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ROMANESQUE CHEVRON ORNAMENT

ONE VOLUME

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped with the preparation of this thesis in many different ways. Thanks are due firstly to my various employers over the past six years for their patience and understanding and facilitating my research wherever possible. Financially the completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the generous assistance of the Department of History of Art, Trinity College, for which I am most grateful. Thanks are also due to the Trustees of the Thomas Damann Memorial fund and Trinity College Graduate Studies Travel Awards for their funding of some of the fieldwork carried out for the study.

For endless help during the research process thanks are due to the librarians in both the Lecky and Berkley libraries, at Trinity College, and to Dr. Lindy Grant of the Conway library, London. Special thanks also to Duncan Givans, a mine of information on the more obscure of English parish churches and a constant source of photographs and encouragement.

I am grateful to Professor Roger Stalley, for providing the benefit of his experience and advice in the supervision of this thesis. Informal discussions with Dr. Maylis Baylé, Dr. Ron Baxter, Dr. Lindy Grant, Sandy Heslop, the late Dr. Larry Hoey, Hazel Gardiner, and Dr. Malcom Thurlby have also helped to provide academic focus for the thesis.

For stimulating company, map reading and driving on various different field trips during the course of my study, thanks to Dr. Carol Davidson, Antoinette Dornan, Duncan Givens, Dr. John Goodall, Dr. Kathleen Lane, Dr. Linda Monckton, Dr. Richard Plant, and Aisling O'Donoghue. Also to sculptor and stone conservator Jason Ellis for sharing his knowledge of stone and stone working at various sites.

Finally, for their support throughout the process I am especially grateful to Dr. Catherine Lawless, Rachel MacRory, Aisling O'Donoghue, Dr. Eoin O'Sullivan and Dr. Yvonne Scott.

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SYNOPSIS OF STUDY

Chevron ornament was one of the most common forms of architectural decoration during the twelfth century, in particular in Normandy, England and Ireland, and is found in smaller concentrations throughout Europe during the same period. The lack of previous studies of the ornament, and difficulties traditionally encountered in describing the many different forms, have made it difficult to assess its art historical importance, and its potential use as a tool for dating buildings and for tracing the movement of medieval masons.

Having outlined a standardised 'grammar' by which chevron can be described, this study traces the various forms of chevron found in England, Normandy and Ireland. The greatest variety of form is encountered in England, where a distinctive regional division is evident between north and south in the early years of the twelfth century. The chevron found in southern England during this period relates closely to contemporary Norman chevron forms, most of which are formed from sectional profiles already established in the 'straight' mouldings vocabulary. Chevron forms found north of the Humber on the other hand, tend to follow a freer form of expression, and are less 'grammatical' in their application.

From the second quarter of the twelfth century a greater number of chevron types are introduced in England, formed from a wider variety of moulding profiles. From this point the close stylistic relationship between England and Normandy ceases and Norman chevron types remain essentially conservative.

Comparison of Irish chevron types suggests that the ornament was introduced to the country by English masons, but then developed by local workmen. While fewer variants of the ornament are found in Ireland, analysis of the moulding profiles suggests that masons were aware of contemporary developments abroad. The introduction of imported labour coinciding with the patronage of the Cistercian Order and the Anglo-Norman 'invasion' is also identified.

A study of chevron forms from independently dated buildings suggests that a pattern of development can be traced, though this is not strictly linear, and varies according to region. Similarly, the identification of 'schools' of masons through chevron analysis is only possible in certain cases, notably when the varieties of chevron used are not formed from mouldings common to the 'straight' mouldings vocabulary.

The origins of the ornament are examined. Earlier skeumorphic comparisons in wood, masonry, plaster and paint are considered, but none provide a convincing precursor for the Anglo-Norman sculptural ornament. Possible symbolic connotations are also explored. The study concludes that the popularity of the form was probably due to technical considerations, as the form was easy to carve and facilitated mass production.

Place names

Bd	Bedfordshire
Bk	Buckinghamshire
Brk	Berkshire
C	Cork
Ca	Cambridgeshire
Cal	Calvados
Ce	Clare
Chs	Cheshire
CM	Charente Maratime
Cn	Cavan
Co	Cornwall
Cu	Cumberland
D	Dublin
Db	Derbyshire
Dn	Down
Do	Dorset
Du	Durham
Dv	Devonshire
Dy	Derry
Ess	Essex
Fh	Fermanagh
Fi	Fife
G	Galway
Gl	Gloucestershire
Gm	Glamorgan
Ha	Hampshire
He	Herefordshire
Hrt	Hertfordshire
Hu	Huntingtonshire
K	Kent
Ke	Kildare
Kk	Kilkenny
Ky	Kerry
La	Lancashire
Le	Leicestershire
Li	Lincolnshire
Lk	Limerick
Ls	Laois
M	Manche
Mh	Meath
Mn	Monmouthshire
Mn	Monaghan
Mo	Mayo
Mx	Middlesex
Nb	Northumberland

Nf	Norfolk
Np	Northamptonshire
Nt	Nottinghamshire
O	Oxfordshire
Oy	Offaly
Rm	Roscommon
Ru	Rutlandshire
Rx	Roxburgh
Sa	Shropshire
SB	Scottish Boarders
SeO	Seine et Oise
Sf	Suffolk
SM	Seine Maratime
So	Somerset
So	Sligo
Sr	Surrey
Srt	Sarthe
St	Staffodshire
Sx	Sussex
Te	Tyrone
Ts	Tipperary South Riding
Wa	Warwickshire
Wd	Waterford
We	Westmoreland
Wi	Wiltshire
WL	West Lothian
Wo	Worcestershire
Ww	Wicklow
Y	Yorkshire

Publications

BAACT	British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JRSAI	Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland
PSAS	Proceedings of the Scottish Archaeological Society
PRIA	Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy
UJA	Ulster Journal of Archaeology

INTRODUCTION

The study of Romanesque sculpture has occupied a place in the mainstream of art historical studies only since the end of the nineteenth century, when it gradually became more acceptable to consider this 'barbaric' form of visual expression as 'art'.

Early studies concentrated primarily on formal issues such as stylistic concerns and the assembly of *corpora* of related sculpture into different regional schools. Once a set of identifiable characteristics had been established by which individual sculptures, often little known and not easily accessible, could be discussed in a broader sense, studies in Romanesque sculpture became largely preoccupied with the issue of origins. It was this concern, often clouded by the nationality or loyalties of the scholars involved, which dominated studies of the first half of this century, and has served as a distraction from more fruitful avenues of research.[1]

In 1924 with the publication of L'art religieux du xii^{eme} siècle: étude sur les origins de l'iconographie du moyen âge, Emile Mâle took a new approach to the question and used the study of Romanesque iconography to forward France's case for supremacy in the field.

In spite of the growth of an increasing body of literature dealing with Romanesque sculpture over the past decades, scholars still appear to be unable to shake off the mantle of their forebears. While issues such as patronage and broader contextual history are gaining a more prominent position, many monuments continue to be evaluated for their position in an evolutionary process, rather than on their own merits within their own particular context.[2]

Together with the narrow approach to the subject, scholars of Romanesque sculpture have also followed a tendency to concentrate on figurative programmes. This is not surprising, as the analysis of iconography, as demonstrated by Mâle, has the potential to provide an insight into the minds of eleventh and twelfth century patrons and craftsmen, shedding light on how they interpreted the bible and associated texts. The analysis of figure style has also yielded

[1] For a fuller discussion on issues of nationality and the study of Romanesque sculpture see, for example J. Mann, 'Romantic Identity, Nationalism, and the Understanding of the Advent of Christian Art in Spain', Gesta, 36/2, (1997), 156-164, and C. Edson Armi, Masons and Sculptors in Romanesque Burgundy: the New Aesthetic of Cluny III (Pennsylvania, 1983), chapter 1.

[2] For this approach see M.F. Hearn, Romanesque Sculpture: the Revival of Monumental Stone Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (Oxford, 1981).

rich information about artistic trends and relationships between often disparate geographical areas, sometimes filling the gaps left by written history.

The concentration of energies into the study of Romanesque figure sculpture has tended to overshadow the numerous decorative forms which not only form an intrinsic part of figurative programmes, but are often the sole decoration found on Romanesque monuments of all ranks and sizes. Given the preoccupation with chronology and authorship of some of the better known works, it is surprising that studies of the apparent formal grammars of ornament of the period have not been more commonplace. In fact, the potential value of such studies has still to be proven, such is the dearth of examinations of the subject.

It is the purpose of this study therefore, to assess the possible contribution of pattern analysis toward better understanding of Romanesque sculpture. In order to achieve this, a single pattern type, three-dimensional zigzag or chevron ornament, has been selected for analysis.

Sculpted chevron ornament is found throughout Europe during the Romanesque period, but is especially ubiquitous in Normandy, England and Ireland. Due to its concentration in these areas it has come to be interpreted as a typically 'Norman' motif, and its more dispersed occurrence beyond these areas is often attributed to the direct influence of 'Norman' masons or patrons.

The most crucial characteristic of Romanesque chevron ornament, and one that makes it ideally suited to a study of this type, is the fact that within a defined area and time the ornament was worked in a number of different forms. Form changed not only when viewed face on- so that sometimes Vs radiated outward, sometimes they were broken by straight sections and sometimes they were arranged at right angles to the plane of the wall; but they also varied in section, with different moulding profiles being used to achieve varying effects. Thus a huge number of variables exist, which, theoretically at least, can facilitate comparative analysis.

The fact that many of the buildings in which chevron was used are now in ruins has facilitated a practical approach to studying the ornament which compliments stylistic analysis. The author has been particularly fortunate, through working with loose stone collections for the past five years, to experience the physical handling of a wide variety of chevron forms, worked from different stone types. This has allowed a significant insight into the more technical considerations of how individual blocks were carved.

Chevron ornament within England, Normandy and Ireland is found on all building types from the grandest cathedrals, abbeys and castles to the most humble of parish churches. It therefore has the potential to reveal important clues as to the relationships that may have existed between a wide range of buildings, and to shed some light on the building history of some of the more poorly documented structures.

Chapter one deals with the background of the study of pattern in general and the issues that arise from the historical development of certain ornamental forms. It reviews the various theoretical approaches to pattern evolution and analysis, and summarizes the different manners in which essentially abstract forms can be interpreted. The predominant focus of this chapter is on the zigzag or chevron form, although attention is also given to studies of other ornament types where it is seen as relevant to the current study. Against this review, chapter two concentrates on studies relating to non-figurative sculpture in the Middle Ages, and establishes a methodology for the analysis of Romanesque chevron ornament.

In chapter three, this methodology is used to provide an outline of the most commonly occurring forms of chevron ornament in England and Normandy, the areas in which it is most ubiquitous. Based on this survey, chapter four examines in greater detail the potential for chevron to be used as a tool in stylistic analysis.

In chapter five, a comprehensive survey of surviving chevron ornament in Ireland seeks to establish whether the focussed study of a single ornamental feature can clarify the development of Romanesque sculpture in Ireland, and the nature of its relationship with contemporary English and Norman sculpture.

In chapter six the occurrence of chevron ornament in various media prior to the twelfth century are examined. With reference to the theories outlined in chapter one, possible sources for the ornament as it appears in the Anglo-Norman architectural vocabulary and the reason for its selection and popularity over other comparable motifs are explored.

Although a detailed study of Romanesque chevron ornament has never been carried out, the more general study of pattern is a well-established discipline. Before embarking on a detailed examination of this particular form of ornament and its various manifestations, some of the principal issues surrounding the study of pattern are set out to provide a framework against which the more detailed study may be set.

Early Scholarship in Pattern Analysis

The presence of abstract ornament on items of great antiquity, across the globe, and of similar forms within 'primitive' contemporary cultures, led nineteenth century scholars to pose fundamental questions about the nature of abstract pattern forms. How were patterns 'invented'? Why did similar manifestations of certain patterns occur in geographically disparate places? Why are certain pattern forms only found periodically through history, while others have a constant presence? How do pattern forms develop, and what factors have the greatest bearing on their development? Do various pattern forms, or combinations of forms, have symbolic meanings? And what is the manner of the relationship between the material and form?

The rise of the industrial age, and the resultant backlash against the arbitrary manner in which ornament was being applied to unsuitable objects and materials led to a surge in theoretical debate centred on these issues. The motivating force behind these debates was a desire to ensure that contemporary craftsmen could use copies of ancient ornaments in a 'proper' manner.

From these debates and researches 'pattern books' were produced for the use of 'Architects, designers, painters, sculptors, wood-carvers, chasers, modellers, cabinet-makers and artistic locksmiths as well as also for technical schools, libraries and private study',[3] collecting together illustrations of vast bodies of decorative forms from all continents and all centuries with the object of representing, in the case of Speltz 'the entire range of ornament in all its different styles from pre-historic times to the middle of the nineteeth century'.[4] Whilst the comprehensiveness, accuracy and quality of the illustrations in some of the texts must be questioned, their contribution to the study of ornament and abstract pattern should not be

[3] A. Speltz, Styles of Ornament (Leipzig, 1904), frontispiece.

[4] Speltz's work for example boasted 400 plates, Owen Jones, a protagonist of the theory that all ancient art was polychromatic, included 120 full colour plates in his The Grammar of Ornament (London, 1856).

underestimated, in particular with reference to the relationship of ornamentation with material, purpose and form.

Traditionally geometric or non-representational ornament was seen as one of the mainstays of the dawn of art history, and equated with cultures at a relatively low stage of development. Simple abstract patterns were associated with 'the earliest burial sites on Cyprus, the pre-Homeric strata of Troy-Hissarlik, the Terramare burials of the Po river valley, and the graves of prehistoric northern and central Europe, to name but a few',[5] and so were interpreted as forming an important building block in the development of the decorative arts.

Such patterns tended not to appear at random, occurring instead as 'typical' of the art of the time and particular to regions in which they occurred. This apparent 'organized will' to create similar artistic forms, often in similar contexts raises a number of important questions with reference to prehistoric cultures. For example, how, given the lack of communication facilitating technology, can primitive peoples have spontaneously been producing similar art forms in geographically and culturally disparate parts of the world?

One theory, which enjoyed particular popularity in the earlier part of the nineteenth century was the idea of materialist or technical evolution. Contemporary with the discoveries of Darwin and the evolutionary writings of Goethe and Lamark this hypothesis came to be linked particularly with the name of the German architect and theorist Gottfried Semper.[6] Semper saw the most logical solution to the question of spontaneous generation of design lying in man's instinctive impulses. One such impulse is that of survival, achieved through protection from the elements by the manufacture of cloth for cloths, and through the manufacture of protective fencing, as defense against predators. Both procedures involve the weaving of fibres. According to Semper

'...the shift from the plaiting of branches to the planting of basts (organic fibres) was easy and natural. Then came the invention of weaving, first with blades of grass or natural plant , later with threads spun from vegetable or animal materials. The variation in the natural

[5] A. Riegl, Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Berlin, 1893), (trans.) E. Kain Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament (Princeton, 1992), 16.
[6] G. Semper, Der Stil in den Technischen Künsten; oder praktischer Ästhetik (Munich, 1878-1879).

colours of the fibres soon prompted their arrangement in an alternating system, and in this way, *pattern* came into being.'[7]

When the products created by this technique were improved upon, form followed function. A follower of Semper's theories, Kekulé, illustrated this theory with the example of vases of the so-called Mycenean and Dipylon and Cypriote styles. These, he claimed, demonstrated close analogies in form and decoration with basketry, proving that eating utensils had developed from basketry to clay, the design maintained and transformed from a by-product of process to a design in its own right.[8]

Semper did not see his theory of material evolution as limited to the 'beginnings' of pattern creation, but saw it as the *raison d'être* for many inexplicable norms in traditional forms of architecture. Almost two thousand years earlier Vitruvius had accounted for the rigid grammar of the classical orders of architecture in a similar manner, which, in turn was enthusiastically adopted and expounded by humanists such as Abbé Laugier during the eighteenth century. To the *corpus* of skeumorphic architecture Semper was able to add certain medieval forms, suggesting for example that, either consciously or unconsciously, the medieval division of wall surfaces had its origins in the arrangement of the earliest 'spatial divider', the wall hanging.[9]

Modern scholarship would approach such theories with a little more hesitancy and scientific caution, but origins of material evolution have been mooted for certain forms in medieval architecture and sculpture within the scope of this study. H.G. Leask saw the origins of the form of stone gable finials associated with some Irish Romanesque stone churches in the barge board crossings of earlier wooden structures.[10] Baylé (following Focillon and Ruprich-Robert) has mooted the transference of the chip-carving technique from carpentry to stone as the

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[7] G. Semper, Der Stil, (Munich, 1878-9), 1:213A translated and quoted in Riegl, Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Berlin, 1893), (trans.) E. Kain Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament (Princeton, 1992), 24.

[8] R. Kekulé, 'Ursprung der Form und Ornament der ältesten griechischen und vorgriechischen Vasen' Sitzungsbergerichte der Archäologischen Gesellshaft, Archäologischer Anzieger, (July, 1890), 106-7, quoted by A. Riegl, Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Berlin, 1893), (trans.) E. Kain, Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament (Princeton, 1992), 34.

[9] G. Semper, 'Science, Industry and Art; proposals for the development of a National Taste in Art at the Closing of the London Industrial Exhibition' (1852), translated and reprinted in (eds.) H.F Mallgrave and W. Herrmann, Gottfried Semper: The Four Elements of Architecture and other Writings (Cambridge, 1989) 137.

[10] H.G. Leask, Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings, Vol. 1 (Dundalk, 1955), 46.

ultimate origin of early Romanesque geometric ornament in Normandy.[11] The very nomenclature of chevron ornament also hints at skeumorphic origins. The word 'chevron' has its root in a French word to describe a particular arrangement of wooden roof beams, and the term bâtons rompus or brisés- literally 'broken sticks' is still commonly used to describe chevron ornament in French literature.[12]

One of the principal opponents of Semper's theory, which had gained widespread acceptance by the last decade of the nineteenth century, was Alois Riegl. In his ground-breaking work *Stilfragen* Riegl vehemently disputed this theory. The purpose of his work is clearly delineated in his opening chapter;

'... to demonstrate that not only is there no cogent reason for assuming *a priori* that the oldest geometric decorations were executed in any particular technique, least of all weaving, but that the earliest, genuinely historical artistic monuments we possess in fact contradict this assumption...It will become evident that the human desire to adorn the body is far more elementary than the desire to cover it with woven garments, and that the decorative motifs that satisfy the simplest desire for adornment, such as linear, geometric configurations, surely existed long before textiles were used for physical protection. As a result, this eliminates one principle that has ruled the entire field of art theory for the past quarter century: the absolute equation of textile patterns with surface decoration or ornament.'[13]

The essence of Riegl's argument lay with his determination that man also has *creative* impulses. He questioned the Darwinian development of art forms, suggesting that many of the archaeological discoveries of the 'geometric style' being made at the time, were in fact not the earliest art forms of their period, and represented instead a more mature phase of art. Riegl stressed that 'it is the urge to decorate that is one of the most elementary of human drives, more elementary in fact than the need to protect the body'.[14] He supported this statement with the example of the techniques used by the Aquitanian cave dwellers who engraved images of animals on their weapons, for apparently no other reason than decoration. Although 'natural' representations were the favoured art form of these peoples,

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[11] M. Baylé, Les Origines et les Développments de la Sculpture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1993), 105.
[12] The term 'chevron' derives from the French word form a pair of rafters arranged in this form. J. Fleming, H. Honor and N. Pevsner, The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture (4th ed. London, 1991), 91.
[13] A. Riegl, Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Berlin, 1893), (trans.) E. Kain, Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament (Princeton, 1992), 5.
[14] A. Riegl, ibid., 31.

geometric zigzags are also found of which Riegl illustrates an example of a marrow spoon from Laugerie Basse.

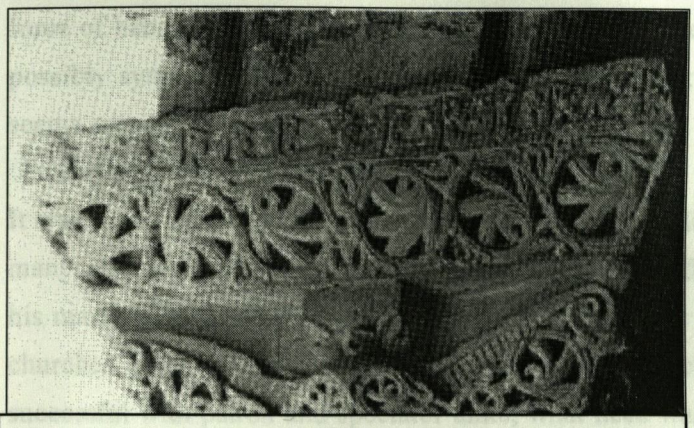
In short, Riegl was suggesting that the spontaneous appearance of similar patterns was not the end result of a process of evolution based on subsistence, but to an ever changing *Kunstwollen* or 'will to art'. Thus, while the appearance assumed by a particular art form in clearly separate contexts may be influenced by similar non-material factors, whether social, economic or psychological, its actual creation is the result of an independent urge to decorate.

In recent years a similar theory has been presented to explain the problematic origins of Romanesque sculpture. Early examples of architectural sculpture, of comparable form and subject matter, and in comparable contexts began to appear across a widely diffused area in Europe during the latter half of the eleventh century. It is now generally accepted that the similarity of prevailing social, spiritual, cultural, and economic conditions in Spain, Italy and France in particular, may have generated the style, rather than any more organized regime.

Prior to this acceptance however, scholars sought long and hard to uncover the 'source' or first example of Romanesque sculpture, from whose lead all the rest had spread in a virus like fashion, being copied from one monument to the next. With judgement often clouded by national pride, Puig y Cadafalch argued for the origins of the style in Spain, Porter for Lombardy, and Conant for Burgundy. Similar dissemination theories have also been proposed for ornamental motifs, particularly when forms demonstrate assimilation that appears to extend beyond the possibilities of coincidence.

Enough examples of direct or indirect copying survive from the medieval period to suggest that it certainly was practiced. Much of Emile Mâle's widely accepted work on the iconography of the period, for example, lies in the comparison of form between Romanesque art and that of Islamic, Byzantine, Coptic, Persian, Classical and Pre-Classical art.[15] However, it is usually only the more complex compositions, comprising a number of variables, which allow the copyist theory to be proven, as with simpler, geometric forms the possibility of spontaneous creation is always present. Indeed it is only when a 'decorative' form can be assigned some specific meaning through its context or associations, that its

[15] E. Mâle, L'art religieux du xii^{eme} siècle en France: étude sur le origine de l'iconographie du moyen âge (Paris, 1922), trans, H. Bober, Religious Art in France: The Twelfth Century: A Study of the Origins of Medieval Iconography (Princeton, 1978).



Pl. 1.1; Moissac. Cloister capital.

origins may, with limitations, be traced to a primary visual source. An example of this is the abacus decorated with Kufic script in the cloister at Moissac **[pl. 1.1]**.[16] By virtue of its context, in a Christian monastic cloister where all other abaci have purely decorative motifs, it can be interpreted as a solely decorative device. However, through the recognizable association of the forms of the letters with the script found incorporated with Islamic art,[17] the assumption must be that the artist responsible has copied the form from an another art work, to use in a decorative manner, and that the pattern is not of his own invention.[18]

The longevity of pattern forms

It is clear then that pattern forms can come into being in a number of ways, often obscured due to their longevity and popularity over broad geographical areas. This longevity is another characteristic of pattern forms which has engendered investigation, coupled with the question of why some forms have endured with such popularity throughout the history of art, whilst others have fluctuated, appearing only in certain 'stylistic' periods.

While individual cultures and technologies develop, certain forms and motifs endure. An example of this is the door ring, shaped as a lion's head holding the utilitarian ring in its mouth. The lion mask itself serves no utilitarian function, and acts only as an embellishment to the mount that holds the ring in place. Yet in spite of this, it is one of the most enduring themes in the history of design, and examples of it include a ring from Lake Nemi, Italy of the 1st century AD, a ring from the Donore hoard, Ireland of the 8th century AD, a ceramic ring from China of 7th or 8th century AD and brass reproductions in the modern DIY store.[19] Gombrich has suggested that the reason for the endurance of this motif is man's

[16] M. Shapiro, The Sculpture of Moissac (New York, 1985), 60.

[17] The script has been interpreted, with some controversy, as an 11-fold invocation of Allah.

[18] For further examples of the kufic 'pattern' in Christian France and Spain see K. Watson, 'The Kufic Inscription in the Romanesque cloister at Moissac in Quercy, links with Le Puy, Toledo and Catalan Woodworkers', Arte Medievale, 3:1, (1989), 7-27.

[19] For a comprehensive treatment of the occurrence of this motif see O. Kurz, 'Lion Masks with Ring in West and East' in Scripta Hierosoliminata (Jerusalem, 1973), 22-41.

force of habit. Once the door pull was accepted by society as utilitarian, decorative, and also possibly symbolic then it became habitual, to the extent that a door without one, even today, seems somehow incomplete.[20]

It was this 'sense of habit' which was doubtless responsible for the continuation of forms in many aspects of design, and also a motivation. Why, after all, should the apprentice question his master's methods if they function and prove popular with their consumers? If all of the churches in the locality had portals decorated with the chevron motif, and it proved successful with patron and spectator alike, what need was there to change?

Of course habitual behaviour can often be driven by facility. One suspects, for example, that the prominence of the zigzag motif on the borders of woven textiles is as Riegl argues

' ...because these patterns are better suited to the textile technique, or better said, because it is more difficult in these techniques to go beyond angular, linear patterns...the geometric patterns that could be executed with less effort remained continuously in use, particularly in the minor arts.'[21]

Certainly form and material enjoyed a special relationship under the hand of Pugin, Ruskin, Morris and their followers, who, in light of the achievements of industry advocated a return to the medieval truth to material.

Similarly the reason why the zigzag motif is found on practically every medium, in every era must be in part due to the ease with which it can be executed. Even for the least talented of artists, the execution of a row of zigzags on a clay pot, for example, can be accomplished by a series of impressions made by a thumb nail. With little more effort the tip of a stick can be used to create a pattern of a more linear quality. It is only at the point when the 'artist' wishes to embellish the design by the addition of subsidiary features that it becomes a more complex and creatively challenging task.

The example of the continuity of the lion mask motif through history also touches upon the symbolic quality of some decorative motifs. Often the reason why simple pattern forms enjoy longevity is through their symbolic associations. Once a simple pattern form has been

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[20] E. Gombrich, The Sense of Order; a Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art (London, 1979), 271.
[21] A. Riegl, Stilfragen: Grundlegungen zu einer Geschichte der Ornamentik (Berlin, 1893) (trans.) E. Kain, Problems of Style: Foundations for a History of Ornament (Princeton, 1992), 37.

imbued with a specific meaning, then its form is deliberately maintained and reproduced with the specific aim of communicating a message.

It was through its association with the sun for example, that W.H. Goodyear attributed the survival of the lotus motif in world art.[22] Goodyear argued that the specific 'grammar' adhered to by the lotus motif was maintained across geographic, chronological and contextual boundaries through its solar symbolism, allowing the same form to be traced from the ancient art of Egypt to Cyprus to Ancient America, where all associated the flower, in its abstract form with solar Dieties.

While in this case, the motif probably had a similar meaning across all boundaries, in other cases an abstract form may have a separate meaning in different contexts. The plain zigzag in ancient Egypt, for example was used as a hieroglyph for water; thus it is not found decorating mummy cases, metal or pottery as distinct from the cross-hatched, united triangles which are used for decorative purposes.[23]

Folklore suggests that the zigzag incorporated into the knitting pattern of an Aran Island fisherman was placed there, in a heraldic role to signify that a family had experienced troubled times. In more formal heraldry, the single chevron charge signifies protection, supposedly originating from the wooden roof of a building, as it was sometimes given to those who had built a church or fortress, or who had achieved a work of faithful service.[24] Other heraldic zigzag derivatives include indented and dancetté lines, that indicate fire and water respectively.

The latter three could be said to be pictograms- abstract representations of the forms that they symbolize. The same can be applied to many other symbols. Often, when the symbol for which an abstract form has obviously been created is long forgotten, it is interpreted through its most representational facet. Thus for example the explanation for the presence of high quality, and apparently ritualistic zigzag lines picked on to the megalithic tombs of Knowth, Newgrange, and related Breton and Iberian monuments have been variously interpreted as serpents, fire, water etc. However, ultimately, as Muiris O'Sullivan points out 'The literature concerning the meaning of passage tomb art tells us more about the authors

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[22] W.H. Goodyear, The Grammar of the Lotus (London, 1891).
[23] W.H. Goodyear, ibid, 333.
[24] Heraldic Artists Ltd. The Symbols of Heraldry Explained (Dublin, 1980), 20.

than about the artists'.[25] Indeed, if one were, instead, to take the equally valid route of interpreting these ancient forms by association with similar, modern ideograms, then the zigzag carved on a Newgrange kerb stone **[pl. 1.2]** could equally read 'no parking'. The point lies more with establishing whether the design is a symbolic one, and how its symbolism has effected its form, rather than trying to decode it.



Pl. 1.2: Newgrange. Kerb stone c.3,100BC.

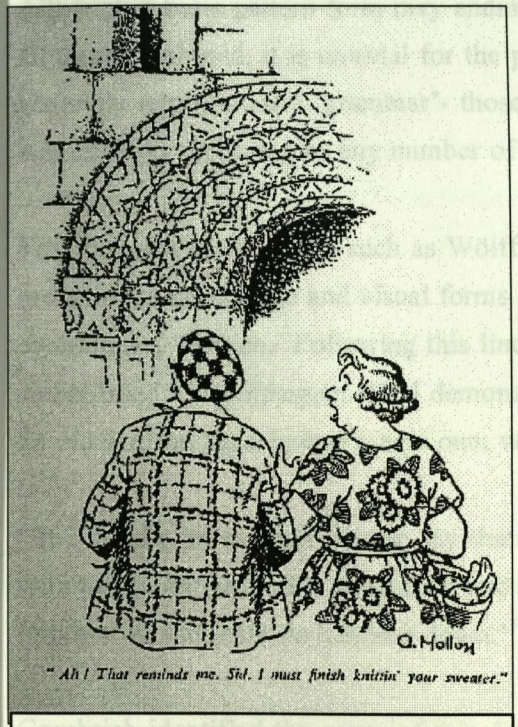
The presence of abstract decoration on an object may have been less explicit in its symbolism. Thus rather than attempting to ascribe a specific meaning to each individual pattern, or element of pattern as if they were letters in a word, the very existence of the pattern and the context in which it is found should be considered for its symbolic associations.

The role of a chevron-ornamented portal, may, as Ruskin put forward, be to symbolize one of the purist forms of ornament- the flames of fire.[26] However, at another level it is undoubtedly intended to draw attention to the role of the portal, as the transition from the secular to the sacred space. Similarly the decoration on the nave supports of a number of eleventh and twelfth century churches in England and France may have functioned to direct attention to a nave altar.[27] In these contexts one would surely *expect* the use of a non-symbolic pattern form which might otherwise distract the viewer from the true focus of attention.

A certain pattern may also be used in a particular context because of the theoretical association of its, or of a similar form's, use in a different context. An example of this would

[25] M. O'Sullivan, Megalithic Art in Ireland (Dublin, 1993), 36.
[26] J. Ruskin, The Stones of Venice (First Published 1851-3), (ed.) de Capro (New York, 1960), 107.

be the pseudo-Kufic script at Moissac. This particular pattern form may have been used simply because it was available to the craftsman in a pattern book. However, given that Kufic script would probably have been known in Quercy through luxury goods such as silks, it is possible that the motif was chosen specifically because of its association with precious, highly patterned artifacts, to convey a sense of exotic wealth through its use in this context.[28] Contemporary texts describing in detail the patterning on cloth used to wrap relics, and the clothing of important people, both secular and religious, would seem to confirm this contemporary association with pattern.[29]



Pl. 1.3: Cartoon after *Dublin Opinion.*

If more mundane, Molloy's cartoon in *The Dublin Opinion*[30] **[pl. 1.3]** also demonstrates the concept of the theoretical association of pattern. To Sid's wife, the patterned Romanesque doorway provides a thought association with the form of the pattern with which she is more familiar, that of the Aran sweater knitting pattern. In so doing, it is perhaps fulfilling a similar role to that which it may have had when it was first created, forming thought associations with important textiles, manuscripts or metalwork.

Associative symbolism does not necessarily have to traverse different media. There is plenty of evidence in the Romanesque period to suggest the

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[27] E. Fernie, 'The Use of Varied Nave Supports in Romanesque and Early Gothic Churches', Gesta, 23/2, (1984), 107-117.

[28] The fact that the hem of one of the angel's robes on the tympanum at Conques is decorated with Kufic lettering would seem to support this.

[29] See for example the description by Reginald of Durham (c.1175) of the decorated textiles which wrapped St. Cuthbert's relics in (ed.) J. Raine, *Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis beati Cuthberti virtutibus*, Surtees Society Publications, I, (London, 1835), cap. xlii, 87, reprinted and translated in M. Shapiro 'On the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art' in Romanesque Art (London, 1977), 11-12. Also of interest is the description of the Emperor's Robes in the Golden Book of Rome (c. 1030) reprinted and translated in (ed.) C. Davis Weyer, Early Medieval Art 300-1150: Sources and Documents in the History of Art (New Jersey, 1971), 114-116.

[30] Forty Years of Dublin Opinion (Dublin, 1962), 105.

mimicking of elements of design between one building and another, particularly when the 'parent' building had particular associations.[31] Transplantation may have led to alterations in form, but retained meaning through the conveyance of a particular idea.[32] Alternatively, the copy may have been faithful, but the meaning lost.[33] Whether explicit or implicit, symbolism doubtless played an important role in the continuance of particular abstract pattern forms, even if over time, meaning was developed, changed, or lost entirely.

Development of Pattern Forms

Although a basic pattern form may endure time, for reasons of habit, material, symbolism or all three combined, it is unusual for the pattern to remain completely static in form. It will generally retain a basic 'grammar'- those elements that define it – but more often than not it will develop according to any number of different factors.

Traditionally, art theorists such as Wölfflin viewed the history of art as developmental, with pre-existent knowledge and visual forms being adopted and added to by each generation, in an evolutionary fashion. Following this line, forms will progress from the simple to the embellished. In *Stilfragen*, Riegl demonstrates how an artist or designer would rather modify an old artform than invent a new one, whilst Lorenz states in more explicit terms that

' It is hardly an exaggeration to say that every pattern handed down by tradition becomes, with time, endowed with those frills and embellishments, which, by making it more impressive, facilitate its handing down.'[34]

Gombrich identified the cause of this desire of craftsmen and patrons to constantly outdo one another as 'the logic of vanity fair'.[35] He suggested that it is as much through a desire for

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[31] This area of architectural iconography is dealt with comprehensively by Richard Krautheimer in 'An Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture', Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5, (1942), 1-33.

[32] Krautheimer proposes that certain 'architectural genres' were determined by function (liturgy) of dedication, thus the chapel built for the bishop of Hereford was intended as a 'copy' of the Royal chapel at Aachen, even though the two showed little parallel in their respective design; R. Krautheimer, ibid., 1-33.

[33] Bandmann cites the example of the importation of the attached half column from classically inspired buildings for its interior elevations. He suggests that it was imported following its selection from a universal stock of themes because of its specific iconographic meaning (*Rezeption*), but that this meaning was entirely lost when these self-contained elements were incorporated into a more complex system of transverse arches and ribs (*Brauchgut*); G. Bandmann, Mittelalteriche Architektur als Bedeuteutugsträger (Berlin, 1951), 250-1.

[34] K. Lorenze, 'Knowledge, Belief and Freedom' in (ed.) P.A. Weiss, Hierarchically Organized Systems in Theory and Practice, (New York, 1971), 231-62.

[35] E. Gombrich, The Sense of Order; A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art (London, 1979), 211.

self-glorification as the glorification of the object to be ornamented that those determining the form of the ornament sought to constantly improve upon and embellish it.

This methodology is familiar to many students of medieval architecture, since traditionally medieval art historians have identified this developmental characteristic from simple to embellished, as the key to establishing chronologies. Using this theoretical basis scholars have based entire texts in single minded quests to locate the evolutionary germ from which certain styles evolved, searching for the most 'primitive' manifestations of a decorative forms upon which they can build their evolutionary theories.[36]

Within each of these styles such developmental tendencies were also traced. For example, Focillon saw the defining feature of a style as the possession of a three-fold development; from experimental to classic to baroque phases.[37] By the time the style had reached its final phase, the ornament, the purpose of which was to highlight the feature on which it was applied, had so obscured the basic matrix form as to render itself obsolete. Thus a new style, returning to simpler forms, would be 'invented'. Following this theory therefore, Focillon argued that '[it] will enable us to recognize, if not to solve, the historical problems posed by the evolution of sculpture in the Romanesque period'.[38]

Although enthusiastically adopted by some of Focillon's followers, not least among them Jurgis Baltrusaitis, the theory was problematic, and failed to allow for such basic considerations as iconography.[39]

Whilst in certain cases technological advancement or 'taste' may indeed mitigate this 'plain to frilly' form of development, it is still not tenable as a general rule. It is perhaps an opportune moment to return to Riegl's thesis of man's creative impulses as the principal guiding factor to the form taken by any pattern. If this is the case, then surely it is also possible for a craftsman or patron to create something to satisfy his own aesthetic sensibilities, rather than his competitive spirit. When it comes to the question of taste some

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[36] For a particularly extreme example of this tendancy see V. Slomann, Bicorporates (Copenhagen, 1967).
[37] H. Focillon, L'art des sculpteurs romane (Paris, 1931), 250, and The Art of the West (Paris, 1963), (trans.), D. King, (London, 1969), 105-112.
[38] H. Focillon, The Art of the West (London, 1969), 111.
[39] J. Baltrusaitis, La Stylistique Ornamental dans la Sculpture Romane (Paris, 1931). In this work Baltrusaitis argued that the evolutionary development of basic geometric shapes underlying sculptural forms had led to the actual creation of the Romanesque style. For a full critique of the approach see M. Shapiro, 'On Geometrical Schematism in Romanesque Art' Romanesque Art (London, 1977), 265-84.

prefer more frills than others. On this point, Gombrich draws a comparison with the way in which people use language:

' It is only where there is choice that those who aim at a plain style will go for the short word, whereas personalities manifesting predilections favouring polysyllabic alternatives activate opposite selectivities'.[40]

In some cases, whether there is a will for a particular aesthetic effect or not, factors such as finances, time, or available skill may hinder the greater elaboration of forms. For example, at St. Albans in c.1195 Master Hugh de Goldclif, described as a 'deceitful and unreliable man, but a craftsman of great reputation' overspent on 'trifling and beyond measure costly' carved work for the new façade of the abbey church, so that a halt was called by Abbot John, patron of the building.[41] At Canterbury Cathedral some of the crypt capitals are either decorated in a relatively simple manner, or obviously unfinished, apparently because a speedy conclusion to the construction of the crypt was required, possibly for reasons of the safety of the structure.[42] Given more time, they would undoubtedly have been decorated with a more complex design.

The greater embellishment of forms may also be attributable to symbolic factors. The example was given above of the concentration of ornament on the nave piers of certain French and English churches in the eleventh and twelfth centuries in order to draw attention to the presence of a nave altar. In these cases the greater embellishment of form is not due to the personal concerns of the patron or craftsman, or the evolutionary process, but rather a desire to emphasize the space or form which the ornament is demarcating.

Returning to Anselm's crypt at Canterbury, the area of the altar of the Virgin is flanked by two pairs of columns cut with spiral motifs. It appears that these were designed to draw attention to the altar area.[43] It could be argued that by the Romanesque period specific parts of the church structure, not just those associated with altars or shrines of particular importance, were associated with symbolic qualities of varying importance. Thus for

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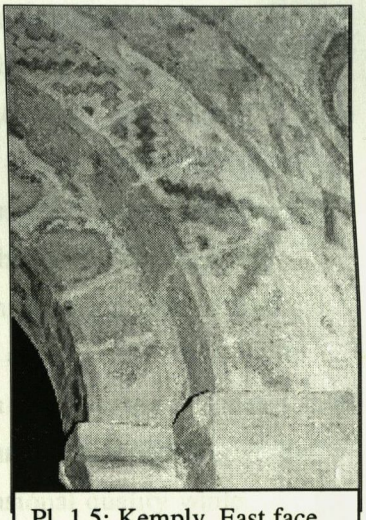
[40] E. Gombrich, The Sense of Order: A Study in the Psychology of Decorative Art (London, 1979), 213.
[41] *Gesta Abbatum,* (Rolls Series) i, 219, translated and quoted in L.F. Salzmann, Building in England Down to 1540 (Oxford, 1952), 376.
[42] D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 40.
[43] The first to point out the significance of this feature was E. Fernie, 'St. Anselm's Crypt', BAACT, 5, (1982), 27-38. He further suggests that the form may be a deliberate mimicry of the spiral baldachinno piers at St. Peters, thus giving the piers a double symbolic role.

example, in English parish church architecture the principal south doorway is nearly always more lavishly decorated than either the north or priests' door.

Roughly contemporary to the emergence of ornament decorating specific parts of the building, is a type of scholastic writing concerned with the symbolic interpretation of the church structure.[44] Thus it may have been the function of applied ornament not only to demarcate these parts, but also to signify the level of its symbolic importance through the degree of embellishment of the ornament. The application of patterned sculpture to arches (and less frequently string courses) is a means of providing emphasis, a way of stressing the role of the architecture which it embellishes. It also functions as a frame for the space that the architectural feature is defining.



Pl. 1.4: Kemply: West face of chancel arch.



Pl. 1.5: Kemply. East face of chancel arch.

The massive losses of decorative features from churches of the Romanesque period, in particular paint, textile hangings and detachable wooden or stone sculpture may distort the role that the modern scholar assigns to decorative sculpture in these locations. Commonly, sculpture is used to adorn architectural features visible to the laity as they enter the church, and as they face east towards the altar. However, the relationship of sculpted ornament to ornament in other media is far from clear, and caution is required in assessing its significance.

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[44] From the seventh century the writings of Isidore of Seville; for a slightly later example see William Durand's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (13thc.) translated in (ed.) T. Frisch, Sources and Documents in the History of Art: Gothic Art, 1140-1450 (New Jersey, 1971), 33-37.

There can be little doubt that the chevron ornament on the chancel arch at St. Mary's Kemply **[pl. 1.4]** was intended to frame the transition from nave to chancel. However, surviving paint suggests that originally, there was a great deal more ornament surrounding the arch, which would have gone some way towards reducing from the full effect of the sculpture. The application of ornament solely for the benefit of the laity is also called into question at Kemply, as the east face of the chancel arch, visible only to the clergy, is decorated with even more complex geometric forms **[pl. 1.5]**, although crucially only in two dimensional paint.[45] The ultimate preference for sculpted ornament over painted decoration in certain locations therefore remains far from clear.



Pl. 1.6: Codex Amiatinus. Folio 796.

The source of three-dimensional ornament as a framing device in this context, may however, be traceable to two-dimensional art. Folio 796 in the late seventh century Codex Amiatinus **[pl. 1.6]** shows Christ in majesty framed by a deliberately three-dimensional ribbon motif. From the Hellenistic period on, it is common to find the illuminated pages of manuscripts framed with repetitive pattern. In many cases it appears that the artist is particularly concerned to give the border a three dimensional quality while maintaining the flat figure style of the period within (see for example Tapestry, St. Michael's Halberstadt Cathedral).[46]

This tradition continues into the wall painting of the Romanesque period. In the painting of St. Paul and the viper in St. Anselm's chapel at Canterbury, the painted 'ribbon' ornament beneath the Saint's feet is given a three-dimensional feel by the sharp contrasts between light and dark, painted on a chamfered string-course **[pl. 1.7]**.

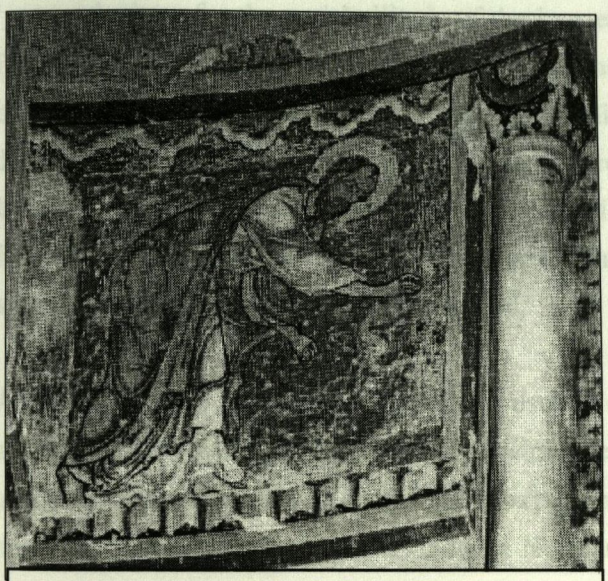
This last example is a reminder of how patterns are used through different media. The example of how material can have an effect on the longevity of a pattern was outlined above in the case of woven ornament. However, material can also have an effect on the

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[45] For a full description of the painted cycle at Kemply see S. Rickerby and D. Park, ' A Romanesque *Visitato Sepulchri* at Kemply' Burlington Magazine, 133, (January, 1991), 27-31.

[46] E. Gombrich, The Heritage of Apelles (Oxford, 1976), 11.

development of pattern form. For example a chevron motif incorporated into the design of a tapestry is likely, due to the nature of the technique, to have a slightly 'crenellated' effect along its edges, giving it a more 'frilly' character. In the medium of paint, however, it is easier to keep the edges of the chevron straight, with one stroke of the brush, than to recreate the 'frilly' effect with many small strokes.



Pl. 1.7: Canterbury Cathedral. St. Anselm's chapel. Painting of St. Paul and the viper.

The production of similar motif in three dimensions, for example in wood or stone, offers different technical challenges that may affect the form. For example the grain of the wood, or bedding strata of certain stone types might only allow particular angles of cutting, while the durability of other wood or stone types might prohibit an intricacy of additional detailing.

The manner in which the role of ornament may effect its form, indicating how a symbolic function at several levels can lead to adaptations, has already been touched upon. Another factor which may lead to developments in a standard form of ornament, is the manner in which ornament is conceived and applied within the context of the aesthetic principles of any given 'stylistic'/historical period.

In was on this point that Ruskin objected so vociferously to the 'reproduction' of gothic ornament during the nineteenth century.[47] He argued that the true aesthetic quality of gothic sculptural ornament in the middle ages lay in the roughness of the detailing, brought about by the creative spontaneity of the spiritual devotion of the craftsman. The mechanical and joyless 'copies' of these forms with their perfect detailing, were therefore mere academic exercises in obtaining a greater perfection of form, rather than capturing the full aesthetic of the period.

[47] J. Ruskin, The Stones of Venice (London, 1851-3), Book I, Chapter xii.

At a slightly less ethereal level, Henri Focillon ventured that the aesthetic principle of form conforming to function was one of the most important influences on the stone sculpture of the Romanesque.[48] He demonstrated that the distortion of figurative forms, could be attributed to the Romanesque sculptor's primary desire to make the ornament conform to its architectural setting:

' ...to substitute for the verisimilitude of the images their just adaptation to the surrounding frame, and to replace the harmony and proportions of life, by the harmony and proportions of an abstract system...Romanesque architecture did not offer indifferent fields to the decorator, but fields whose shape and function were clearly defined. The genius of this style lay in its association of sculpture with these functions.'[49] Thus, according to Focillon and his followers the *loi de cadre* was a primary governing factor of in the development of the form taken by Romanesque sculptural ornament.

Arches during the Romanesque period are usually constructed from a number of relatively small voussoirs, as opposed to the larger, elongated curved stones that come into popular usage from the thirteenth century. The most common voussoir shape was trapezoidal, however, particularly in central France, in Normandy[50]and to a lesser extent in England[51] polygonal voussoir forms were also used in arch construction. The chevron shape naturally mirrors the wedge-like form of the trapezoidal voussoir, and to this extent could be said to have been selected specifically to follow Focillon's *loi de cadre*. Given their occurrence in areas where chevron is also a favoured motif, it may be of relevance that no polygonal voussoir carved with chevron has been identified.[52]

The implication is that the function of the chevron, following Focillon's theory, was to emphasize the trapezoidal form of each voussoir, a factor apparently supported by the fact that chevrons tend to be carved one chevron unit per stone, thus, emphasizing the radial thrust of each architectonic unit.[53]

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[48] H. Focillon, L' art d'occident, 1 (Paris, 1963), (trans.) D. King, The Art of the West, I (London, 1969), 105-112.

[49] H. Focillon, ibid., 106.

[50] For example, at St. Etienne, Caen (Cal), La Trinité, Caen (Cal), Restigné, Boulon, Roiffé.

[51] For example the chancel arch at Manningford Bruce (Wi).

[52] This could be due in part to the fact that polygonal forms tend to be considered as an 'early' feature, while chevron is seen as a later feature. However, there is a sufficiently long overlap of the occurrence of the two forms to make the argument sustainable. Polygonal voussoirs are generally carved with a more intricate surface decoration of 'chip-carved' geometric ornament such as saltire, star or diaper.

[53] In Normandy, this was first noted by V. Ruprich-Robert in L'Architecture Normande (Paris, 1893).

Summary

This overview has outlined some of the main issues to be addressed in the study of pattern forms, and will form a basic framework for the manner in which chevron ornament will be analysed.

The initial question is one of origin. The inherent simplicity and ubiquity of many abstract pattern forms creates particular difficulties in tracing their ultimate source. Traditionally, three solutions to this problem have been presented. Firstly that a purely decorative pattern form can, following a linear evolutionary path, develop from a functional source; secondly that pattern forms can be spontaneously created due to man's inherent will to produce art; thirdly that some pattern forms represent direct copies of others.

Once created, certain pattern forms appear to be particularly resilient, and can survive for long periods of time, while other art forms pass in and out of fashion. Factors influencing the longevity of particular patterns are more complex. In some cases, popularity of form may be attributable to familiarity, so that in certain contexts it becomes more 'radical' to omit certain decorative forms than it would be to incorporate them. In other cases the ease of producing one type of ornament over another may hold sway when it comes to making decisions on design. The attachment of a certain symbolic significance to abstract forms may also influence the degree to which they are maintained within a particular artistic vocabulary. Symbolic properties can vary, from the pattern being a pictographic representation, used to convey a very precise meaning, to its holding of some less explicit ideogrammatic association.

A general characteristic of pattern forms that endure any period of time is that, within certain grammatical parametres, their forms will develop. Traditionally many art historians have viewed this development as an evolutionary process moving from the simple or 'primitive' to the richly adorned. In many cases however, variations on a common theme may be attributable to individual taste, or to practical considerations such as finance, time or available skills. Other factors may also come to bear. If a pattern does hold a particular symbolic quality, then it is likely that this will effect the manner in which it is developed, as particular characteristics of the pattern may hold more significance than others. Constraints of the medium in which the pattern is created will facilitate or hamper development in particular directions. The intellectual or cultural context in which a pattern is created may also have a profound effect on form, as values and aesthetic principals alter over time.

Many of the considerations outlined above are essential in establishing a methodology by which to study essentially decorative forms. However, before drawing conclusions based on any of the theories put forward, it is necessary to form a clearer picture of the ornament under consideration, and of its broader context. It is only after this has been achieved that a properly informed examination of the origins and nature of transmission and development of Romanesque chevron ornament can be carried out, and so these issues will returned to and examined in greater detail in chapter six.

Introduction

The previous chapter presented some of the issues encountered in the study of a simple ornamental motif, and different methodologies that have been used to tackle the evolution and use of various ornamental forms. What emerges, particularly in the case of very simple geometric forms, is that a study covering a large geographical and chronological span, as many nineteenth century scholars attempted, encounters so many variables that its results can only be speculative.

More recent studies, which have tended to take a synchronic approach, examining a particular ornament type within an established chronological and geographical period, have generally yielded more satisfactory results.[1] With lesser concerns about chronological development, and stronger analysis of the actual form and shared characteristics of forms more credible patterns emerge, and possible links can be established.

Chronological and Geographical Parameters

Traditionally, the earliest appearance of chevron ornament in a Romanesque environment was in the nave at Durham Cathedral, usually dated to between 1110-20.[2] In recent years Durham's role as the harbinger of chevron to the Anglo-Norman decorative vocabulary has been called into question and its origins assigned instead to Normandy and the monastery of Cerisy-la-Forêt some twenty years earlier.[3] In fact, it is unlikely that either building contains the 'earliest' example of Romanesque chevron ornament, as both buildings have a variety of different and quite sophisticated types. Their significance lies rather in the fact that the building history of sections of their fabric is reasonably well dated, allowing the establishment of a rough *terminus post quem* for the common use of chevron in relatively high prestige structures.

There is less preoccupation with instances of the 'latest' occurrence of chevron ornament of a Romanesque type. The ornament apparently remained in use in areas that could be described as 'peripheral' to the mainstream of architectural developments certainly into the thirteenth century. Thus in Ireland, a group of buildings west of the river Shannon continue to use a range of chevron

[1] For example, R. Morris, 'Ball flower work in Gloucester and its vicinity' BAACT, I, (London, 1985), 99-115.
[2] A. Clapham, Romanesque Architecture in Western Europe (London, 1936), 148.
[3] G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England', in (ed.) M. Chibnall, Proceedings of the Battle Conference, 1978, (London, 1979), 213.

motifs into the 1240s, with isolated examples found even as late at the fifteenth century.[4] In Hungary, the monasteries of Ják, Ipolyság, Lébény and Sopronhorpács also incorporated chevron motifs in the 1240s.[5]

Given the significant losses of so many of the buildings of the period, it is impossible to pin-point the first, and indeed 'the last' occurrence of chevron ornament sculpted in stone. What is important is that the motif enjoyed such a prominent place in the Anglo-Norman repertoire of architectural sculpture over a period of roughly one hundred and sixty years (*c.*1080-*c.*1240). It is the forms that fall into this date range that will be examined in closest detail; those outside this range will only be considered when they demonstrate a specific relationship with Romanesque types.

The chevron motif is ubiquitous over a relatively well-contained geographical area, encompassing the duchy of Normandy, England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland. Within this area the motif is very commonly found on stone buildings, to the extent that in some regions its absence is more noteworthy than its presence.[6] Beyond this area the motif is still found, but with less frequency. In Burgundy for example, it is found in only a few scattered instances,[7] while in other areas it occurs in 'pockets' which seem to imply the influence of an individual building or school of masons. For example the isolated group of churches comprising Stikelstad, Levanger, Melhus, Naustdal in north western Norway all have the same form of chevron on portal jambs, which traditionally has been related to the presence of the motif at Trondheim cathedral.[8]

This study will concentrate principally on the areas where the motif is most densely distributed. This will not be to the total exclusion of areas beyond the realm of Anglo-Norman influence, as these have equal potential to yield informative results. However, given the broad geographical spread in which isolated examples occur, a fully comprehensive study would be impractical.

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[4] The O Ceallagh tomb at Abbeyknockmoy (G) is decorated with chevron ornament. A tomb inscription, and manuscript evidence dates it to 1402, *Rawlinson B488*, in (ed.) S. Ó hInnse, Miscellaneous Irish Annals (Dublin, 1947), 167.

[5] P. Williamson, Gothic Sculpture 1140-1300 (London and New Haven, 1995), 101.

[6] For example the fact that the portal at Clonfert, in Co. Galway, Ireland does not include chevron in its decorative scheme was singled out for particular comment. T. O'Keeffe, 'The Romanesque Portal at Clonfert' in (ed.) C. Bourke, From the Isles of the North (Belfast, 1995), 265, and F. Henry Irish Art in the Romanesque Period 1040-1160 (London, 1970), 160.

[7] At Tournus on the exterior, on an exterior window at St. Reverien, on the portal at Paray-le-Monial and on a base at St. Cydroine. (Information from Dr. A. Kennedy).

Aims of the Study

The primary aim of the study is to ascertain whether Romanesque chevron ornament can yield any information regarding the history of the buildings in which it is found through comparative analysis.

In order to achieve this aim, it is first necessary to understand the manner in which its creators conceived the ornament. If chevron was seen as a channel through which sculptors could express their own artistic creativity, then the recognition of relationships between the chevron of different buildings will be limited to establishing common authorship. However, if the forms used to create chevron ornament were based on a set of grammatical rules, which, as with later gothic mouldings, evolved over a number of decades, then there is the potential to establish a pattern of evolution. Such a pattern would aid the construction of a chronological framework, against which, potentially any building incorporating the motif could be set. While mouldings analysis has been used in the establishment of chronologies for gothic buildings for nearly two centuries, with a few notable exceptions little attempt has been made to carry out a similar exercise for the Romanesque period.

The establishment of the *lack* of a chronological pattern of evolution would, however, be equally significant. For many years, the assumption of a linear evolutionary development in twelfth century decorative sculpture has led scholars to date structures on the basis of relatively flimsy comparative evidence. For example, Fernie has ascribed a post-1133 date to the second phase of building at Selby (Y) on the basis of a 'new' form of chevron not found at Durham cathedral (Du), (completed c.1133).[9] Dealing with Waltham Abbey (Ess), the same author warns against the establishment of chronologies on the basis of typological comparison, although ultimately the basis for his chronology of the abbey relies on a comparison of chevron in the building with similar forms elsewhere.[10]

It is envisaged that the comparative analysis of chevron forms may also help to establish more precisely the artistic relationship that existed between Normandy, England, Ireland, and some of the other areas in which chevron ornament is found. For example, although commonly termed an 'Anglo-Norman' ornament, no previous research has been conducted into how the motif was

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[8] Ø. Ekroll, Med Kleber og Kalk (Oslo, 1997), 122.
[9] E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Selby Abbey', BAACT, 16, (1995), 46.

transmitted, whether Anglo-Norman masons actually travelled across Europe, or whether native masons adopted what was a fairly straight forward sculptural motif and incorporated it with their own national repertoire.

Finally it is also hoped to establish the possible sources of influence which led to the chevron motif becoming quite so popular during the twelfth century, in this relatively limited geographical area.

Definition of Chevron Ornament

Chevron ornament of the Romanesque period is 'a basically three dimensional form of plastic ornament, and although it is originally an evolved and sophisticated treatment of geometric zigzag, it may be placed in a separate category.'[11]

An examination of the Romanesque form of the ornament clearly demands differentiation from basic two-dimensional zigzag forms found throughout the history of art. However, to limit a study of the Romanesque variant of the form to purely three-dimensional forms is to ignore a sizeable number of examples that have the potential to contribute to a better understanding of how and why the motif was so popular. In simple terms, a zigzag motif incised on a stone, no matter how two-dimensional in appearance, is nonetheless three-dimensional. Thus, while not the principal focus of the study, carved/ incised zigzag forms will be included in the discussion of the chevron motif where applicable. With this parameter established, it remains to put in place a method by which the huge number of variants of the form can be categorised.

General studies of pattern, such as those assembled by Jones, Speltz and Petrie, were principally concerned with providing two-dimensional representations of designs, irrespective of their original depth of relief.[12] Studies of three-dimensional forms, *in* their three dimensions have traditionally been limited to architectural studies, principally of moulding profiles, a study, one

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[10] E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Waltham Abbey', JBAA, 138, (1985), 60-61.

[11] A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', JBAA, (1967), 122. Sir Alfred Clapam also makes the distinction between essentially two-dimensional zigzag forms and the more three-dimensional form, 'Romanesque chevron ornament consists essentially of breaking the mouldings of an arch or string-course into a zigzag (hence the descriptive French term *bâton brisé*), and as such may not be confounded with the decorative use of the zigzag motif in other forms which occurs at all times and in all places', A. Clapham, English Romanesque Sculpture after the Conquest (London, 1934), 120.

[12] O. Jones, The Grammar of Ornament (London, 1856); A. Speltz, Styles of Ornament (Leipzig, 1904); F. Petrie, Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World (London, 1931).

could argue, limited generally to a study of the third dimension only, i.e. assessing the form only in section, rather than in plan and section.

The study of moulding profiles is long established. In England, in 1844, Robert Willis analysed their nomenclature,[13] and F.A.Paley and Edmund Sharpe produced manuals of profiles during the middle and latter part of the nineteenth century.[14] Meanwhile in Europe, revivalist architects and theoreticians such as Viollet le Duc, Dehio and Von Bezold, and Enlart were also producing scaled drawings of medieval moulding forms.[15]

These studies were principally for the use of gothic revival architects, and it is only in the present century that the historical value of the 'archaeological' study of mouldings has been fully realised. Since the 1950s, regional studies of moulding profiles have been carried out, initially with the aim of establishing chronologies, but also for the purposes of detecting the hand of similar masons, or schools of masons.[16]

Mouldings began to emerge at roughly the same period as the Romanesque style, the variety of types increasing significantly during the twelfth century.[17] However, in spite of their existence, few comprehensive regional studies of Romanesque mouldings have been carried out. Stuart Rigold's study of Romanesque base mouldings is typological, and through the categorisation and comparison with examples of dated structures he establishes possible building phases.[18] Maylis Baylé has also carried out a comprehensive survey of bases in Normandy, yielding similar conclusions to Rigold's study.[19] In light of the positive results yielded by these studies, and the

[13] R. Willis, Architectural Nomenclature of the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1844).
[14] F.A. Paley, Manual of Gothic Mouldings (London, 1847, rev'd 1865); E. Sharpe, Supplement to Architectural Parallels in the 12th and 13th centuries (London, 1848) and E. Sharpe, Mouldings of the Six Periods of British Architecture from the Conquest to the Reformation, 3 vols., (London, 1871-4).
[15] E. Viollet le Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe siecle au XVIe siecle, 10 vols., (Paris, 1867-70); G. Dehio and G. Bezold, Die Kirchliche Baukunst des Abenlandes, 5 vols., (Stuttgart, 1887-1901); C. Enlart, Architecture Religieuse, 3 vols., (Paris, 1924-7).
[16] See for example E. Roberts, 'Moulding Analysis and Architectural Research', Architectural History, 20, (1977), 1-13; R. Fawcett, 'St. Mary Wiveton in Norfolk and a Group of Churches Attributed to its Mason', Antiquaries Journal, 62, pt. 1, (1982), 35-56. For a summary of research up to 1990 see R.K. Morris, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style' in (eds.) P. Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context (London, 1990), 239-247.
[17] R.K. Morris, 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings with an Introduction to Mouldings c.1040-1240', Architectural History, 35, (1992), 2.
[18] S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases in and South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R. Gilyard-Beer and A.D. Saunders, Ancient Monuments and Their Interpretation (London, 1977), 99-137.
[19] M. Baylé, Les Origins et le premiers developpments de la sculpture romane en Normandie (Caen, 1993).

relative limitations of mouldings analysis during the Romanesque period, it is surprising that an analysis of chevron moulding profiles has never before been attempted.

Of all of the moulded geometric motifs common to the Anglo-Norman sculptor's vocabulary, chevron presents the most promising possibilities. Fret ornament, for example, unless combined with another motif, is nearly always formed by a single convex roll, or roll and step raised on a flat matrix.[20] Unlike chevron it is also unusual to find it combined with supplementary ornament. Billet ornament varies a little more in terms of the shape and arrangement of the short broken sections. However, chevron ornament is formed from myriad of combinations incorporating different sequences of roll, hollow, fillet, bowtell and keel mouldings, together with supplementary ornament, often in very imaginative arrangements.

Some of the engraved plates of nineteenth century histories of architecture contain images of different chevron forms together with their moulding profiles.[21] Strangely, given the recognised importance of mouldings analysis, modern works have tended not only to ignore the potential value of chevron profiles, but to almost completely deny the very existence of this element of motif.

The number of twentieth century studies dealing with Romanesque geometric ornament are few. René Fage's article '*La Décoration Géométrique dans l'École Romane de Normandie*' deals only in the most arbitrary manner with the various different types of geometric ornament encountered in Romanesque Normandy, offering little analysis of their form or development.[22] Geneviève Marsh-Micheli's doctoral thesis deals with the eleventh century geometric ornament of the Aisne and Oise areas, and is primarily concerned with tracing the origins of the various forms, from both pre-Romanesque sources such as sarcophagi and fibulae, and contemporary sources in Normandy, Brittany and the east of France.[23] However, both it and Maylis Baylé's study of the origins of the Norman geometric ornament, concentrate solely on the chip carved motifs such as

[20] See for example on the portal at Durham Castle or in the upper chamber of the water tower at Canterbury where it is superimposed on an order of frontal chevron.
[21] See for example V. Ruprich-Robert, L'Architecture de Normandie (Paris, 1893).
[22] R. Fage, 'La Décoration Géométrique dans l'École Romane de Normandie', Congrès Archaéologique de France, II, (1908), 615-33.
[23] G. Micheli, Le Décor Géométrique dans la Sculpture de l'Aisne et de l'Oise au XIe Siecle (Paris, 1939).

star, diaper and their associated forms, rather than on the more plastic forms such as chevron and fret ornament. [24]

Two studies of archivolt decoration, relevant to the current study have been carried out. The first, by Françoise Henry and George Zarnecki is based on a large *corpus* of head sculpture, drawn from several countries. It examines how the animal/human/beak head motif was popularised and transmitted across Europe, revealing a mixed pattern of consecutive and parallel developments.[25] Anat Tcherikover's study of the forms of sculpted archivolt encountered in western France is also valuable in its examination of the placement of voussoir sculpture in the region. It identifies two distinct groups of arrangement- radial and longitudinal/tangential carving. The former, in which carvings are arranged around an arch like the spokes of a wheel, is subdivided into one sided (where only the face is carved), two sided (where the face and soffit are carved) and wrap around (where a carving is continuous from face to soffit. In the latter, motifs spread over several voussoirs and follow the curve of the arch. A conclusion of parallel as opposed to evolutionary development is reached. This article is of particular interest as chevron is found in all of these arrangements.[26]

Only two articles dealing specifically with the chevron during the Romanesque period have been published in England and France. One, written by René Durr, deals with the motif in the Auxerrois region of France, providing a short but useful catalogue of its occurrence in the region, limiting all analysis to a spiritual interpretation of the form.[27] The other, published by Alan Borg in 1967 is the most useful for the purposes of this study, and will be more fully assessed below. [28]

Methodology

It is against this background that the methodology for the present study has been formulated, recognising in particular the importance both of the form when viewed frontally and in section.

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[24] M. Baylé, Les Origins et le premiers developpments de la sculpture romane en Normandie (Caen, 1993), 102-105.

[25] F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', JBAA, 20, (1957-9), 1-33. This study is also of relevance as the occurrence of the head motif often coincides with the chevron motif.

[26] A. Tcherikover, 'Romanesque Sculpted Archivolts in Western France. Forms and Techniques', Arte Medievale, 3:1, (1989), 49-75.

[27] R. Durr, 'Le Décor Romane dans L'Auxerrois; bâtons brisés, chevrons', Bulletin de la Societé des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne, 106, (1974), 21-30.

[28] A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', JBAA, 30, (1967), 122-140.

It can be stated that any basic form of three-dimensional ornament has three main properties (fig. 1):[29]

a. A general outline as seen when viewed frontally; in the case of chevron a V or repetitive V form.

b. A general outline as seen in section; in the case of chevron this will correspond to the moulding profile.

c. Broader elaboration, for example i) the addition of secondary forms of elaboration within the limits, or ii) guided by the form of the ornament; for chevron, within the limits elaboration would include the addition of ornament on the actual chevron band/bands themselves. Subsidiary ornament guided by the form of the chevron would include spandrel decoration, shaped to fit into or fill the triangular space created by the chevron.

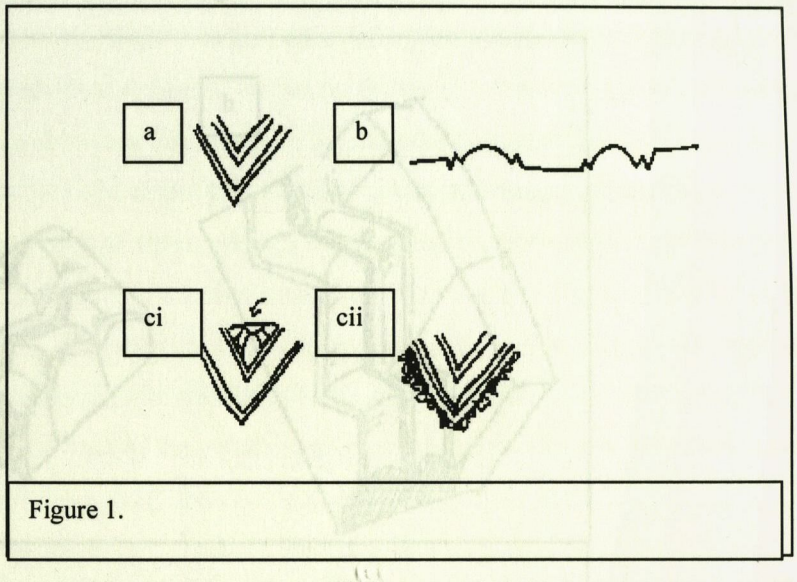


Figure 1.

In its most basic form chevron follows a regular zigzag pattern. This basic form can however, be altered in manner that may modify the form without taking away from its overriding rhythmic character. This can be done in three ways (fig. 2):

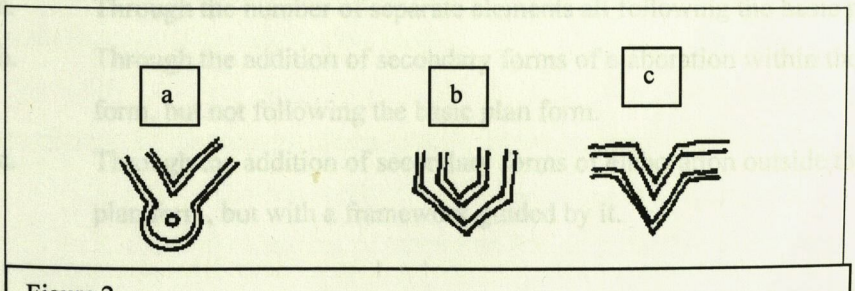


Figure 2.

[29] J. Ward, Elementary Principles of Ornament (London, 1890), 3.

a. Through the modification of the points e.g. through their expansion into circular forms

b. Through the modification of the diagonal members, in a manner which does not subtract from the intrinsic design

c. Through the separation of each V form by a secondary basic ornamental form e.g. the introduction of a straight section between each 'V'.

This gives an overview of the general form, however, with a three dimensional ornament the form can also differ in section (fig. 3):

a. Through the form of actual profile or combination of profiles,

b. Through the relationship of the profile to the face of the stone in its architectural context, e.g. perpendicular or angled.

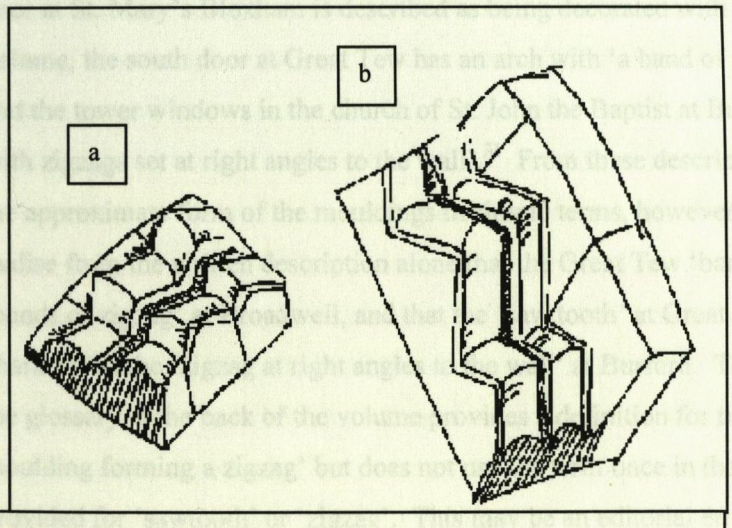


Figure 3.

Finally, both of these basic forms can be altered by the addition of features of secondary importance to the overall form:

a. Through the number of separate elements all following the basic plan form.

b. Through the addition of secondary forms of elaboration within the limits of the basic plan form, but not following the basic plan form.

c. Through the addition of secondary forms of elaboration outside the limits of the basic plan form, but with a framework guided by it.

Terms of Description

As noted above, in recent years only one published study, that by Alan Borg, has made any serious attempt to examine the different manifestations of form in chevron motifs and mouldings, and their possible significance.[30]

Although limited in its scope, Borg's contribution was an important one, not least because for the first time he provided a coherently explained system by which the various forms of chevron could be differentiated from one another. Prior to the publication of Borg's article, the description of chevron ornament was something of a free for all, with scholars either making up their own terms, with varying success, or more usually avoiding the subtleties of the ornament altogether.

For example, in the volume of the *Buildings of England* series dealing with Oxfordshire, the south door at St. Mary's Bloxham is described as being decorated with 'bands of zigzag'; in the same volume, the south door at Great Tew has an arch with 'a band of zigzag and sawtooth decoration'; and the tower windows in the church of St. John the Baptist at Burford 'are of two arched lights with zigzags set at right angles to the wall'.[31] From these descriptions one could make a guess at the approximate form of the mouldings in simple terms, however, it would be impossible to realise from the written description alone that the Great Tew 'band of zigzag' is identical to the 'bands of zigzag' at Broadwell, and that the 'saw tooth' at Great Tew is of roughly the same character as the 'zigzag at right angles to the wall' at Burford. To add further to the confusion, the glossary at the back of the volume provides a definition for the term chevron as 'Norman moulding forming a zigzag' but does not use the term once in the text, while no explanation is provided for 'sawtooth' or 'zigzag'. This may be an editorial error, but it is symptomatic of the difficulties that have prohibited a better knowledge and understanding of the motif.

Borg, who recognised these difficulties, devised a system of classification according to,
a) the place of application (e.g. chancel arch, doorway etc.) and
b) the manner of the application itself.

He divided b), the manner of application, into 6 groups

1. Simple chevron comprising a single raised ridge of zigzag.
2. Chevron consisting of more than one ridge applied to the face of the arch.

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[30] A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', JBAA, 30, (1967), 122-140.
[31] N. Pevsner and J. Sherwood, The Buildings of England: Oxfordshire (London, 1974), 478, 625, 875.

3. Chevron which curves about both the main face and the soffit forming a lozenge pattern.

4. Chevron applied to both main face and soffit of the arch forming a lozenge pattern.

5. 'Saw tooth' chevron projecting horizontally from the wall face.

6. Free-standing chevron.

Scholars who began to appreciate the need for more consistent treatment of the motif enthusiastically adopted this system of classification,[32] but, while adequate for a small, superficial survey confined to a limited topographical area, the classification was flawed when applied more generally. The first part of Borg's classification, the place of application, is relevant to the study of an individual building's history, but of secondary importance to a study of the development of ornament. It may demonstrate trends in the relationship between the location and form of sculpted ornament, and possible symbolic functions, but in relation to the study of ornament, the primary consideration is to establish the forms of the ornament, rather than relationship to context.

The second part of the classification is more concerned with form. However, its categorisations are too broad, and they do not allow for the changes in moulding profile, differences in the manner in which the ornament is applied to the face or faces of a voussoir or the addition of secondary decoration such as spandrel ornament. It also lacks consistency in its approach. For example, it allows for chevron on the main face of an arch to be either of a single strand (category 1) or to consist of more than one strand (category 2); however, the remainder of categories fail to allow for any difference in moulding profile at all.

In recognition of these problems, and with the aim of establishing a more consistent system of classifying chevron, a 'grammar' of chevron ornament was devised for those involved with the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture of Britain and Ireland,* as part of their *Glossary.* [33]

This document classifies forms on the basis of

1. Position within an architectural context (e.g. on the face, soffit or edge of an arch).

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[32] See for example J. King, 'West Country Influences on Architecture in Normandy', JBAA, 134, (1986), 37, n.15.

[33] D. Wollaston, A Glossary of Chevron Ornament (British Academy, London, 1991, Unpublished), revised by R. Baxter, 1992.

2. Direction, in relation to the architectural context (e.g. carved lateral, frontal or angled in relation to the face on which it is carved).

3. Moulding profile (based on the terms devised by Morris).[34]

4. Relation of rows of chevrons to one another (e.g. point-to-point, back-to -back, etc.).

5. Edge treatment (e.g. roll, serrated).

6. Variations to the chevron form (e.g. hyphenated, limping etc.).

7. Relation of the chevrons to the main plane of architectural context (free standing, stepped etc.).

Based on these criteria, the following set of terms are put forward for the classification of differing chevron types:

- *Angled* -Chevrons carved to project from the surface at less than a right angle, i.e. somewhere between lateral and frontal.
- *Back-to-back*- A form in which frontal chevron on both face and soffit of an order is carved so that the two sets of chevron mirror one another.
- *Centrifugal*- Used to describe lateral face chevron, carved on a single block with units of chevron carved with the Vs pointing outwards.
- *Centripetal*- Used to describe lateral face chevron, carved on a single block with units of chevron with the units of chevron carved with Vs pointing inwards.
- *Cogwheel edge*- Treatment of the inner edge of lateral face chevron in which the spaces between the points are occupied by wedges.
- *Directional* – Chevron units carved lateral to the face or soffit so as to form nested Vs rather than a zig-zag line.
- *Edge chevron*- chevron carved lateral to the chamfered edge of an order.
- *Gaping chevron*- A form of frontal chevron with two rows angled away from one another.
- *Free-standing* – A form of chevron in which the solid centre of each unit is cut out to leave only a free-standing roll.
- *Frontal*- chevron carved to project at right angles from the surface of the stone.
- *Hyphenated chevron*–chevrons separated by straight sections.
- *Hyphenated lozenges*- Lozenges separated by straight sections.
- *Lateral chevron*- chevron carved parallel to the surface of the stone, i.e. parallel to the face of an order if they are on the face, or parallel to the soffit if they are on the soffit.

[34] R.K. Morris, 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings: with an Introduction to Mouldings c.1040-1240), Architectural History, 35, (1992), 1-17.

- *Limping chevrons*- A variety in which regular chevrons alternate with shallower ones in the same row.
- *Point-to-point*- A form in which lateral chevron on both face and soffit of an order is carved so that the two sets of points touch or nearly touch the arris.
- *Projecting edge chevron*- Chevron projecting at an angle from the edge of an order.
- *Serrated edge*-Treatment of the inner edge of lateral face chevron in which the chevron is undercut to give a zigzag edge.
- *Stepped chevron*-Two or more rows of chevron arranged in steps.
- *Straddling directional chevron*- Directional chevron carved half on the face and half on the soffit of an order, so that the points of each chevron lie along the edge of the order.
- *Syncopated chevron*- Two rows of hyphenated chevrons juxtaposed on a face or soffit so that the points of one row are directed towards the hyphens of the other.

The grammar also clarifies how a single V, even if made up of a complex moulding form consisting of several strands, should be referred to as a chevron (or chevron unit), while a collective group should be referred to as a row.

These guidelines are the most detailed analysis of the ornament to date, and are the first to consider the ornament using a fully three-dimensional approach. Unlike Borg's classification, they also allow for certain elements of form variation, such as the addition of hyphens. However, certain aspects of the 'grammar' lack consistency. For example where spandrel decoration along the edge occurs, the grammar requires the qualification of 'ornamental edge' but does not demand the inclusion of any other form of spandrel ornament or ornament on the actual chevron rolls themselves.

As with the previous study, a significant concern of the *Corpus* is the architectural location of the chevron, and how the ornament relates to this context, rather than the ornament as an independent form. This method of analysis is suited to the objectives of the *Corpus*, in recording the Romanesque ornament of entire buildings; however, for a study of the ornament form itself, the issue is clouded by the predominance of contextual location.

Location

The purpose of any ornament is to elaborate the surface onto which it is applied, often with the aim of accentuating a particular feature of it. Accepting this function means that necessarily the

form of the ornament will be reliant to some extent on the form of the field to which it is applied. In other words its scale will conform with the scale of the matrix, and its form may be modified in order to best serve its function.

The scale of chevron ornament is obviously of importance in gauging whether the same templates were used at different sites, or whether particular architectural features were manufactured at a single site and sold 'ready to use'.[35] However, Eileen Roberts, following a methodology established by John Harvey, has established that the comparison of measured profiles from the same features across a number of edifices yielded much less fruitful results than a comparison of the 'sets' of mouldings from different parts of a building known to have been erected at the same time.[36] Thus, the comparison of moulding profiles need not be overly concerned with scale. Once a context (which may have a bearing on form) has been established for the moulding, it is sufficient to make comparisons on the basis of profile shape as, to quote Morris, 'more frequently one encounters examples [of moulding profiles] where the design is similar but the scale is different. This is no more than one would expect as the physical size of the work varied from job to job, and the dimensions of the mouldings were adjusted accordingly'.[37] Thus, in the study of the elementary form of a type of ornament, location and scale are not the primary factors for analysis.

Summary

In summary, the methodological approach adopted in the subsequent chapters will concentrate primarily on the variant forms of three-dimensional chevron ornament, examining their form when viewed frontally, their section and the addition of subsidiary ornament. For the most part the descriptive language set down by the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture* will be used. As chevron ornament is most frequently encountered as a voussoir ornament, the majority of examples, unless otherwise stated, will focus on chevron ornament used to decorate arches.

Due to the lack of reliable published work on the motif outlined above, the majority of this work has been carried out by fieldwork. Given the broad geographical scope of the study it was

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[35] For example, John Blair has recently demonstrated, through the identical measurements of a group of north Oxfordshire parish churches, that nave arcade capitals were mass-produced at an unknown location in the locality and sold to the parishioners, who then had them decorated according to choice. (Dr. John Blair, lecture at the AGM of the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture, June, 1997).

[36] E. Roberts, 'Mouldings Analysis and Architectural Research: The Late Middle Ages', Architectural History, 20, (1977), 1-13.

impossible to visit all of the sites mentioned in the text, and in these cases reliable photographic evidence was used. As chevron ornament is not the primary focus of the majority of high quality photographs of Romanesque architecture, digital technology was used in order to enhance the details of particular relevance to this study, many of which are included in the text. While this process has proved invaluable, in a few cases it has resulted in a reduction of image quality. However, it was felt that these images should nonetheless be incorporated in the text in the interests of clarity. Reliable archaeological drawings have also been examined in the case of pieces that have disappeared or are severely damaged. While it is accepted that the use of secondary visual material prohibits a scaled study of the ornament, it is seen as the most productive method to use, given the large numbers of samples to be surveyed over such a broad geographical area.

Based on the results obtained from the above procedures, relationships between forms have been analysed in the context of patronage, chronology, geography and craftsmen, in order to assess whether plausible patterns of distribution, development or mason/patron activity can be established. This assessment has been based on a combination of the results obtained from the chevron study and historical sources that help to clarify the contexts in which the chevron is found. Such sources include the other sculptural forms found in association with the chevron, the fabric of the buildings in which the chevron is found, the material from which the chevron is carved, masons' marks, tool marks, primary documentary sources, secondary documentary sources, and archaeological evidence.

The geographical parameters of the study, and large number of surviving examples of chevron ornament from the period in question, prohibit an exhaustive study of the form. Even if such a study were to be carried out, given the losses suffered, by its very nature such a study could never be fully comprehensive.

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[37] R.K. Morris, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style' in (eds.) P.Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context (London, 1990), 240.

CHAPTER 3 AN OUTLINE OF CHEVRON TYPES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND NORMANDY

Having established a vocabulary and methodology for the analysis of chevron ornament, this chapter provides an overview of the different forms of chevron employed by the twelfth century mason. In approach, the primary aim is to examine the various characteristics of the most common forms. This information will then be used in chapter four to assess whether interrelational patterns, in particular moulding profile and chevron type, emerge, and to examine in greater depth how chevron in England and Normandy can be used as a tool in the historical analysis of Romanesque architecture.

Since the publication of Borg's article, and more recently the circulation of the CRSBI chevron 'grammar', some attempt to distinguish between various chevron types has become evident in academic literature. However, little attention has been paid to the mouldings from which various chevron designs are formed. This is in spite of the fact that the use of chevron was ubiquitous during the period when more standardised forms of mouldings began to take a firm hold in English architecture. Thus chevron mouldings potentially mark an important transitional phase between the common usage of the seemingly haphazard mouldings found in Anglo-Saxon architecture and standardised forms of moulding that had fully emerged by the early gothic period.

The widespread addition of grammatical mouldings to the architectural vocabulary has been viewed as a Norman introduction, and one of the more significant impacts of the Conquest on English architecture.[1] Examples of coherent moulding forms in early Anglo-Saxon structures are limited to a tiny minority such as the capitals and bases at Reculver (K) and the plinth at Britford (Wi).[2] More common are ill-defined articulations of arches or abaci that are apparently produced in a spirit of independence, rather than following any particular fashionable design.[3]

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[1] A. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest (Oxford, 1930), 122; E. Fernie, 'Architecture and the Effects of the Norman Conquest' in (eds.) D. Bates and A. Curry, England and Normandy in the Middle Ages (London, 1994), 111-115.

[2] A. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest (Oxford, 1930), 122.

[3] See for example the moulding of the north *porticus* of the church at Bradford on Avon, illustrated in R. Gem, 'L'architecture pre-Romane et Romane en Angleterre', Bulletin Monumental, 142, (1984), fig 13.1 or the range of mouldings in the crypt at Ripon, illustrated in H. Taylor and H. Taylor, Anglo-Saxon Architecture, Vol II, (London, 1966), 517.

The revival of mouldings in Romanesque architecture becomes apparent first in northern France, with the application of soffit rolls c. 1030 at Auxerre and shortly afterwards in Normandy at Bernay. The emergence of standardised moulding forms in England begins around the period of the Conquest where strong links between England and Normandy have been identified.[4] Immediately after the Conquest moulding forms continued to develop in the context of parish churches, but were almost totally absent from the contemporary building phases of 'great' abbeys and cathedrals such as Ely and Winchester.[5] It is only from the last decade of the eleventh century, exemplified by the commencement of work at Durham (1093), that mouldings become commonplace on all but the most austere of Cistercian buildings.

If, as Baylé asserts, the earliest chevron at Cerisy-la-Forêt can be dated to c. 1090, then the emergence of chevron ornament can be placed parallel to the wholesale adoption and increased richness of mouldings in English and Norman architecture.[6] This suggests a significant conceptual relationship between the two, and highlights the importance of analysing the three dimensional qualities of chevron ornament in tandem with its two dimensional characteristics.

The close relationship between the mouldings of Britain and Normandy during this period, and the fact that chevron begins to emerge simultaneously in both places, merits the comparative structure of this chapter, which limits itself geographically to England, Scotland, Wales and the duchy of Normandy.

As far as possible, examples of various types of chevron have been selected on the basis of their occurrence in geographically or typologically representative buildings, and in buildings which may be interpreted as having been stylistic innovative and influential in their time. However, care has been taken to include some smaller, more localised examples so that the relationship between large, prestige building campaigns and small relatively 'low key' buildings can be examined. In all examples the county or département is indicated in abbreviated form in brackets after the place name. While the establishment of a chronological pattern of development is not a primary

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[4] Buildings such as Stow (Li) and Great Paxton (Ca), which incorporate quite simple roll mouldings are usually dated to the second half of the eleventh century.

[5] One, not altogether convincing, explanation for the appearance of mouldings in a parish church context is a Norman backlash against the Saxon preference for moulded embellishment. E. Fernie, The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons (London, 1983), 164-168; E. Fernie, 'Architecture and the Effects of the Norman Conquest' in (eds.) D. Bates and A. Curry, England and Normandy in the Middle Ages (London, 1994), 111-115.

[6] M. Baylé, La Trinité de Caen: sa place dans l'histoire de l'Architecture et du Décor Romanes (Geneva, 1979), 68, n.43.

concern, reliable independent evidence of date is included where it exists.[7] This not only helps to establish whether patterns of development can be traced, but serves as an interpretative tool in the assessment of factors such as the nature of transmission and the longevity of specific forms.

A diagrammatic drawing of the chevron moulding profiles mentioned in the text is also included at the end of each section and signalled in the text by bracketed numbers. The diagrammatic, rather than representative form is used on account of the difficulty in obtaining a large number of scaled moulding profiles, but also because of the difficulties in comparison that accurate scaled profiles present. For example, two identical moulding forms, carved on different types of stone may have been carved to different depths, or have weathered differently, leading to one presenting a softer moulding line to another. As the original form is of principle concern here, all types are reduced to standardised form, to facilitate useful comparison.

Synopsis of Classification

As outlined in chapter three, a number of factors contribute to the essential character of specific chevron types. These have been identified as

1 The relationship of the chevron to the voussoir on which it is carved, notably
- the direction in which the chevron points;
- whether the ornament occupies one or both faces of the voussoir;
- whether the order is squared, chamfered or curved;

2 The moulding profile of the chevron, and whether it includes
- supplementary ornament
- the distortion of the chevron moulding.

As the relative significance of these features was impossible to ascertain prior to a broad ranging survey, the direction in which the chevron points when viewed from the face was chosen as the primary feature in classification. This decision was made firstly, because direction is a characteristic common to all chevron, and secondly because it is the least ambiguous of the six criteria. Using these criteria eight principal categories can established, viz.;

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[7] This follows the model used by Rigold in his survey of Romanesque base mouldings. S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R Gilyard-Beer, A.D. Saunders, Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation (London, 1977), 99-137.

A Lateral centrifugal

B Frontal

C Lateral Centripetal

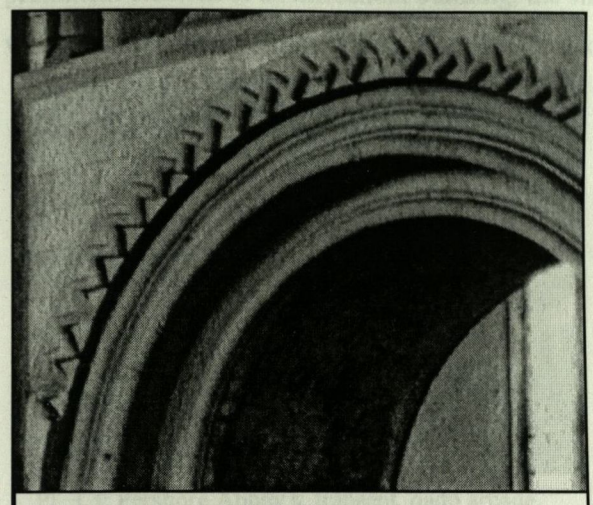
D Saltire

E Directional

F Projecting edge chevron

G Hyphenated

Judgement of category, unless otherwise stated, is based on how the chevron form is interpreted when it occupies a single voussoir, and is viewed from the front face.



Pl.3.1: Norwich Cathedral, Nave arcade arch.



Pl. 3.2: Cerisy la Forêt. Choir arch.

A Lateral centrifugal chevron

The majority of lateral chevron used to ornament voussoirs is carved with a single chevron unit per block. This allows the sub-division of lateral chevron into two distinct types; centrifugal chevron, where the apex of the chevron points outward, and centripetal chevron, where the apex of the chevron points towards the centre of the arch.

Lateral centrifugal chevron appears amongst the earliest acknowledged examples of chevron ornament. Across the southern part of Britain and in Normandy early forms are generally carved only on the face of a voussoir. This is the case on the choir arch at Cerisy-la-Forêt (M) **[pl. 3.2]**, where its profile consists of a simple, single roll (3A:1).[8] At Norwich cathedral (Nf), **[pl. 3.1]** a similar, though bolder manifestation of the form is found on the gallery arches of the nave, where a single half roll forms the chevron design (3A:2). Along the south side and as far as bay 9 on the north side, the edge is left squared, but from bay 9 on the north side the chevron is set on a broadly chamfered arris (3A:3).[9] Although straightforward in design and a

[8] Maylis Baylé has suggested that the chancel arch chevron at Cerisy is the earliest in Britain and Normandy, dating it to 1080-90, M. Baylé, La Trinité de Caen: sa place dans l'histoire de l'Architecture et du Décor Romanes (Geneva, 1979), 68, n.43. This view has subsequently been adopted by Zarnecki, G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England in the Eleventh Century', Proc. Battle Conference, (1978), 213. More recently King has rejected this early date with an unsubstantiated claim that the arch is a later addition, of c. 1120, J. King, 'West Country Influences on Architecture in Normandy Before 1150', JBAA, 134, (1986), 37, n.36.

[9] Chevron ornament was probably introduced to the cathedral c.1119, prior to the death of Herbert Losinga. According to the compiler of the First Register of Norwich Cathedral, who had it from the 'stories of old men', Herbert built the cathedral 'as far as the altar of the Holy Cross, now called the altar of St. William' (ed.) H.W. Saunders, 'The First Register of Norwich Cathedral' Norfolk Records Society, 11; (1939), fol. 8, lines 5-7. The position of the altar is believed to have been at the 3rd or 4th bay of the nave, E. Fernie,

prominent element of an influential building, the single roll version is relatively unusual, with variants of the form restricted to local buildings acknowledged as having been influenced by the cathedral's design (3A:3), (3A:4).[10]



Pl. 3.3: Pershore Abbey s. transept, dado arcade.

Instead, the more lively articulation of one roll or more, generally flanked by angled fillets, predominates (3A:5) (3A:6). At Pershore Abbey (Wo), **[pl. 3.3]** what may be an unusually early elaboration of the moulding profile is used to emphasis the faces of a dado arcade in the south transept, where the more normal angle fillets are replaced by rows of beading.[11]



Pl. 3.4: Astley, s. doorway.

A roughly contemporary development, in the choir and south transept of Hereford cathedral (He) sees the use of the same type of chevron, but with a roll, hollow moulding, the edges of the hollow emphasised by angled fillets (3A:7).[12] The possible influence of the cathedral is apparent in a local, parish church context at Peterchurch (He), although the form is more widespread, occurring, for example on the

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The History of Norwich Cathedral (Oxford, 1993), 15-16. The remainder of the chevron can be placed in the final building campaign under Bishop Eborard (1121-45).

[10] The closest parallels, not surprisingly, are to be found at Castle Acre priory (Nf), **[pl. 3.71]** on the nave arcade arches where a single roll is carved on the chamfer of the arch, but has additional raised triangular panels on the soffit. At Waltham Abbey (Ess) the nave arcade arches are decorated with a single *concave* roll of centrifugal chevron (3A:4). For links between the three buildings see B. Cherry, 'Romanesque Architecture in Eastern England', JBAA, 131, (1978), 1-29; E. Fernie, An Architectural History of Norwich Cathedral (Oxford, 1993), 145-155; M. Thurlby, 'The Influence of the Romanesque Architecture' in (eds.) I. Atherton et al, Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese 1096-1996 (London and Rio Grande, 1996), 136-157.

[11] There is no independent source for the dating of Pershore. On the basis of comparison with Worcester, Gloucester, Tewksbury and Hereford Thurlby places the transept at c. 1120. M. Thurlby, 'The Abbey Church Pershore; An Architectural History', Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society, Ser. 3, Vol.15, (1996), 163.

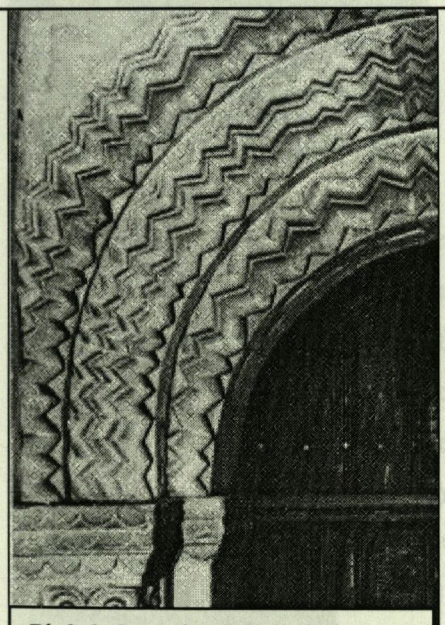
[12] This is found at higher levels only, on the triforium arches of the choir and transept and east window of the transept, usually dated to c.1115. Although a large proportion of this represents Cottingham's extensive restoration work of the 1840s, it is faithful to the original design.

exterior windows of the south transept at Romsey (Ha) and the south portal at Astley (Sa) **[pl.3.4]**.



Pl. 3.5: St Clément, Ozmanville (Cal), n.doorway.

In Normandy the most common manifestation of this type of chevron has a roll, hollow, roll profile, with the junction between roll and hollow marked by angle fillets (3A:8) **[pl. 3.5]**. In essence, this is a classical attic profile, familiar to the architectural vocabulary of Norman masons from the base design of earlier Romanesque precedents in the attic bases of Jumièges and Rouen,[13] although with the transformation into an arch moulding it lost Vitruvian proportions, with both *tori* (rolls) worked to an equal size. The popularity of this moulding form as both a straight and chevron arch moulding is evident in north-western France from the start of the twelfth century. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact date of its introduction, but certainly by c.1100 attic profiles were used as both straight and chevron mouldings.[14] Like the base form, this profile remained popular throughout Normandy certainly until the mid-century, other examples including the west door and the exterior of the apse windows at La Trinité, Caen (Cal),[15] and Cerisy-la-Forêt (M) (nave bay 1 n. and s. side).



Pl. 3.6: Canterbury Cathedral. Crypt door.

A similar application of the same moulding profile is found in England, but is far less widespread than in

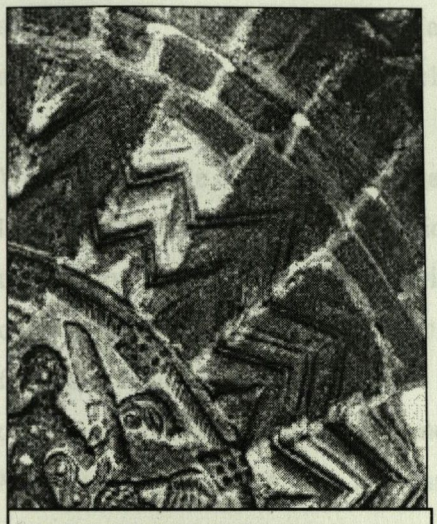
[13] For a sample of the most common Norman base profiles see M. Baylé, Les Origins et les Premiers Développements de la Sculpture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1996), 419-21.

[14] The best dated example of this lies outside Normandy on the west façade of Le Mans cathedral (Srt). The façade was constructed during the episcopacy of Bishop Hoel (1085-96), but may only have been completed under Bishop Hildevart of Lavardin (1096-1126), F. Salet, 'La Cathedral du Mans', Congrès Archaeologique, 119, (Les Mans, 1961), 18-51.

[15] These represent Ruprich-Robert's restoration of 1860. However, a photograph taken prior to the restoration shows that the form remained unaltered, M Baylé, La Trinité de Caen: sa Place dans l'Histoire de l'Architecture et du Decors Romanes (Caen, 1979), 68, fig 12. On the basis of capital type, Baylé dates the façade to c.1100-1110 and the apse windows to c.1115.

Normandy. Two examples, significantly located on the south-east coast, can be cited on the central order of the north door to the crypt at Canterbury cathedral (K) **[pl. 3.6]**,[16] and in the choir of Romsey Abbey (Ha).[17]

The arris spandrels (i.e. the triangular spaces created by the chevron along the inner edge) of this type of chevron are generally hollowed to a slightly lower plane than the rest of the face. In a significant number of buildings, from c.1120, this space provides a field for supplementary decoration. This are generally comprises small bosses, as at Middleton on the Hill (He) (3A:9) or ornamental knobs as at Pitsford (Np) **[pl.3.7]**, Stillingfleet (Y) and Barton-le-Street (Y) (3A:10) which are decorated with a range of different foliate and figurative motifs.



Pl. 3.7: Pitsford. S. doorway

The restriction of ornament to the single front face of the voussoir has the effect of laying greater emphasis on the face of the order on which it was carved. This was lessened somewhat by the application of additional chevron to the soffit, although in many cases the distribution of carving on face and soffit was imbalanced, with predominance given to the treatment of the face. This is the case with blocked north doorway at Chaddesley Corbett (Wo) **[pl. 3.8]**, the chancel arch at Begbrooke (O) (3A:13) and the south door at St. Ebbe's Oxford (O) (3A:14),[18] all of which share the same pattern distribution of two rolls on the face and one on the soffit. The application of lateral centrifugal chevron to both face and soffit creates a lozenge shaped space along the edge. Commonly, the edge of the order



Pl. 3.8: Chaddesley Corbett. S. doorway.

[16] The similarity of the volute capitals on the door with those in the crypt has traditionally led to the doorway being given an eleventh century date. However, Kahn has argued that the lack of chevron in the crypt, the use of onyx in the right shaft relate it more closely to the reign of Prior Wibert in the third quarter of the twelfth century. D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 114-117.

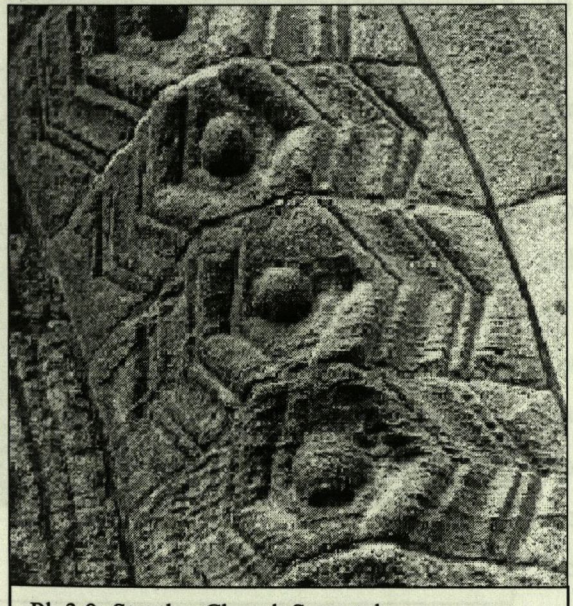
[17] Most literature places this part of Romsey at c.1120. Victoria County History: Hampshire, Vol 4., 464; M.F. Hearn, 'A Note on the Chronology of Romsey Abbey', JBAA, (1969), 30-37.

[18] The church was given to Eynsham Abbey in 1141. The Romanesque portal has been dated variously 1150-70. For a comparative table of dates see R. Halsey, 'The twelfth century Church of St. Frideswide's Priory', Oxoniensia, 53, (1988), 164.

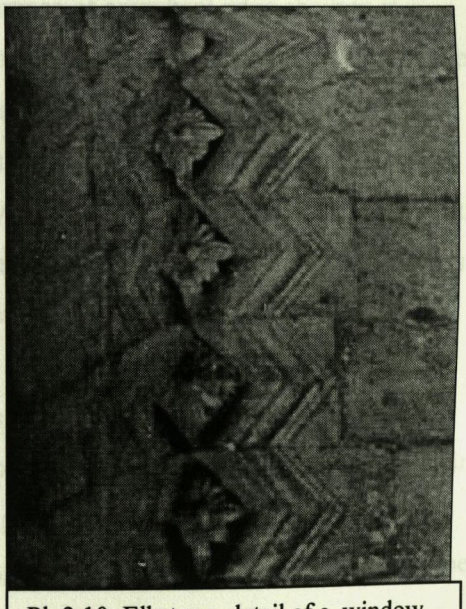
within this space is cut away to leave a boss-like element that helps to emphasise the line of the arris. Thus, at Chaddesley Corbett (Wo) the arris is articulated by a row of raised pyramids.

The extension of moulded chevron onto the soffit does not appear to have had a radical effect on the component elements of moulding profiles. Designs incorporating roll, hollow and angle fillet sequences are used on the south door at Steetley (Db) (3A:15) **[pl. 3.9]**, where the design is symmetrical.[19] The multiplication of angle fillets is also found associated with this chevron type, as exemplified at Pedmore (Wo) (3A:16).[20]

While no example of lateral centrifugal chevron carved on the face only has been identified in a later, transitional context, its application to face and soffit appears to endure almost to the end of the century. The interior of the east window at Elkstone (Gl) **[pl. 3.10]** is adorned with continuous order of lateral centrifugal chevron on the face and splay, which has detailed floral lozenge fillings straddling the arris (3A:17).[21] This is a relatively unusual ornamental treatment in a centrifugal context in England, but one that is found in an earlier context in the chapter house at Much Wenlock (Sa) (3A:18). An example which must date to near the end of the twelfth century



Pl. 3.9: Steetley Chapel. S. portal.



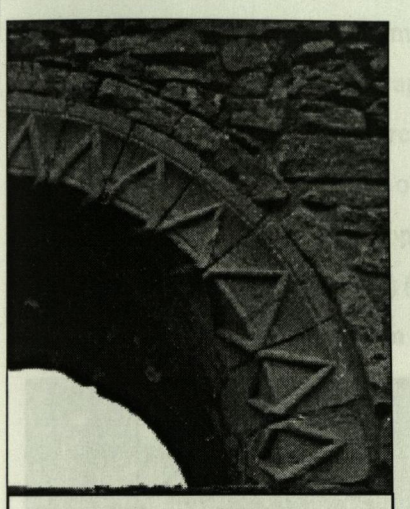
Pl. 3.10: Elkstone, detail of e. window jamb.

[19] Pearson renewed the portal here during the 1880s, however, some of the chevron voussoirs appear to be the original.

[20] The chevron arch at Pedmore surmounts a tympanum attributed to the Herefordshire School, N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1968), 234, and M. Thurlby, The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture (Herefordshire, 1999), 147-8.

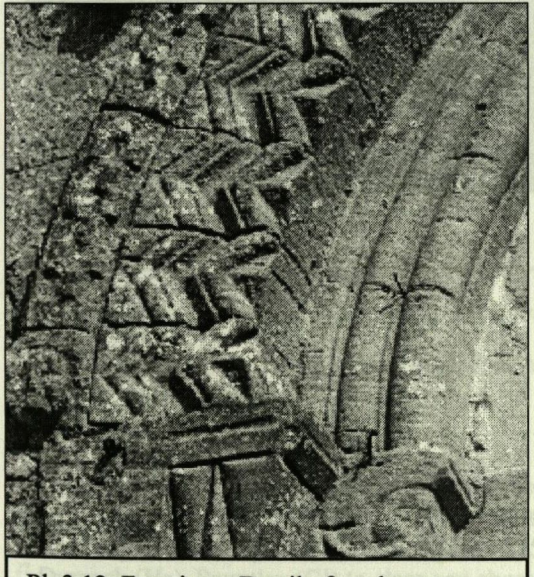
[21] The dating of Elkstone is uncertain, but on stylistic grounds has been placed c.1160-70, D. Verey and A. Brooks, The Buildings of England: Gloucestershire 1: The Cotswolds (revsd. Ed. London, 1999), 356.

at Netherton (Wo) (3A:20) **[pl.3.11]** marks a return to the simple roll of Cerisy and Norwich.[22] The evolution of almost one hundred years is marked only by the more free-standing nature of the roll.



Pl. 3.11: Netherton, s. door interior (rebuilt).

Apart from the very latest examples of centrifugal chevron, edge rolls are a rarity. A preoccupation with the emphasis of the edge of centrifugal orders is, however, evident from examples like that at Pitsford (Np), where relief ornament is used to fill the space left by recessed arris spandrels. Another, more popular solution for edge treatment was the intersection of soffit and face by means of a cogwheel edge. In its most rudimentary form, the soffit was left unadorned, but close to the edge narrowed and splayed to form a type of pyramidal spur which interlocked with the edge of the face chevron **[pl.3.12]**.



Pl. 3.12: Formigny. Detail of w. doorway.

The appearance of cogwheel edge chevron is roughly contemporary with the straight edged type and echoes its distribution throughout Normandy and across the southern half of England. In Normandy, it is found on the west door of the castle hall at Caen (Cal),[23] the west façade of St Georges de Boscherville (SM)[24], and the west door at Formigny (M) **[pl. 3.12]**. At Ouistreham (Cal) it adorns the first storey blind arcade.[25] Again, Norman examples are remarkably cohesive in their moulding profile, with chevron at each of the locations generally formed from a classic attic-type

[22] There is no independent source for dating the ruined church at Netherton but the presence of keeled shafts on the doorway in question must place it towards the end of the century, N. Stratford suggests a date of c.1200, N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1968), 223.

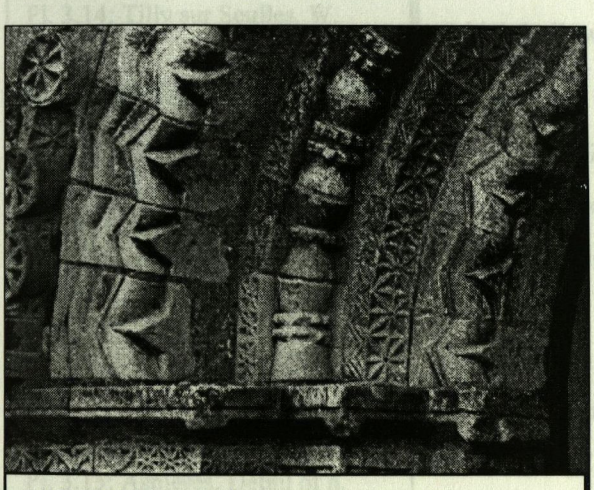
[23] This has been dated to c.1100, M. Baylé, Les Origines et les Developpements de la Sculpture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1993), 102, based on the crude nature of the star ornament, comparable to Chepstow castle in 1072. As the work of Henry I, the castle must certainly have been in existence by 1123.

[24] c.1113-1125, M. Baylé, Les Origines et les Developpements de la sculpture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1993), 102.

[25] A building stylistically dependent on La Trinité, placed c.1120-40, Baylé, ibid. 71.

profile (3A:21).

Across the Channel this form is most conspicuous across the south, and especially in the West Country and in East Anglia. Forms with a moulding profile similar to the Norman examples are preserved at Canterbury (K) in fragments from the castle keep;[26] at Chepstow priory (Mn) on the chancel arch and internal blind arcade; at most of the churches associated with the so-called 'Dymock School';[27] and a group of parish churches south east of Norwich **[pl. 3.13]**.[28]
In England greater variation is applied to the moulding profile of chevron of this type. At Heckingham (Nf) and Hales (Nf) (3A:22) **[pl. 3.13]**, the chevron profile is reduced to a single roll, and a similar single roll form is found at Mundham (Nf) (3A:23). The fact that this is clearly not a regional occurrence is demonstrated by the occurrence of the form at the castle chapel at Essendine (Ru), the chancel arch at Kemply (Gl), and on the triforium arches of the choir at Jedburgh (Rx).[29]



Pl. 3.13: Hales, n. doorway.

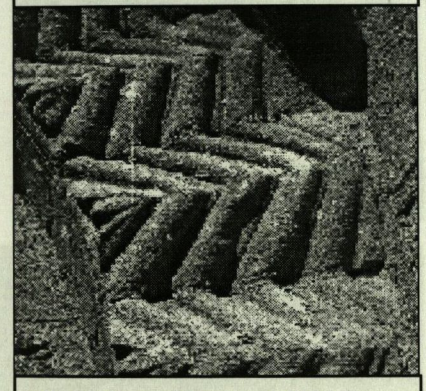
Another very popular variant of the profile comprises a single roll and hollow separated by an angled fillet (3A:24). This form of chevron has been suggested as another candidate for the earliest in Britain, as it decorates an arch leading from the south nave aisle to the south transept at Great Malvern Priory (Wo).[30] Its use is certainly widespread in a number of pre-1150 contexts, for example at

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[26] Indirect evidence suggests that the keep was constructed between 1085-1125, P. Bennett *et al*, Excavations at Canterbury Castle, vol. 1, (Maidstone, 1982), 70-73; D. Renn, 'The Decoration of Canterbury Castle Keep', BAACT, 5, (1982), 125-8.
[27] Dymock (He), Pauntley (Gl) (s. door and chancel arch), Yatton (He), Kemply (He), Mordiford (He), Pen Selwood (Gl). Gethyn-Jones dates all of the chevron of the Dymock School to c.1125-1145. E. Gethyn-Jones, The Dymock School of Sculpture (Chichester, 1979).
[28] Hales (Nf), Shouldham Thorpe (Nf), Tottenhill (Nf), Thurston (Nf), South Lopham (Nf), Great Bently (Ess), Sturmer (Ess), Keyser suggests a date of between 1135 and 1150 for these buildings, C. Keyser, 'The Norman Doorways of Norfolk' in (ed.) H.J. Astley, Memorials of Old Norfolk (London 1908), 216. Stoll felt that Hales must be post-1150, R.T. Stoll, Architecture and Sculpture in Early Britain (London, 1967), 346. Stone agreed with this on the basis of the degree of elaboration, L. Stone, Sculpture in Britain in the Middle Ages (London, 1955), 246, n.10.
[29] The occurrence of this chevron type in Scotland is rare, and it is tempting to see its use at Jedburgh as further evidence of the strong southern influences in the choir design. For the possible influences of West Country architecture and the choir at Romsey in particular, S. Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh, 1986), 106-110.



Pl. 3.14: Tilly sur Seulles. W. doorway.



Pl. 3.15: Asnières. Detail of n. doorway

Northampton St. Peter (Np),[31] Melbourne (Db),[32] Waltham Abbey (Ess) nave arcades (bays 3-7 from the east),[33] and a number of churches in Yorkshire, Norfolk and at Herefordshire.[34] In Normandy this profile is more unusual, but is found at Cheux (Cal) on the south door of the tower,[35] and an inverted version is used on the west door at Tilly-sur-Seulles (Cal) (3A:25) **[pl. 3.14]**. Other sequences of the roll, hollow formula are rarer. The door to the keep at Castle Heddingham (Ess),[36] and the chancel arch at North Grimston (Y) have chevron formed from a sequence in which hollows are dominant (3A:26).

While moulding sequences comprising a combination of rolls and hollows are relatively limited in their number of constituent elements, sequences comprised of multiple rolls are relatively commonplace. The south door at St Peter's Northampton (Np) has one order with one roll (3A:23) and another with two (3A:28). Three rolls are used on the doorway at Campsall (Y) (3A:29) and four at Shennington (O) and Asnières (Cal) **[pl. 3.15]** (3A:30). Five rolls are

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[30] Great Malvern Priory was founded in c. 1085, Thurlby dates the chevron to shortly after 1090, M. Thurlby, 'The Abbey Church Pershore: An Architectural History' Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society, ser. 3, vol. 15, (1996), 163. Stratford, who terms this 'furrowed chevron', sees it as an important influence on chevron design throughout Worcestershire, although of a later date N Pevsner, Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1968), 76, 160, 98, 138.

[31] The unusual plan of the church and lavish carving of its capitals have been associated with the church's proximity to the castle at Northampton, taken over by the crown in 1131. Chevron mouldings were recovered during excavation of the castle. H. Maguire, 'A Twelfth Century Workshop at Northampton' Gesta, 9/1, (1970), 17-18.

[32] The unusual plan and elevation of Melbourne have traditionally been associated with the influence of Ethelwulf, confessor to Henry I, and first Bishop of Carlisle who was granted Melbourne manor as his country seat, and took up residence there in 1136 when the Scots captured Carlisle. R. Stoll, Architecture and Sculpture in Early Britain (London, 1967), 306.

[33] On the basis of stylistic comparison with Durham, and indirect evidence from the *De Inventione*, which mentions extensive building work in the east end of Waltham during the 1120s, Fernie has suggested a date of c.1130-50 for the nave, E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church of Waltham Abbey', JBAA, 138, (1985), 48-78.

[34] Moccas (He), Bromyard (He) (s.e. door) and Peterchurch (He).

[35] V. Ruprich-Robert, L'Architecture Normande (Paris, 1884, 1889), pl. XXXVIII B.

[36] Built by Aubrey de Vere around the period that he was created Earl of Oxford (1142), P. Dixon and P. Marshall, 'The Great Tower of Heddingham Castle, a Reassessment', Fortress, 18, (1993), 16-23.

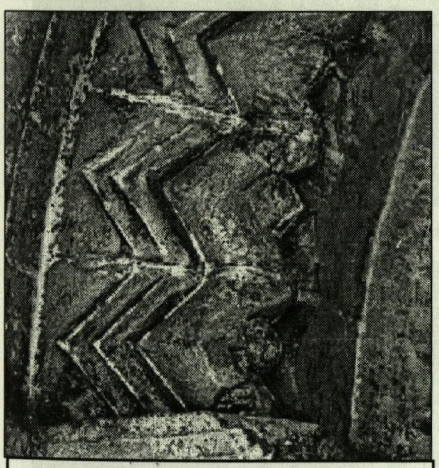
used at Nether Swell (Gl) and North Cerney (Gl)(3A:31).

Sequences of multiple angle fillets within mouldings are a characteristic adopted in the cogwheel edge form. A roll flanked by a double angle fillet along the side closest to the extrados occurs in a number of Yorkshire buildings (3A:32).[37] At Leuchars (Fi) and Garton on the Wolds (Y) on the west door, two rolls are separated by a double angle fillet (3A:33).[38] While certainly a more common feature in Yorkshire, other examples of multiple angle fillets are found across England (3A:34), (3A:35), (3A:36). The multiplication of angle fillets is more unusual in Normandy, although an example can be found at Mouen (Cal) (3A:37), and Le Ham (M) (3A:38) **[pl. 3.16]**.



Pl. 3.16: Le Ham. W. window.

As with straight edged lateral centrifugal chevron, the focus for supplementary decoration in cogwheel edged examples is in the arris spandrels, where the cogwheel spur is transformed into a sculptural motif. Most common is the transformation of the spur into a trefoil. Examples of this are found at Churcham (He), Churchdown (Gl) (3A:39), and Eldersfield (Wo) (3A:38), all of which have a slightly unusual profile and trefoil instead of spur. At Adel (Y) (3A:32) **[pl. 3.17]** elongated pellets interlock with centrifugal chevron.[39]

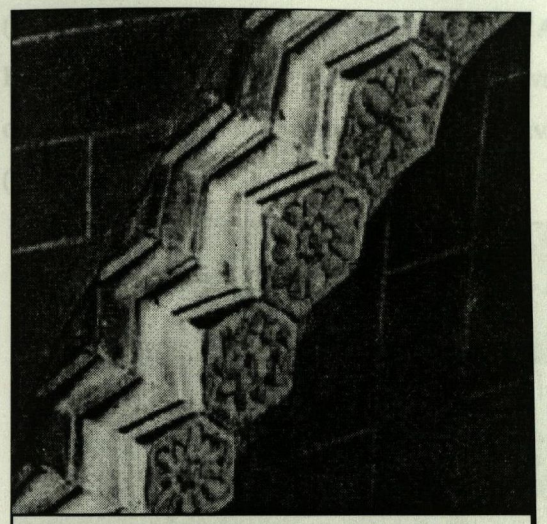


Pl. 3.17: Adel. Detail of s. doorway.

In rarer examples, lower relief ornament is applied to the soffit. At Aston (He) and Shobdon (He) the chevron, which shares a similar moulding profile (3A:42), has a chip carved 'arrow' form on the spandrels. Loose fragments at Avington (Bk) **[pl.**

[37] Thwing (Y), at North Newbald (Y) on the south door, south transept door and north door, at Aldborough (Y) on the priest's door, at Morton-cum-Grafton (Y), and Frickley (Y) on the chancel arch.
[38] The parish church was established here in the 1130s by Kirkham Priory, F. Mann, Early Medieval Sculpture: A Study of Twelfth Century Fragments in East Yorkshire (York, 1985), 46.
[39] Although associated with a charter of 1140, the parish church at Adel is generally placed between 1150 and 1160 on stylistic grounds, (ed.) S. Wrathmeel, Medieval Churches of West Yorkshire (Leeds, 1993), 29-30.

3.19] and the east cloister door at Romsey (Ha) (3A:44) have spurs formed from the petal of a floral motif on the soffit. More elaborate still, the vaulting in the chapter house at Bristol (So) **[pl. 3.18]** has hexagons on the soffits, their lateral points forming cogwheel edges (3A:45).



Pl. 3.18: Bristol chapter house. Detail of vault.



Pl. 3.19: Avington. Loose stone in choir.



Pl. 3.20: Kirkwall. Nave, n. aisle arcade.

In the examples cited above, the interlocking edge of the order is formed by an essentially unmoulded spur element, and chevron ornament *per se* is restricted to the face of the order. Another form of cogwheel edge chevron is formed by the interlocking of lateral centrifugal chevron on the face with the points of centripetal chevron on the soffit. Generally speaking, (although not exclusively) this form of chevron is achieved using more complex moulding profiles.

At Kirkwall (Ork) (3A:46) **[pl.3.20]** for example, the blind arcade of the north nave aisle has this arrangement.[40] In a comparable context at St John Devizes (Wi) the choir blind arcade has a slight variation on the Kirkwall profile (3A:47).[41]

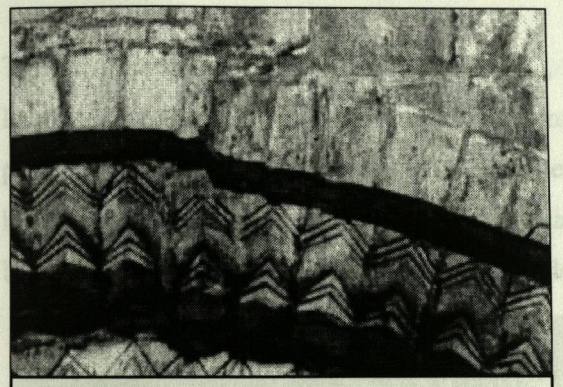
Such ornament is not restricted to arcades, occurring on portals at North Newbald (Y) (3A:48) and chancel arches at Creech Grange Chapel (Do), and Goodmartin (Y) (3A:49).

A variant of the form sees the greater elaboration of the front face of the interlocking element, where it is deepened and moulded to the extent that it resembles a frontal chevron when viewed

[40] Earl Rogenvald commenced construction of the cathedral at Kirkwall in 1137, M. Thurlby, 'Aspects of the Architectural History of Kirkwall Cathedral', PSAS, 127, (1997), 855.

[41] Stalley has suggested that both St John's and St. Mary's Devizes date to after the death of Bishop Roger (1139) and possibly not until after 1157. R. Stalley, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture', JBAA, 34, (1971), 81-83.

face on. This form of elaboration is most common to the southern part of England. Examples in Dorset include the south portal at Milborne Port (Do) (3A:50), Dewlish (Do) (3A:51), Piddletrenthide (Do) (3A:52) and Steeple (Do), and in Cornwall the portal of St. Germans priory (Co) incorporates an order of similar design (3A:54).[42] Further north, examples can be cited at Kilnwick Priory (Y) (3A:55) (original s. doorway), Etton (Y) tower arch (3A:56) outer order and on the window (better known for the Scandinavian ornament of its capitals) at Kirkburn (Y) (3A:57).



Pl. 3.21: Selby Abbey. Nave, n.e. bay arcade arch.



Pl. 3.22: Durham cathedral. Nave arcade arch.

A more common elaboration of this form sees the 'frontal' surface treated as though composed of several superimposed layers that are fanned out to interlock with the lateral centrifugal chevron on the face **[pl. 3.21]**. In many cases the effect of this technique is to blur the definition of the edge of the order, giving it a softer, curved section. This curving is occasionally emphasised by a slight stepping and angling of the facial chevron.

The form is particularly predominant in the northern half of England and Scotland, and can be further distinguished from its southern counterparts in the use of less formalised moulding profiles. It is perhaps best represented in the south transept and nave of Durham Cathedral. The outer order of the transverse ribs in the south transept and nave and nave arcades **[pl. 3.22]** and triforium arches are all carved with chevron of the same moulding profile(3A:58).[43]

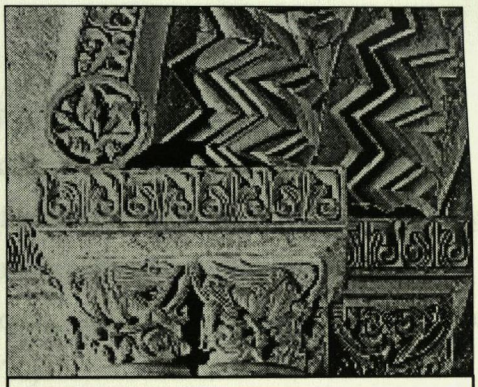
[42] St German's was founded as an Augustinian priory by Bishop Bartholomew of Exeter c.1162-84, D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales (London, 1953), 152.
[43] The date of erection of the vault is uncertain. It is unlikely that it was in place prior to 1104, but must have been in place by 1133 when the church is recorded as finished. The basis for this dating is that when Ranulf Flambard became abbot in 1099 he found work to be complete as far as the nave (*usque navem*

A similar form is also used on the western doors of the nave (3A:59, 3A:60) **[pl. 3.23]** and on the gateway to Durham castle (3A:61), both also attributed to Bishop Flambard's patronage, where a variety of moulding combinations are applied in the same manner.[44] The soffit of the inner order of the castle has a more elaborate treatment with the application of lozenges filled with floral motifs (3A:62). A similar treatment is also found at Corbridge (Nb), which has floral hexagonals in the place of lozenges on the soffits.

The chevron ornament of the south-east (3A:63, 3A:64, 3A:65) and west doorways of Dunfermline Abbey (Fi) **[pl. 3.24]** has been compared to that at Durham, although no exact parallel is found in the chevron mouldings of the doorways.[45] An exact moulding parallel is however found in the chevron of the window that surmounts the south-east doorway at Dunfermline (3A:66), which has the same profile as the diagonal ribs of the nave vault at



Pl. 3.24: Dunfermline: S.w. doorway.



Pl. 3.23: Durham. N. nave doorway.

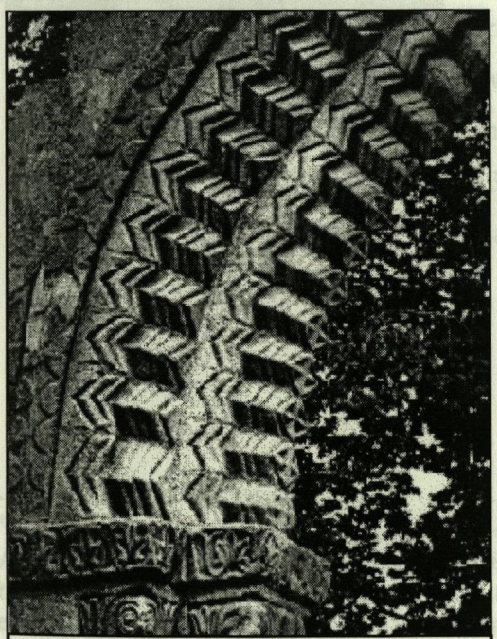
...*factum*), *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omina* , I, (ed.) T. Arnold, Rolls Series, 75 (London, 1882,1885), 140,and by 1104 it was sufficiently complete to receive the relics of St. Cuthbert; (*Symeon* I, 248, II, 236). William of Malmesbury's story about the collapse of the centering upon which the vault over the east end was built implies that construction was only completed very shortly before the translation *Willelmi Malmesbiriensiss Monachi de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum* (ed.) N.E.S.A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, (1870), 275-6. The nave ribs must date to 1128-1133, as Symeon of Durham recounts that on Bishop Flambard's death the cathedral was complete 'up to the covering' (*Symeon*, I, 139), he explains that during the following five years, the nave was completed 'through the efforts of the monks' (*Symeon*, I, 139). The nave arcade arches must date to between 1105 and 1128.

[44] For the castle gateway see M. Leyland, 'The origins and Development of Durham Castle' (eds.) D. Rollason *et al*, Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1993 (Bury, 1994), 417. The nave doors must date to sometime prior to 1128. James places them as early as 1108, J. James, 'The Rib Vaults of Durham Cathedral', Gesta 22/2, (1983), 144.

[45] N. Cameron, 'The Romanesque Sculpture of Dunfermline Abbey: Durham versus the Vicinal', BAACT, 14, (1994), 118-122. Construction of the Abbey at Dunfermline was probably under way c.1124-8 when correspondence between King David and the archbishop of Canterbury infers that preparatory work for building had commenced, (ed.) A.C. Lawrie, Early Scottish Charters prior to 1153, (London, 1905) no LXXXV, no. CCXXIV. Consecration is recorded in the Holyrood Chronicle in 1150, S. Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh, 1986), 33..

Durham.

Parallels between Durham and Dunfermline have led some authors to suggest that blocks of worked stone may even have been transported to Scotland from the Durham quarries.[46] However, chevron patterns closely related to Dunfermline are also to be found in a parish context within Scotland. At Dalmeny (Lt) the orders of both chancel arches are decorated with multiple narrow rolls and wedges of centrifugal chevron curving around the edge of the order.[47] The soffits of the inner orders of both chancel and sanctuary arches are especially distinctive, having a row of recessed lozenges, similar to those of the inner order of the south east door at Dunfermline, filled with a chip carved lozenge motif. This form recurs with an identical moulding profile on the chancel arch at Tyningham (Lt) **[pl. 3.25]** and on the sanctuary arch at Leuchars (Fi) (3A:67).[48] Any connection with Durham would therefore is more likely due to the presence of some of the Durham masons in the area, than the transportation of completed blocks to that number of different sites.



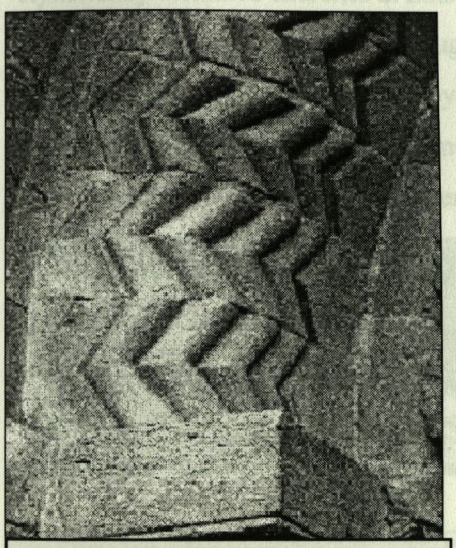
Pl. 3.25: Tyningham. Chancel arch.

Although this type of chevron appears to have emanated principally northward from Durham, a couple of examples which display a similar disregard for grammatical moulding profiles can be cited further south, such as at Overton (La) and Hartshead (Y) (3A:70).

While the stepping and ill-defined arrises of the Durham group of chevron produces a curved edge, the outer sections of the voussoirs are at right angles to one another making the orders squared in their essential character.

[46] S. Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh, 1986), 26-33.
[47] Founded towards the second half of the twelfth century by the Gospatrick, Lord of Dalmeny. Certainly completed by 1200 when Waldeve, son or grandson of the founder donated the church to the canons at Jedburgh, RCHMS; Inventory of Monuments in West Lothian (Edinburgh, 1929), 199-204.
[48] Tyningham is mentioned in a charter of 1094 when Duncan II donated it to the monastery at Durham. The parish church in question was constructed on the site of an earlier monastery dependent on Holy Island at Lindisfarne. The lands of Tyningham were granted to the priory of St. Andrews in 1144. The church at Leuchars was certainly in existence by 1187, when it is mentioned in an inventory of the possessions of St. Andrews. Its omission from a similar list in 1183 has led some to suggest a building phase between these two dates

More standardised mouldings curving around the edge of an order occur in a number of post-1150 buildings, such as at Iffley (O) **[pl. 3.26]**, on the west door (3A:72).[49] Similar multiple rolls are found at Great Barrington, (Gl) on the chancel arch (3A:73), at Great Rollright (O) and Northwood (Ha) (3A:74).



Pl. 3.26; Iffley. W. doorway.

Cylindrical orders with wrapped decoration are relatively unusual in England, and have traditionally been associated with Italian influence, a tradition in which chevron does not feature largely.[50] The only type of chevron used to decorate this form of matrix is lateral centrifugal, although a relatively broad range of moulding profiles are used. At Rous Lench (Wo) the sculpture niche above the south door is surmounted by a chevron ornamented cylindrical order (3A:75).[51] A portal at Twywell supposedly the work of the same school, has chevron on a cylindrical order, but of a different profile (3A:76).[52] A number of churches associated with particularly strong Western French influence have

[49] Attributed, though with little significant evidence, to the patronage of Juliana de St. Remy c.1170-80. Although the west front was restored in both 1823 and 1844, the west door had, until 1820 been protected by a porch, and thus escaped the zeal of the restorer. Zarnecki dates the door to 1175-82 but gives no evidence for how this date is arrived at, G. Zarnecki, Later English Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1957), 46.

[50] For a definition of the 'Como-Pavian' elements visible in English Romanesque Sculpture see J Raspi Serra, 'English Decorative Sculpture in the Early Twelfth Century and the Como-Pavian Tradition', The Art Bulletin, 51;4 (1969), 354-5. Meredith attributes the rare pockets of chevron ornament found in for example Tuscania (Lazio) and Sicily to the influence of foreign masons, J. Meredith, The Impact of Italy on the Romanesque Architectural Sculpture of England (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale, 1980), 94.

[51] This stylistically isolated piece of sculpture has been attributed to a Northamptonshire Sculptor working in Worcestershire. N. Pevsner, Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1967), 45, C.J. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire' in (ed.) J. Blair, Minster and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition (1988), 150.

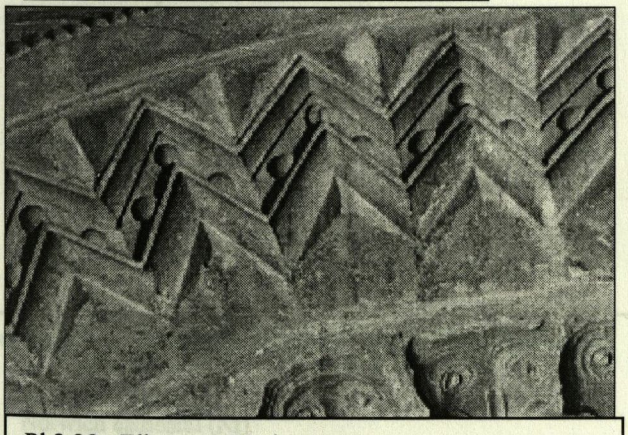
[52] On the basis of comparison with Ely, Zarnecki dates the door here to c. 1130, G. Zarnecki, Early Sculpture at Ely Cathedral (London, 1958), 45. Meredith dates it to 1140-50, J. Meredith, The Impact of Italy on the Romanesque Architectural Sculpture of England (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale, 1980), 108.

cylindrical orders but with slightly more complex profiles. Examples include fragments rebuilt in the porch of Barton-le-Street (Y) (3A:77),[53] the chancel arch at Barfreston (K) (3A:78) and the north door at Patrixbourne (K) **[pl.3.27]**.[54]

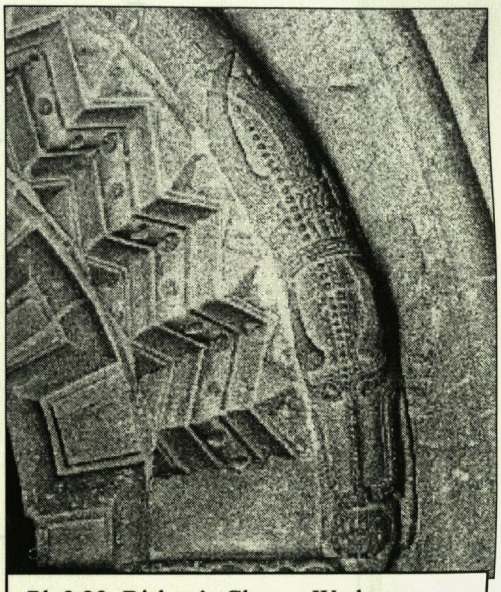
Examples of the stepping of lateral centrifugal chevron across the face and soffit of a voussoir is generally found in a late Romanesque context. A good example of this is found in three stylistically affiliated churches at Elkstone (Gl) **[pl. 3.28]**, Bishop's Cleeve (Gl) **[pl. 3.29]** and Aschurch (Gl)(3A:80). Here centrifugal chevron ornament shares a standard attic profile, differing from examples of the nearby 'Dymock' school of at least fifty years earlier, only through the straddling nature of the mouldings, and the addition of dimpled pellets to the hollow section of the moulding sequence. [55]



Pl. 3.27: Patrixbourne. N. doorway.



Pl.3.28: Elkstone. W. doorway



Pl. 3.29: Bishop's Cleeve. W. doorway

[53] For links between Barton-Le-Street and western French Romanesque see G. Zarnecki, Later English Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1957), 36-7.

[54] Most authors are in agreement that the style of the sculpture at Patrixbourne is strongly indebted to the cathedral at Rochester. See for example E. Prior and A. Gardiner, An Account of Medieval Figure Sculpture in England (Cambridge, 1912), 195; G. Zarnecki, Later English Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1953), 39-40; M. Thurlby, Transitional Sculpture in England (Unpublished Ph.D., U.E.A, 1976), 54-9. Depending on the significance read into the lack of influence of post-1174 Canterbury work Rochester and Patrixbourne can be dated to c.1170-80.

[55] There is no independent dating evidence for Elkstone. On the basis of style, Verey has suggested a date of c.1160-70, D.Verey and A Brooks, Buildings of England: Gloucester 1: the Cotswolds (London, 1999), 336, and similarly a date of 1160-90 for Bishop's Cleeve, D. Verey, Buildings of England: Gloucester 2: The Vale and Forest of Dean (London, 1980), 105. Brakespear's placement of Bishop's Cleeve in the obit of the 'West Country School' suggests a date in the later part of this bracket (H. Brakespear ' A West Country School of Masons' Archaeologia, 81, (1931), 15. E. Gethyn-Jones has suggested a date bracket of 1120-1145 for the buildings of the Dymock School, E. Gethyn-Jones The Dymock School of Sculpture (Chichester, 1979), 71, which has apparently been confirmed by recent dendrochronolgical testing on the original roof timbers at Kemply, The Times 25th May, 1999.

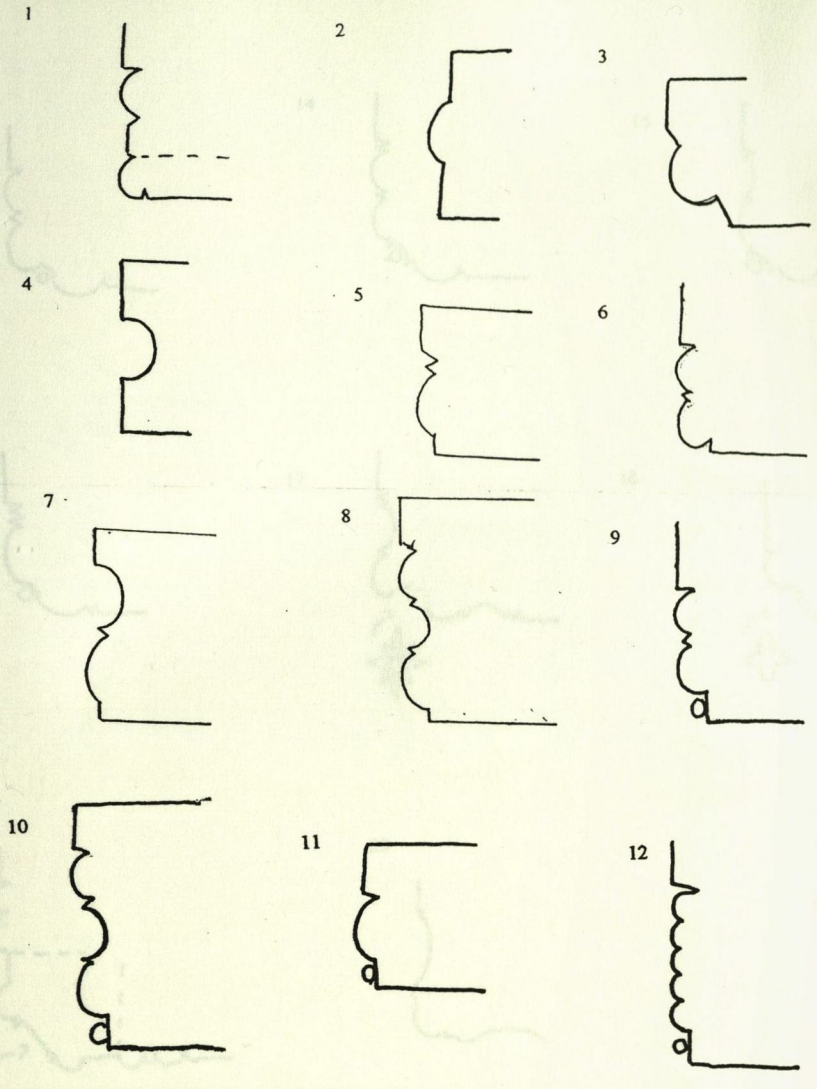


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (Straight edge)

1. Cerisy la Fôret (M),
2. Norwich cathedral (Nf)
3. Norwich cathedral (Nf), Castle Acre Priory (Nf)
4. Waltham Abbey (Ess)
5. Standsted Mountfitchet (Ess), Wissington (Ess), Stewkley (Bk)
6. Parwich (Db), Hognaston (Db), Colleville sur Mer (Cal)
7. Hereford Cathedral (He), Peterchurch (He), Torrington (Dv), Burford (O), Rainham (Ess), Romsey (Ha), St. Clemente, Ozmanville (Cal)
8. Romsey (Ha), Canterbury Cathedral (K), Stoneleigh (Wa), High Ongar (Ess), Wolvey (Wa), Cerisy la Fôret(M), Louvres (SeO), Les Mans (Srt), Tollevast (M), Martinvast (M), La Trinitè, Caen (Cal)
9. Edlington (Y), Middleton on the Hill (He), and Barford St. John (Y)
10. Stillingfleet (Y)(n. door), Barton-le-Street (Y) Titchfield (Ha) and Newton Purcell (O)
11. Tortington (Sx)
12. Mixbury (O)

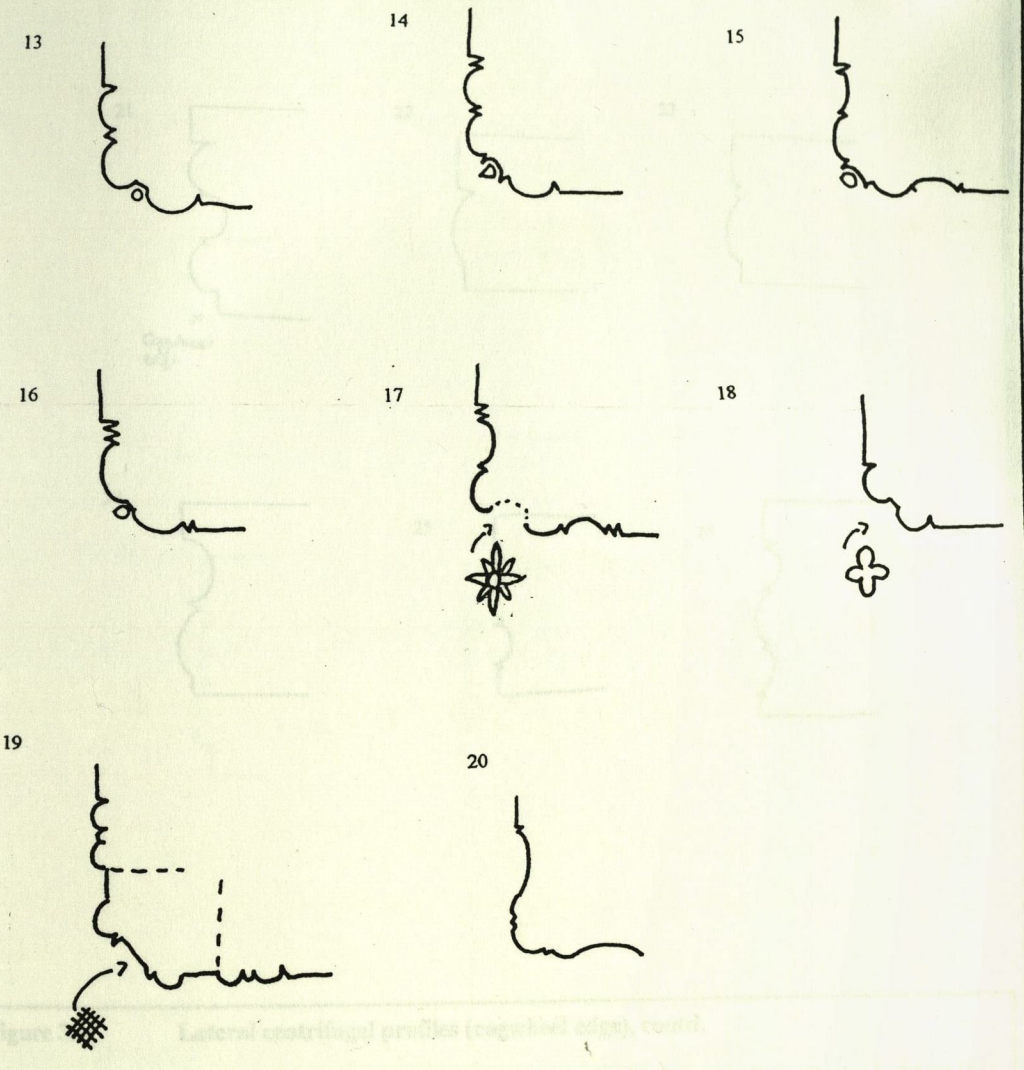


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (Straight edge), contd.

13. Chaddesley Corbett (Wo), Begbrooke (O) Thornbury (He)
14. St. Ebbe's(O)
15. Steetly (Db)
16. Pedmore (Wo)
17. Elkstone (Gl)
18. Much Wenlock (Sa), Buildwas (Sa)
19. Bampton (O)
20. Netherton (Wo)

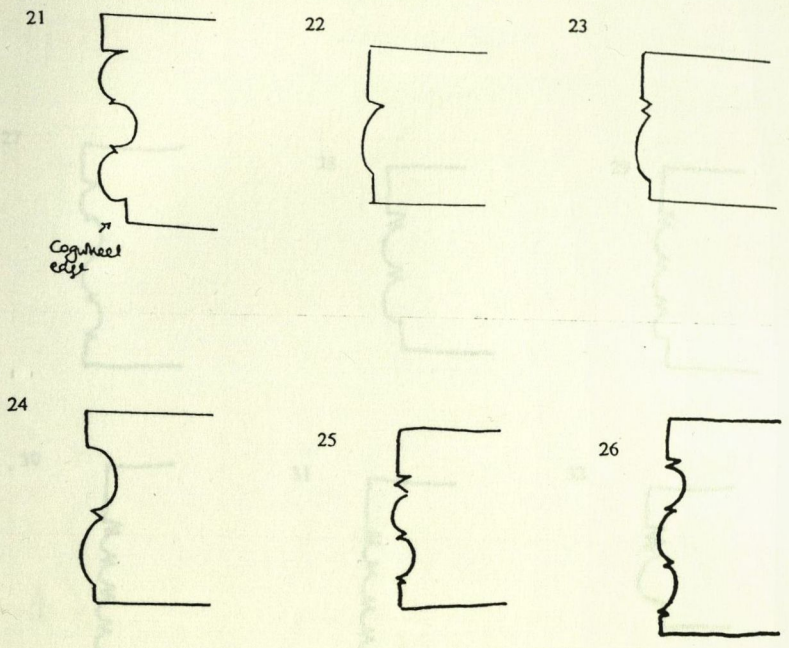


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (cogwheel edge), contd.

21 Castle at Caen (Cal), St Georges de Boscherville (SM), St. Contest (Cal) , Cerisy la Fôret (M) Ouistreham(Cal), Formigny (Cal), Canterbury (K) castle keep, Chepstow priory (Mn), Powerstock (Do) Eastleach Turville(Gl), Ebringdon (Gl), Beckford (Wo), Earl's Croome (Wo) St Peter de Merton (Bd), Earl's Barton (Np). Lanchester (Du), Dymock (He), Pauntley (Gl) (s. door and chancel arch), Yatton (He), Kemply (He), Mordiford, Pen Selwood (Gl) Hales(Nf), Shouldham Thorpe (Nf), Tottenhill (Nf), Thurston (Nf), South Lopham (Nf), Great Bently (Ess), Sturmer (Ess).

22 Hales (Nf), Heckingham(Nf), Romsey (Ha),the castle chapel at Essendine (Ru), Kemply (Gl), Jedburgh(Rx).

23 Mundham (Nf) Thurston (Nf).

24 Great Malvern (Wo), Northampton St. Peter (Np), Earl's Barton (Np) s. door (outer order) Melbourne (Db), Waltham Abbey (Ess) nave arcades, Stewkley (Bk), Rudford (Gl) chancel arch, Great Ayton (Y), Goldsborough (Y), Great Gwendale (Y), Hilston (Y), Liverton (Y) Ashby (Nf), Hales (Nf), Shouldham Thorpe (Nf), Tottenhill (Nf), Thurston (Nf), Moccas(He), Bromyard(He), Peterchurch (He) south door Cheux (Cal)

25 Tilly sur Seulles (Cal).

26 Castle Heddingham Keep(Ess), North Grimstone (Y).

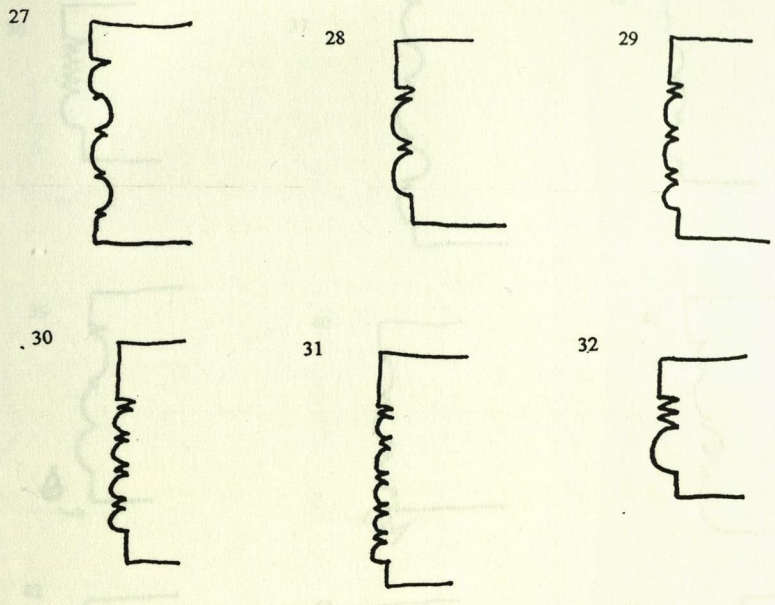


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (cogwheel edge) contd.

27 Eastleach Turville (Gl), Creully (Cal)
28 St Peter's Northampton, Workerly (Np) Seaton Delaval (Nb), Wootton (IoW), Brentwood (Ess), Barford St. Michael (O), Begbroke (O), Kilpeck (He)
29 Campsall (Y)
30 Shennington(O), Asnières (Cal)
31 Nether Swell (Gl), North Cerney (Gl)
32 Thwing (Y), at North Newbald (Y) Aldborough (Y) Morton-cum-Grafton (Y), and Frickley (Y), Adel (Y)

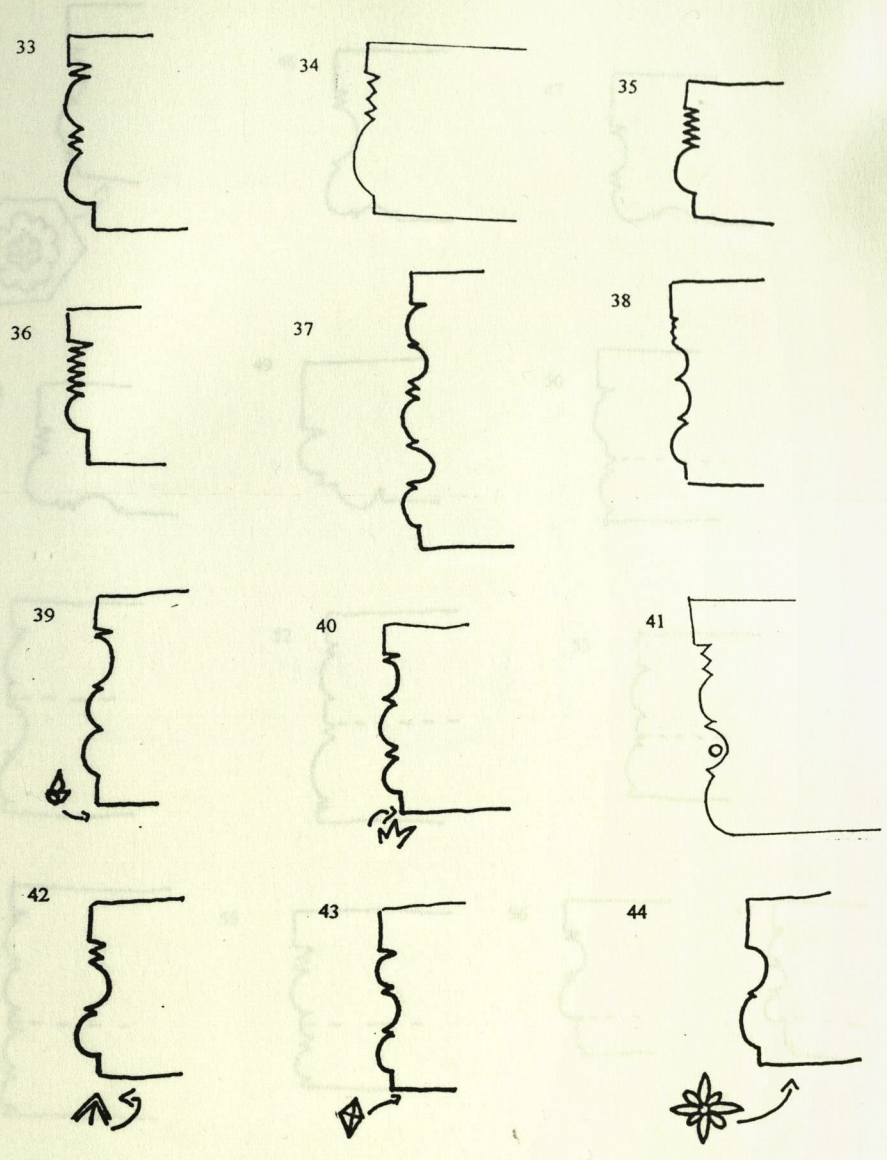


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (cogwheel edge) contd.

33 Garton on the Wolds (Y), Leuchars (Fi)
34 Shipley (Sx), Shouldham Thorpe(Nf)
35 Tissington(Db)
36 Campsall(Y), Adel (Y)
37 Mouen(Cal)
38 Le Ham (M)
39 Churcham (He), Churchdown(Gl)
40 Eldersfield(Wo)
41 Great Tew (O)
42 Aston (He), Shobdon (He)
43 Ludlow Castle chapel (Sa)
44 Avington (Brk), Romsey (Ha)

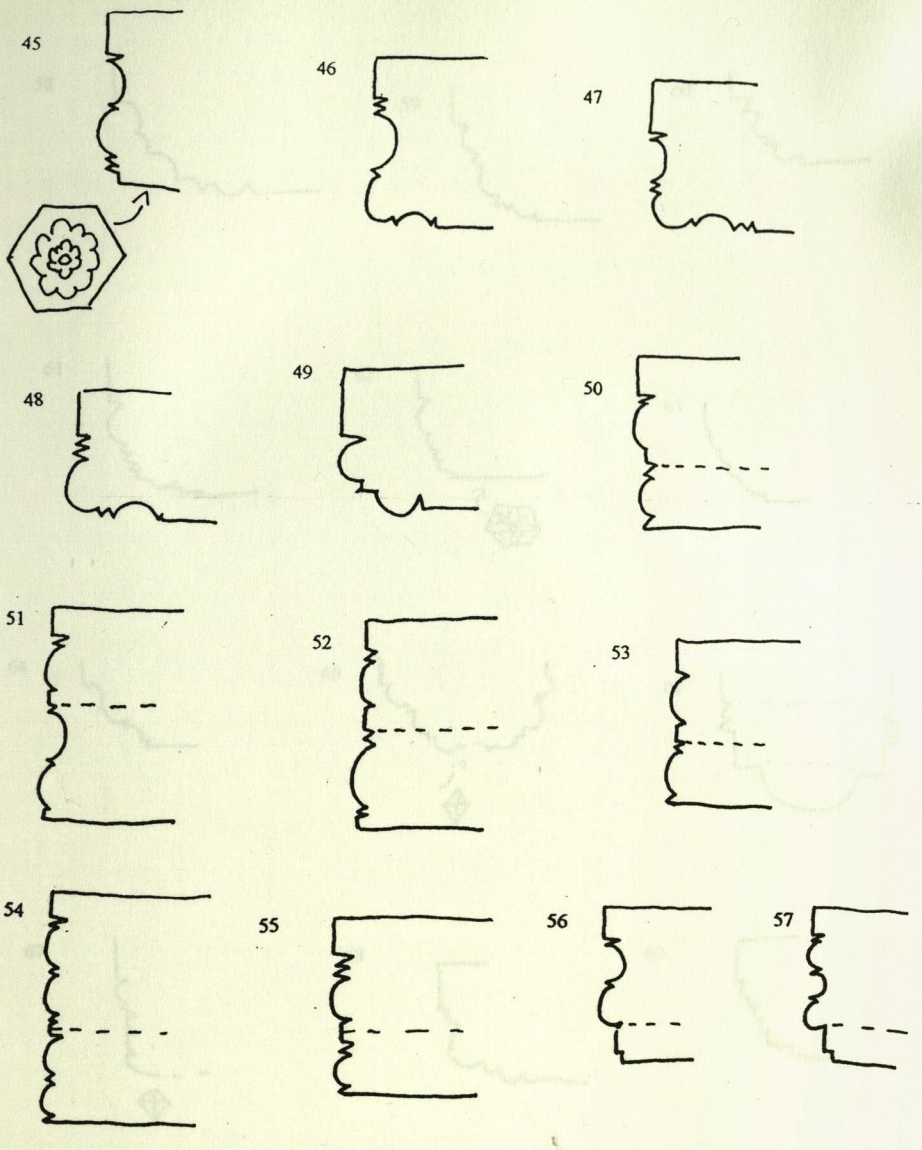


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (cogwheel edge) contd.

45 Bristol chapter House (So)
46 Kirkwall (Ork)
47 St John's Devizes (Wi)
48 North Newbald (Y)
49 Creech Grange chapel (Do) Goodmartin (Y)
50 Milbourne (Do)
51 Dewlish (Do)
52 Piddletrenthide (Do)
53 Steeple (Do)
54 St German's (Co)
55 Kilnwick (Y)
56 Etton (Y)
57 Kirkburn(Y)

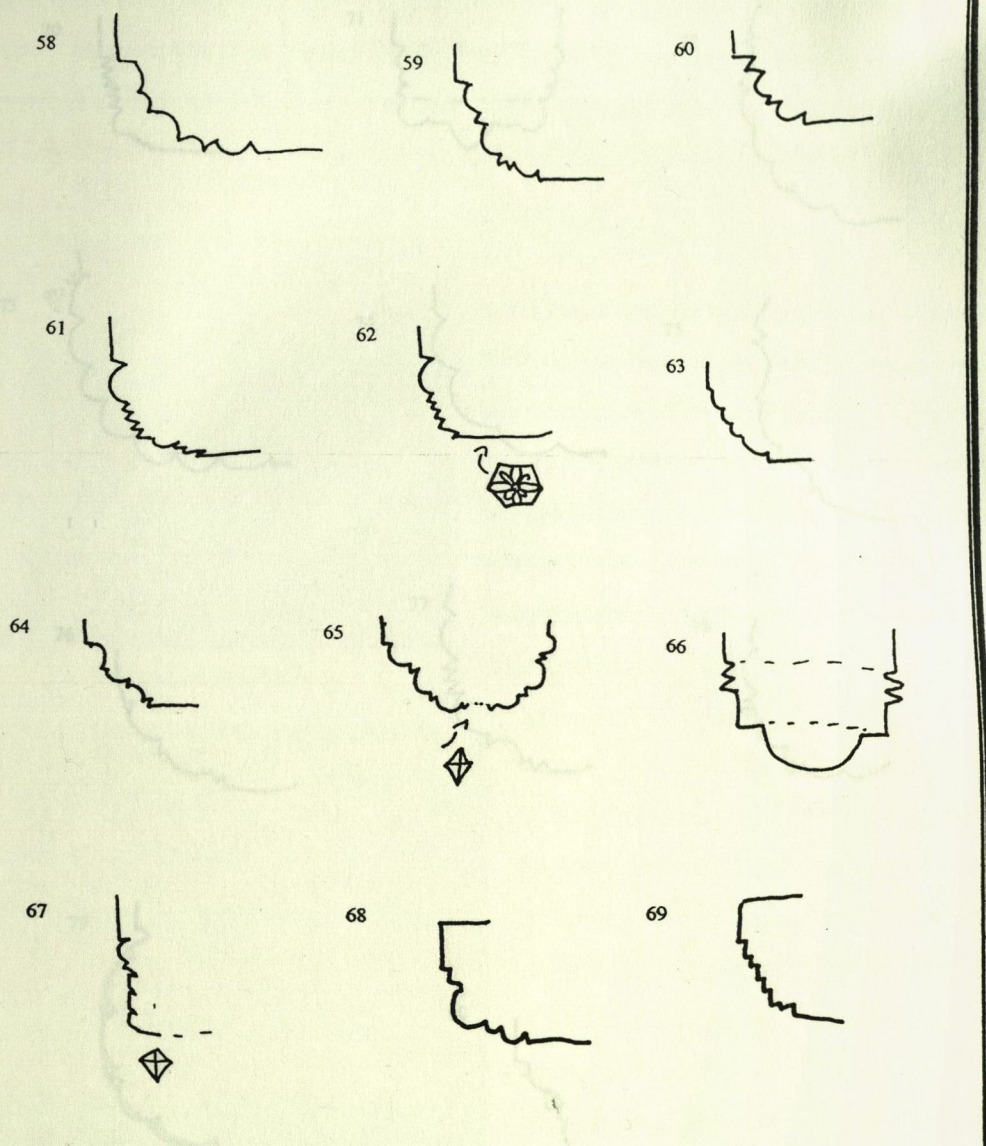


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (curved edge/ cylindrical order)

58 Durham, (Du)transverse ribs, nave arcade arches, triforium arches
59 Durham, n.w. door nave
60 Durham, n.w. door nave
61 Durham castle gateway outer order
62 Durham castle gateway inner order
63 Dunfermline s.e. door
64 Dunfermline s.e. door
65 Dunfermline s.e. door
66 Dunfermline s.e. window, Durham diagonal ribs
67 Tyningham (WL), Leuchars(Fi)
68 Ely cathedral, (Ca)St Catherine's chapel
69 Ely Cathedral (Ca) St Catherine' s chapel

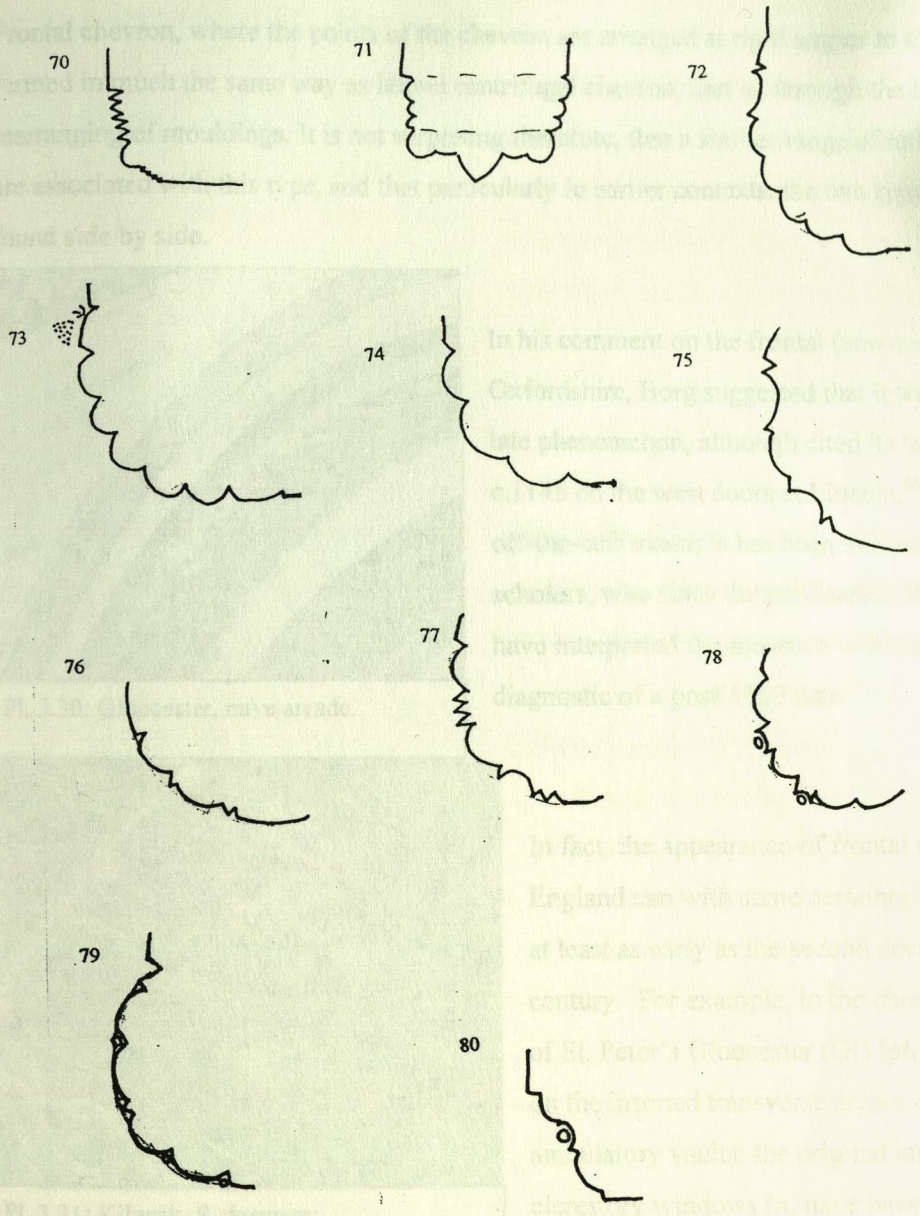
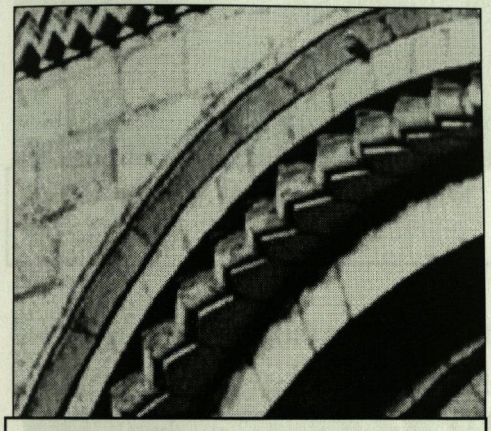


Figure 3A: Lateral centrifugal profiles (curved edge/ cylindrical order) contd.

70 Overton (La), Hartshead (Y)
71 Durham Cathedral Chapter House rib
72 Iffly (O),w. door
73 Great Barrington(O)
74 Great Rollright(O), Great Barrington(O)
75 Rous Lench (Wo)statue niche
76 Twywell (Np)
77 Barton le Street(Y)
78 Barfreston (K)
79 Patrixbourne (K)
80 Elkstone (Gl), Bishop's Cleeve(Gl), Ashchurch (Gl)

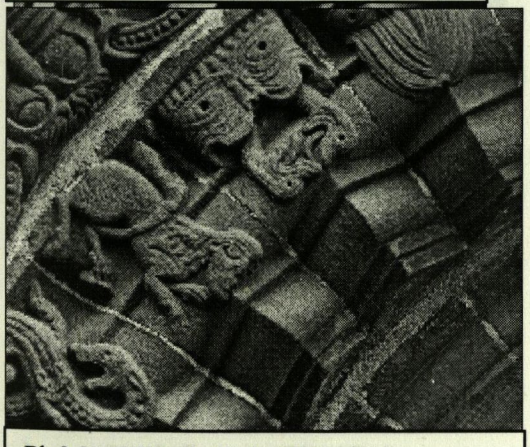
B Frontal Chevron

Frontal chevron, where the points of the chevron are arranged at right angles to the surface, is formed in much the same way as lateral centrifugal chevron, that is, through the breaking and rearranging of mouldings. It is not surprising therefore, that a similar range of moulding profiles are associated with this type, and that particularly in earlier contexts, the two types are frequently found side by side.



Pl. 3.30: Gloucester, nave arcade.

In his comment on the frontal (saw-tooth) chevron of Oxfordshire, Borg suggested that it was an exclusively late phenomenon, although cited its 'early' appearance c.1145 on the west doors at Lincoln.[56] This somewhat off-the-cuff example has been misunderstood by some scholars, who since the publication of Borg's article have interpreted the presence of frontal chevron as diagnostic of a post-1150 date.[57]



Pl. 3.31: Kilpeck. S. doorway.

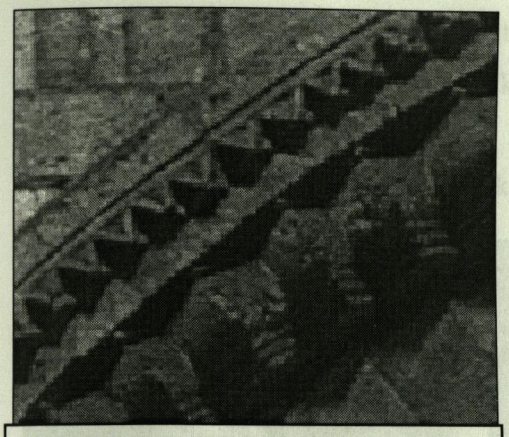
In fact, the appearance of frontal chevron in England can with some certainty be brought back to at least as early as the second decade of the twelfth century. For example, in the church (now cathedral) of St. Peter's Gloucester (Gl) **[pl. 3.30]**, it is found on the inserted transverse arches of the crypt ambulatory vaults; the original jambs of the clerestory windows (n. nave bays 2-4); and on the arches of the nave arcade (s. side bays 2-6, n. side bays 2-4).[58] The moulding profile is simple and relatively consistent throughout, comprising a single prominent roll, with flat fillet above, and a flat fillet below slightly recessed from the main plane of the face, with a plain soffit (3B:1).

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[56] A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', JBAA, 30, (1967), 136.

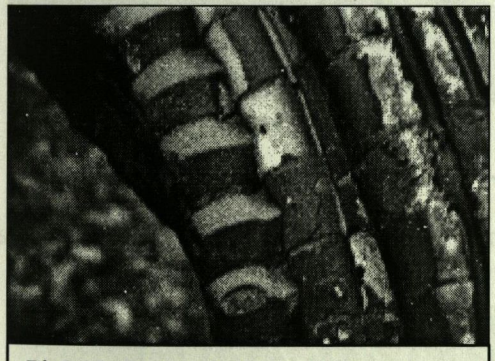
[57] See for example N. Stratford in N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1968), 46, J. King, 'The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 85.

[58] St. Peter's Gloucester was commenced in 1089 and dedicated in 1100, by which time building had extended as far as the first bay of the nave. The large columnar piers of the nave show fire damage, which is usually associated with a devastating fire of 1122, although the extent to which the nave was complete at this time remains a moot point. The chevron-decorated ribs in the crypt ambulatory are a later insertion. C.



Pl. 3.32: Romsey. Arcade arch, bay n.4 of nave.

The slight recessing of the arris fillet from the face plane helps to emphasise the single roll and give it a slightly bulging appearance akin to an overfilled sandwich. The moulding profile is developed in the arcade arch of the 8th bay on the north side of the nave where the step is doubled (3B:2), a form that is also used on the two eastern bays of the chapter house dado arcades. This latter moulding sequence, incorporating the single roll with double step at the arris was to prove especially popular throughout the south west of England. It recurs in a parish church context at Clehonger (He) and in two of the churches associated with the so-called Herefordshire school, Kilpeck (He) **[pl. 3.31]** and English Bicknor (He), where it is carved on the same voussoir as a beak-head motif (3B:3).[59] It is also found on the triforium arches of the nave Malmesbury (Wi), and the south door at Lullington (So), a church whose sculpture, like Malmesbury, is more commonly associated with the Old Sarum master.[60] Other examples are found at Llandaff cathedral (3B:2) on the chancel arch and at Pershore (3B:2), on the blind arcades which adorn the exterior gable of the south transept.[61] A tripling of the arris fillet can be seen on the arcade arch of bay 4 on the north side of the nave at Romsey (Ha) **[pl. 3.32]**, and on the south door at South Cerney (Gl) (3B:4).



Pl. 3.33: Rochester Keep. Hall arcade.

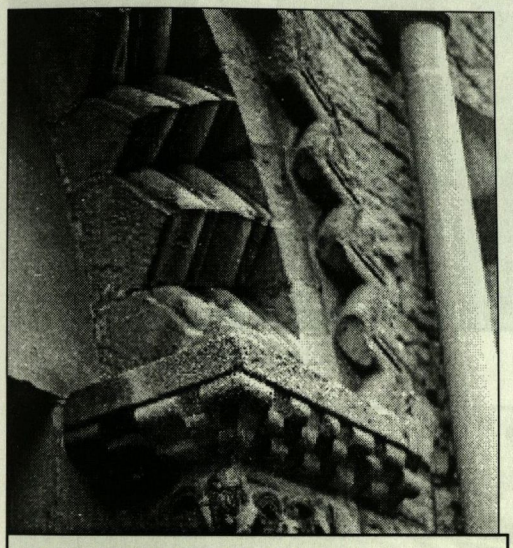
Wilson, 'Abbot Serlo's Church at Gloucester (1089-1100): Its place in Romanesque Architecture', BAACT, 7, (1987), 52-83.

[59] Much has been written about the possible date of Kilpeck and its chronological relationship with the other churches of the Herefordshire school sculpture. Most scholars agree on a date after 1134, when it is documented that the church at Kilpeck was gifted to St. Peter's Gloucester. For a summary of the arguments see J. King, 'The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 82-93.

[60] R. Stalley, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture', JBAA, 34, (1971), 76. The chevron at Malmesbury and its implications for the dating of the building are discussed at greater length in chapter four.

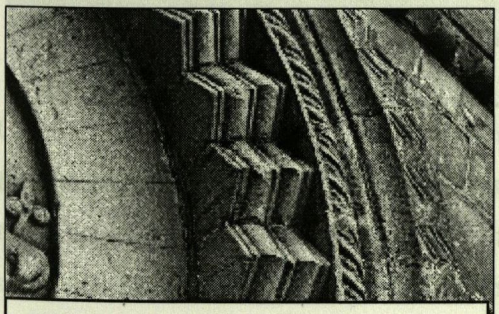
[61] Thurlby has suggested a date of c.1120 for this feature at Pershore on the basis of comparison with Gloucester. M. Thurlby, 'The Abbey Church Pershore; An Architectural History', Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society, Ser 3, Vol. 15, (1996), 163.

The encroachment of frontal chevron mouldings onto the soffit is initially subtle, with face rolls closest to the arris continued onto the soffit and delineated by a simple quirk. This form is found on the hall arcade arches at Rochester (K) keep of c.1130,[62] **[pl. 3.33]** and throughout the eastern parts of Peterborough cathedral (3B:11).[63] Essentially this is little different from the Gloucester St Peter's profile (3B:1), but with the one key difference. While at Gloucester, all elements are visible from the face, and the edge delineated by a sharp right angle, at Rochester and Peterborough an extra element is visible only from the soffit, and the edge of the order is less sharp, being delineated by a roll.

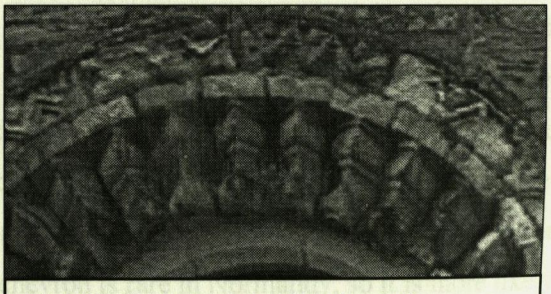


Pl. 3.34: Rous Lench. N. doorway.

Both treatments of the edge/ soffit co-exist from the c.1130 up to the end of the twelfth century. The range of profiles used to create frontal chevron is relatively conservative, and little perceptible development of design can be gauged between examples such as the S. and N. doors at Rous Lench (Wo) **[pl. 3.34]** and the chancel arch at Garway (He) separated in their construction by about sixty years (3B:5).[64]



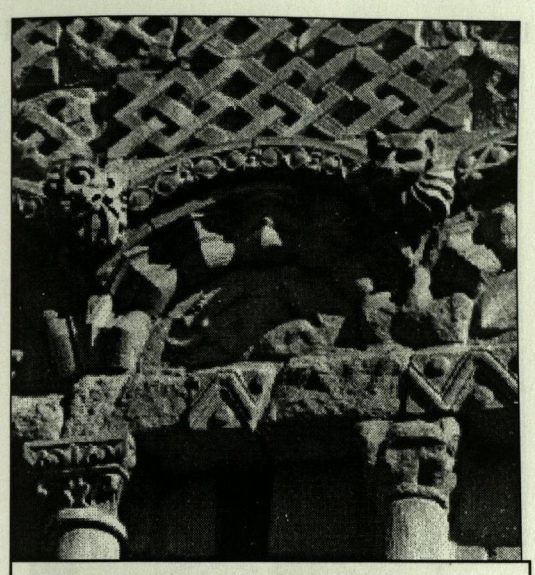
Pl. 3.35: Upleadon. S. doorway



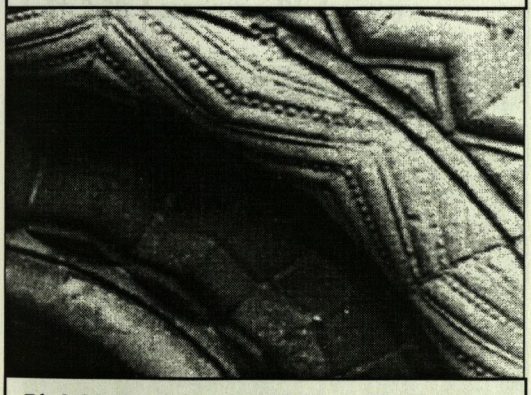
Pl. 3.36: Norham. Ext. of choir window.

[62] The Archbishop of Canterbury was granted permission to build a fortification at Rochester in 1129.
[63] Rebuilding following the great fire at Peterborough commenced in 1118, services were being held in the new building by 1143.
[64] The church at Rous Lench is generally dated c.1130 on the basis of comparison of the statue niche in the south façade with work at Ely. However, it must be conceded that there is no structural or stylistic evidence to link the niche carving to the door. See C.J. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire' in (ed.) J. Blair, Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition 950-1200. (Oxford, 1988), 150. The round-naved church at Garway, to which the chancel arch belongs, was founded by the Knight's Templar c.1185-8, D. Knowles and R. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1951), 236.

Like the profiles of some of the lateral centrifugal examples cited above, variation in frontal profiles is achieved through the doubling of fillet sequences, such as on one of the orders of the chapter house door at Gloucester. This profile, retaining the double flat fillet closest to the soffit, appears to have enjoyed particular popularity in the near vicinity of the abbey, being repeated in the parish church of St. Nicholas (Gl), Upleadon (Gl) **[pl. 3.35]** and at Buckland Fields (Gl). (3B:8). A doubling of fillets closest to the extrados is also found, for example at Beckford (Wo) (3B:9). The multiplication of rolls is also commonplace (3B:6, 3B:7).



Pl. 3.37: Rochester cathedral. W. façade.



Pl. 3.38: Patrixbourne. N. doorway.

Although slightly less common, profiles with hollows are also found in conjunction with frontal forms. An attic type profile is used on the south transept door at Ewenny Priory (Gn),[65] Castle Morton (Wo), and at Norham (Nb) (3B:24) **[pl. 3.36]**. The same profile is also used in work at the *vestiarium* and dormitory at Canterbury.[66] In her analysis of the chevron ornament of this phase at Christ Church Canterbury (K), Kahn suggests direct influence from Normandy, citing a parallel for the form on the blind arcades of the west front at St. Samson, Ouistreham (Cal).[67] However, the Ouistreham chevron has a two rolls profile (3B:13) while the Canterbury examples are nearly all of attic form (3B.24). Furthermore, frontal chevron is rare in Normandy, so it is more likely that the design influence for Ouistreham was coming from England, rather than the other way around.

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[65] Documentary evidence dates the church between 1116 and 1126. M. Thurlby, 'The Romanesque priory church of St Michael at Ewenny [Glamorgan]', Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians ,47, (1988), 281-94.

[66] These buildings must date to between c.1152, when Wibert became prior, and commenced the repossession of monastic lands presumably for building, and c. 1174 when the great fire in the choir of the church would have disrupted building activity in the monastery's precincts. For a full discussion of dating see D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 95-107.

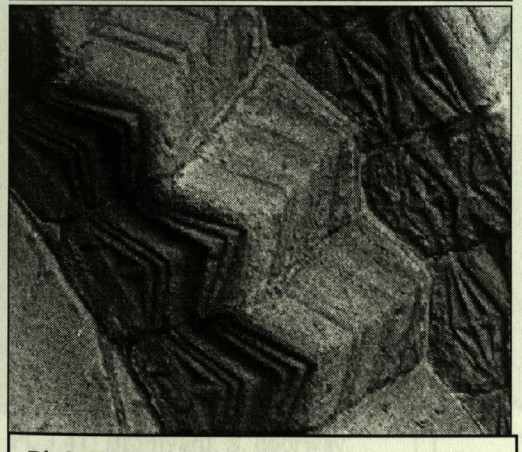
[67] D. Kahn, Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in Kent (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982, University of London), 86.

Examples of frontal chevron with a single roll and hollow profile are slightly more unusual. The form is used on the blind arcade of the west façade at Rochester cathedral (K) (3B:20) **[pl. 3.37]**, and on the priest's door at the nearby church of Patrixbourne (3B:21) **[pl. 3.38]**.



Pl. 3.39: Leominster. W. doorway.

A noteworthy characteristic of lateral centrifugal chevron is the lack of balance between the application of ornament to the face and soffit of the voussoir. The same general statement can be applied to frontal chevron, with the vast majority of examples having, like the Rochester keep chevron, at the most a single quirk worked on the soffit.



Pl. 3.40: Rock. N. doorway.

Enriching the soffit of an order of frontal chevron with a moulding sequence is remarkably rare. A good example can be found on the west portal at Leominster (He) (3B:29) **[pl. 3.39]**.[68] Here the only ornamented order in an apparently original pointed arch portal structure comprises a fairly standard frontal profile on the face, but with a filleted roll along the arris and a chevron moulding of hollow/roll profile on the soffit.[69]

The presence of this treatment is of special significance when it comes to seeking parallels. No identical profile has been identified, but similar treatment is found at Shobdon (He) (3B:31) and

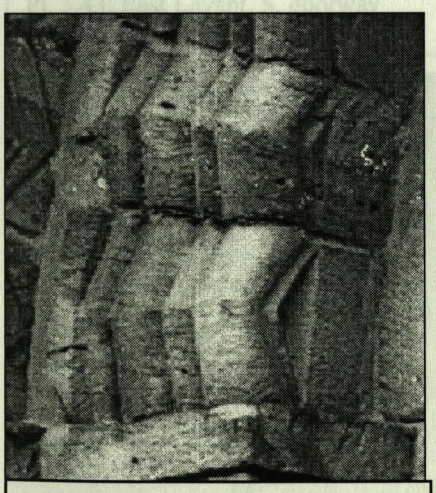
[68] The manor of Leominster was granted by Henry I to his new Benedictine Abbey at Reading in 1123, and the cell or priory at Leominster was presumably commenced shortly after, RCHME, Herefordshire, Vol. 3, (London, 1931), 111. On stylistic grounds the portal is generally dated to just before the mid-century, G. Zarnecki, Later English Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1953), 14.

[69] If the c.1150 date for the portal structure here is to be believed, then the presence of a filleted roll is deeply significant. Isolated examples of filleted rolls are recorded on the ribs at St. Denis c.1140, but their use in England does not become commonplace until the late twelfth century, R. Morris, 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings; with an Introduction to Medieval Mouldings c. 1040-1240', Architectural History, 35, (1992), 5.

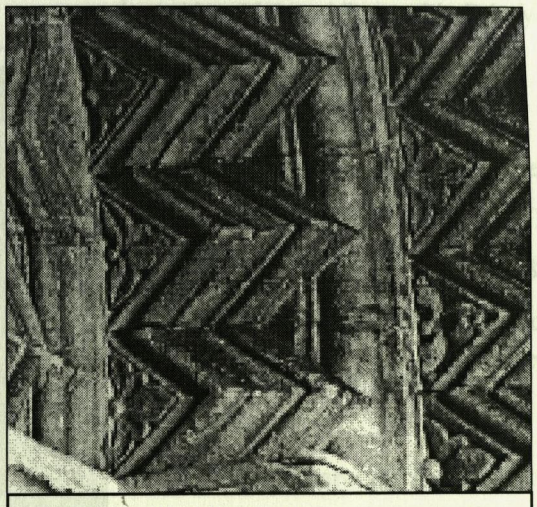
Rock (Wo) (3B:30) **[pl. 3.40]** both churches, as Leominster, associated with the so-called Herefordshire school.[70]

At both Rock and Shobdon the soffits have a slightly more complex profile on the soffit, with a doubling of wedges, and a small arrow-head shaped ornament in the spandrels closest to the rear face. Spandrel ornament of this type on frontal chevron is extremely unusual, and must be related to the similar, though somewhat plainer treatment at nearby Bromyard (He) (3B:32) **[pl. 3.41]**.[71]

Some decoration of the soffit is also associated with the frontal chevron designs of the school of sculpture thought to have emanated from York during the time of Bishop Roger of Pont L'Eveque.[72] Grammatical frontal chevron is more unusual in the north of England and Scotland, and is generally only found in this later, transitional context. Thus at Selby (Y) **[pl 3.42]** the north portal incorporates a frontal chevron design with a stepped attic moulding sequence, and the



Pl. 3.41: Bromyard. S. doorway.



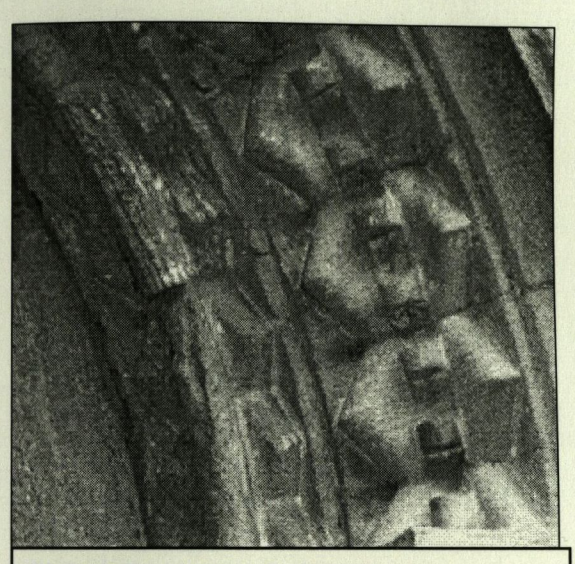
Pl. 3.42: Selby. N. doorway.

[70] Zarnecki, based on contemporary documentary evidence, has suggested a construction date for Shobdon between 1125 and 1131/2, with an absolute *terminus ante quo* of 1148, G. Zarnecki, 'The Priory Church of Shobdon and its Founder' in (eds.) D. Buckton and T. A. Heslop, Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Lasko (London, 1994), 216. Traditionally Rock has been dated to c. 1160-70, see for example. N Stratford's opinion in N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1968), 252-3. However, such are the number and character of similarities between Shobdon and Rock, it is difficult to place, at most, ten years between them.

[71] Bromyard has previously been linked with the Herefordshire School only through its somewhat tenuous relationship with the so-called Dymock School, see G. Zarnecki, Regional Schools in English Romanesque Sculpture, (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1951), 281-3. Despite the close relationship between the south door there, and the geometric ornament at Rock and Shobdon, no direct comparisons have been published.

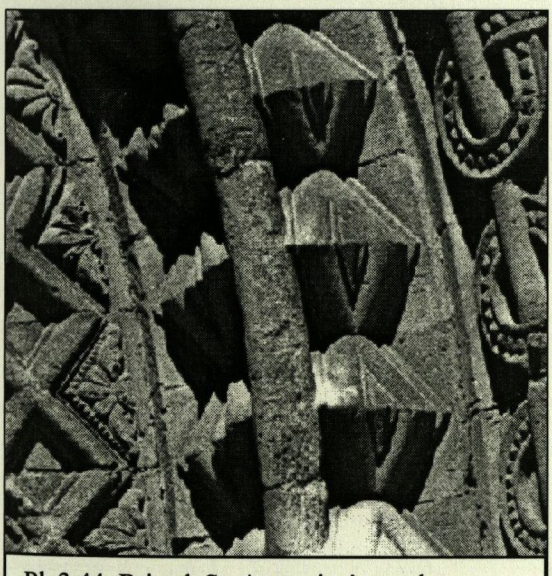
[72] For comment on the 'school' see R. Stalley, 'Choice and Consistency: The Early Gothic Architecture of Selby Abbey', Architectural History, 38, (1995), 8, n.3.

floral decoration so characteristic of the school on its soffit (3B:33). Other, plainer examples of this school include the west and south portals at Jedburgh (Rx) (3B:7).[73]



Pl. 3.43: East Lavant. S. doorway

Towards the end of the twelfth century, frontal chevron forms were occasionally worked on both face and soffit. This is the case at East Lavant (Sx) **[pl. 3.43]** where a single roll of frontal chevron is carved on the face and soffit, separated by a roll along the arris, of the inner order. On the outer order there is a row of billet along the arris of the outer order to form a 'gaping' chevron effect. Similar arrangements, but with multiple rolls are found at Castle Ashby (Np) and Dunstable Priory (Bd) (3B:35).



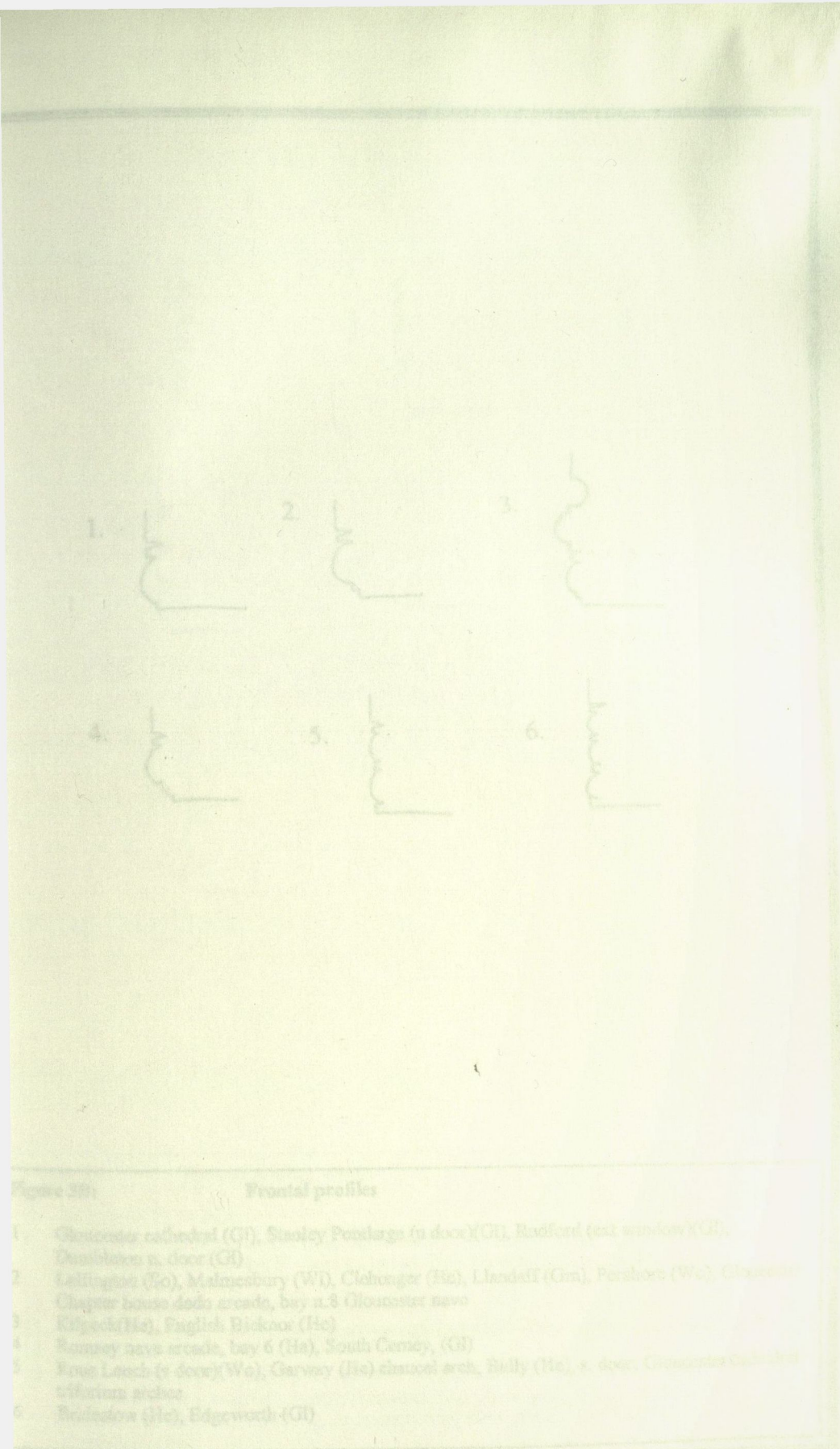
Pl. 3.44: Bristol, St. Augustine's gatehouse.

In some instances the 'gaping' effect is achieved independently on face and soffit. This is the case on Bristol gatehouse (So) (3B:36) **[pl. 3.44]**, and on one of the nave arcades at St. Andrew's, Steyning (Sx) (3B:37).[74]

A significant characteristic of frontal chevron is that to a greater extent even than lateral centrifugal chevron, the same moulding elements are adhered to. Thus examples of chevron mouldings incorporating strings of beading such as at Reading Abbey (Bk) (3B:38) are otherwise practically unknown, as are the inclusion of more advanced moulding forms such as bowtels and keels.[75]

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[73] For the chevron at Jedburgh see T. Garton, 'The Transitional Sculpture of Jedburgh Abbey' in (ed.) N. Stratford, Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki (Suffolk, 1987), 73-74.
[74] M. Thurlby and Y. Kusaba, 'The Nave of Saint Andrew at Steyning: A Study of Variety in Design in Twelfth Century Architecture in Britain', Gesta, 30/2, (1991), 163-175.
[75] For an illustration of the Reading fragments, currently at Windsor Castle, see C.E. Keyser, 'Some Norman Capitals from Sonning Berkshire and some Sculpted Stones at Shiplake and Windsor Castle,



Probably Brought from Reading Abbey', Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 28, (1916), 234-245, figs 16 and 17.

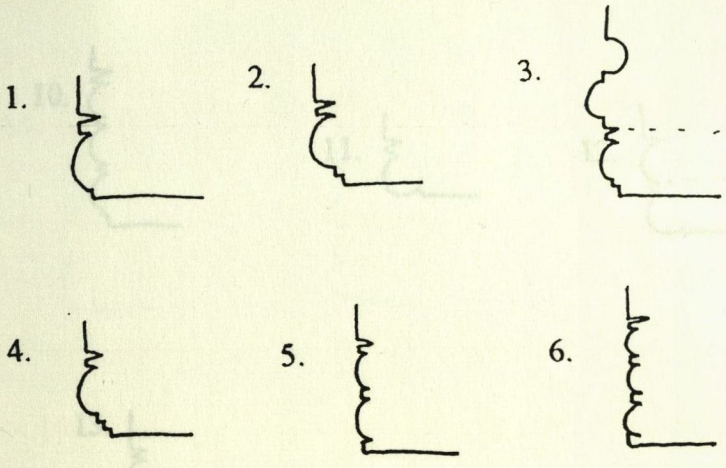


Figure 3B: **Frontal profiles**

1 Gloucester cathedral (Gl), Stanley Pontlarge (n door)(Gl), Rudford (ext window)(Gl), Dumbleton n. door (Gl)
2 Lullington (So), Malmesbury (Wi), Clehonger (He), Llandaff (Gm), Pershore (Wo), Gloucester Chapter house dado arcade, bay n.8 Gloucester nave
3 Kilpeck(He), English Bicknor (He)
4 Romsey nave arcade, bay 6 (Ha), South Cerney, (Gl)
5 Rous Lench (s door)(Wo), Garway (He) chancel arch, Bully (He), s. door, Gloucester cathedral triforium arches.
6 Bridestow (He), Edgeworth (Gl)

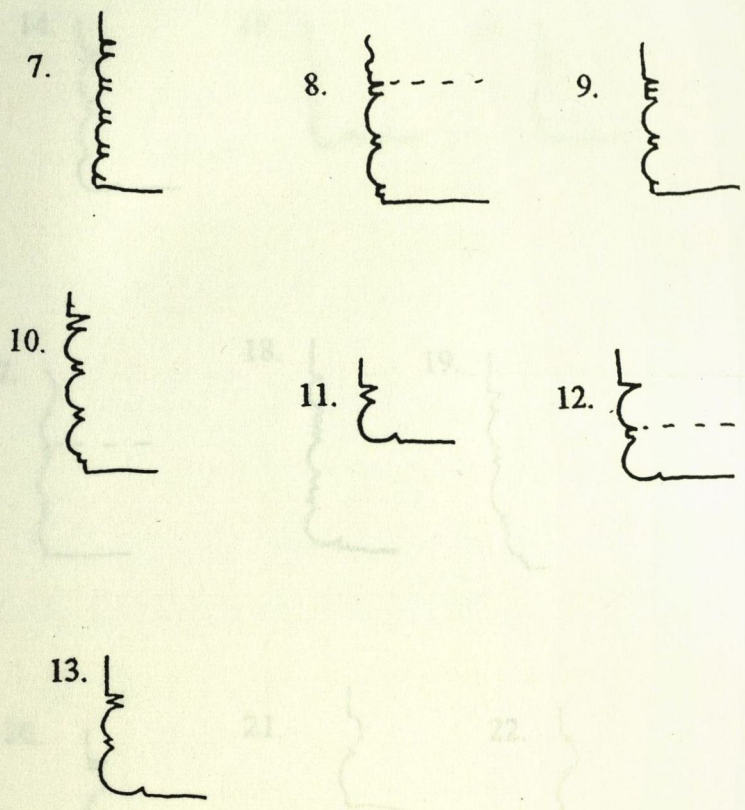


Figure 3B: Frontal profiles, contd.

7. Ebrinton (Gl), S. door.
8. Gloucester chapter house door(Gl), Upleadon(Gl), Buckland Fields(Gl), St Nicholas Gloucester (Gl), Siston (Gl) doorway, St. John's Devizes (Wi), Stanton St. Quentin (Wi) w. door.
9. Beckford (Wo), s door
10. Sherbourne Old Castle (So)ext n. chapel window
11. Rochester castle hall arcade (K), Peterborough Cathedral, Wittering (Np) nave arcade arch
12. South Stoke (So),
13. Middleton Stoney (O), Postlip (Gl) (s. door and chancel arch), window at Rudford (Gl) (west door, east window exterior), Stanley Pontlarge (Gl) Upper Sapey (He), s. door, n. door, Bishopstone (Wi), Dunford (Wi), inner order door, chancel arch, Rochford (Wo), Moccas (He), Peterchurch(He).

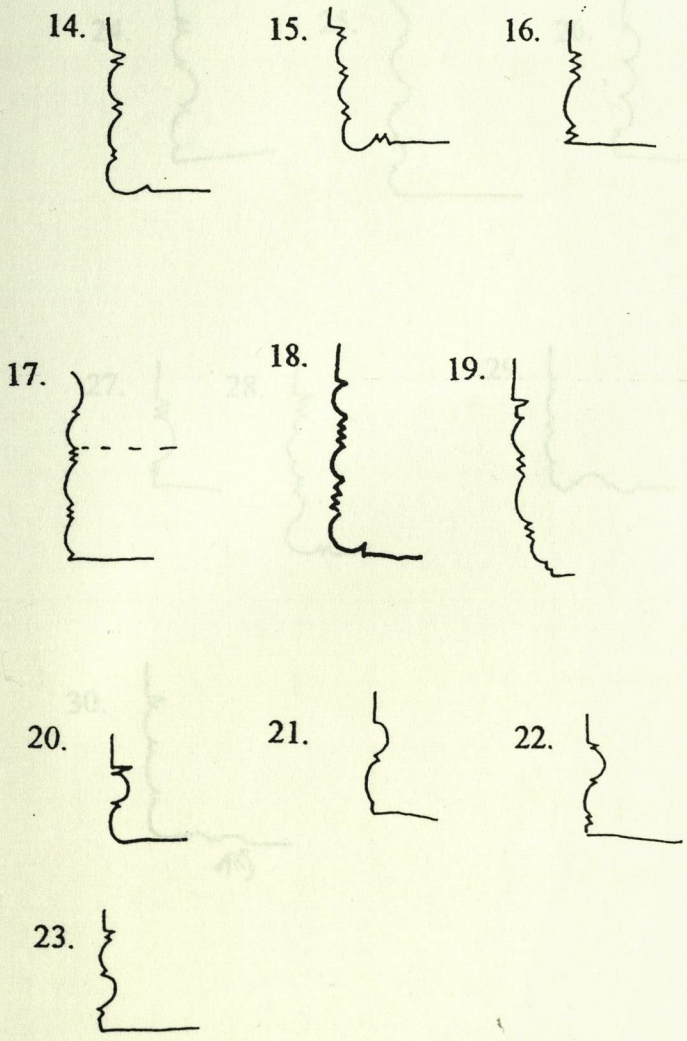
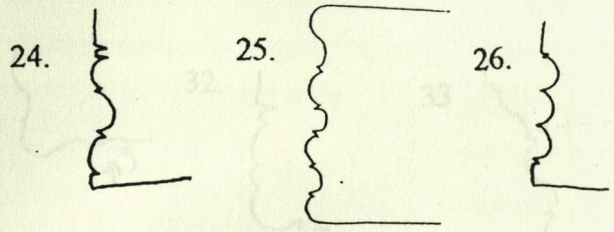
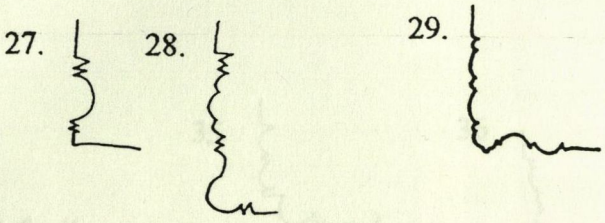


Figure 3B: Frontal profiles, contd.

14 Droxford (Ha), East Meon (Ha), Edgeworth (Gl), Gloucester, St Mary de Lode, chancel arch(Gl), Quennington (n.door), Moccas (He), Bridestow (He) chancel arch, and North Cerney (So).
15 Sherbourne Old Castle (So)
16 Okeford Fitzpaine (Do)
17 Siston (Gl)
18 Porchester, w door (Ha)
19 Old Sarum cathedral (fragment) (Wi)
20 Rochester cathedral blind arcade (K), Brockworth chancel arch (Gl).
21 Patrixbourne, Priest's door (K)
22 Stanley St Leonard (Gl)
23 Milbourne St Andrew (Do)





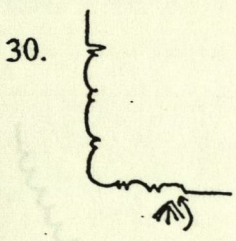


Figure 3B: Frontal profiles, contd.

24. Canterbury *vestiarium* arch, kitchen arch,(K) Norham (Nb), Castle Morton (Wo), Brieze Norton, (O) Brockworth chancel arch (Gl) Broadwell (O), Winchfield, Felixkirk (Y) Ewenny(Gn) Barfreston chancel arch (K), Walmer (K).
25. Pyton (O)
26. Dunford
27. Verhain's Dean(Do)
28. Sherbourne old castle, fragment (So)
29. Leominster w door (He)
30. Rock,s door (Wo)

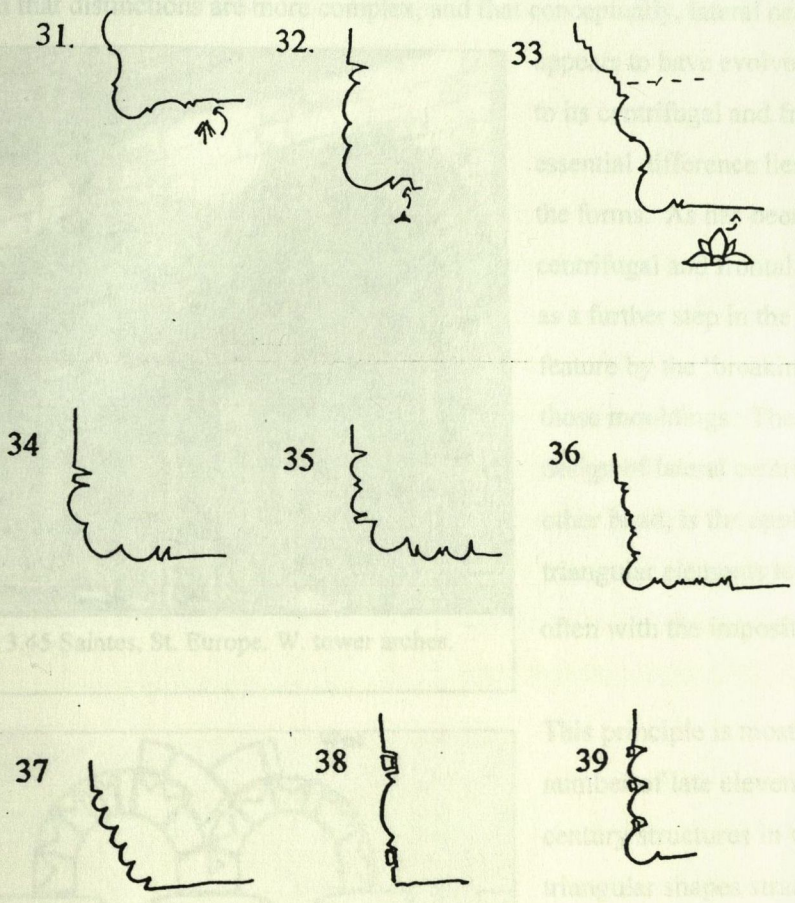


Figure 3B: Frontal profiles, contd.

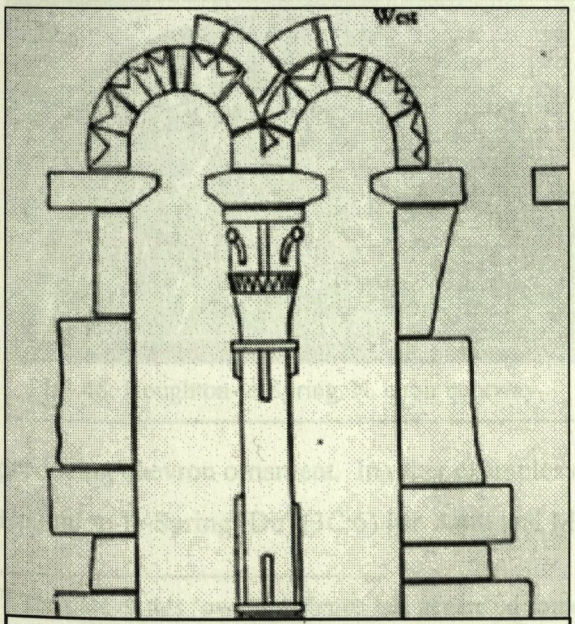
31 Shobdon chancel arch (He)
32 Bromyard s door (He)
33 Selby (Y) w door
34 East Levant (Sx)
35 Castle Ashby (Np), Dunstable (Ha)
36 Bristol Gatehouse (So)
37 Steyning (Sx)
38 Reading Abbey (Bk)
39 Limpenhoe (Nf)

C Lateral Centripetal Chevron

By definition, the only difference between lateral centripetal and centrifugal chevron lies in the direction in which the tips of the chevron point in relation to the block. But surviving examples reveal that distinctions are more complex, and that conceptually, lateral centripetal chevron appears to have evolved in a different manner to its centrifugal and frontal counterparts. The essential difference lies in the articulation of the forms. As has been demonstrated above, centrifugal and frontal chevron are conceived as a further step in the enlivening of a moulded feature by the 'breaking' and rearranging of those mouldings. The principle behind the design of lateral centripetal chevron, on the other hand, is the application of individual triangular elements to the surface of a voussoir, often with the imposition of a moulded feature.



Pl. 3.45 Saintes, St. Europe. W. tower arches.



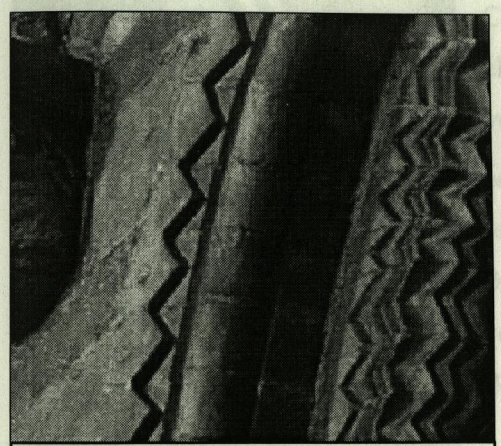
Pl. 3.46: St. Mary-le-Wigford. Bell tower opening w. side (after Taylor).

This principle is most clearly demonstrated in number of late eleventh century/ early twelfth century structures in western France. Simple triangular shapes straddle roll/ hollow moulding forms at Saint-Europe, Saintes (CM) (3C:1) **[pl. 3.45]**, on the crypt windows on both north and south sides of the choir and at Blanzac les Matha (CM).[76] At Pezou (Loire et Cher), the 3rd order of the eleventh century west portal is articulated with a row of raised centripetal triangular panels, surmounted by a roll.

Repetitive triangular ornamentation is not consistently formed from solid panels, but does

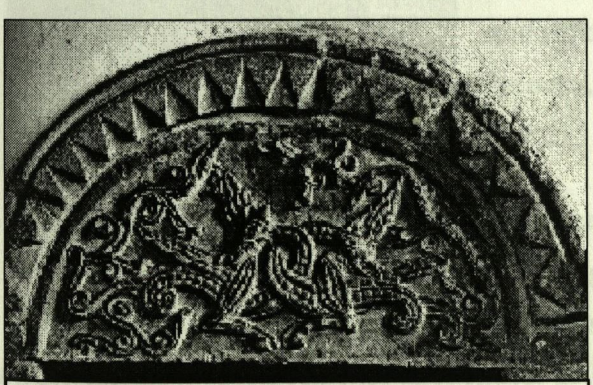
[76] St. Europe has a documented building phase between 1081 and 1096, R. Crozet, 'Saint Eutrope de Saintes', Congrés Archaeologiqué, 114, (La Rochelle, 1956), 97-105.

appear to be distinguished by its centripetal orientation. This is distinctive on the west front of Le Mans cathedral where the centripetal chevron design is formed by the application of two narrow rolls in triangular arrangement, which straddles a roll, hollow moulding (3C:2, 3C:3). This arrangement is common throughout Western France, applied sometimes solely to the face of the order as at Le Mans, and sometimes to the face and soffit.



Pl. 3.47: Durham Cathedral. Nave triforium label.

It is difficult to place the earliest appearances of centripetal chevron in England. Raised triangular panels, similar to those at Saintes, decorate the twin arched opening on the west face of the bell tower at St. Mary-le Wigford, Lincoln (Li) (3C:4) **[pl. 3.46]**,[77] although these are in low relief and not consistently carved one per voussoir.[78] The flat relief of the motif here, and its somewhat haphazard execution seem to relate it more closely to early Anglo-Saxon stringcourse and abacus decoration at Hexham (Du) and Dunham Magna (Nf).[79]



Pl. 3.48: Houghton-le-Spring. N. choir doorway.

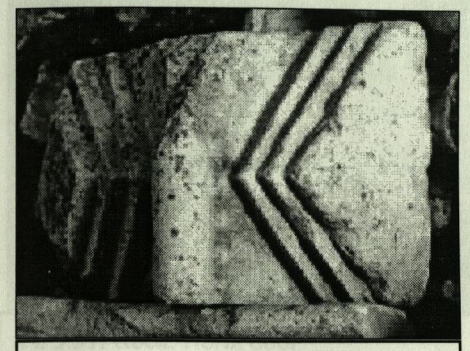
Early examples of centripetal triangular panels in a Romanesque context are most commonly associated with label mouldings. Obvious, dateable, examples are the labels of the triforium arches in the nave of Durham cathedral **[pl. 3.47]** (3C:5). Here, each triangle is carved on an individual voussoir, thus following the common technique for producing chevron ornament. In other examples of this form of label ornament, such as at Houghton-le-Spring (Du) (3C:6) **[pl. 3.48]** and Malmesbury (Wi) porch arcade (3C:7),[80] several

[77] The date of this 'overlap' church has generated some debate. It was deemed by the Taylors, Anglo Saxon Architecture, vol 1 (Cambridge, 1965), 391-3 and E. Fernie, 'The Romanesque Church at Waltham Abbey', JBAA, 138, (1985), 59, to date to the period of the Conquest, but more recent scholarship has put forward a date closer to the turn of the century, P. Everson and D. Stocker, Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture Sculpture, Volume V:Lincolnshire (Oxford, 1999), 312.

[78] It seems more probable that the zigzag ornament here reflects earlier Anglo Saxon and even Roman influence, rather than signifying the existence, or genesis, of a fashionable form of ornament.

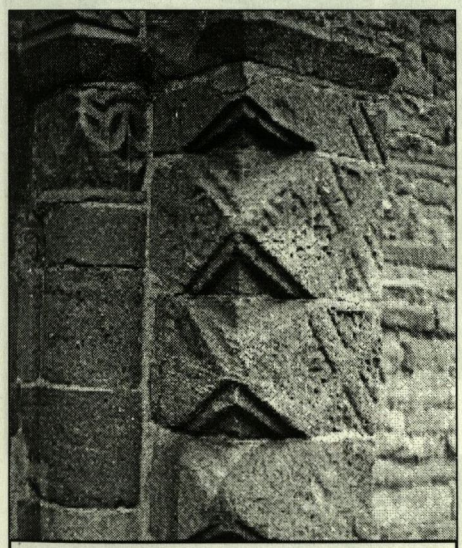
[79] For comment and drawing of the Hexham 'zig-zag', see W.G. Collingwood, 'Early Carved Stones at Hexham' Archaeologia Aeliana, 1, Ser. 4, (1925), 69-70.

triangles are carved on each voussoir. However, this is surely a result of the scale of the architecture being adorned than a difference in the manner in which the ornament was interpreted.



Pl. 3.49; Old Sarum. Fragment of chevron in store.

The development of frontal and centrifugal forms is manifest through the elaboration of mouldings across the lateral plane of the face (and soffit) of a voussoir. Centripetal chevron, on the other hand, tends to be elaborated by cutting down into the surface of the voussoir, rather than across it. At its simplest, this can be demonstrated by comparison between a fragment recovered from the site of Old Sarum cathedral (Wi) **[pl. 3.49]** (3C:8) and a double stepped form, (without an arris roll) on the south portal at Bromyard (He) (3C:11) **[pl. 3.50]**.[81]



Pl. 3.50: Bromyard. N. door jamb

The Bromyard example illustrates the other principle development found on centripetal chevron; the application of low relief, supplementary decoration to the outer, raised spandrels of the chevron.

Centripetal forms carved from narrow strands arranged in a triangular formation seem to emerge in 1130s and 40s in England. At Shobdon (He)[82] **[pl. 3.52]** and Rock (Wo)[83] **[pl. 3.51]** panels comprise three strands gathered together in an arrow shaped formation on a raised, triangular base (3C:12). At both locations these are on face and soffit and are arranged

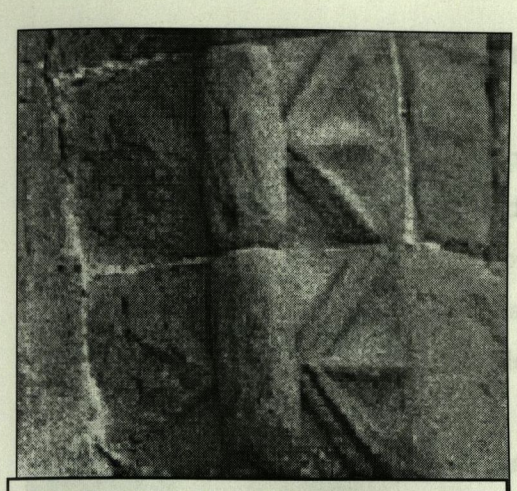
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[80] On the basis of style, and a letter from Alexander II of c.1177 instructing the Bishops of Worcester to dedicate the church at Malmesbury if the Bishop of Sarum caused problems, Galbraith has dated the south porch of the church to c.1170. K.J. Galbraith, 'The Iconography of the Biblical Scenes at Malmesbury Abbey', JBAA, 28, (1965), 39-56.

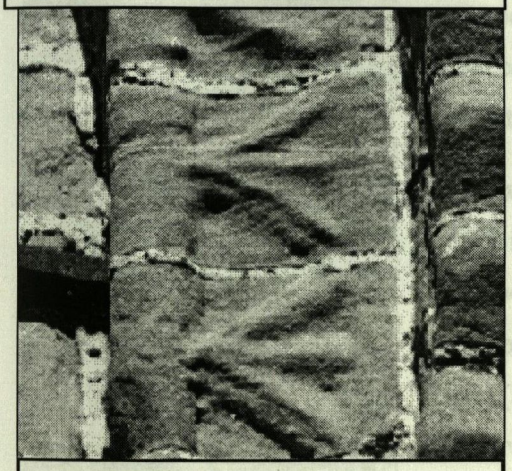
[81] This church has traditionally been grouped with the 'Dymock School' of churches and dated to c. 1125-1145. E. Gethyn-Jones, The Dymock School of Romanesque Sculpture (Chicester, 1979), 71.

[82] Zarnecki, based on contemporary documentary evidence, has suggested a construction date for Shobdon between 1125 and 1131/2, with an absolute *terminus ante quo* of 1148 G. Zarnecki, 'The Priory Church of Shobdon and its Founder' in (eds.) D. Buckton and T.A. Heslop, Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Lasko (London, 1994), 216.

[83] Traditionally Rock has been dated to c. 1160-70, see for example N. Stratford's opinion in N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Worcestershire (London, 1968), 252-3. However, such are the number and



Pl. 3.51: Rock. North door



Pl. 3.52: Shobdon. Chancel arch.



Pl. 3.53: Much Wenlock. Chapter House doorway.

point to point on an arris roll. An almost identical form also occurs on the tower arch at Old Shoreham (Sx) (3C:13), but occupies the face only. Other variations of this type of 'arrow-head' centripetal chevron include the inner order of the central chapter house door at Much Wenlock (Sa) (3C:14) **[pl. 3.53]**. In a similar manner to Rock and Shobdon, a raised triangular panel supports three strands in an arrow like formation, although here the central strand is composed from a row of beads.

A further example, at Northfields (Wo) (3C:15) draws attention to an important parallel of early centripetal forms. Here the outer order is designed in a similar manner to Rock and Shobdon, but differs through the addition of two small pellets to an 'arrow-head' type design. This produces a zoomorphic effect, which has led the motif to be described, almost exclusively, as beakhead.[84] The conceptual similarity between the two decorative forms is further demonstrated at Iffley (O) (3C:16) **[pl. 3.54]** and Barton Bendish (Nf) (3C:17), where again, the application of two pellets to a triangular form has led to their identification as beakhead rather than an elaboration of a more straight forward chevron design. This highlights the conceptual similarities between centripetal chevron and beakhead, all but ignored by Zarnecki and Henry

character of similarities between Shobdon and Rock, it is difficult to accept that there was more than ten years between them.

[84] VCH Worcesterhire, Vol. 3, (1913), 199; J. Humphries, 'Norman Work in the Churches of Worcestershire', Birmingham and Midland Institute: Birmingham Archaeological Society Transactions, excursions and Report, 37, (1911), 82.

in their exploration of the origins of the latter motif. [85]

The least ambiguous and most common type of centripetal chevron sees the framing of the raised triangular panel with a moulding. Moulded panels can be applied to face or soffit only, to both, or stepped across face and soffit. The order that it occupies could have an edge roll, or could have none, but a number of principles remain constant.



Pl. 3.54: Iffley. W. doorway.

In England the triangular panel that forms the centripetal chevron is nearly always at a higher plain than the corresponding triangular spaces that it creates along the arris. In the case of orders that have an edge roll (e.g. **[pl. 3.57]**), this creates the effect of the panel straddling a roll, hollow moulding. In the case of orders with no arris roll (e.g. **[pl. 3.55]**), it produces a two-plane effect, with the arris and corresponding arris triangles at a lower plane. In Normandy this is often, but not always the case. Thus at Brignancourt (SeO) (3C:18) two rolls are applied to the face of the south portal, with both inner and outer spandrels at the same level.



Pl. 3.55: Askham Bryan. S. doorway.

Centripetal spandrels frequently provide a field for supplementary decoration. Such decoration is never found in this location on lateral centrifugal chevron, no doubt because the field was divided by a masonry break. However, centripetal supplementary decoration also differs in that it is nearly always in low relief, emphasising the higher plane of the outer triangle. Centrifugal decoration, on the other hand is characterised by a three dimensional element such as a boss, which in turn emphasises the lower plane of the arris spandrel.



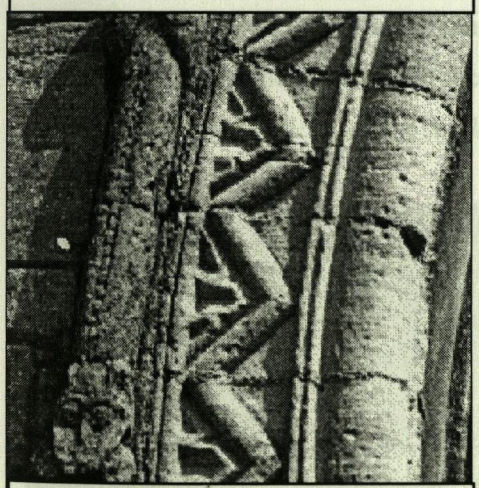
Pl. 3.56: Canterbury water tower.

[85] F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', JBAA, 20-21, (1957-8), 1-48. The relationship between lateral centripetal chevron and beakhead ornament is explored more fully in chapter four.

The most common form of decorative motif in England is foliage, the trefoil in particular lending itself to the triangular form of the spandrel. For example, the water tower at Canterbury (K) **[pl. 3.56]** and the chancel arch at Castle Rising parish church (Nf) both have a simple leaf form comprising three ovoid petals (3C:19), and other variations on the simple 'half flower' are common (3C:20).[86] Chevron from the St. Mary's York (Y) 'school' of sculpture **[pl. 3.57]** illustrates the further elaboration of this form of decoration, which remains firmly within the framework of the chevron design, both in terms of the triangular limits of the design, and the flat relief in which it is carved (3C:21, 3C:22).[87] In Normandy, foliate decoration of the same type is also popular, with parallels to English examples at Ouville-la–Bien-Tourneè (Cal) (3C:22),[88] and the west door at St. Lô (M) (3C:24) **[pl. 3.58]**.



Pl. 3.57: Askham Richard. S. doorway.



3.58: St. Lô. W. doorway.

An equally common feature of Norman spandrel decoration is the disembodied zoomorphic head. This motive, especially popular in Calvados, consists of a small animal head with large ovoid ears and bulbous eyes. It is found on a voussoir from the cathedral at La Trinité, Caen (Cal), and on the south portal at Authie (Cal) (3C:23).

Norman centripetal chevron without raised outer spandrels is occasionally ornamented with more three-

[86] The Canterbury water tower is dated by Kahn to c. 1155 on the basis that the waterworks must date to after c.1152, when Wibert became prior, and commenced the repossession of monastic lands presumably for building. They must have been complete before 1174, as they are shown in a plan, which depicts the choir of the church before the great fire. For a full discussion of dating see D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 95-107.

[87] Examples of this so-called school, thought to have emanated out from St Mary' s Abbey York include chevron at Kirk Ella (Y), Askham Bryan (Y), Askham Richard (Y),Wigford (Y), Nun Monkton (Y), Selby (Y) and Jedburgh (Rx). For comment on the 'school' see T. Garton, 'The Transitional Sculpture of Jedburgh Abbey' in (ed.) N. Stratford, Romanesque and Gothic; Essays for George Zarnecki (Suffolk, 1987), 73.

[88] Claussen dates this portal to the first half of the thirteenth century on stylistic grounds, M. Claussen: 'Romanishe Tympanan und Türstürze in der Normandie', Mainzer Zeitschrift: Mittelrheinisches Jahrbuch für Archäologie, Kunst und Geschicate, Jahrgang (1980), 60.

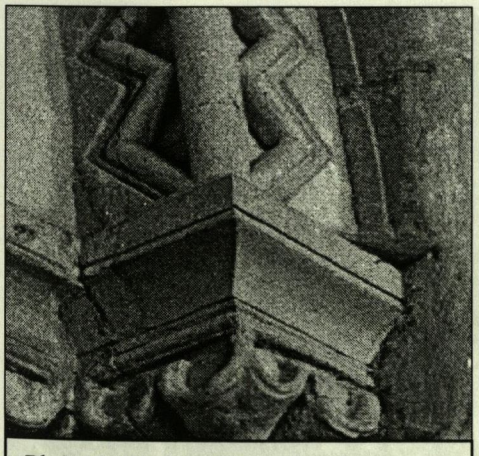


Pl. 3.59: Formigny. S. chancel doorwav.

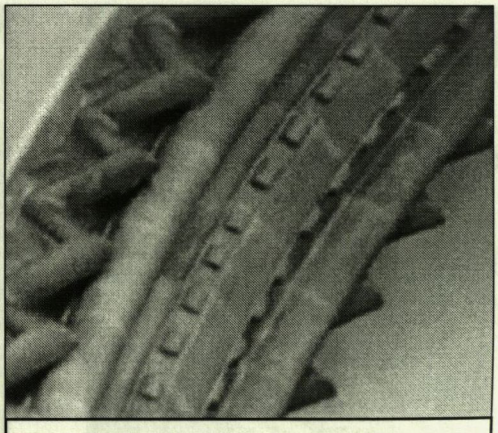
dimensional forms. At St Contest (Cal) (3C:25) a mixture of foliage, the Calvadosian animal head motif are also carved in high relief but in both extrados and arris spandrels. These are interspersed with plain, low relief spandrels.[89]

Moulding sequences used to form centripetal chevron are characteristically simple. The most commonplace comprises a roll, either on its own (3C:20, 3C:29), flanked on the outer edge by an angled fillet (3C:26) **[pl. 3.60]** or the lower edge by a flat fillet (3C:21, 3C:22, 3C:27), or both (3C:28) **[pl. 3.59]**.

The presence or absence of an arris roll and the distribution of chevron across face and soffit appears to have little significance in terms of geographic or chronological concerns. For example, a simple centripetal design on the chancel arch at Bredon (Wo) (3C:28) **[pl. 3.60]** dated to c.1170-1190 has chevron on both face and soffit, arranged point to point, with points touching a three-quarter arris roll.[90] A very similar profile, but occupying one face only, and with the



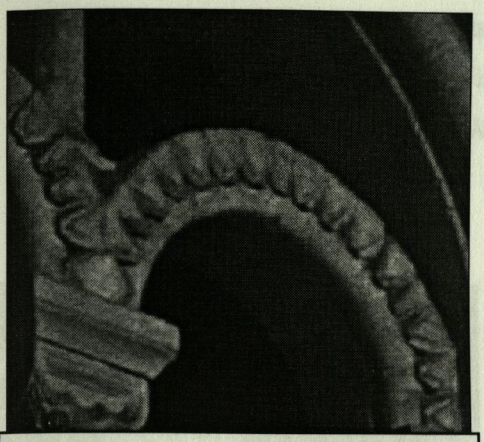
Pl. 3.60: Bredon. Chancel arch.



Pl. 3.61: Corona chapel Canterbury. Vaults.

[89] It should be noted that technically the chevron of this order is lateral, as each voussoir is worked with one and a half chevrons, thus allowing for the application of ornament in both sets of spandrels. This technical difference is accounted for by the structure of the inner order that has a segmental arch.

[90] There is no documented date for the church at Bredon, although Willis linked it, on the basis of style, to the two western most bays of the nave at Worcester, R Willis, 'The Architectural History of Cathedral and Monastery of Worcester', Archaeological Journal, 20, (1863), 95. Brakespear supported the notion of stylistic links, attributing it to the fact that Bredon was amongst the possessions of the Bishop of Worcester during the latter part of the twelfth century, H. Brakespear, 'A West Country School of Masons', Archaeologia, 81, (1931), 13. More recently, Wilson has further affirmed the relationship between the two



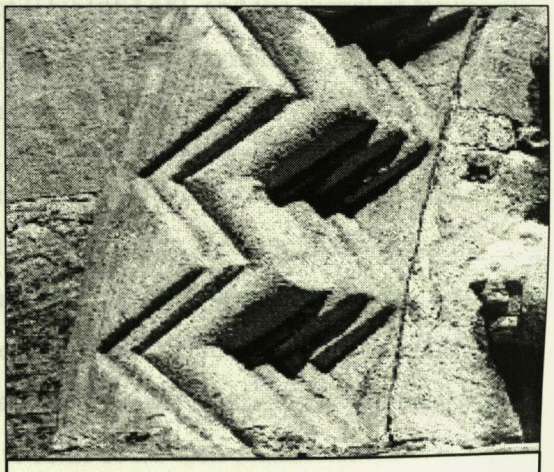
Pl. 3.62; Romsey. Transept triforium arch.

points of the chevron intruding onto the arris roll, is used in the choir aisles and Corona chapel at Canterbury (K) (3C:27) **[pl. 3.61]**. This work is attributed by contemporary documents to William the Englishman between 1179-1184, and is therefore more or less contemporary with the variant at Bredon.[91] At Romsey, an almost identical chevron form of possibly as much as fifty years earlier is used on the triforium arch of the south transept **[pl. 3.62]**.[92] Although Brakespear highlighted this form of chevron (particularly on vaults) as a characteristic of the West Country School, it is not regionally restricted and other examples as far afield as Kirkwall cathedral (Ork) (3C:27)and Coldingham Priory (SB).[93]

It is natural, given the popularity of this type of chevron during the transitional period, that some moulding elements from the early gothic vocabulary should have been introduced to chevron moulding sequences. The earliest dated appearance of the keel moulding, on the inner face of the



Pl. 3.63; Worksop Priory. W. slype doorway.



Pl. 3.64: Healaugh. S. doorway.

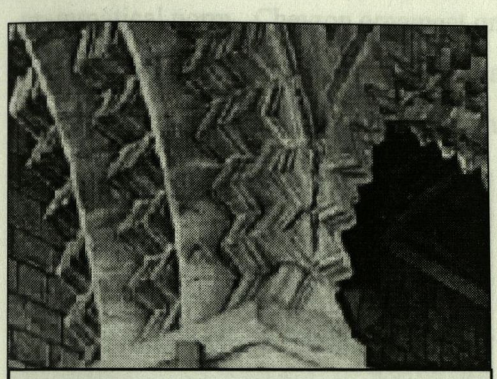
buildings, C. Wilson, 'The Sources of the Late Twelfth Century Work at Worcester Cathedral', BAACT, I (1978), 89 n.40. Thus, on this basis Bredon can be dated to c.1170-1190.

[91] Gervase *Tractus de Combustione et Rreparatione Cantuariensis Ecclesiae,* (ed) W Stubbs, Rolls Series, 73, (London, 1879), 22-23.

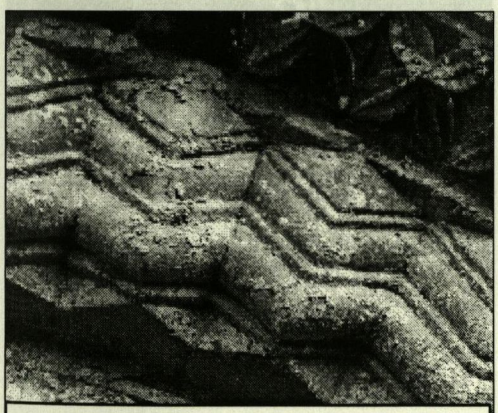
[92] M.F. Hearne, 'A Note on the Chronology of Romsey Abbey', JBBA, 32, (1969), 30-37.

[93] Both dated to c. 1200, S. Cruden, Scottish Medieval Churches (Edinburgh, 1986), 136-7.

door and diagonal ribs of the chapter house at Durham (3A:71), heralds the earliest appearance of innovative moulding forms in examples in the chevron of the north.[94] On another northern example, the western slype doorway at Worksop Priory (Nt) (3C:31) **[pl. 3.63]**, richly beaded chevron meets on a bowtel arris roll.[95]



Pl. 3.65: Durham cathedral. Galilee chapel.



Pl. 3.66: Vouilly. S. choir doorway.

The characteristic deep relief carving of centripetal chevron was further enlivened in both England and Normandy by the multiplication of mouldings on the frontal face (i.e. giving the impression of an order of moulded frontal chevron on the soffit).[96] This is the case at Healaugh (Y) (3C:32) **[pl.3.64]** where the chevron is layered for the entire visible depth of the voussoir. At Holt (Wo) the north and inner order of south door have point to point chevron, with no edge roll, the chevron rolls layered (3C:33), a similar arrangement is found at Tredington (Gl) and Edstaston (Sa). On the arcade arches of the 'Galilee' Chapel at Durham (Du) **[pl.3.65]**, and the chapel of Newcastle Keep (Nb) (3C:35),the complexity of moulding form is also reserved for the soffit.

The general character of most centripetal forms in Britain and Normandy gives emphasis to the flat triangular panel of the spandrel. However, a number of examples that can be interpreted as 'reversed' centrifugal, with greater emphasis on the moulding, occur in the West Country, and in Calvados. These are all arranged with mouldings stepped across face and soffit, in a similar fashion to some of the later manifestations of centrifugal chevron such as at Bishop's Cleeve (Gl) (3A.80) **[pl. 3.29]**. Examples include

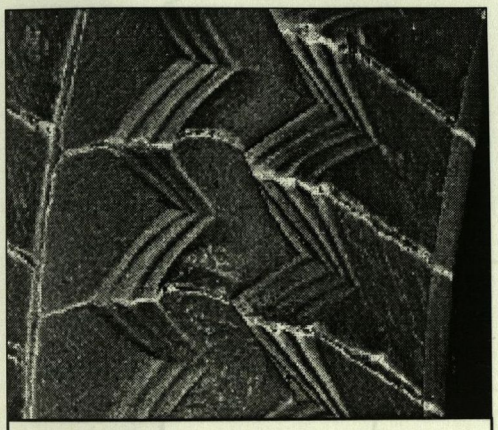
[94] According to Symeon the chapter house was commenced and completed during the time of Bishop Geoffrey Rufus, that is between 1133 and 1141. *Symeon*, I, 142.

[95] The nave at Worksop has generally been dated, in the context of early northern gothic, to c.1160-1190. For a full discussion of dating issues see M. Thurlby, 'Worksop Priory Church: The Romanesque and Early Gothic Fabric', BAACT, 21, (1998), 101-109.

[96] In some cases there is absolutely no difference between this type of 'layered' centripetal chevron, and frontal chevron, save the way in which they are orientated. As, for the purposes of simplicity, this study is focused on the aesthetic as opposed to the technical interpretation of chevron forms, they are considered as separate types.

Avebury (W), Bishopstone (W) (3C:36)and Chirton (W) (3C:37) in England, and Colleville-sur-Mer (Cal) and Vouilly (Cal) (3C:38) **[pl. 3.66]** in Normandy.

Although such apparent anomalies can be found in the more experimental years towards the end of the twelfth century, it is much more unusual to find earlier examples that deviate from the grammatical norm. Chevron ornament on both the doorway and chancel arch at Adel (Y) (3C:39) **[pl. 3.67]** provides a rare example of the apparent translation of centrifugal principles into centripetal forms in a mid-century church. The chancel arch adheres to the typically northern formula, exemplified by the Durham nave chevron, of a slightly stepped, less formalised moulding profile folding itself around the arris onto the soffit to create a curved edge. The major difference at Adel however, is that unlike all of the other examples of this type identified in this study, the triple stepped angle fillets on the face is arranged centripetally. Further examples of the 'breaking' of more complex mouldings to form lateral centripetal chevron are found at Old Sarum (Wi) (3C:40), and Bampton (O)(3C:41).



Pl. 3.67: Adel. Chancel arch.

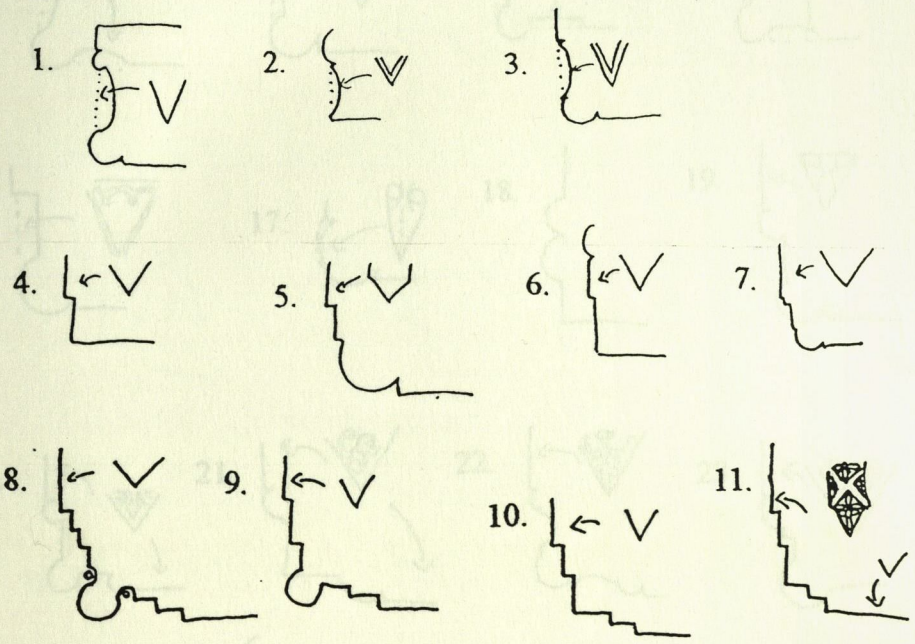


Figure 3C: Lateral centripetal profiles

1 Saintes, St Europe (CM), Blanzac les Matha (CM)
2 Le Mans, central door w front
outer order (Srt)
3 Le Mans central door w front, 2nd order(Srt)
4 St Mary le Wigford (Li)
5 Durham cathedral nave trif. label (Du)
6 Houghton le Spring (Du)
7 Malmesbury, s.porch arcade (outer order) (Wi)
8 Old Sarum cathedral (fragment) (Wi) , Cartmel Priory (Cu) arcade arch
9 Dalton le Dale (Du), Malmesbury s porch arcade (inner order) (Wi)
10 Bully (He)
11 Bromyard (He)

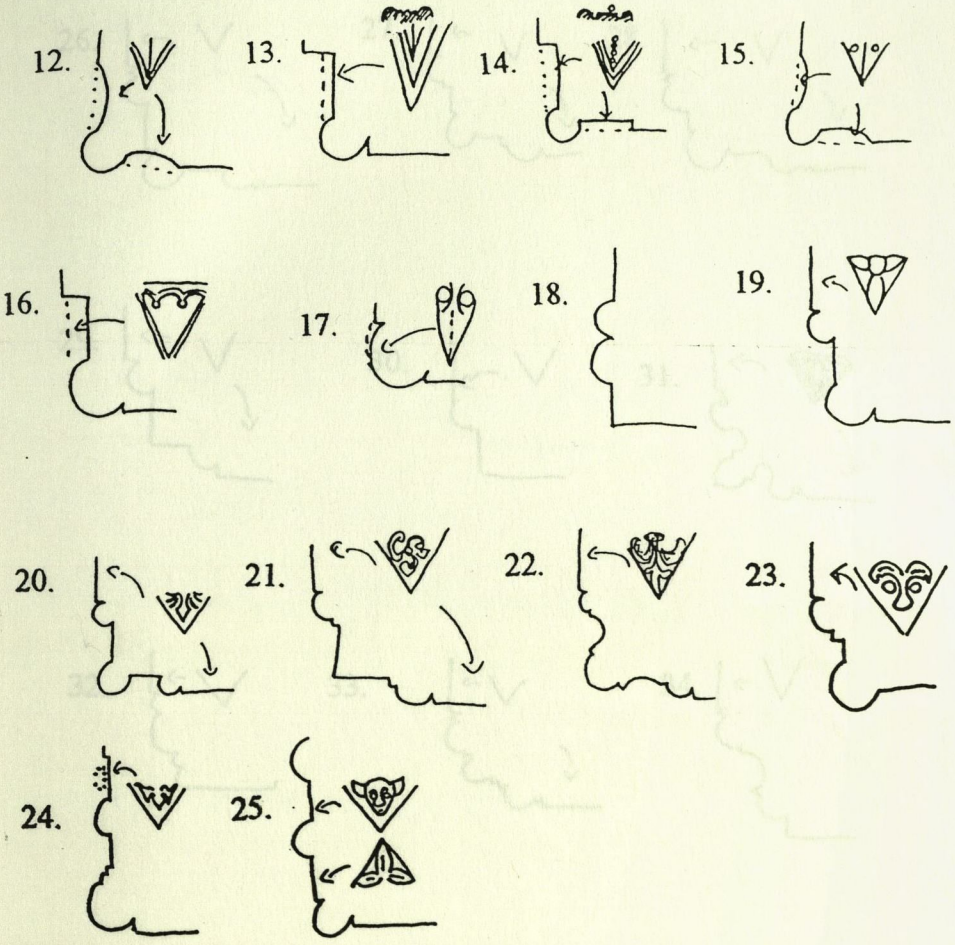


Figure 3C: Lateral centripetal profiles, contd.

12 Rock (Wo) chancel arch and n. door, Shobdon (He), chancel arch.
13 Old Shoreham (Sx).
14 Much Wenlock (Sa), chapter house.
15 Northfields (Wo), n. door.
16 Iffley (O), w. door.
17 Barton Bendish (Nf), w. door.
18 Brignancourt (S-e-O).
19 Canterbury (K) water tower, Castle Rising chancel arch (Nf).
20 South Ockdon (Ess).
21 Askham Bryan (Y).
22 Askaham Richard(Y), Ouville-la–Bien Tourneè.
23 La Trinitè Caen (frag). (Cal), Authie (Cal).
24 St Lô (Cot) w. door.
25 St. Contest (Cal), Luc (Cal).

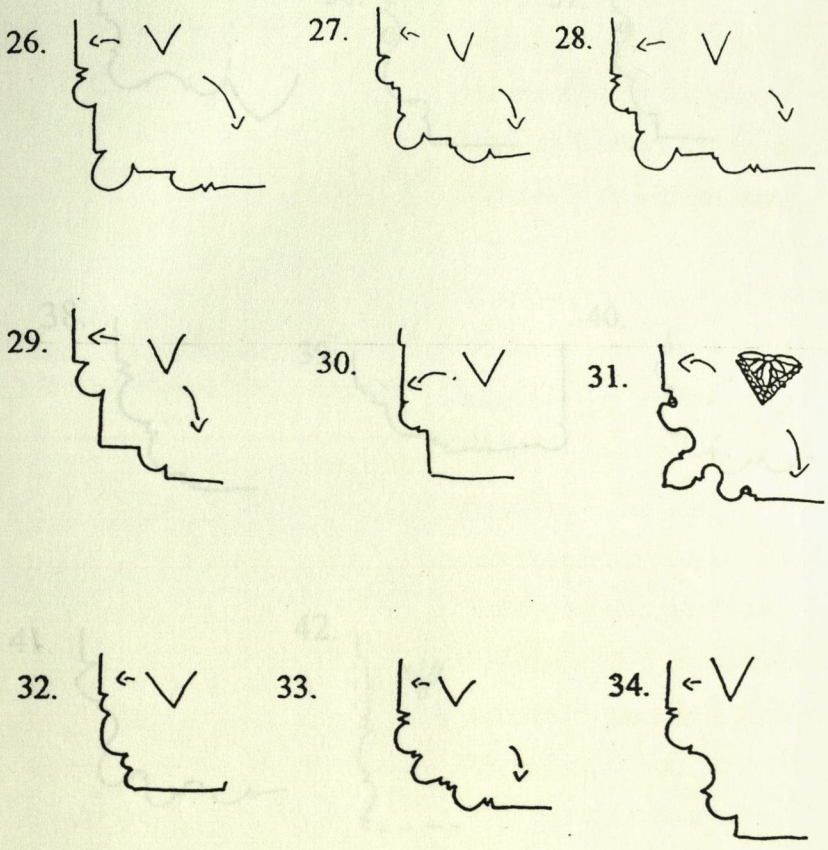


Figure 3C: Lateral centripetal profiles, contd.

26 Askam Bryan (Y), Sinningthwaite (Y).
27 Corona Chapel Canterbury (K), Romsey (Ha), Kirkwall (Ork), Coldingham Priory (SB).
28 Semperingham (Do), Pimperne w wall, s aisle door (Do), Holt (Wo) s. door, Bredon (Wo), Formigny (Cal).
29 Pimperne (Do) chancel arch.
30 Coln St Aldwyn (Gl) s. door.
31 Worksop (Np).
32 Healaugh (Y) s. door.
33 Holt (Wo) window, Tredington (Gl), Edstaston (Sa).
34 Water Stratford (Bk).

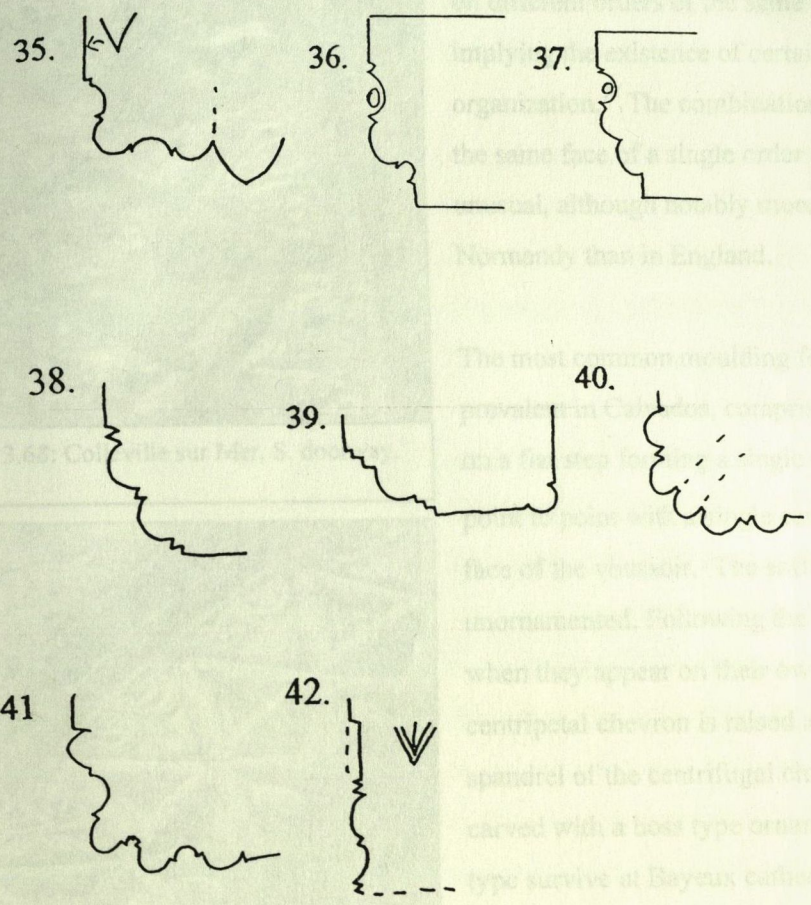


Figure 3C: Lateral centripetal profiles, contd.

35 Durham, Galilee Chapel, Newcastle keep chapel (Du).
36 Averbury (Wi), Bishopstone (Wi).
37 Chirton (Wi).
38 Vouilly (Cal), Colleville sur Mer (Cal).
39 Adel (Y).
40 Old Sarum Cathedral (frag)(Wi).
41 Bampton (O).
42 Shobdon (He).

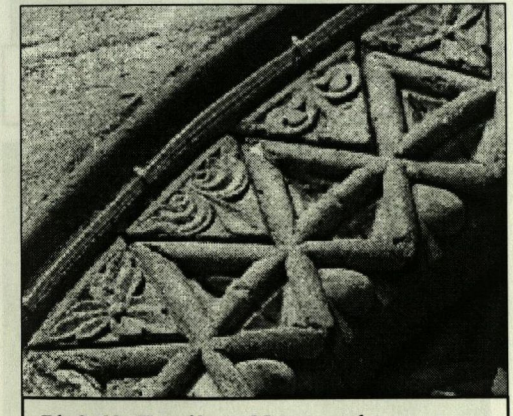
D Saltire

With few exceptions, lateral centripetal and lateral centrifugal chevron were rarely used together on different orders of the same decorative scheme, implying the existence of certain rules of organization.[97] The combination of the two types on the same face of a single order to form a saltire is less unusual, although notably more prevalent in Normandy than in England.



Pl. 3.68: Colleville sur Mer. S. doorway.

The most common moulding form, particularly prevalent in Calvados, comprises a single roll raised on a flat step forming a single centripetal chevron, point to point with a single centrifugal chevron on the face of the voussoir. The soffit is generally left unornamented. Following the same convention as when they appear on their own, the spandrel of the centripetal chevron is raised and decorated, and the spandrel of the centrifugal chevron is recessed and carved with a boss type ornament. Examples of this type survive at Bayeux cathedral nave arcade (Cal),[98] Colleville-sur Mer (Cal) (3D:1)**[pl. 3.68]** and a large number of other churches in Calvados.



Pl. 3.69: Trevières. N. tower doorway.

A variation of this form sees the insertion of a straight roll separating the two chevrons on the face. This is found at Trevières (Cal) **[pl. 3.69]**, Thaon (Cal) on the north portal, and at Andrieu (Cal) on the north transept west portal (3D:2).



Pl. 3.70: Andrieu. N. transept doorway.

As with centrifugal forms carved individually on

[97] A small group of churches in Yorkshire including Stillingfleet, and Adel are an exception to this rule.
[98] The nave arcade at Bayeux was almost certainly built between the 1105 fire and 1163, the end of Phillipe d'Harcourt's abbacy. M. Baylé has suggested that the work may date to before 1142, see M. Baylé, La Trinité de Caen: sa Place dans l'Archtecture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1979), 39.

voussoirs, the edge treatment of some saltire forms is also occasionally cogwheel. In common with the saltire form described above, the outer row of centripetal chevron has raised spandrels, but these are less uniformly ornamented. Examples of this include the side arcade at St. Georges de Boscherville, Andrieu (Cal) **[pl. 3.70]**, and St. Loup (Cal) (3D:3).



Pl. 3.71. Castle Acre Priory. Nave arcade.



Pl. 3.72: Stavanger. N. nave doorway.

Given its prevalence in Normandy, it is significant that saltire ornament is relatively unusual in England. A single roll of saltire is found on the inner order of the nave arcade at Castle Acre Priory (Nf) (3D: 4) **[pl. 3.71]**.[99] In contrast to the Norman examples both sets of spandrels are at a lower plane, and are devoid of supplementary ornament. Hohler has signalled the rarity of this moulding form in English chevron, and its use on the north nave door at Stavanger in Norway **[pl. 3.72]**, would seem to confirm the link between those two buildings.[100] While the associated centrifugal chevron at Castle Acre can be paralleled nearby at Norwich cathedral (3A:3) and the north west transept of Ely, the closest parallel for the saltire form in Britain would appear to be at Chedgrave (Nf) (3D:5), and Bishopstone (Sx) (3D:6), neither of which present an identical match.

Other more elaborately moulded forms of saltire are found on the choir arcade arches at Hereford Cathedral (He) (3D:7), where the arris spandrels are unusually carved on the same plain as the outer spandrels. Contrary to the view of many authors who regard Hereford cathedral as the source of Romanesque sculpture in the area, the motif is not a common one within the diocese.[101]

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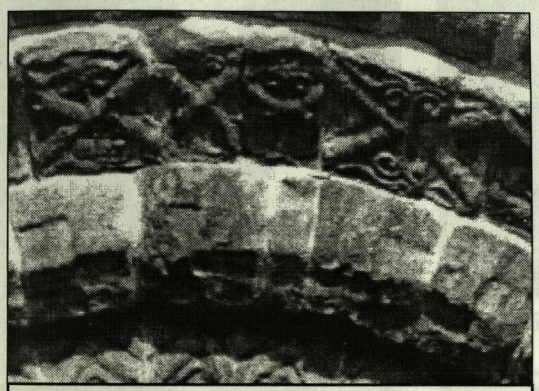
[99] Castle Acre Priory was founded in 1089; a consecration took place between 1146 and 1148. The west front is generally dated to c.1150.

[100] C. Hohler, 'The Cathedral Church of St. Swithin Stavanger', JBAA, 27, (1964), 109-110.

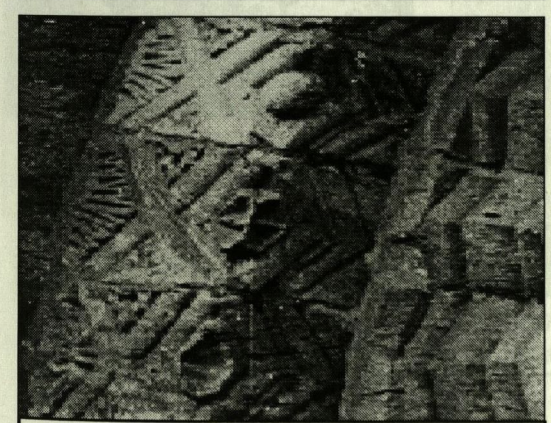
[101] See for example the views of M. Thurlby, 'Herefordshire Cathedral; the Romanesque Fabric', BAACT, 15, (1995) 22-23 and E. Gethyn-Jones, The Dymock School of Sculpture (London and Chichester, 1979), 82. Bridstowe (He) (3D:8)is the nearest comparison, although it is carved in much shallower relief and has a different profile.

Spandrel ornament on voussoirs decorated with a single saltire is also relatively rare. One example of it can be found at Kirkby Lonsdale (Cu) (3D:9) **[pl. 3.73]**. Here a saltire carved on a broad chamfered arris has elaborate trefoil motifs.

Slightly more common in an English context is a form of saltire that extends from the face onto the soffit to form a trellis or reticulated effect. At Hartshead (Y) (3D:10) the chancel arch has saltire composed of a complex five rolls profile on the face and soffit. These are all in low relief and the form of the squared order on which they are carved is clearly defined.



Pl. 3.73: Kirkby Lonsdale. W. doorway.



Pl: 3.74. Bromyard. S. doorway

At Bromyard (He) (3D:11) **[pl. 3.74]** the second order of the south portal combines a low relief saltire on the face with a lozenge motif which extends onto the soffit. Here the arris spandrel is slightly hollowed, but nonetheless its form is clearly defined. Similar hollowing of the arris spandrels is also found at Duddington (Np) (3D:12), where the north west arcade arch has a single saltire on the face and soffit; and at Wittering (Np) (3D:13), where the saltire motif on the face of one of the north aisle arcades is more elaborate, the centrifugal part of it formed by a double roll.

The hollowing out of the arris spandrels becomes commonplace in the latter part of the twelfth century. A motif common to the so-called York school, exemplified in fragments from the chapter house of St. Mary's York (Y), Kirk Ella (Y), Thorpe Salvin(Y) Askham Bryan (Y) **[pl. 3.75]** (3D:14) and Darlington (Du) (3D:17).(n wall window) have elaborately carved outer spandrels, with all other spandrels hollowed out to give the impression of quasi-free standing criss-cross rolls along the edge of the order. [102]

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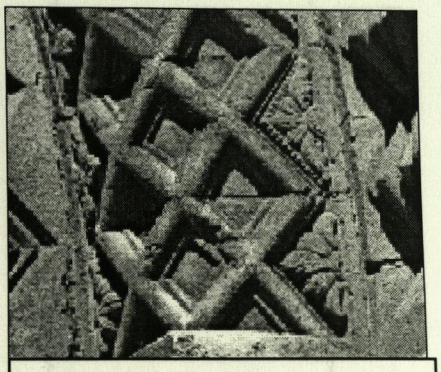
[102] The most precisely dated of these is Darlington, probably started shortly before 1192 when Galfrid of Coldingham reports that Bishop Le Puiset, in spite of the difficulties with which he was faced, did not

A similar effect is achieved n the West Country on the south door of Llandaff cathedral (3D:16) and gatehouse at Bristol (So) (3D:17) **[pl. 3.76]**,[103] and on the north west door at Lincoln cathedral(Li).[104]

At the parish church at Castle Rising (Nf) (D:15) **[pl. 3.77]** all spandrels are hollowed, completing the reticulated effect.



Pl. 3.75: Askham Bryan. S. doorway.



Pl. 3.76: Bristol gatehouse.



Pl. 3.77: Castle Rising church. W. facade.

desist from building the church at Dernington (sic), J. Cunningham; 'Hugh of Le Puiset and the Church of St. Cuthbert, Darlington', BAACT, 3, (1980), 164.

[103] Thurlby has suggested that this motif provides proof of a direct link between Bristol and Llandaff, instrumented by Bishop Saltmarsh who was prior of St. Augustine's Bristol before becoming Bishop of Llandaff in 1186, ibid., 225.

[104] Traditionally the west doorways have been associated with the works of Bishop Alexander commenced after the 1141 fire. Stylistically the jambs have been related to work at St. Denis, and to Bishop Roger's work at Old Sarum. However, recent commentators have suggested a date of c. 1160. G. Zarnecki, Romanesque Sculpture at Lincoln Cathedral (Lincoln Minster Pamphlets., 1970). The dating of Lincoln is examined in greater depth in chapter four.

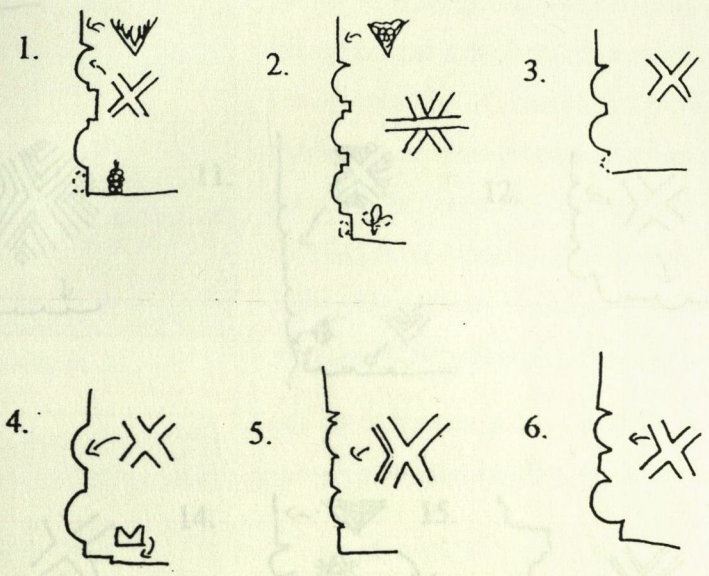


Figure 3D **Saltire profiles**

1 Bayeaux cathedral, nave arcade (Cal), Luc (Cal) inner order west portal, St. Loup de Hors (Cal) portal of the bell tower, St. Contest (Cal) inner order of portal, Tilly-sur-Seulles (Cal) portal inner order, Cressons (Cal) inner order of west portal, Fresne-Camilly (Cal) portal, Tours en Bessin (Cal) western portal, Andrieu (Cal) on the south transept west portal, Colleville sur Mer(Cal) south east door, Ouistreham(Cal), west door third order.

2 Trevières (Cal), Thaon (Cal) on the north portal, and at Andrieu (Cal) on the north transept west portal.

3 St. Georges de Boscherville, Andrieu (Cal), (second order), St. Loup (Cal) inner and outer orders of the bell tower window, Herouville(Cal), south door, Bretville-sur-odon (Cal), Fountaine–Henri (Cal), inner order of portal.

4 Castle Acre Priory (Nf) nave arcade, Bieville (Cal).

5 Chedgrave (Nf).

6 Bishopstone, s door (Sx).

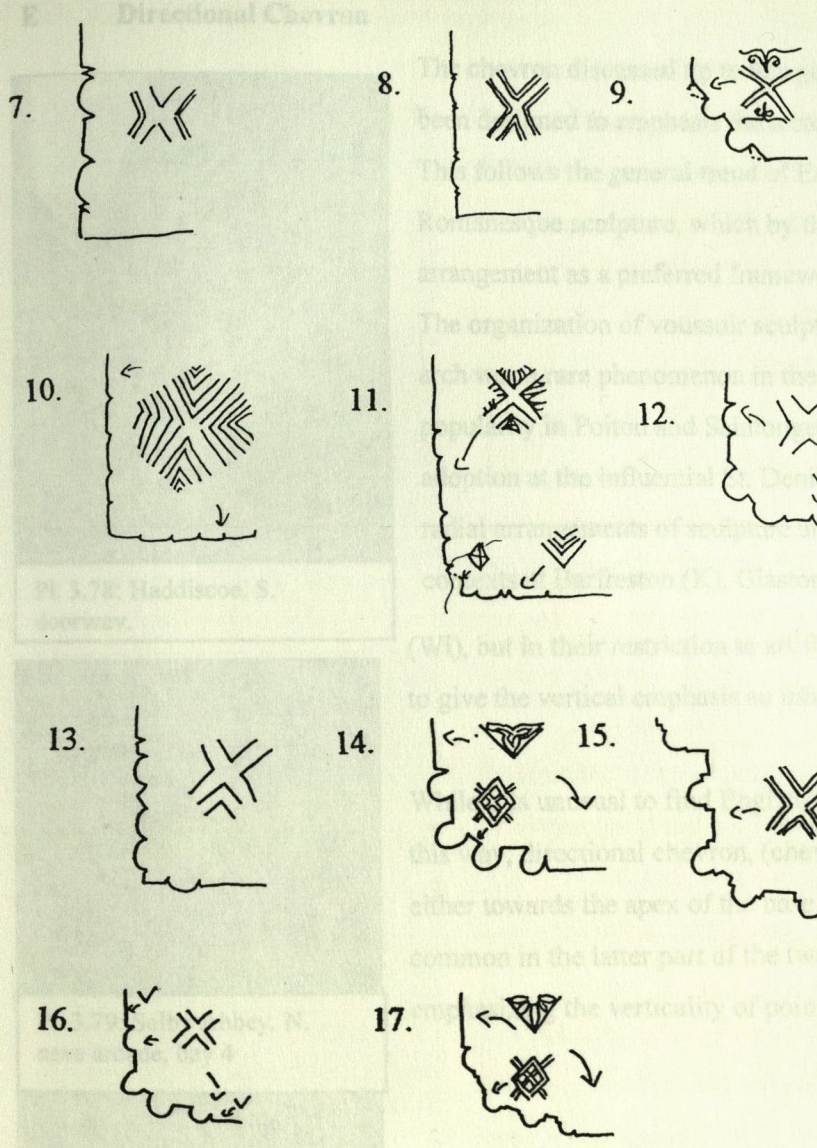


Figure 3D **Saltire profiles, contd.**

7. Hereford cathedral choir arcades (He).
8. Bridestowe (He).
9. Kirkby Lonsdale (Cu).
10. Hartshead (Y).
11. Bromyard (He).
12. Duddington (Np).
13. Wittering (Np).
14. St Mary's York (Y), Kirk Ella(Y), Thorpe Salvin (Y), Askham Bryan (Y), Selby (Y).
15. Castle Rising (Nf).
16. Llandaff (Gm), Winchester St Cross (Ha), Darlington (Du), Lincoln cathedral (Li).
17. Bristol Gatehouse (So).

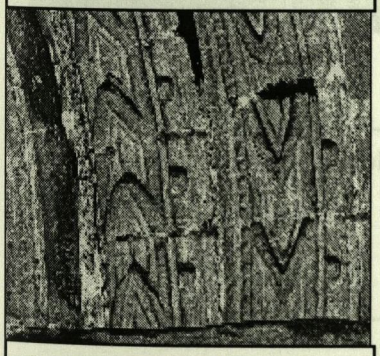
E Directional Chevron



Pl. 3.78: Haddiscoe. S. doorway.



Pl. 3.79: Selby Abbey. N. nave arcade, bay 4



Pl. 3.80: Cartmel Priory. S. doorway.

The chevron discussed up to this point has, without exception, been designed to emphasis the tectonic function of the voussoir. This follows the general trend of English and Norman Romanesque sculpture, which by the 1130s had adopted a radial arrangement as a preferred framework for sculpted voussoirs. The organization of voussoir sculpture following the line of the arch was a rare phenomenon in these areas, in spite of its popularity in Poitou and Saintonge from an early stage, and its adoption at the influential St. Denis by 1144. In England non-radial arrangements of sculpture are limited to late portal contexts at Barfreston (K), Glastonbury (So) and Malmesbury (Wi), but in their restriction to artificial framing devices they fail to give the vertical emphasis so inherent in French examples.[105]

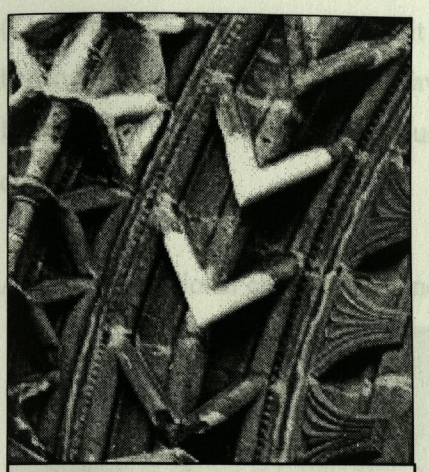
While it is unusual to find English figure sculpture organized in this way, directional chevron, (chevron with its points facing either towards the apex of the base of an arch) became fairly common in the latter part of the twelfth century, often emphasizing the verticality of pointed arch forms.

Pre-1150 manifestations of the form are relatively unusual, and where they do occur, as at Haddiscoe (Nf) **[pl 3.78]**, they are little more than irregular groups of incised lines.[106] The appearance of grammatical directional forms, carved one unit per voussoir, would seem to coincide with the emergence of other transitional forms. Forms are characterized by a relatively simple moulding profile, often deeply undercut, and a clarity of

[105] For a discussion of the use of radial versus longitudinal sculpture in English Romanesque see G. Zarnecki, 'English Twelfth Century Sculpture and its Resistance to St. Denis' (eds.) F.G. Emmison and R. Stephens, Tribute to an Antiquary: Essays presented to Mark Fitch by some of his Friends (London, 1976), 84-5.

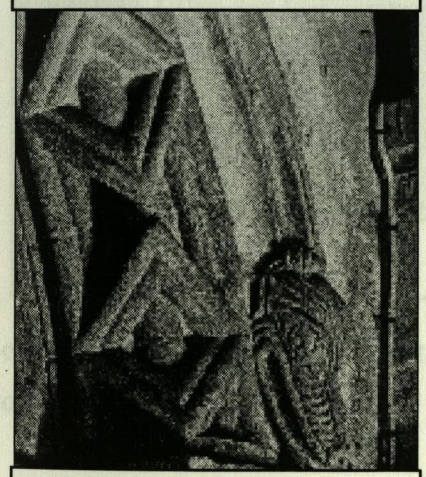
[106] Stoll dates the south doorway at Haddiscoe to c.1130-40. R. Stoll, Architecture and Sculpture in Early Britain (London. 1967), 347.

form, helped by a lack of subsidiary ornament.



Pl. 3.81: Worksop. W. doorway.

Simplest forms, as for example at Selby Abbey (Y) (3E:1) **[pl. 3.79]** comprise a series of Vs of roll and step profile straddling face and soffit, pointing either to the apex or the base of the arch.[107] At either extremity of the arch is a straight roll of similar profile, so that effectively each voussoir is carved with an M or a W shape. At Cartmel (Cu) (3E:2) **[pl. 3.80]** moulding profiles are stepped and include strings of beading, a feature which is relatively common to this chevron type.[108]



Pl. 3.82: Colyn St. Aldwyn. S. doorway.

In some examples an arris roll is incorporated into the design. For example at Worksop (Np) (3E:3) **[pl. 3.81]** a directional chevron straddles a bowtel arris roll. At Netherton (Wo) (3E:4) the on the exterior of the south door a chevron roll and edge roll both have bowtel nibs that have been transformed into rows of beading.

A common variant of the form sees the alternation in direction of individual chevrons to create a string of lozenges that straddle face and soffit. At Colyn St Aldwyn (Gl) **[pl. 3.82]** and on the east windows at Glastonbury Lady Chapel (So) (3E:5) a double roll of directional chevron arranged alternately to face apex and base straddles a plain arris roll.[109]

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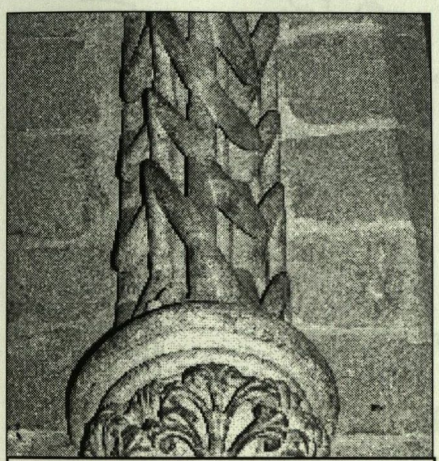
[107] Stalley has suggested a date of c. 1180 for this work. R. Stalley, 'Choice and Consistency: The Early Gothic Architecture of Selby Abbey', Architectural History, 38, (1995), 1-24.

[108] The foundation Charter of Cartmel dates to 1189-94. D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales (London, 1953), 133.

[109] The Lady Chapel at Glastonbury was commenced following the destruction of the old church by fire in 1184. Ralph Fitzstephen completed the church, building it with squared stones and most beautiful workmanship, omitting no possible ornament'; it was dedicated in 1186. While there has been some debate around the date of the door of the chapel, there can be little doubt that most of the chevron ornament belongs to this two year phase. For a full account of historical evidence see M. Thurlby, 'The Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey', The Antiquaries Journal, 75, (1995), 107-71.

At Whitechurch Canonicorum (Do) directional chevron takes the form of a series of Ws meeting at the apex of a pointed arcade arch. A slightly more complex effect is achieved at Norton Priory (Ch) where the direction of the soffit roll is altered to mirror that of the face with a resultant herring-bone effect. This is also a favoured treatment for vaulting, as for example at Glastonbury Lady chapel (So) (3E:7), the gatehouse of Gloucester St. Peter's (Gl) and Ozelworth (Gl) parish church **[pl. 3.83]**.

Although directional chevron is found countrywide, it enjoyed most popularity in the West Country, where it is found in association with a number of other deeply undercut chevron forms. The introduction of the type is difficult to pinpoint in the region. Wilson has highlighted its appearance by the early 1160s on the tribune arch at St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield and on the crossing arches at of St. Andrew's Cathedral (Fi),[110] although it does not appear to have had a particularly strong regional impact in the vicinity of either.[111] Fragments from the chapter house door at Keynsham (So) probably date to some time during the 1170s (3E:6).[112] Its absence from the late Romanesque phase at Worcester cathedral of c.1175 is notable,[113] but it is used to its fullest potential at Glastonbury before the end of the 1180s.[114]



Pl. 3.83: Ozelworth. Tower vault.

[110] C. Wilson, 'The Sources of the Late Twelfth Century Work at Worcester Cathedral', BAACT, 1, (1978), 83.

[111] See M. Thurlby, Chapter 3 'London and the Home Counties' in Transitional Sculpture in England (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, UEA, 1976), for a summary of transitional sculpture around London, and for St. Andrews, E. Cambridge, 'The Early Building History of St. Andrews Cathedral, Fife, and its context in Northern Transitional Architecture', Antiquaries Journal, 57, (1977), 277-88.

[112] B.J. Lowe et al, 'Keynsham Abbey: Excavations 1961-1985', Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society, 131, (1987), 103-138.

[113] It is recorded that the new tower fell in 1175. Both Brakespear and Wilson interpret this as the western tower that necessitated the reconstruction of the 2 western bays immediately following 1175. Brakespear, ibid., 13-14, Wilson, ibid. 80-1.

[114] On the vaults and the interior and exterior of the east windows.

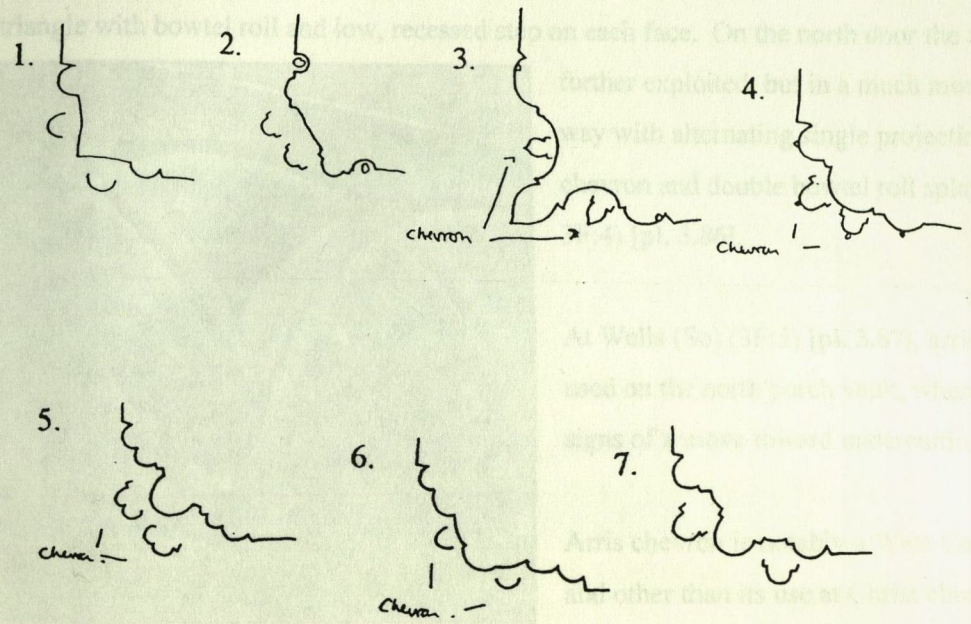


Figure 3E **Directional profiles**

1 Kirkwall (Ork) n. door, Selby nave arcade (Y)
2 Cartmel (Cu), Steyning nave arcade (Sx)
3 Worksop (Np)
4 Netherton (Wo)
5 Glastonbury Lady Chapel (So), Colyn St Aldwyn (Gl)
6 Keynsham (So)
7 Glastonbury Lady Chapel (ribs) (So)

F Projecting Edge Chevron

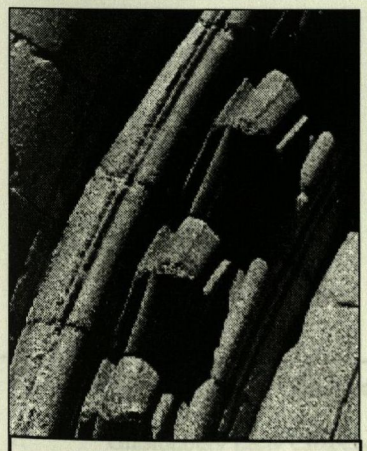
Also notable for its ubiquity at Glastonbury, is the arris chevron, which projects at 45° from the edge of an order. It is used to ornament the dado arcades of the interior of the Lady Chapel (3F:1) **[pl. 3.84]**. This type was used at Keynsham (So) (3F:2),[115] and at Bredon (Wo) (3F:3) **[pl. 3.85]**,[116] where on the south door, like the latter two examples, it is formed by a solid projecting triangle with bowtel roll and low, recessed step on each face. On the north door the form is further exploited, but in a much more imaginative way with alternating single projecting edge chevron and double bowtel roll splayed (3F.3, 3F:4) **[pl. 3.86]**.



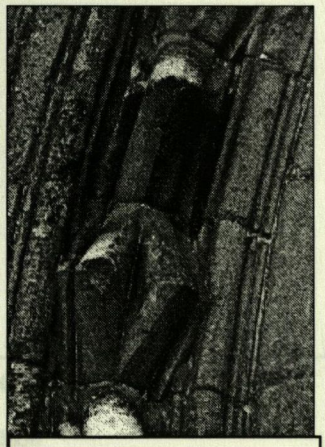
Pl. 3.84: Glastonbury Lady Chapel. N. wall interior.

At Wells (So) (3F:5) **[pl. 3.87]**, arris chevron is used on the north porch vault, where there are signs of a move toward undercutting the roll.[117]

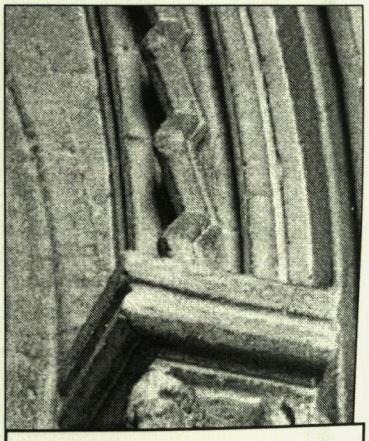
Arris chevron is notably a West Country feature, and other than its use at Christ church Dublin, is not found outside the region.



Pl. 3.85: Bredon. S. doorway.



Pl. 3.86 : Bredon. N. doorway.



Pl. 3.87: Wells. N. porch vault.

[115] On a fragment now built into the entrance arch of Park House, Station Road. See M. Thurlby, 'The Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey', The Antiquaries Journal, 75, (1995), fig 16.
[116] Transitional work at Bredon was attributed by Willis to the master of the west bays of the cathedral at Worcester 'Architectural History of Worcester Cathedral', Archaeological Journal, 20, (1863), 95.
[117] This has been dated by Brakespear to c.1184-1210, H. Brakespear, 'A West Country School of Masons', Archaeologia, 81, (1931), 14.

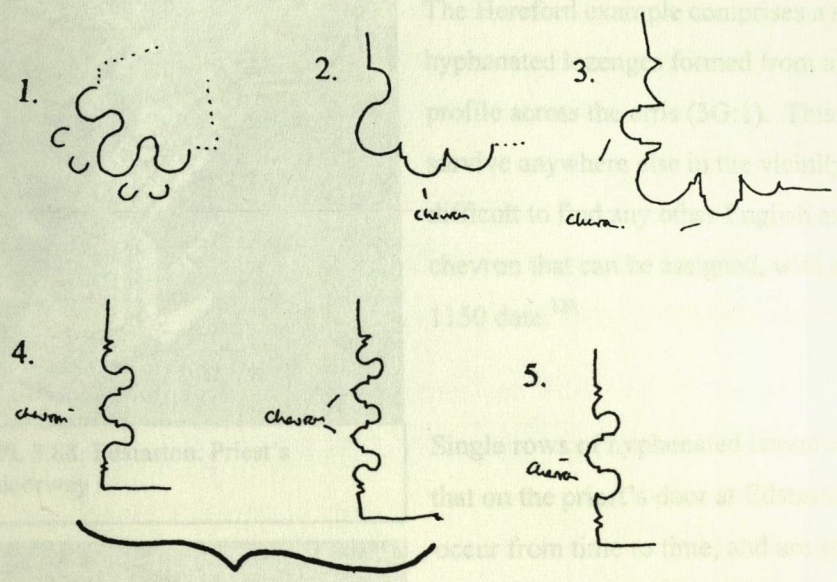
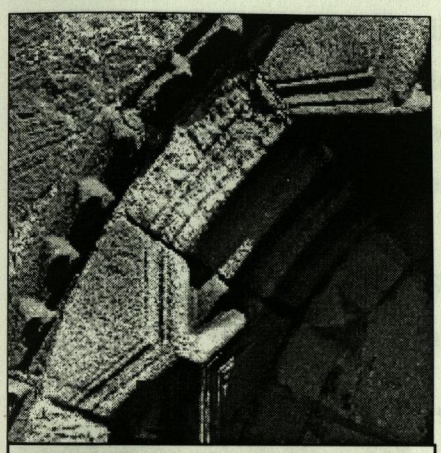


Figure 3F: **Projecting edge profiles**

1. Glastonbury Lady Chapel dado arcade (So)
2. Keynsham (frag) (So)
3. Bredon (Wo)
4. Bredon(Wo)
5. Wells n. porch vault (So)

G Hyphenated chevron

Another common feature of the transitional West Country school is the breaking of chevron sequences with straight moulded sections to form a hyphenated effect. This type of chevron has a long pedigree in the area, making a relatively early appearance on the eastern crossing arch at Hereford cathedral (He).[118]



Pl. 3.88: Edstaston. Priest's doorway

The Hereford example comprises a single row of hyphenated lozenges formed from a two stepped rolls profile across the arris (3G:1). This unusual form does not survive anywhere else in the vicinity,[119] indeed it is difficult to find any other English examples of hyphenated chevron that can be assigned, with any confidence, a pre-1150 date.[120]

Single rows of hyphenated lateral centripetal chevron, like that on the priest's door at Edstaston (Sa) (3G:3) **[pl. 3.88]** occur from time to time, and are generally formed from the same vocabulary as unbroken centripetal forms. They are normally carved on both faces, and can be arranged point to point, or in a syncopated fashion, with the point of the face chevron corresponding to the hyphen on the soffit, as at Bishop's Cleeve (Gl) (3G:4) **[pl. 3.89]**.



Pl. 3.89: Bishop's Cleeve. N. doorway.

Far more common however, is the combination of a hyphenated row of lozenges along the arris, and rolls of hyphenated centripetal chevron on face and soffit, arranged in a syncopated manner. This

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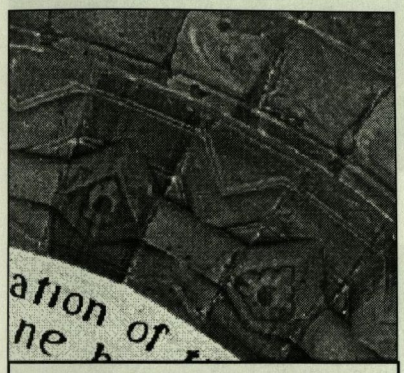
[118] c.1107-c.1148. For a discussion on the problems of dating Hereford cathedral see M. Thurlby, 'Hereford Cathedral: the Romanesque Fabric', BAACT, 15, (1995), 15-28.

[119] The closest known parallel is found on the chancel arch at Holt (Wo) (3G:2) where a single row of hyphenated lozenges also occupies both arrises. Here the moulding profile is simpler than at Hereford, comprising just a single roll. Holt is usually dated c.1165-70, C.J. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire' in (ed.) J. Blair, Minsters and Parish Churches, the Norman Church in Transition (1988), 151.

[120] Three notable exceptions to this are located in Irish 'West Country' buildings. A sophisticated hyphenated lozenge design is used on the north porch of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel, known to date to between 1127 and 1134 (see chapter five). This motif is also found at Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry, and a variant of the form occurs on the west door at Ardfert cathedral, also in Co. Kerry.

arrangement, at its simplest, is comprised of a single roll profile as at Shrawley (Wo) **[pl.3.90]**, Broadwater (Sx), chancel arch, Rothwell (Np) west doorway and St. Mary's Shrewsbury (Sa) (3G:5).

At Lilleshall (Sa) (3G:6) **[pl.3.91]** the profile of the centripetal chevron is more complex. It is unusual in two respects, firstly because the profile of the lozenge and chevron elements are different, and secondly because the arris of the order is clearly defined within the lozenge spandrels, as opposed to the more normal treatment where lozenge spandrels are filled with ornament.



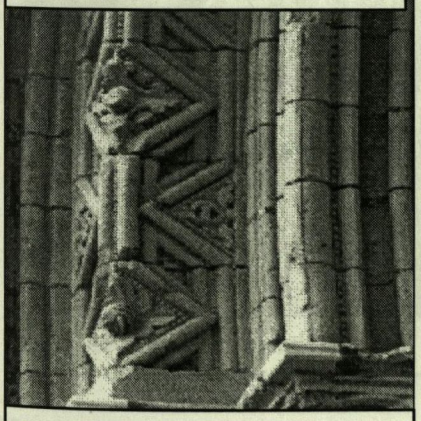
Pl. 3.90: Shrawley, S. doorway.

Syncopated chevron is found in most areas of Britain. A number of buildings associated with the transitional York school are distinguished by a particular moulding profile where each moulded component comprises two rolls, one superimposed on the other, and the typical elaborate floral sculpture. This is exemplified at Malton (Y) **[pl. 3.92]** and Selby (Y) (3G:7) **[pl. 3.93]**. [121]

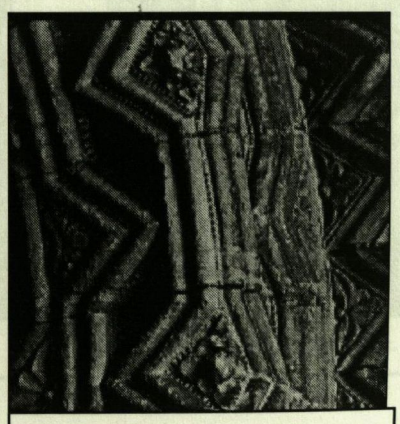


Pl. 3.91: Lilleshall. Processional doorway.

Syncopated chevron also features prominently in the West Country school. In general terms, bolder moulding forms are used and there is a greater degree of undercutting than is found in the York School. At Bredon (Wo) (3G:8) **[pl. 3.94]** the centripetal elements of the design are formed from a relatively complex moulding of a bowtel roll with two steps on the upper plane and one below. The lozenge



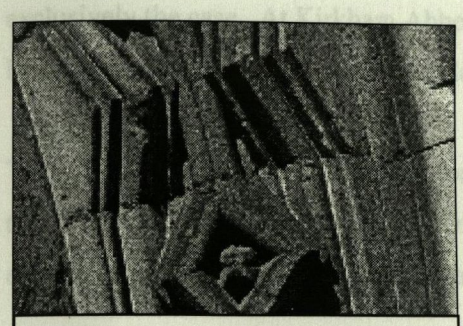
Pl.3.92: Malton Priory. W.doorway



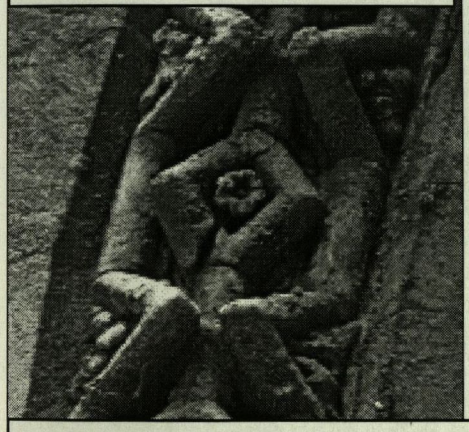
Pl. 3.93: Selby Abbey. N. doorway.

[121] The same form also occurs on the chapter house door at St. Mary's Abbey York (Y) and at Jedburgh (Rx).

element is a single bowtel roll raised on a barely perceptible step to give it a greater degree of three-dimensionality. Undercutting is taken a step further in the great church at Glastonbury (So) (3G:9) **[pl.3.95]**. But it reaches its apogee on the north porch at Wells (So) (3G:10) **[pls.3.96, 3.97]**, where both chevron and spandrel ornament are almost totally removed from the surface of the voussoir.

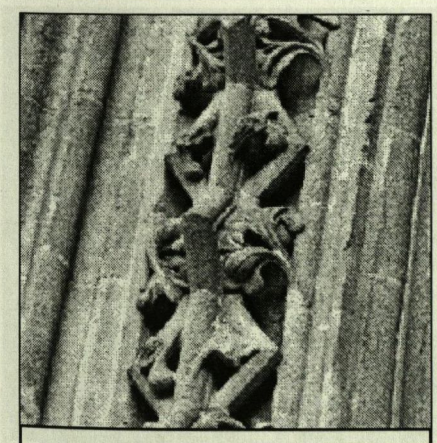


Pl. 3.94: Bredon. N. doorway.

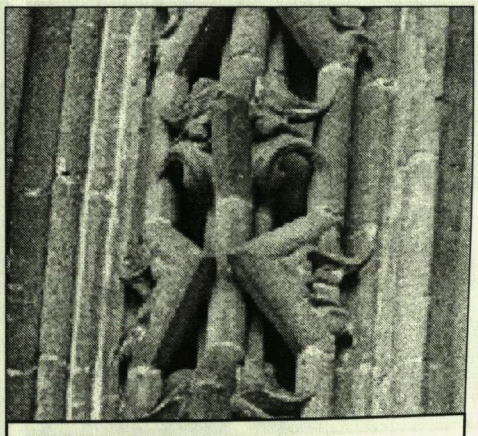


Pl. 3.95: Glastonbury, great church. Window.

It is with hyphenated forms that the playful treatment of Norman ornament outlined by Brakespear as a characteristic of the West Country school is most evident.[122] Wilson has highlighted the pivotal role of Keynsham (So) in the development and spread of abstract ornament and moulding forms throughout the West Country, and it is here that one can acquire some flavour of the wide array of imaginative hyphenated forms being used in the West Country by the early 1170s.[123] Of particular note are fragments of the transverse ribs of the chapter house which have a complex design comprising hyphenated centripetal chevron on both faces arranged point to point with hyphenated lozenges on the soffit and angled arris



Pl. 3.96: Wells. N. porch.



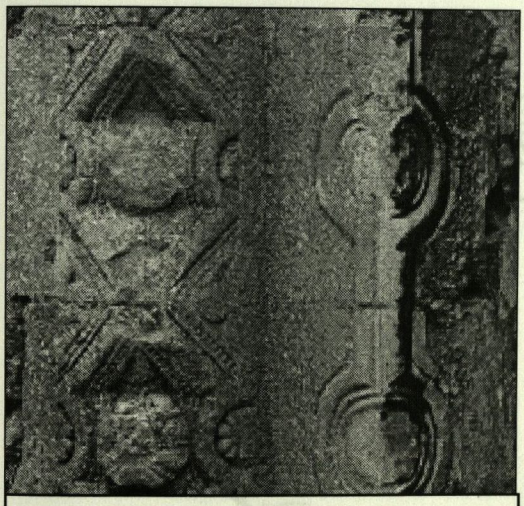
Pl. 3.97: Wells. N. porch.

[122] H. Brakespear, 'A West Country School of Masons', Archaeologia, 81, (1931), 9.
[123] C. Wilson, 'The Sources of the Late Twelfth Century Work at Worcester Cathedral', BAACT, 1 (1978), 83-84. Keynsham Abbey was founded by William Earl of Gloucester and Lord of Glamorgan in accordance with the last wishes of his son Robert who died in 1166, D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses : England and Scotland (London, 1971), 161-2.

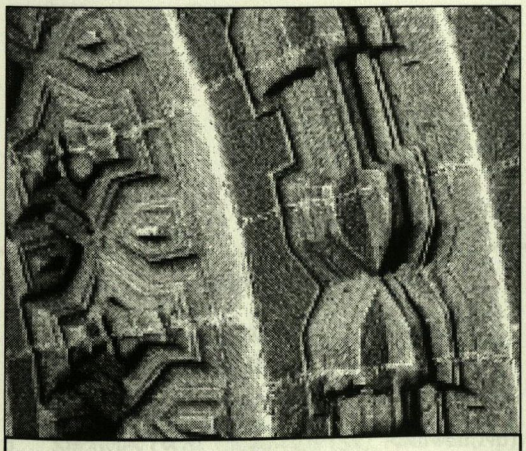
chevron syncopated with the hyphens (3G:11).

While hyphenation is usually achieved through the use of straight sections of moulding, this is not exclusively the case. At Kirkham Abbey (Y) (3G:12) **[pl. 3.98]** for example the jambs of a Romanesque door are carved with beaded centripetal chevron hyphenated by half circles.[124]

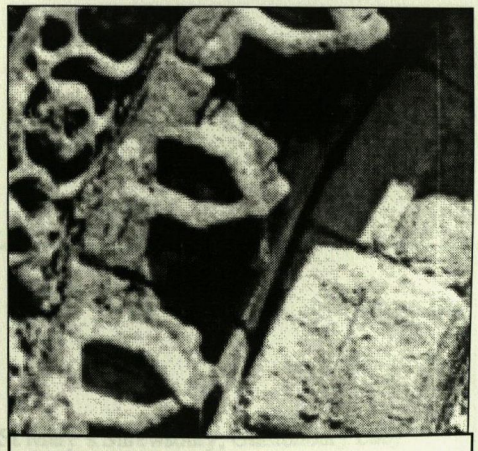
This type of alternation of geometric forms is also found at Edstaston (Sa) (3G:13) **[pl.3.99]** on the 3rd order of the south door, where embattled ornament is combined with chevron. The second order on this elaborate portal carries the idea a step further with the straightening of the sides of the chevron, an unusual motif also found at the nearby Augustinian Priory of Haughmond (Sa) (3G:14) **[pl. 3.100]**.[125]



Pl. 3.98: Kirkham Abbey. Doorway.



Pl. 3.99: Edstaston. S. doorway.



Pl. 3.100: Haughmond Priory Door

[124] T. Garton has noted the rarity of this motif in England, and drawn comparison between Kirkham, and the Romanesque doorway at Killaloe, Co. Clare in Ireland. T. Garton, 'The Romanesque doorway at Killaloe', JBAA, 134, (1981), 52, n.104.

[125] Founded 1130-8. D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales. (London, 1953), 139.

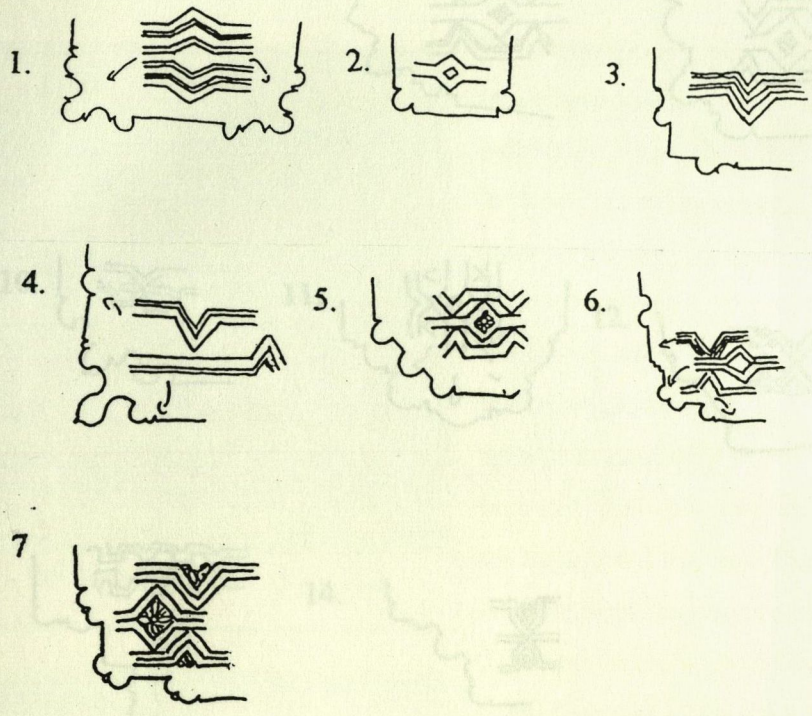


Figure 3G: Hyphenated profiles

1. Hereford crossing arch (He).
2. Holt (Wo) chancel arc
3. Edstaston (Sa).
4. Bishop's Cleeve (Gl).
5. Shrawley (Wo), Broadwater (Sx), Rothwell(Np), St Mary's Shrewsbury, Glastonbury Lady Chapel (So).
6. Lilleshall (Sa).
7. Selby w door (Y), Malton Priory (Y), St Mary's Abbey York (Y), Jedburgh (Rx).

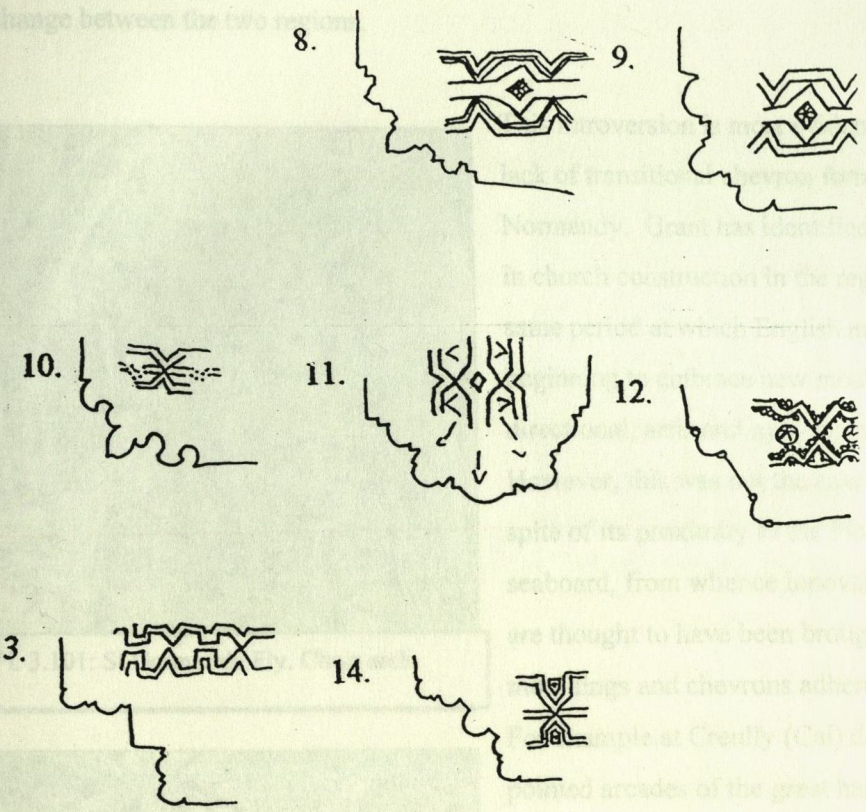
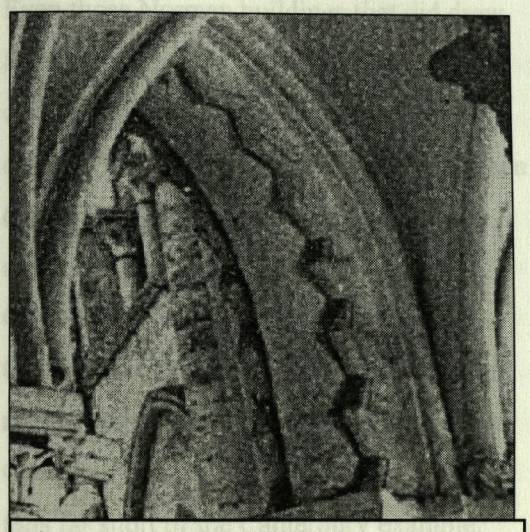


Figure 3G: Hyphenated profiles, contd.

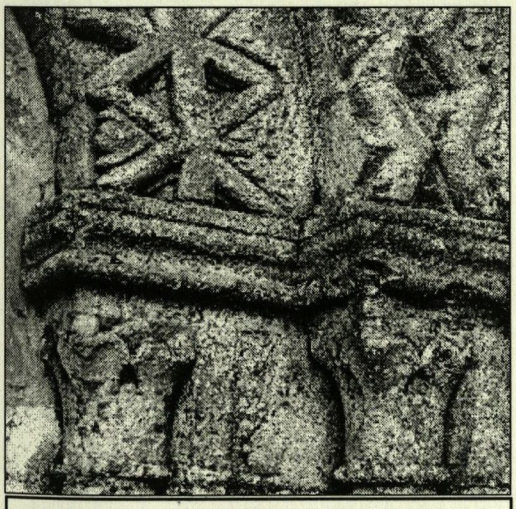
8 Bredon (Wo).
9 Glastonbury Great church (So).
10 Wells n porch (So).
11 Keynsham chap house door (So).
12 Kirkham (Y).
13 Edstaston (Sa).
14 Edstaston (Sa), Haughmond(Sa).

Transitional Chevron in Normandy

The conservatism of Norman Romanesque architecture during the mid twelfth century extended to its range of chevron design. Aside from the ubiquitous lateral centrifugal and saltire forms there is little evidence of the experimentation so evident in England, or of much creative exchange between the two regions.



Pl. 3.101: St Germer de Fly. Choir arch.



Pl. 3.102: Andrieu. N. transept doorway, capitals.

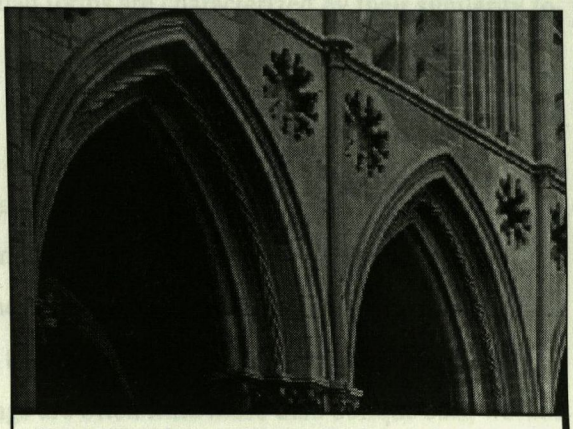
This introversion is most evident in the noteworthy lack of transitional chevron forms in the duchy of Normandy. Grant has identified a renewed impetus in church construction in the region c.1160,[126] the same period at which English masons were beginning to embrace new moulding forms and directional, arris and hyphenated chevron. However, this was not the case in Normandy. In spite of its proximity to the Picard/Flemish seaboard, from whence innovative moulding forms are thought to have been brought to England, both mouldings and chevrons adhered to earlier forms. For example at Creully (Cal) decoration on the pointed arcades of the great hall of c.1150-70 includes a classic lateral centrifugal chevron (A:28),[127] and at Andrieu (Cal) the portal combines capitals of a waterleaf type associated with English transitional chevron, with saltire and embattled ornament **[pl. 3.102]**. Similarly the early gothic ambulatory at St Germer de Fly **[pl. 3.101]** incorporates chevron mouldings which, in the context of the overall design of the building, are essentially backward looking.

[126] For the conservatism of Norman architecture during the first half of the twelfth century see L. Grant, 'Architectural Relationships between England and Normandy, 1100-1204' in (eds.) D. Bates and A. Curry, England and Normandy in the Middle Ages (London, 1994), 117-129.

[127] E. Impey, 'Seigneural Domestic Architecture in Normandy, 1050-1350' in (eds.) G. Marian-Jones and M. Jones, Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France; (Volume 15 of Occasional Papers for the Society of Antiquaries of London ,1993), 103.

In the main, the lack of advanced chevron forms can probably be attributed to a shift in the key design influences in Norman architecture. By the latter half of the century architects were looking to Paris for their inspiration, and to gothic forms that had no room for this form of geometric elaboration. [128]

Even those Norman buildings that did draw from contemporary English architecture chose to ignore developments in chevron design. The gothic choir at St. Etienne, Caen (Cal) **[pl. 3.103]** for example, was heavily reliant on details from the new choir at Canterbury[129]. But while the decoration of the choir arcade arches at the Caen building may owe their aesthetic to the principals of Canterbury, the actual form of the chevron falls far short of the Canterbury example.



Pl 3.103: St Etienne Caen, Choir arcade.

[128] L. Grant, Gothic Architecture in Normandy 1150-1250 (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1987), 341-50.

[129] L. Grant, 'The Choir of St. Etienne, Caen' (eds.) P. Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson (London, 1990), 113-126.

Summary

Even from this brief survey it is evident that England enjoyed a far greater variety of forms of chevron than Normandy. It is only in the very early years of development that significant parallels in both type and moulding profile can be drawn between the two countries, in particular between the south of England and the duchy.

During the latter part of the twelfth century Norman forms are characterized by their similarity to one another and their conservatism, and chevron ceases to be used altogether, probably from about 1170.

In England, the distribution of chevron of the first half of the twelfth century indicates the existence of regional stylistic preferences, most notable in the conceptual difference apparent between the chevron forms north and south of the Humber. Thus in the south the earliest forms follow the Norman model, with strict adherence to grammatical moulding form and chevron type. In the north, on the other hand, chevron mouldings are often little more than oblique cuts, worked at an angle that often creates an ambiguous form somewhere between lateral and frontal chevron.

By the third quarter of the twelfth century a gradual coming together of these two traditions becomes evident. The adoption of more complex moulding profiles for frontal and centrifugal forms in the south and the extension of chevron mouldings onto the soffit of orders brings it closer to the northern trend. Conversely, the use of more traditional moulding forms in the working of transitional chevron forms in the north brings it in line with the development of new chevron forms in the south.

In general terms an evolutionary pattern in the development of both chevron type and profile can be traced. However, a caveat must be attached to placing too great a significance on the relationship between form and chronology, as the relationship between the two is not strictly linear. Other factors, such as geography, patronage and the apparent existence of some creative freedom on the part of the sculptor, have also had an effect on the manner in which chevron designs should be interpreted. It is the significance of these factors that will be examined in the following chapter.

Introduction

Having examined a broad range of chevron types and profiles in the previous chapter, it now remains to analyse the significance of the ornament and ascertain the extent of its potential for revealing information about buildings for which no documentary history is available.

Traditional scholarship in the field of non-figurative sculpture and mouldings has focussed principally on the question of authorship or sphere of influence, and on the establishment of relative chronologies.[1] The dearth of documentary sources relating directly to Romanesque buildings has led to a heavy reliance on stylistic analysis in order to establish relationships between structures and sculptural programmes.

Although recent scholarship has tended to take a broader approach, encompassing issues such as patronage and the historical background, there is still a largely uncritical reliance on older more narrow arguments, which through continued citation have gained credibility, sometimes without justification. As a result, many of the commonly held views on dates and sources of influence are based on quite tenuous stylistic considerations. If re-examined by today's broader contextual standards, many of these would not be seen as acceptable. This is particularly relevant in terms of the stylistic criteria that are selected for analysis, where frequently like is compared with like without proper consideration of the root cause of the similarity and with little regard for how this effects the nature of the relationship.

Of primary concern therefore, is the establishment of the degree to which comparison between chevron forms can be read as significant. Crucial to this question is the manner in which chevron ornament was interpreted by its creators. For example, if chevron, or certain types of chevron, were seen as a 'stock' element in the decorative scheme of a building, like the plain cushion capital, or the use of multiple orders around doors, then at best its presence indicates that its sculptors were conversant with current architectural standards. If, on the other hand, chevron ornament was seen by masons as a means of personal artistic expression set within a standardised framework, then the comparative analysis of types and forms has the potential to be far more

[1] On the use of this methodology in the analysis of architectural style see R.K. Morris, 'Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style' in (eds.) P.Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context (London, 1990), 239-247.

informative, providing an indication of how artistic influences were transmitted and developed throughout Europe during the twelfth century.

Using the material described in the previous chapter, this chapter aims first to analyse the significance of the three dimensional qualities of chevron ornament through an examination of the development of forms and their distribution. Once this significance is established, it will then be used to inform an examination of the role of chevron in distinguishing individual authorship, in defining the existence of particular ateliers, and as a diagnostic feature in the dating of Romanesque buildings.

The Development and Distribution of Chevron Forms



Pl. 4.1: Astley (Wo) s. door. Straight edge centrifugal.



Pl.4. 2: Bromyard (He). Cogwheel edge centrifugal.

A Lateral Centrifugal Chevron

As explained in the previous chapter, the most popular and widely distributed form of chevron to be used in both Britain and Normandy was lateral centrifugal, with a simple profile comprising a sequence of single roll, hollow and angle fillet elements.

These types of profile have two distinct edge treatments. One where the edge is left straight, with the arris spandrel recessed **[pl. 4.1]**, and one where the flat surface of the soffit is extended to intersect with the arris spandrels of the chevron forming a cogwheel edge **[pl. 4.2]**.[2]

While the treatments are different, both achieve the same effect, to emphasise the three-dimensional quality of the roll closest to the edge, a feature that is maintained even when the form is used as a part of a saltire design, or when supplementary ornament is

[2] Occasionally these different edge treatments are found as part of the same sculptural programme, as for example at Cerisy-la-Forêt (Cal), although more usually they are kept distinct.

added.

In Normandy, the other sorts of sculptural motif with which this type of chevron is associated are fairly homogeneous, to the extent that, in sculptural terms at least, a 'Norman style' can be identified. Thus for example, the attic profile chevron found on the west door of the castle hall at Caen (Cal) is used with chip carved ornament and volute capitals, the same features associated with identical chevron forms at Le Ham (M), Cheux (Cal) and St. Georges Boscherville (SeO). But the same does not apply in England, where associated sculpture is usually quite locally specific. In fact so individualistic is the sculpture found in association with the West Country (centred on Dymock), East Anglian, Kentish and Northamptonshire examples, that they have been interpreted as individual regional schools.[3] A situation therefore exists where portals as geographically, structurally and stylistically distant as Eastleach Turville in Gloucestershire **[pl. 4.4]** and Hales in Norfolk **[pl. 4.3]** are decorated with a remarkably similar form of chevron.



Pl. 4.3: Hales (Nf) c.1130.



Pl.4. 4: Eastleach Turville (Gl) c. 1170-80.

With such a wide array of chevron forms to choose from, why should groups of buildings, known traditionally for their stylistic individuality, use an identical form of chevron moulding? The answer clearly does not lie with a common patron or sculptor. Although a large number of the buildings which incorporate this type are apparently of an early twelfth century date, the form seems to endure into the second half of the century, and so is unlikely to reflect the result of any linear chronological sequence.[4]

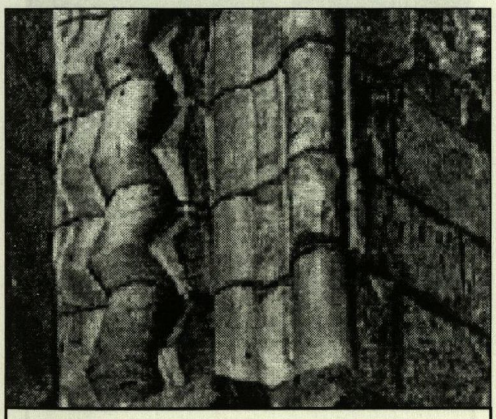
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[3] For a discussion of these schools see respectively E. Gethyn-Jones, The Dymock School of Sculpture (Chichester, 1979); C. Keyser, 'The Norman Doorways of Norfolk' in (ed.) H.J. Astley, Memorials of Old Norfolk (London 1908), 185-216; D. Kahn, Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in Kent (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982, University of London) and H.P. Maguire, 'A Twelfth Century Workshop at Northampton', Gesta IX/I (1970), 11-25.

[4] Eastleach Turville is generally dated to c.1170-80. This form of centrifugal chevron is also found in at Elkstone and Bishop's Cleeve, also in Gloucestershire and dated to roughly the same period.

The reason for such uniformity must surely lie with the ultimate source for the design. The most commonly occurring profiles of this type all reflect 'straight' mouldings familiar to the contemporary architectural vocabulary. Straight mouldings decorating arches are frequently found in association with centrifugal chevron of the same profile, as for example on the nave arcade arches at Melbourne (Db) **[pl. 4.5]**. In the earlier part of the twelfth century too, comparable straight mouldings generally occupy the face only of an arch, as is the case with the vast majority of centrifugal chevron forms. The arris of these straight mouldings is almost inevitably emphasised by a three-quarters roll- the same effect achieved by the two very particular edge treatments prevalent in centrifugal chevron designs.

Potential straight moulding 'models' had appeared in Normandy by the 1070s for example on the nave triforium at Mont-Saint-Michel (M), and a decade or so later on the west front arches at St. Etienne, Caen (Cal), both of which have a simple roll/ hollow profile on the face.[5] In England, comparable mouldings were being used by the 1070s on the chancel arch at Bosham (Sx),[6] before 1104 at Durham cathedral (Du) and at Colchester keep (Ess).[7] The same moulding profile continued to enjoy popularity at Hereford cathedral,[8] Peterborough cathedral, Ely and Norwich into the 1110s. Roll and angle fillet mouldings, were found by c.1120, at Gloucester, separating the twin rolls of the nave vault ribs and at Hereford cathedral on the arches of the blind arcades of the east wall of the south transept.



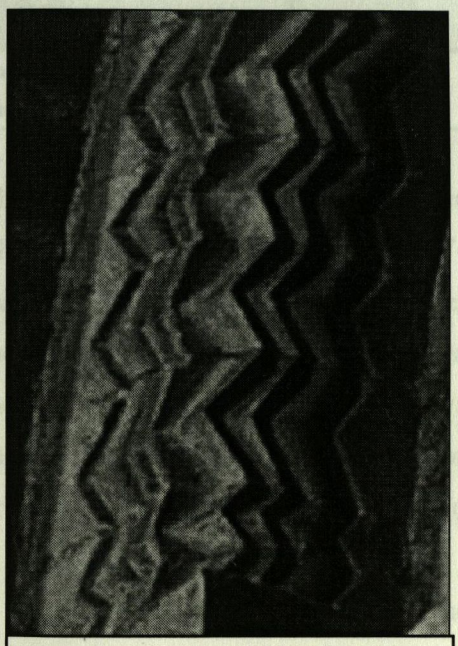
Pl. 4.5: Melbourne (Db). Nave arcade.

The dates at which these examples begin to emerge suggest that quite shortly after their usage became widespread, they began to be manipulated to form chevron designs. The common occurrence of these moulding profiles, and the fact that their development throughout the twelfth

[5] The nave at Mont Saint Michel was constructed between c. 1058-1080. M. Baylé et al, Mont-Saint-Michel: Histoire et Imaginaire (Paris, 1998), 108.
[6] Bony has ascribed a date of 1070 to this feature at Bosham, seeing its presence as a post-Conquest import from Normandy.
[7] Probably built before 1087, H. Colvin, History of the King's Works, 1 (London, 1963), 31.
[8] Inner order choir arcade arches.

century was relatively slow, helps to account for the simultaneous and disparate emergence of chevron derivatives, and for the longevity of their use.[9]

However, while a tangible link is apparent between lateral centrifugal chevron and straight mouldings, such links cannot be seen as the source of all centrifugal chevron types. A large number of examples illustrated in figure 3A have no direct parallel in surviving straight mouldings. It is noteworthy that these also tend to occur more in isolation, with only one or two buildings sharing the same form.



Pl. 4.6: Durham cathedral, nave arcade arch.

The chevron decoration at Durham cathedral is a good example of this. Durham is credited as the first 'great' church built after the Conquest to incorporate 'grammatical' arch mouldings. Similar mouldings were being used at roughly the same time in northern parish churches such as Wharram-le-Street (Y) and St. Rule's (Fi).[10] It is to be expected then, that the same grammatical rules would have been applied to the profile of the chevron used so freely throughout the nave, and on the vaults of the south transept at Durham, and in smaller buildings under its sphere of influence. But this is not the case. Instead, the moulding profiles used for the Durham chevron, and in general across the north, comprise oblique, stepped cuts that appear almost random in their execution **[pl. 4.6]**. Also, while straight arch mouldings at Durham, (for example on the blind arcades in the nave aisle **[pl. 4.7]** are designed to clearly define the edge of the arch, the effect of the chevron mouldings is the opposite, obscuring the tectonic form of the voussoirs on which it is carved. This is an unfamiliar concept in contemporary straight arch mouldings.

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[9] 'The Normans never got much beyond the plain cylindrical edge-roll and shallow hollow...They paid so much attention to surface sculpture and shallow ornamental work in the flat faces of their arches that the notion of alternate hollows and projections does not appear to have been fully comprehended by them, or, if so, was found to be incompatible with the enrichment by detail in Bas-relief. It was reserved for the period of transition to effect this.' F.A. Paley, A Manual of Gothic Mouldings (London, 1883), 34.

[10] Both structures have been attributed to the patronage of the early years of Bishop Robert of St. Andrews (1124-1159), J. Bilson, 'Wharram-le-Street church Yorkshire, and St. Rule's Church St. Andrews', Archaeologia, 73, (1923), 55-72; E. Fernie, 'Early Church Architecture in Scotland', PSAS, 116, (1986), 403-411.

No earlier or contemporary straight moulding profiles comparable to the Durham chevron are known, although in essence they owe more to the sculptural, individualistic nature of Anglo-Saxon mouldings, seen, for example at the crypt in Ripon. This suggests that the master mason at Durham interpreted straight mouldings and chevron mouldings in a different manner, the former following contemporary, widespread standards, the latter providing an outlet for individual artistic creativity.



Pl. 4.7: Durham cathedral, nave aisle blind arcade.

Thus, certainly from the 1110s English centrifugal chevron profiles portray two separate trends. The first demonstrates a manipulation of standardised moulding profiles in a clear, grammatical fashion. The second, more current in the north, absorbs the concept of the effect achieved (i.e. the application of zigzags radiating outwards around an arch), but chooses to take it a step further by imbuing it with, in the words of Bony:
'une libéralité bien étrangère aux traditions normandes, et, par contre, non sans rapports avec les practiques de l'architecture saxonne des quelques vingt-cinq ans précedant la Conquête.'[11]

It is possible that the southern, more standardised trend is due to the stronger influence of Norman architecture. Amongst the apparently earliest buildings to incorporate standardised lateral centrifugal chevron forms in the south of England are a number which incorporate other typically 'Norman' forms of ornament. For example, centrifugal chevron with an attic profile and cogwheel edge at Pauntley (Gl) and Smeeth (K) is used in sculptural programmes with volute capitals, chip carved ornament and fish scale; a range of ornament typical of the so-called '*style géometric*' prevalent in Normandy in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[12] The implication of this is that close artistic links between the two areas led to the dissemination not

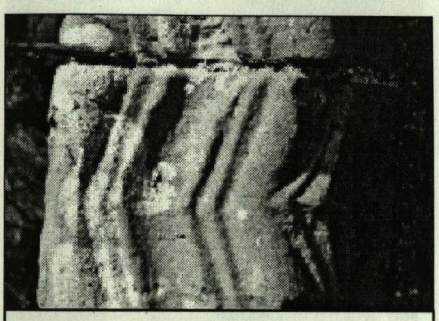
[11] J. Bony, 'Durham et la Tradition Saxonne' in (eds.) S. Crosby et al, Etudes d'art Medieval Offertes á Louis Grodecki (Paris, 1981), 80.

[12] For an outline of the origins and main characteristics of the style see R. Fage, 'La Décoration Géométrique dans l'École Romane de Normandie', Congrès Archèoloigique de France, 75, (1908), 615-633 and M. Baylé, Les Origines et les Développments de la Sculpture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1993), 102-105.

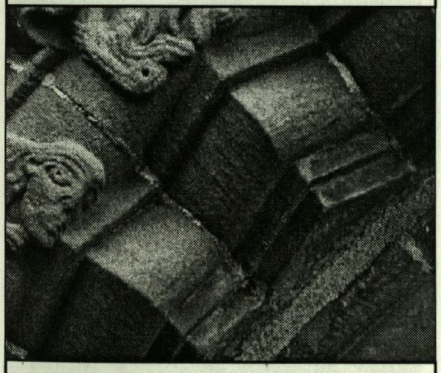
only of the concept of chevron, but also the manner in which it was expressed in three dimensions.

B Frontal Chevron

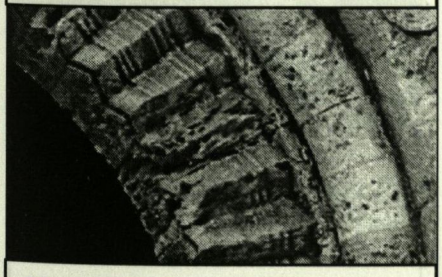
In chapter three, the similarity of the moulding profiles used to form centrifugal and frontal chevron was highlighted. However, while frontal chevron is formed in a similar manner to centrifugal chevron, in that it represents the distortion of commonly used mouldings, the pattern of moulding profiles used is not the same as centrifugal chevron, and neither is the pattern of distribution.



Pl. 4.8: Centrifugal chevron with a double cogwheel spur.



Pl.4. 9: frontal chevron with double flat fillet edge.



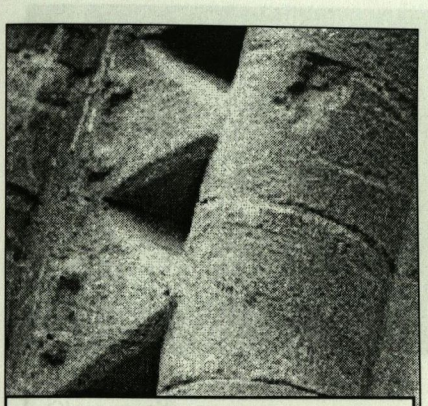
Pl. 4.10: Porchester priory. W. doorway.

In the first half of the twelfth century frontal chevron is found almost exclusively in the south of England, and hardly at all in Normandy or the north of England.[13] The attic or roll/hollow profiles described above, are amongst the most common in lateral centrifugal chevron. However, frontal chevron formed with these profiles is much more common after the 1150s - the period when the straight mouldings on which the design is based are beginning to be replaced by more complex formations.[14] In fact, the most conspicuous pre-1150 examples of frontal chevron exclude hollows altogether, with the preference for rolls flanked by either flat or angled fillets, as for example at Gloucester St. Peter's (Gl) and Rochester Keep (K).

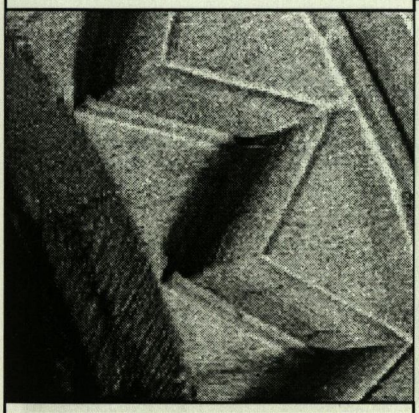
As with centrifugal chevron, two distinct edge treatments are discernible with frontal chevron, the first where a roll continues around the arris **[pl. 4.10]**, and the second where a slightly stepped flat fillet or fillets mark a clear right angle at the arris **[pl.4.9]**. Like the edge treatments of lateral centrifugal chevron, both are designed to emphasise the roll closest to the arris. Indeed the first treatment can be directly equated with straight edged centrifugal, while

[13] In northern England the stepping of chevron around an order sometimes produces a frontal effect.
[14] For example in the *vestiarium* and kitchen at Canterbury of c. 1155, and at Norham (Nb) of c.1170.

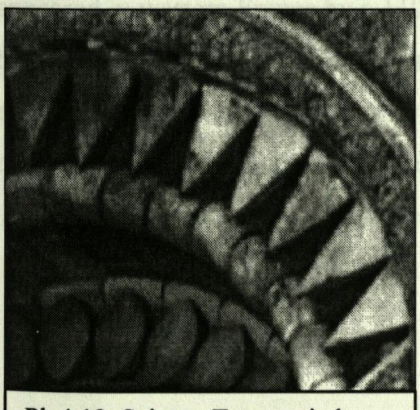
the second can be equated to cogwheel edge, where edge fillets correspond to cogwheel spurs **[pls. 4. 8 and 4.9]**.



Pl. 4.11; Iffley. W. doorway.



Pl.4.12: Colyn St. Aldwyn. S. doorway.



Pl. 4.13: Saintes. Tower window.

It was noted in the previous chapter that the range of moulding profiles used to create frontal chevron is much smaller than that found with centrifugal. This may be due to its regional distribution, as the greatest degree of experimentation with three-dimensional form took place in the north, in particular in Yorkshire, an area where frontal chevron is uncommon.

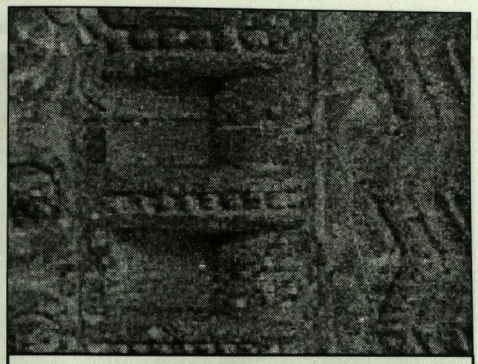
Towards the mid-century some more elaborate profiles are utilised, for example at Porchester (Ha) **[pl. 4.10]**, Shobdon (He), and Leominster (He), but these are more the exception than the rule. By the time that frontal chevron begins to enjoy a more widespread distribution, and to be used in association with transitional straight mouldings, profiles have reverted to more simplistic forms. A good example of this is on the north nave doorway at Kirkstall Abbey (Y), where frontal chevron is used in a building phase dateable to c.1165 which also incorporates transitional keel mouldings.[15] In fact, with the exception of the filleted roll incorporated in the Leominster (He) example, all known frontal chevron profiles in England incorporate a combination of roll/ hollow/ angled fillet or flat fillets only.

C Lateral Centripetal Chevron

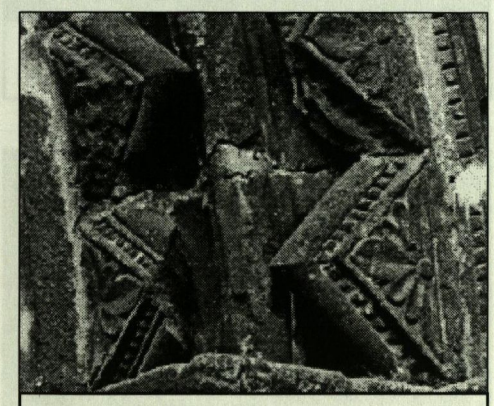
The examination of lateral centripetal forms prevalent in twelfth century England and Normandy in the previous chapter established a significant conceptual difference between the manner in which lateral centripetal and lateral centrifugal and frontal chevron are formed. The latter two

[15] For discussion of the date and contextual detailing at Kirkstall see P. Fergusson, The Architecture of Solitude (Princeton, 1984), 48-52.

types (i.e. lateral centrifugal and frontal) are the result of the 'breaking' and re-arranging of standard straight mouldings, but this is not the case with centripetal chevron. The essential difference lies in the fact that the complexity of centripetal mouldings is attributable not to the interplay of different sequences of moulding elements across a single plane, but rather to the use of a limited number of moulding elements arranged on different planes.



Pl. 4.14: Quennington. S. doorway. Clasp motif.



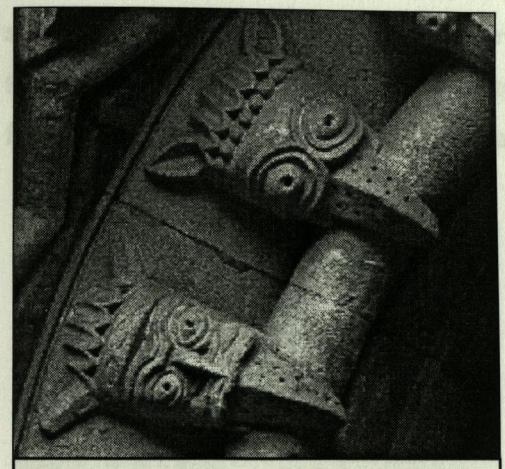
Pl. 4.15: Worksop priory.

Lateral centripetal profiles are formulated in two different ways. The first form comprises a triangular element 'laid' on top of a moulding, usually of hollow/roll or roll/hollow/roll profile, as for example at Iffley (O) **[pl.4.11]**. The second form comprises a triangular element carved on a flat matrix and framed by a moulding, which itself becomes the dominant moulded feature of the design, as for example at Colyn St. Aldwyn (Gl) **[pl. 4.12]**. While this typology may appear arbitrary, its application to other related motifs discussed below suggests that there is a legitimate distinction between the two.

The first type of centripetal chevron profile had appeared in western France by c.1100 for example at Saintes **[pl. 4.13]** and in England certainly by the 1120s, and continued to be used into the transitional period **[pl. 4.15]**. It can be directly equated with a whole range of other motifs such as beakhead **[pl. 4.16]** and 'clasp'**[pl. 4.14]**, carved to give the appearance of a sculptural feature placed on top of a straight moulding.[16]

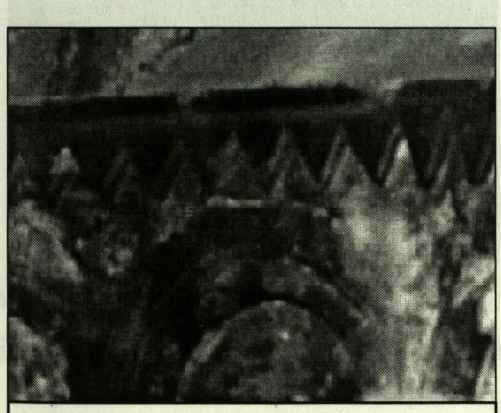
[16] For beakhead see F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', JBAA, 20-21, (1957-8), 1-48. For comment on 'clasp' motif see J.K. West, 'Architectural Sculpture in Parish Churches of the Eleventh and Twelfth Century West Midlands: Some Problems in Assessing the Evidence' in (ed.) J.Blair, Minsters and Parish Churches: the local church in transition 950-1200, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No. 17 (1988), 159-167, and T.A. Heslop, Norwich Castle Keep (Norwich, 1994).

Tcherikover has suggested that this form of chevron may have its ultimate origins in decorative masonry, with the three-dimensionality emerging from the incorporation of mouldings with flat geometric forms.[17] To an extent this is a plausible theory, although it does not explain why (in the case of geometric ornament) centripetal triangular forms should have been singled out for development over the other decorative masonry forms, such as centrifugal chevron, axe-head and elongated pentagons.



Pl. 4.16: St. Ebbe's. S. doorway. Beakhead motif.

The second type of centripetal profile is closer to the concept of 'bent' mouldings so inherent in centrifugal and frontal chevron design. The use of stepped parallel planes in formulating a repetitive triangular design had appeared as an arch decoration by the late eleventh century on both sides of the Channel. The concept of marking the transition between planes by the addition of a moulding seems to become apparent first in chevron stringcourse design rather than voussoir design.[18] It was probably developed initially as a solution to providing a more satisfactory transition between the raised surface of the stringcourse, and the flat surface of the wall, a common characteristic in stringcourse moulding design. The late eleventh century stringcourse in the south eastern ambulatory chapel at Gloucester St. Peter's crypt **[pl. 4.17]** is formed from a series of raised triangles comprised of two stepped 'layers'.[19] While not technically moulded, the perpendicular face of the upper layer is rounded providing a smoother transition between it and the narrow step that separates it from the wall surface.



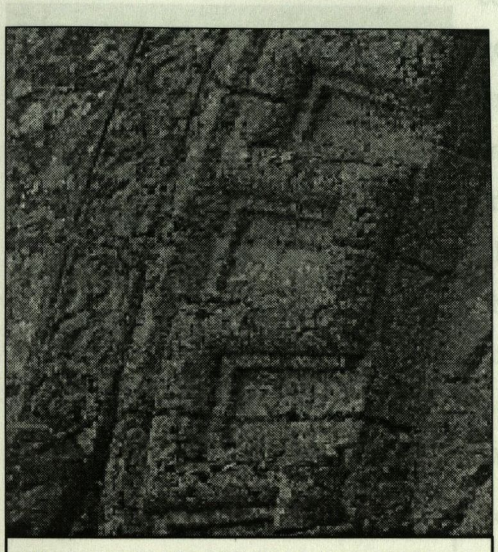
Pl. 4.17: Gloucester St. Peter's.S.W. crypt chapel.

[17] A. Tcherikover, 'Romanesque Sculpted Archivolts in Western France. Forms and Techniques', Arte Medievale, 3:1 (1989), 51-2.

[18] This may help to explain why most of the earliest dateable examples of centripetal arch chevron are found in the context of hood moulds which are allied, in concept at least, to the function of string courses.

[19] Although the chevron of the crypt vaults is a twelfth century insertion, there is no reason to doubt that the chapel stringcourse forms an original part of the fabric. It can thus be dated to between 1098 and 1100, C.

Properly moulded chevron in a stringcourse context becomes more commonplace by the 1120s and is typified by relatively simple mouldings forming a planar transition between a triangular panel and the wall surface. In some cases, for example the stringcourse separating arcade and triforium levels at Gloucester St. Peter's, the moulding profile could equally be compared to a simple lateral centrifugal moulding. However, there is a notable preference in chevron stringcourse design for the inclusion of a stepped element separating the stringcourse moulding from wall plane which is commonly replicated in centripetal, but not centrifugal designs



Pl. 4.18: Andrieu (Cal). N. transept door. Fret ornament.

The use of a stepped element to raise a moulding from a flat matrix is not found in contemporary straight arch mouldings. But it does occur as a common feature of other forms of moulded geometric ornament, most notably fret **[pl. 4.18]**, a motif which becomes popular during the same time as lateral centripetal chevron of this type, and in roughly the same geographical area.[20] Like lateral centripetal chevron, the range of mouldings used to create fret designs is quite limited, especially when compared to lateral centrifugal chevron. Of particular note however, is the fact that fret designs are never found straddling an underlying straight moulding design as is the case with some centripetal chevron, just as beakhead and clasp is only very rarely carved on a flat matrix.

Apart from the deepening of sculptural plane, centripetal chevron also differs through the treatment of the edge of the voussoir order. Commonly, centripetal chevron incorporates a straight moulding along the edge of the voussoir. This can either be part of an underlying moulding (i.e. like the edge mouldings found with beakhead designs) **[pl.4.15]** or purely the means of articulating the edge of a flat matrix **[pl.4.19]**. In the former case the edge roll can have any number of different profiles, but in the latter case the roll generally echoes the profile of the chevron moulding.

Wilson, 'Abbot Serlo's Church at Gloucester (1089-100); Its Place in Romanesque Architecture', BAACT, 7, (1987), 52-83.

[20] For fret ornament see D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 120.

As there is no technical reason why straight edge rolls should not have been incorporated in centrifugal and frontal chevron, their inclusion in some centripetal profile sequences must be attributable either to the personal preference of the mason, or conventions current at a given time or place.

In the case of flat matrix designs, the incorporation of edge rolls appears to have been left to individual choice, while chevrons overlaying mouldings, apparently followed conventions in contemporary straight mouldings design, which generally incorporated an edge roll. This is particularly explicit by the 1160s, when new, more elaborate moulding elements and sequences are being accepted into the mainstream of English architectural design. A characteristic feature of arch mouldings of the period is the use of either keeled or nibbed mouldings on the angle, flanked on either side by a symmetrical sequence, of (usually) plainer moulding elements, as for example at Worksop **[pl. 4.15]**.[21] Where centripetal chevron designs are incorporated, either as solid triangular panels, framed by a moulding, or as free standing rolls, chevron mouldings tend to echo the form of the plainer flanking mouldings, rather than the more 'exotic' arris moulding. Angled chevron on the other hand, generally incorporates a nibbed/ keeled moulding. The same trend is followed in directional chevron design.



Pl. 4.19: Formigny. S. choir door.

In contrast to frontal and centrifugal chevron, a greater proportion of centripetal mouldings are distributed equally across face and soffit. If compared to trends in straight moulding distribution, this would appear to be a result of a general shift toward the equal elaboration of face and soffit from the 1150s.

In summary, different types of chevron motif vary in their conception and so in the degree to which they can be used as a diagnostic feature in buildings analysis. Broadly speaking, chevron designs that are direct derivatives of straight moulding designs are the least informative, as they are represented by a large number of similar forms covering an extensive geographical and

[21] The preferred location of a 'pointed' element at the angle is most probably due to the pragmatic use of the actual corner of the block as the keel or nibbed element.

chronological spread. Types that fall into this category include a large number of lateral centrifugal forms that are particularly predominant in the southern part of England and Normandy in the first half of the twelfth century, and the majority of frontal chevron profiles. Transitional lateral centripetal and directional forms, which always follow straight moulding conventions, are also quite uniform. However, because of the wider range of mouldings in use by the 1160s, and the more limited geographic spread of transitional chevron forms, a greater relative diversity exists.

Most diverse, and therefore providing the greatest potential for stylistic analysis are those chevron motifs formed from less standardised moulding profiles. Amongst these can be ranked the range of profiles current in the north of England in the earlier part of the twelfth century, and the variety of forms found across all chevron types between c.1130-1160.

Chevron Design and Authorship

Having established which types of chevron provide the potential for useful comparative analysis, it now remains to examine how the analysis of specific types can aid the study of Romanesque architecture and sculpture.

The vast array of stylistically diverse and fragmentary remains of English Romanesque sculpture has led to a predominantly regionalistic approach to its scholarship. Little is known about the personalities involved in the commissioning and construction of Romanesque ecclesiastical buildings, or the nature of their roles in deciding on design details. As palpable stylistic similarities rarely coincide with neatly defined civil, ecclesiastical or topographical boundaries, the parameters of such studies tend to rely purely on the identification of a set of similar stylistic motifs, within the same locality.

Despite the continued reliance on stylistic and typological analysis within the discipline, chevron has seldom been used as a tool in the regional analysis of Romanesque sculpture. It appears that some scholars genuinely see it as being all the same and thus irrelevant, whilst others have felt too daunted by the task of searching hundreds of buildings for illusive parallels. Thus the role of chevron in establishing the existence of tangible 'schools' of masons has never been properly tested.

The Herefordshire School

One of the best-known schools of English Romanesque sculpture is the so-called Herefordshire school. The Herefordshire school's fame is centred on the highly original and individualistic figure style that has come to be seen as the hallmark of its master or masters. Of the seventeen or so sites where work of the school has been identified, six buildings incorporate chevron motifs.[22] The form of the Herefordshire school chevron has been largely ignored in the published literature, but has the potential to shed further light on the relationships between the various buildings in which it survives.[23]

The most famous of the Herefordshire group of churches is St. David's Kilpeck (He). The distinctive form of frontal chevron that ornaments the 2nd order of the south door at Kilpeck **[pl. 4.20]** is repeated on the 2nd order of the chancel arch. The chevron is carved on the face only and consists (from the intrados) of two flat fillets, a broad, slightly bulging roll and one further flat fillet. The chevron carving occupies only about one half of the face of each voussoir, the remainder, on the door, carved with diverse zoomorphic ornament overlapping a roll and hollow moulding, and on the chancel arch the same roll and hollow, but without the zoomorphs.

The apse vault ribs are carved on all three visible faces with chevron. The two vertical faces each with a lateral centrifugal chevron of double roll profile, and the soffit with two rolls of lateral chevron of similar profile arranged to form a lozenge motif. A row of small raised spurs forms a cogwheel edge. The profile is not found in any other buildings of the school, and no obvious parallels have been identified elsewhere. The three apse windows are decorated internally with lateral centrifugal chevron comprising two rolls flanked by angle fillets with a cogwheel edge.

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[22] These are Alvley, Chaddesly Corbett, , Billesley, Castle Frome, Stretton Sugwas, Brinsop, Eardisley, Hereford St. Giles, Fownehope, Ruardean, Rowlestone, Kilpeck, English Bicknore Rock, Aston, Shobdon, and Leominster. Chevron is found at the latter six.

[23] For the Herefordshire school see E. Robertson Hamer, Herefordshire Sculpture (unpublished PhD., University of Chicago, 1992), and numerous publications amongst which, S. Jonsdottier, 'The Portal of Kilpeck church; its place in English Romanesque Sculpture', Art Bulletin, 32, (1950), 171-180; M. Thurlby, 'A Note on the Romanesque Sculpture of Hereford Cathedral and the Hereford School of Sculpture', Burlington Magazine, 126, (April 1984), 233-4; J. King, 'The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 82-93; R.K. Morris, 'The Herefordshire School; Recent Discoveries' in (ed.) F.H. Thompson, Studies in Medieval Sculpture (Society of Antiquaries Occasional Paper new series III), (London, 1983),198-201; G. Zarnecki, 'A Newly Discovered Relief at Ruardean', The Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society, 76, (1957), 70-74; E. Chwojko and M. Thurlby, 'Gloucester and the Herefordshire School', JBAA, 150, (1997) ,17-26; J. Hut and M. Stokes, 'Sculpture and Patronage in a Shropshire Manor: a Group of Twelfth Century Sculptures from Alvely', JBAA, 150, (1997), 27-40 and M. Thurlby, The Herefordshire School of Sculpture (Herefordshire, 1999).

The window chevron, derived from a common straight moulding profile is found throughout England, from Northampton to the Isle of Wight, and thus little can be said of its significance, except that the Kilpeck masons had knowledge of contemporary moulding profile conventions.[24] King compares the profile of the rib chevron at Kilpeck with the chevron on the eastern most nave arcades at Hereford, although he concedes that the profile is not identical.[25] Chwojko and Thurlby cite a comparable example in the two east arches reused in the south east 'bridge' at Gloucester cathedral,[26] in fact neither of these comparisons is an identical match, both representing examples of common centrifugal types. The lack of a good parallel for the Kilpeck rib profile is more a result of the requirements of the sculptural field, as rib vaults decorated with chevron ornament were still rare during this period. They are thus of little use in a comparative context.[27]



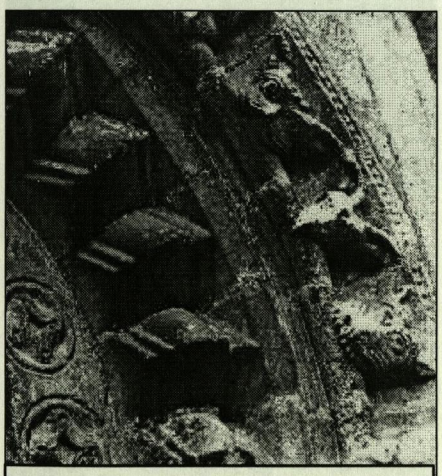
Pl. 4.20: Kilpeck. S. doorway.

The frontal chevron on the door **[pl. 4.20]** and chancel arch is more promising. The doubling of the flat fillet along the arris marks a departure from standard straight moulding conventions, and the incorporation of a straight moulding on the same voussoir further singles out the motif. King highlighted the fact that this form of frontal chevron was not repeated in any of the other buildings of the school, but a close parallel is found at English Bicknor (Gl).[28] Preserved on the (now) first arch of the north aisle, an exactly similar form of chevron is combined on the same voussoir with beakhead/zoomorphic motifs, on every second voussoir. Although the beakhead carving at English Bicknor is crude in comparison to the Kilpeck sculpture, this characteristic of combining two clearly definable orders on the same voussoir sets

[24] This is confirmed by the presence of a perfect roll/hollow/roll straight moulding on the portal.
[25] J. King, 'The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 88.
[26] E. Chwojko and M. Thurlby, 'Gloucester and the Herefordshire School', JBAA, 150, (1997), 18.
[27] See L. Hoey, 'The Articulation of Rib Vaults in the Romanesque Parish Churches of England and Normandy', The Antiquaries Journal, 77, (1997), 145-178.
[28] J. King, ' The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 83. S. Jonsdottier, 'The Portal of Kilpeck church; its place in English Romanesque Sculpture', Art Bulletin, 32, (1950), 176 explores and dismisses English Bicknor as a source for the school. King suggests that the carving here imitated that at Kilpeck, J. King, 'The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 83.

the two places apart from the more tectonic programmes of most Romanesque sculptural schemes in England.[29]

Profiles comparable to the chevron motif on its own are more widespread. Cwojko and Thurlby argued that the 'precise parallel' between it, and the chevron in bay 8 of the north nave arcade at Gloucester St. Peter's (together with a number of other links) indicated that at least one of the Kilpeck masons received his formal training at Gloucester.[30] While the similarity is indeed a convincing one, it fails to take into account the relative popularity of this form in other important West Country buildings. Notable examples can be found at Malmesbury Abbey (Wi), in the outer triforium arches of the nave, and at Pershore (Wo) on the blind intersecting arcades on the exterior gable of the south transept.



Pl. 4.21: Lullington. N. doorway.

The combination of beak head placed on a roll/hollow moulding above the same frontal chevron profile is found in other parish church contexts not usually associated with the Herefordshire school. At Lullington (So) **[pl. 4.21]**, a building traditionally associated with the Old Sarum Master, this combination is found on the arch of the north door, albeit constructed in the more traditional manner using two sets of voussoirs.[31] A slight variation to the profile (with three flat fillets at the arris rather than two) is found in the south doorway of South Cerney (Gl), again combined with a beakhead motif placed over a roll/ hollow profile.[32] The latter two comparisons led King to suggest that this type of chevron is more diagnostic of the work of the Old Sarum Master than of the Herefordshire School.[33] However,

[29] Remarkably few frontal and centrifugal motifs are combined on the same stone with straight mouldings. Other examples are found at Siston (Gl) and a group of buildings centred around Gloucester. The further structural anomalies of the portal at Kilpeck are discussed by S. Jonsdottier, 'The Portal of Kilpeck church; its place in English Romanesque Sculpture', Art Bulletin, 32, (1950), 179.

[30] E. Chwojoko and M. Thurlby, 'Gloucester and the Herefordshire School', JBAA, 150, (1997), 17.

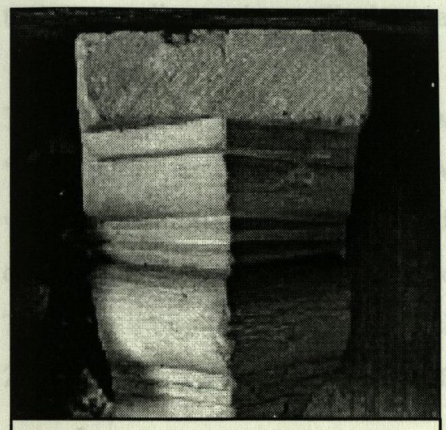
[31] For a discussion of the sources and affiliations of the Lullington master see R. Stalley, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture; a Study of the Buildings Erected by Roger of Salisbury 1102-39', JBAA, 34, (1971), 62-83.

[32] For the relationship of South Cerney to Gloucester St. Peters see J.K. West, 'Architectural Sculpture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century Parish Churches of the West Midlands; Some Problems in Assessing the Evidence' in (ed.) J Blair, Minsters and Parish Churches; the local church in transition 950-1200, (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph No.17, 1988), 159-69.

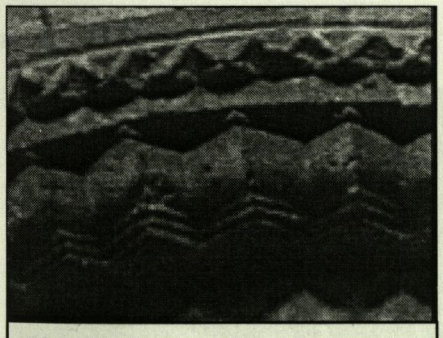
[33] J. King, 'The Old Sarum Master; A Twelfth Century Sculptor in South West England', Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, 83, (1990), 89.

significantly, this type of frontal chevron is quite different in character from fragments surviving at Old Sarum (Wi) **[pl. 4.22]**, with the South Cerney chevron being closer to an example at Romsey (Ha) **[pl. 4.23]** than any surviving in its immediate vicinity.

The chevron at Kilpeck therefore reveals that the sculptor was familiar with trends within a relatively broad West Country context. The existence of close parallels at a number of high status churches in the area implies that this particular profile may have been the preferred motif of a relatively high status sculptor or group of sculptors.



Pl. 4.22: Old Sarum. Fragment.



Pl. 4.23: Romsey. Bay 4, N. nave arcade.

The other key monument associated with the school is the parish church at Shobdon (He). The church was demolished during the eighteenth century, but its elaborately carved north and south portals and chancel arch were preserved and re-erected as a garden folly.[34] Zarnecki saw Shobdon as the earliest of the works of the Herefordshire school, suggesting that the differences between the 'three hands' traceable at both Shobdon and Kilpeck were more marked, indicating the newness of what was later to become a more harmonious working relationship.[35] One suspects that the interpretation of Shobdon as the earlier of the monuments was also convenient in helping to account for the influence of pilgrimage sculpture in the group, given the documented account of Oliver de Merlimond's visit to Santiago during the period of Shobdon's construction.[36]

In more recent years Shobdon's position within the chronological context of the Herefordshire school has been re-examined, in particular by James King.[37] He traces other possible sources for

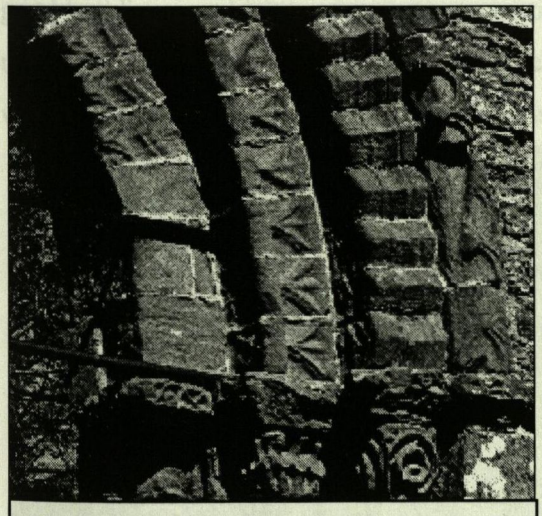
[34] G. Zarnecki, 'The Priory Church of Shobdon and its Founder' in (eds.) D. Buckton and T.A. Heslop, Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Lasko (London, 1994), 217.
[35] G. Zarnecki, Later Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1190 (London, 1954), 9.
[36] For a full account of the documentary sources relating to the construction of Shobdon see G. Zarnecki, 'The Priory Church of Shobdon and its Founder' in (eds.) D. Buckton and T.A. Heslop, Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Lasko (London, 1994), 211-218.
[37] J. King, ' The Parish Church at Kilpeck Reassessed' BAACT, 15, (1995), 82-93.

the strong western French influence in the school, concluding that Kilpeck must date to the early years of the 1130s, therefore influencing Shobdon rather than the other way around.[38]

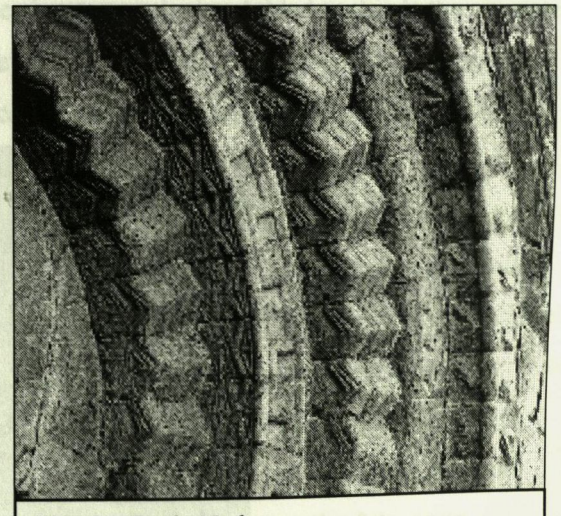
The range of chevron motifs found at Shobdon is greater than at Kilpeck, and there are no parallels in their forms. The original chancel arch at Shobdon has four orders of chevron **[pl. 4.24]**. The inner order is carved with lateral centripetal chevron that is very worn, but seems to have a complex moulding profile comprising a double angle fillet/ roll/ angle fillet/ hollow/ double angle fillet profile on the face with an arrow head motif in the outer spandrel. The soffit is too worn to discern the profile, but was apparently also carved.

The second order again is decorated with lateral centripetal chevron, this time in the form of 'arrow heads' straddling a roll, hollow moulding. The 'arrows' are formed from two stepped rolls with a central roll traversing the length of the spandrel from the point. Both face and soffit are carved with this form which is arranged point to point with the points touching a broad arris roll. This form is mimicked exactly at Rock **[pl. 4.25]** on the outer order of the north door arch and the 2nd order of the chancel arch **[pl. 4.26]**.

The third order is carved with frontal chevron. On the face the profile is roll, angle fillet, hollow, angle fillet, roll, while the soffit has a double angle fillet and concave spandrel crossed from base



Pl. 4.24: Shobdon. Chancel arch.



Pl. 4.25: Rock. N. doorway.

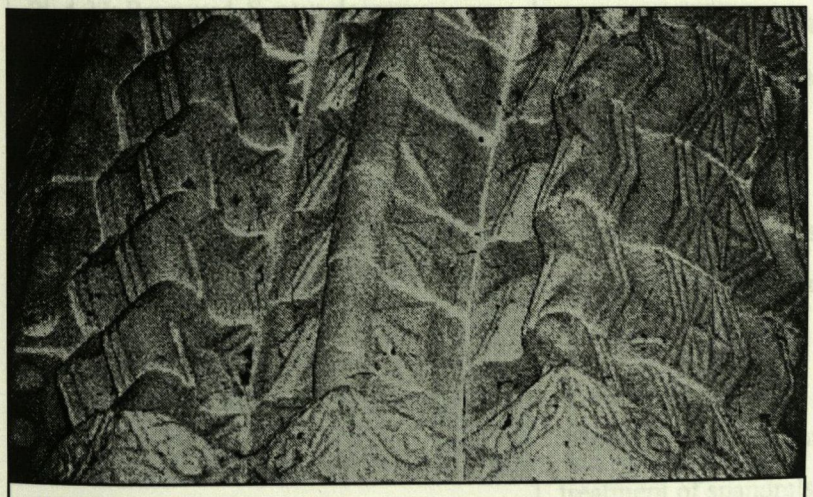
[38] Robert of Bethune, Bishop of Hereford was asked to consecrate the church. As he was bishop between 1131 and 1148, the church must have been at least partially completed between these dates. G. Zarnecki, 'The Priory Church of Shobdon and its Founder' in (eds) D. Buckton and T.A. Heslop, Studies in Medieval Art and Architecture in Honour of Peter Lasko (London, 1994), 211-220.

to apex by a ridge giving an arrow head affect similar to the second order chevron. This type of chevron is used again on the jambs of the right arch. A similar, though not identical form is found at Rock on the inner and third order arches, and fourth order jamb of the north doorway. A comparable form of frontal chevron is also found at Leominster, which, although not exactly parallel in either profile or spandrel ornament is unusual, like Shobdon and Rock, in that the chevron moulding is continued onto the soffit.

The label at Shobdon is chamfered. The vertical face is decorated with 'pseudo-chevron' comprising a series of stepped, raised triangular forms joined in such a way as to form an arcade (i.e. with curved joints). The points of the triangular panels have a small raised bead, which occupies most of the chamfer. This motif again is found in almost identical detail on the label of the chancel arch, and the fourth order of the north door at Rock.

One further type of chevron is found at Shobdon, on the jamb of the left arch. This is lateral centrifugal in type with a roll/ double angle fillet/ hollow/ double angle fillet/ roll profile on the face and the familiar 'arrow' motif on the soffit. An identical form is found on the arch of the south door at St. Giles Aston (He).

The wide range of chevron motifs and unusual moulding profiles makes Shobdon a particularly good building on which to carry out comparative chevron analysis. Added to this is the consistent use of the same spandrel ornament across all chevron types. This is not carved in the normal way, in low relief on a flat plane, but instead is carved using oblique cuts, reminiscent of chip carving.

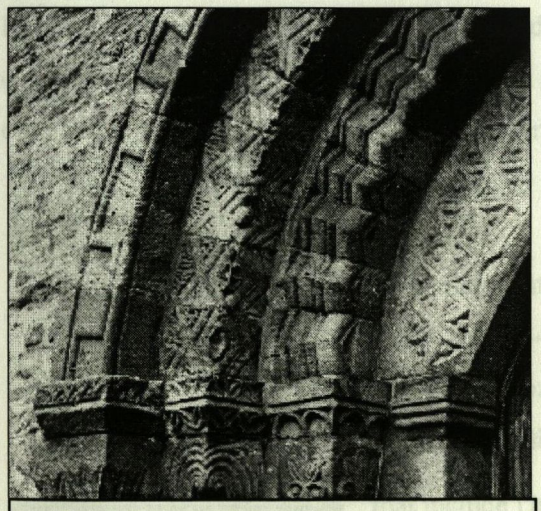


Pl. 4.26: Rock. Chancel arch.

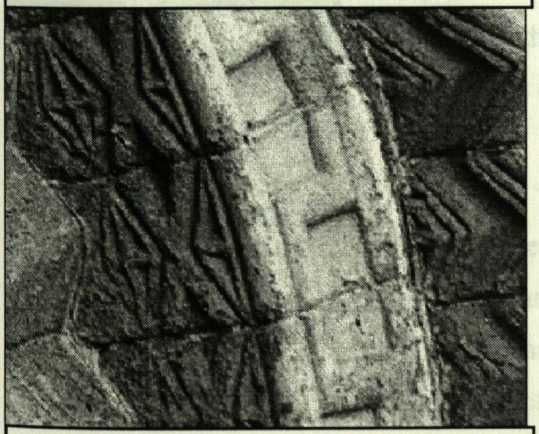
The number of parallels with Rock (Wo) indicates a strong link between the two buildings most easily explained as being the work of the same workshop. The use of a similar motif at Aston (He), which is not found at Rock

is also of interest, and given the added parallel found in its unusual abacus decoration, can also be added to the same workshop's *ouevre*.

Traditionally both Rock and Aston have been seen as outliers of the Herefordshire school. Zarnecki recognised the hand of a single mason of the school on the capitals and abaci of the chancel arch at Rock, at Shobdon and Kilpeck and his 'early' work at Aston, but failed to recognise the significance of links, and disparities, in chevron design.[39] Thurlby has also acknowledged links between the three buildings, though based more on the foliate and zoomorphic sculptural parallels than on the chevron. He suggested that the shared patronage of the three churches by Hugh de Mortimer and Oliver de Merlimond might have accounted for the close ties.[40]



Pl. 4.27: Bromyard. S. nave doorway.



Pl.4.28: Rock. N. doorway.

If a school of sculpture is defined as of localised group of buildings which share a feature or features not found elsewhere, then an examination of the Herefordshire school chevron has the potential to re-shape the manner in which its constituent buildings are understood. On the basis of chevron analysis, Kilpeck, which is generally seen as the linchpin of the school, becomes an outlier. The set of chevron motifs at Shobdon on the other hand, are more indicative of the work of a school demonstrating as they do, a tangible link between buildings which have this and other types of motif in common. In their comparative uniqueness, they also provide a more realistic possibility of tracing some of the possible sources of influence or background of the mason in question.

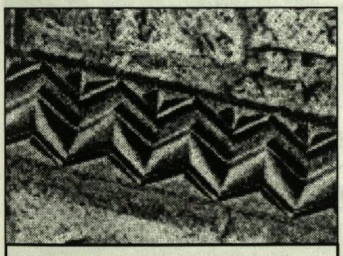
The closest West Country parallel to the Shobdon treatment of spandrels outside the commonly

[39] G. Zarnecki, Later English Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1957), 14-15.
[40] M. Thurlby, The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture (Herefordshire, 1999), 87-95.

perceived parameters of the Herefordshire School is found at Bromyard (He) **[pl. 4.27]**. Here, on the south doorway of the nave the lozenge and chevron patterns, although differing in profile, find parallel with the Shobdon workshop in the application of chip-carved 'arrowhead' spandrel ornament. Other features, such as the embattled ornament on the outer order, identical to that of the north door at Rock **[pl. 4.28]**, are also suggestive of a link with the workshop.

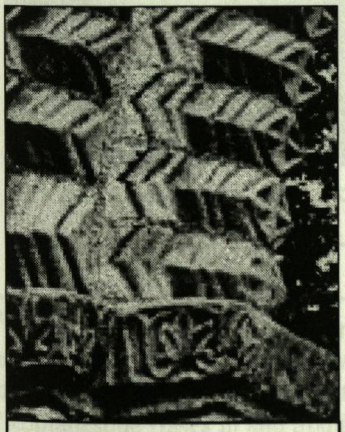
Apart from Bromyard, examples of chip carved lozenges used as spandrel decoration are relatively rare in the West Country. One important example is found on the chevron ornament Ludlow Castle chapel (Sa) west door. Here the profiles of the chevron ornament are derived from standard straight mouldings, but their soffits are profusely ornamented with chip-carved ornament.

However, even the significance of chip-carved spandrel ornament in terms of establishing common authorship must be approached with some caution, since it is also used as a distinctive ornamental feature in a number of chevron- ornamented buildings in the north of England and Scotland.



Pl. 4.29: Durham. Chapter house stringcourse.

At Durham cathedral the chapter house string-course **[pl. 4.29]** has the same chip-carved arrow motif as is found at Shobdon. The chip carved lozenge, which occurs at Rock, Bromyard and Ludlow is one of the distinctive features of a group of Scottish buildings that include Dunfermline, Dalmeny, Leuchars and Tyningham **[pl. 4.30]**. While the visual parallels are undeniable, it seems very unlikely that they have any direct connection with contemporary developments deep in the Herefordshire countryside.[41]



Pl. 4.30: Tyningham. Chancel arch.

The hallmark 'arrow head' feature is most dominant in the centripetal chevron found at both Rock and Shobdon. It finds no convincing parallels in the immediate vicinity. Further afield, one unexpected parallel is found on the inner order of the eastern tower arch at St. Nicholas, Old Shoreham in Sussex.[42] None of the other

[41] Dunfermline can be dated to between c.1128 and 1150 and the Durham chapter house to between 1133 and 1141. Shobdon was consecrated between 1131 and 1148. See chapter three notes 43 and 45.

sculpture at Old Shoreham bears any resemblance to the Herefordshire style, so it is difficult to make a case for common authorship. A common source for the motif would therefore seem to be the most feasible explanation.

The sculpture at Shobdon demonstrates a clear knowledge of sculpture in western France. Traditionally this has been attributed to the direct influence of its patron, Oliver de Merlimond, who is known to have travelled to Santiago while it was being built, presumably through western France.[43] More recent scholarship has interpreted it as a general response to strengthening political ties with western France.[44] During the twelfth century, Old Shoreham formed one of the major maritime links with Normandy, its importance indicated by the carriage of the king's treasury there in 1155, 1191 and 1198.[45] Vessels were also licensed to take pilgrims for Santiago de Compostella from here until the 1380s.[46]



Pl. 4.31: Fenioux. N. doorway.



Pl. 4.32: Dollianova. Apse arcade.

Given the lack of other obvious parallels with Shobdon at Old Shoreham it is unlikely that the latter directly influenced the former, but rather that they shared a common source, possibly linked with the pilgrimage route. An obvious starting point is the west of France, which provided so much inspiration for the Shobdon workshop. Here chevron is not a dominant feature, and surviving examples tend to be characteristically less complex than the Shobdon and Old Shoreham

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[42] Here, while the arrow head form is the same it occupies the face of the voussoir only, and is set on a flat matrix rather than a concave moulding as is the case in Shobdon and Rock. Although not historically dated, Rigold suggests a date in the 1130s on the basis of comparisons in base moulding design, S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases in and South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R. Gilyard Beer and A.D. Saunders, Ancient Monuments and Their Interpretation (London, 1977), 122.

[43] J.C. Dickinson and P.T. Ricketts, 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey', Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, 39, (1969), 423.

[44] For the role of Henry of St Jean d'Angely and more general political connections with Western France during the period see J. King, 'The Parish Church at Kilpeck reassessed', BAACT, 15, (1995), 89.

[45] Victoria County History of Sussex, Vol.6, part 1, (1982), 156.

[46] Ibid., 157.

examples. A possible source of inspiration can, however, be seen at a number of buildings throughout the Saintonge region of France.[47] The feature can best be described as a type of pseudo-dogtooth comprising two sets of the 'arrow-head' type motif arranged to form a pyramidal shape **[pl. 4.31]**. Viewed face-on the motif is similar to the Shobdon, Rock and Old Shoreham chevron, although somewhat smaller in scale. Another example, similar to the western French ones, occurs in Sardinia, on the external arcading of the choir at Dollianova **[pl. 4.32]**.[48]

So what does this brief overview of the chevron design of one so-called school reveal? Firstly, it suggests that chevron was not used consistently by the same group of masons, its absence being notable from a number of buildings associated with the school.[49] Given the small number of intact buildings, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions as to why chevron was used in some cases and not in others. But it is of note that Kilpeck, Shobdon and Rock were all quite sophisticated within the context of twelfth century parish church architecture.

Secondly, it reveals that the school used two distinct threads of chevron design. There could be any one of a number of explanations for this- the use of a different combination of masons, a significant time lapse leading to a change in fashionable chevron mouldings, or simply the breadth of creativity engaged by the individual or individuals involved.

This latter point is certainly true to some extent. If one assumes that the Rock and Shobdon chevron is the work of the same hands (based on the rarity of form, and the number of different parallels) then the differences between the chevron of the two monuments become as significant as the similarities. Small variations in certain of the moulding profiles and designs used at Rock and Shobdon, suggest that common authorship cannot necessarily be detected through exact parallels in moulding profiles, or indeed chevron type, even when forms are sufficiently unusual to merit comparison. This in turn places an important question mark over the validity of using direct comparison of form as a means of establishing links between different monuments at all.

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[47] The motif can be seen at Fenioux, Corme-Royal, Pont l'Abbe D'Arnoult, Chadenac, Saint-Symphorien de Broue, Matha Saint-Herie, Talmont, Echillais, and many others, see F. Eygun, Saintonge Romane (Pierre-qui-Vire, 1979).

[48] The twelfth century sections of St Pantaléon, Dollianova are undated. But a funerary inscription, incorporated into the wall establishes a *terminus ante quem* of 1171. R. Serra, Sardaigne Romane (Pierre-qui-Vire, 1989), 90, 95.

[49] Unfortunately many of the pieces of sculpture associated with the school are now in a fragmentary state and *ex situ*. This may distort the true proportion of buildings that included chevron as part of their sculptural programmes.

The various forms of chevron used by the Herefordshire school do provide some important contextual information. Unlike the figurative sculpture and even the structure of the portal at Kilpeck, all of the chevron types are exactly what one would expect to find in a West Country church of the first half of the twelfth century. The frontal chevron in particular indicates a familiarity with localised trends in chevron design, which, while failing to provide the exact location of its master's training, suggests the general *milieu* from which he, or the design, emerged.

The chevron at Shobdon, Rock, Aston and Leominster on the other hand, insinuates a more creative spirit. In common with the Kilpeck chevron it represents a subtle adjustment of grammatical rules, but more significant is the range of different chevron forms, in particular at Rock and Shobdon. There are few other buildings, large or small, before 1150 that display anything like this range of forms. Twelve different types were employed at Shobdon and Rock alone, thirteen if Leominster and Aston are included.

Chevron as an indicator of date

Although seldom used in the analysis of regional style, chevron has frequently been used as a tool for dating Romanesque buildings. Most commonly, its presence in a building is used to provide a *terminus post quem* for construction, based on the now long-established belief that the first chevron appeared at Durham c.1110-20.[50] Sir Alfred Clapham established Durham's role as the propagator of chevron ornament.[51] He argued that the ornament was not found in any of the 'great' churches before 1110, but that from c.1110-1115 it appeared in proliferation first at Durham, and then shortly afterwards at Peterborough, Hereford, Norwich and Carlisle.

Clapham's observation failed to stress that Durham is only the earliest *dateable* example because reliable dates for 'great' churches are so scarce. He also ignored the fact that many influential buildings which may have incorporated chevron have been destroyed, and that, as is the case with straight mouldings, many popular motifs may have been disseminated at parish church level before making an impact on the more ambitious works.

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[50] See for example E. Gethyn-Jones, The Dymock School of Sculpture (Chichester, 1979) 19; D. Kahn, Romanesque Architectural Sculpture in Kent (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1982, University of London), 46.
[51] A. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture After the Conquest (Oxford, 1934), 128.

To establish this point it is necessary to look only as far as Canterbury. Two parish churches near Canterbury, Walmer (K) and Smeeth (K), incorporate an unusual lozenge and disc motif which is also found in St. Anselm's chapel at Canterbury cathedral, and in the preserved lower levels of Anselm's choir.[52] This motif, which is also found in the *westwerk* at Brook (K), a church probably built by prior Ernulf (1096-1107), is sufficiently unusual beyond this group of buildings to be considered a hallmark of the late eleventh century masons who worked at Canterbury cathedral.[53]

At both Walmer and Smeeth this motif is used in conjunction with chevron ornament. This suggests that chevron ornament was being used in the south-east of England at least by the first decade of the twelfth century, a theory supported by Renn's dating of the Canterbury Keep chevron,[54] and McAleer's dating of the Ethelred tower at St. Augustine's, also decorated with chevron ornament.[55] The lack of the motif from surviving parts of Anselm's phase of building at Canterbury has been used in the past as negative evidence against the use of chevron in England prior to c. 1110.[56] However, the fact that the Canterbury mason did not choose to use chevron ornament in the surviving parts of the building, is not a reliable indication that the motif was unknown.[57]

The existence of chevron elsewhere in England prior to its use at Durham also helps to explain the diversity of forms used by the late 1110s, suggesting a longer period of time for the motif to become known, and adapted to the needs of individual structures. It is impossible to pinpoint the

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[52] For comment on this motif see D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 82.

[53] See S. Rigold, 'The Demesne of Christ Church at Brook', Archaeological Journal, 162, (1969), 270-1. The base mouldings on the chancel arch at Walmer also provide a good link with 'Ernulfian' work. S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases in and South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R. Gilyard Beer and A.D.Saunders, Ancient Monuments and Their Interpretation (London, 1977), 117.

[54] D. Renn, 'The Decoration of Canterbury Castle Keep', BAACT, 5, (1982), 125-8.

[55] J.P. McAleer, 'The Ethelbert Tower of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', JBAA, 140, (1987), 88-111.

[56] For example, D. Kahn has suggested that he north crypt door dates to Wibert's priorate- probably the 1150s- and not to the earlier phase of building, D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 114-117. However, the chevron, capital and abacus carving is nothing like any of the sculpture associated with Wibert, and with the exception of the onyx jamb shaft, the door fits more comfortably into a date at the very beginning of the century.

[57] Given that the dedication of the choir did not take place until 1130, it is unlikely that there was no chevron at all, particularly in the light of its inclusion in practically every contemporary cathedral and abbey church. William of Malmesbury's rapturous description of the decorative effects of the choir *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, (ed.) N.E.S.A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, (1870), 138 hints at its possible use. The use of chevron in William the Englishman's design for the new choir after 1179, a building which the monks had specifically requested be reminiscent of its fire-destroyed predecessor, would seem to further support this theory.

'earliest' introduction of the motif, however, the fact that the Durham chevron is not the genesis of the motif in the Anglo-Norman realm has significant implications for the accepted chronologies of a number of English buildings.

If chevron cannot be used to provide a reliable *terminus post quem* for buildings, to what extent can analysis of its form be used to construct a chronological framework, against which previously undated structures can be dated? An examination of chevron moulding profiles and subsidiary decoration in the first section of this chapter, suggested that a general pattern of development of chevron forms based on its relationship with straight mouldings. However, it also highlighted the fact that as certain moulding forms remained popular throughout the century, so too did certain types of chevron. This emphasises the need for contextual rather than isolated analysis, which acknowledges that the evolution of chevron was far from linear. Furthermore, the comparison between Shobdon and Rock suggests that while in certain cases it may be possible to identify the work of a single atelier- and by implication, a similar date- the range and varying complexity of motifs used by some workshops complicates comparative analysis.

This said, chevron ornament can make a useful contribution to the broader understanding of undated sculptural programmes. The objective of following section is to examine this in greater depth.

Lincoln Cathedral

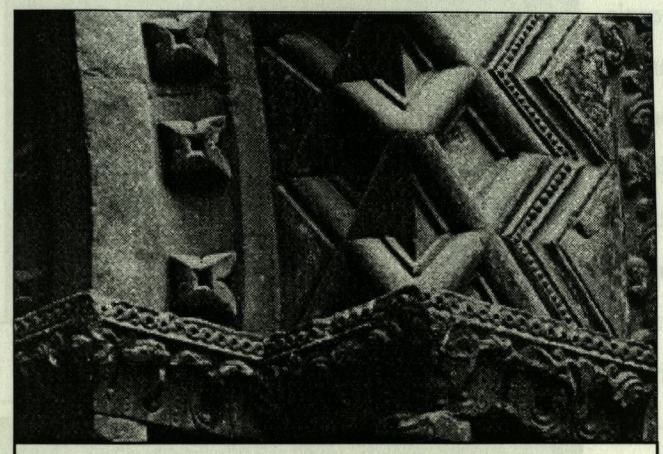
The three portals inserted into the west façade of Lincoln cathedral all incorporate chevron designs. These have been subject to heavy-handed restoration in the past, but the few original survivals suggest that J.C. Buckler, the mid-nineteenth century architect who interfered most with the west portals, adhered to his promise that 'no single ornament [had] been renewed except from ancient authority side by side with the imitation'.[58]

In 1953 Zarnecki argued that the portals were attributable to the reign of Bishop Alexander, and were dateable to c. 1145. The basis for this attribution is both historical and stylistic. The historical source is the *Historia Anglorum*, in which Henry of Huntington recorded that after the fire at Lincoln, Bishop Alexander restored the church with subtle workmanship, making it second

[58] J.C. Buckler, A Description and Defence of the Restorations of the Exterior of Lincoln Cathedral (Oxford and London, 1866), 91, quoted from T. Cocke, 'Lincoln Cathedral: Post-Medieval Perceptions' in (ed.) D. Kahn, The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator (London, 1992), 163-176.

to none in England.[59] Although no mention is made of the west front, it is widely accepted that the frieze and the west doors were inserted during this period.

Stylistically, Zarnecki saw strong links with Old Sarum, where a similar beakhead form was used.[60] He also suggested a link between Lincoln and the west front of St. Denis, built between 1137 and 1140. The principal basis for this is the jamb shafts of the central doorway, which are decorated with inhabited scroll and floral lozenge designs, both used on the west portal at St. Denis. Keel mouldings also make one of their earliest appearances in France at St. Denis, so the presence of a keel moulding on the north door at Lincoln was used as further evidence of a link between the two buildings.



Pl. 4.33: Lincoln. N.W. doorway.



Pl. 4.34: Llandaff. S. doorway.

While Zarnecki was willing to admit that the sculpture of the doorways was precocious, his analysis of the ubiquitous chevron ornament was dismissive, describing it as a common contemporary English motif. While common, it is difficult to reconcile the specific forms of chevron used at Lincoln with a c.1145 date.

The outer orders of both north and south doorways are worked with a form of trellis chevron motif **[pls. 4.33, 4.35]**. This type of chevron is relatively unusual in England, thus facilitating meaningful comparison. The closest parallels to the form, with solid raised outer spandrels and

[59] 'Ecclesiam vero suam, que combustione deturpata fuerat, subtili artificio sic reformavit ut pulchiorquam in ipsa sui novitate compareret nec ullius aedificii structurae intra fines Anglie cederat' (ed.) T. Arnold, *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, (London, 1879), 278-9.

[60] Alexander was Roger of Salisbury's nephew and was archdeacon of Old Sarum prior to becoming bishop at Lincoln, strengthening the possibility of a link. However, beyond the comparison between the long splayed tongues of the beakheads at the two sites there is little tangible similarity; differences are

hollowed inner spandrels are found at Darlington, Llandaff **[pl. 4.34]** and Winchester St. Cross. Construction of Darlington was probably started shortly before 1192.[61] The south door at Llandaff is not precisely dated, but has traditionally been placed in the latter part of the twelfth century.[62] Finally at Winchester St. Cross the same type of motif is used on the north choir aisle rib, thought to have been finished by its patron, Henry of Blois' death in 1171.[63]



Pl. 4.35: Lincoln. S.W doorway.



Pl. 4.36: Lincoln. S.W. tower window.

The third order of the south door at Lincoln is worked with syncopated chevron **[pl. 4.35]**. A simpler syncopated pattern, similar to those found in the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury, is found on the south west tower at Lincoln **[pl. 4.36]**. As outlined in the previous chapter, with the exception of the crossing arch at Hereford cathedral, all known examples of hyphenated chevron date to after the 1150s, while syncopation would appear to be exclusively a post-1150 phenomenon.

The inner orders of both north and south doors have a continuous order of centrifugal chevron on face and soffit, with small bosses in the arris spandrels. This is a relatively common motif, and is found in a number of post- 1150 buildings, such as the priory at Halesowen (Wo), and St. Ebbe's (O), both traditionally dated to c.1170.

The hood mould on the north door is carved with deeply undercut directional chevron **[pl.**

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particularly significant in the mouldings upon which the heads are set. At Old Sarum there is a plain concave and at Lincoln a flat matrix with broad arris roll.

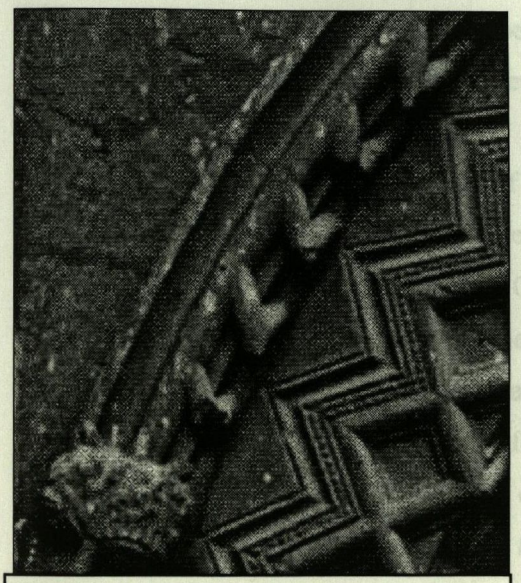
[61] In 1192 Galfrid of Coldingham reports that Bishop Le Puiset did not desist from building the church at Dernington [sic]. J. Cunningham, 'Hugh Le Puiset and the Church of St. Cuthbert', BAACT, 3 (1980), 164.

[62] J. Newman, Buildings of Wales, Glamorgan (Harmondsworth, 1995), 244.

[63] VCH Hampshire, V, (1912), 59-69.

4.37]. Although a common type, this chevron is not found elsewhere in England before the 1160s when it is used at St. Bartholomew's Smithfield in the south transept, and at St. Andrews, becoming more widespread in the 1170s and 1180s.

Finally, the inner and third orders of the central portal have a basic frontal chevron design. As outlined earlier in this chapter, this form is common from the 1120s up to the end of the century, and thus is of little diagnostic value.



Pl. 4.37: Lincoln. N.W. doorway, hood mould.

These comparisons, together with the presence of a keeled moulding flanked by deep hollows of late type,[64] pseudo-dogtooth **[pl. 4. 33]**, and acanthus capitals suggest that were it not for the existence of documentary 'evidence', the doorways would have been placed at the very earliest c. 1160.

The presence of an 'advanced' form of chevron on some of the tower windows suggests that the insertion of the doorways and work on the towers may have been part of the same campaign. Given that practically all of the closest comparisons to the Lincoln chevron date to the latter part of the twelfth century, it is hard to reconcile a c. 1145 date for the work. It is more feasible that the works were actually carried out at a later stage by one of Alexander's successors.

On his death in 1148, Alexander was succeeded as Bishop by Robert de Chesney.[65] Chesney had previously been archdeacon of Leicester, where he had gained a reputation as a man of 'great humility and simplicity',[66] a reputation that stayed with him to his death in 1166 when Cambrensis described him as 'a man of great humility'.[67] Stylistically the portals might fit into

[64] As mentioned previously, keels are found in the Durham chapter house of 1133-41, however, they are used in conjunction with moulding elements that one would expect to find at that date. The Lincoln keel is flanked on either side by deep hollows with sharp outer edges, a feature that becomes commonplace only towards the end of the century.

[65] (ed.) T. Arnold, *Henrici Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, (London, 1879), 281.

[66] (ed.) W. Stubbs, *Ralph de Diceto, Abbreviationes Chronicarum,* I, Rolls Series, (London, 1876), 258.

[67] (ed.) J.S. Dimock, *Giraldi Cambrensis, Opera*, vii, Rolls Series, (London, 1861-91), 164.

the end of Chesney's tenure at Lincoln, although if the programme had been complete at his death, one might expect his obituary to have reflected something of the ostentatious design.

Following Chesney's death, Lincoln essentially remained without a bishop for almost seventeen years.[68] In 1173, Geoffrey Plantagenet, natural son of King Henry II was appointed to the bishopric, even though he was only twenty years old, and had yet to acquire priests' orders. Geoffrey resigned the bishopric prior to his ordination in 1181, with the charge from William de Newburgh that he enjoyed the fruits of his benefice 'knowing not how to feed the Lord's sheep though apt at fleecing them'.[69] History does not relate how he used the money, and there is certainly no mention of any of it being filtered through to the aggrandisement of the cathedral.

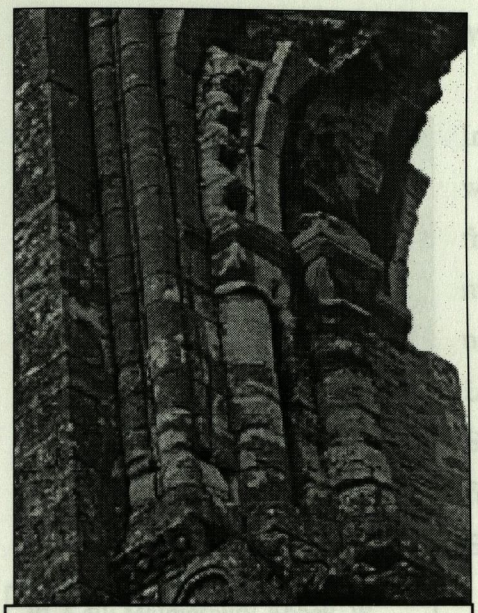
It is not until 1186, and the consecration of St. Hugh of Grenoble as bishop at Lincoln that a patron noted for great building works is presented. Hugh had previously been prior at Witham (So) and is credited with building the first Carthusian monastery there from c. 1180.[70] In the context of Lincoln, he is best known for the extensive rebuilding of the cathedral at Lincoln following the 'earthquake' of 1185.[71] The appearance of Hugh's choir at Lincoln, started in 1192,[72] is only known from the excavated foundations. However, its unusual form, and the sophistication of the surviving work in the eastern transepts suggest a desire for innovation, rather than the essentially conservative approach that the inclusion of chevron might suggest.

Although documentary references to the patronage of great building works at Lincoln are primarily associated with Bishop Alexander and Bishop Hugh, it seems unlikely that either was responsible for the western portals. Comparisons with other examples of chevron point to a more compelling date of c.1170, coinciding roughly with the end of Chesney's reign, or the appointment of Geoffrey Plantagenet.

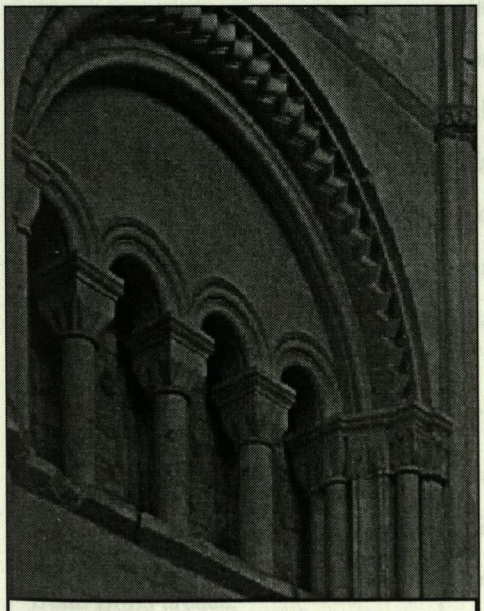
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[68] (ed.) H.R. Luard, *Annales Monastici*, iv, Rolls Series, (London, 1864-9), 381.
[69] (ed.) R.K. Potter,*Gesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1976), 154.
[70] D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales, (London, 1951), 123.
[71] (ed.) W. Stubbs, *Chronica Rogeri de Houedene*, ii, Rolls Series, (London, 1868-70), 303-4.
[72] Ed. J.S. Dimock, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, vii, Rolls Series, (London, 1861-91), 40, 97.

Malmesbury Abbey



Pl. 4.38: Malmesbury Abbey. Transept. Triforium arch.



Pl. 4.39: Malmesbury Abbey. Nave. triforium arch.

The chevron at Malmesbury Abbey (Wi) also highlights the need for some revision of accepted chronologies. Traditionally, the abbey church at is dated to c.1160. This is based on William of Malmesbury's inference that the Saxon church at Malmesbury was standing during his lifetime, and that no mention of new building work is made in his writings, a strange omission for a man who wrote about building works further afield. Little in depth analysis has been published on the surviving fabric of the choir and nave. The south porch and doorway on the other hand, have come under close scrutiny. These are decorated with a complex scheme of figurative sculpture; the style and iconography of which suggest a date of c.1160-70.[73] The assumption has been that there was a continued, unbroken building campaign, culminating in the erection of the porch. A letter of about 1177 in which Pope Alexander III instructs the Bishops of Worcester and London to dedicate the church, even if the Bishop of Sarum was causing difficulties apparently confirms this.[74]

Chevron ornament is used throughout the body of the church. The triforium arches of the transepts (now ruinous) **[pl. 4.38]** are articulated with a single roll of centrifugal chevron with a straight edge. As outlined in chapter three, this form of chevron, derived from a common straight moulding is relatively typical. Comparable examples (although with cogwheel edges) are found at Hales (Nf), Heckingham (Nf), Romsey (Ha), Kemply (Gl) and Jedburgh (Rx). Triforium level is separated from arcade

[73] K.J. Galbraith, 'The Iconography of the Biblical Scenes at Malmesbury Abbey', JBAA, 28, (1965), 39-56.

[74] The text of the letter is given in (ed.) N.E.S.A. Hamilton, *Registrum Malmesburiense*, I, Rolls Series, (London, 1870), 370, and is discussed by Galbraith ibid., 39.

level by a stringcourse with chip carved lozenges and the remains of a small round headed arcade, both features similar to fragments recovered from Old Sarum (Wi).



Pl. 4.40: Malmesbury Abbey. W. front, window.

In the nave, the outer arches of the triforium are decorated with a single type of chevron motif **[pl. 4.39]**. This is frontal chevron, with the same profile as is found at a number of other prominent West Country churches, most notably Pershore (Wo), Llandaff chancel arch (Gm), Lullington (So) and a single bay in the nave of Gloucester St. Peter's (Gl). A variant of the form, as noted above, is found in the parish churches of Kilpeck (He) and English Bicknor (He).



Pl. 4.41: Malmesbury Abbey. W. front. Blind arcade.

Other sculpted ornament in the nave includes zoomorphic label masks and hood stops on the nave arcades, Greek key ornament and the use of 'frilly' roundels on some of the clerestory windows. The masks are very similar to fragments recovered from Old Sarum (Wi), while parallels for the roundels are found at Llandaff (Gm) on the chancel arch and south presbytery window, fragments from Newark castle (Nt) and fragments from Old Sarum (Wi).

The west front also incorporates chevron in its decorative scheme. A surviving Romanesque window has a centrifugal form with standard attic profile, comparable to any number of buildings in England and Normandy including Romsey (Ha) and La Trinitè, Caen (Cal) **[pl. 4.40]**. Slightly more unusual is the saltire motif on the blind arcade **[pl. 4.41]**. As highlighted in chapter three, saltire is more unusual in England than in Normandy. The low relief treatment of the saltire at Malmesbury is closest in form to the nave arcade saltire ornament at Hereford cathedral.

It is undeniable that close links exist between the sculpture in the nave of Malmesbury and the Old Sarum workshop. Stalley, who highlighted some of the links in his article dealing with the patronage of Roger Salisbury, suggested that they might be the result of masons moving on from

the completed building works at Old Sarum to start work at Malmesbury c.1145, with work continuing until the consecration in 1177.[75]

For such a potentially long building campaign, the design of the nave in particular at Malmesbury is remarkably homogeneous. Most of the motifs described would have been reasonably up-to-date around 1145 however, by c.1170 elements such as the frontal chevron, prominent in a number of pre-1150 West Country buildings, would surely have been up-dated. Inspiration for more innovative chevron forms would not have been a problem, with the broad range of transitional forms of chevron being used in the West Country from the 1160s at places such as Keynsham, and the new works in the western bays of the nave at Worcester cathedral. Indeed, in comparison to these buildings Malmesbury would have seemed very dated. Rigold, who noted the conformity of base type that runs through the surviving part of the church, has also highlighted the homogeneity of design. This particular form of base is found in no comparable examples later than c.1143-7, suggesting that the building work may have started earlier, and been finished more quickly than has traditionally been believed.[76]

Rigold argued that the natural inference from the citation about the Saxon church is that it had gone by 1125. In the *Gesta Regum,* completed by c.1143, William of Malmesbury grudgingly commends Bishop Roger's energy and perfection in building, '*maxime in Salesbiria et Malmesbiria*' suggesting that work had neared completion at Malmesbury by this time. Indeed, bearing in mind the Bishop's love of splendour and magnificent buildings, it would have been more out of character for the man *not* to have started rebuilding the Abbey, particularly given the proximity of his castle to it.[77] Certainly none of the chevron or indeed any of the other sculptural motifs would be out of place at this date.

The south porch and doorway are quite different in style and subject matter from the sculptural decoration in the church. Closest parallels to the vertical arrangement of the sculpted roundels of the portal, are found on the north door of the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury (Wi), the west door of Rochester cathedral (K) and the south door at Barfreston (K), all datable to the later part of the twelfth century.

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[75] R. Stalley, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture', JBAA, 34, (1971), 76-77.
[76] S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases in and South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R. Gilyard Beer and A.D. Saunders, Ancient Monuments and Their Interpretation (London, 1977), 102, 122.
[77] (ed.) R.A.B. Mynors, *Gesta Regnum Anglorum*, (London, 1998) ii, 547.

The analysis of the chevron ornament at Malmesbury suggests that rather than the traditionally held view of a protracted building campaign lasting almost thirty years, the main body of the church and the porch may infact represent two distinct building phases. This stylistic dichotomy between the porch and the nave highlights the need for a more in depth study of the fabric and archaeology of the building, in order to establish the relationship between the nave of the church and the south porch.

Conclusion

The degree to which chevron ornament can be used as a tool for stylistic comparison is largely dependent on the type of chevron. The most common types were apparently derived from contemporary straight mouldings, already familiar to the architectural vocabulary of masons working all over England in Normandy. These have such a broad distribution, both geographically and chronologically, that comparative analysis of form yields little useful information. However, chevron types with profiles not directly derived from standard forms can provide real potential, in particular in terms of establishing authorship or sphere of influence, and also, to a lesser extent in the dating of buildings.

CHAPTER 5 CHEVRON ORNAMENT IN IRELAND

The previous two chapters examined the broad range of chevron types encountered in England and Normandy. Analysis of the ornament in both areas has revealed the existence of certain regional relationships, and affirmed that a combination of the type and three-dimensional qualities of the ornament can provide an important starting point in the examination of the chronology and authorship of Romanesque buildings.

Although found in many other areas around Europe during the twelfth century, the origins of chevron ornament are generally assumed to lie in either England or Normandy. This implies that the other areas in which it is found were either directly or indirectly influenced by Anglo-Norman trends.

While this assertion is often made, there has been little attempt to verify the exact nature of the relationship between Anglo-Norman chevron and that found outside Britain and the duchy. The number of variables in chevron type and moulding profiles established in the previous chapters suggest that it should be possible to ascertain the nature and extent of the relationships between the Anglo-Norman ornament and the ornament in more distant geographical locations.

This chapter therefore aims to provide a comparative study of the form and development of chevron beyond Britain and the duchy. By taking this approach it is envisaged that it may be possible to establish instances of Anglo-Norman masons working abroad or instances of native masons attempting to emulate of foreign style. In the case of areas where there is an apparent sustained development of chevron forms, comparison should also help to confirm the developmental trends identified in the previous chapters.

After England and Normandy, the greatest concentration of chevron ornament is found in Ireland. Here a major proportion of Romanesque churches with sculptural decoration include at least one variety of chevron in their sculptural programs.[1] Traditionally, the motif has been seen as a direct Anglo-Norman import,[2] an obvious motif to be adopted by a country in such close proximity to

[1] Chevron ornament has been recorded at seventy-six sites across Ireland. A total of two hundred and ninety nine sites are currently included in the Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture site list for Ireland.
[2] F. Henry, Irish Art in The Romanesque Period 1050-1160 (London, 1970), 155; H.G. Leask, Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings, Vol I, (Dundalk, 1955), 95-96; L. de Paor, 'Cormac's Chapel and the Beginnings of Irish Romanesque' in (ed.) E. Rynne, North Munster Studies (Limerick, 1967), 138-140.

England. However, while scholars have been quick to look across the Irish Sea for the Irish Romanesque mason's source of inspiration, few have looked beyond the superficial similarity of forms, or questioned why so few other Anglo-Norman motifs were adopted by the Hiberno-Romanesque craftsmen.

Background

Although poorly documented, there is little evidence that the Romanesque style had infiltrated Ireland much before the 1120s, by which time chevron was firmly established in the Anglo-Norman architectural vocabulary. This coincided with a period of widespread church reform in Ireland, and it is no coincidence that at least some of the earliest of Romanesque buildings were commissioned by leading figures in the reform movement.

It is difficult to establish the architectural or sculptural background from which the common usage of the chevron motif emerged in Ireland, as three major difficulties impede the study of Irish ecclesiastical architecture prior to this date. Firstly, the construction of churches from organic materials, particularly wood, appears to have continued into the twelfth century, so that a large proportion of the churches constructed during the period have simply disappeared.[3] Secondly, there are few reliable documentary sources relating to the construction of churches, and even where these do exist, the practice of building multiple churches on a single site can lead to difficulties of identification. Thirdly, Irish ecclesiastical architecture remained inherently conservative almost to the end of the twelfth century; thus even basic stylistic comparison can sometimes be misleading.

These difficulties have also led to problems in the categorization of Irish ecclesiastical architecture. While in the rest of Europe the definition 'Romanesque' can be applied to the architectural entirety of a building, Irish Romanesque is instead defined by the addition of tectonic sculpture to essentially early Christian architectural forms. In the past therefore, Irish churches have been identified as 'Romanesque' purely on the basis of the incorporation of architectural sculpture. Although, particularly in the case of simple mouldings, it is quite possible

[3] For a summary of the evidence relating to the form and construction of wooden churches in Ireland see P. Harbison, 'Early Irish Churches' in (ed.) H. Löwe, Die Iren und Europa im früheren Mittelalter (Stuttgart, 1982), 624-629. A sense of the numbers of churches destroyed by fire during the twelfth and later centuries can be gleaned from A.T. Lucas, 'The Plundering and Burning of Churches in Ireland, 7th to 16th Century' in (ed.) E. Rynne, North Munster Studies: Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney (Limerick, 1967), 172-227.

that structures could belong to a period earlier than the period traditionally assumed to mark the introduction of the Romanesque style to Ireland.[4]

Cormac's Chapel at Cashel (Ts) has long been accepted as one of the earliest Romanesque buildings in Ireland, and a harbinger of many elements of the style, including chevron, to the island.[5] The construction of the chapel is unusually well-documented, with dates for its commission and consecration recorded in two independent sources.[6] Apart from Cormac's Chapel, records documenting the completion of identifiable Romanesque churches are limited to Aghadoe, completed in 1158,[7] the Nun's Church, Clonmacnoise, completed in 1167,[8] Ardmore, finished in 1203[9] and the east end of Ballintubber Abbey, completed in 1225.[10]

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[4] For difficulties in the categorization of early medieval architectural styles in Irish churches see T. O'Keeffe, 'Architectural Traditions of the Early Medieval Church in Munster' in (eds.) M. Monk and J. Sheehan, Early Medieval Munster; Archaeology, History and Society (Cork, 1998), 112-124.

[5] L. de Paor, 'Cormac's Chapel and the Beginnings of Irish Romanesque' in (ed.) E. Rynne, North Munster Studies; Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney (Limerick, 1967), 133-145. De Paor's argument that Cormac's Chapel was the first building to introduce Romanesque architecture and sculpture to Ireland was disputed by O'Keeffe, who saw it as a more staggered process throughout the province of Munster, T. O'Keeffe, 'Lismore and Cashel; Reflections on the Beginnings of Romanesque Architecture in Munster', JRSAI, 124, (1994), 116-151. A capital, thought to have come from the destroyed church of SS. Peter and Paul at Armagh, consecrated in 1126 suggests that the style may already have been relatively widespread before work on Cormac's Chapel was even begun.

[6] In the year 1126 the Book of McCarthaigh records that Cormac McCarthaigh built a church at Cashel. In 1134 the same source tells 'A church built by Cormac, son of Muireadach McCarthaigh was consecrated with great honour by the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Munster', (ed.) S. Ui hInnse, Miscellaneous Irish Annals (Dublin, 1947), 17, 21. For the same year the Annals of the Four Masters records 'A church which was erected by Cormac, grandson of Cathach, King of Caseal, was consecrated by a synod of clergy assembled in one place' (ed.) J. O'Donovan, The Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters, Vol. III, (Dublin, 1856), 1048-9.

[7] 'In the same year there was many a violent wind and storm and ricks and many houses were destroyed. Also the great church at Acadh Deo (which had been standing undamaged for six score years and four) its holy cross being too broken- which I much deplore', (ed.) S. MacAirt, Annals of Inishfallen (MS. Rawlinson B. 503) Vol. II, (Dublin, 1977), 381.

[8] The church of the nun's at Cluain-mic-Nois was finished by Dearbhforgaill, daughter of Murchadh Maelachlainn' (ed.) J. O'Donovan, Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters from the Earliest period to 1616, II, (Dublin, 1854),1166-7.

[9] 'Mael Etain us Duib Ratha, nobel Priest of Ardmore died after finishing the building of the church at Ardmore (ed.) S. MacAirt, Annals of Innisfallen (MS Rawlinson B503) (Dublin, 1977), 333.

[10] 'Maelbrighde O Maicin abbot of Tobar Patraic in Christo quivet. He who was a virgin and a sage; and it was by him the church of Tobar Patraic was begun and its sanctuary and crosses were diligently finished in honour of Patrick and Mary and the Apostle John', (ed.) W.M. Hennessy, Annals of Lough Cé, I, (Dublin, 1939), 291.

Using these dates a number of authors have attempted to establish a chronology of Irish Romanesque.[11] In general terms these scholars agree that the style passed through three identifiable phases; the first with relatively plain ornament, most concentrated in Munster; the second, a 'baroque' phase characterized by elaborate ornament and beading most prevalent in the midlands; and the third 'transitional' phase returning to simpler but more boldly cut forms, focussed in the western part of the country. This basic chronology framework is accepted by the present study, and used to facilitate the comparative study of Irish Romanesque chevron.

De Paor saw Cormac's Chapel as the most likely source for chevron ornament in Ireland.[12] The evidence of English involvement in the design of the chapel is strong, and thus it is feasible that masons working here introduced the motif to Irish shores.[13] However, apart from chevron, many of the typically Anglo-Norman motifs found at Cormac's chapel, such as billet and chip-carved motifs, are extremely uncommon in the Hiberno-Romanesque idiom. This calls into question the assertion that the Cashel chevron was simply copied, when other Anglo-Norman motifs were not. A closer analysis of Irish chevron therefore has the potential to reveal something of the artistic relationship between England (and Normandy) and Ireland during the period.

Although Irish Romanesque sculpture is in many ways quite distinct from sculpture in England, chevron forms are, at least superficially, quite similar. Like Anglo-Norman chevron, Irish chevron is generally cut with a single 'v' or group of 'v's per voussoir, and is most commonly encountered as an arch ornament. The principal types of chevron outlined in chapter three are also found in Ireland, thus providing a useful means of comparison.

Lateral Centrifugal Chevron

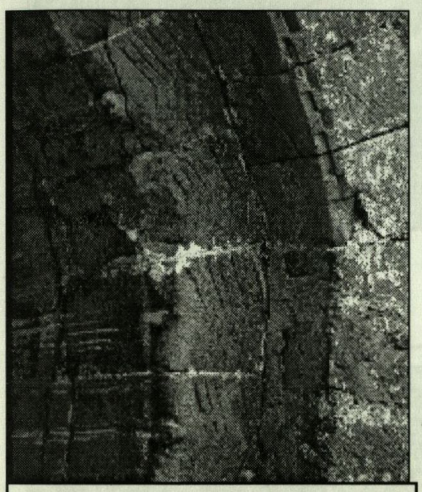
Unlike England and Normandy lateral centrifugal chevron is relatively unusual in Ireland. There is also a significant difference between those forms that are found in Ireland and the most typical Anglo-Norman forms. With three exceptions, Irish centrifugal chevron does not conform to the Anglo-Norman standard of a 'bent' moulding worked on a single plane of the face of a voussoir. This marks an important departure from 'standardized' forms, as the previous two chapters have highlighted the fact that lateral centrifugal chevron is the most common form of chevron in

[11] H.G. Leask, Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings, Vol I, (Dundalk, 1955); L.de Paor, Problems in the Chronology of Irish Romanesque (unpublished M.A, U.C.D. 1956); T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe' JBAA, 134, (1981), 31-57.

[12] L. de Paor, 'Cormac's Chapel and the beginnings of Irish Romanesque' in (ed.) E. Rynne, North Munster Studies; Essays in Commemoration of Monsignor Michael Moloney (Limerick, 1967), 138.

England and Normandy, and that the majority of forms of centrifugal chevron occupy the face only.

The three exceptions, carved on the face only, are significant, and mark an appropriate starting point for the examination of this type of chevron in Ireland. These occur on the re-set arch at Lismore (Wd) (fig 5A:1) **[pl. 5.1]**, a section of blind arcade at Cashel (Ts) (fig 5A:2) and the west door at Kilmalkedar (Ky) (fig 5 A:3) **[pl. 5.2]**.



Pl.5. 1: Lismore. Re-set arch.

Cormac McCarthaigh, patron of the Cashel chapel is also credited with the foundation of two churches at Lismore, in the same year as the Cashel chapel was commissioned.[14] These have not survived, but it is tempting to see the arch as a survival of one of Cormac's churches here.[15] Nothing is known of the early history of Kilmalkedar. However, since the nineteenth century, scholars have acknowledged that the detailing of the church reveals an undeniable link with Cormac's chapel, most easily explained as the work of the same group of masons.[16] It is thus possible to explain the occurrence of these more 'standardized' profiles as the product of English masons working in Ireland.



Pl. 5.2: Kilmalkedar. W. doorway.



Pl. 5.3: Freshford. W. doorway.

Apart from these exceptions, Irish centrifugal chevron can be divided into three different types. The first is

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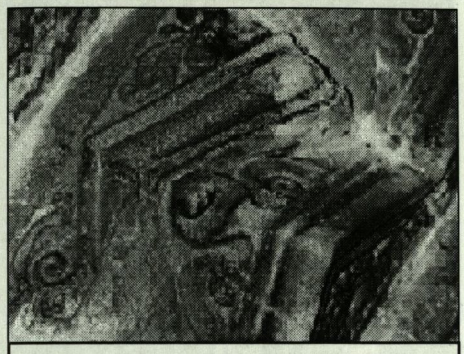
[13] R. Stalley, 'Three Buildings with West Country Origins', BAACT, 4, (1981), 62-80.

[14] An entry in both the Dublin Annals of Inishfallen and the Book of McCarthaigh states that Cormac McCarthaigh patronized the building of two/twelve churches at Lismore (the number twelve given the book of McCarthaig is seen as a copyist's mistake, F.Henry, Irish Art in the Romanesque Period (London, 1970), 156.

[15] T. O'Keeffe, 'Lismore and Cashel; Reflections on the Beginnings of Romanesque architecture in Munster' JRSAI, 124, (1994), 116-151.

[16] A. Hill, Ancient Irish Architecture, Kilmalkedar, Co. Kerry (Cork, 1870).

cogwheel edged, with the chevron mouldings equally distributed on the face and soffit. At Freshford (Kk) (fig. 5A:4)**[pl. 5.3]** and Ullard (Kk) (fig 5A:4) cogwheel edge centrifugal chevron is formed by a simple roll and angled fillet moulding worked on the face and soffit, interlocking at the arris. On comparative stylistic grounds, both buildings can be dated to c.1150.[17] A number of later examples, located further west are elaborated through the incorporation of subsidiary ornament, both in the spandrels, (Fig 5A:5) and as part of the chevron moulding itself, (figs. 5A:6-9) a characteristic not found on English or Norman examples.[18] On the re-set portal at Killaloe (Ce)[19] (fig 5A:6) **[pl. 5.4]** and chancel arch at Tuam (G)[20] (fig 5A:7) the moulding profile is practically the same as the Freshford and Ullard profiles, but mouldings are transformed at the termini into snake-like creatures, and every available space adjacent to the moulding is filled with stylized foliate ornament. A springer fragment at Drumcullen (Oy) (fig 5A:8)**[pl. 5.5]** also transforms one of the moulded elements of the design into a zoomorphic device. The spandrels on this example are not filled with ornament, but the moulding form is significant, comprising two flat bands raised from a flat matrix- quite different to all of the other profiles used to create this type of chevron.[21]



Pl. 5.4: Killaloe. Re-set doorway.



Pl. 5.5: Drumcullen. Loose Fragment.

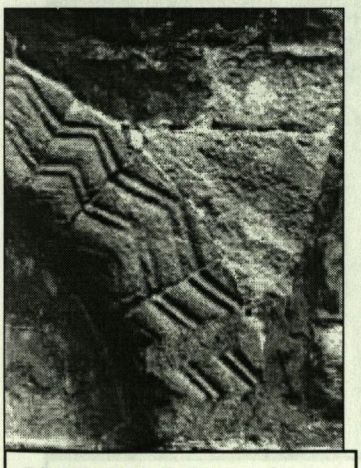
Nearly all examples of this type have a clear definition of the edge of the voussoir, although examples at Inisfallen (Ky) (fig 5A:10), Waterville (Ky) (fig 5A:11) and Glendalough cathedral (Ww) (fig. 5A:12) have curved edges.[22]

[17] Stylistically both buildings exhibit a development of motifs at Cormac's chapel of 1126-34. Structurally, Freshford is more closely related to the western portal at Aghadoe (Ky) dated to 1158.
[18] Examples of these can be found at Dysert O'Dea (Ce), Drumcullen (Oy), Tuam (G) and Killaloe (Ce).
[19] Dated by Garton to c.1200, T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe', JBAA, 134, (1981), 39-43.
[20] Dated by Stalley to sometime after 1184. R. Stalley, 'Romanesque Sculpture at Tuam' in (eds.) A. Borg and A. Martindale, The Vanishing Past, Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy, and Metrology in Honor of Christopher Hohler (Oxford, B.A.R. International Series, 111), 179-95.
[21] Thanks are due to Cormac Bourke for drawing this example to my attention.



Pl. 5.6: Kilmalkedar. Chancel arch.

A group of three buildings, Cashel (Ts) (fig 5A:14), Kilmalkedar (Ky) (fig. 5A:15) and Ardfert (Ky) (fig 5A:13), use the points of lozenges on the soffit to form a cogwheel edge, in a similar manner to the chevron at Avington and Romsey. At Cormac's chapel, on the north porch, and Kilmalkedar, on the chancel arch **[pl. 5.6]** lozenges are filled with floral ornament, while at Ardfert cathedral, on the west door, lozenges are left plain. Significantly, at all three sites the soffit lozenges are hyphenated. At Cormac's Chapel and Kilmalkedar, small spurs emerge from under the hyphens to form a cogwheel edge, while at Ardfert cathedral the hyphens lack spurs. The moulding profiles of all three examples are slightly different. However, given the unusual nature of the design, and in particular the precocious use of hyphenation, it seems likely that this motif is the product of the same workshop.[23]



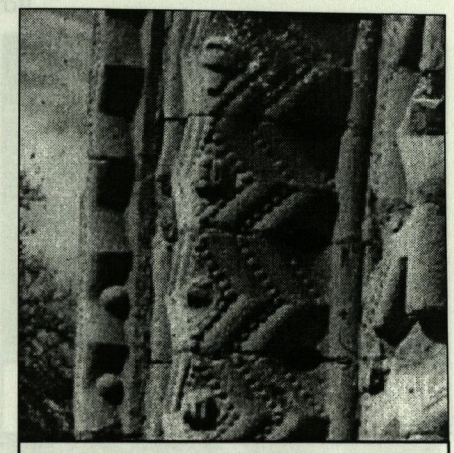
Pl.5.7: Cashel. External blind arcade.

By far the most the most popular type of centrifugal chevron in Ireland is arranged point to point on the face and soffit to form a row of lozenges. At Cashel (Ts) (fig.5A:17) **[pl. 5.7]** and Ardfert (Ky) (fig 5A:18) the edges are hollowed and left empty, but it is more common to find the arris spandrels filled, usually with some form of three-dimensional ornament, as is the grammatical norm in English variants of the form.

The examples at Ardfert and Cormac's chapel are formed from simple profiles comprising roll and angled fillet sequences worked on the same plane. This is the same type of moulding profile most commonly used in English centrifugal forms. At the Nun's Church, Clomacnoise (Oy) (fig 5A:21) **[pl. 5.8]** and a related circular window at Rahan (Oy) (fig 5A:22) this form of moulding is

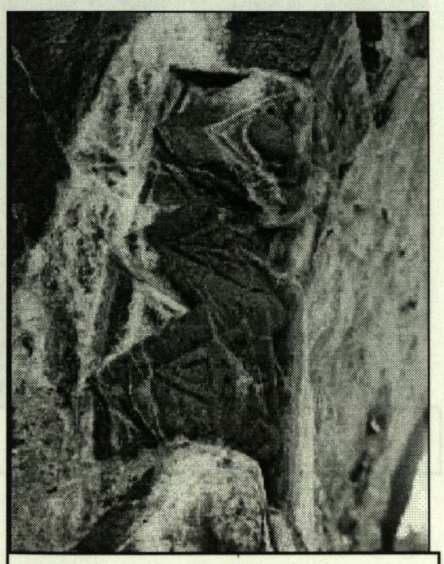
[22] Both Inishfallen and Waterville churches are undated. The east window at Glendalough is worked in Dundry stone, and is associated with late twelfth/ early thirteenth century additions to the cathedral. It is unlikely that the chevron here dates to much earlier than c.1180.

modified by the replacement of angled fillets with rows of beading. At both Rahan and Clonmacnoise the treatment of arris ornament is far more imaginative than examples found in England or Normandy, with a variety of anthropomorphic and zoomorphic motifs.



Pl 5.8: The nun's church, Clonmacnoise. Chancel arch.

This imaginative expression within the confines of a relatively rigid geometrical framework is also found on the inner order of the chancel arch at St. Saviour's, Glendalough (Ww). (fig 5A:24)**[pl. 5.9]**.[24] Here the moulding profile is slightly unusual in a centrifugal context, formed from the same type of roll and step profile identified in particular as a feature of lateral centripetal chevron in England and Normandy. This entire arch was re-constructed during the 1870s, and it is possible that these voussoirs may originally have formed part of a syncopated sequence, a type of chevron more commonly associated with roll and step profiles.[25] However, a less ambiguous occurrence of centrifugal chevron with this same type of moulding is found on the west door at Aghadoe (Ky) of c.1158 **[pl. 5.10]**. This portal also incorporates roll and fillet mouldings, implying that by the end of the 1150s, even the more distant areas of Ireland were conversant with contemporary trends in mouldings design.



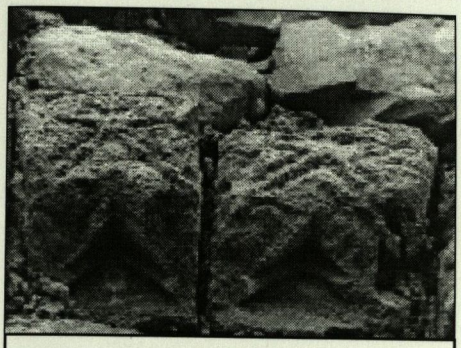
Pl. 5.9;. St. Saviour's Glendalough. Chancel arch.

Lateral centrifugal chevron continued to be used into the thirteenth century in Ireland, although for the most part in a recognizably, transitional form. The most common example of thirteenth century centrifugal chevron is found in three buildings all associated with the so-called School of

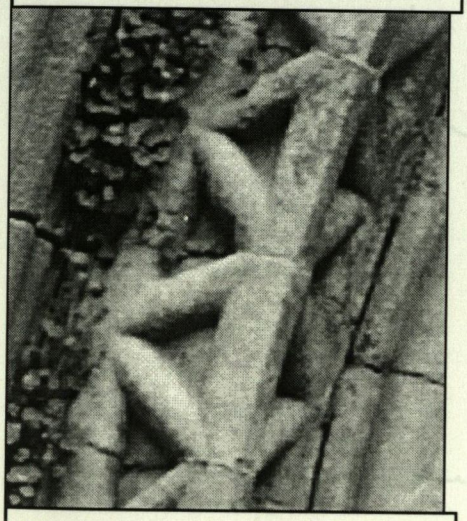
[23] It was established in chapter three that, with the exception of the crossing arch at Hereford cathedral (He), hyphenation is a feature of the second half of the twelfth century. No comparable design has been identified in England or elsewhere.

[24] Although the foundation date of this Augustinian priory is uncertain, the building of the church is generally thought to be attributable to the patronage of St. Lawrence O' Toole, abbot of Glendalough from 1153-1162, who was said to have had great zeal as a church builder while at Glendalough. C. Plummer, 'Vie et Miracles de St. Laurent, Archevêque de Dublin', Annalecta Bollandiana, 33, (1914), 135.

the West. At Abbeyknockmoy (G), Cong (Mo), **[pl. 5.11]** and Athenry (G) (fig 5A:27) centrifugal chevron formed from a single roll is arranged on face and soffit with a keeled arris roll. [26]



Pl. 5.10: Aghadoe. W. doorway.



Pl. 5.11: Cong. Slype doorway

[25] A number of stones are missing from this arch. No loose stones that would complete a syncopated sequence have been located either on the site, or in the nearby Dúchas stone store.

[26] Abbeyknockmoy was founded by Cathal Crovderg O'Connor in 1190. As the chevron here is in the east end it probably dates to c.1220. The Annals of Lough Cé record that the town and monastery of Cong were completely destroyed by fire in 1203. The rebuilding, under the patronage of the O'Duffy's, must date to after this period, probably c.1230. The Dominican friary at Athenry was founded in 1241, 'BM MS 4784; The Chronicle of Athenry Friary', Archivium Hibernicum ,I , (1912), 201-221. Although the chevron is *ex-situ*, built into a fifteenth century wall, the presence of other fragments of *ex-situ* carving of School of the West type suggest that it probably did form part of the original structure.

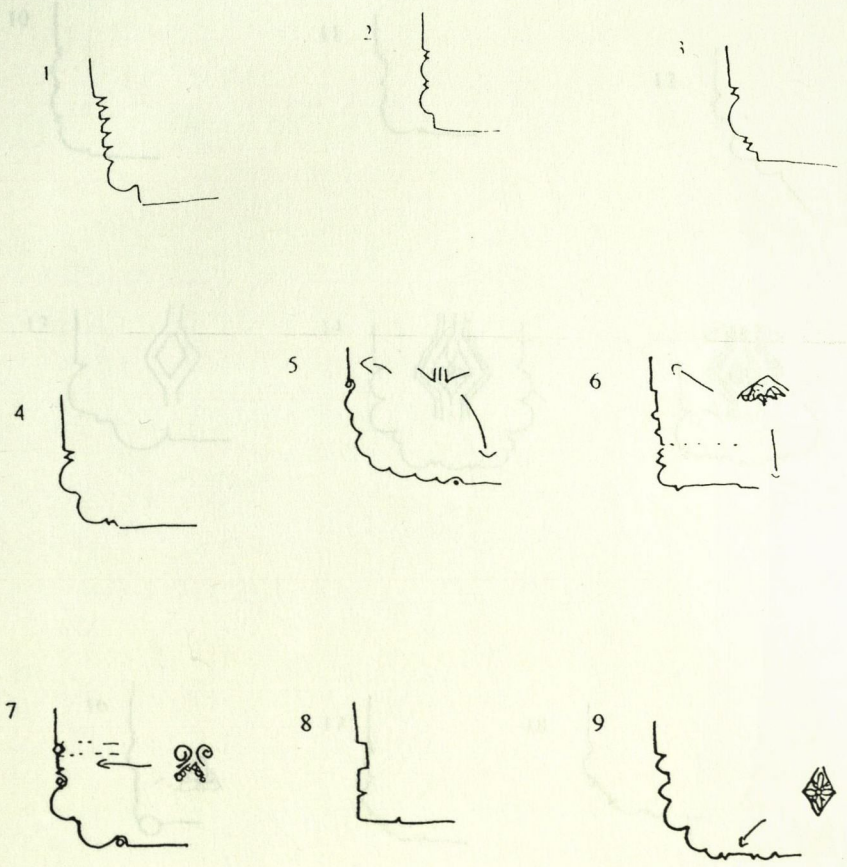


Fig 5A **Lateral Centrifugal profiles**

1 Lismore (Wd) reset arch.
2 Cormac's Chapel (Ts) nave arcade
3 Kilmalkedar west door
4 Freshford (Kk)w. door, Ullard (Kk) w. door
5 Inishbofin (Wh) window
6 Killaloe (Ce) reset door
7 Tuam (G) chancel arch
8 Drumcullen (Oy)
9 Dysert O'Dea (Ce)

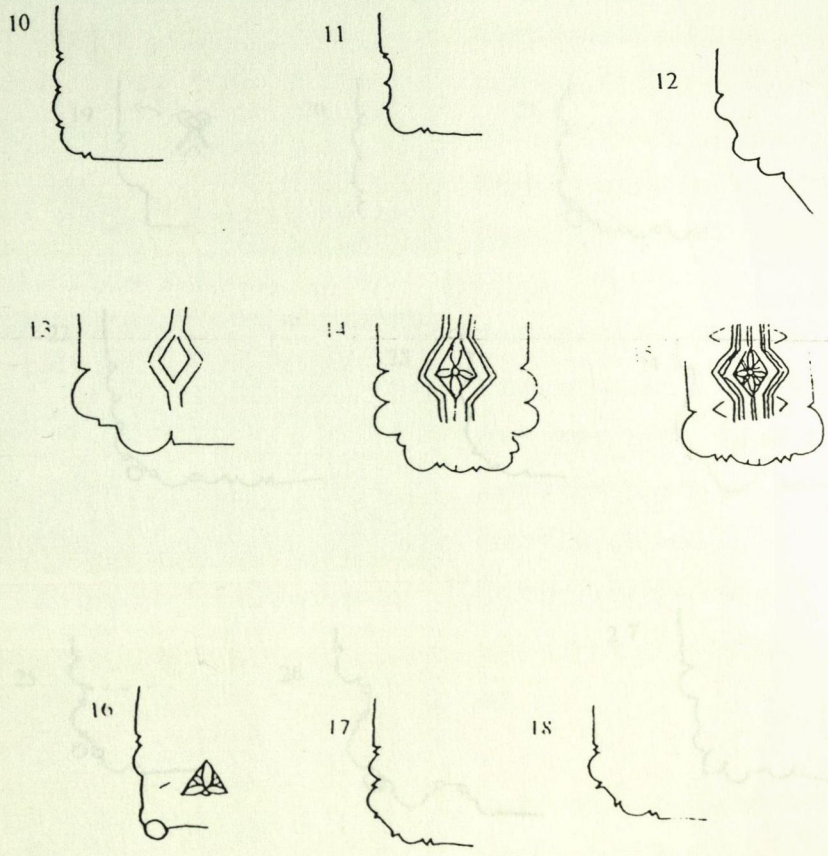


Fig 5A **Lateral Centrifugal profiles, contd.**

10 Inisfallen (Ky).
11 Waterville (Ky).
12 Glendalough Cathedral (Ww).
13 Ardfert (Ky).
14 Cormac's Chapel (Ts), n door.
15 Kilmalkedar (Ky) chancel arch.
16 Aghadoe (Ky).
17 Cashel (Ts) blind arcade.
18 Ardfert (Ky) blind arcade.

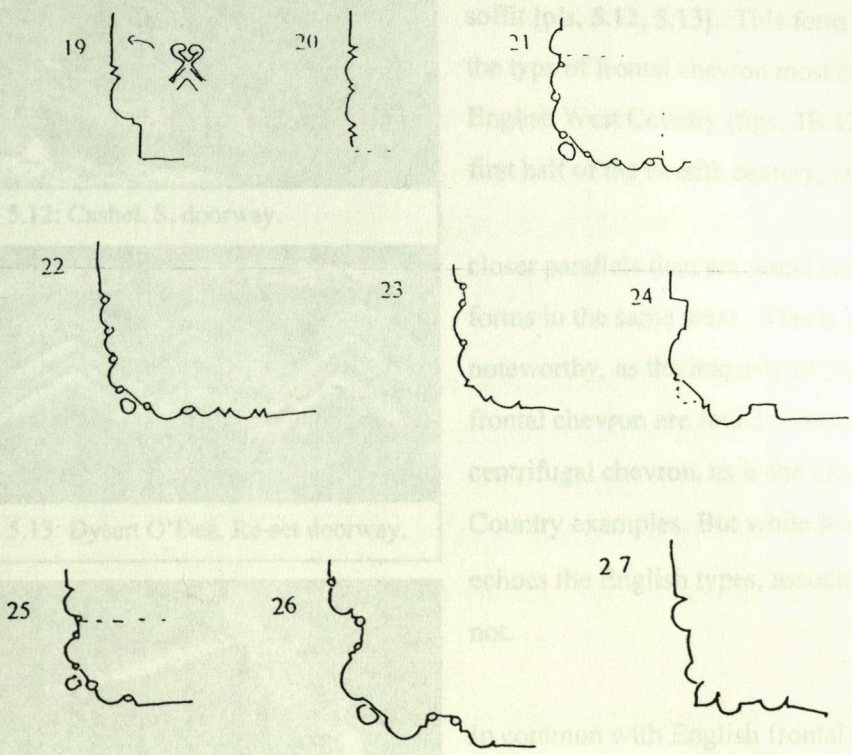
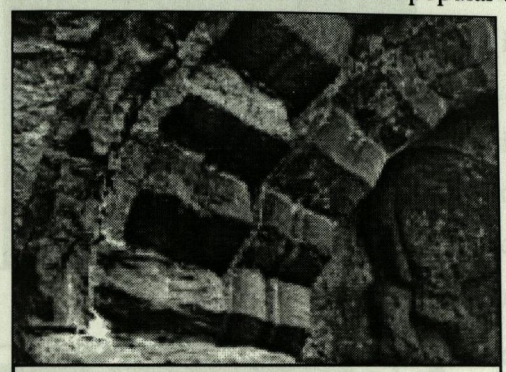


Fig 5A **Lateral Centrifugal profiles, contd.**

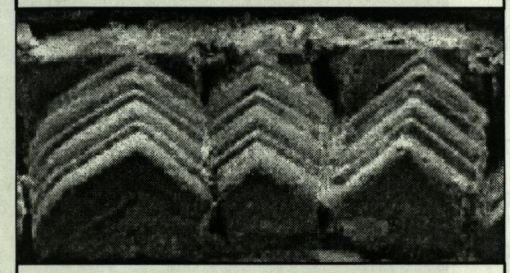
19 Aghadoe (Ky)
20 Clonnattin (Wx)
21 Nun's church, Clonmacnoise (Oy) chancel arch.
22 Rahan (Oy) East window
23 St. Saviour's Glendalough (Ww) ext. e. window
24 St Saviour's Glendalough (Ww) chancel arch
25 Wicklow(Ww) re-set door
26 Tuamgraney (Ce) re-set window
27 Abbeyknockmoy (G) chapter house window, Cong (Mo) slype doorway, Athenry (G) fragment.

Frontal Chevron

Frontal chevron is one of the most popular types of chevron in Irish Romanesque, and the most standardized in form. Overwhelmingly it is formed from either two or three rolls flanked by angle fillets, with the roll closest to the arris extending onto the soffit **[pls. 5.12, 5.13]**. This form closely resembles the type of frontal chevron most common in the English West Country (figs. 3B:13, 3B:14) during the first half of the twelfth century, providing much closer parallels than are found between centrifugal forms in the same areas. This is particularly noteworthy, as the majority of Irish examples of frontal chevron are found in association with centrifugal chevron, as is the case in the English West Country examples. But while frontal chevron closely echoes the English types, associated centrifugal does not.



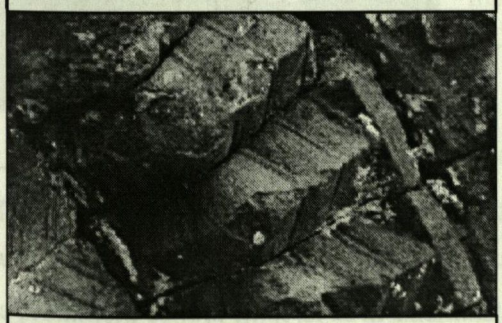
Pl. 5.12: Cashel. S. doorway.



Pl. 5.13: Dysert O'Dea. Re-set doorway.

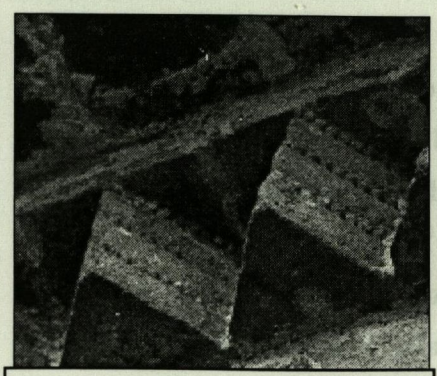


Pl.5.14: Nun's Church Clonmacnoise. W. doorway.

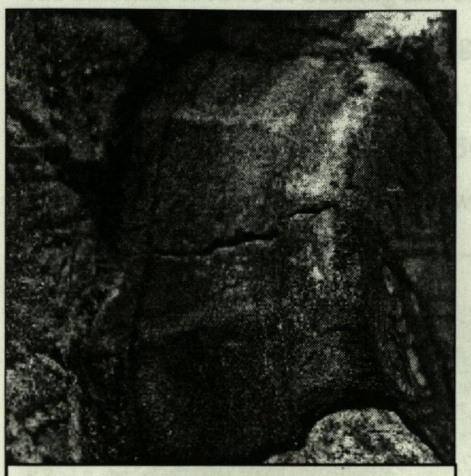


Pl.5. 15: Inishfallen. W. doorway.

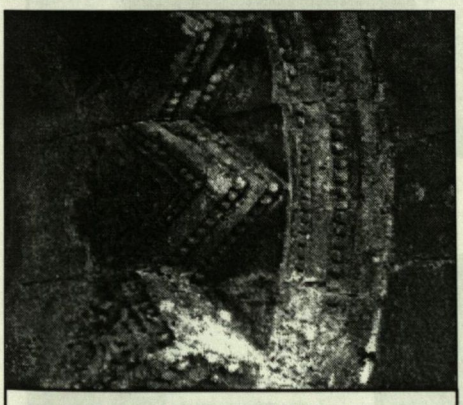
In common with English frontal chevron designs, the chevron moulding in practically all examples is restricted to the face. This marks a contrast with nearly every other form of Irish chevron, which is characterized by its symmetrical distribution across face and soffit. Only two exceptions to this general rule survive. The first, on the west door of the Nun's church, Clonmacnoise (Oy) (fig.5B:14) **[pl. 5.14]**, where the chevron moulding is continued on the soffit as centripetal chevron, and the second at Inishfallen (Ky) (fig 5B:9) **[pl. 5.15]**, where chevron mouldings are worked frontal to the face and the soffit of the west door.



Pl. 5.16. Kilmore. W. doorway.



Pl. 5.17: Killeshin. W. doorway.



Pl. 5.18:Donaghmore. W. doorway.

Two different treatments for the arris of English frontal chevron designs were noted in chapter four. One, where the arris is marked by a flat fillet or fillets, essentially creating a right angle at the arris, and the second, where a roll is positioned on the arris, softening the transition from face to the soffit. The vast majority of Irish frontal chevron conforms to the latter edge treatment, with a roll located on the arris. Only two surviving examples of Irish frontal chevron with the edge marked by a 90° angle are known; at Inchcleraun (Wh) (fig. 5B:8), and Kilmore (Cn) (fig 5B:12) **[pl. 5.16].**

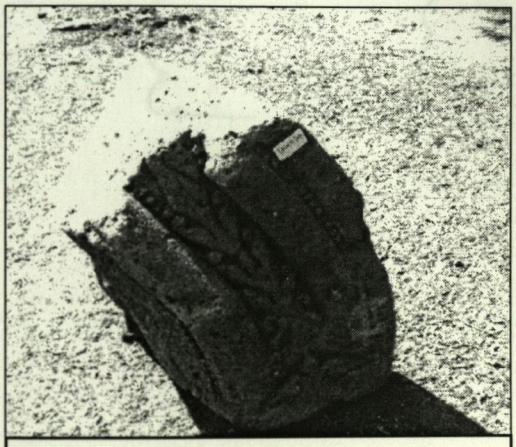
Moulding profiles follow a similar pattern to Irish lateral centrifugal. There are no examples of profiles that incorporate sequences of multiple angle fillets or rolls, and although popular in English frontal profiles, there is only one example of a hollow in a frontal moulding sequence.

This is found on the west door of the church at Killeshin (Ls) (fig. 5B:11) **[pl. 5.17]**, a church usually dated to c. 1150.[27] While the presence of a roll/ hollow moulding here suggests a knowledge of English, or even Norman forms, the frontal chevron design at Killeshin differs from the standard English type in two important respects. Firstly through the use of supplementary foliate ornament on the soffit, and secondly through the incorporation of a straight moulding along the arris. As highlighted in the previous chapter, the incorporation of straight arris mouldings with frontal chevron designs is unusual. If the dating of the Killeshin portal is correct, then the profile of the arris roll, which has a prominent central fillet is, as at Leominster, also quite precocious.

[27] This date is suggested both on stylistic grounds, and on the evidence of a fragmentary inscription that appears to attribute the creation of the portal to the patronage of King Diarmait MacMorrough, R. Stalley, 'The Hiberno-Romanesque Sculpture at Killeshin' in (eds.) W. Nolan and P. Lane, Laois History and Society (Dublin, 2000), 89-122.

In England, the moulding profiles of frontal chevron saw little development over the entire twelfth century, with unadorned roll/ fillet sequences enjoying popularity throughout. In Ireland on the other hand, there is practically no evidence of examples of frontal chevron with a roll/ fillet profile sequence after about 1160.[28] Instead, profiles were developed through the replacement of angled fillet with rows of beading, and in some cases, supplementary ornament was added to the soffit, as for example at Donaghmore (Ts) (fig 5B:7) **[pl. 5.18]**.

The addition of rows of beading and supplementary ornament is roughly paralleled in some of the work of the distinctive school working in the vicinity of York during the latter part of the twelfth century. However, in general terms a greater degree of imagination is evident in Irish forms of frontal chevron, in particular after 1150. For example, at Glendalough (Ww) (fig 5B:15) **[pls. 5.19, 5.20]**, fragments of an exterior window arch associated with the sculpture of St. Saviour's church, incorporate a single roll of frontal chevron with altogether more elaborate and non-grammatical sculptural forms.



Pl.5.19: Glendalough. Loose fragment of frontal chevron.



Pl. 5.20: Glendalough. Frontal chevron keystone.

[28] One possible exception may be an *ex-situ* fragment carved in Dundry stone at Christ Church Dublin, found in association with other chevron mouldings of a more transitional nature.

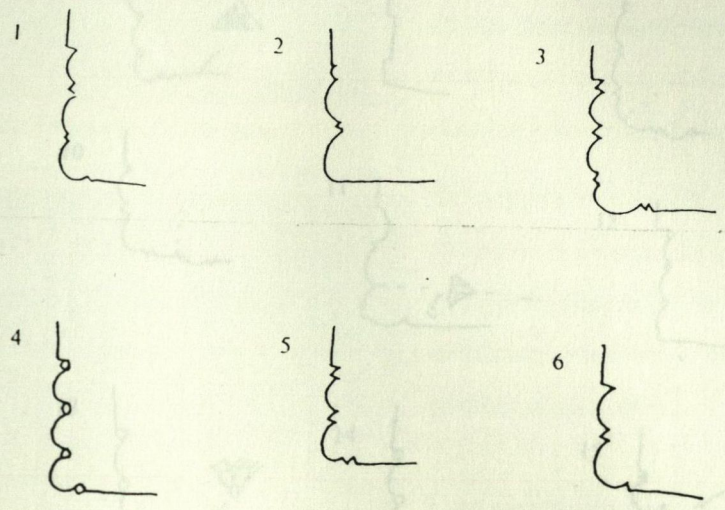


Figure 5B **Frontal profiles**

1 Aghacross (C) fragment, Kilbunny (Wd).
2 Annaghdown (G) fragment.
3 Ardfert cathedral (Ky) W. door, Castledermot (Ke) reset arch, Waterville (Ky) w. door, Clonattin (Wx) frag, Dysert O'Dea (Ce) re-set door, Inchagoill (G) re-set door, Kilcash (Ts) south door.
4 Ardfert, Temple-na-Hoe (Ky), chancel arch.
5 Cormac's Chapel (Ts) n. door, n. chapel, Clonkeen (Lk), Drumlane (Cn) fragment, Kilmalkedar (Ky) w. door, Ullard (Kk) w. door, St. Saviour's Glendalough (Ww) chancel arch, Freshford (Kk) w. door Roscrea (Ts), Wicklow (Ww) re-set door, St Caiman's , Inishcealtra (Ce).
6 Christ church Cathedral (D) fragment.

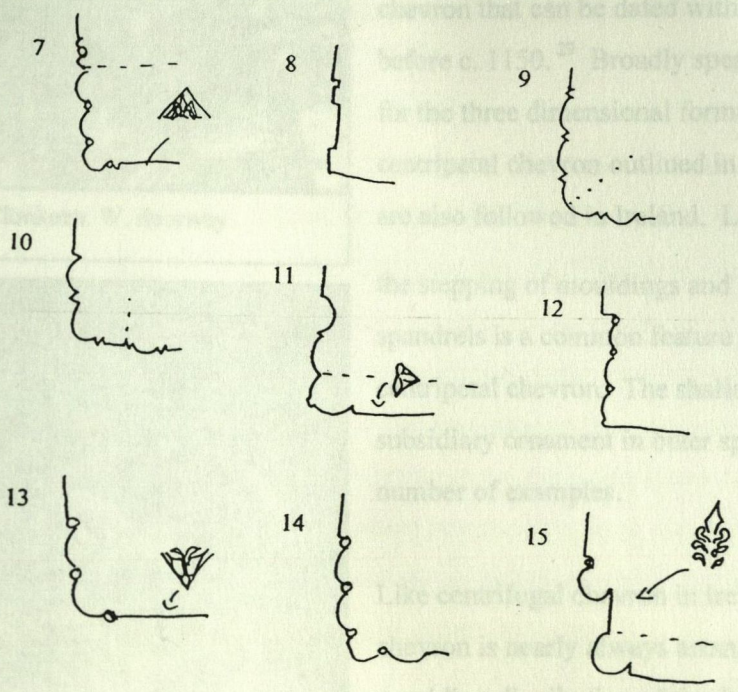
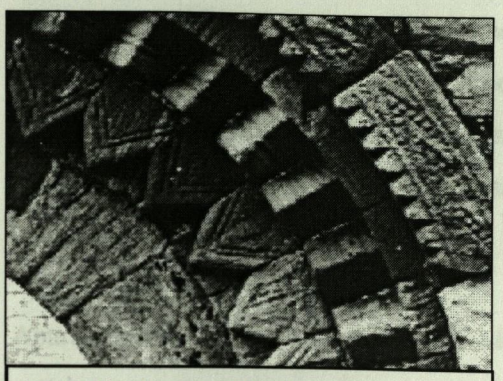


Figure 5B **Frontal profiles, contd.**

7 Donaghmore (Ts) w. door.
8 Inchcleraun (Wh) fragments.
9 Inishfallen (Ky).
10 Kildare (Ke) round tower doorway.
11 Killeshin (Ls) w. door.
12 Kilmore (Cn).
13 Mona Incha (Ts).
14 Nun's church, Clonmacnoise (Oy).
15 Glendalough (Ww) fragments.

Lateral Centripetal Chevron



Pl. 5.21: Clonkeen. W. doorway



Pl. 5. 22: Aghadoe. W. doorway

With the possible exception of the exterior of the east windows at Aghowle (Ww) (fig 5C:1), there are no surviving examples of Irish lateral centripetal chevron that can be dated with any confidence to before c. 1150.[29] Broadly speaking the conventions for the three dimensional formation of lateral centripetal chevron outlined in the previous chapters are also followed in Ireland. Like English examples, the stepping of mouldings and hollowing out of arris spandrels is a common feature of Irish lateral centripetal chevron. The shallow relief carving of subsidiary ornament in outer spandrels is found in a number of examples.

Like centrifugal chevron in Ireland, centripetal chevron is nearly always arranged with an equal moulding distribution of the face and soffit of a voussoir. Two exceptions to this, which appear to come close to the introduction of the centripetal form to Ireland are found at the stylistically related west doorways of Aghadoe (Ky) (fig 5C:3) **[pl. 5.22]** and Clonkeen (Lk) (fig 5C:6) **[pl. 5.21]**.[30] Both of these examples have an arris roll flanked on the face by a flat fillet, and rest on a slight step, in a similar fashion to a number of English examples such as Coln St Aldwyn (Gl) (fig. 3C:30), or the chevron stringcourses in the nave of Gloucester St. Peter's (Gl). The only earlier comparable example to this chevron in Ireland appears in the stringcourse of the north porch of Cormac's chapel suggesting that, as in England, this type of chevron may have developed from a stringcourse moulding formation.

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[29] Traditionally the church at Aghowle (Ww), and related structures at Banagher (Dy) and Maghera (Dy) have been dated to c.1100, H.G. Leask, Early Churches and Monastic Buildings Vol. I (Dundalk, 1955), 85. However, as Hamlin has pointed out, the structure of the windows at Aghowle and foliate decoration on the jambs of the door at Maghera, suggest parallels with the portal at Clonfert (G), usually dated to c.1180, D.M. Waterman and A. Hamlin, 'Banagher Church, Co. Derry', UJA, 39, (1976), 34.

[30] For the relationship between the two churches see L de Paor, Problems in the Chronology of Irish Romanesque (unpublished M.A, U.C.D. 1956), 62-64.

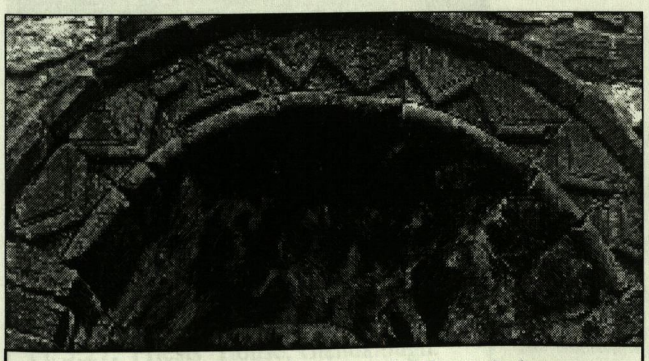
The elaboration of the moulding on the vertical depth of the chevron is a feature common to Irish centripetal chevron when it is carved on both faces too. Chapter four identified two distinct concepts as underlying the formation of centripetal chevron in England. The first was defined as the superimposition of a triangular form, sometimes with a moulded frame, on top of a straight moulding. The second was identified as akin to 'bent' mouldings formed from stepped parallel planes raised on a flat matrix.

Apart from the examples cited above, Irish examples of centripetal chevron worked on a flat matrix are unusual. One example is found on the interior of the east window of St. Saviour's, Glendalough (Ww) (fig 5C:15) **[pl. 5.24]**. The ornament on this arch is also unusual in having fully moulded chevron on the face, but raised triangular panels on the splay, deviating from the more traditional preference for face/soffit symmetry. The chevron sequence on the face is also broken by the distortion of the moulding into a dovetail motif.[31] The unusual nature of the form may be related to the fact that there are no known examples of 'typical' Anglo-Norman fret ornament in Ireland.



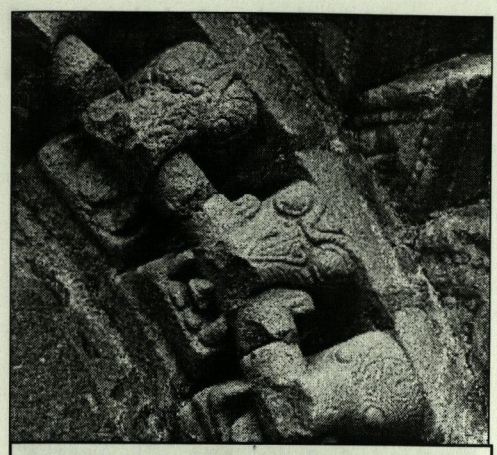
Pl. 5.23: Nun's church, Clonmacnoise. Chancel arch.

Where centripetal sequences are worked without an arris roll, like the second order of the chancel arch of the Nun's church Clonmacnoise (Oy) (fig. 5C:16) **[pl. 5.23]** and loose fragments of a doorway at Aghacross (C) (fig 5C:16), inner spandrels are deeply hollowed to produce an outstanding sculptural effect.

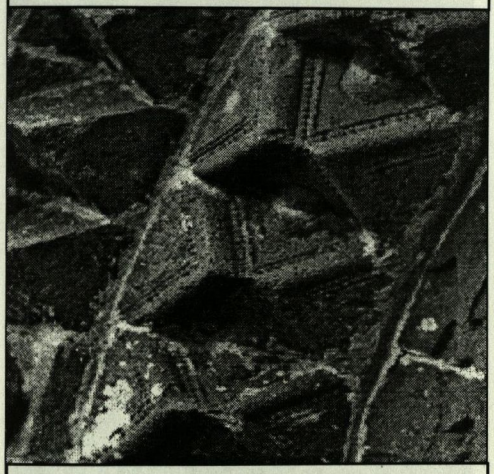


Pl. 5.24; St. Saviour's Glendalough. East window.

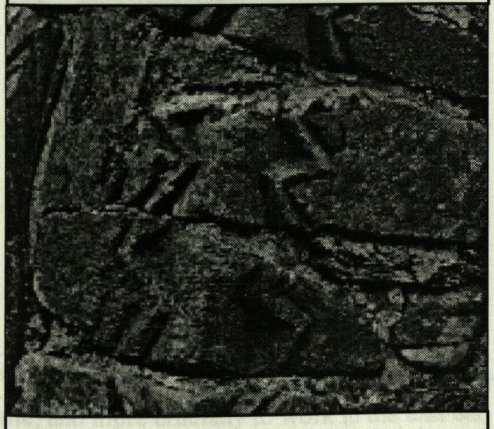
A number of pre-transitional centripetal chevron sequences incorporate an arris roll in a manner that appears to indicate a distinctly Irish conceptual similarity with contemporary beakhead.



Pl. 5.25: Nun's church, Clonmacnoise. W. doorway.



Pl. 5.26: Kilmore. Re-set doorway.



Pl. 5.27; Priests' House, Glendalough. Re-set window arch.

There are only four surviving examples of beakhead incorporated with an arris moulding in Ireland. These are found at Clonfert (G), Clonmacnoise (Oy) **[pl. 5.25]**, some re-set voussoirs at Dysert O' Dea (Ce), and a single *ex situ* fragment at Dromineer Bay (Ce). Henry noted that all of these examples were of a 'peculiar type', worked in high relief, with the arris roll firmly gripped between both jaws.[32] This has the effect of recessing the roll down from the true arris, thus depriving it of its architectural significance. The centripetal chevron at Kilmore (Cn) (fig 5C:13) **[pl. 5.26]** and Rahan small church (Oy) (fig 5C:14) has the same effect, where the arris roll is so deeply set beneath the chevron that it loses its original function of demarcating the edge of the voussoir.

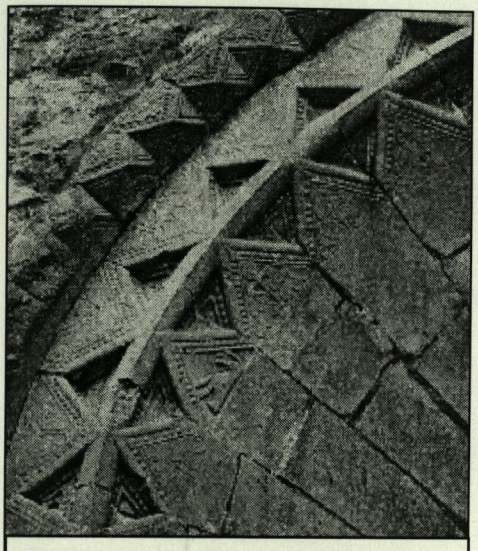
The most common form of centripetal chevron however, is that which 'overlays' a straight moulding. As in England, such chevron designs frequently include some of the earliest examples of transitional moulding profiles, such as roll and fillets, keels and bowtell mouldings along the arris.

At Killeshin (Ls) (figs, 5C:11, 5C:12) the west doorway has two orders of centripetal chevron, carved in very shallow relief, both meeting on a roll and fillet arris roll. The chevron now re-set into the so-called Priests' House at Glendalough (Ww) (fig 5C:10) **[pl. 5.27]** and related loose fragments are

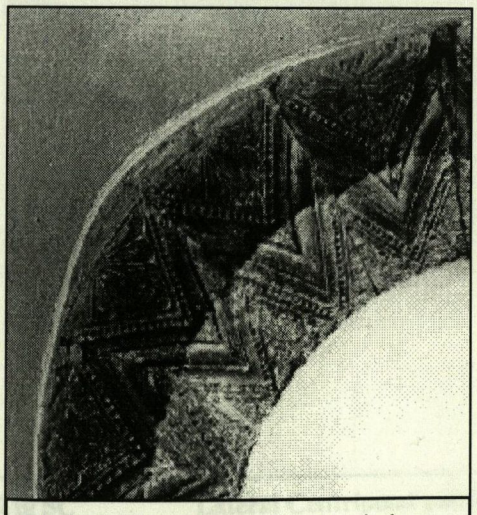
[31] This arch was rebuilt during the 1870s, however, given the rarity of the raised triangular panel on the soffit, and the continuation of the same moulding profile to form the dovetail, it is more or less certain to be original to this window.

[32] F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', JBAA, 20-21, (1957-8), 19.

formed entirely from keel mouldings, and probably represent one of the earliest uses of a keel moulding in Ireland.[33]



Pl. 5.28: Annaghdown. Re-set window



Pl. 5.29: Tuamgraney. Re-set window.

Bowtell mouldings are also used with some frequency in the formulation of centripetal chevron designs. At Annaghdown (G)(fig 5C:2) **[pl. 5.28]**,[34] the re-set east window of the cathedral incorporates a pointed bowtell arris, as do plainer forms at Christchurch (D) Boyle (Rm), Cong (Mo), and Ballintubber (Mo)(fig.5C:5).[35]

In chapter three it was noted that, with very few exceptions, lateral chevron that curved from one face of the voussoir to the other was almost invariably centrifugal. Two buildings in Ireland preserve examples of a contrary arrangement with lateral centripetal chevron that: extends from the face onto the soffit. The examples occur on the chancel arch at Mona Incha (Ts) and a re-set window arch at Tuamgraney (Ce) (fig. 5C:8) **[pl. 5.29]**. Unusually, the profiles of both examples include a hollow, a moulding element not common in the Irish vocabulary.

[33] Although the sculpture is undated, it can be related stylistically to sculpture at St. Saviour's at the same site, and more crucially to work in the east end of Baltinglass Abbey (Ww) (fd.1148) and Jerpoint Abbey (Ky) (fd.c.1160/c.1180), R. Stalley, The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland (London and New Haven, 1987), 180. Traditionally the introduction of the keel to Ireland has been attributed to the 1190s at Inch (Dn), Christ Church Dublin (D) and slightly later at Corcomroe (Ce), R. Stalley, 'Corcomroe; Some observations on its Architectural History', JRSAI, 150, (1975), 26-27.

[34] The date of construction for the Annaghdown window is unknown, although Garton has suggested a date of c. 1200, T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe', JBAA, 134, (1981), 39-43.

[35] For the relationship between these latter buildings see R. Stalley, 'A Romanesque Sculptor in Connaght', Country Life, (June 21, 1973), 1829.

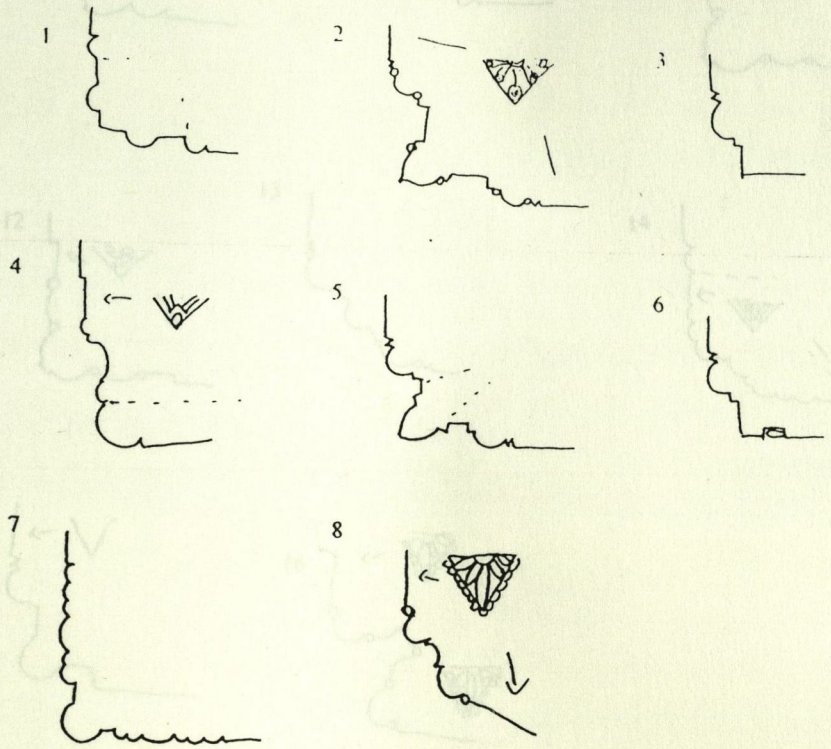


Fig 5C **Lateral Centripetal profiles**

1 Aghowle (Ww)e windows.
2 Annaghdown(G) e. window
3 Aghadoe (Ky)
4 Baltinglass (Ww) n. door
5 Boyle (Rn) w. window, Cong (Mo) slype door, Christ church cathedral (D), Ballintubber (Mo)
6 Clonkeen (Lk) w door
7 Temple Finghin, Clonmacnoise (Oy) chancel arch
8 Tuamgraney (Ce)window, Mona Incha (Ts) chancel arch

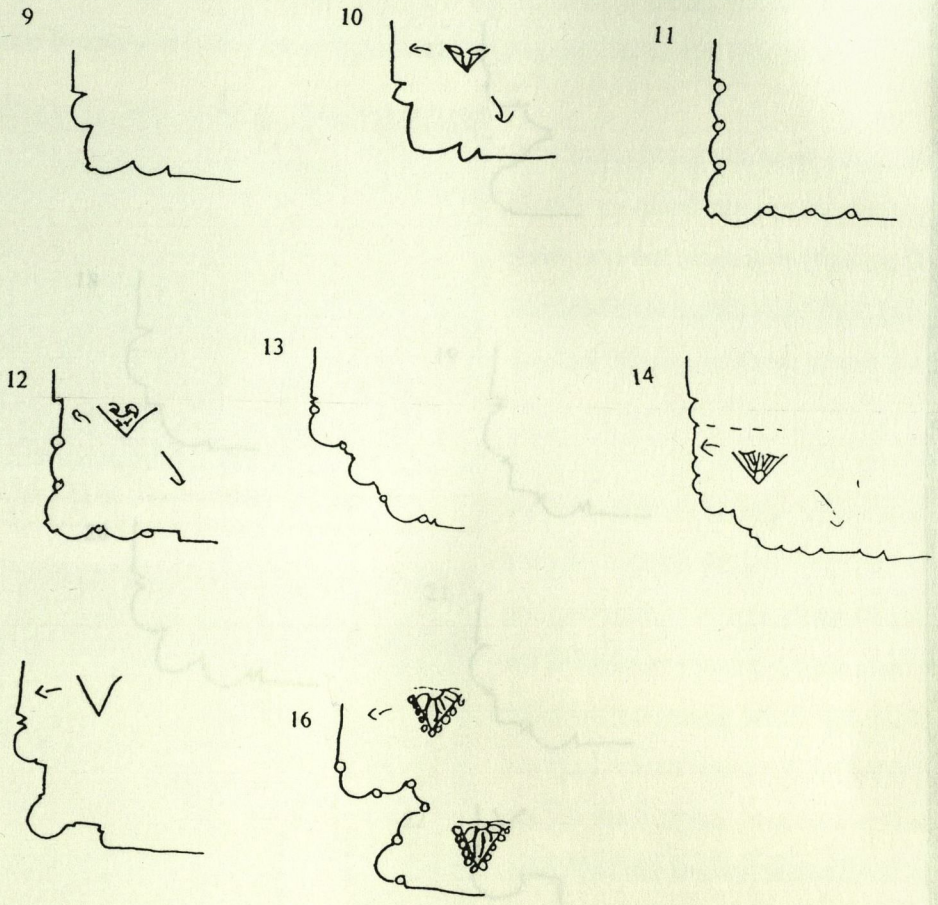


Fig 5C **Lateral Centripetal profiles, contd.**

9 Glendalough cathedral (Ww)
10 Glendalough, Priests' house fragments
11 Killeshin (Ls) w. door
12 Killeshin (Ls) w. door
13 Kilmore (Cn) re-set door
14 Rahan small church (Oy) w. door
15 Glendalough, St. Saviour's (Ww)
16 Nun's Church, Clonmacnoise (Oy)

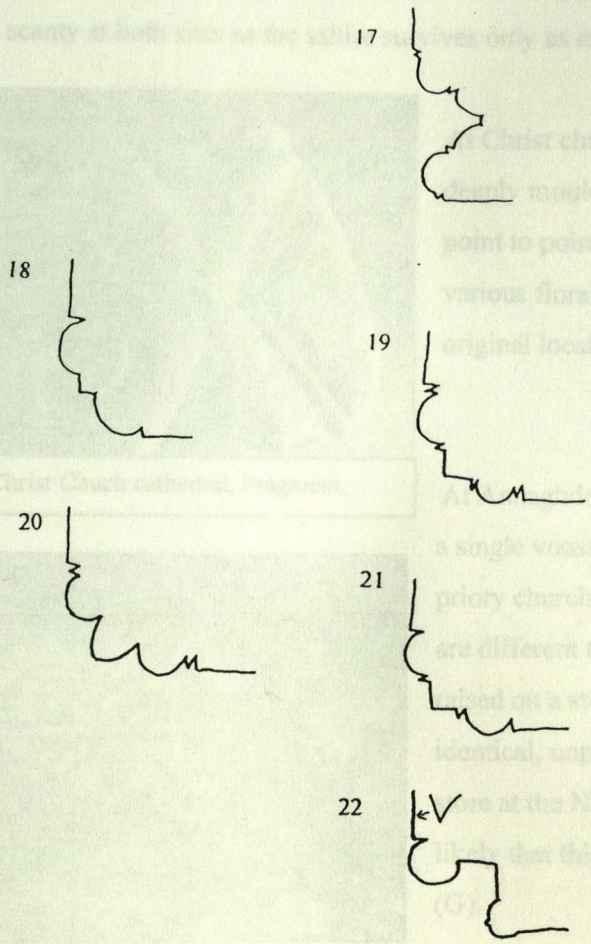


Fig 5C **Lateral Centripetal profiles, contd.**

17 Aghacross (C)
18 Christchurch cathedral (D)
19 Christchurch cathedral (D)
20 Christchurch cathedral (D)
21 Christchurch cathedral (D)
22 Christchurch cathedral (D)

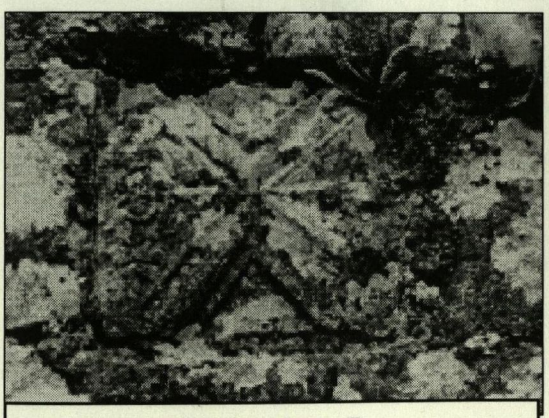
Saltire ornament

The relationship between Christ church Dublin (D) and Annaghdown (G) is reiterated by the fact that they are the only two buildings in Ireland known to have incorporated saltire motifs. Evidence is scanty at both sites as the saltire survives only as *ex situ* fragments.



Pl. 5.30: Christ Chuch cathedral. Fragment.

At Christ church six loose voussoirs comprise deeply moulded centripetal chevron meeting point to point on an arris lozenge filled with various floral motifs (fig 5D:1) **[pl. 5.30]**. The original location of these stones is unknown.



Pl.5.31: Annaghdown priory. Fragment.

At Annaghdown (G) the saltire is represented by a single voussoir set into the north wall of the priory church. The mouldings of this example are different to those at Christ church, being raised on a step)(fig 5D::2) **[pl. 5.31]**. An identical, unprovenanced, voussoir is held in store at the National Museum in Dublin.[36] It is likely that this too originates from Annaghdown (G).

[36] Thanks are due to Dr. Paul Mullarky of the National Museum for drawing my attention to this piece.

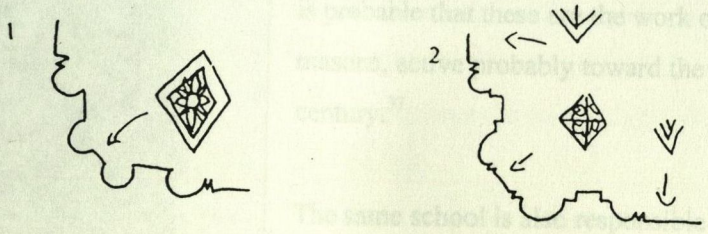


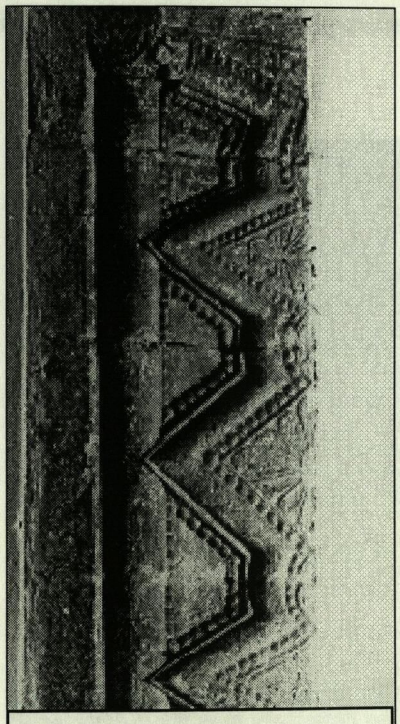
Figure 5D **Saltire profiles**

1 Christ church cathedral (D) loose fragments
2 Annaghdown priory (G) loose fragment, NMI (D) loose fragment

Hyphenated chevron

The early appearance of hyphenated chevron at Cashel (Ts), Kilmalkedar (Ky), and Ardfert (Ky) has already been highlighted. All three of these examples incorporate hyphenated lozenges on the soffits of arches that interlock with centrifugal face chevron.

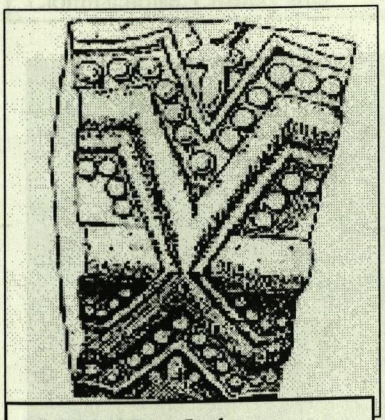
Other forms of hyphenated chevron, as in England, do not seem to appear until after c.1150.



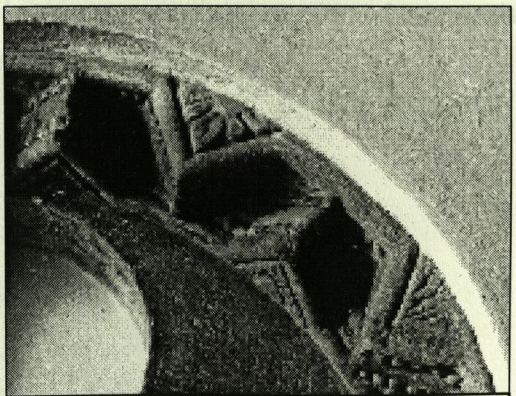
Pl. 5.32: Tuamgraney. Re-set window.

Plain hyphenated chevron (i.e. not syncopated) is relatively unusual. A distinctive form of hyphenated chevron with curved hyphens is used at Mona Incha (Ts) **[pl. 5.33]**, St. Patrick's Well (Ts) (fig. 5E:2) and Tuamegraney (Ce) (fig. 5E:1) **[pl. 5.32]**. No other examples of this are known, so it is probable that these are the work of the same school of masons, active probably toward the end of the twelfth century.[37]

The same school is also responsible for another imaginative use of hyphenation, which incorporates richly decorated frontal chevron hyphenated and syncopated. This is used on a re-set niche at Tuamegraney (Ce) **[pl. 5.34]**, a fragment of chancel arch at Killaloe (Ce) and on the re-set door at Mona Incha (Ts) (fig 5E:3).



Pl.5.33: Mona Incha. Voussoir from w. doorway.



Pl 5.34: Tuamgraney. Niche.

[37] T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe', JBAA, 134, (1981), 39-43.

By far the most common manifestation of hyphenated chevron is the syncopated form, common also to many post-1150 buildings in England. The earliest dateable occurrence of this is found on the chancel arch of the Nun's church at Clonmacnoise of c.1167 (fig 5E:4) **[pl. 5.35]**. This is formed from the same beaded and stepped mouldings as are found at a number of other sites such as Mona Incha (Ts) and Tuam (G) (fig 5E:4), all of which also incorporate complex foliate motifs in the chevron and lozenge spandrels.



Pl. 5.35: Nun's church, Clonmacnoise. Chancel arch.

Simpler moulding formations are found on the syncopated designs of the transept triforium arches at Christchurch cathedral Dublin (D). These are formed from simple boldly cut rolls, with lozenge ornament only, similar in form to the syncopated designs found throughout the west country during roughly the same period.

Syncopated chevron becomes less common in the thirteenth century. The 'School of the West' churches on the whole do not incorporate it with free-standing forms although there is one remaining example of a sequence at Cong (Mo) (fig 5E:9) **[pl. 5.36]** of c.1230, where arris lozenges are transformed into hexagonals.



Pl. 5.36: Cong. Re-set doorway.

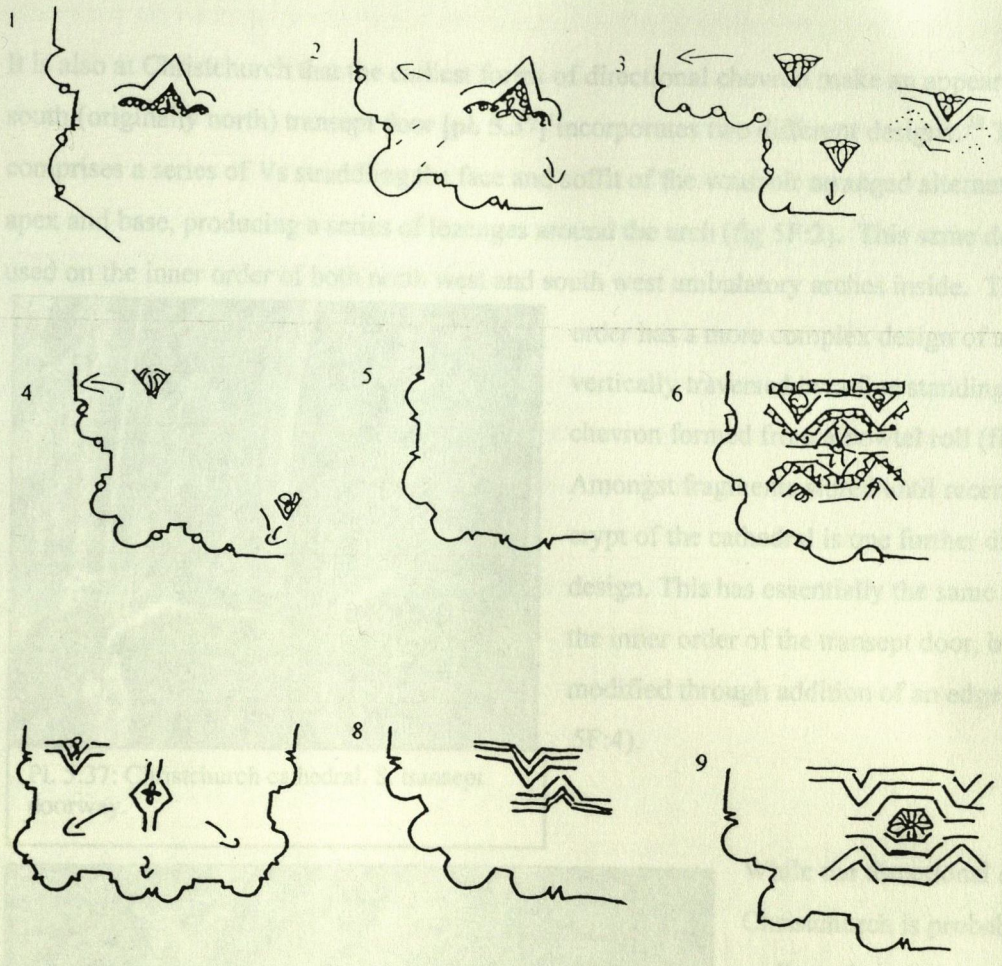


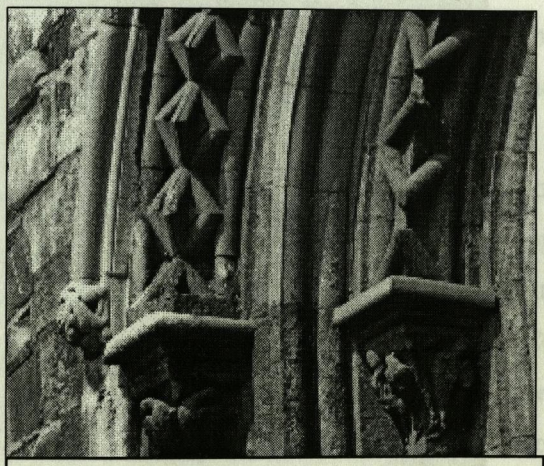
Figure 5E **Hyphenated profiles**

1 Tuamgraney (Ce) window jambs,
2 Mona Incha (Ts) w. door, Killaloe, re-set door, St Patrick's Well (Ts) fragment.
3 Mona Incha (Ts) w. door, Killaloe (Ce) fragment, Tuamgraney (Ce) niche.
4 Nun's church, Clonmacnoise (Oy) chancel arch, Tuam (G) chancel arch, Tuamgraney (Ce) re-set fragments in window arch, Mona Incha (Ts).
5 Kilmore (Cn) re-set doorway.
6 Temple Finghin, Clonmacnoise (Oy) re-set window
7 Killaloe (Ce) re-set doorway.
8 Christ Church Dublin (D) triforium arches, fragments
9 Cong (Mo) doorway

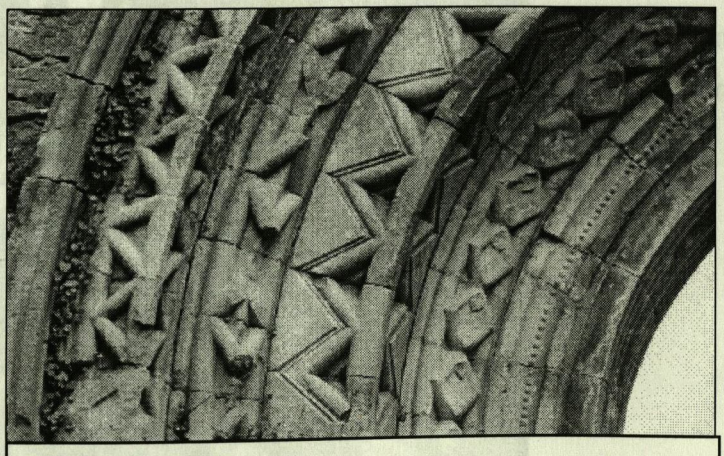
Directional chevron

Only one example of the arris chevron so common in the English West Country survives. This is found on the inner arches of the transept triforia at Christchurch cathedral (D) (fig 5F:1), and is identical in type profile to the blind arcades of Glastonbury Lady chapel.

It is also at Christchurch that the earliest forms of directional chevron make an appearance. The south (originally north) transept door **[pl. 5.37]** incorporates two different designs.[38] The inner comprises a series of Vs straddling the face and soffit of the voussoir arranged alternately to face apex and base, producing a series of lozenges around the arch (fig 5F:2). This same design is also used on the inner order of both north west and south west ambulatory arches inside. The outer order has a more complex design of a lozenge vertically traversed by a free standing arris chevron formed from a bowtel roll (fig 5F:5). Amongst fragments stored until recently in the crypt of the cathedral is one further directional design. This has essentially the same design as the inner order of the transept door, but is modified through addition of an edge roll (fig 5F:4).



Pl. 5.37: Christchurch cathedral. S. transept doorway.

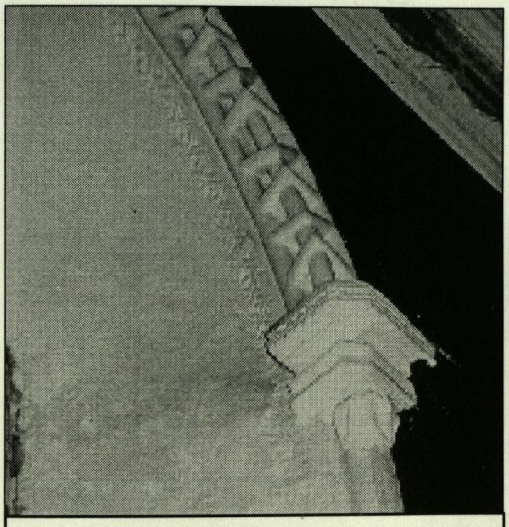


Pl. 5.38: Cong. Slype doorway.

While the directional chevron at Christchurch is probably the earliest, there is no evidence of its having had any effect on the eastern part of the country. Nearly all other surviving examples of this type of chevron are found west of the Shannon, where it endured for at least a further forty years.

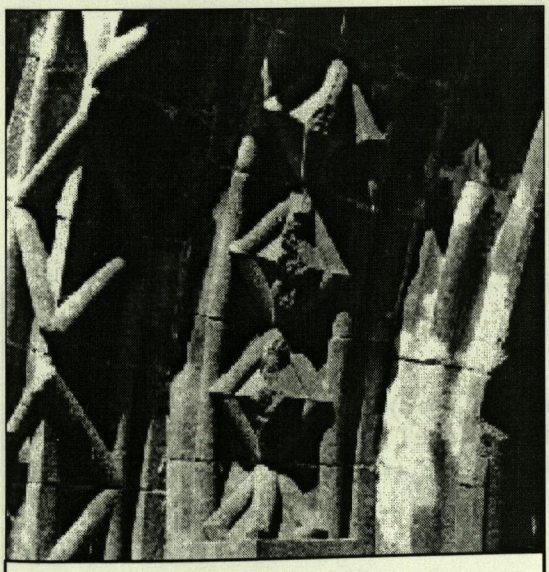
[38] This portal, which preserves historiated capitals of a type found at Glastonbury Lady Chapel, is usually dated to between 1184-1200. R. Stalley, 'The Medieval Sculpture of Christchurch Cathedral, Dublin' Archaeologia, 106, (1979), 107-122.

A number of parallels for the Christchurch directional chevrons are found in buildings associated with the so-called 'School of the West'. The Christchurch chevrons are found on the slype door at Cong (Mo) **[pl. 5.38]** and on the interior of the chapter house windows at Abbeyknockmoy (G), where red pigment on the chevron is still preserved. The simpler directional forms are also found at Ballintubber (Rm), Drumacoo (Ce), Noughaval (Ce), Corcomroe (Ce) (fig. 5F2), Killaloe (Ce) and re-used in an eighteenth century church at Seir Kieran (Oy) (fig 5F4), **[pl. 5.39]**.[39] At Seir Kieran, the only example east of the Shannon, this directional type is combined with a type of geometric weave pattern but elsewhere it is unadorned by any form of supplementary ornament.



Pl. 5.39: Seir Kieran. East window.

The free-standing element of the more complex chevron was infinitely more susceptible to breakage, as evidenced by the inner order of the slype door at Cong **[pl. 5.38]**. The solution to this difficulty appears to have been reached at Teample Jarlath, Tuam (G), Drumacoo (Ce) **[pl. 5.40]** and Killone (Ce) (Fig 5F3), where small pyramids were raised in the centre of lozenges to support the straddling element.



Pl. 5.40. Drumacoo. S. doorway.

These are the only types of directional chevron found in Ireland, which, in comparison to the multitude of transitional forms of chevron in the West Country of England, represent a relatively limited range.

[39] The doorway at Noughaval has been rebuilt with all of the chevrons facing in the one direction.

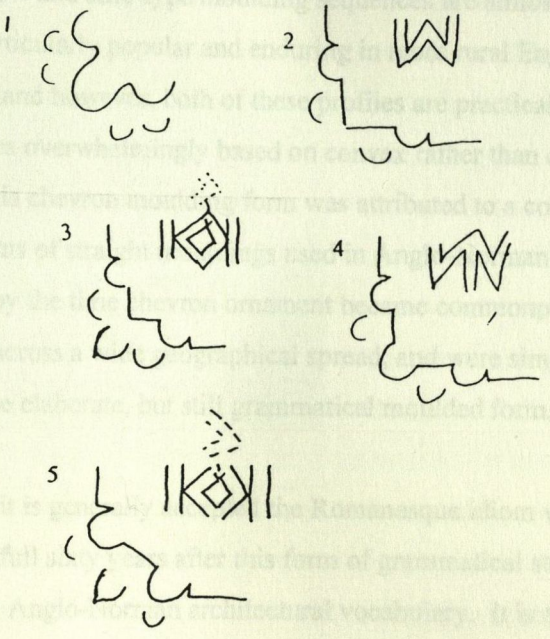


Figure 5F **Directional profiles**

1 Christchurch (D)
2 Christchurch (D), Corcomroe (Ce), Drumacoo (Ce), Ballintubber (Mo), Noughval (Ce)
3 Killone (Ce), Drumacoo (Ce), Temple Jarlath, Tuam (G)
4 Christchurch (D), Killaloe (Ce), Seir Kieran (Oy)
5 Christchurch,(D), Cong (Mo), Abbeyknockmoy (G)

Discussion

This brief overview of the salient forms of chevron in Ireland is telling in terms of the relationship between Romanesque sculpture in Ireland and that found in its nearest geographical neighbour. It also provides some insight into how motifs were transmitted during the period.

The most significant difference between Irish and Anglo-Norman chevron is the moulding profiles. Roll/ hollow and attic-type moulding sequences are almost the 'stock' form in Normandy, and particularly popular and enduring in more rural English parish church architecture. In Ireland however, both of these profiles are practically unknown in chevron design, with profiles overwhelmingly based on convex rather than concave forms. In chapter four, the popularity of this chevron moulding form was attributed to a common source, namely the more prevalent forms of straight mouldings used in Anglo-Norman architecture from about 1060. It was argued that by the time chevron ornament became commonplace these mouldings were firmly established across a wide geographical spread, and were simply broken and rearranged to form a slightly more elaborate, but still grammatical moulded form.

As outlined above, it is generally accepted the Romanesque idiom was only introduced to Ireland in the late 1120s, a full sixty years after this form of grammatical straight moulding had become a common part of the Anglo-Norman architectural vocabulary. It is difficult to assign any Irish stone buildings with mouldings prior to this date, as the presence of a moulded feature in a primitive church has traditionally been read as indicative of a 'Romanesque' and *a priori* a post 1120 date. Mouldings were however known in Ireland prior to the introduction of the Romanesque style to stone architecture. A number of high crosses, traditionally dated to the tenth century, incorporate quite complex mouldings both to demarcate the tectonic characteristics of the monuments, and to divide pictorial space. The most common form of high cross moulding is the arris roll, flanked on either side by an angle fillet. This moulding is found on a number of geographically scattered examples of crosses, from Clogher (Te), to Durrow (Oy) **[pl. 5. 41]** to Castledermot (Ke), each very different in its form and sculptural decoration.



Pl. 5.41: Durrow. Detail of high cross.

Apart from this, the other most common moulding is an arris roll flanked by a row of beading and an angle fillet. The distribution of this latter moulding is limited to a number of regionally and stylistically related monuments in the northern part of the country including Boho (Fh), Arboe (Te) Drumcliffe (So) **[pl. 5.42]** and Clones (Mn).



Pl. 5.42: Drumcliffe. Detail of high cross.

It is not suggested that the mouldings of high crosses exerted a direct influence on the form of chevron mouldings. But the presence of such similar moulding forms on a wide variety of crosses suggests that similar mouldings might also have been used in other contexts (and media) that have not survived.

Straight mouldings which include a concave element either before or during the Romanesque period on the other hand, are exceptionally difficult to find. The most prominent example survives on the portal of St. Flannan's oratory at Killaloe (Ce) **[pl. 5.43]**. This church is generally considered a typically 'Irish' oratory by virtue of its steep pitched stone roof and diminutive size, which place it in the same category as buildings such as St. Columba's 'House' at Kells (Mh), Kevin's 'Kitchen' at Glendalough (Ww) and Molaise's 'House' at Devenish (Fh).[40]

However, even a cursory analysis of the sculpted detail on the west portal of this oratory reveals that it is quite alien to the Irish tradition. Structurally, the raising of the jamb of the central order on a plinth is unusual, the only other known instance occurring at Cormac's Chapel. The moulding profiles of the bases,[41] the capital design[42] and the denticles of the hood mould also seem to belong more to an English church of the late eleventh / early twelfth century than to a typical Irish building, suggesting that the attic profile mouldings on this door may be the product

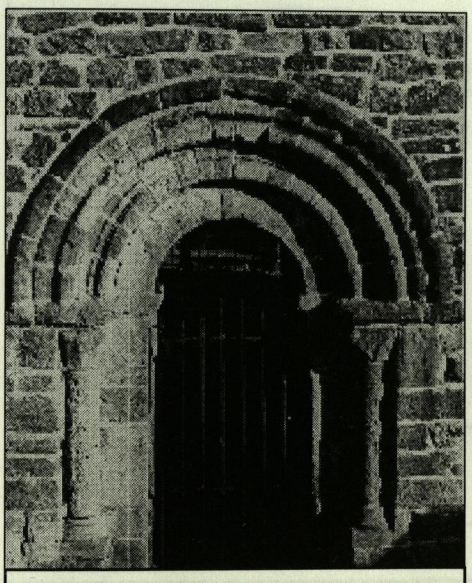
[40] This group of churches has traditionally been considered as amongst the earliest stone churches in Ireland, by virtue of their skeumorphic characteristics. However, the desire to emulate earlier wooden structures may lie instead with the buildings' association with respective founder saints.

[41] These correspond most closely to Rigold's complete attic sequences of early and middle contexts, with parallels at Castle Acre (Nf) and Steyning (Sx) of c.1090. S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R Gilyard-Beer, and A.D. Saunders, Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation (London, 1977), 114-115.

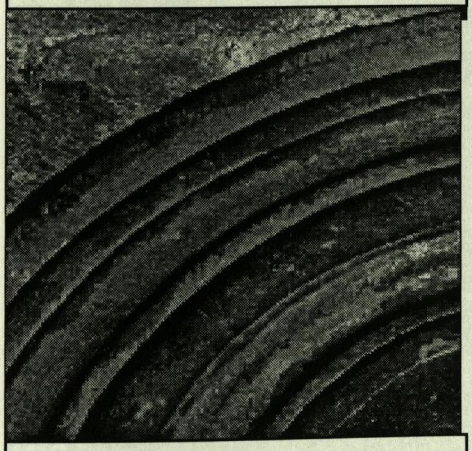
[42] These are, on the north, a volute capital of typical 'Norman' type, and on the south a bicorporate.

of a foreign workshop. The only other known example of concave straight mouldings in an early Irish Romanesque context is on the stairway door at Cormac's chapel **[pl. 5.44]**.

The implication is therefore, that the roll/hollow and attic profiles so popular throughout Normandy and England for almost a century following the Conquest, never came in to common usage in Ireland. Instead, with the introduction of the Romanesque idiom to Ireland three-dimensional forms already current in the local architectural vocabulary were used to create essentially novel motifs.



Pl. 5.43: St. Flannan's Oratory. W. doorway.



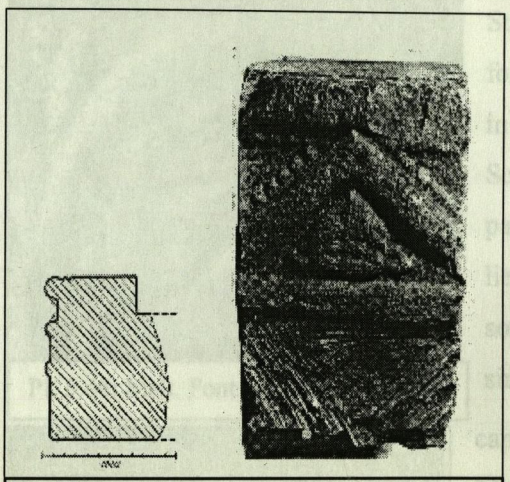
Pl. 5.44: Cashel. Interior S. stair doorway.

The presence of chevron types at Lismore, Cashel, Ardfert cathedral and Kilmalkedar, which appear distinct from other types in Ireland, but have an apparent relationship with English chevron, suggests the hand of a mason with direct knowledge of English architectural sculpture. This theory is supported by the presence at all sites of other distinctive characteristics, such as billet at Lismore and Cormac's chapel, *opus reticulatum* at Ardfert, and tympana at Cashel and Kilmalkedar.

The first three buildings can be placed near the beginning of the Romanesque style in Ireland.[43] It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that chevron ornament was introduced to Ireland by foreign masons working at high prestige buildings. But the ornament then appears to have been developed by local masons who added their own individualistic stamp, the most significant element of which was the equal treatment of face and soffit, and the application of quite lavish subsidiary ornament.

[43] The dates for Lismore and Cashel have been discussed above. Ardfert appears to have taken over as head of the diocese in Kerry by 1119, so a date of c. 1120-30 would be reasonable for the west façade of the principal church there.

Interestingly though, while Irish chevron remains distinct from that in England, the pattern of development in England and Ireland runs roughly parallel. Centrifugal and frontal forms make the earliest appearance, and are commonly found in association with one another, while centripetal, syncopated and directional chevron becomes commonplace only from the middle of the twelfth century. This suggests that while Irish Romanesque architecture remained doggedly conservative throughout the twelfth century, it was through deliberate choice, rather than through ignorance of developments abroad.



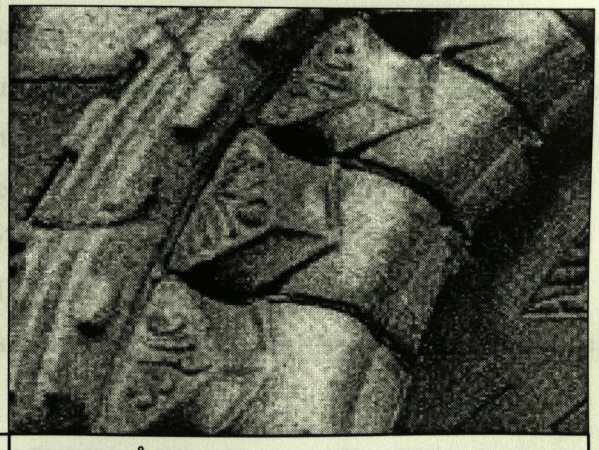
Pl. 5.45: Fragment from Killyleagh (after Waterman, 1971).

The apparent lack of saltire ornament and face only centrifugal chevron suggests minimal contact between Ireland and Normandy. Only one Irish fragment, now lost, hints at a knowledge of Norman chevron designs.[44] This is a section of doorjamb from Killyleagh (Dn) **[pl. 5.45]**, which has spandrel ornament remarkably similar to the zoomorphic heads so popular throughout Calvados.

That Ireland remained in touch with developments in the 'mainstream' of Romanesque is confirmed by the use of innovative mouldings almost as they were being introduced in England. Of these roll and fillet seems to have been the earliest. This was



Pl. 5.46: Baltinglass Abbey. N. doorway.



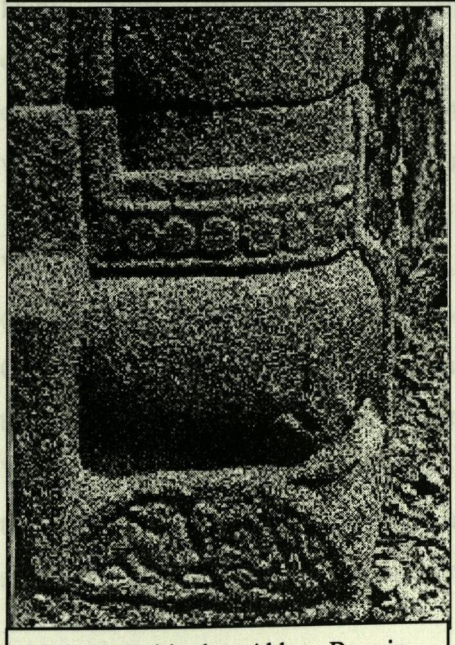
Pl. 5. 47: Åalbourg. S. doorway

[44] Thanks are due to Ann Hamlin and Malcom Fry of the Environment and Heritage service of Northern Ireland for their attempts to locate the stone.

used on the west portal at Killeshin (Ls), at St. Saviour's Glendalough (Ww) and at Aghadoe (Ky). The sculpture of the first two buildings has been identified as belonging to the same school, along with sculpture from Baltinglass and Jerpoint.[45] These all preserve pieces of chevron ornament unique both within the context of the school, and the broader context of Hiberno-Romanesque. This, coupled with the inclusion of unusual moulding profiles again suggests the introduction of a foreign hand or overseas training.



Pl. 5.48: Malt. Font base.



Pl. 5.49: Baltinglass Abbey. Base in presbytery.

Stalley has suggested an ultimate English background for these masons, although it is difficult to find parallels in chevron ornament anywhere in either England Scotland or Wales.[46] Instead, the most convincing parallels for many of the motifs common to the school lie further afield in Jutland, Denmark. At Åalbourg, the south door of Notre Dame church **[pl. 5.47]** has a similar chevron motif to Baltinglass **[pl. 5.46]**, while a capital on the same portal, and several fonts including Malt **[pl. 5.48]** and Dover have the distinctive lion motif found at Baltinglass **[pl. 5.49]**.[47] The use of bulbous bases at Killeshin and Baltinglass has been interpreted as a continuation of an earlier tradition in wooden church architecture, and given the other links with Scandinavian sculpture it is tempting to see the influence of stave church design.[48] However, given the number of parallels found in Scandinavian stone monuments, and the use of up-to-date moulding profiles such as keels (at the Priests' house, Glendalough) and roll and fillets (at St. Saviour's, Glendalough and Killeshin), it seems more realistic to suggest the involvement of a Scandinavian mason working at these sites. Such a mason may have

[45] R. Stalley, The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland (London and New Haven, 1987), 180-4.
[46] R. Stalley, ibid., 180-4.
[47] The portal at Åalbourg is usually dated to between c. 1125 and c.1150, A. Andersson, L'Art Scandnave II, (Pierre-qui-Vire, 1968), 63.
[48] R. Stalley, 'Hiberno-Romanesque and the Sculpture of Killeshin' in (eds.) P. Lane and W. Nolan, Laois, History and Society (Dublin, 2000), 98-99.

come at the behest of Diarmait MacMurrough, patron of both Baltinglass and Killeshin, or of the Cistercians, to work initially at Baltinglass and Jerpoint. There are no obvious historical links between the Irish patrons and Jutland. However, the fact that there was a well established tradition of granite carving on the peninsula may have been a motivating factor, as granite was the only stone available to the masons working at Baltinglass.[49]

The distinctive forms of chevron found in the group of buildings comprising Mona Incha (Ts), St. Patrick's Well (Ts), Killaloe (Ce) and Tuamgraney (Ce) suggest the contribution of fresh ideas at around the period when the diocese of Roscrea and Killaloe, within which all monuments lie, were being united.[50] Garton has highlighted the parallels between the scalloped ornament at Killaloe and Kirkham priory(Y).[51] The copious beading and profusion of foliate ornament characteristic of the school also finds its closest, though not identical, contemporary parallels in the north, rather than the west of England.

The direct influence of England is once more detectable in the chevron designs at Christchurch Dublin. Sixteen different chevron motifs were used at the cathedral, none of which (on the basis of surviving material) had been used in Ireland before. Parallels with West Country forms are compelling, and there seems no reason to contradict Street's suggestion that the masons who worked in the Dublin building had been trained in this area.[52]

What is of note, however, is the impact, or rather lack of impact, that the ornament had on contemporary buildings in Ireland. Directional chevron, probably first used in Ireland at Christchurch, is found in a significant number of buildings belonging to the so-called School of the West. However, only two of the forms used at Christchurch appear to have filtered into the Western vocabulary, while another two forms apparently not used at the Dublin cathedral, suggest that the ultimate source of the designs used by the school may have lain elsewhere. This is not surprising, as fragments of chevron worked in Dundry stone at Waterford cathedral and

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[49] For the 'granite school' of Jutland see M. Mackeprang, Jydske Granitportaler (Copenhagen, 1948).
[50] A. Gwynn and D. Gleeson, A History of the Diocese of Killaloe (Dublin, 1962), 182. Fragments at Birchgrove house Roscrea, and a fragment of chevron with a foliate terminal recently recovered during an archaeological excavation under the site of the high cross at Roscrea (Ts), may also belong to the group.
[51] T. Garton, 'A Romanesque Doorway at Killaloe', JBAA, 134, (1981), 52.
[52] G.E. Street and E. Seymour, Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin (London, 1882), 108-9.

Glendalough Cathedral suggest that the use of chevron ornament in Anglo-Norman church buildings continued on a scale greater than previously suspected. [53]

Conclusion

Comparison between the forms of chevron remaining in Ireland, and the most common types in England and Normandy helps to bring the artistic relationship of the three areas during the Romanesque period into sharper definition.

Firstly, it seems certain that on occasions foreign craftsmen were brought into Ireland, usually to work on high prestige buildings. At the beginning of the twelfth century this can be explained in most cases by the patron's prominent roles in the church reform movement. Towards the end of the century it is at least partially attributable to the Anglo-Norman conquest, and the mass importation of labour and materials for a rebuilding campaign instigated by the new Anglo-Norman bishops.

The manner in which Irish masons chose to interpret the motif is however, quite telling. In simple terms, English masons developed the effect of different chevron types primarily through the complication of moulding profiles. In Ireland on the other hand, the basic chevron form underwent little development, using simple roll/ angle fillet, roll/ bead profiles. However, in Ireland chevron gradually changes from being an ornament in its own right to becoming a framework for much richer ornamentation. It appears that, possibly with the exception of some frontal chevron, little serious attempt was made to copy truly English forms.

Although exhibiting their own specific characteristics, the development of chevron types runs roughly parallel in England and Ireland, confirming the pattern of development put forward in chapter four. This indicates a level of sophistication often denied to the Hiberno-Romanesque, suggesting that, for whatever reason, Irish patrons and masons designed their sculpture with a greater awareness of foreign developments than has previously been acknowledged.

[53] Stalley has suggested that the Anglo-Norman rebuilding of Waterford cathedral is unlikely to pre-date c.1200. R. Stalley, 'Three Buildings with West Country Origins', BAACT, 4, (1981), 69. Although Glendalough cathedral is excluded from Waterman's study of the distribution of Somersetshire stone in Ireland, there is little doubt that the east window, chancel arch and north door jambs of the cathedral are worked from imported stone.

CHAPTER 6 THE ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF CHEVRON ORNAMENT IN THE ROMANESQUE.

Having examined the overriding characteristics of chevron ornament in Britain, Normandy and Ireland during the Romanesque period, it now remains to explore in greater detail the theoretical issues raised in chapter one. Questions about the sources of the ornament, why it became so popular within a clearly defined geographic area and timeframe, and why it developed in the manner that it did are particularly relevant. If answered, there are implications for clarifying not just the position of chevron but also of other abstract pattern within the context of Romanesque sculpture.

Origins

Analysis of the various manifestations of chevron ornament, found in particular during the earlier phases of its development, has helped to clarify the origins of the motif in stone within the Anglo-Norman realm. The traditionally held view that the chevron in Durham cathedral is the 'earliest' is based on two unfounded assumptions. Firstly, that a motif which became as popular as chevron, must have been introduced through a large 'iconic' building like Durham cathedral, copied because of its association with the structure, and disseminated by masons once they had finished work on the great cathedral. Secondly, that Durham is the first 'great' church to include the motif in its decorative vocabulary.

The general acceptance of scholars that Anglo-Norman moulding forms came to predominate in parish church architecture prior to their common usage in 'great' churches was outlined in chapter four. Given the close relationship between chevron and straight mouldings, there seems little reason to question that chevron may also have become established in a more localised context prior to its adoption by the designers of high prestige structures. The unusual form of the Durham chevron further supports the theory. If chevron had been disseminated from this single structure, one would expect to find a relatively significant number of direct copies following the same grammatical design principles as Durham. Alternatively one might expect to find a vast number of different types following the same basic principle, but manifested through each individual sculptor's own interpretation of form. But there are practically no surviving direct copies of the Durham chevron. While looser interpretations of the form are relatively commonplace north of the Humber, in the south of England and Normandy a more homogenous, but distinctively different grammatical form is used, suggestive of alternative sources of influence.

The source of the sectional element of chevron ornament has already been established. Masons used moulding forms with which they were already familiar in order to achieve the three-dimensional element so crucial to the formation of grammatically correct chevron ornament. This seems to have led to the establishment of some of the 'rules' followed in chevron design. However, it does not explain why the distortion of mouldings to form a zigzag motif was singled out over all of the other possible manifestations,[1] or why it was seen as so important that chevron should consistently have such a pronounced three-dimensional character.

Technical Evolution

The appearance of stone-sculpted chevron ornament across a relatively broad geographical area, within an apparently short space of time, could be the result of an already established familiarity with the ornament. One explanation for this might be that the zigzag form was already established in an architectural context in a different medium, either as a functional or a decorative element and that its translation into stone in architecture was therefore a natural 'evolutionary' development.

Wood

The most common material for church construction other than stone prior to the Romanesque period was wood. Just as Semper identified the very earliest formation of geometric pattern as the result of the technical process of weaving, authors searching for the origins of various distinctive elements in medieval architecture and ornament have looked to the technical processes current in different media as possible sources. A number of characteristic elements found in both Anglo-Saxon and early Irish stone architecture are generally accepted as skeumorphs of functional elements in wooden building. Stone stripwork with mitred jointing on the façade of Earl's Barton (Np) has been interpreted as a 'translation' of timber framing,[2] and similar carpentry jointing appears on the stone 'post and lintel' doorway of Labba Molga church (C) in

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[1] A large range of various moulding 'distortions' was used to ornamental effect in western France during the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. For a full description of these see A. Tcherikover, 'Romanesque Sculpted Archivolts in Western France. Forms and Techniques', Arte Medievale, 3:1, (1989), 49-75.

[2] W. Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon Church Building: aspects of design and construction' in (eds.) L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris, The Anglo Saxon Church, Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of (London, 1986), 156-75.

Ireland.[3] With precedents such as these, a skeumorphic origin for chevron ornament would not be altogether surprising.

If functional elements were slavishly translated from wood to stone, then in all probability decorative motifs were as well. Documentary sources confirm that wooden church architecture in the areas under scrutiny certainly incorporated architectural decoration. In some cases, such as the description by Cogitosus of the ornamented south door (*ornatam portam*) at Kildare, it is unclear what medium was used to achieve the ornament, although it is generally assumed to have been carved wood.[4] The fact that the medium is not mentioned might also support this, as the application of more precious materials to a building tends to be singled out for special mention.

The existence of carved wooden doorways in Ireland during the period is more explicit in a seventeenth century transcription of a ninth /tenth century Irish law tract.[5] This deals with the compensation due for damage caused to parts of a building, and also the types of decoration to which nobles of various ranks were entitled;

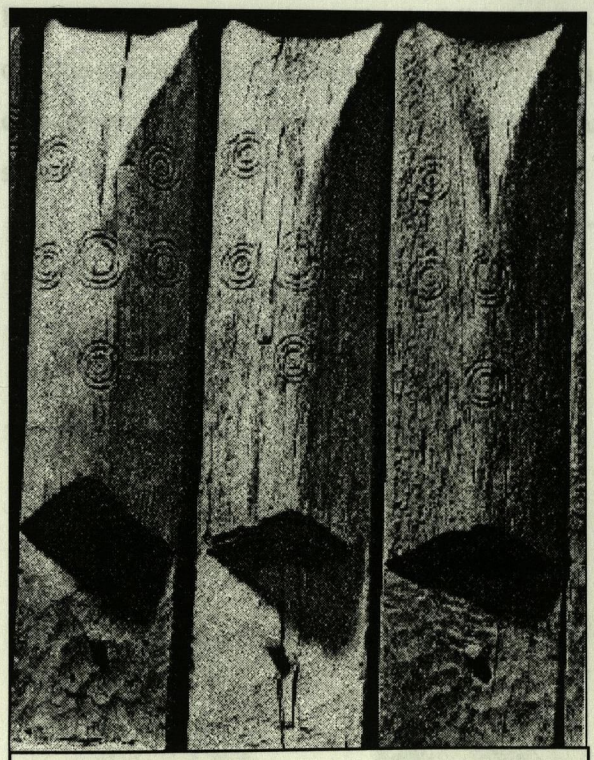
'The house of the *aire tusi*: a decorated finish goes over the doorpost and his partition. For cutting his doorpost on the south side, a cow, and a yearling for cutting the north side. It is likewise for his wooden seating area; for cutting it from the front so that it is useless, half a *cumal*, and five *séts* for cutting it from behind. The house of the *aire aird*: variegated decorated woodwork on his doorpost and on its surfaces, and a variety of ornament upon the bed that is the best in the house. For cutting the doorpost on the south side, five *séts*, and a cow for the north side. It is likewise for his wooden seating area. For cutting the surfaces of the bed from the front, half a *cumal*, and half a *cumal* for cutting it from behind.'[6]

The paucity of surviving archaeological evidence in England, Normandy and Ireland greatly hinders any meaningful study of the type of ornament that might have been used. However, the limited survivals can be assessed in order to gauge whether wooden versions of chevron were of sufficient prominence to be the source of such a ubiquitous feature in Anglo-Norman stone architecture.

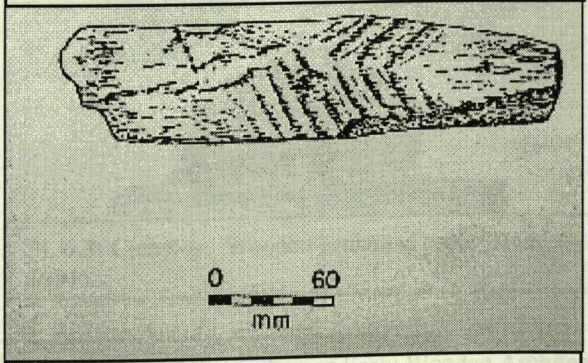
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[3] M. Craig, The Architecture of Ireland from the Earliest Times to 1880 (London, 1982), 30-1.
[4] S. Connolly and J.M. Picard, ' Cogitosus: Life of St. Brigit', JRSAI, 117, (1987), 25-7.
[5] Trinity College Dublin, MS. H.3.18 (now 1337).
[6] Quoted from C. Karkov, 'The Decoration of Early Wooden Architecture in Ireland and Northumbria' in (eds.) K. Karkov and R. Farrell, Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology (American Early Medieval Studies I, Kalamazoo, 1991), 29.

The greatest quantity of surviving wooden church architecture from the period is in Scandinavia, an area that had relatively close ties with the Anglo-Norman realm during the period in question. No example of chevron ornament formed from a 'standardised' type of moulding has been identified in a stave church context. The only similar form of decoration of a pre-1100 date is the chamfering of wooden wall plates in a triangular form on churches such as Eke and Hemse **[pl. 6.1]**.[7] This would have produced an effect similar to a chevron stringcourse, but the technique by which it is achieved is too distant from stone-sculpted chevron to be a convincing source of the ornament.



Pl. 6.1: Hemse. Chamfered wall planks.



Pl. 6.2: Wooden 'fish-plate' from Iona (after Barber. 1981).

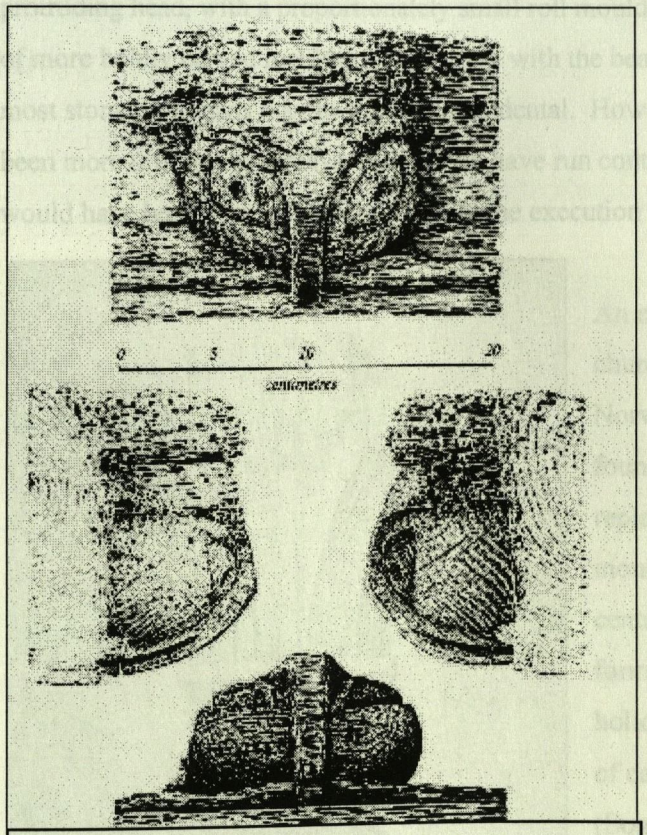
The application of triangular shingles to roofs, and as an apparently decorative feature at the top of columns, produces a repetitive triangular design on a large number of stave churches. The illustration of the Temple of Solomon in the eighth century Book of Kells, thought to represent the form of an early Irish church, is also covered with this type of ornament. But again, while the technique produces a rhythmic series of triangles, the concept and end result is too dissimilar from the Romanesque form.

Karkov has suggested that the marks of the axe arranged in a triangular formation may have been used as a decorative device in some wooden buildings. She cites the example of a 'fishplate', covered with v-shaped grooves found during excavation at the seventh century monastic site on Iona **[pl.**

[7] R. Hauglid, Norske Stavkirke; Bygningshistorisk Bakgrunn og Utvikling (Oslo, 1976), 196-201.

6.2].[8] Certainly, the groups of parallel striations bear a close resemblance to some forms of lateral chevron, but they do not fully account for the depth of relief that one finds as a consistent feature in Romanesque stone chevron.

The 'chip-carved' or oblique cutting technique used to achieve so many of the motifs of the Norman geometric style has led a number of writers to signal its possible origins in wood carving. Baylé has highlighted the fact that much of the earlier geometric ornament associated with England and Normandy immediately following the Conquest, is formed from the same type of oblique cutting technique found in carpentry.[9] This technique is used to form some of the chevron motifs in the north of England, and is certainly more three-dimensional in form than the striations formed by axe marks.



Pl. 6.3: Cameley. Wooden beakhead (after Blair, 1991).

If wood carving techniques were the immediate source for geometric ornament it might explain why the appearance of the distinctive '*style géométrique*' was so sudden and simultaneous on both sides of the channel from the late 1060s. The translation of the ornament from wood into stone has been interpreted by Musset as a result of the improved financial situation, mitigated by the Conquest, which led to the richer endowment of church architecture and the translation of more economic wooden techniques into more permanent and prestigious stone.[10]

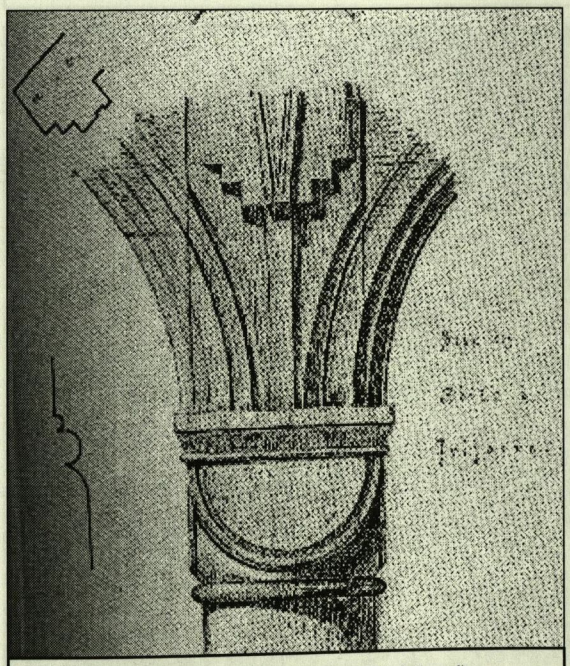
[8] C. Karkov, 'The Decoration of Early Wooden Architecture in Ireland and Northumbria' in (eds.) K. Karkov and R. Farrell, Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology (American Early Medieval Studies I, Kalamazoo, 1991), 33.

[9] M. Baylé, Les Origins et les Premiers Développements de la Sculpture Romane en Normandie (Caen, 1996), 105.

[10] L. Musset, 'Les Conditions Financieres d'une Réussite Architecturale' in (eds.) P. Gallais and Y.J. Riou, Mélanges René Crozet I (Poitiers, 1966), 307-313.

The transfer from wood to stone was not wholesale. In England, chance finds of a few small pieces of wooden sculpture of Anglo-Norman type suggest that architectural sculpture in wood was probably more commonplace than the current survivals suggest. The most significant pieces are a single beakhead, recovered from a later medieval timber roof at Cameley (So) **[pl. 6.3]**,[11] and a billet moulded tie beam from Old Shoreham (Sx).[12] Both of these types of ornament draw from the repertoire more familiar to modern scholars through stone sculpture, suggesting that motif and medium were interchangeable.

Given the links outlined in chapter four between the conceptual form of beakhead and centripetal chevron, the Cameley beakhead viewed in section is of interest. It shows a fairly substantial protruding head, with a proportionately small roll moulding gripped by the beak below. The lack of more boldly carved mouldings combined with the beakhead motif, similar to those found with most stone beakheads may be purely coincidental. However, technically this effect would have been more difficult to achieve, as it would have run contrary to the wood grain. This factor would have been even more significant in the execution of properly moulded chevron ornament.

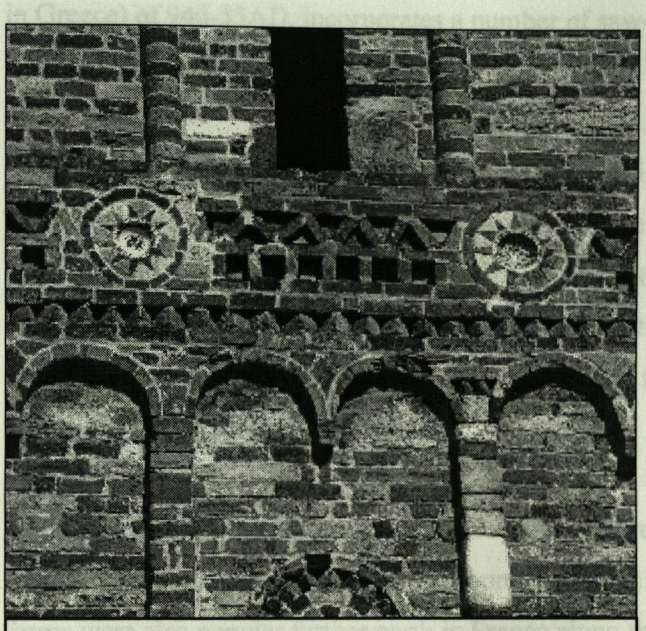


Pl. 6.4: Grinaker Stave church (Hadeland). 'Stone style' mouldings.

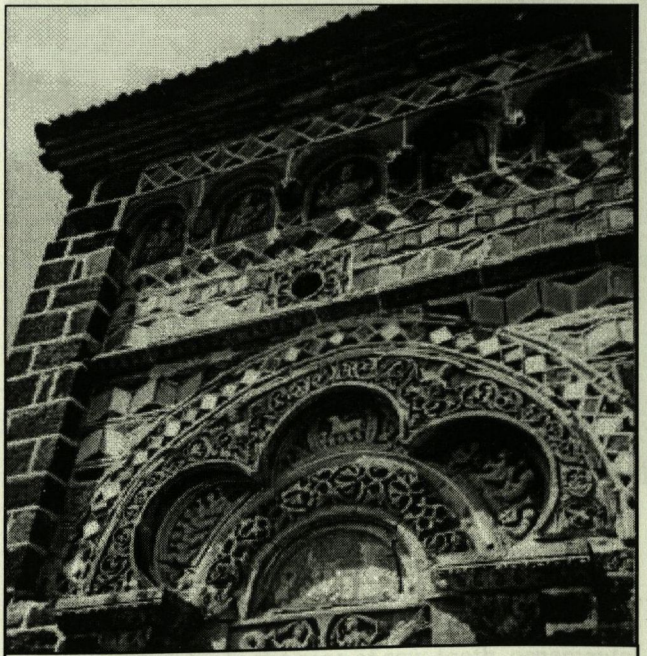
An examination of moulding forms in stave church design seems to support this. In Norway, interlaced sculpture typified by that found in such buildings as Urnes I (Sogn) was replaced with more sombre columns and moulded arches around the mid-twelfth century. Mouldings are generally very simple, formed from a series of steps rather than roll/ hollow combinations **[pl. 6.4]** although the use of cable moulding is known at Kaupanger (Sogn) and Hånger (Småland).[13] These churches appear only after the style had established itself in stone in Norway, using a full vocabulary of Anglo-Norman mouldings

[11] J. Blair, 'A Romanesque Timber Beakhead from Cameley, Somerset', The Antiquaries Journal, 71, (1991), 252-264.
[12] J. Blair, ibid., 255.
[13] R. Hauglid, Norske Stavkirke; Bygningshistorisk Bakgrunn og Utvikling (Oslo, 1976), 413-414.

including chevron. The lack of these elements in the wooden copies suggests again that there may have been technical problems in achieving the same effect in wood as in stone.



Pl. 6.5: Pomposa. Detail of tower.



Pl. 6.6: Le Puy-en-Velay. Detail of doorway.

Thus, while it is possible that chevron ornament may have evolved from earlier wooden ornament, formed by a chip carved motif, it is unlikely that it existed in its fully moulded form in this medium, given the unsuitable nature of the material.

Masonry

Another potential source for chevron ornament can be sought in the different range of techniques used in decorative masonry walls, where masonry blocks were arranged in an irregular manner in the fabric of a wall to achieve various patterns.

The most significant of these in the context of three-dimensional chevron is saw-tooth cornicing, accomplished by arranging the angles of squared ashlar or brick at right angles to the plane of the wall **[pl. 6.5]**. A number of writers have remarked on the obvious similarity between the saw tooth cornicing and frontal chevron.[14]

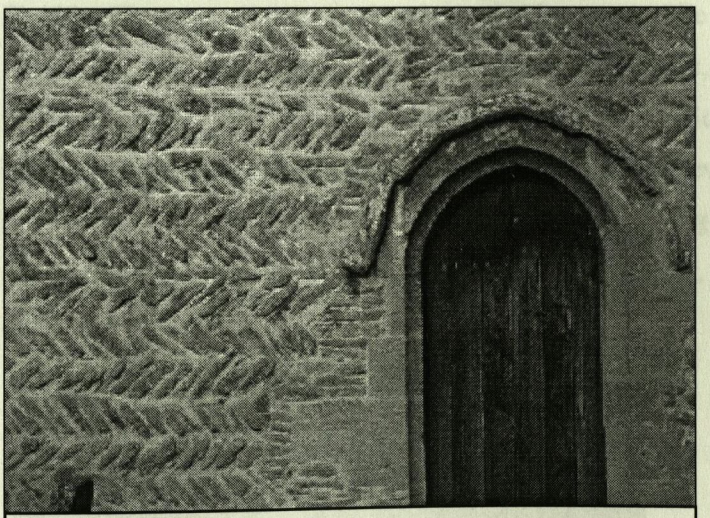
The saw-tooth motif has a long history in European architecture. Its earliest use was in ancient Roman buildings, such as the Heroon of

[14] A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', JBAA, 30, (1967), 123-6; H.G. Leask, Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings, Vol I, (Dundalk, 1955), 95.

Romulus, dated to c.309AD,[15] and it continued to be used in late antique architecture in Asia Minor, as for example at Ephesus. It became a standard feature in Byzantine buildings. For example, the exterior of the first church at the monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis (near Delphi in Greece) of 946-55AD, incorporates a number of saw-tooth string-courses and window arches using a mixture of brick and ashlar.[16]

By the eleventh century the motif had become popular in Lombardy and Spain in buildings associated with the so-called 'First Romanesque'.[17] The tower at Pomposa (Emilia-Romagna) **[pl. 6.5]**, like Byzantine predecessors, incorporates saw-tooth as both a string course and arch decoration. Brick is also set laterally to the face of the tower achieving an effect akin to lateral chevron, while triangles of different coloured stone are set around roundels, again achieving a lateral chevron effect.

The use of polychrome masonry to achieve chevron-like effects was common throughout the southern parts of Europe and often incorporated rhythmic triangular forms. Decorative masonry forms were also popular further north in France along the Loire valley, where a number of eleventh century churches make use of the same range of motifs.[18] The church at Le Puy-en-Velay (Haute Loire) **[pl. 6.6]**, combines polychrome lozenges around arches with flat ribbon or 'saw-tooth' motifs.



Pl. 6.7: Southrop. Herringbone masonry.

One of the key features that contributed to the popularity of both saw-tooth and decorative masonry forms was the availability of regular sized workable materials, either masonry or brick. In the case of saw-tooth, ornamental effect was easily achieved, as it did not necessitate the actual carving of material to produce what is essentially a sculptural effect.

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[15] G. Rivoira, Lombardic Architecture I (London, 1910), fig. 33.
[16] L. Rodley, Byzantine Art and Architecture: An Introduction (Cambridge, 1994), 139-41.
[17] A.K. Porter, Lombard Architecture Vol. I (New Haven, 1917), 247.
[18] F. Lesueur, 'Appareils Décoratives Supposés Carolingiens' Bulletin Monumental, 124, (1966), 167-186.

Similarly, many of the more popular decorative masonry forms, including repetitive triangles, merely required the halving and reorientation of standard blocks.

Aesthetically, masonry techniques provide convincing precursors, as the addition of a moulded element would have transformed brick and stone into 'standard' chevron forms. However, the geographical distribution of these types of masonry in the pre-and first Romanesque eras is problematic. If saw-tooth ornament was the ultimate source for frontal chevron, then one would expect to find distribution patterns for the two motifs that bear some relation to one another. Instead, one finds that chevron of all types is quite unusual in the areas where saw-tooth occurs, and in the areas where chevron predominates, it is hard to find any significant examples of earlier saw-tooth.

In the areas where chevron predominates, the closest masonry pattern to the chevron form was herringbone masonry, formed by stone courses laid obliquely in alternating rows, creating interlocking zigzags. Typically, as at Southrop (Gl) **[pl. 6.7]**, the herringbone courses are formed from uncut rubble, although occasionally, as on the stone roof of the round tower at Temple Finghin, Clonmacnoise (Oy), ashlar is used. However, while saw-tooth and decorative masonry were created as decorative devices to articulate wall surfaces, much as Romanesque chevron was, herringbone masonry was used as a technical solution to building stable walls using poor quality building materials. It therefore seems too great a leap for chevron ornament to bear any direct relationship with herringbone masonry. This implies, as Borg suggested, that although comparisons between saw-tooth and chevron are compelling, a direct transition from one to the other seems improbable.[19]



Pl. 6.8: Qusayr'Amra. Interior of dome.

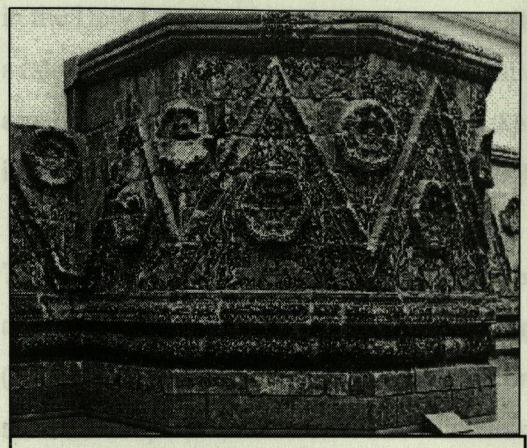


Pl. 6.9: Qusayr' Amra. Detail of cornice.

[19] A. Borg, 'The Development of Chevron Ornament', JBAA, 30, (1967), 124.

Early forms of architectural chevron

In her exploration of the origins of the chevron motif at Durham, Kit Galbraith suggested the possibility of influence from the near and middle east, with Islamic forms possibly being transmitted to Romanesque England through Islamic Spain.[20] Certainly moulded chevron of the type common to the Romanesque period is not completely unknown prior to the late eleventh century. A limited number of early examples of moulded chevron do survive in an Islamic context, the most significant of which is the cornice which runs along the base of the dome of the eighth century Qusayr'Amra **[pls. 6.8, 6.9]**.[21] Conceptually this is really quite close to Anglo-Norman chevron, formed as it is by a broken roll/hollow moulding. Morris has highlighted the fact that mouldings were being applied to the arches of Islamic buildings in a similar manner to Romanesque architecture as early as c.740.[22] It is noteworthy too that at the example he cites, the hall at Mshattã **[pl. 6.10]** in Jordan, a moulded zigzag motif, albeit on a large scale, was the predominant feature of the façade. But while Islamic designers may have experimented with mouldings in a similar manner to the Anglo-Normans, this form of manipulation seems to have been quite limited, particularly compared to the use of other geometric ornament. The means by which it was adopted into the Anglo-Norman architectural vocabulary are also problematic. Galbraith admits that a lacuna exists between the (limited) use of the motif in the Near and Middle East during the ninth century and its



Pl. 6.10: Mshattã. Detail of palace façade.

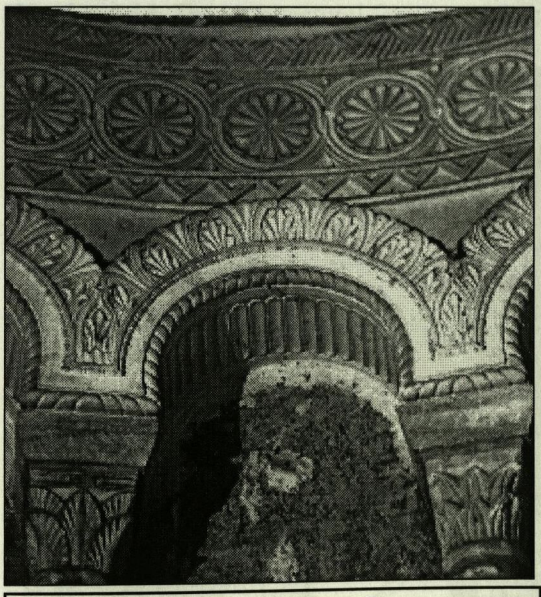


Pl. 6.11: Giblet, St. John the Baptist. Baptistery.

[20] K. Galbraith, 'Notes on the Sculpture in Durham', (Unpublished conference paper, 1977), 4-6, Society of Antiquaries, London.
[21] K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim Architecture I (Oxford, 1952), 253-7.
[22] R.K. Morris, 'An English Glossary of Medieval Mouldings: with an Introduction to Mouldings c.1040-1240', Architectural History, 35, (1992), 2.

introduction to England and Normandy in the late eleventh/ early twelfth century. She suggests that its use in Islamic Spain may have provided the channel of inspiration although, she is unable to cite a single example of its occurrence there. If its transmission had been direct, one might also expect to find it more in Crusader architecture. Instead, the only instances of chevron being used in the Holy Land, such as the baptistery at Giblet of c.1170 **[pl. 6.11]**, are sufficiently few and of a late enough date to suggest that the inspiration is coming from Europe, rather than the other way around.[23] It seems unlikely therefore, that the Islamic use of the ornament can have had a direct influence on the adoption of the motif in Anglo-Norman buildings.

There is some evidence to suggest that chevron ornament may also have been used as an architectural ornament in Carolingian buildings. Stuccowork in the oratory of Germigny-des-Prés (Loiret) **[pl. 6.12]** includes a moulded chevron stringcourse as part of the decorative scheme in the eastern apse, which with its three dimensional form, resembles some of the later Romanesque examples.[24] However, the poor survival rate of stucco from the period, and the fact that the Germigny-des-Prés example plays only a minor role in a much greater decorative scheme, makes it difficult to assess the role played by Carolingian chevron in the introduction of the motif to the Romanesque vocabulary.



Pl. 6.12: Germigny-des-Prés. Detail of apse arcade.

Manuscripts

In his article dealing with the origins and development of chevron ornament, Alan Borg highlighted what he saw as the significant role of manuscript illumination in the popularity and dissemination of the motif.

[23] The baptistery at Giblet was probably reconstructed following the earthquake of 1170. P. Deschamps, Terre Sainte Romane (La Pierre qui Vire, 1964), 230.

[24] The stucco at Germigny-des-Prés was heavily restored during the nineteenth century. However, fragments of the original scheme are preserved in the Musée historique d'l Orléanais. P. Jouvellier, 'Les Fragments décoratifs carolingienes de Germigny-des-Prés conservés au Musée historique de l'Orléanais' Etudes ligériennes d'historie et d'archéologie médiévales: Saint Benoit-sur-Loire, 1969 (Auxerre, 1975), 432-5.

Borg emphasised the apparent mimicry of the saw-tooth motif in the arcades of cannon tables in manuscripts such as the sixth century Syrian Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Bib. Medicea-Laurenziana, MS. Plut. I. 56). While some examples of this form of canon table decoration appear to contain exact copies of architectural, saw-tooth, forms, the freedom allowed by the medium also gave rise to experimentation producing a wide array of different variations on the same theme.

Examples of zigzag decorating arcades in manuscript illumination appear periodically in Near Eastern and European manuscripts right up to, and beyond the twelfth century, with shading techniques often used to emphasise a three dimensional, architectural quality.

A sixth century portrait of St. Luke from the gospel of St. Augustine (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 286, fol.125) **[pl. 6.13]** shows the evangelist seated under an arch with a 'chevron' hood mould. The architectural framework is clearly intended to reflect a believable structure, as care has been taken to delineate base mouldings and assimilate marble on the supporting columns. It is possible that the chevron motif too may be represent a motif found in an architectural setting by this date.

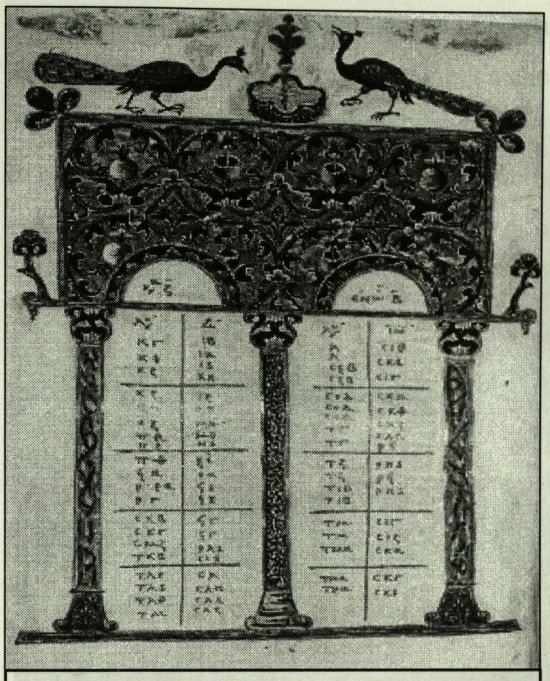


Pl. 6.13: Gospel of St. Augustine. Portrait of St. Luke.

Chevron or zigzag motifs continue to be used to frame arches in Byzantine manuscripts into the twelfth century. An example of this can be seen in the canon tables of the Codex Eberianus (Oxford, Bodlian Library, Ms. Auct. T. Infra 1.10) **[6.14]**, again in a definitively architectural setting.

While Borg has suggested that it was probably this medium that led to the popular introduction of the chevron motif in north western European architecture, it is notable in

its absence (as an arcade decoration at least) from the manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Insular traditions.



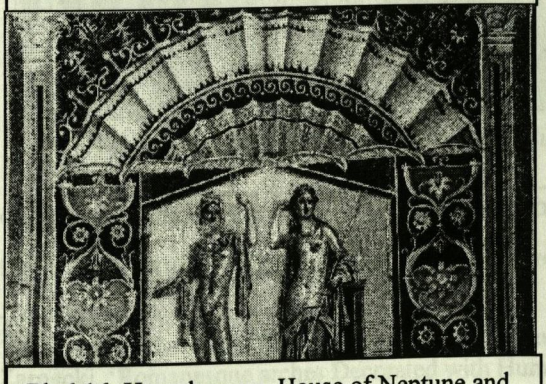
Pl. 6.14: Codex Eberianus. Canon table.

Perhaps the best example, contemporary with chevron in architecture, is found in the Bury Bible (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 2) **[pl. 6.15]**, which incorporates the beading and floral motifs typical of the York School chevron. The beading particularly, portrayed between two 'fillets' is very close to the manner in which it would be used in stone. However, this is where the similarity ends, and little attempt has been made to add any degree of three-dimensionality to the design.



Pl. 6.15: Bury Bible.

The lack of architectural features with pseudo-chevron ornament in the manuscript traditions of the areas in which Romanesque chevron predominates poses significant questions about the validity of Borg's claim. While it would not be unusual for a motif seen as 'exotic' to be translated from a manuscript onto architecture its popularity, which seems to have been widespread over a relatively short period, is difficult to account for.



Pl. 6.16: Herculaneum, House of Neptune and Amphitrite. Mosaic.

Mural decoration

The importance of mural decoration, whether through the medium of mosaic, tapestry or paint, in the achieving a full understanding of the decorative schemes of Romanesque churches was highlighted in chapter one. The use of chevron motifs, or two-dimensional zigzag motifs with shading that implies three-dimensional form, are

commonplace in wall decoration from the Roman times. The mosaic depicting the figures Neptune and Amphitrite in the 'House of Neptune and Amphitrite' at Herculaneum **[pl. 6.16]** uses a saw-tooth effect to form a framing niche.

In a Christian context, chevron is the predominant feature ornamenting a 'double ordered' painted arch from the sixth century Coptic monastery of St John, Baouit **[pl. 6.18]**. The chevron ornament is formed from three bands of separate colours, reminiscent of the manner in which the attic profile moulding is painted at Kemply (**[pl. 1.4]**). Similar chevron is also found at the Coptic monastery of St. Jeremias at Saqqara, where a flat niche is painted with an image of the Virgo Lactans seated beneath a multi-ordered arch comprising saw tooth on the outer order, a circle of heads on the middle order,[25] and a repetitive foliage design on the inner order **[pl. 6.17]**.[26]



Pl. 6.17: Saqqara, cell 1725. Fresco depicting the Maddona Lactens.

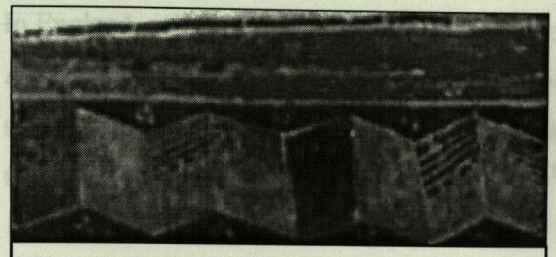
In Carolingian France, saw-tooth or 'ribbon' designs are used in the crypt at Ternaud to decorate the lower part of Christ's Mandorla. Use of the motif in wall painting continued into the twelfth century on the Continent. Examples of saw-



Pl. 6.18; St John, Baouit. Fresco, Madonna holding an icon of the Christ child.

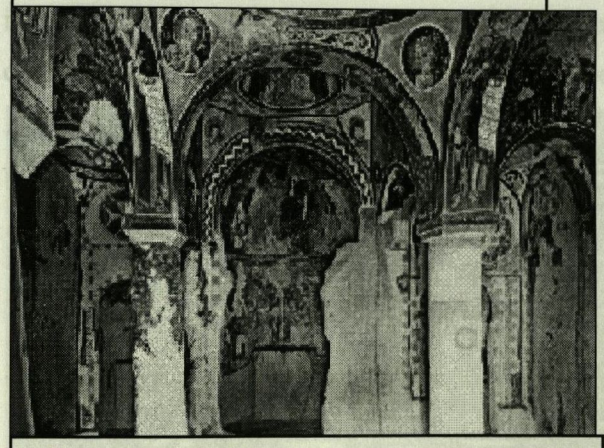
[25] It is this type of motif that Henry and Zarnecki saw as the source of beakhead ornament. F. Henry and G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque arches Decorated with Human and Animal Heads', JBAA, 20-21, (1957-8), 1-48.

tooth can be seen used as a boarder or framing device at Seo de Urgel, Barcelona, and Santa Cruz de Maderuelo where the surface of the saw-tooth is painted with a series of narrow red lines, as if textured or moulded **[pl. 6.19]**.[27]

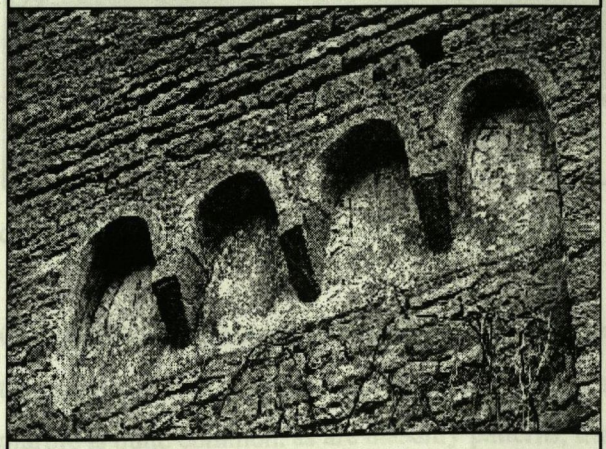


Pl. 6.19: Santa Cruz de Maderuelo. Detail of fresco.

In nearly all of these examples chevron-type ornament is used primarily as a framing device for figurative scenes where the chevron creates the arch, rather than decorating an already existing piece of architecture. Notable exceptions to this, prior to the twelfth century, are found in a number of the Rock churches in the Göreme valley in Cappodocia, where simple zigzag forms are used to emphasise interior arches **[pl. 6.20]**.[28] Perhaps more significant is the rare survival of painted chevrons decorating an exterior arcade on the façade of the eleventh century church at Cotte (Saône et Loire) near Cluny **[pl. 6.21]**.[29] However, these examples are more two-dimensional in the character of their zigzag ornament.



Pl. 6.20: Göreme. Chapel 19.



Pl. 6.21: Cotte. Detail of west façade.

The presence of ribbon or saw-tooth ornament in the painted decoration of all of the areas mentioned above corresponds to the occurrence of saw-tooth or zigzag elements in architecture discussed earlier in

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[26] For Baouit and Saqqara see, H. Torp, 'Le Monastère copte de Baouit: Quelques notes d'introduction', Acta Archaeol. & A. Hist. Pertinentia, 9, (1981),1–8, and M. Rassert-Debergh, La Décoration picturale du monastère de Saqqara: Essai de reconstitution, Acta Archaeol. & A. Hist. Pertinentia, 9, (1981), 9–124.

[27] O. Demus, Romanesque Mural Painting (London, 1970), 480-3.

[28] M. Restle, Byzantine Wall Painting of Asia Minor, 3 vols. (Shannon, 1969).

[29] Les Prémices de l'Art Roman en Bourgogne; de Auxerre à Cluny, les premiers edifices romans après l'an mil (Centre d'Études Medievales, Auxerre, 2000), 122.

the chapter. However, saw-tooth is also quite common in the surviving wall paintings of Normandy and England.[30]

In England, painted ornament was certainly being used in buildings by the late seventh century. Although little tangible evidence from before the late eleventh century actually survives, written sources suggest links with Rome (at Wearmouth) and Trier (in the chapel of St. Denis, Wilton) that may have effected style and subject matter.[31]

While the modern scholar can only guess at the content of such paintings, small clues do survive in the pictorial arts of other media. The carved narrative on the small ivory box known as Frank's casket suggests that stylised architectural features were equally as common in the English tradition as on the Continent **[pl. 6.22]**. The lid of Frank's casket includes the depiction of a fortified structure under siege. In the precincts of the structure is an elaborate arch, decorated with incised zigzags, which some commentators have identified as the representation of a sacred place.[32] Whatever the interpretation, this tiny image demonstrates that the concept of zigzags on arches was known to the English long before the late eleventh century.



Pl. 6.22: Frank's Casket. Detail of lid.

One of the salient features of the earliest surviving wall paintings in England and Normandy is the assimilation of (more expensive) masonry features. Thus from an early period assimilated marble is quite common, as are masonry patterns, transforming plain rubble walls into more

[30] Survivals of Romanesque wall-painting in Ireland are limited to the frescoes in Cormac's Chapel at Cashel (Ts) and a painted fragment at Lismore. Neither incorporates chevron or ribbon ornament.
[31] R. Gem, 'Documentary References to Anglo-Saxon Painted Architecture', (eds.) S. Cathar, D. Park and P. Williamson, Early Medieval Wall Painting and Painted Sculpture in England, BAR, series 216, (Oxford, 1990), 1-17.
[32] L. Webster,'The Iconographic Programme of Frank's Casket' in (eds.) J. Hawkes and S. Mills, Northumbria in the Golden Age (Stroud, 1999), 227-246.

impressive 'cut stone' features. For example, the keep at Chepstow (c.1070) is painted with a simple lozenge design probably intended to mimic *opus reticulatum*.

Chevron painted directly onto an architectural feature occurs on some late eleventh century columns recovered at St. Nicholas' priory, Exeter (Do), which have lozenge and zigzag designs close to the contemporary sculpted columns in Lanfranc's dormitory at Canterbury, and the famous piers at Durham. A painted column of similar date from St. Mary's Abbey York also has a lozenge design.[33]



Pl. 6.23: Clayton. Wall paintings over chancel arch.

Painted saw tooth and chevron is found in association with two of the 'Lewes group' of wall paintings in Sussex, traditionally dated to between c.1080 and 1120.[34] At Clayton (Sx) **[pl. 6.23]**, the figure of Christ in Judgement over the chancel arch is framed by a saw-tooth mandorla. At Westmeston (Sx) the (now destroyed) cycle of paintings included an Agnus Dei framed by a quatrefoil decorated with what appears, from nineteenth century drawings to be lateral chevron, and a row of chevron immediately below the wall plate. At Wareham (Do) paint dated by Tristram to c.1100 includes an indented pattern applied to the east wall stringcourse, and alternate yellow, white and red chevrons applied to the roll moulding on the chancel arch soffit.[35]

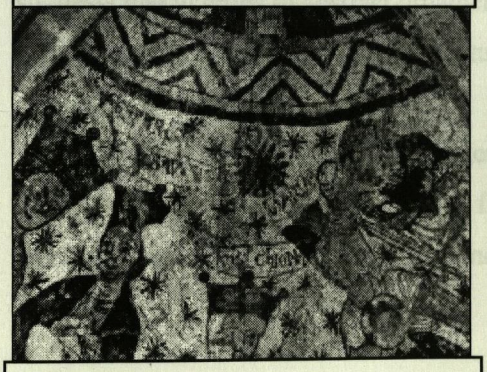
Given the large losses of Romanesque painted schemes, the number of surviving or known examples suggest that zigzag or saw-tooth was probably quite common in England. Tristram, in his survey of twelfth century English wall paintings lists twenty-four examples that retain either lozenge, zigzag or saw-tooth ornament in paint.[36]

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[33] D. Park, 'The Interior Decoration of the Cathedral' in (ed.) D. Pococke, Durham Cathedral: a Celebration (Durham, 1993), 58.
[34] D. Park, 'The 'Lewes Group' of Wall Paintings in Sussex' in (ed.) R. Allen Browne, Anglo-Norman Studies VI; Proceedings of the Battle Conference (Woodbridge, 1983), 200-237.
[35] E.W. Tristram, British Medieval Wall Paintings; The Twelfth Century (Oxford, 1944).
[36] Aldingbourne (Sx), Avington (Bk), Great Bookham (Sy), Bully (Gl), Chaldon (Sy), Chester Cathedral (n. transept pier) (Ch), Compton (Sy), Copford (Ess), Cringleford (Nf), Elsted (Sx), Elstowe (Bd), Fountains



Pl. 6.24: St. Marie aux Anglais. E. wall of nave.



Pl. 6.25: St. Marie aux Anglais. Chancel vault.

Relatively few Romanesque wall paintings in Normandy survive, although there are indications that chevron and lozenge motifs were a significant feature here also. Examples include painted figurative scenes at Sainte-Marie-aux-Anglais (Cal), where linear chevron motifs are painted onto the chancel vault **[pl. 6.25]**, and a shaded, pseudo-three dimensional chevron form is used directly under the dado stringcourse on the east wall of the nave **[pl. 6.24]**.[37]

Zigzag and saw tooth motifs painted either on a flat wall surface or plain straight mouldings were used cheek by jowl with actual sculpted chevron mouldings. Thus at Kemply (Gl), Bishop Wilton (Humb), and the Galilee chapel at Durham, paint was applied to a proper stone moulded chevron to achieve a similar effect to more two-dimensional forms.[38] In Ireland too, substantial traces of red paint remain on the free-standing chevron of the chapter house windows at Abbeyknockmoy (G). Doubtless many more examples existed, although equally it should not be assumed that all chevron was painted.[39]

While the use of moulded chevron as an architectural decoration had all but ceased in England by c.1200, the popularity of painted forms continued through the thirteenth century and beyond. Tristram cites sixteen examples of decorative painted chevron in the thirteenth century, most of it

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(door from cloister to 'Brothers' room') (Y), Gloucester St. Peter's (nave pier abaci), Godalming (Sy), Ickleton (Cb), Kemply (Gl), Keymer (Sx), Leominster (Hf), Onibury (Sa), Peterborough Cathedral (nave ceiling) Pytchley (Nh), Tintagel (Co), Wareham (Do), Westmeston (Sx).

[37] These paintings have been attributed to an English artist. O. Demus, Romanesque Mural Painting (London, 1970), 108.

[38] C.E. Keyser, A List of Buildings in Great Britain and Ireland having Mural and other Painted Decoration (London, 1883), xxxvi.

[39] Park has suggested that in general big Romanesque churches were left largely unpainted, as for example at Winchester cathedral where the prominent white pointing of the masonry itself was the only apparent 'decorative' feature. D. Park, 'The Interior Decoration of the Cathedral' in (ed.) D. Pococke, Durham Cathedral: a Celebration (Durham, 1993), 58.

used in a similar manner to twelfth century examples.[40] The use of painted chevron in parts of St. Alban's cathedral (Ht) could be attributed to a lack of good building materials, poor financial resources at the beginning of the thirteenth century or simply the renewal of already existing painted ornamentation. But the presence of painted chevron ornament in new, well-endowed buildings such as Berkeley (Gl) suggests that it remained acceptable, and even 'fashionable', long after its stone equivalent had ceased to be produced.

This calls into question the nature of the relationship between the forms in different media. For example, if stone chevron was introduced as a copy of already established painted forms, what caused it to be so short lived in comparison, and why was its geographical distribution so much more limited? Saw-tooth and chevron forms were included in wall paintings outside England beyond the twelfth century, as for example in the Baptistry at Parma, Italy of c.1250-70.[41] This suggests that in terms of abstract ornament at least, English wall painting continued to follow general European trends, while architectural ornament steered a more independent course.

Although precedents for chevron ornament exist in masonry, paint and wooden media, none seems to have been sufficiently close in form, or significant within England, Normandy or Ireland, to explain the emergence of stone chevron ornament as a product of skeumorphic evolution.

Symbolism

In chapter one the role of symbolism in the transmission and retention of ornamental forms was examined. It was suggested that various types of ornament enjoyed particular popularity by virtue of their symbolic interpretation or association, and could on occasion function as pictograms or ideograms. Having looked in some detail at Romanesque chevron and its context, it remains to examine whether chevron ornament may have been adopted and developed due to its symbolic connotations.

Much has been written in recent years about the geometrical knowledge of the middle ages, and its practical and theoretical application in the design of buildings. The practical application of

[40] St. Alban's (Hrt), Berkeley (Gl), St. Martin's Chichester (Sx), St Olav's Chichester (Sx), West Chiltington (Sx), Cirencester(Gl), Cleeve (So), Cliffe at Hoo (Kt), Easthorpe (Ess), Flamsted (Ht), Horesham (Sx), Kirkstead Abbey (Li), Lincoln cathedral (ringer's chamber), Norwich monastic buildings (Nf), Shilton (O) and Wimbourne (Do).

[41] O. Demus, Romanesque Mural Painting (London, 1970), 312.

geometry in architecture was clearly explained by Vitruvius in his 'Ten Books on Architecture' where he says;

' Geometry, also, is of much assistance in architecture, and in particular it teaches the use of the rule and compasses, by which we specifically acquire training in making plans for buildings in their grounds, and rightly apply the square, and the level and the plummet....It is true that by arithmetic the total cost of a building is calculated and measurements are computed, but difficult questions involving symmetry are solved by geometric theories and methods'.[42]

The clearly proportioned layouts of some medieval buildings suggest that Vitruvius' practical advice was certainly heeded by some patrons/ master masons during the Middle Ages; however, the use of geometry may also have appealed because of symbolic connotations.

Triangular forms played a particular role in the theory of Platonic atomism. In his treatise *Timeaus*, Plato argued that every sort of material body was composed from two basic planar or two-dimensional 'surfaces'. Both of these were triangles, one the isosceles and the other the triangle with three different sides of 1, 2, and $\sqrt{3}$. Plato argued that these 'fairest triangles' were the ultimate atoms from which all else is made. These atoms come together to form the regular solids, which are the material constituent parts of the elements; fire, water, earth and air.[43]

In practical terms these triangular forms provided the basis for the geometric system known as '*ad triangulum*' used in the initial planning of some medieval buildings. In terms of visual aesthetics, the schemes, in theory at least, brought visual harmony. But, crucially, in philosophical terms the systems may have been used to achieve symbolic harmony; the total unity of all facets of the building, aligning it with Creation itself, on both atomic and esoteric levels. That the great theologians and patrons of the twelfth century were aware of Plato's teachings is without doubt.[44] The extent to which they sought to 'illustrate' pictographically the basic units of all matter- the very essence of God's Creation, through sculpted series of triangles highlighting the significant parts of God's House is more open to question.

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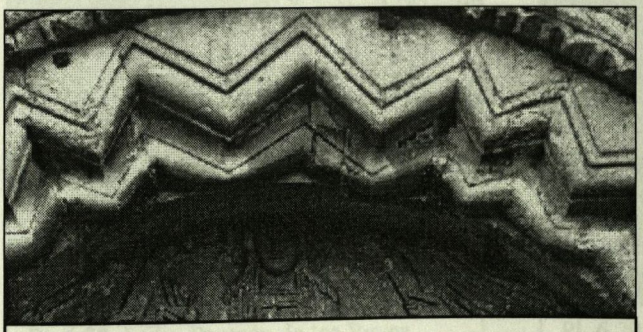
[42] Vitruvius, The Ten Books of Architecture, (trans.) M.H. Morgan (New York, 1960), 6.

[43] 'And every sort of body possesses solidity, and every solid must necessarily be contained in planes; and every plane rectilinear figure is composed of triangles; and all triangles are originally of two kinds, both of which are made up of one right and two acute angles; one of them has at either end of the base the half of a divided right angle, having equal sides, while in the other the right angle is divided into unequal parts, having unequal sides. These, then, proceeding by a combination of probability with demonstration, we assume to be the original elements of fire and the other bodies; but the principles which are prior to these God only knows, and he of men who is the friend of God.' Plato Timeaus, (trans. and ed.) J. Warrington (London, 1965), 22-23.

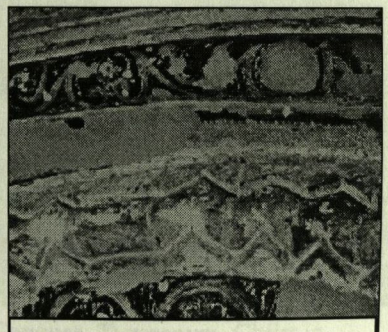
[44] T. Stiefel, The Intellectual Revolution in the Twelfth Century (London, 1985).

Medieval church patrons were certainly disposed toward the symbolic connotations of their buildings. The regular rhythmic pattern formed by the 'pure atomic line' of chevron ornament could have been intended to represent harmony with creation itself, if that is, the chevron formed a regular, harmonious sequence. The vast majority of chevron was carved as single unit or 'v' per voussoir. In cases where voussoirs were cut to a standard size, this produced a satisfying, rhythmic effect. However, in many cases, such as at Water Stratford (Bd) **[pl. 6.26]** voussoirs differed considerably in scale, diminishing the 'harmonious' effect of a regular rhythm.[45] If the primary purpose of the ornament were to present a rhythmic effect, then surely chevrons would have been laid out across masonry joints. Added to this are a number of examples of chevron that have a very deliberate break somewhere in the sequence. On the chancel arch at Cormac's Chapel Cashel, the centrifugal chevron on the central order is broken by a single voussoir with a straight moulding **[pl. 6.27]**. A less subtle break is also seen at the (reconstructed) east window in St. Saviour's church, Glendalough (Ww) **[pl. 5.24]** where a sequence of centripetal chevron is broken by a dovetail motif.

In his article dealing with the occurrence of chevron ornament in the Auxerrois region of France, René Durr argued strongly in favour of a symbolic significance for chevron ornament.[46] He saw the use of a repetitive pure line in arches, in particular surmounting theophanic images on tympana, as 'une force centrifuge qui la porte a l'expansion, au rayonnement vers le haut'.[47]



Pl. 6.26: Water Stratford. S. doorway.



Pl. 6.27: Cormac's Chapel. Chancel arch.

[45] In spite of its Anglo-Saxon style tympanum, and interlaced capitals the portal at Water Stratford is usually dated to the mid-twelfth century, T.D. Kendrick, Late Saxon and Viking Art (London, 1949),143; G. Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture' in Proceedings of the British Academy, 52, (1966), 100.
[46] R. Durr, 'Le Décor Romane dans L'Auxerrois; bâtons brisés, chevrons', Bulletin de la Societe des Sciences Historiques et Naturelles de l'Yonne, 106, (1974), 21-30.
[47] R. Durr, ibid., 26.

Certainly when one compares chevron in this context to paintings of Christ in Majesty like those in the Codex Amiatinus **[pl. 1.6]** or the Majesty at St. Chef the argument is convincing.[48] However, there are difficulties when one is confronted with the hundreds of examples of chevron that are not and never were associated with images of Christ.

The use of saw-tooth or chevron ornament in these pictorial contexts is interchangeable with a more wavy form of boarder, which can be interpreted as a pictographic representation of the clouds of heaven. A good example of this can be seen on the ceiling painting of Christ in Majesty at the Panteón de los Reyes, S. Isidore, León,[49] **[pl. 6.28]** or the tympanum at Conques **[pl. 6.29]** where Christ is seated against a starry background surrounded by clouds. The interpretation of chevron as a schematised representation of clouds in such a context is not implausible.[50]

After the flood, God sent a rainbow in a cloud as a token of his covenant with man.[51] Frequently in Last Judgement scenes, Christ is depicted enthroned on a rainbow, which forms an arch that aesthetically separates Him from mortal man. Thus the idea of applying a cloud-like ornament to



Pl. 6.28: León. Panteón de los Reyes. Christ in Majesty. Fresco.



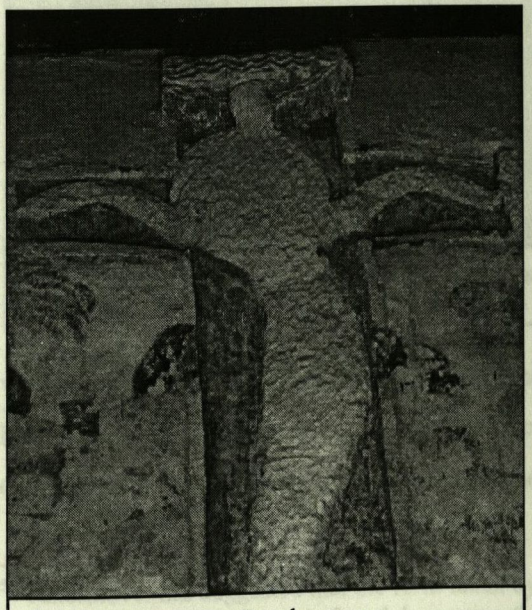
Pl. 6.29: Conques. Tympanum, Christ in Majesty.

[48] For the Codex Amiatinus see R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Art of the Codex Amiatinus', JBAA, 32, (1969), 1-25. For St. Chef see O. Demus, Romanesque Wall Painting (London, 1970), 416.
[49] J.W. Williams, 'Leon and the Beginnings of the Spanish Romanesque' in (ed.) M. Tarapor, The Art of Medieval Spain, A.D. 500-1200 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1994), 167-174.
[50] In his interpretation of the tympanum over the south door at Malmesbury, Lech Kalinowski sees the zigzag line with alternating dots as representing clouds in the scene of Christ's ascension, L. Kalinowski, 'The 'Frieze' at Malmesbury' in (ed.) D. Kahn, The Romanesque Frieze and its Spectator (London, 1992), 86.
[51] Book of Genesis 9:16-17.

arches may have been intended to give the impression of the transition into the heavens.

In an English context, certain representations of clouds could be seen as precursors to the more rigid geometrical chevron form. The clouds associated with the *Manus Dei* on the Anglo-Saxon rood at Breamore (Ha) **[pl. 6.30]** are a case in point. These have been worked in quite deep relief, and thus essentially form a type of pseudo-chevron stringcourse. However, an essential difference lies in the manner in which the cloud form has been moulded. Each moulding 'strand' undulates in thickness, and the width of each wave differs, giving the sense of unevenness and free-hand creativity that one would expect to find on a sculpture of this type. Chevron ornament on the other hand, is characterised by uniformity in the width of mouldings, even when standard moulding forms are not being used, so that the design can be continued from stone to stone in an unbroken manner.

While the interpretation of chevron as a pictogram of the Heavenly Jerusalem might explain why the motif became such a popular ornament in churches, such an interpretation cannot be substantiated. Romanesque chevron predominates in ecclesiastical buildings, but it was also the ornament, above all others in the Anglo-Norman repertoire, that was singled out for use in civic and domestic stone architecture of the period. It is possible that the form had become popular first as a meaningful symbol, which was gradually forgotten. But given the type of building in which it occurs, and the manner in which it was occasionally employed, for example at Thorpe



Pl. 6.30: Breamore. Rood screen.

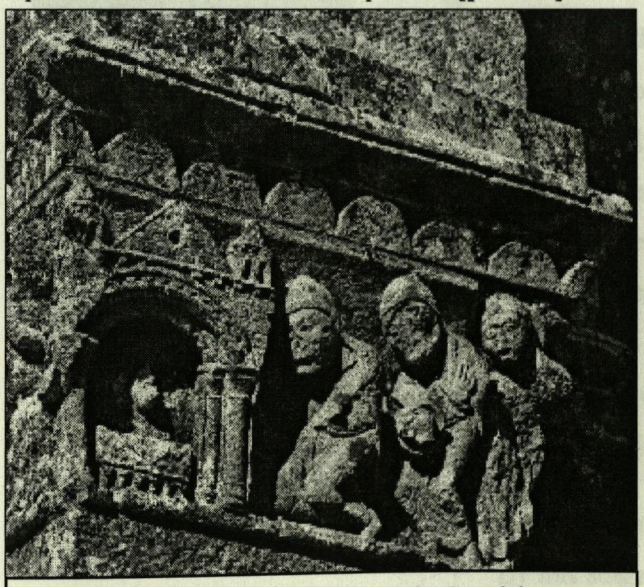


Pl. 6.31: Thorpe Salvin font. Panel depicting chevron vomiter.

Salvin (Y) **[pl 6.31],** it is unlikely that any symbolic connotations endured into the later twelfth century.

One cannot exclude the possibility that chevron ornament may have had a more metaphorical symbolism attached to it. As outlined in chapter one, the form and decoration of a building was sometimes influenced, perhaps not directly, by another building seen to have particular iconic significance. If the ultimate source were an individual building, then this might help to explain the relatively concentrated distribution pattern of the motif. Either buildings in the Anglo-Norman realm were copying a local venerated structure with which chevron had particularly strong associations, or a description, either literary or artistic, existed of a building outside the area which emphasised this feature.

For example, one of the capitals on the west façade at Chadenac (Charente-Maratime) shows a representation of Visit to the Sepulchre **[pl. 6.32]**. The tomb is depicted with a double ordered arch each with grammatically correct orders of lateral centripetal chevron. Is it possible therefore that there was a belief current in the area that the Holy Sepulchre was decorated with chevron ornament? This seems unlikely. Countless other representations of the Holy Sepulchre are found in the art of the area, and no other known examples have this form of ornamentation.[52]



Pl. 6.32: Chadenac. Capital. Visit to the Sepulchre.

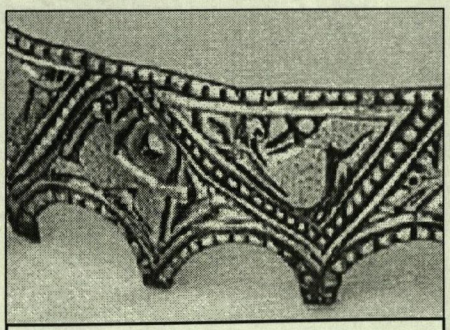
If chevron did have some specific iconic meaning understood by the contemporary viewer, one might expect to see it portrayed more prominently in contemporary representations of buildings which included it as part of their decorative schemes. The plan of the waterworks at Canterbury for example, is thought to have been made sometime between 1152 and the great fire

[52] Tcherikover has suggested that the form taken by the Sepulchre here reflects earlier Carolingian representations. As chevron is found decorating the arches of canon tables in Carolinian manuscript illumination and in wall paintings, this seems a likely source. A. Tcherikover, 'A Carolingian Lesson in Vitruvius', in (eds.) P. Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context; Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson (London, 1990), 265-6.

in 1174, shortly after many of the buildings featured in it were built.[53] As chevron is a significant feature of many of these structures one might expect some indication of it to have been included in the otherwise quite detailed plans- but there is none.



Pl. 6.33: Killeshin. 2nd order of w. doorway.



Pl. 6.34: Trewiddle Hoard. Horn mount.

Although it is unlikely that chevron ornament had an explicit iconic role in the many of the buildings in which it was used, in certain cases an argument can be made for its symbolic use. As shown in chapter five, the churches at Lismore (Wd) and Cashel (Ts) were amongst the earliest examples of chevron in Ireland. Both buildings were patronised by King Cormac McCarthaigh, one of Ireland's strongest advocates of twelfth century religious reform. The form and decoration of the chapel at Cashel particularly suggest that the building was intended as 'an architectural manifesto both of the king himself and of the reform party in the Irish church'.[54] If this is indeed the case, then what better ornament to select than chevron which, contemporaneously, was being used in nearly all of the great religious foundations in England?

A couple of decades after the completion of Cormac's chapel, another Irish King, Diarmait MacMurrough, was patron of an elaborate portal at Killeshin (Ls).[55] By this stage chevron had become a standard ornament in the Hiberno-Romanesque vocabulary, but at Killeshin, the unusual chevron forms and their supplementary decoration so closely mimic metalwork that the portal must surely be attempting to represent a great jewelled shrine **[pl. 6.33]**.

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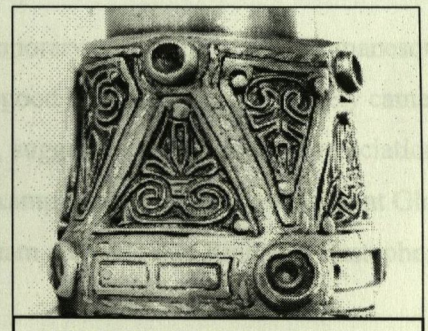
[53] D. Kahn, Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture (London, 1991), 98-102.
[54] R. Stalley, 'The Limerick Area; Cashel, Cormac's Chapel', Archaeological Journal, 153, (1996), 310.
[55] R. Stalley, 'The Hiberno-Romanesque Sculpture at Killeshin' in Laois History and Society (Dublin, 2000), 93; T. O,Keeffe, 'Diarmait Mac Murchada and Romanesque Leinster: Four Twelfth Century Churches in Context', JRSAI, 127, (1997), 52-79.

Although the moulding profiles of the chevron are innovative, and really quite advanced for the 1150s, the spandrel ornament within them is strongly reminiscent of the distorted types of animal ornament found in Anglo-Saxon metalwork such as the Trewiddle hoard horn mounts **[pl. 6.34]**. This type of ornament was adopted into the Irish metalwork repertoire in the tenth century where close parallels to both zoomorphic and foliate ornament can be found, on the croziers of Kells, St. Mel, and St. Dympna.[56] Parallels with crozier mounts can also be seen in the unusual chevron form on the order arch **[pl. 6.35]**, where the points expand into loops. This is similar to a popular form of knop decoration found on several surviving croziers such as the Clonmacnoise crozier **[pl. 6.36]**.[57]

To judge from annalistic references to secular patronage of the church, in the mid-twelfth century metalwork objects were still regarded as the most prestigious gift that a monastery could receive.[58] At Killeshin (Ls), chevron ornament was used explicitly to create the impression of a great jewelled entrance to the church. It is possible that this may have been intended as a reference to the jewel-like appearance of the Heavenly Jerusalem as it was described in the



Pl. 6.35: Killeshin. Outer order doorway.



Pl. 6.36: Clonmacnoise crozier. Detail of knop ornament.

Apolcalypse.[59] But it is more likely that it was a political gesture on the part of the patron, intended to elevate the status of the monastery at a time of administrative change.

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[56] M. McDermot, 'The Kells Crosier' Archaeologia, 56, (1955), 59-113; M. McDermot 'The Croziers of St. Dympna and St. Mel and Tenth Century Irish Metalwork', PRIA, 58, Sec. C., (1956-7), 176-195.

[57] R. Stalley, 'The Hiberno-Romanesque Sculpture at Killeshin' in (eds.) P. Lane and W. Nolan, Laois History and Society (Dublin, 2000), 108-112.

[58] R. O Floinn, 'Clonmacnoise; art and patronage in the early medieval period' in (ed.) C. Bourke, The Isles of the North (Belfast, 1995), 251-260.

[59] '...the building of the wall of it was of Jasper; and the city was of pure gold, like unto clear glass. And the foundations of the wall of the city were garnished with all manner of precious stones. The first foundation was of Jasper; the second, sapphire; the third, a chalcedony; the fourth an emerald; the fifth, a

But, while the presence of chevron at a small number of buildings might be imbued with some iconic significance, it is difficult to explain its ubiquitous presence purely in these terms. Together with symbolic issues, practical considerations must also be taken into account.

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapters that the majority of chevron forms adhere to a fairly strict grammar, and that this grammar was to a large extent derivative of grammars already established in the design of straight architectural mouldings. Architectural mouldings had entered into the mainstream of Anglo-Norman Romanesque architecture by c.1100. Compared to more individualistic sculpted ornament, mouldings cut to a template design would have been relatively easy to produce *en masse*. However, the vast quantities of moulded stone that would have been required to articulate an entire cathedral or abbey church must have added considerably to its cost. The introduction of moulded ornament to the Anglo-Norman idiom therefore suggests that patrons were willing to invest their wealth in buildings that were not only functional, but aesthetically distinguished as well.

Stalley has highlighted the manner in which contemporary writers perceived Romanesque architecture.[60] Adjectives used to describe beauty, good workmanship and variety came to be used in association with descriptions of new works, suggesting a new found appreciation for the decorative embellishment of buildings. Thus for example, when the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury was rebuilt after the fire of 1184, Adam de Domerham recounts that Richard Fitzstephen completed;
'the church of St. Mary, in the place where the old church had originally stood, building it with squared stones and the most beautiful workmanship, omitting no possible ornament'.[61]
Part of this ornamental effect was achieved by the various forms of chevron used to decorate the blind arcading on both the interior and exterior of the building.

As one of the essential elements of Anglo-Norman architecture was the emphasis on the three dimensional aspects of the masonry wall, the application of mouldings with deeply contrasting

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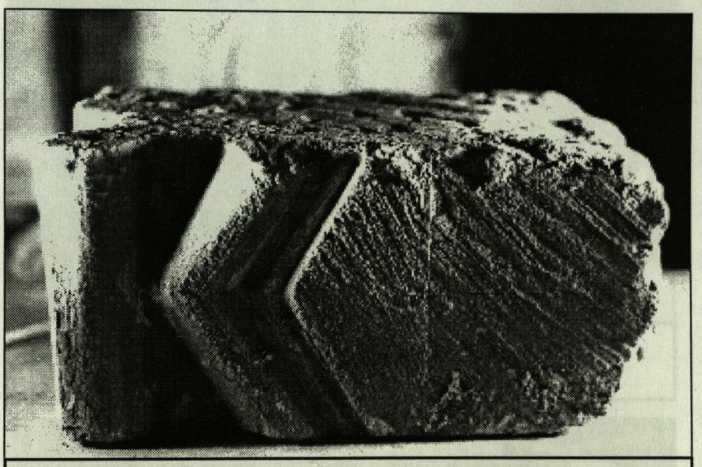
sardonyx; the sixth, sardius; the seventh, chrysolyte; the eighth, beryl; the nineth, a topaz, the tenth, a chryoprasus, the eleventh, a jacinth, the twelfth, an amethyst'. Apocalypse 21, 18-21,

[60] R. Stalley, Early Medieval Architecture (Oxford, 1999), 193-194.

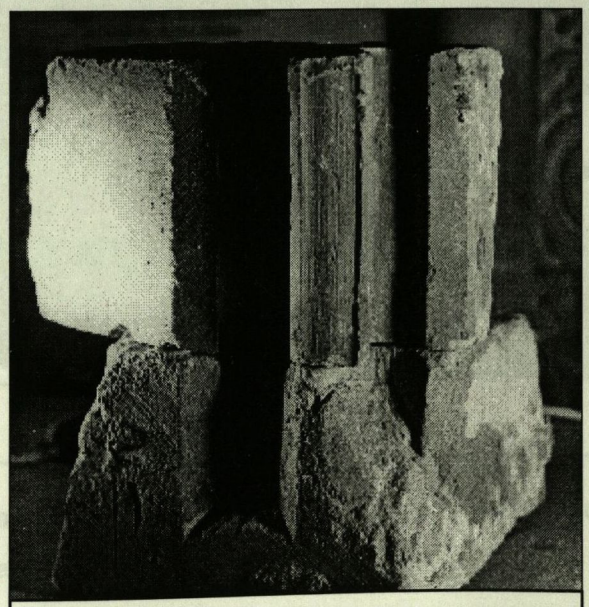
[61] '...ecclesiam sanctae Mariae, in loco quo primitas vetusta steterat, ex lapidibus quadris opere specioisissimo consummavit, nichil ornatus in ea praetermittens' quoted from the thirteenth century Chronicle of Adam de Domerham, published in J.A. Robinson, ' On the Rebuilding of Glastonbury after Fire of 1184', Archaeological Journal, 85, (1928), 18-21.

concave and convex forms was a logical manner in which to give greater depth to the articulation of a building. The distortion of these mouldings into a zigzag form added further to the sense of depth, enabling greater reflection of available light, and thus in a way was a logical progression of form.

The use of the zigzag form over other types of distortion is probably rooted, initially at least, in the facility for mass production. Bony has demonstrated the quasi-industrial process involved in cutting the huge quantities of stone needed for the first phases of construction at Durham cathedral.[62] Such organisation would have been equally necessary for the subsequent phases. Thus while there was an obvious desire to obtain the maximum possible decorative effect in arch and vault articulation, it had to be achieved in a manner suited to mass production that was neither too time consuming or, one presumes, too costly.



Pl. 6.37: Christchurch cathedral. Loose stone



Pl. 6.38: Christchurch cathedral. Loose stone.

Ex situ pieces of chevron from Christchurch cathedral, Dublin **[pl. 6.37]** retain laying out marks that hint at the process used in the mass production of chevron ornament. Comparison of the moulding profiles on upper and lower surfaces reveal that exactly the same template could have been used, while the point at which the apex of the chevron is formed, is determined by a horizontal line scored exactly mid-way

[62] J. Bony, 'The Stonework Planning of the First Durham Master', in (eds.) P. Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context (London, 1990), 19-34.

along the soffit of the voussoir. Similar laying out marks are still visible on many of the chevron fragments from Old Sarum.



Pl. 6.39: Creully. N. nave arcade, base.



Pl. 6.40: Christ Church Cathedral. Base.

An unfinished moulded stone at Christchurch, dating from the thirteenth century **[pl. 6.38]**, suggests that banker masons probably worked down into the surface of the stone for all but the final dressing stages of the carving process. If the block were in any way deep, presumably it would be turned mid-way through the process in order to achieve more comfortable access to the surface of the stone. If this was the case, it means that apart from the establishment of a centre point on every block or voussoir worked, the carving of a single piece of moulded chevron would have taken approximately the same amount of time and effort to carve as the equivalent straight moulding. This certainly helps to explain why one of the few common features found in chevron of all types is the general rule of one chevron unit per block, and why so many master masons opted for the chevron variant when seeking to embellish arches, vaults and string courses.

That chevron was a form of architectural ornament popularised by ease of mass and relatively unskilled production, may explain its absence from other types of architectural feature, such as capitals and bases. As noted in chapter three, one of the more common types of moulding profile

used in the production of chevron motifs was the attic profile. This was of course a very common type of base moulding, and as Rigold has shown, many subtle variations of the attic idiom were introduced throughout the twelfth century.[63] However, while the attic profile on arches was used in both straight and chevron mouldings, it is extremely unusual to find the same 'distortion' on moulded bases.

An example of a chevron base at Creully (Cal) **[pl. 6.39]** focuses the issue. The base is moulded with a common attic derivative, but with the upper scotia distorted to form a chevron that encroaches onto the torus. As is common for this size of feature, the base is carved from a single block of stone. Where a base is moulded with a plain straight moulding, the proportionate relationship between the different moulding elements was first marked out on the upper surface of the base by scoring concentric circles with a compass **[pl. 6.40]**. These circles would then be used to guide the depth to which the mason worked the various moulded elements of the base. Once laid out in this way the actual carving of the mouldings was relatively straight forward, and would have facilitated the production of the numerous bases required by a building of any size. The working of a base with chevron, like the Creully example, would, have been a much more complex, requiring both the radial carving of the mouldings, and then the additional carving of the chevron motifs. Thus the ornament lost its primary advantage of being easy to mass-produce, and so is seldom found on this type of feature.

The Development of Chevron Ornament

The wide scale production of chevron ornament from the beginning of the twelfth century led to a degree of experimentation and the development of different forms. Having clarified the manner in which chevron was interpreted by its creators, and therefore the factors that were most likely to have had an influence on design, it now remains to examine whether particular patterns of development can be identified and to look at the factors that may have influenced them.

The examination of particular chevron forms in chapters three, four and five revealed the presence of a general evolution in chevron design. The word 'general' here is important, because while specific types of chevron did predominate during particular decades, it is necessary to highlight the fact that the evolutionary process was neither strictly linear, nor applied universally

[63] S. Rigold, 'Romanesque Bases in and South-East of the Limestone Belt' in (eds.) M.R. Apted, R. Gillyard-Beer and A.D. Saunders, Ancient Monuments and their Interpretation (London, 1977), 99-137.

across the entire geographical area of the study. With this proviso established, the general phases of evolution can be summarised as follows, and are clearly illustrated at Canterbury cathedral;

1. A limited number of chevron types, the most popular being centrifugal and frontal chevron formed from simple standard mouldings, usually occupying only one face of an order. For example the chevron on the north crypt door at Canterbury cathedral.
2. The use of a greater number of chevron types, including centripetal and hyphenated forms. The introduction of more complex, non-standardised moulding profiles, spread over both faces of an order and the frequent addition of some supplementary ornament. For example the chevron on the *aula nova* staircase at Canterbury.
3. The introduction of directional and free-standing chevron. A return to greater clarity of line but more to sophisticated moulding forms. A reduction in the occurrence of subsidiary decoration. For example the chevron used in William the Englishman's choir at Canterbury.

Canterbury was an foundation that remained well-endowed throughout the period in question. Thus, apart from the potential influence of different individual patrons or craftsmen, the chevron ornament was in a position to follow a 'natural', organic course of development. Roughly the same pattern can be determined in Ireland, where the final phases of development lagged about thirty years behind England.

However, in less insular surroundings this model cannot be universally applied. In chapter three it was demonstrated that chevron in Normandy developed in a much slower, and more restrained manner. Similarly in Yorkshire, highly decorative 'baroque' chevron with pelleting and rich spandrel ornament marked the 'end phase' of chevron development while, at the same time a new restraint and simplicity of line was being promoted in the free-standing forms of the West Country.

These contrasts reflect the numerous currents of stylistic development that were operating in England and Normandy during the twelfth century. Comparable contradictions can be traced on a larger scale in façade design. Here an apparently linear 'plain to frilly' trend of development reflected in a series of façades up to c.1150 is fragmented by the simultaneous appearance of such contrasts as the west façades of Castle Acre (Nf) and Southwell Minster (Nt), or Bishop's Cleeve (Gl) and Iffley (O). McAleer has attempted to explain this as, on the one hand a continuous

undercurrent initiated by post-Conquest Norman preferences, and on the other, the occasional reassertion of traditional Norman values of restraint.[64]

Zarnecki has identified the developments in sculptural style during the reign of King Stephen as a similar form of cultural revivalism, but inspired by a rise in national feeling that promoted a revival in Anglo-Saxon taste.[65] Similar 'nationalist' trends in architectural design have also been identified by Hearn[66] at Romsey and in more general terms by Bony,[67] trends which are illustrated by a lack of interest in stone vaulting after 1140.

But while certain general trends might be attributable to political or cultural affiliations, it seems unlikely that such forces can really have had a profound effect on the minutiae of chevron moulding profiles. Indeed the theory that the greater elaboration of forms harked back to the Anglo-Saxon love for rich ornamentation is somewhat paradoxical if one considers that the ultimate framework for elaboration- the chevron motif- was representative of a thoroughly post-Conquest if not Norman style.

The most obvious explanation for these seemingly irrational trends must lie in the creativity of the individual craftsmen. The seventy-five subtle variations included in the sample of centrifugal designs in chapter three cannot all have been slavishly copied from other sources. The lack of copies of chevron forms used in prestigious buildings such as Reading Abbey (Bk), Old Sarum (Wi) and Hereford cathedral (He) would tend to confirm this. Indeed, one need look no further than the fifteen subtly different chevron designs created by the Shobdon/Rock master to appreciate the scope of an individual mason's imagination, and the freedom that was afforded to him within a fixed idiom. Thus while rough assertions regarding the chronological development and authorship of chevron ornament can be made, conclusions must be informed by the regional context, and more importantly by the immediate sculptural context.

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[64] P. McAleer, 'Southwell, Worksop and Stylistic Tendencies in English Twelfth Century Façade Design' in (eds.) P. Crossley and E. Fernie, Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context (London, 1990), 61-72.

[65] G. Zarnecki, 'The Sources of English Romanesque Sculpture' Actes du XVIIme Congres Internationale d' Historie de L'Arte, Amsterdam 23-31 julliet, 1952 (The Hague, 1955), 171-78.

[66] M.F. Hearn, 'Romsey Abbey: A Progenitor of the English National Tradition in Architecture' Gesta, 14/1, (1975), 27-40.

[67] J. Bony, 'French Influences on the Origin of English Gothic Architecture', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 12, (1949), 1-15.

Conclusion

Chevron ornament is one of the key features of Romanesque ornament in Britain, Normandy and Ireland. As such, the clearer understanding of some of the theoretical concerns surrounding its origins, survival and evolution is crucial in contributing to a broader comprehension of other abstract architectural ornament.

In chapter one, the various theoretical views about the origins of ornament were set out. These included the arguments of evolution versus spontaneous creation, and the theory that many simple pattern forms are simply copied from earlier examples. What this study has revealed is that all three theories can hold true simultaneously. It is unlikely that stone chevron is a skeumorph of earlier types of zigzag ornament in a different material. However, in a sense its initial adoption in to the mainstream of Anglo-Norman architecture was as a result of an evolutionary process, marked by the development of mouldings from straight to 'bent' forms. This evolutionary process was not uniform across the entire area in question though. In some areas, such as the north of England, the key evolutionary genesis of the form, the moulding, is abandoned at a relatively early stage in favour of a freer, more creative design, losing much of its essential grammatical character in the process- the embodiment of Riegl's *kunstwollen*. While these two processes are underway, there can be little doubt that at a more localised level specific designs, like those at Shobdon and Rock were being copied from one another.

In Britain and Normandy chevron ornament probably first began to appear around 1090, and had all but disappeared from the mainstream of architectural decoration by c.1200. During the same period of time, within the same geographical area, other sculptural ornament such as chip carving and fret had passed in and out of fashion. The longevity of the chevron can in part be explained by practical considerations. It was easy to mass-produce, did not require skilled labour and was therefore a relatively cost effective means of providing dramatic aesthetic effect from the humblest of parish churches, to the grandest of cathedrals. However, this is not sufficient to explain why it ceased to be used so suddenly around the turn of the century. The answer must surely lie with the aesthetic values of the period, and the changing tastes of patrons. At the beginning of the period, the enlivenment of the surface of arches, ribs and string courses with chevron produced a rich decorative effect, and added weight both visually and symbolically to solid prestigious buildings. By the end of the period architectural taste, in general terms, had moved towards a greater purity of line and 'lightening' of architectural structure, a form to which chevron was not well suited.

The manner in which chevron developed during the period has been examined in some detail. This raises important issues for the development of pattern forms in general. Although the area in question is relatively small, various developmental trends can be traced, and a rigid linear progression from plain to embellished cannot be used as a sound basis upon which to make judgements of date. It is only in the case of very localised or insular environments that a degree of organic development can be traced.

One of the principal reasons for this would seem to be the hitherto unsuspected variety and individual creativity evident in what has traditionally been regarded as a 'standardised' form of decoration. It is hoped that this study will go some way to rectifying the somewhat dismissive manner in which scholars of the Romanesque period have tended to treat 'zigzag' and indeed the vast variety of other pattern forms so common to the Romanesque idiom.

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