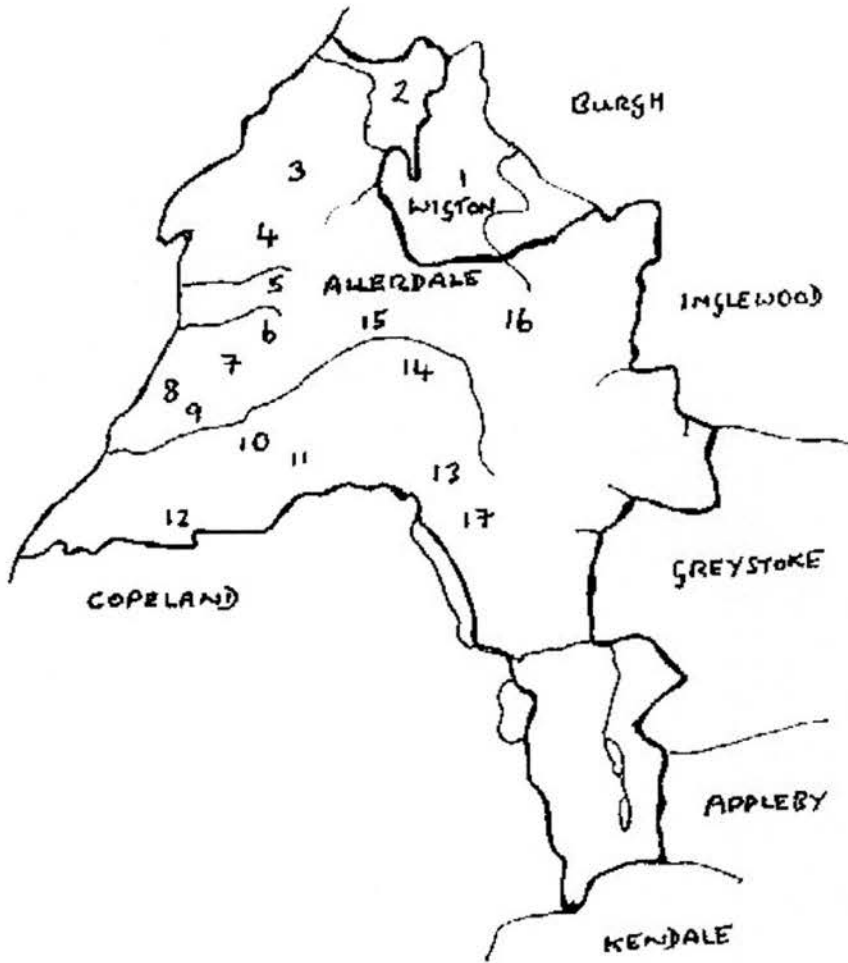
1)   Wigton
2)   Kirkbride
3)   Bromfield
4)   Aspatria
5)   Hayton
6)   Plumbland
7)   Gilcrux
8)   Cross Canonby
9)   Dearham
10)   Bridekirk
11)   Isel
12)   Brigham
13)   Uldale
14)   Ireby
15)   Torpenhow
16)   Caldbeck
17)   Bassenthwaite

Map 4 : Greystoke
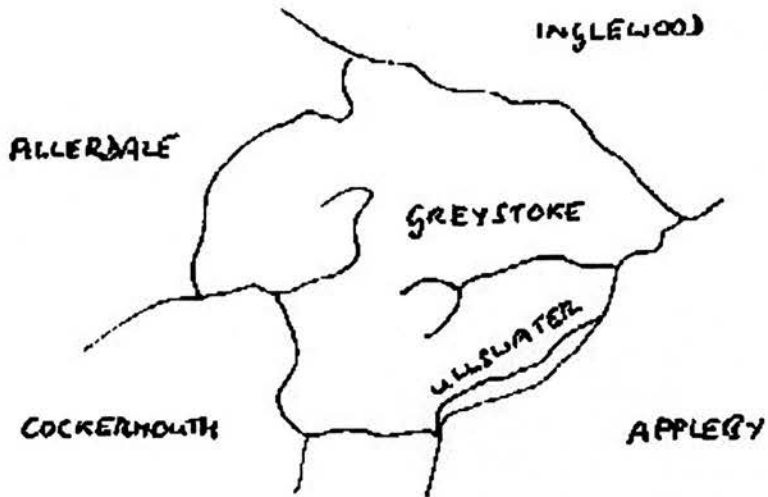
Map 5 : Inglewood Forest
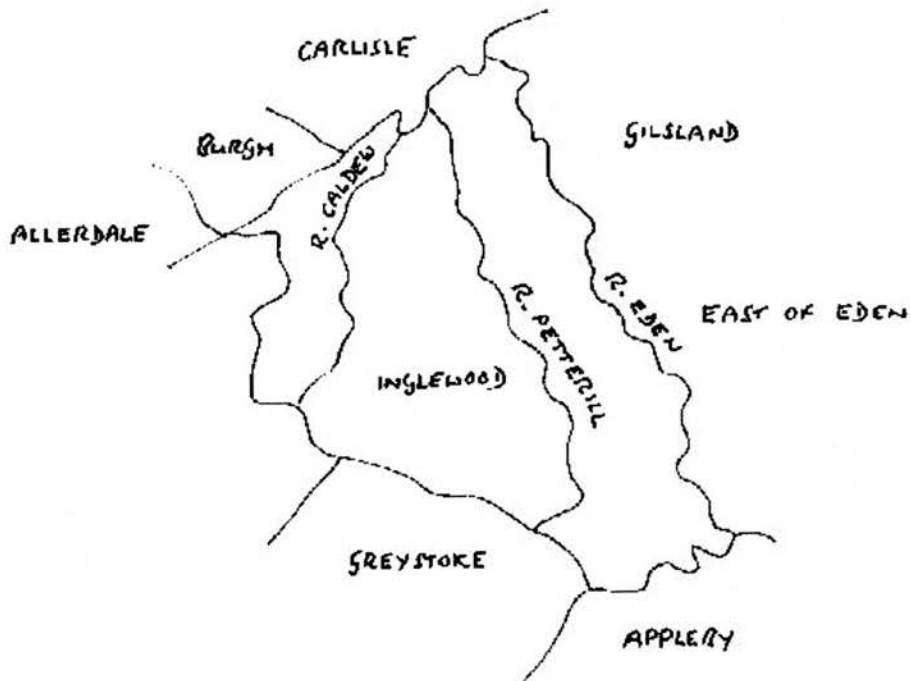
Map 6 : Sites with pre-Conquest Sculpture

1.	Bewcastle
2.	Rockcliffe
3.	Stanwix
4.	Carlisle
5.	Cumwhinton
6.	Dalston
7.	Bromfield
8.	Aspatria
9.	Plumbland
10.	Gilcrux
11.	Cross Canonby
12.	Dearham
13.	Isel
14.	Bridekirk
15.	Brigham
16.	Great Clifton
17.	Workington
18.	Crosthwaite
19.	Hutton
20.	Dacre
21.	Penrith
22.	Addingham
23.	Lowther
24.	Appleby
25.	Kirkby Stephen
26.	Whitehaven
27.	St Bees
28.	Haile
29.	Beckermet St John
30.	Beckermet St Bridget
31.	Gosforth
32.	Irton
33.	Waberthwaite
34.	Kendal
35.	Burton-in-Kendal
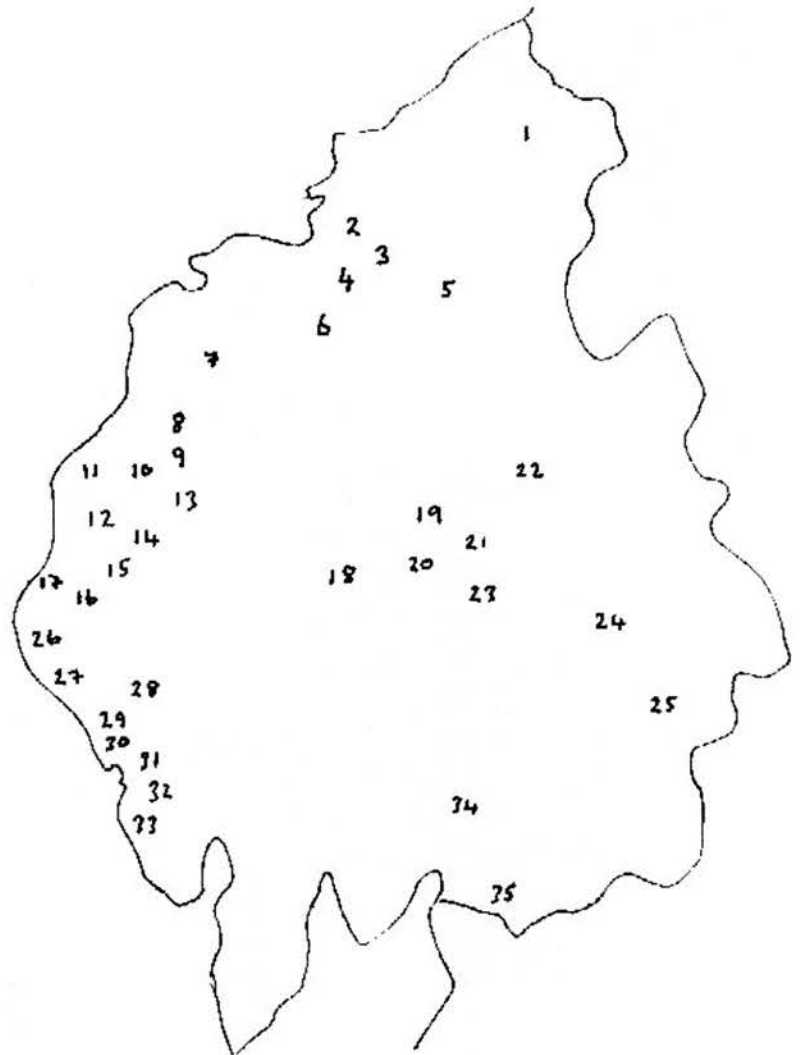
Map 7 : Geological Map illustrating St Bees and other sandstones

1 [. .]   St Bees sandstone

[- -]   ;   Kirklinton and other sandstones

[l l]   ·   limestone

[ ]   central dome

Map 8 : Rural Deaneries of the north-west, twelfth century

VOLUME TWO

ILLUSTRATIONS

A STUDY OF STONE SCULPTURE FROM CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND

c. 1092-1153 WITHIN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Ph.D. THESIS

By Josephine Chapman Campbell

July 2008

UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

VOLUME TWO

Illustrations (in alphabetical order)

(All photographs taken by the author)

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26. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font inscription

27. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font dragon

28. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font mask

29. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font cross

30. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font rosette with beasts

31. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font figure on left of narrative scene

32. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font central male figure

33. Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font centaur

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42. Bromfield (St Mungo) : fragment with saltire cross decoration

43. Bromfield (St Mungo) : fragment with saltire cross decoration

44. Burgh-by-Sands (St Michael) : north doorway with beak-head

45. Burgh-by-Sands (St Michael) : view with tower

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49. Carlisle Cathedral : capital in crossing, north side

50. Carlisle : loose capital with basket-work

51. Carlisle : loose capital with leaf

52. Carlisle Cathedral : clerestory capital on north side of crossing

53. Carlisle Cathedral : base spurs in crossing

54. Carlisle Cathedral : capital of clerestory, south transept, west

55. Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, west

56. Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, east

57. Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, east

58. Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, east

59. Carlisle Cathedral : Norman plasterwork with red paint

60. Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south-west of crossing

61. Carlisle Cathedral : mask on inner face of clerestory capital, south transept

62. Carlisle Cathedral : clerestory capital south-west of crossing

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64. Clifton (St Cuthbert) : south doorway

65. Cross Canonby (St John) : general view

66. Cross Canonby (St John) : beak-head

67. Cumrew : arch fragment in barn wall

68. Cumrew : arch fragment

69. Cumwhitton (St Mary) : south wall with chevron

70. Cumwhitton (St Mary) : cross-head in church

71. Dearham (St Mungo) : font, interlace pattern

72. Dearham (St Mungo) : font, dragon and geometric design

73. Dearham (St Mungo) : font, dragon

74. Egremont Castle : base in ruined gatehouse

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76. Gilcrux (St Mary) : altar recess

77. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : view from north-west

78. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : south doorway

79. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : detail of south doorway

80. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : detail of south doorway

81. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : chevron with cross motif

82. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : capitals on west side of doorway

83. Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : dragon on south doorway

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86. Isel (St Michael) : general view from north-east

87. Isel (st Michael) : south doorway

88. Isel (St Michael) : base spurs of chancel arch

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94. Linton : figural tympanum

95. Long Marton (St James and St Margaret) : tympanum above west doorway

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98. Long Marton (St James and St Margaret) : north doorway

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101. Norham (St Cuthbert) : fragment with figure

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103. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : lintel-stone, detail of pattern A

104. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : lintel-stone, detail

105. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : label-stop in nave

106. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway

107. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway

108. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway

109. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway, capitals

110. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway, capitals

111. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway, capitals

112. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway, capitals

113. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway, bases

114. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway, bases

115. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway, detail of capital

116. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway, detail of capital

117. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway, detail of ram's head above north side

118. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : corbel-table, north side of nave, detail

119. St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : corbel-table, north side of nave, detail

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123. Torpenhow (St Michael) : chancel arch

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127. Torpenhow (St Michael) : piscine in south wall of chancel

128. Torpenhow (St Michael) : chevron on south doorway

129. Torpenhow (St Michael) : head on outer order of south doorway

130. Torpenhow (St Michael) : capitals on south doorway

131. Torpenhow (St Michael) : south capital on chancel arch

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133. Torpenhow (St Michael) : detail of heads on chancel arch

134. Torpenhow (St Michael) : chancel arch from east

135. Warwick-on-Eden (St Leonard) : capitals at west end of nave

136. Warwick-on-Eden (St Leonard) : east end exterior

The Bridekirk Font

1) Aspatria (St Kentigern) : arch above vestry doorway

2) Bolton (All Saints) : north view

3) Bolton (All Saints) : two reliefs in north wall

4) Bolton (All Saints) : capital with figure in south doorway
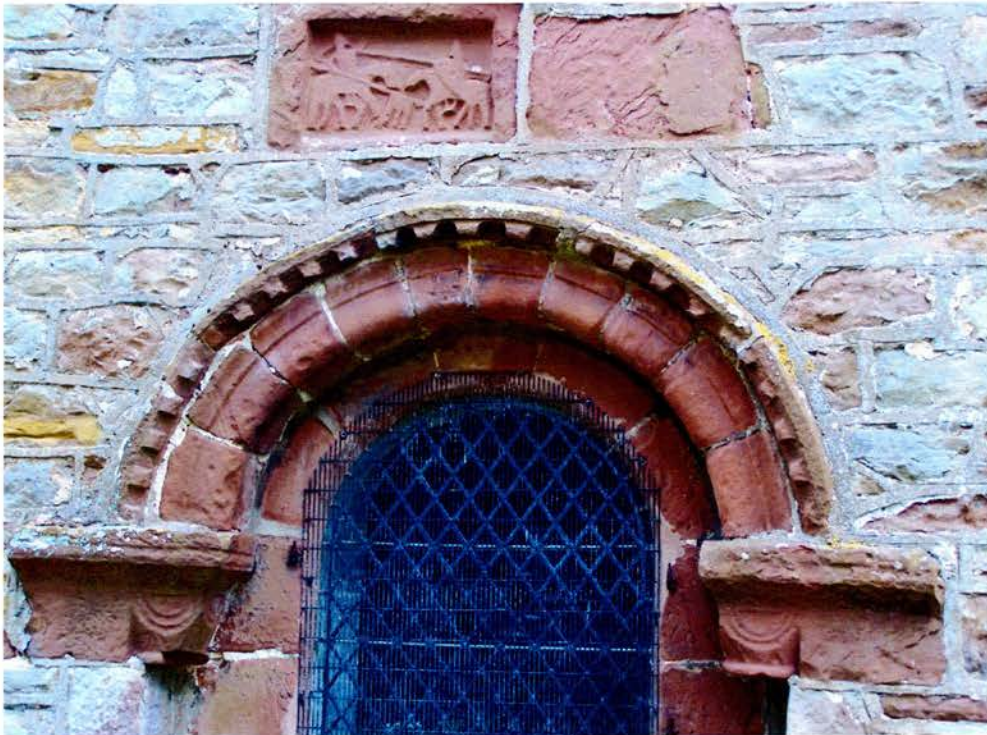
5) Bolton (All Saints) : double row of saltire cross decoration

6) Bolton (All Saints) : north exterior of nave

7) Bolton (All Saints) : reliefs above north doorway

8) Bonchester Bridge (Hobkirk) : capital with mask on modern font

9) Bonchester Bridge (Hobkirk) : capital on modern font

10) Bonchester Bridge (Hobkirk) : detail of capital

11) Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael) : font, basket-work pattern
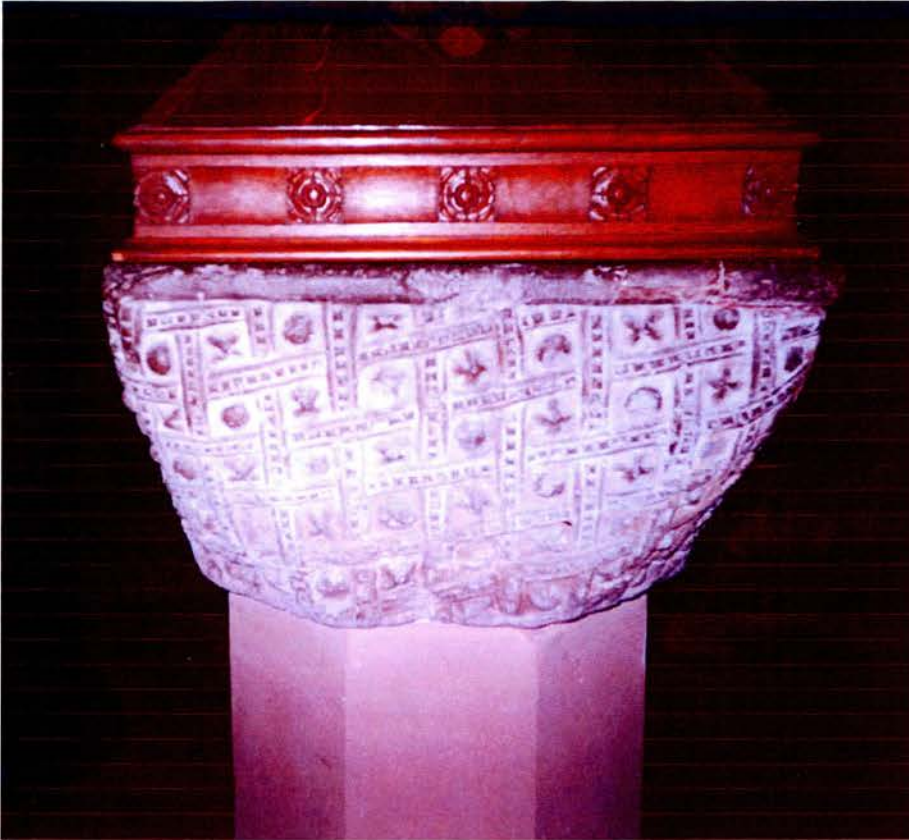
12) Bowness-on-Solway (St Michael) : font, foliate pattern

13) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : ruined chancel

14) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : south doorway
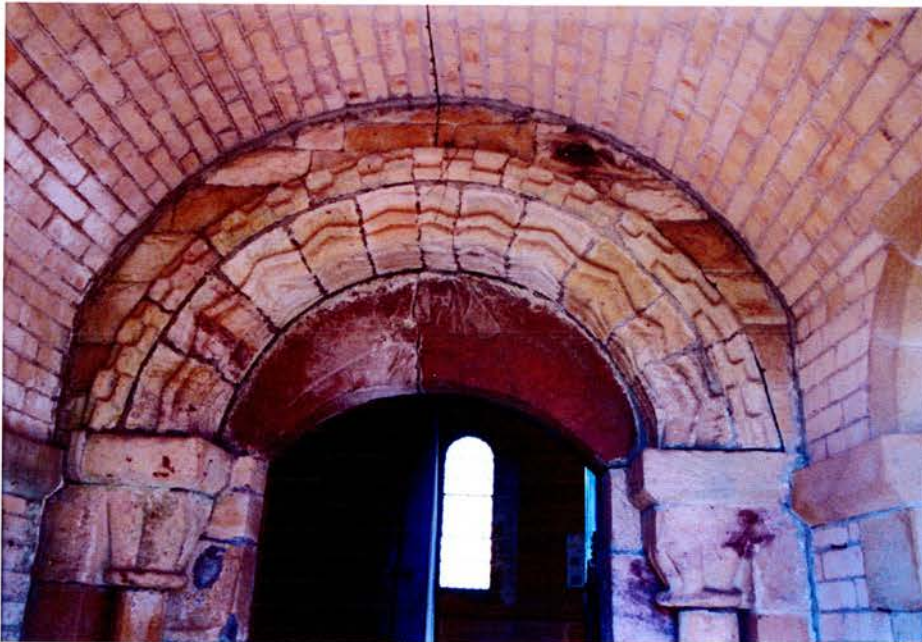
15) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : chancel arch base

16) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : tympanum above south doorway

17) Bridekirk (St Bridget) carved shaft on west side of south doorway

18) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : east doorway of south transept

19) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : inscription face of font

20) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : baptism face of font

21) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : centaur and narrative face of font

22) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : rosette face of font

23) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : beast on baptism face

24) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : St John on baptism face

25) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font sculptor

26) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font inscription

27) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font dragon

28) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font mask

29) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font cross

30) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font rosette with beasts

31) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font figure on left of narrative scene

32) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : central male figure of narrative

33) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font centaur

34) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font figures below centaur

35) Bridekirk (St Bridget) : font beasts above inscription

36) Brigham (St Bridget) : tower from south

37) Brigham (St Bridget) : blocked doorway in north wall

38) Bromfield (St Mungo) : general view from south

39) Bromfield (St Mungo) : south doorway with tympanum

40) Bromfield (St Mungo) : south doorway, tympanum detail

41) Bromfield (St Mungo) : pier in nave

42) Bromfield (St Mungo) : fragment with saltire cross decoration

43) Bromfield (St Mungo) : fragment with saltire cross decoration

44) Burgh-by-Sands (St Michael) : north doorway with beak-head

45) Burgh-by-Sands (St Michael) : view with tower

46) Caldbeck (St Kentigern) : inset doorway into tower

47) Caldbeck (St Kentigern) : south doorway with beak-head

48) Carlisle Cathedral : corbel-table on south nave exterior

49) Carlisle Cathedral : capital in crossing, north side

50) Carlisle Cathedral : loose capital with basket-work

51) Carlisle Cathedral : loose capital with leaf

52) Carlisle Cathedral : clerestory capital on north side of crossing

53) Carlisle Cathedral : base spurs in crossing

54) Carlisle Cathedral : capital of clerestory, south transept, west

55) Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, west

56) Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, east

57) Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, east

58) Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south transept, east

59) Carlisle Cathedral : Norman plasterwork with red pigment
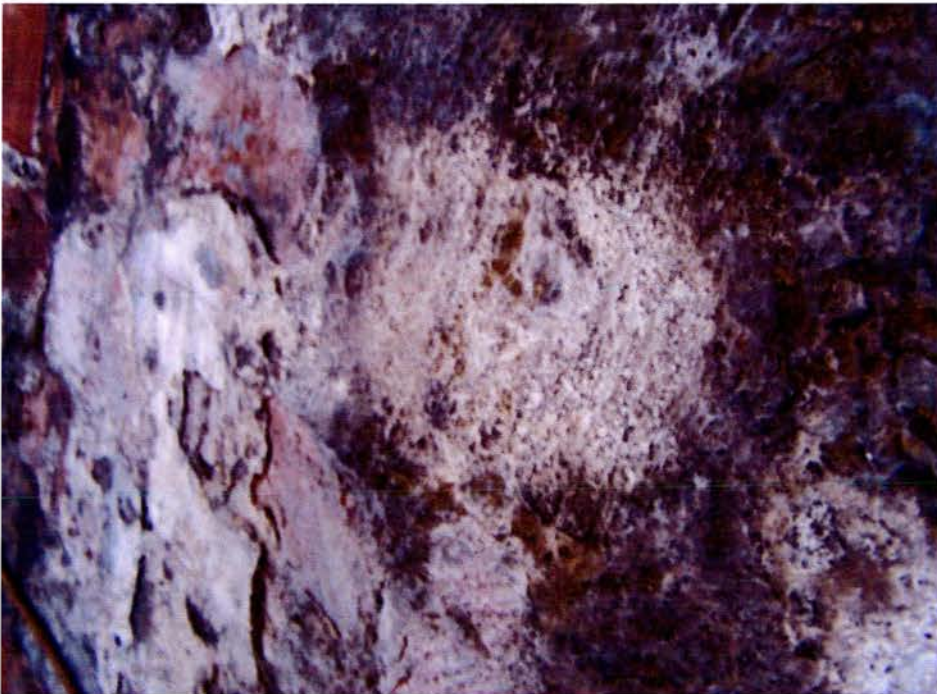
60) Carlisle Cathedral : capital in clerestory, south-west of crossing

61) Carlisle Cathedral : mask on inner face of clerestory capital, south transept

62) Carlisle Cathedral : clerestory capital, south-west of crossing

63) Cliburn (St Cuthbert) : south doorway, detail with figure

64) Clifton (St Cuthbert) : south doorway

65) Cross Canonby (St John) : general view

66) Cross Canonby (St John) : beak-head

67) Cumrew : arch fragment

68) Cumrew : arch fragment

69) Cumwhitton (St Mary) : south wall with chevron

70) Cumwhitton (St Mary) : cross-head in church

71) Dearham (St Mungo) : font, interlace pattern

72) Dearham (St Mungo) : font, dragon and geometric design

73) Dearham (St Mungo) : font, dragon

74) Egremont Castle : base in ruined gatehouse

75) Gilcrux (St Mary) : chancel exterior

76) Gilcrux (St Mary) : altar recess

77) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : view from north-west

78) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : south doorway

79) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : detail of south doorway

80) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : detail of south doorway

81) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : chevron with cross motif

82) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : capitals on west side of doorway

83) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : dragon on south doorway

84) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : capitals on east of doorway

85) Great Salkeld (St Cuthbert) : detail of south doorway

86) Isel (St Michael) : general view from south-east

87) Isel (St Michael) south doorway

88) Isel (St Michael) : base spurs of chancel arch

89) Kirkbampton (St Peter) : north doorway

90) Kirkbampton (St Peter) : north doorway, detail

91) Kirkbampton (St Peter) : chancel arch

92) Kirkbride (St Bridget) : general view

93) Kirkby Lonsdale (St Mary the Virgin) : decorative pier in nave

94) Linton : figural tympanum

95) Long Marton (St James and St Margaret) : tympanum above west doorway

96) Long Marton (St James and St Margaret) : tympanum above south doorway

97) Long Marton (St James and St Margaret) : north-east corner, exterior

98) Long Marton (St James and St Margaret) : north doorway

99) Morland (St Lawrence) : tower

100) Morland (St Lawrence) : chevron above south window

101) Norham (St Cuthbert) : fragment with figure

102) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : lintel-stone

103) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : lintel-stone, detail of pattern A

104) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : lintel-stone, detail

105) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : label-stop in nave

106) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway

107) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway

108) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway

109) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway, capitals

110) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway, capitals

111) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway, capitals

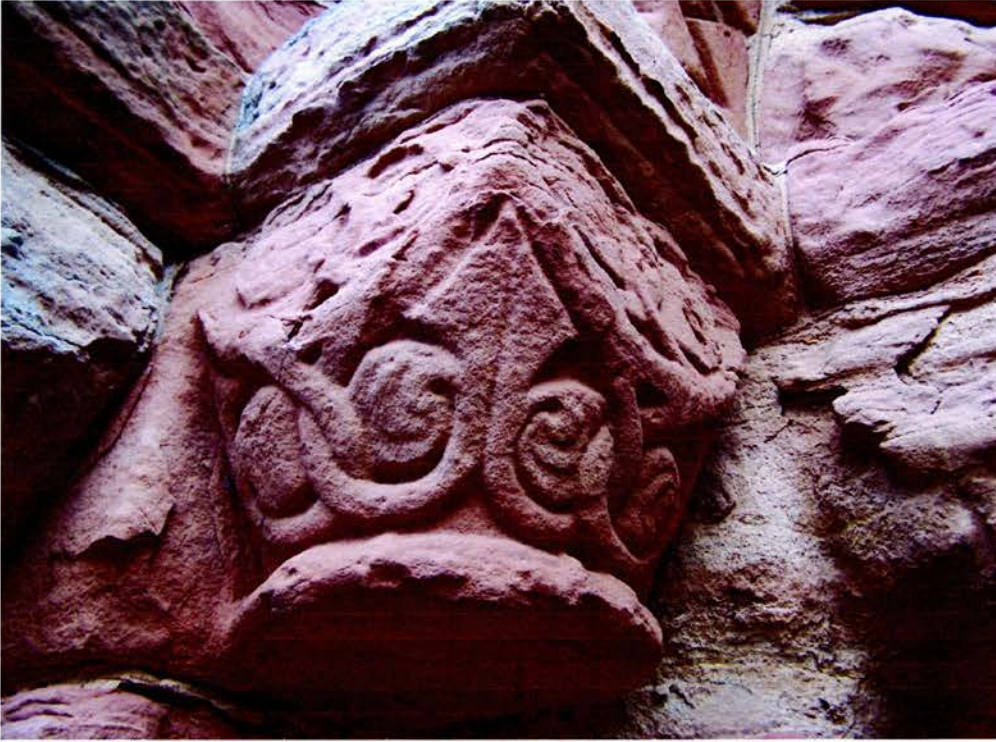112) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway, capitals

113) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : north side of west doorway, bases
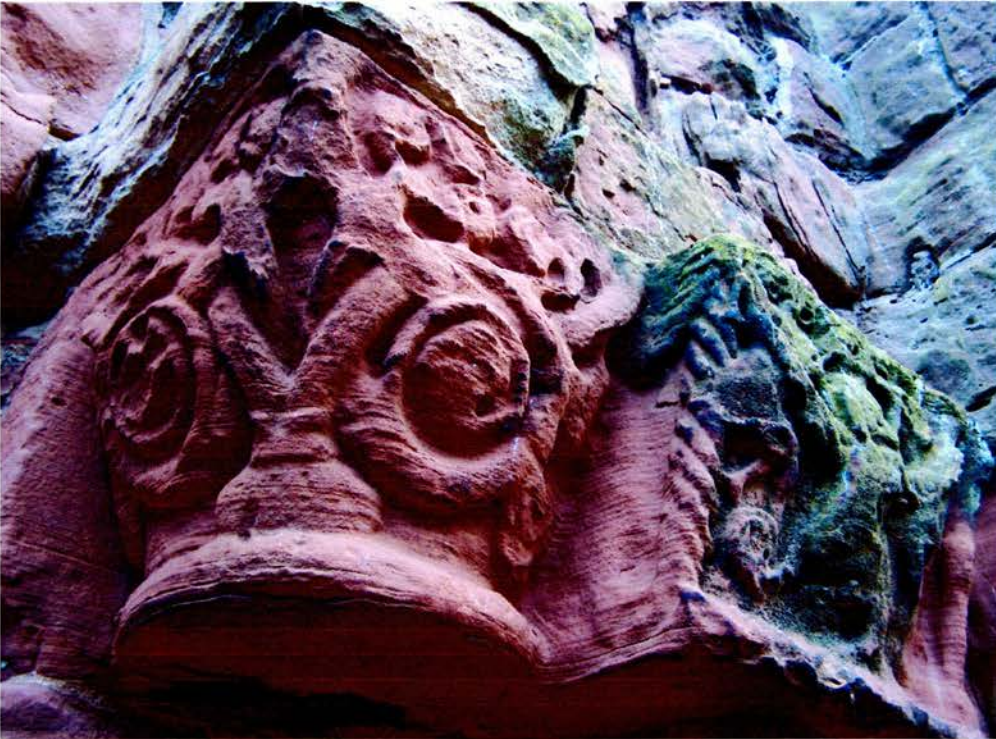

114) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : south side of west doorway, bases

115) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway, capital detail

116) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway, detail of capital

117) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : west doorway, detail of ram's head above north side

118) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : corbel-table, north side of nave, detail

119) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : corbel-table, detail

120) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : string-course fragment, east side of north transept

121) St Bees (St Mary and St Bega) : reverse of lintel-stone

122) Torpenhow (St Michael) : north window

123) St Michael, Torpenhow : chancel arch

124) Torpenhow (St Michael) : capital in north-west of nave

125) Torpenhow (St Michael) : south doorway

126) Torpenhow (St Michael) : font

127) Torpenhow (St Michael) : piscine in south wall of chancel

128) Torpenhow (St Michael) : chevron, south doorway

129) Torpenhow (St Michael) : head on outer order of south doorway

130) Torpenhow (St Michael) : capitals on south doorway

131) Torpenhow (St Michael) : south capital on chancel arch

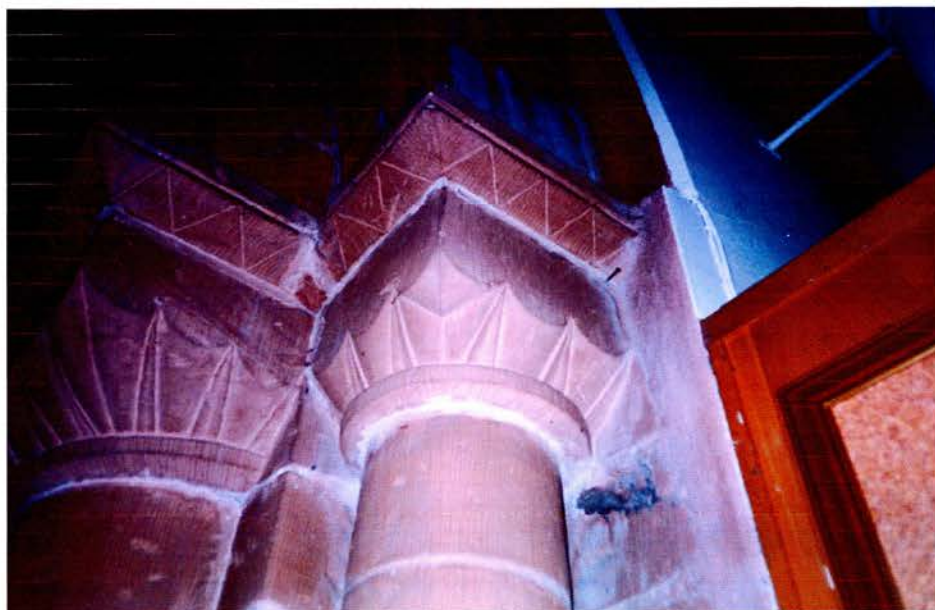132) Torpenhow (St Michael) : north capital on chancel arch

133) Torpenhow (St Michael) : detail of heads on chancel arch

134) Torpenhow (St Michael) : chancel arch from east

135) Warwick-on-Eden (St Leonard) : capitals at west end of nave

136)   Warwick-on-Eden (St Leonard) : east end exterior