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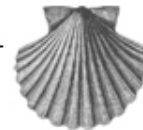
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Welcome to this issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* featuring articles on a wide range of subjects and approaches. We are delighted to present articles that all call for a re-examination of long-held beliefs about such ideas as the origin and development of horseshoe arches (Gregory B. Kaplan), how and whether one can identify a Cistercian style of architecture in a particular area (Cynthia Marie Canejo), whether late medieval wills are truly reflective of the wishes of the decedent and how that affected pilgrimage and art in late medieval England (Matthew Champion), and whether an identification of a noble horseman in an early-sixteenth century painting can survive scrutiny (Jan van Herwaarden). We are also pleased to announce a forthcoming enlargement of the Photobank database, featuring pictures of sculpture and architecture of the pilgrimage road to Santiago by Professor Francisco Javier Ocaña Eiroa.

This issue also includes a lengthy Discoveries sections including information on new finds from the Migration Period through the Renaissance. Reports of re-discovered treasures, hidden drawings, and heretofore unknown underground passages are disseminated. More links have been added to the Links page, and, as usual, list calls for papers, conferences, research announcements and more.



Please note that our Photobank has undergone considerable renovation and should be much easier to use. Please click on the underlined phrase on its opening page that states “Look for our new site design and features coming soon!” To see a demo, click [here](#). The Photobank continues to grow with copyright-free images all downloadable for use in research and teaching.



For future issues we are actively seeking articles on any aspect of medieval art and architecture, including: long and short scholarly articles, scholarly book reviews, review articles on issues facing the field of medieval art history, interesting notes and announcements, useful website recommendations, new archeological discoveries, and recent museum acquisitions as well as calls for papers and conference listings. We are interested in publishing articles that will undergo double-blind review as well as those which are subject only to regular editing process, including articles that are the result of preliminary research. We are also looking for images to add to our photobank, to be shared and used by anyone in the classroom and in their research. To

round out the scholarly portion of the journal, we are also seeking short, amusing excerpts from medieval sources, comments on the Middle Ages in movies and popular culture, etc.

Again, welcome to *Peregrinations*. Any suggestions or comments you have concerning



the journal would be most welcome. Please feel free to e-mail us at: [Sarah Blick \(editor\)](#).

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FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

-- The motto of the Ankh-Morpork City Watch (Terry Pratchett, *Guards! Guards!*)

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The Mozarabic Horseshoe Arches in the Church of San Román de Moroso (Cantabria, Spain)

By Gregory B. Kaplan, University of Tennessee

Introduction

The emergence of medieval archaeology as an academic discipline has been tied to an increased appreciation for the wide range of perspectives from which to consider the cultural significance of objects from the Middle Ages, with medieval churches providing perhaps the most important resource. These concepts lie at the foundation of my recent book, *El culto a San Millán en Valderredible, Cantabria: las iglesias rupestres y la formación del Camino de Santiago* (*The Cult of St. Millán in Valderredible, Cantabria: The Cave Churches and the Formation of the Way of St. James*),¹ in which I establish how an important pilgrimage route was forged through Valderredible—a valley through which the Ebro River runs in the southern part of the Spanish province of Cantabria—by the followers of St. Millán (474-574), a hermit who spent the last thirty years of his life in one of a number of caves located in the region. The early history of the cult of St. Millán is revealed in medieval texts and modern architectural theories, each of which provides a component of a vision of its evolution during the 6th and 7th centuries, when ascetics who imitated the hermit's lifestyle transformed several caverns into cave (or rock-cut) churches by sculpting their interiors according to conventions common to Visigothic churches. After the Islamic conquest of the Visigothic kingdom in the early 8th century, Christians, or Mozarabs, influenced by the culture of their new rulers, fused these conventions with new techniques brought to Spain by the Muslims to form a Mozarabic architectural style. One technique involved the use of horseshoe arches, which had been employed in Iberian architecture since Roman times, but which underwent an evolution that is evident in churches built during the early centuries of Islamic rule. This study focuses on the nature of this phenomenon and its manifestation in the two horseshoe arches in the church of San Román de Moroso (**figure 1**), one of only a few surviving Mozarabic monuments in Cantabria.

The Church of San Román de Moroso

The Church of San Román de Moroso (declared in 1931 a national historic monument or “Bien de interés cultural”), is located three kilometers to the north of Bostronizo, a village situated some fifty four kilometers to the southwest of the city of Santander. Although the distance between San Román de Moroso and Bostronizo (and other nearby villages in the

¹ Gregory Kaplan, *El culto a San Millán en Valderredible, Cantabria: las iglesias rupestres y la formación del Camino de Santiago* (Santander: Gobierno de Cantabria, 2009).



FIGURE 1 The Church of San Román de Moroso. Photo: G. Kaplan.

municipality of Arenas de Iguña) is not great, reaching the church can be difficult. Located in a region of elevated topography, it is situated between mountains, high above the valleys below through which the freeway and train tracks run, and beneath trees that render it almost invisible from above during the summer.²

The visitor to San Román de Moroso may wonder why a building of obvious spiritual importance is the only structure in the vicinity. The answer may be that the modern isolated appearance of San Román de Moroso conceals a much different history. Part of this history may have been detected during a major restoration of San Román de Moroso in the early 1980s, when a cemetery was discovered in the grassy field that surrounds the church.³ While some of the

² The narrow road that winds its way toward the church from Bostronizo can be traversed by car, although during the winter months, which are typically cold and wet, this route must be navigated with caution. A pleasant way of arriving at San Román de Moroso is by foot, especially during the summer months when its tranquil setting in the shade near a small stream provides a welcome respite from the afternoon sun.

³ For more on this restoration, which took place over a period of four years (1980-84), see the comments made by Enrique Campuzano Ruiz, *et al*, *Catálogo monumental de Cantabria II: Valles del Saja y del Besaya* (Santander: Diputación Regional de Cantabria, 1991), pp. 341-42, and by Miguel Ángel García Guinea, *et al*, *Historia de Cantabria: Prehistoria, edades Antigua y media* (Santander: Estudio, 1985), p. 324. Campuzano Ruiz points out that the cemetery was discovered in 1981(342). Although the objects found in the cemetery have not yet been studied,

unearthed sarcophagi are on display next to the church, due to a fear of grave robbers and an inability to arrange for an archaeological study, the tombs themselves have been covered over. This cemetery may have served the needs of those who lived nearby. According to local legend, the grassy field immediately to the east of San Román de Moroso, part of which is now a cow pasture, was once the site of a medieval village that has been buried over the centuries.

The earliest reference to San Román de Moroso is found in a document from 1119, well after the construction of the church, in which it was donated to the Benedictine abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos.⁴ The donation was made by Queen Urraca (r. 1109-1126), the daughter of King Alfonso VI of León (r. 1065-1109) and Castile (r. 1072-1109), who ascended the throne upon the death of her half-brother Sancho. The inclusion of San Román de Moroso as part of a royal donation to one of the most important Castilian monasteries of the Middle Ages reflects the spiritual center's regional prestige. That the document calls it a monastery ("*monasterii, videlicet, sancti Romani de Moroso*") indicates the presence of a monastic community. This foundation was one of many in Cantabria during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries, when secondary monasteries, often brought into existence by donations from wealthy families and typically populated by small numbers of monks, would frequently be donated to larger monasteries. Although San Román de Moroso pertained to the orbit of Santo Domingo de Silos for hundreds of years, it maintained a local importance as a priory that came to own a number of properties and that oversaw several Cantabrian parishes.⁵

The position of the only entrance to San Román de Moroso in the building's northern wall is noteworthy because it is not located on the western or southern sides as in other Cantabrian Mozarabic churches such as Santa Leocadia and Santa María de Lebeña.⁶ Other Peninsular Mozarabic churches with entrances in their southern or western sides include Santa María de Melque (Toledo), San Miguel de Olérdula (Barcelona), San Quirce de Pedret (Barcelona), San Cebrián de Mazote (León), and San Miguel de Celanova (Orense). The north entrance of San Román de Moroso may have been spurred by topographical issues as the downward slope of the terrain immediately outside of the western and southern walls is rather steep. A similar situation has been observed in the case of the early eleventh-century Church of San Baudelio de Berlanga (Soria). According to Manuel Gómez Moreno, the difficult terrain around this church is the reason that the principal entrance was created on its north side.⁷

the physical appearance of the sarcophagi situated next to the church reveals that they are not from the recent past. It would be logical to speculate that at least some of the sarcophagi date from the Middle Ages.

⁴ For the text of this document, see Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos (954-1254)* (Burgos: J. M. Garrido Garrido, 1988), pp. 41-43. The abbey of Santo Domingo de Silos is located in the Spanish province of Burgos, some 240 km to the south of San Román de Moroso.

⁵ For references to these properties and parishes, see Vivancos Gómez (*ibid*, p. 42), and Miguel C. Vivancos Gómez, *Documentación del monasterio de Santo Domingo de Silos, índices 954-1300: Fondo antiguo de Silos, Fondo de Silos en el Archivo Histórico Nacional* (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1998), pp. 236-37, 270-71).

⁶ The Church of Santa Leocadia is located in the village of Helguera, some nine kilometers to the north of Bostronizo, and the Church of Santa María de Lebeña is located some sixty-five kilometers to the west of Bostronizo.

⁷ Manuel Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes: Arte español de los siglos IX a XI*, vol. 1 (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1919), p. 309.

Another more-intriguing explanation for the location of the entrance to San Román de Moroso is that it may have been designed to face other buildings, perhaps those that formed part of a nearby village. This possibility has been suggested in the case of the Romanesque church of San Juan in Raicedo, a twelfth-century structure that is less than five kilometers from Bostronizo and whose principal entrance adorns its north wall (with a secondary entrance placed in the south wall). According to Enrique Campuzano Ruiz, the placement of the principal entrance indicates that it was once situated either in front of a building of local importance or a town center.⁸ Gómez Moreno advances a similar view with respect to the one-time presence of a sacristy near an entrance in the northern wall of the Mozarabic Monastery of San Miguel de Escalada (León), which also features entrances in its southern wall.⁹ In the case of San Román de Moroso, since it is very unlikely that any buildings existed to the south or the west because of the terrain, this church may also have been constructed with a north-facing entrance, where there is sufficient space in the terrain for one or two small structures. Perhaps a sacristy and a building dedicated to the needs of the monastic community of San Román de Moroso were once situated in this small area.

The Evolution of the Horseshoe Arch in Iberian Architecture

The entrance to San Román de Moroso leads to an interior that is divided into two spaces: a nave, which measures six and a half meters from east to west and four and a half meters from north to south, and an apse, which measures three and a half meters from east to west and three meters from north to south. The most impressive aspect of the structure is the horseshoe arch, standing four and a half meters tall, which adorns the division between the apse and the nave. This horseshoe arch, along with another above the entrance to the church, are two of a very few such arches that have survived in Cantabrian Mozarabic architecture. The phenomenon that lies at the core of my analysis is the evolution, from the period of Visigothic rule in Spain to the early centuries after the inception of Islamic dominance, of the horseshoe arch, a component of medieval Spanish church architecture that traces its roots to antiquity, when it was perhaps first used, as Gómez Moreno posits, in India or Mesopotamia.¹⁰ Leopoldo Torres Balbás conjectures that it was the Romans, perhaps after seeing the horseshoe arch used in representations of Asian deities, who were the first to incorporate the form into European architecture as evidenced by the fact that it was employed in Roman structures built before the second century C.E.¹¹ With regard to the arrival of the horseshoe arch to Spain, Vicente Lampérez y Romea suggests that Jews coming from the Middle East may have imported it during the period of Roman rule.¹² The plausibility of this theory is reinforced by the fact that Jews living in the Peninsula maintained

⁸ Campuzano Ruiz, p. 334.

⁹ Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 152.

¹⁰ Manuel Gómez Moreno, Manuel, "Excursión a través del arco de herradura," *Cultura española* 3 (1906), pp. 785-811 (pp. 787-88).

¹¹ Leopoldo Torres Balbás, *Historia de España: España musulmana, hasta la caída del Califato de Córdoba* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1950), p. 364.

¹² Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura Cristiana española en la Edad Media*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1930), p. 149.

commercial contacts with Syria, which could have served as the conduit through which the horseshoe arch arrived from Asia.

While the manner by which the horseshoe arch reached the Iberian Peninsula is open to debate, it was certainly known in Roman times as it appears on pagan funeral steles from Asturias dating from the second century C.E.¹³ During the following centuries, the form began to be utilized in church architecture, including the horseshoe-shaped walls that enclosed apses in several churches (thus producing floors in these apses that were also horseshoe shaped). An example of this is the apse, dating from the fourth or fifth century, found in the Church of Marialba, situated seven kilometers to the south of León.¹⁴ Another example, dating from approximately the same time period, was discovered near the end of the eighteenth century in the ruins of the Church of Segóbriga (also known as Cabeza de Griego), near the Spanish village of Uclés (Cuenca).¹⁵ Luis Caballero Zoreda speculates that this horseshoe-shaped apse may have been a mausoleum before forming part of a church.¹⁶ He dates the structure from the fifth century, while Emilio Camps Cazorla and Pedro de Palol believe that it was built during the 500s.¹⁷ Another horseshoe-shaped apse can be found in the ruins of a church in a town, Dehesa de la Cocosa (Badajoz), which, according to José Serra Ráfols was established in the sixth century.¹⁸ Contemporary horseshoe-shaped apses include one found in Tarragona beneath the Romanesque Church of Milagro (sixth or seventh century), the Church of Valdecebadar (Badajoz, seventh century), and the three apses in the seventh-century Portuguese Church of São Frutuoso de Montelios.¹⁹ Although apses from this period are more often rectangular, the examples above reflect the long tradition of the horseshoe arch in Iberian church architecture.

This tradition is also evident in the case of horseshoe arches employed in an upright manner to support structures. Perhaps the oldest example is a horseshoe arch over the entrance to Santa Eulalia de Bóveda (Lugo)—now a church, but whose original function is unknown—

¹³ For more on these funeral steles, see Lampérez y Romea (pp. 146-49).

¹⁴ For more on the Church of Marialba, see Theodor Hauschild, “La iglesia martirial de Marialba (León),” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 163 (1968), pp. 243-49.

¹⁵ Although these ruins have deteriorated over the years, the horseshoe shape of the apse is clearly indicated in the floor plan that was made upon the discovery of the Church of Segóbriga (Emilio Camps Cazorla, “El arte hispanovisigodo,” in R. Menéndez Pidal [dir.], *Historia de España*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1940), pp. 435-608, esp. p. 494.

¹⁶ Luis Caballero Zoreda, “Algunas observaciones sobre arquitectura española de “época de transición” (Cabeza de Griego y visigoda),” in *Innovación y continuidad en la España visigótica* (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de San Eugenio, 1981), pp. 69-103, esp. pp. 72-73.

¹⁷ Camps Cazorla, p. 496; Pedro de Palol, *Arqueología cristiana de la España romana: Siglos IV-VI* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1967), p. 93.

¹⁸ José Serra Ráfols, *La “villa” romana de La dehesa de La Cocosa* (Badajoz: Diputación Provincial de Badajoz, 1952), p. 164.

¹⁹ Concerning the date of the apse in Tarragona, see Palol, p. 59, and concerning the dates of the churches of Valdecebadar and São Frutuoso de Montelios see, respectively, Thilo Ulbert, Ulbert, Thilo, 1973, “Die Westgotenzeitliche Kirche von Valdecebadar bei Olivenza,” *Madridrer Mitteilungen* 14 (1973), pp. 201-16, and Jerrilynn Dodds, Dodds, 1990, *Architecture and Ideology in Early Medieval Spain* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), p. 121, note 31.

which dates from the fourth or fifth centuries.²⁰ While it did exist in Peninsular architecture, there is little evidence that suggests that the upright horseshoe arch was widely used prior to the conversion from Arianism to Catholicism in 587 of Visigothic King Recared, whereupon it became an important component in church construction. The union between the Church and the monarchy that occurred in the wake of the conversion the King elevated the status of the Catholic bishopric and created a spiritual link to the Catholic majority of the population. This legitimized and extended the hegemony of the monarchy, allowing it to maintain power until it was defeated by Muslim forces in the early 700s.

The Symbolic Function of the Horseshoe Arch

In order to perpetuate the notion of a divinely inspired, centralized political authority, a symbiotic relationship developed between Catholic bishops and Visigothic kings, with the former exercising an influence at court and the latter attending church councils at which codes of religious conduct were established. Both the bishopric and the monarchy stood to benefit from this symbiosis insofar as “church councils were envisioned as a means to impose obedience and unity upon all the inhabitants of the kingdom.”²¹ The symbiosis between bishops and kings was communicated to the public through the promulgation of civil and canonical legislation, the latter of which standardized the performance of rituals and inspired a change in the manner by which priests physically situated themselves with respect to their congregants during mass. Whereas during the celebration of the Roman Rite the space between these two entities was unobstructed, with priests approaching their congregants in order to give Communion and, in churches possessing an altar between the apse and nave, the formation by congregants of a semicircle around the altar during mass, sixth and seventh century Peninsular Church councils broke with tradition and forged a new liturgy, which came to be known as the Visigothic Rite or the Mozarabic Rite.²² As Jerrilynn Dodds explains, this liturgy mandated “the physical and at times visual separation of the clergy.... [which] had the effect of enhancing the clergy’s position, of rendering them more formidable.”²³ Canons issued by the First Council of Braga and the Fourth Council of Toledo excluded congregants from receiving Communion near the altar, a space that was reserved for the clergy alone.²⁴ Congregants were relegated to another space, which was

²⁰ Concerning the date of Santa Eulalia de Bóveda, see Luis Caballero Zoreda, “La ‘forma en herradura’ hasta el siglo VIII, y los arcos de herradura de la iglesia visigoda de Santa María de Melque,” *Archivo español de la arqueología* 50-51 (1977), pp. 323-74, esp. p. 335.

²¹ Rachel L. Stocking, *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom 589-633* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000), p. 4.

²² Because it continued to be practiced by Christians living under Islamic rule, the Visigothic Rite is also called the Mozarabic Rite. On the configuration of the celebration of Communion according to the Roman Rite, see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, vol. 2 (New York: Benziger, 1950-55), pp. 166, 374-75.

²³ Dodds, p. 26.

²⁴ For the text of these canons, see José Vives, ed., *Concilios visigóticos e hispano-romanos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1963), pp. 73-74, 198.

created by the placement of horseshoe arches between the apses and naves of Visigothic churches. By remaining partially hidden as they directed mass from the apse, the clergy emitted an air of superiority that reinforced the hierarchy established in church councils.

The horseshoe arch served as a visual representation of this hierarchy in churches built from masonry during the seventh century (or, in two cases, perhaps as late as the early 700s): San Juan de Baños (completed around 661 in Palencia), Santa Comba de Bande (completed during the second half of the seventh century in Orense), Santa María de Quintanilla de las Viñas (completed during the second half of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth century in Burgos), San Pedro de la Nave (completed during the second half of the seventh century or the beginning of the eighth century in Zamora), and São Pedro de Balsemão (completed during the second half of the seventh century in northern Portugal).²⁵ In *El culto a San Millán en Valderredible*, I demonstrate that horseshoe arches create a similar partition in Cantabrian cave or rock-cut churches (churches carved into the soft sandstone characteristic of the region), which were also fashioned according to the norms established by Visigothic Church councils. The horseshoe arches sculpted into the rock over the entrances to the apses in several of these cave churches possess superelevations that were created in order to obstruct the view from the naves, a manifestation of the Visigothic style that parallels contemporary masonry techniques as can be seen in the photos of the interiors of the cave Church of Santa María de Valverde (**figure 2**) and the masonry Church of São Pedro de Balsemão (**figure 3**)

The Functions of the Superelevation of a Horseshoe Arch

While different types of arches have been used throughout history to separate interior spaces, a horseshoe arch possesses a feature that enhances this effect to the point of “suggest[ing] the inhibition of passage,”²⁶ which motivates its repeated employment over the entrances to the apses in Visigothic churches. In geometric terms, the difference between a horseshoe arch (**figure 4**) and a semicircular (or Roman) arch, (**figure 5**) is the curvature of the former that occupies more than a semicircle, this extension of the curvature being known as the superelevation. The length of a superelevation is determined by measuring the distance (a straight line) between the center of the arch (a point in space that is equidistant from the voussoirs that form the arch) and the arch’s springline (the lowest point on the springer, where the curve of the arch begins). For all intents and purposes, the addition of a superelevation transforms a semicircular arch into one with a horseshoe form, and in extending its ends beyond a circle and inwards toward each other the superelevation provides the aforementioned symbolic value as well as structural benefits.

The superelevation has a technological function that may explain its use over the doorway to structures that, like San Román de Moroso, possess only one entrance. The advantage of employing a horseshoe arch rather than a semicircular one in the construction of such buildings derives from the characteristic horseshoe form created by the superelevation,

²⁵ The dedication of San Juan de Baños in 661 is recorded in an inscription found on a stone plaque above the horseshoe arch over the entrance to the apse. For summaries of the critical views regarding the dates of Santa Comba de Bande, Santa María de Quintanilla de las Viñas and San Pedro de la Nave, and São Pedro de Balsemão, see Dodds, pp. 124-26, notes 63-64, and pp. 126-27, note 70.

²⁶ Dodds, p. 15.



FIGURE 2 The horseshoe arch over the entrance to the apse in the cave Church of Santa María de Valverde. Photo: G. Kaplan.



FIGURE 3 Horseshoe arch over the entrance to the apse in the masonry Church of São Pedro de Balsemão. Photo: Paulo Almeida Fernandes; used with permission of the Instituto Português do Património Arquitectónico.

which can distribute vertical pressure laterally through the abutment surrounding its extended intrados more effectively than a semicircular arch. A horseshoe arch thus possesses a curvature that allows for the immediate creation of a span—that is, the space between the jambs through which individuals can enter and leave the building—which is not obstructed by support posts as is the case when the masonry above a semicircular arch is completed.

Ramón Corzo Sánchez makes this observation with respect to the horseshoe arch over the entrance to Santa Eulalia de Bóveda, which, during construction, would “not have needed to support the inner arch curvature in the ground.”²⁷ The use of a horseshoe arch expedites the process of constructing a building with only one entrance. As Corzo Sánchez explains, if the outside walls are all built at the same time, this type of building is “completely enclosed once the inner curvature of the arch above the door is propped up; if a horseshoe arch is utilized, the entrance can remain free of obstacles, thus facilitating simultaneous work inside and outside without having to constantly climb scaffolding.”²⁸ This may have been what occurred during the construction of San Román de Moroso. The employment of a horseshoe arch above the only entrance would have allowed construction of the abutment and walls around it, as well as the two

²⁷ “...no tener que apoyar cimbras en el suelo.” Ramón Corzo Sánchez, “Génesis y función del arco de herradura,” *Al-Andalus* 43 (1978), pp. 125-42, p. 133. The translation into English is mine.

²⁸ “...quedan totalmente cerradas al apuntalar las cimbras de la puerta; si se aplica el arco de herradura la entrada puede mantenerse expedita, facilitando el trabajo simultáneo por dentro y por fuera sin tener que subir constantemente por los andamios.” Corzo Sánchez, p. 129. The translation into English is mine.

interior spaces (the apse and the nave), to have proceeded in the most efficacious manner possible.

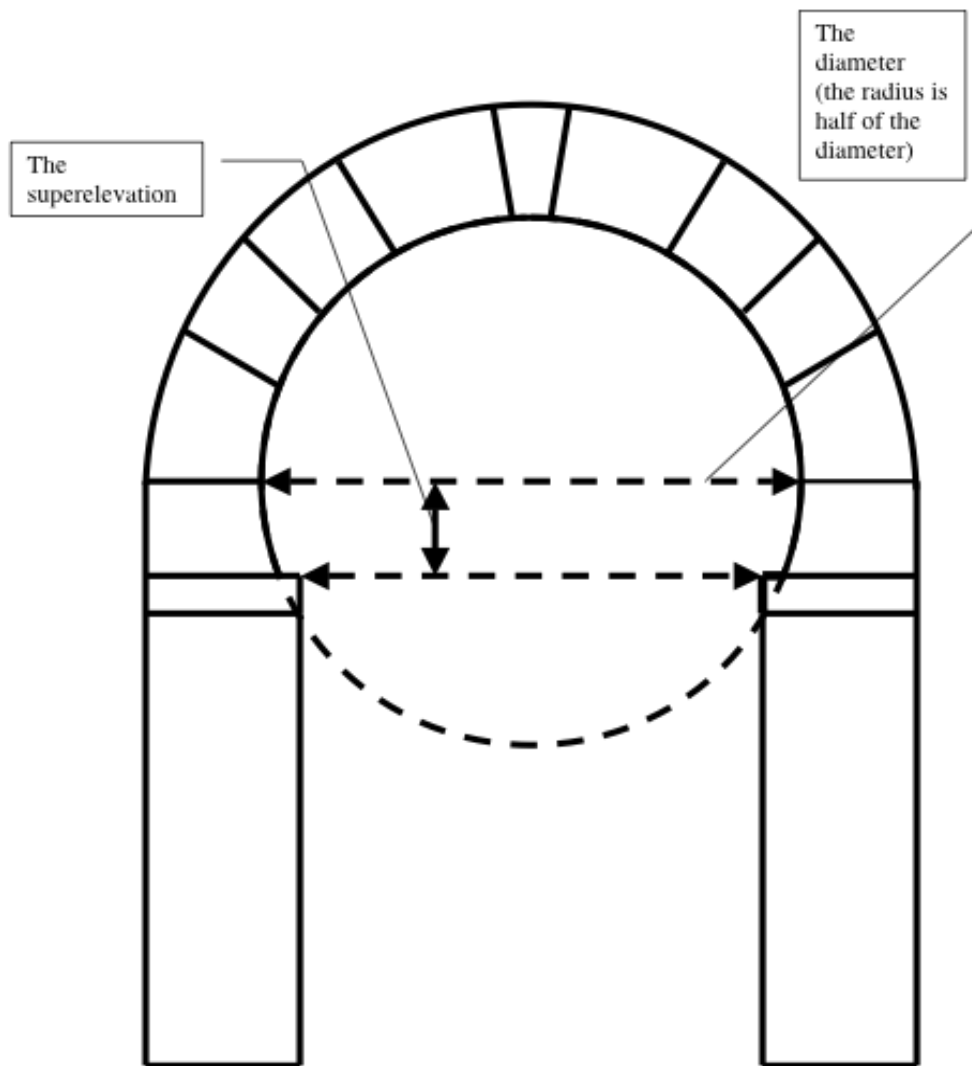


FIGURE 4 In Visigothic horseshoe arches the proportion superelevation/radius is **less** than $\frac{1}{2}$.
Diagram: G. Kaplan.

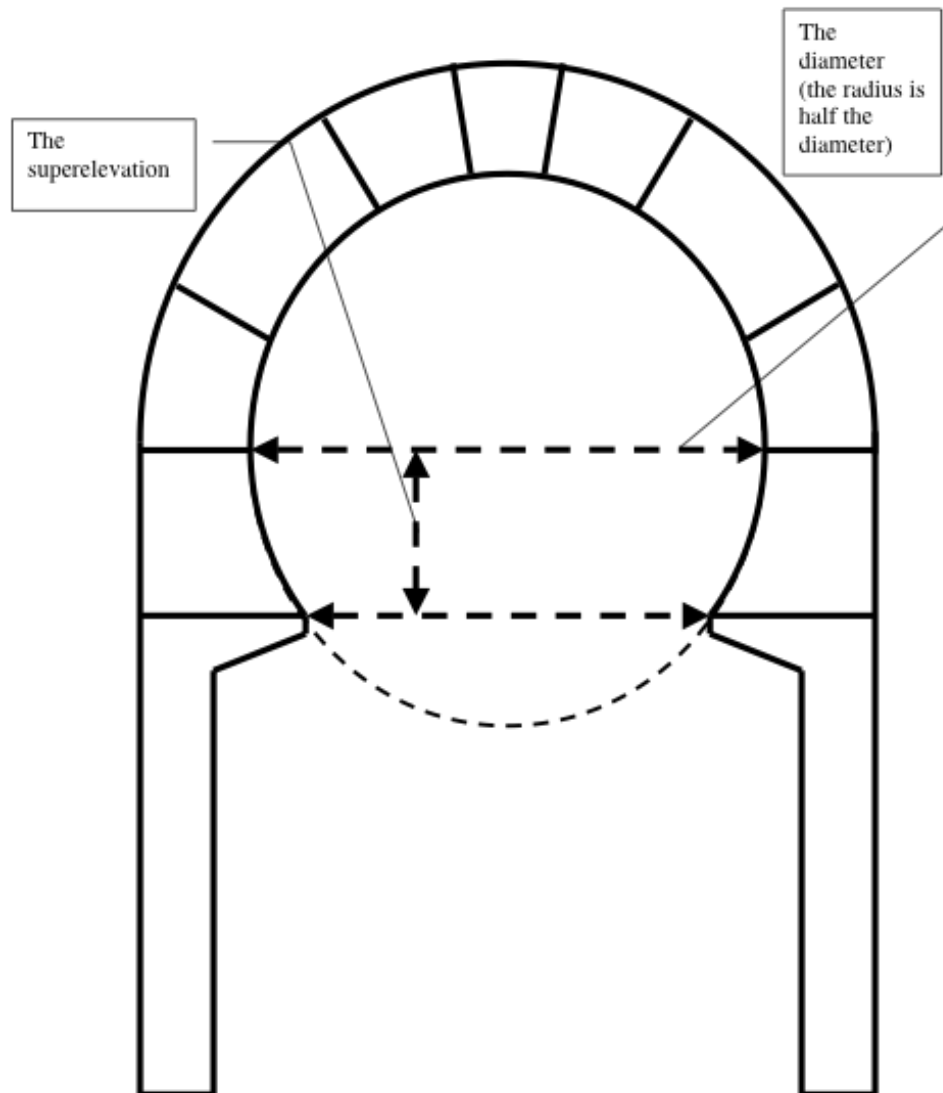


FIGURE 5 In Mozarabic horseshoe arches, the proportion superelevation/radius is **greater** than $1/2$. Drawing: G. Kaplan.

The superelevations possessed by a number of horseshoe arches in San Juan de Baños and the other previously mentioned Visigothic churches (including horseshoe arches over the entrances to apses and those located in other places in these buildings), as well as horseshoe arches that form part of civil architecture (such as two found in the wall around Córdoba), consistently measure less than one half of the radius of the ultrasemicircular shape made by the voussoirs that form them.³² The characteristic Visigothic superelevation, first identified in religious and civil structures by Gómez Moreno,³³ contrasts with the type of superelevation

³² Although not formed by voussoirs, the horseshoe arches in Cantabrian cave churches also contain superelevations that measure less than one half of their respective radiuses.

³³ Gómez Moreno, "Excursión."

common to horseshoe arches used in subsequent architecture. While it is impossible to determine the precise moment when styles changed, the transition to a longer superelevation appears to coincide with the spread of Islamic rule and culture through the Peninsula in the 700s. In Mozarabic and Islamic buildings erected during the next few centuries, which include churches such as Santa María de Melque (Toledo), Santiago de Peñalba (León), San Cebrián de Mazote (Valladolid), and San Millán de Suso (La Rioja), as well as Islamic structures such as the Alcázar of Córdoba, and the Aljafería Palace in the city of Zaragoza, the proportion superelevation/radius is consistently one half or greater.³⁴

The tendency in Mozarabic churches to incorporate elongated superelevations into horseshoe arches was influenced by changing notions regarding interior design in Peninsular Islamic architecture. Whereas the horseshoe arch had been employed in Visigothic churches because of its capacity to obstruct the view from one space to another, Islamic architects recognized that increasing the superelevation, in effect making their horseshoe arches taller, would allow more light to enter interior spaces. The importance of illumination was a component of the culture that Muslims brought to the Iberian Peninsula. This phenomenon manifested itself in a variety of ways including street lighting in Córdoba, a belief among Muslims that peninsular Islamic society was more advanced than that of northern Europe because Spain received more sunlight, and the construction of horseshoe arches with superelevations designed to let in more light than previous arches, an effect perhaps nowhere more evident than in the Mosque of Córdoba.³⁵ Within Mozarabic church architecture, the Islamic technique was likely imitated in order to guide light from naves to apses that were otherwise poorly illuminated, as occurs in San Román de Moroso, in which there is only one very small window in the eastern wall.

Restoration of San Román de Moroso and the Horseshoe Arch

This small window is located in a section of the apse wall that was still standing prior to the aforementioned restoration of San Román de Moroso in the 1980s. The deteriorated state of the building prior to this project is documented in studies published during the early twentieth century by Gómez Moreno and many decades later by María Paz Díaz de Entresotos.³⁶ As Gómez Moreno observed, the roof of San Román de Moroso had collapsed by the time he analyzed the structure and the floor of the church, exposed to the elements for untold years, was covered with weeds.³⁷ The southern section of the wall that enclosed the apse had also

³⁴ For details on these and other contemporary horseshoe arches, see Caballero Zoreda (“La ‘forma en herradura’”) and Gómez Moreno (*ibid* and *Iglesias mozárabes*).

³⁵ Hitti finds an assertion of Islamic cultural superiority in the words (translated into English by Hitti) of the eleventh-century Toledan thinker Qāsim Ṣāʿid ibn-Aḥmad al-Andalusī, who comments on northern Europeans: “because the sun does not shed its rays directly over their heads, their climate is cold and atmosphere clouded. Consequently their temperaments have become cold and their humours rude.... They lack withal sharpness of wit and penetration of intellect, while stupidity and folly prevail among them” Philip Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 526-27.

³⁶ Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes* and María Paz Díaz de Entresotos, “La iglesia de Santa María de Lebeña,” *XL Aniversario del Centro de Estudios Montañeses* 2 (1976): pp. 194-226.

³⁷ A barrel vault modeled on the original one was added during the restoration of the church.

disappeared, although the walls that surrounded the nave remained intact. The horseshoe arch over the entrance to the apse, one of two horseshoe arches that had formed part of the building, was still standing, while the other, once situated above the entrance to the church, had been dismantled for the purpose of utilizing the voussoirs in a nearby farm.³⁸

Further deterioration occurred to San Román de Moroso between the publication of Gómez Moreno's study and the visit by Díaz de Entresotos in the 1970s. This deterioration greatly affected the horseshoe arch in the wall that divided the apse from the nave, whose voussoirs had fallen to the ground. The only original component that remained in place was one of the cymas, which used to rest immediately below the springers and which were designed to extend horizontally to the points at which the springers achieve their maximum closing effect. Beneath the horizontal extensions of the cymas once rested vertical columns, now lost.³⁹ Díaz de Entresotos recounts that a local resident claimed to have seen this horseshoe arch intact, which must have occurred before Gómez Moreno made his observations.⁴⁰ For some unknown reason, the transfer of the stones to a nearby farm did not occur in the decades following Gómez Moreno's study, and the original voussoirs that were located were incorporated into the reconstructed entrance during the restoration of San Román de Moroso.

A comparison between the observations and photos provided by Gómez Moreno and Díaz de Entresotos and the current condition of San Román de Moroso indicates that the restoration was executed faithfully. With the exception of portions of the apse and the entrance, the walls that stand today, solidly built from sandstone blocks, are original. A large section of the wall that encloses the apse is also original, and my own observations confirm those made by Díaz de Entresotos concerning the accuracy of Lampérez y Romea's claim that the floor of the apse was horseshoe shaped during the early twentieth century.⁴¹ As was the case when both Gómez Moreno and Díaz de Entresotos published their studies, the apse is a rectangular space and there is no indication from its current condition (or from the observations made by these scholars with respect to its prior condition) that it was horseshoe-shaped before it was restored.

Gómez Moreno records the Mozarabic character of the horseshoe arch over the entrance to the apse in San Román de Moroso prior to its restoration, and prior to the time it collapsed. While he does not reveal the actual measurements taken, Gómez Moreno found the proportion of this horseshoe arch's superelevation/radius to be 3/5.⁴² In *Historia de Cantabria*, completed very soon after the restoration of San Román de Moroso, the proportion is also listed as 3/5, although the dimensions necessary for determining that the superelevation occupies 60% of the radius are, again, not disclosed and it is unclear whether measurements of the refurbished arch were taken or whether the conclusions made previously by Gómez Moreno are merely repeated.⁴³

³⁸ Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 286.

³⁹ Similar columns also adorned the horseshoe arch over the entrance to the church.

⁴⁰ Díaz de Entresotos, p. 221.

⁴¹ Díaz de Entresotos, p. 221, Lampérez y Romea, p. 240.

⁴² Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, p. 285.

⁴³ García Guinea, p. 324.



FIGURE 6 Horseshoe arch over the entrance to the apse in the Church of San Román de Moroso. Photo: G. Kaplan.

Recent Measurements of the Horseshoe Arches in San Román de Moroso

The measurements that I took in July of 2010 demonstrate that the refurbishment of both arches has not erased their Mozarabic influence. The interior arch that divides the apse from the nave (**figure 6**) possesses a radius of eighty-five centimeters and a superelevation of fifty-one

centimeters, resulting in a proportion of $3/5$. This confirms previous findings and it merits pointing out that this proportion is identical to that possessed by the horseshoe arches in Santa María de Lebeña, which was also built during the tenth century.⁴⁴ Santa María de Lebeña, San Román de Moroso and Santa Leocadia are the only remaining Mozarabic churches in Cantabria, although there undoubtedly existed others that were constructed as a consequence of the many monastic foundations that took place. Santa Leocadia preserves little of its original structure, with the only surviving sections from the tenth century being the apse and the southern part of the nave.⁴⁵ Santa María de Lebeña, while a more complex structure with three apses and three naves, shares features with San Román de Moroso, including the proportion superelevation/radius of $3/5$ and the design of the cymas employed in the horseshoe arches, which in both structures are carved in a manner that resembles an inverted pyramid (in the style common to Leonese tenth century Mozarabic churches such as San Román de Hormiga and Santa María de Bamba.⁴⁶

My measurements of the horseshoe arch over the entrance to San Román de Moroso (**figure 7**) also confirm that it was fashioned according to the Mozarabic style. This arch, standing some two and three-quarters meters tall, has a radius of sixty-three centimeters and a superelevation of forty-four centimeters, which results in a proportion of $7/10$, within the range that defines a Mozarabic horseshoe arch. It is interesting to speculate whether the increased superelevation in this arch with respect to the one on the inside is due to the effects of the restoration during the 1980s. Perhaps during the reconstruction of the entrance the application of mortar slightly enclosed the ultrasemicircular form, as such eliminating a few centimeters from the curvature and thus increasing the space occupied by the superelevation (and increasing the proportion superelevation/radius). At the same time, the larger superelevation may well have formed part of the original construction, and it should be noted that other Mozarabic churches, such as San Cebrián de Mazote, also contain horseshoe arches of different proportions.⁴⁷

Conclusion

The configuration of San Román de Moroso and other Mozarabic churches, in particular the placement of a horseshoe arch over the entrance to the nave, recalls the division of interior spaces that became incorporated into architecture as a physical representation of Visigothic conciliar decrees. At the same time, the modification of the horseshoe arch in Mozarabic structures reflects the nature of the Islamic impact on Christian church architecture. While for centuries Islamic rule on the Peninsula was characterized by tolerance among Muslims and their

⁴⁴ Díaz de Entresotos, pp. 200-01, 214.

⁴⁵ Campuzano Ruiz, p. 316.

⁴⁶ Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, pp. 191-92, 200. For a photo of one of the cymas in Santa María de Lebeña, see García Guinea, p. 323.

⁴⁷ Lampérez y Romea, p. 151.



FIGURE 7 Horseshoe arch over the entrance to the Church of San Román de Moroso. Photo: G. Kaplan.

Mozarabic and Jewish subjects, who were permitted to maintain their churches and synagogues, these groups could only gain certain social privileges upon conversion to Islam, and in the ninth century a wave of religious persecution caused many Mozarabs to suffer martyrdom or escape to the north. Any threat with which Muslims were viewed was undoubtedly tempered by an admiration for their advanced culture, which is revealed in the manner by which Mozarab refugees disseminated the culture with which they had come into contact in the southern part of the Peninsula as they continued to practice the rite whose parameters were defined in Visigothic times. Although they have been refurbished, the dimensions of the horseshoe arch over the division between the apse and nave in San Román de Moroso and the one over the entrance exhibit this tendency and, by extension, indicate that its builders were Mozarabs who had emigrated to Cantabria from Muslim Spain.

While documentation is often available to confirm the age of major churches, in the cases of minor structures such as San Román de Moroso architectural methods may be scrutinized in order to arrive at sound conclusions. Although the date of this church's edification is undocumented, the dimensions of its horseshoe arches exemplify Mozarabic church architecture during the first few centuries after the inception of Islamic rule. In this manner, an analysis of the horseshoe arches of San Román de Moroso according to the methodology described above

reveals the significant role that medieval archaeology can play assigning dates to the construction of churches. In the case of San Román de Moroso, the building obviously predates the first documented reference to it from 1119 and it is logical to speculate that it is contemporary to Santa María de Lebeña, whose foundation in 925 is documented.⁴⁸ When considered in the context of the social landscape during the early centuries of Islamic rule on the Peninsula, the increased superelevation typical to Mozarabic horseshoe arches such as those discussed in the present study speaks to the synthesis between Islamic and Christian traditions that defined Mozarabic culture.

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Abstract

This study focuses on architectural features that enlist the medieval church of San Román de Moroso (Cantabria, Spain) as a monument constructed according to the Mozarabic style. After a review of the history of San Román de Moroso, special attention is paid to the manner by which its horseshoe arches exhibit tendencies that reflect the Islamic influence on medieval Spanish church architecture. In particular, the mode of configuring interior spaces that was initially employed in Visigothic churches as a visual representation of a divinely inspired centralized political authority was impacted by techniques popularized after the inception of Muslim rule on the Iberian Peninsula in the early 700s. The church of San Román de Moroso is ultimately seen as a structure that, in spite of a restoration during the 1980s, conserves in its horseshoe arches the legacy of the dissemination of Islamic culture among Christians (or Mozarabs).

Key words

horseshoe arch, Mozarabic culture, Spain, Cantabria, San Román de Moroso, medieval church architecture



The Yonne Valley Builder: An Identifiable Master Introducing a Unique Blend of Cistercian and Non-Cistercian Northern Burgundian Design to the Oise¹

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Most builders seem to have worked within a fairly small region, but nearly every master so far identified has left some examples of his work at no inconsiderable distances from his “base.”

John James, *Pioneers of the Gothic Movement*²

Staggered along the Yonne and Serein rivers in northern Burgundy, France, are group of five small and large Early Gothic structures.³ The design of these twelfth-century churches is concurrent with trends in the northern Paris basin, indicating a desire to incorporate the latest “modern” styles in Early Gothic rural construction south of Paris.⁴ Even more intriguing, the distinctive configuration—consistent not only in the profiles of specific parts, but also in the integration of these parts into the whole—seems to point to the design of a particular builder. As will be clarified, this unusual manner of assembling the individual elements in all five structures draws attention to the work of this skilled, yet unconventional designer who, even though

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² John James, *The Pioneers of the Gothic Movement: Interim Report 1* (Mandorla Publications, 1980), 9.

³ In contrast to a focus on the sequence of builders and campaigns at one cathedral or large church, this research emphasizes the value of examining smaller and larger churches together. Without the data collected from small structures, the correspondence between the architectural elements within the central Yonne group of buildings could not have been made.

⁴ All of the smaller structures in the group were constructed with up-to-date rather than *retardataire* or outmoded elements. For more information on scholars who have implied that builders of smaller rural churches often use out-of-date forms, see Cynthia Canejo, “Evidence of an Innovative Master Builder in Northern Burgundy: The Early Gothic Construction of the Parish Churches at Gurgy and Beines,” *JSAH* 64 (Sept. 2005), 281-291.

seemingly well-traveled and well-versed in contemporary modes of practice, was inclined to add a unique signature to his work.⁵ In presenting both Cistercian and non-Cistercian structures as initiated by the same designer, a new relationship becomes apparent that forces us to reevaluate past and present notions about architectural practice in the northern and southern Paris basin during this period.⁶ As will be shown, the data collected indicates that the designer created a unique North Burgundian austere blend from both non-Cistercian and Cistercian elements. By arguing that Cistercian design developed in a more complex and eclectic manner than previously believed, this research offers a new way of viewing the existing architectural forms.

In tracing the characteristic aspects of this builder's work, distinct northern Burgundian systems of construction are perceived in the northern Paris Basin at the Early Gothic Cistercian church at the Royal abbey of Châalis.⁷ In other words, even though the majority of this builder's work can be located at the five non-Cistercian churches in a small microregion of the Yonne Valley, his characteristic style can be distinguished at a Cistercian building some distance "from his 'base.'"⁸ Evidence suggests that this builder worked at these five non-Cistercian sites before he traveled to the Oise to design the Cistercian church at Châalis. In consideration of two matters—one, this builder seems to have designed a Cistercian church; and second, the Cistercians are often noted for constructing their own churches—it would be logical to inquire whether this builder was a Cistercian.⁹ While we have evidence that Cistercians were employed

⁵ Evidence that the builder traveled outside the Yonne Valley is indicated by his knowledge and use of elements consistent with structures significant in size, standing both in and around the Île de France. Even though this builder uses parts with profiles similar to churches in the region of Paris, his work overall is not the conventional northern Parisian design.

⁶ The uniformity and restraint observed in Cistercian architecture is often explained by the transmission of their ascetic monastic ideals (in line with the philosophy of the Order) along with the dissemination of their architecture (through a simplification or reduction of a regional architectural vocabulary). A reassessment of this general conception is in order.

⁷ Centering on a micro-region within the Yonne Valley and spiraling outward, a wide range of buildings of various sizes were studied in order to arrive at informed conclusions. The initial investigation included Romanesque and Gothic architecture from Burgundy to the northern Paris basin. On identifying individual hands of Medieval masons and sculptors, see, for example John James, *The Contractors at Chartres* (Chartres: Societe Archeologique, 1977-1981); John James, *Chartres, The Masons Who Built a Legend* (London: Routledge, 1982); and C. Edson Armi, *Masons and Sculptors in Romanesque Burgundy* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 1983).

⁸ James, *Pioneers of the Gothic Movement*, 9.

⁹ In separating themselves from Benedictine monks, such as the Cluniacs who devoted the majority of their day to liturgical services and relied on the use of serfs for manual labor, the Cistercians chose to return to a stricter observance of the original Rule of Saint Benedict in which physical labor was an important requirement. Their devotion to hard work led to a rapid economic expansion (enabling them to become a powerful monastic Order). In a short time, the Cistercians decided to accept lay brothers (*conversi*) rather than serfs into the monastery to help with the increasing workload. Louis Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 1977), 443-450; Chrysogonus Waddell, *Cistercian Lay Brothers: Twelfth-Century Usages with Related Texts* (Belgium: Brecht, 2000); and Brian Noell, "Expectation and Unrest among Cistercian Lay Brothers in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," *Journal of Medieval History* 32 (2006): 253-274.

While many twelfth-century texts indicate that both Cistercian monks and *conversi* constructed Cistercian buildings, a number of twelfth-century writers stressed that the monks themselves built their churches. A good example is William of St. Thierry, friend and biographer of the noted Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux, who mentioned that the monks at Clairvaux supplied the labor. *Saint Bernard of Clairvaux: [The Story of his Life as*

on non-Cistercian sites, it is not very likely that a Cistercian would have been permitted to work at as many non-Cistercian churches as attributed to this builder.¹⁰ In pushing to discern the extent to which Cistercian architecture actually was the work of Cistercian monks or laborers (as often believed in the past), the conclusion drawn from this study indicates that this specific builder/designer may not have been a Cistercian at all.

Using knowledge acquired from his past building experience (specifically at non-Cistercian sites in northern Burgundy), the builder seems to have designed the Cistercian church at Châalis as a hybrid (rather than merely the result of either a “Cistercian style” or regional developments in the Oise).¹¹ Even though Châalis was previously perceived as following the design of the Cistercian mother-church of Pontigny, this investigation further demonstrates that Châalis is a unique blend of Cistercian characteristics along with features of a specific *parti* found in non-Cistercian northern Burgundian structures and attributed to this builder in the Yonne Valley.¹² By indicating that Cistercian architecture may have developed more eclectically

recorded in the *Vita Prima Bernardi* by certain of his contemporaries, William of Thierry, Arnold of Bonnevaux, Geoffrey and Philip of Clairvaux, and Odo of Deuil, Trans. Geoffrey Webb and Adrian Walker (Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1960). In contrast to these texts, early twelfth- and thirteenth-century manuscripts show Cistercian monks only as workers (cutting trees, harvesting, etc.), not constructing buildings. In regard to examples of architects who were Cistercians, John Bilson emphasized that the Cistercian Geoffrey of Ainai was “sent by Bernard to Fountains” where “their earliest buildings were erected according to his counsel;” Archard was “sent to many French and German monasteries to direct their building operations” (e.g., at Himmerod, 1138); and Robert to Mellifont in 1142. John Bilson, “The Architecture of the Cistercians, with Special Reference to Some of their Earlier Churches in England,” *Archaeological Journal* (1909): 196.

While written sources indicate that Cistercian monks as well as *conversi* worked on Cistercian architecture, written accounts, including deeds or statutes of the General Chapter, document the Cistercians practice of hiring outside labor (non-Cistercian workers). See David H. Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages* (Leominster: Gracewing, 1998), 196-199. The existence of a non-Cistercian work force in Cistercian monasteries has become a more widely accepted as many recent scholars have proposed that there were teams of itinerant skilled masons who worked with the lay brothers under the supervision of a Cistercian master mason or architect. Peter Fergusson, “The Builders of Cistercian Monasteries in Twelfth-Century England,” in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, v. 2, (ed.) Meredith Parsons Lillich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 22, 24.

¹⁰ For evidence of Cistercians working at outside or non-Cistercian sites, see Williams, *The Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, 197. Even though it has been suggested that non-Cistercian laborers worked alongside the Cistercians, scholars generally have not allowed for the possibility that the builder/architect may not be a Cistercian.

¹¹ The possible existence of a “Cistercian style” has been the subject of frequent scholarly debates. Notable texts include: John Bilson, “The Architecture of the Cistercians, with Special Reference to Some of their Earlier Churches in England,” *Archaeology Journal* (1909), 184; Père M.-Anselme Dimier, “Architecture et spiritualité des cisterciens,” *Revue du Moyen-Âge latin* III (1947), 255-75; Henri-Paul Eydoux, “Les fouilles de l’abbatiale de Himmerod et la notion d’un ‘plan bernardin,’ » *BM* (1953): 29-36; Marcel Aubert, « Existe-t-il une architecture cistercienne ? » *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, I (1958), 153-58; François Bucher, “Cistercian Architectural Purism,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* III (1960-61), 89-105; Caroline A. Bruzelius, “The Transept of the Abbey Church of Châalis and the Filiation of Pontigny” in *Mélanges à Dimier*, vol. 6 (Arbois: Pupillin, 1982), 447-455; and Peter Fergusson, “The Builders of Cistercian Monasteries in Twelfth Century England,” in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* v. 2, (ed.) Meredith Parsons Lillich (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1984), 15.

¹² A *parti* is the overall conception and design of the building. The detection of a distinct *parti* is an important step toward recognizing the work of an individual builder. In this case, the design is attributed to this builder because he used standardized parts placed in a distinct and repeatable arrangement.

than previously acknowledged, this research expands on current conceptions regarding the inner workings and means of construction of the Cistercian Order and modifies existing perceptions and preconceptions related to Cistercian interactions with outside laborers. Following scholars in other fields, it is hoped that this research will increase our awareness that the Cistercians were not as secluded as once believed and compel us to look for new scenarios to explain the integration of regional techniques in Cistercian architecture.

The Connection of the Structures in the Central Group in the Yonne

The late twelfth-century portions of the four Early Gothic parish churches—Beines, Gurgy, Saint-Bris, and Chitry—and the chapel at Fyé show a direct correspondence in construction that is often hidden by later additions or reconstructions (see **fig. 1**, in pink).¹³



FIGURE 1. The location of the microregion in the Yonne Valley in relation to the Oise

Since the overall layout and individual elements follow similar patterns, even though the churches were conceived with slight variations, one must consider the possibility that these Early Gothic structures were originally designed by one man.¹⁴ For convenience of identification, and

¹³ In this regard, all five buildings have been enlarged between the thirteen and nineteenth centuries (this is clarified in the plans). All photographs and drawings are by the author. After taking precise measurements, existing plans have been adjusted as clarified in the text, captions, or footnotes.

¹⁴ The particular areas that remain of the twelfth-century churches are: Chitry (nave), Fyé (two eastern bays), Gurgy

in reference to the unique style found in the Yonne Valley, this designer is referred to as the Yonne Valley Builder.¹⁵

We can begin to delve into this investigation by looking at the ways in which all five Yonne Valley churches are related. One of the most apparent aspects of this group of buildings is the tendency to employ a single nave with no aisles or transept.¹⁶ Another twelfth-century aspect is the polygonal or multiple-paneled apse found at Beines and Gurgy. In the case of Saint-Bris and Chitry, the chevets (east ends) were destroyed and without an excavation, the setup of the original chevets remains merely conjectural.¹⁷ Fyé, being obvious exception, was built initially as a small chapel with a flat east end. In each church, a type of construction is used that takes advantage of local resources and corresponds to a common regional method: frame and fill (i.e., ashlar “quoining,” or framing, is employed with rubble fill of stone collected nearby).¹⁸ With the use of rubble fill, the number of large stone blocks required is reduced to a minimum. While frame and fill construction may have been used for convenience and to cut costs, an equally important economic factor is the increase in labor costs due, particularly, to the extra time needed for laying these smaller stones.¹⁹

(chevet and first bay), Beines (chevet and nave), and Saint-Bris (westernmost bays).

¹⁵ For more information on the Yonne Valley Builder, see Canejo, “Evidence of an Innovative Master Builder...Gurgy and Beines,” 281-291; and “Transforming Early Gothic Form: The Cistercian Church of Pontigny, Saint Martin at Chablis, and Northern Burgundian Architecture” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005).

¹⁶ Saint-Bris, however, has a nave with side aisles (although it does not have a transept). As a sizeable church, aisles were probably incorporated into the design for structural reasons.

¹⁷ Even so, the possibility that chevets of Chitry and Saint-Bris may once have been polygonal will be discussed briefly below.

¹⁸ The choice of frame and fill over all ashlar (squared dressed or prepared stone blocks) construction could be due to a limit on monetary resources: the desires, knowledge, or skill of the architect; or, possibly, the practicality of the method itself. This rubble fill, set between the dressed blocks and coursed in regular layers with roughly rectangular stones, varies by the kind available in the vicinity.

¹⁹ French medieval scholars, Christian Sapin and Daniel Prigen have discussed the choice of material, which not only “dépend de la nature des roches, de leur disponibilité à proximité du site, du type d’exploitation, mais aussi de données socio-économiques souvent complexes” (depends on the nature of the rocks, their availability near the site, the manner of fabrication, but also on socio-economic factors that are often complex). See “La construction en pierre au Moyen-Age,” *La construction: la pierre*, Alain Ferdière (dir.), Collection Archéologiques (Paris, Éditions Errance, 1999), 108-111. Regarding the reason for using *moellons* (small irregular rocks), they note that “l’utilisation de moellons présente différents avantages. Elle ne nécessite pas la même qualité de pierre que pour le moyen ou le grand appareil. Il n’est donc pas nécessaire de rejeter le matériau fracturé et la perte est réduite lors de l’extraction. Le coût en carrière est ainsi bien moindre que celui observé pour la pierre de taille” (the use of *moellons* has various advantages. This type of construction does not require the same quality of stone as needed for the medium or large ashlar construction. As a result, it is not necessary to discard the broken material and the overall loss during extraction is reduced. The cost at the quarry is consequently quite a bit less than observed for dressed stone). Furthermore, “quand le constructeur souhaitait utiliser en parement une pierre importée, le blocage étant constitué de moellons d’origine locale, le volume éventuel de bon matériau à transporter était plus faible que dans le cas d’un parement réalisé en moyen ou grand appareil” (when the constructor/builder wished to use an imported stone as facing, the rubble fill was made up of *moellons* of local origin, the possible volume of good material to be transported was lower than in the case of a facing constructed with medium or large ashlar blocks). Even so, it must

These Early Gothic works—the chapel at Fyé and the parish churches at Chitry, Gurgy, Beines, and Saint-Bris—lie within ten kilometers of one another in a microregion defined by the intersection of the Yonne and Armançon Rivers (**fig. 2**, in pink). In these five buildings, the remains of the twelfth-century structures display a distinct *parti* that, except for a special case in

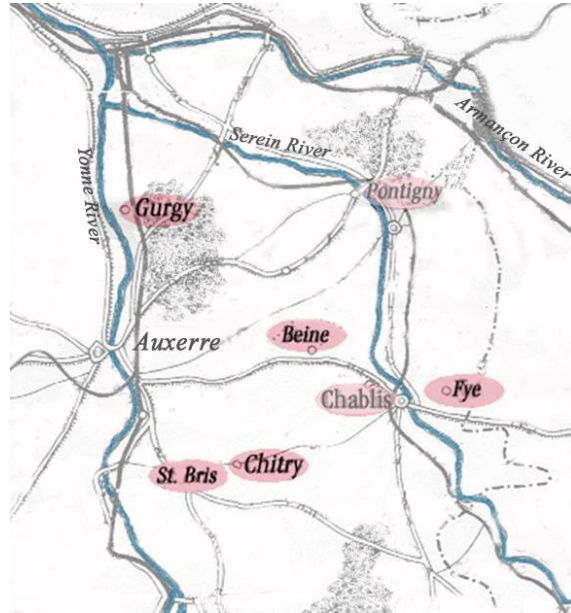


FIGURE 2. The microregion showing the villages of the central group between the forks of the Yonne, Serein, and Armançon Rivers as well as in relation to Pontigny and Chablis

the Oise (the Cistercian abbey church of Châalis), has not been found outside of the Yonne Valley.²⁰ Since none of the churches can be securely dated, evidence will be put forth to link these works to dates between 1175 and 1200. These dates support two interrelated points: that these elements appear earlier than previously believed south of the Ile-de-France and that the central Yonne group of churches can now be recognized as constructed during the same period as the Parisian works (rather than considered outmoded works).

The Layout of the Parish Churches of Chitry and Fyé

Onsite evidence indicates that Fyé and Chitry may have been the earliest constructions of the Yonne Valley Builder, with evident basic consistencies between the twelfth-century portions of each building in the central Yonne group. The village of Chitry is situated on the route from

be taken into account that “le petit appareil nécessite un temps de pose non négligeable quand les moellons de parement sont posés à la main” (the small ashlar block requires a considerable amount of time to assemble while the *moellons* of the facing are placed by hand).

²⁰ Not only are the designs and templates for the sculptural elements (rib and molding profiles as well as capitals and bases) found in these five churches relatively consistent but also the size, position, and shape of the lancets, buttresses, socle layouts and elevations, and overall pier designs are comparatively uniform (i.e., within allowable medieval standards of deviation).

Chablis to St.-Bris between the Yonne and Serein Rivers.²¹ (**figs. 1, 2**) The town, set low in the valley at the heart of the vineyard-lined hills, was part of a thriving viticulture community in the twelfth century.²² Not far from Chitry and surrounded by choice vineyards is the tiny village of Fyé which was also a significant producer of wine during the period.²³

The chapel at Fyé was once the private chapel of the Priory Saint-Antoine, dependency of Saint-Pierre of Montier-la-Celle, the grand Benedictine abbey.²⁴ (**fig. 3**) The exterior, consistent with the nave of the church of Saint-Valérien at Chitry, is constructed in frame and fill with roughly squared stone coursed between ashlar blocks (**fig. 3**, above, and **fig. 4**, right).²⁵ The irregular gray stone that fills the exterior wall of the church at Chitry appears to have been extracted from the layered rock of the surrounding hills, whereas the rubble fill at Fyé is the result of the kind of brown/black stone typical of buildings adjacent to the chapel.

Almost indistinguishable from these attached monastic buildings, the chapel at Fyé is tall and narrow (the height to the top of the gable is not quite double the width).²⁶ (**fig. 3**) Chitry is a

²¹ Chitry was noted in fifth-century texts as *Castoriacus*; as *Castriacus* in 1275; as *Chistri* in 1196; as *Christy* in 1485; as *Chitry-Dessus* and *Chitry-Dessous* in 1549. Maximilian Quantin traced the origins through multiple documents in *Dictionnaire topographique du département de l'Yonne, comprenant les noms de lieu anciens et modernes* (Paris: Imp. Impériale, 1862), 36.

²² During the twelfth century, grapes were cultivated in all five villages surrounding the central Yonne group of churches. Even so, a direct link between wine production and architectural construction has not been found. The economic benefits of the production and distribution of wine, while not easy to connect directly to architectural construction, could have spurred growth in the region. The relatively prosperous conditions of the period suggest that these small villages would have had ample resources to employ a group of finely skilled regional workers. Chitry is located between the Chablisien and Auxerrois *vignobles* (vineyards). Fine rosé and red wines are produced at Chitry and St-Bris (one of the greatest regional producers of the century). The vineyards at Gurgy are noted (but their value during the period is uncertain). Chablis Grand Cru and Premiers Crus are produced at Fyé. During the twelfth century Beines contained important vineyards and is today one of the more important producers of Premier Cru in the Chablisien region.

²³ Fyé was one of the small communities incorporated into the village of Chablis in 1970. Medieval documents verify Fyé as a desirable viticulture community. For example, an 1131 accord between the Cistercian abbey of Quincy and the abbey of Montier-la-Celle refers to the *dimes* of four *muids* of wine on the *finage* owned at Fyé (the dependency of the latter abbey) and, in 1191, there was a controversy between Quincy and Montier-la-Celle over those fourteen *arpents* of vineyards at Fyé. L'abbé Charles Lalore, *Cartulaire de Montier-la-Celle*, Collection des principaux cartulaires du diocèse de Troyes (Paris: Thorin, 1882) vol. VI, 59, n° 51. Quantin noted that Fyé, in the canton of Chablis, was identified as *Fiacus in pago Tornotrinsi* in 850; *Fieum* in 1116; and *Fiacum* in 1536. Quantin, *Dictionnaire Topographique*, 58. Robert Fèvre, "Histoire de Fyé," *Yonne Républicaine* (January 23, 1981) added that Fyé was called *Fiez-lès-Chablis* in the seventeenth century.

²⁴ The abbey of Montier-la-Celle, situated near Troyes, had seventeen dependant priories (including two in the Yonne Valley). The abbey was completely demolished after 1789 Revolution. Fèvre, "Histoire de Fyé," 6. The chapel at Fyé is not yet protected by the Monuments Historiques.

²⁵ The church at Chitry was classified by the Monuments Historiques on December 30, 1905 (Archives départementales de l'Yonne [ADY] 74 T 10).

²⁶ The size of the chapel is 16.6 meters x 5 meters (the highest part of the vault may have risen to around 7-8 meters).



FIGURE 3. Fyé, chapel, France, exterior, northeast corner (above) and interior, toward east end (below)



FIGURE 4. Saint-Valérien, Chitry, France, nave (view from the twelfth-century nave to the late Gothic chevet) (left) and the exterior west facade and towers (right)

bit taller: with a nave vault height of around 10 meters, it is quite high for a small town parish church.²⁹ (**fig. 4**) Constructed at the corners of each building are crossed buttresses, a distinctive element of the production of the Yonne Valley Builder and his workers (compare **fig. 5** and **fig. 6**).³⁰ These buttresses, slightly over three-feet wide, are constructed in two levels (with a chamfered glacis, or sloping projection, at each juncture) and extend as high as the roofline.

Numerous features demonstrate the correspondence between the two structures. One example is the cornice at both Fyé and Chitry which is lined with quarter-round Burgundian

²⁹ In comparison, Saint-Bris is 18 meters but has an aisle to help support the nave vault.

³⁰ This plan of the chapel at Fyé is based on that of Alain Creac'h, *Devis* (Auxerre, Bâtiments de France, Dossier on Fyé, 1990). Dotted lines show projected rib vaults and transverse arches. The choice of a square chevet rather than a polygonal apse probably reflects the needs or resources of the monks. This plan of Chitry is based on the 1986 plan by Bernard Collette, Architect of the Monuments Historiques. Adjustments have been made to piers, windows, and various buttresses in accordance with onsite measurements. Dotted lines indicate vault ribs or openings (e.g., arcades, arches, or windows). As clarified in the plan, the square west tower is off-center from the nave (**fig. 6**, plan, A3-A4 to AA 3-AA4). This is due to the addition of an alternative entrance in the northwestern corner of the nave. This small and somewhat hidden passageway was devised in the interest of security.

corbels.³¹ At Fyé, the corbels are evenly spaced along the north face of the chapel.³² On the south side, they continue beyond the first two bays (except for a short space where the buttress would have been located at the intersection C3 on the plan **fig. 5**).³³ West of this second buttress, the wall and corbels are set back about six inches. This arrangement, consistent with the re-plastered interior wall, denotes areas of restoration work on this end of the building.³⁴ (**fig. 5** between A3 and B3 on the plan) Another characteristic that the two buildings share is that neither church originally had aisles or a transept. While this configuration is still apparent at Fyé, evidence of an original single nave at Chitry lies in the *comble* (interior roof) at the top of the tower stair where a few quarter-round corbels are intact -- now encapsulated by the addition of the fourteenth-

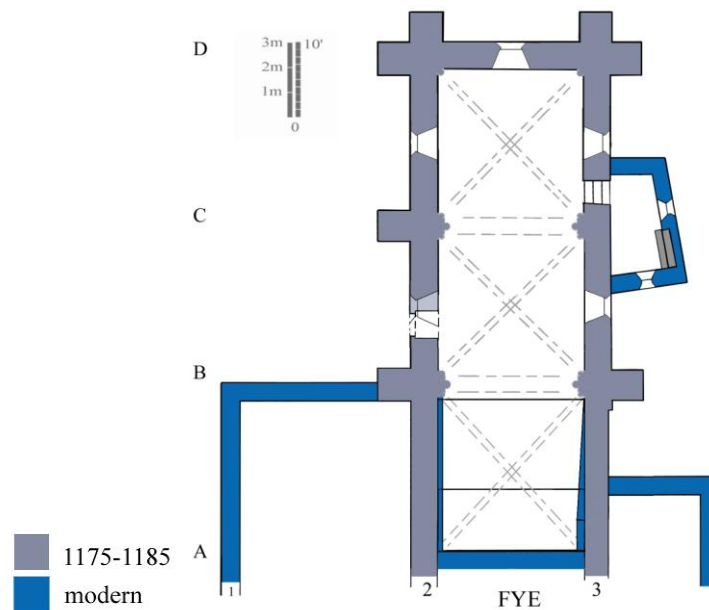


FIGURE 5. Fyé, chapel, plan (based on plan by Alain Creac'h)
(NOTE: Crossed buttresses at D2 and D3)

³¹ In this case, the corbels supporting the cornice and roof are comparable to those at Beines and Gurgy (discussed in the following section).

³² The roof over the north side has been reconstructed due to a modern addition.

³³ This buttress was removed in order to add a small modern room.

³⁴ The chapel was directly connected to the monks' building at the west end. Documents on repairs and restoration at Fyé before the twentieth century are scarce. When reports exist, the damage is not described in any detail, so it is unclear when these repairs were made. See the Archives départementales de l'Yonne, Auxerre, ADY 2 O 1757 and the Dossier on Fyé at the Bâtiments de France, Auxerre.

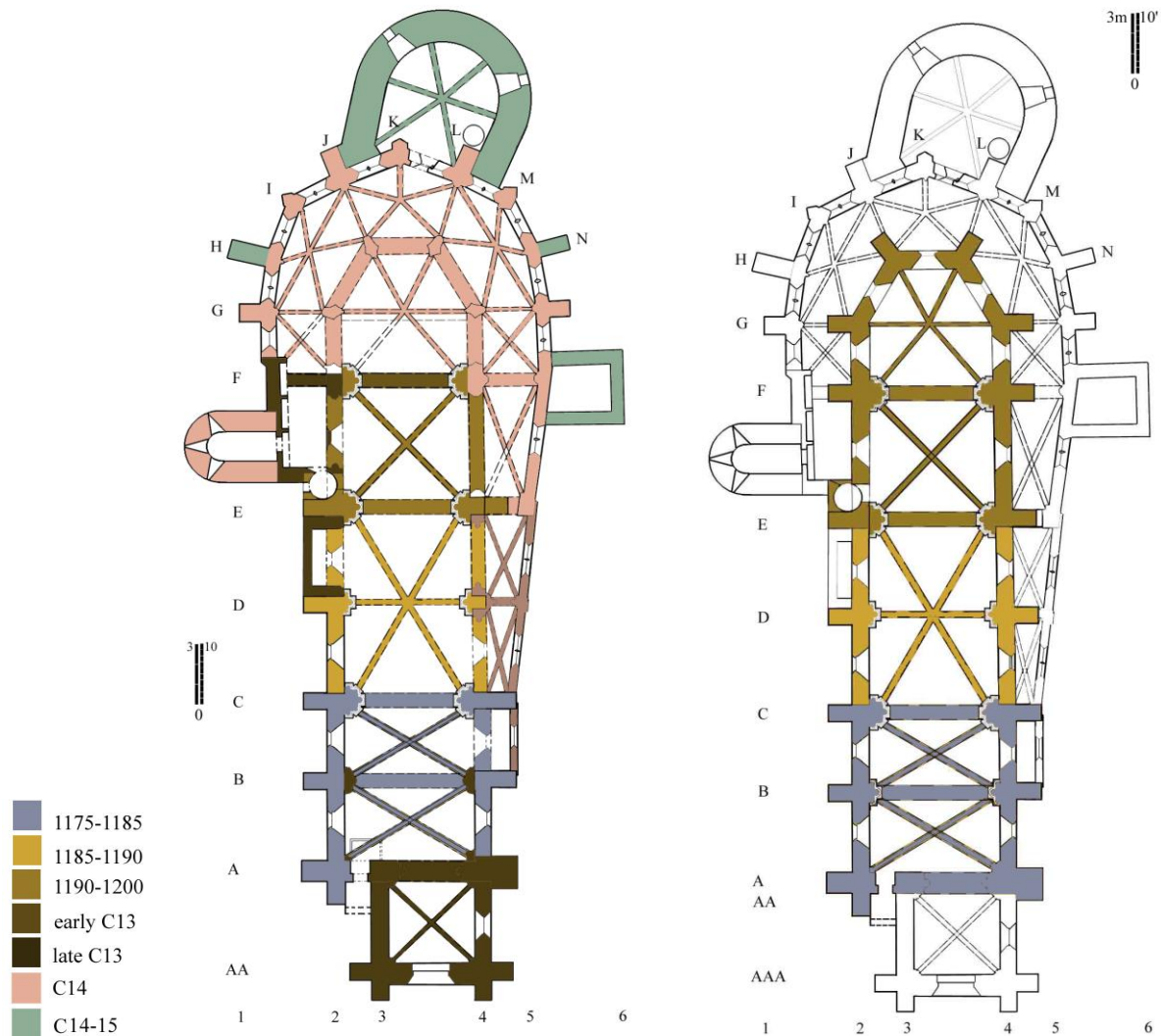


FIGURE 6. Saint-Valérien, Chitry, plan (after Collette) (left) and speculative twelfth-century plan (note possible apse layout) (right) (NOTE: Crossed buttresses at A2, AA3, and AA4)

Century chevet (**fig. 6**, speculative plan, at right).³⁹ On the interior north wall, a bricked-up window (between E2 and F2 on the plan **fig. 6**) in the design of the other twelfth-century broken-arched nave lancets reveals the known limit to the extension of the original walls to the east.⁴⁰

While both structures initially employed rib vaults, today only Chitry is vaulted. Observing that the chapel of Fyé is two-thirds of its original size, Alain Creac'h maintained that

³⁹ Note that the possibility of a three-panel apse would further relate Chitry to the other Yonne Valley churches in the group (see the speculative plan at the right in **fig. 6**).

⁴⁰ There is a corresponding window on the south wall (above the fourteenth-century arcade) (EF4), but only the arch remains.

no more than two bays had once been vaulted.⁴¹ Although the vaults at Fyé are destroyed, several blocks of the rib and transverse arch positioned atop the capitals confirm the original layout. **(fig. 3)** As perceived in this recent reassessment, the existence of a transverse arch as well as the three-column piers located at B2 and B3 on the plan **(fig. 5)** confirms that the vaults continued to the west (the westernmost column on the pier would have supported the rib of the third bay) and, accordingly, indicates that there were probably at least three rib-vaulted bays in the chapel.⁴² **(fig. 5)** The blocks of the rib and transverse arch that remain in their original position above each of the piers, in conjunction with the wall indentations above the windows that mark the height of the demolished vaults, give us an idea of their initial shape.⁴³ **(fig. 3)** The rib blocks mortared atop the piers are set at an angle outward from the transverse (as springing) and confirm the previous existence of quadripartite vaults.

On taking measurements and profiles, it was surprising to realize that the rib profile at Fyé—a pointed torus flanked by two cavettos—is carved in the same geometric configuration as the one in the twelfth-century nave at Chitry (compare **fig. 7**, left and right).⁴⁴ On the rib at Fyé,

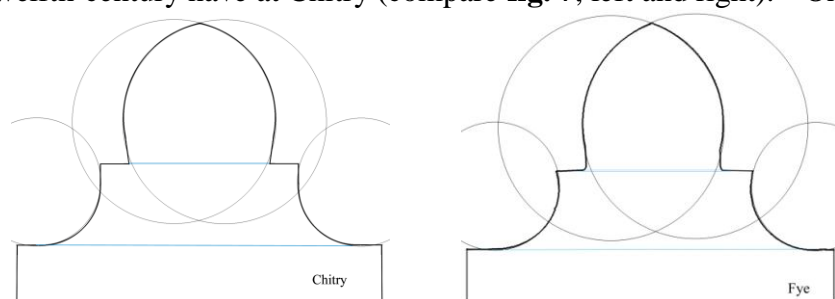


FIGURE 7. Saint-Valérien, Chitry (left), and Fyé, chapel (right), rib profiles with geometric schemas

the cavettos are each derived from a circle of 8 cm in diameter (approx. 3.15 inches) and the pointed torus developed from overlapping circles with a diameter of approx. 17 cm (approx. 6.7 inches). In comparison, at Chitry, the cavetto circle diameter measures 9.89 cm (approx. 3.9 inches) and the circles that form the central pointed torus have a diameter of 15.83 cm (approx. 6.23 inches). In other words, the geometrical design schema shows that the smaller circles

⁴¹ Alain Creac'h, Architect at Auxerre, in his report on *L'Eglise de Fyé*, 1990 (Auxerre, Bâtiments de France, Dossier on Fyé). Fèvre, "Histoire de Fyé," proposed that the church had four bays, but that only two were vaulted.

⁴² If the chapel had ended at this point, the piers would have been single-column piers as at the east end (D2 and D3), moreover, there would be no need for a transverse arch if there was a wall here; the piers would have marked the placement of the west wall.

⁴³ The rectangular profile of this transverse arch may indicate that Fyé is an earlier work than Chitry.

⁴⁴ The rib has a profile consistent with those in the churches of the central group. As clarified in the general design schema, **(fig. 7)** the circles that form the central pointed torus of the rib at Fyé are a bit farther apart than at Chitry making the pointed torus a bit thinner. All profiles were carefully measured (taken full scale) and recorded using a grid layout. Accurate measurements were taken from sculptural and architectural elements in order to illustrate uniformity or deviations.

(cavettos) are around 3-4 inches in diameter and the larger circles (tori) are between 6-7 inches in diameter; that is, the small circles are roughly one half the size of the larger circles. While the rib profiles and angles found in the principal churches of the group differ slightly, the proportion of the central pointed tori to the filets and rounded tori at each side shows a consistency lacking in other similar ribs in northern Burgundy.⁴⁵

In spite of the various reconstructions, innovations in the structure of Chitry and Fyé are apparent. A marked experimental feature of the interiors is the continuous molding that underscores and frames the lower portion of the window (**fig. 8**, molding in red, **fig. 9**). The molding crosses the capitals as abaci runs horizontally until it hits the window blocks, then drops vertically down until it squares and encloses the lower edge of the chamfered windowsill.⁴⁶ Not only are the blocks of this molding sturdy slabs that extend into the wall, but also the stones of

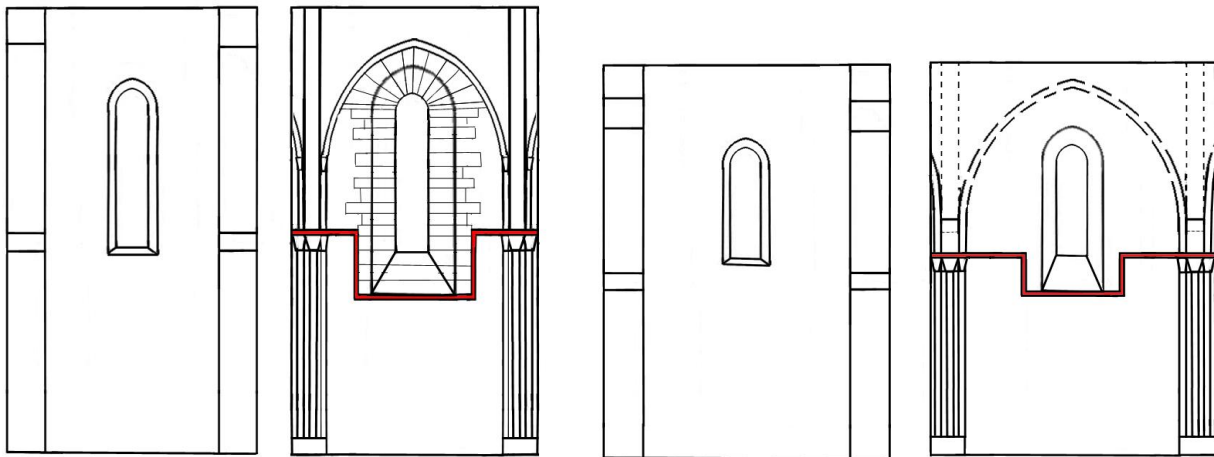


FIGURE 8. Saint-Valérien, Chitry (left) and Fyé, chapel (right), general scheme of the exterior and interior walls (highlighting the continuous molding in red)

the lower window-ledge are wedged between the ashlar blocks of the molding in a square-edged frame-like border.⁴⁷ Even though the molding, visible at Chitry near a reconstructed area, reaches

⁴⁵ In contrast, the ribs at Pont-sur-Yonne and Bar-sur-Aube, for example, have a central rounded torus flanked by rather small rounded tori.

⁴⁶ In searching the northern and southern Paris basin for similar use of the continuous molding that encircles the blocks of the lower portion of the window sill, only one example was even close—the apse of the church at Épineuil in the Yonne. Even so, the individual sculpted and structural elements are significantly different. For example, the capitals and profiles are not consistent with those at Chitry or Fyé: the polygonal apse has five panels, while the buttresses have only one glacis and are generally a different shape, and the thin lancets are flanked by quite slender colonnettes on the interior and exterior. Elements including capitals and profiles suggest a later date for Épineuil church (often placed in the first half of the thirteenth century).

The impact of the style of the Yonne Valley Builder is indicated by the later reintroduction of the distinct *parti* (with the continuous molding framing the window sill) of the churches of the Yonne microregional group at the High Gothic church of Épineuil in the thirteenth century, as well as at the Gothic Revival church of Quincerot (also in the Yonne Valley) designed by Emile Amé, Architect of the Monuments Historiques, in the nineteenth century.

less than halfway through the wall, the stones may still function as a solid base that would stabilize and perpendicularly align the heavy blocks of the ashlar window above.

Consistent with contemporaneous Early Gothic profiles encountered both regionally and around the Île-de France, the molding profile reveals the exchange of ideas between Paris and Burgundy (rather than a delayed use of outdated styles as proposed by previous scholars).⁴⁸ (fig. 10) Among the numerous existing profiles of this type, dated by Jean Bony, is a comparable Early Gothic molding profile at Soissons Cathedral between 1177 and 1180.⁴⁹



FIGURE 9. Saint-Valérien, Chitry nave, north wall (left) and Fyé, chapel, south wall (right), interior, continuous molding

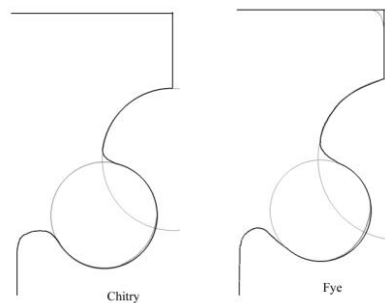


FIGURE 10. Saint-Valérien, Chitry (left), Fyé chapel (right), molding profiles with geometric schemas

⁴⁷ The stones of the molding are approximately 15 cm in height (approx. 6 inches) and, from measurements taken, approximately 30.5 cm in depth (approx. 12 inches).

⁴⁸ The slight difference in the profile at Fyé from that at Chitry is, in part, due to the heavy layers of paint. The larger circle diameter follows the cavetto curve (Fyé: 8.86 cm /3.53 in.; Chitry: 7.82 cm /3.08 in.) and the smaller describes the lower torus (Fyé: 5.55 cm /2.137 in.; Chitry: 5.88 cm /2.396 in.). The profile is a variation of the ancient cyma recta molding. A variant with a smaller torus is found in the north of France in Early Gothic churches.

⁴⁹ Jean Bony, *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 164. Bony's focus is often on larger churches, especially in the Paris region. In contrast, this research reveals the value of smaller churches in northern Burgundy suggesting that they are just as innovative as Parisian developments.

The specific construction techniques and patterns used by the Yonne Valley Builder can be seen in the arrangement of the remaining twelfth-century nave bays of Chitry.⁵⁰ The original bays employ a detached shaft (*en-délit* column) set below the window rib (formerette) and above the continuous molding creating a bracket in each corner that is almost hidden by the blocks of the rib.⁵¹ (**fig. 11**) No evidence exists to indicate the use of this type of corner brackets with encased columns at Fyé, however, there would have been room for both above the upper blocks of the capitals (abaci).

In all five Yonne Valley churches, the lower elements of the piers (including the continuous base) repeat the layout of upper arrangement (the engaged columns and continuous capitals). Although the blocks (socles) at the foot of the bases in the chapel at Fyé have been destroyed, it is still possible to assemble a partial speculative layout of the original twelfth-century design derived from other elements of the piers. As clarified in **figure 12** (dotted lines reflect speculative areas), the piers with three attached, or engaged, columns match the general form of those at Chitry but would have had a wider socle.⁵² At Chitry, little remains of the lower blocks in the western bays.⁵³ As noted by Maximilien Quantin, the construction of a moat around the church during the fortification may have considerably increased the moisture on the lower level and deteriorated the socles.⁵⁴ Still, ample elements, found in-situ behind the stalls at the east end of the church (at F2 and F4 on the plan **fig. 6**), allow for a reconstruction of the base/socle arrangement (**fig. 12**, center and right). Even though the base profile—a torus, a scotia

⁵⁰ The standardized geometric patterns imply the use of templates. For a discussion of templates in medieval construction see John James, *The Template-Makers of the Paris Basin: Toichological Techniques for Identifying the Pioneers of the Gothic Movement with an Examination of Art-Historical Methodology* (Leura, Australia: West Grinstead Press, 1989), 33-36, 119-120. During the twelfth century, templates or patterns were a practical means of transferring innovative design from one medieval building to another. As described by James, the mason who was in charge designed the templates, thus, a group of related templates signals the work of a master mason or builder. On profiles, see Richard Morris, "Moldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style," in *Medieval Architecture and Its Intellectual Content: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson* (eds.) Eric Fernie and Paul Crossley (Hambledon Press, 1990), 239-247.

⁵¹ The corner bracket with an encased column was used in earlier periods for an entire pier (e.g., Sens Cathedral). The bracket with column has a history in the Nivernais but was also used in northern France. The combination of the columns with *en-délit* shafts encased in a bracket and the continuous molding that frames the lower chamfered window sill is an unusual feature which will also be seen in the churches of Beines and Gurgy.

⁵² In the nave at Fyé the compound piers have three engaged columns, while in the east end they are fitted with only a single column. The vertical masonry supports in the east are consistent with the arrangement at Beines and Gurgy, where a single column pier is placed in each corner of the polygonal chevet. Beines and Gurgy will be discussed below.

⁵³ Piers were reconstructed at A2, A4, B2, and B4. These piers no longer have the square-edged layout of the twelfth century, but are carved in a continuous, curvilinear form used on the fourteenth-century piers.

⁵⁴ The church was fortified between the late thirteenth and early fifteenth centuries. See ADY F24 and E548 as well as Quantin, "Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des communes du département, Chitry," *Annuaire historique du département de l'Yonne* (1841), 47-62 and Nicholas A. R. Wright, "The Fortified Church at Chitry," *Fort*, vol. 19 (1991), 5-10. Fèvre, "Histoire de Fyé," mentioned that a low moat also once surrounded the chapel at Fyé. It is possible that the water destroyed the socles (as at Chitry).

(a concave moulding separating the tori on a base), and a somewhat flattened torus (a variation of the classical attic base)—is typical of the structures in the Yonne group, it also parallels contemporary trends in base profiles at Notre-Dame, Paris, in the north aisle of the nave dating to the late 1170s.⁵⁵

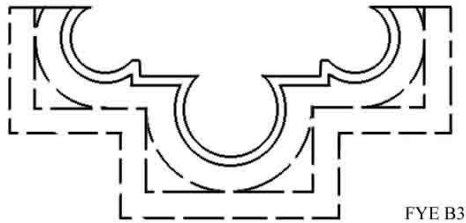


FIGURE 11. Saint-Valérien, Chitry, original rib and capital (C2)

⁵⁵ Caroline Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame in Paris," *Art Bulletin* 69 (1989),: 556, figure 21, b [profiles N5-N8]) dated the base profiles in the north aisle at Notre-Dame, Paris, after 1170. Socles in the same area were dated after 1178 by Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *Notre-Dame de Paris* (NY: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 88. The socle setup at Bar-sur-Aube, in contrast, has small secondary engaged columns.

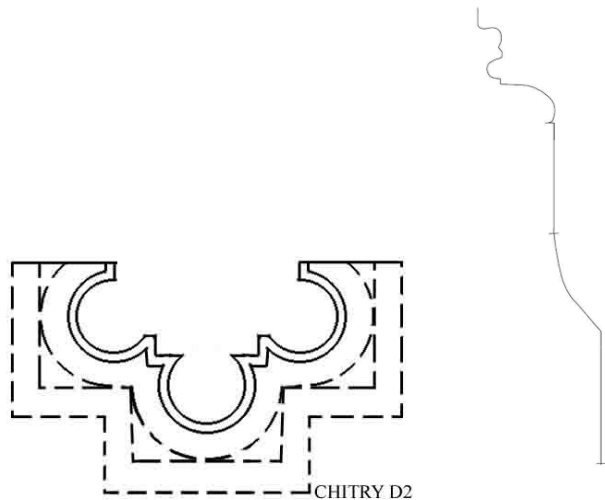


FIGURE 12. Fyé, chapel, base/socle plan (B3) (left); Saint-Valérien, Chitry, base/socle plan (D2) (center); and Saint-Valérien, Chitry, base and socle profile (partially speculative elevation) (F2) (right)

At both Chitry and Fyé, a single long thin lancet is positioned in the upper half of the wall between two buttresses. The layouts of these windows have a simple rebate design to hold the glass, not recessed grooves, that is, the glass is pressed against the small vertical lip on the window jamb rather than lying firmly in a carved slot (compare **fig. 13**, left and right). As will be



FIGURE 13. Fyé, chapel (BC2) (left) and Saint-Valérien, Chitry (CD2) (right), window plan

evident in the other churches of the microregional group, the interior window jambs and sill are deeper than the exterior.⁶⁰ The ashlar blocks at both Chitry and Fyé have wide *brettüre* marks (from a toothed axe) that are particularly visible on the chamfered (bevelled) window sills. These marks, indicating the use of an axe with thin spaces between wide teeth, are consistent with traces encountered at the other Yonne churches in this group. This broad tool mark, typical of the earliest medieval use of the *brettüre* in the Yonne Valley, seems to be a sign that these are Early Gothic works.⁶¹

⁶⁰ The wider angle of the interior window jambs at Chitry may show that it is a later work than Fyé. (**fig. 13**, compare left and right).

⁶¹ In other words, the *brettüre* or toothed-axe marks, measuring between 3:1.7 and 3:1, seem to reinforce the late twelfth-century date. Jean-Claude Bessac, Ingénieur au C.N.R.S., *L'outillage traditionnel du tailleur de pierre de l'antiquité à nos jours*, Revue Archéologique de Narbonnaise, Supplément 14 (Paris: CNRS Editions, 1993), 67, has reviewed the state of the question on the use of the *brettüre* noting the significance of the evolution of the tool: specifically, the teeth become progressively narrower from the twelfth to the fifteenth century. For a discussion of early *brettüre* work in northern Burgundy, see the two works by Arnaud Timbert, "Emploi du marteau taillant bretté

Further evidence showing the relative uniformity of the two churches appears at the peak of the window arch where a single centered voussoir is placed as keystone rather than two voussoirs split down the centerline as seen at numerous local churches (**fig. 14**, right, #1; **fig. 15**, left, #1). A small rectangular hole was carved on each side of the arch, usually between the third and fourth voussoirs (**fig. 14**, right, #2 and #3; **fig. 15**, left, #2 and #3).⁶² These holes match up with the two on the interior of the window arch and reveal a typical technique of the Yonne Valley Builder and his workers.⁶³ Not only is this manner of assembling the window relatively

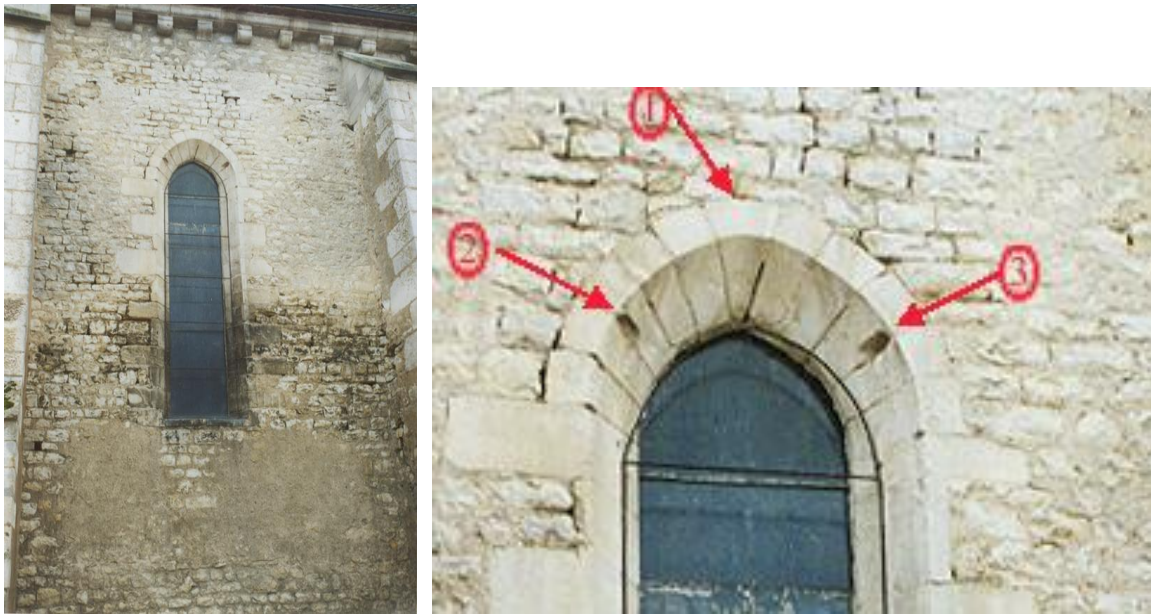


FIGURE 14. Saint-Valérien, Chitry, north wall, window (CD2) (left) and detail (right)

uniform in all five churches in the Yonne group, but also, according to John James, it is likely “that the formwork for the arch centering was tongued into these holes;” if so, this construction method would have “saved a great deal of timber.”⁶⁴

en Basse-Bourgogne avant 1200,” *Bulletin de la Société des fouilles archéologiques monuments historiques de l’Yonne* n. 16 (1999), 67-70, and *Vézelay: Le chevet de la Madeleine et le premier gothique bourguignon* (Rennes : Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 190-194.

⁶² The small, carved, rectangular-shaped, recessed holes are approx. 8-10 cm (3-4 in.) wide and 5-8 cm (2-3 in.) deep.

⁶³ In comparison to windows of the Yonne group, windows of other regional churches of the same date may not have holes in the arch voussoirs or the holes may be lower. Note that these holes are similar to putlog holes in being designed to hold wooden supports but they are designed as an alternative to framework (not to hold horizontally placed log or beam braces that support scaffolding boards as would be the case for putlog holes).

⁶⁴ Email correspondence, June 7, 2010. Lancets in the five churches are relatively homogeneous and distinct from other windows of buildings in the region; specific aspects include the use of a similar shaped broken arch as well as a standardized width to depth ratio. For example, at other churches, the lancets can be thinner and taller or shorter and broader. Additionally, there may be attached columns or the arch may be more rounded or pointed.

The design of the capitals is the final connection to be demonstrated between Fyé and Chitry. The focus on these capitals will help, ultimately, to link the sculptor to the various buildings as well as confirm dates of construction. The continuous twelfth-century capitals decorating each compound pier have large leaves, stretching from the lower neck to the upper lip of the bell and covering the basket (compare **fig. 16**, left and right). At Fyé, in particular, these

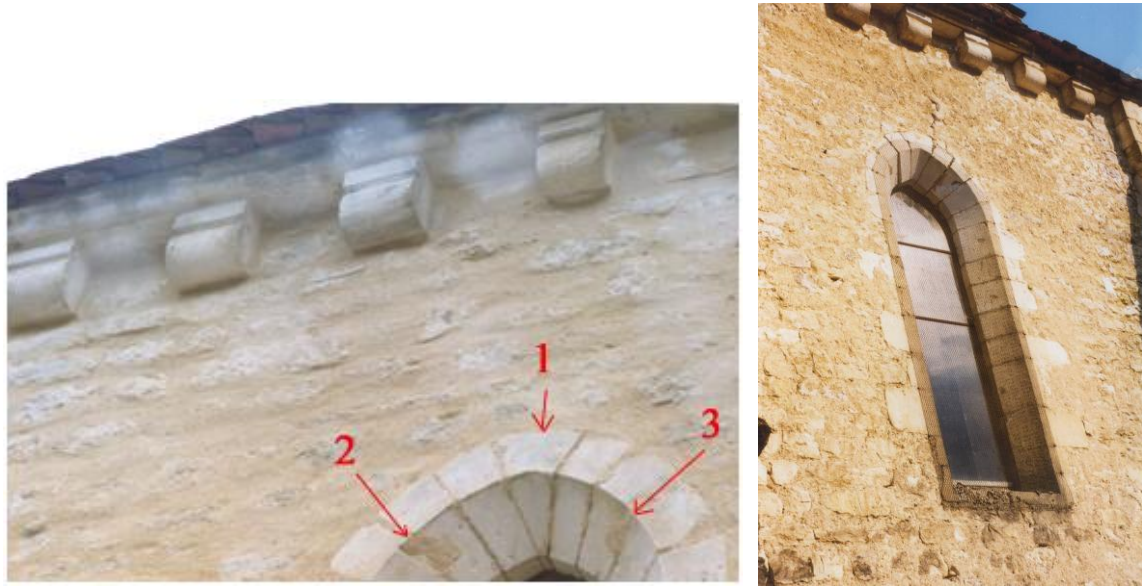


FIGURE 15. Fyé, chapel, a single keystone and two holes (left) and window on the north side (BC2) (right)



FIGURE 16. Fyé, chapel, capital (B2) (tri-foil flat leaf on capital in background) (left) and Saint-Valérien, Chitry, tri-foil flat leaf capital (D2) (right)

large leaves have been carved in either one or two rows, whereas at Chitry, the leaves are found only at a single level. The ribs that divide these large leaves into regularized segments are

generally of two basic types: one, a raised rib that runs flat along the basket with low relief veins (**fig. 17**, left), and, the other, a rippled rib that is a concave circular curve between almost pointed ridges (**fig. 17**, right). Within all five Yonne churches, the two kinds of ribs seem to have been used interchangeably (i.e., either type rib can be found with crockets of various styles).



FIGURE 17. Raised rib (left) and rippled rib (right), general schema

Specific to these churches in the central Yonne group, the large leaf at the upper corners of each capital seems to spiral seamlessly into a crocket with a small spiral form (or volute). In contrast to similar capitals at other churches which have a break between the crocket and the leaf, the crocket ball or bud is a continuous part of the large leaf.⁶⁶ An example which may help clarify the design at Chitry and Fyé was observed at the chapel in the Prieré de Cours (Noyers, Yonne Valley) where the large ribbed leaf does not smoothly curve into a spiral -- instead, the leaf ends abruptly before the crocket ball begins.

A number of capitals have a flat tri-foil or three-lobed leaf applied to the front of the capital bell at Chitry that is found at other churches in the Yonne microregional group, including Fyé.⁶⁷ (compare **fig. 16**, left, capital at right, and right) These leaves, while close in design, have slight modifications suggesting that the pattern may have been copied either freehand or by different masons. Similar tri-lobed leaves noted in the nave at Notre-Dame, Paris, and dated by Denise Jalabert to the fourth quarter of the twelfth century indicated that the work was a current design.⁶⁸ In a recent text using a larger collection of capital types, John James was able to be more specific, dating this form of the three-lobed leaf around 1180.⁶⁹

Découpée (cut-out) leaves of different species are applied to the surface of the larger leaves on the bell (some run up the large leaf; others are set between two large leaves).⁷⁰ (**fig. 18**) These appliqué leaves protrude from the capital surface as if they were a later addition. The designs of the leaves are taken from local species, such as the oak, columbine, or chrysanthemum. Although resembling leaves in nature, they are rather abstract; the general

⁶⁶ The ratio of capital to crocket is fairly consistent at Chitry and Fyé. Similar capitals at other churches in the region have tiny or very large crocket balls. On the other hand, at the Church of Pontaubert, the proportion of capital to crocket is close to that at Chitry yet the molding and rib profiles in the church are completely different and not all capitals are ribbed.

⁶⁷ The leaves may be clover, strawberry, or grape. These types of leaves are also found on capitals at Beines discussed below.

⁶⁸ These leaves were referred to as *feuilles composées généralisées* (widely-used composite leaves) by Denise in *La flore sculptée des monuments du Moyen Age en France* (Paris: Picard, 1965), pl. 61.

⁶⁹ John James, *The Creation of Gothic Architecture: An Illustrated Thesaurus: The Ark of God, Part A - The Evolution of Foliate Capitals in the Paris Basin 1170-1250*, vol. 1 (Hartley Vale, Australia: West Grinstead Publications, 2002), 20.

⁷⁰ *Découpée* is also a term used by Jalabert. These *découpée* leaves seem to be cut to a simple shape and then applied to the surface of the capital.

characteristics are retained, but some details are dropped (for example, sometimes the small veins were eliminated and the central low relief stem is accentuated).



FIGURE 18. Saint-Valérien, Chitry, capitals (D2)

Denise Jalabert placed the *feuille découpée* in the second Gothic period dating to 1170/1200, noting that the first Gothic period capitals had Corinthian-derived compositions with Roman motifs including large simple leaves with volutes.⁷¹ The capitals at Chitry employ elements—the appliqué leaves and the Roman motifs—from the two periods and would seem to date around 1175/1185. Closely confirming these dates, John James has set this type of capital, similar to those at Beaumont-sur-Oise in the aisle or the apse at Ouerre to the 1180s.⁷²

Gurgy, Beines, and the Yonne Valley Builder

Turning to two parish churches situated along the Yonne River in the quaint villages of Beines and Gurgy, the importance of an assessment of the developments in the region and the unique elements taken by the itinerant builder and his workers to the north will be addressed.⁷³

⁷¹ The study by Denise Jalabert, “La flore gothique, ses origines, son évolution,” *Bulletin monumental* 2 (1932), 190-193, 203, concentrated on forms from the cathedrals in the Île-de France.

⁷² John James, *Ark of God*, vol. 1, 22, 453, chart, 796-97, (located in the church, as per notation of James, at N2se), and email correspondence, June 7, 2010.

⁷³ The Church of Beines, in the canton of Chablis, is dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin. Beines was known as *Baina*, *au pagus d’Auxerre* in 990, *Bania* in 1149, *Baina* in 1161, *Banna* in 1225, *Bena* in 1250, *Benne* in 1379, *Beine* in 1459, *Beynes* in 1550, *Besne* in 1637, and *Bennes* in the eighteenth century. Gurgy, in the canton of Seignelay, was called *Gurgiacus* in the 11th century and *Gurgy* in 1114. Quantin, *Dictionnaire topographique*, 11, 65. The parish church at Beines has been protected by the Monuments Historiques since 1984, but Gurgy is not.

Through a focus on smaller works (including the chapel at Fyé and the nave of Chitry), information is gained—from the twelfth-century profiles and construction techniques—that allows for new conclusions on the significance of Early Gothic architecture in the Yonne Valley. Even though the correspondence of the design of these churches, Saint-André at Gurgy and Notre-Dame at Beines, has been presented as the work of the Yonne Valley Builder in an earlier text, this article is the first to indicate the relation of Beines and Gurgy to a larger group of Yonne construction (compare **figs. 19 and 20**, left and right).⁷⁴



FIGURE 19. Notre-Dame, Beines, France, chevet (left), Saint-André, Gurgy, France, chevet (right)

Of the five Yonne Valley buildings, only Gurgy and Beines have surviving twelfth-century polygonal chevets. Elements, including the profiles and the assembly of the three-panel apse, indicate that the two parish churches were constructed using nearly identical plans and templates.⁷⁵ (see the regions in yellow ochre in **fig. 21**, plans) In fact, the similarity of the plan

⁷⁴ For more in-depth information on Gurgy and Beines and specific images, see Canejo, “Evidence of an Innovative Master Builder...Gurgy and Beines,” 281-291.


⁷⁵ The plans of both churches, shown at the same scale, were drafted from onsite measurements and demonstrate geometric arrangements. As clarified in the plan, the twelfth-century chevet at Gurgy was constructed onto an existing Romanesque nave; this alignment explains the small differences in the plan of the two apses. The height of the vault at Gurgy diverges from that at Beines by only 10 cm (Gurgy: 8.5 m; Beines, 8.4 m). I would like to thank Antoine Lerich, Architecte du Patrimoine, for copies of his recent plans and elevations for reparations at Beines as well as for his invaluable comments.

and elevation of the twelfth-century portions make these structures a curious pair. A single lancet, found in each of the three panels of the apse is flanked by double glacis buttresses which



FIGURE 20. Notre-Dame, Beines, chevet (left); and Saint-André, Gurgy, chevet (right)

end at the roof.⁷⁷ The rib and molding profiles as well as the socles and base configurations are close enough to be from one set of templates.⁷⁸ (figs. 22, 23) Richard Morris observed that “It is rare to find the same templates reused at two different sites, especially in direct conjunction with other identical features in both places.”⁷⁹ In other words, even though the geometric layouts correspond closely to those at Chitry and Fyé, that the apses at Gurgy and Beines are almost indistinguishable is quite a rare occurrence (compare figs. 22 and 23 to figs. 7 and 12).

⁷⁷ The type of crossed buttresses at Fyé and Chitry may have once existed at Beines. In the case of Gurgy, there was no need for crossed buttresses since only the east end was reconstructed. On the plan, the angle of the triangles formed by the ribs is 60°. Although the choice of this angle may seem obvious for a three-panel chevet (60° x 3 = 180°), not all three-panel apses use this division, nor are the buttresses aligned so closely. In comparison to the schematic plan of Beines or Gurgy (right), the chevet of the church of Obazine (left) has an arrangement of one smaller and two larger panels: .

⁷⁸ The general geometrical schema shows that, at Beines, the larger circle diameter of this molding is 16.5 cm (6.5 in.) and the smaller is 9.5 cm (approx. 3.8 in.). At Gurgy the large circle has a diameter of 16 cm (approx. 6.3 in.) and the small has one of approx. 8.6 cm (approx. 3.4 in.). As at Chitry and Fyé, the upper curve of the cavetto is nearly double the size of the lower torus.

⁷⁹ Morris, “Mouldings and the Analysis of Medieval Style,” 240.

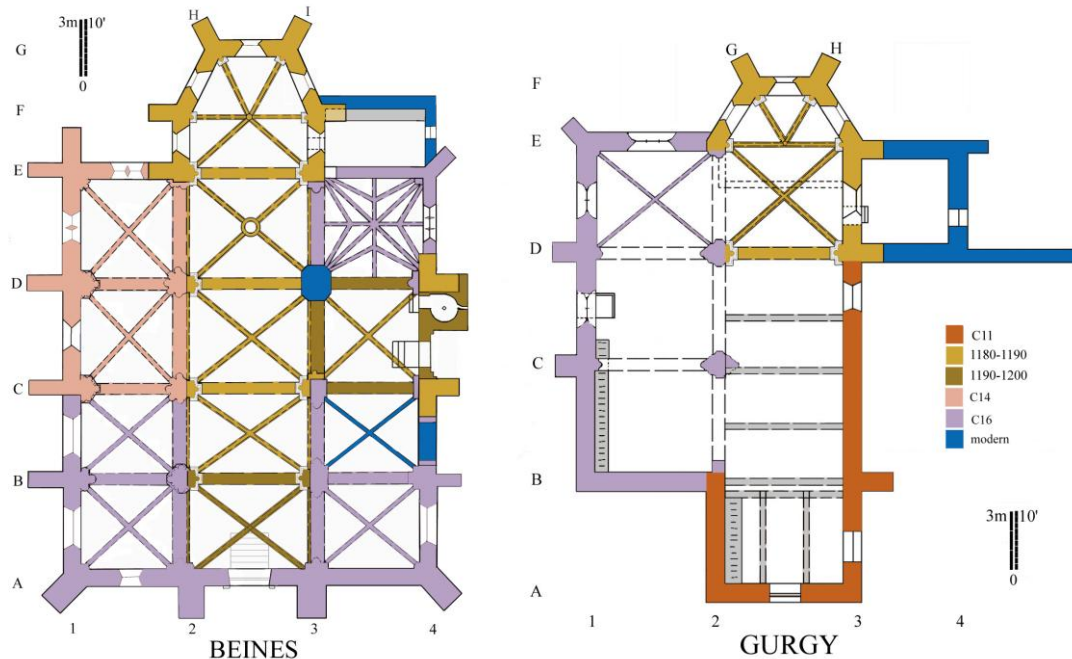


FIGURE 21. Notre-Dame, Beines (left), and Saint-André, Gurgy (right), plans

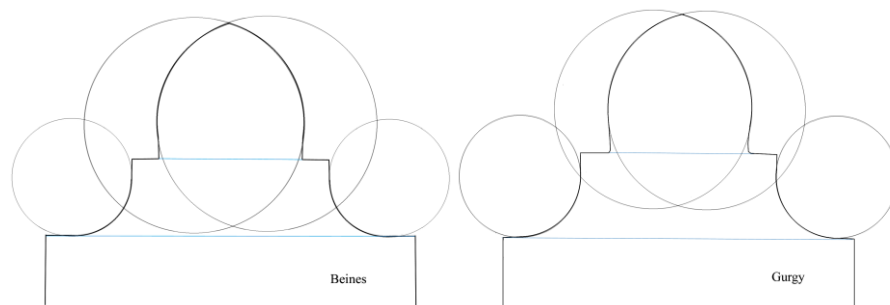


FIGURE 22. Saint-André, Gurgy (left), and Notre-Dame, Beines (right), rib profiles with geometric schemas

And yet, there is another element which appears equally unusual and striking: the continuous molding that runs up over the capitals and down to frame the lower section of each lancet (**fig. 24**, in red, and **fig. 25**). The dressed stones of the lower window sill are contained by blocks of the molding frame. Capitals with the continuous molding as their upper block (abacus)

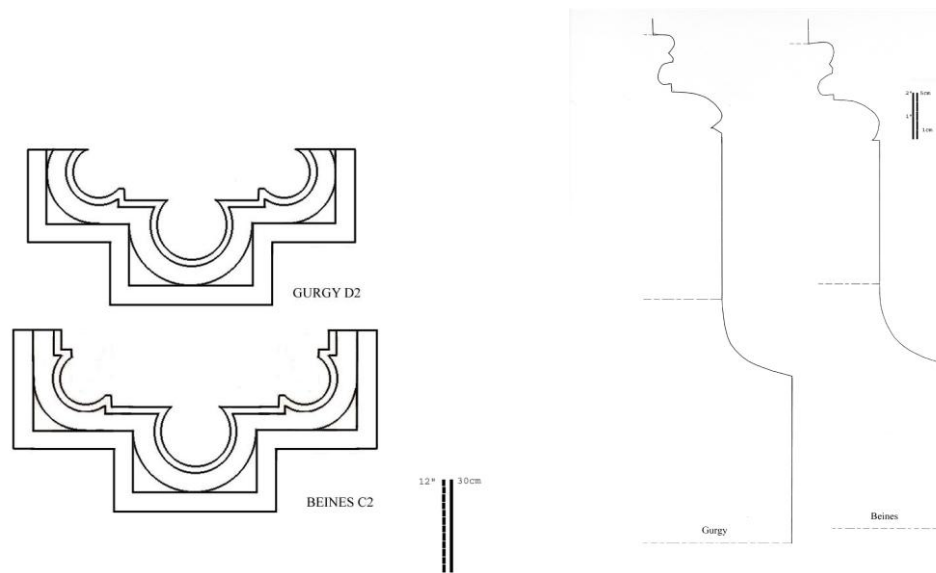


FIGURE 23. Saint-André, Gurgy and Notre-Dame, Beines, base/socle plans (left) and profiles (right)

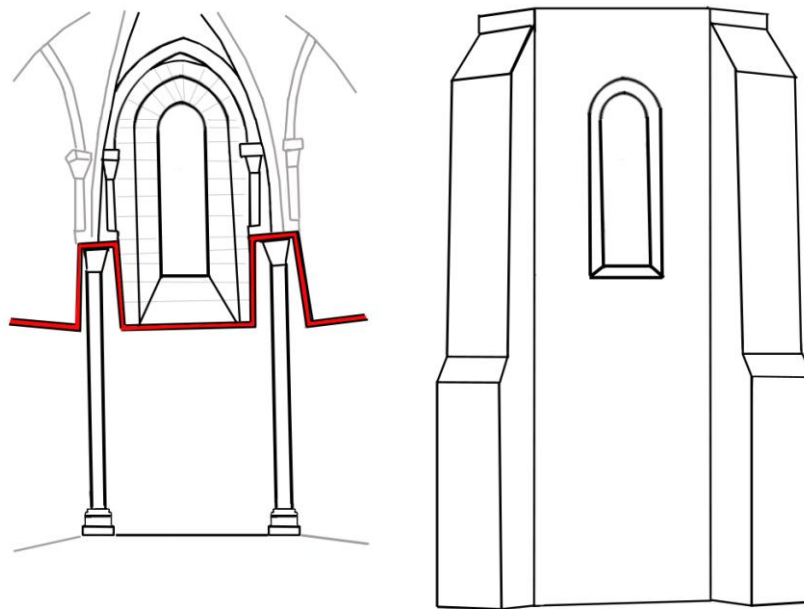


FIGURE 24. Notre-Dame, Beines and Saint-André, Gurgy, general scheme of the exterior and interior walls

support the thin rib connecting the vault to the chevet panels. Employing a setup analogous to Chitry, small columns complete with miniature bases and capitals, catch the window rib

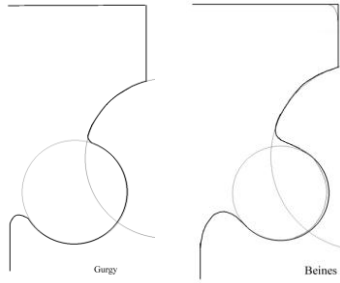


FIGURE 25. Saint-André, Gurgy (left) and Notre-Dame, Beines (right), molding profiles with geometric schemas



FIGURE 26. Saint-André, Gurgy (G) (left) Notre-Dame, Beines (H) (right), rib supports, brackets

(formerette).⁸⁰ (fig. 26) These slender columns with *en-délit* shafts are set in a corner bracket and flank (and perhaps reinforce) the rib at the springing.⁸¹ The window blocks of the chevet are, in

⁸⁰ The interior shows evidence of the use of the *bretture*. The ratio of the width of the tine to the intervening spaces of this tool is between 3:1.2 and 3:1.7. This Early Gothic wide mark is very similar to those found at Chitry and Fyé.

⁸¹ The slender columns, *en-délit* shafts, at Gurgy and Beines differ by very little. At Gurgy, they have a diameter approx. 10.4 cm (4-4.25 in.) and a length of approx. 66.5 cm (approx. 27 in.), while at Beines the shafts feature a

this way, completely bound within the adjacent blocks of the continuous molding, the formerette, and the corner brackets, that is, these windows are surrounded by solid ashlar blocks in an otherwise rubble-filled construction.

The configuration of the church of Beines—presenting a variation on the plan, templates, and elevation of Gurgy—points to the design of one master builder who could have carried the templates from one church to the other. (figs. 27, 28) The work at Gurgy and Beines follows the



FIGURE 27. Saint-André, Gurgy, chevet, easternmost window (left) and Notre-Dame, Beines, chevet, south side, window (right)

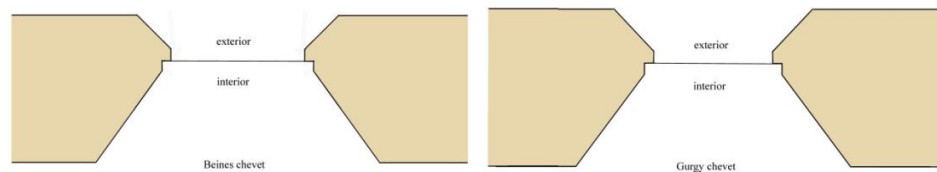


FIGURE 28. Notre-Dame, Beines (left) and Saint-André, Gurgy (right), window plans

diameter approx. 11 cm (4.25-4.5 in.) and a length of approx. 83 cm (32 in.).

parti of Chitry and Fyé confirming aspects—standardized production techniques and support elements (including the continuous molding framing the lower portion of the window sills)—that link the work to the construction methods of the Yonne Valley Builder and leads us to the discussion of the only remaining work in the Yonne, the church of St.-Brix-le-Vineux.

St.-Bris-le-Vineux

Saint-Bris, dedicated to Saint Prix and Saint Cot, is the final church in this rich wine-growing region to be discussed.⁸² Jean Vallery-Radot pointed out that the churches of Saint-Bris and Chitry, contemporaries of the first quarter of the thirteenth century, have capitals in the same style.⁸³ This investigation confirmed Vallery-Radot's assertion of similar capitals while further identifying the lower portions of the western bays at Saint-Bris as contemporary with portions of the late twelfth-century nave at Chitry.

Robert Branner believed that the construction at Saint-Bris was begun in 1210, while Lucien Prieur simply noted the “*belle unité de style de XIII^e siècle*” (beautiful unity of the thirteenth century style).⁸⁴ In contrast the profiles of the bases, the consistency in the ribbed capitals, and the use of broken arches in the arcade level of the westernmost bays indicate an earlier date. Onsite physical evidence discussed below will aid in establishing that the church at Saint-Bris was probably begun at the west end between 1190 and 1200. Given these dates, the construction would overlap with the final erection of other works in the central Yonne group.⁸⁵

With the installation of the fifteenth century chapels, much of the exterior aisle walls were destroyed between the piers; in spite of this, the twelfth-century *parti* still exists in the westernmost bays (**fig. 29**, B1-D1 and B4-D4).⁸⁶ Containing nine bays, Saint-Bris is presently a fairly large edifice. In order to attach a grand chevet in the sixteenth century, the original east end was demolished leaving the easternmost nave bays in the middle of the church. The nave seems to have initially had at least six bays in addition to, perhaps, a polygonal apse that may

⁸² Saint-Bris, in the canton of Auxerre, was recorded as *Sanctus Priscus* in the fifth century, *Sanctus Briccius*, *Briccius* from 1152-1167, *Sanctus Britius* in 1198, *Sanctus Bricius* in 1229, *Saint-Briz* in 1339, *Saint-Bris* in 1530, *Saint-Pris* in 1637, and *Bris-le-Vineux* in 1793. Quantin, *Dictionnaire topographique*, 112. The Church of Saint-Bris has been classified by the Monuments Historiques since March 30, 1904.

⁸³ Jean Vallery-Radot, “Aspects et tendances de l’architecture religieuse dans les pays de l’Yonne jusqu’au début du XVII^e siècle.” *Congrès archéologique, Auxerre* (1958), 192.

⁸⁴ Robert Branner, *Burgundian Gothic Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd, 1960), 16; and Lucien Prieur, “Eglise de Saint-Bris-le-Vineux,” *Congrès archéologique, Auxerre* (1958), 170.

⁸⁵ This would be just five years or so later than construction at Fyé.

⁸⁶ This plan of Saint-Bris is designed after that of the architect Louziers, who was working on Saint-Bris in the early twentieth century. Like the other churches in the central group, the method of twelfth-century construction is frame and fill (with squared-rubble fill) -- the exception at Saint-Bris is the west facade which is coursed in ashlar; and crossed buttresses flanking the west end originally extended all the way up to the roof. However, two types of Burgundian corbels were used in the cornice: on the lower level, the quarter-round corbels remain only at the tower (similar to Chitry, Fyé, Gurgy, and Beines); on the upper level, the corbel is a concave type found at Saint-Martin at Chablis, Saint Cosme at Chablis, and Pontigny.

well have been designed like those at Beines and Gurgy (see the speculative plan, **fig. 29**, right). How does Saint-Bris compare to the other churches in the central Yonne group? First, the windowsills in the twelfth-century aisles are framed by a continuous molding in the same manner as smaller churches at Beines, Gurgy, Fyé, or Chitry. (**fig. 30**) These windows, existent in the westernmost bays (AB1-4), are consistent with the layout of the group, and the overall design of the molding profile is geometrically based. (**fig. 31**, window layout, left, and molding, right) Second, capitals with large leaves that spiral into crockets are in abundance at Saint-Bris and

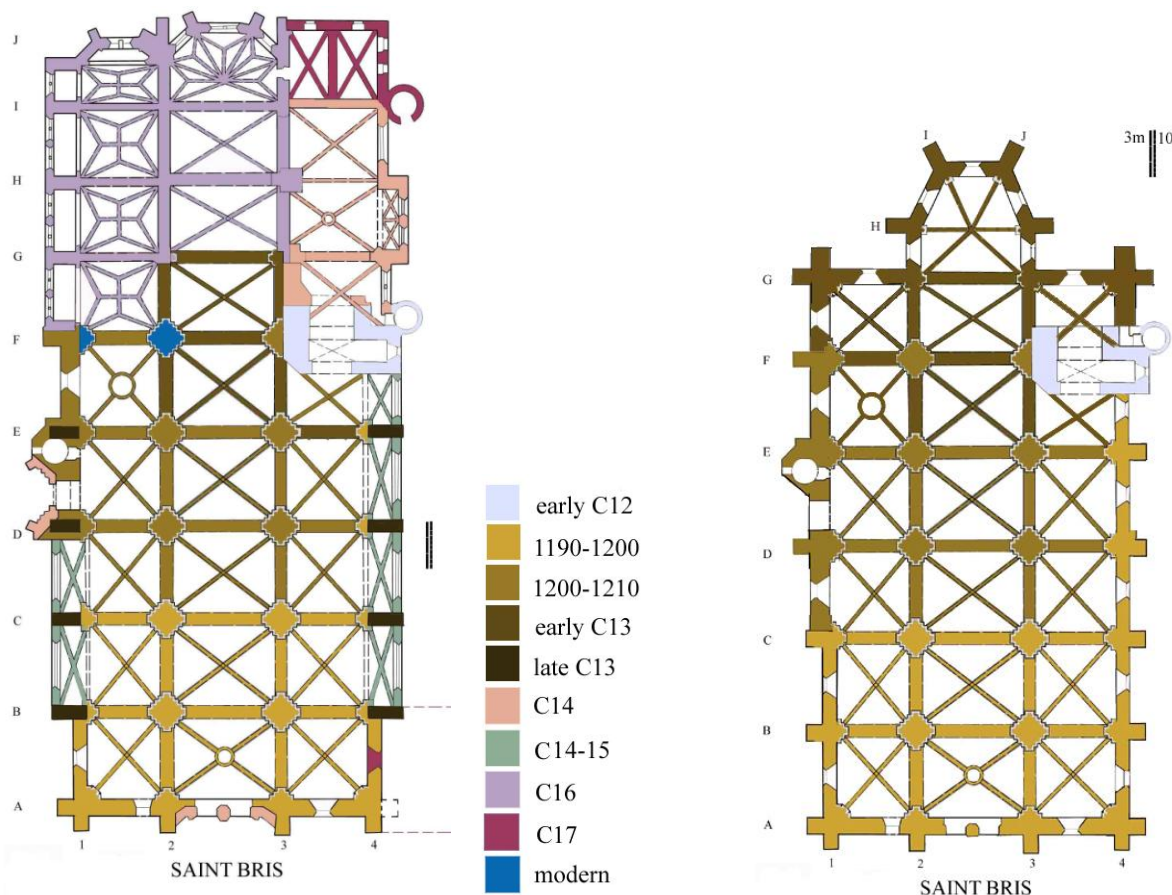


FIGURE 29. Saint-Prix and Saint-Cot, Saint-Bris, France, plan (after Louzier) (left) and speculative plan (right) (NOTE: Crossed buttresses at A1)

resemble those in the four other Yonne churches.⁸⁷ (**fig. 32**) Viollet-le-Duc described one type of crocket—appearing somewhat like an animal with large eyes on each side of its head—as the flower of a snapdragon.⁸⁸ The slight divergence in carving, especially at Saint-Bris, suggests that these capitals may have been carved by different sculptors. Finally, the piers at Saint-Bris have

⁸⁷ Leaf ribs can be found in the two styles, raised or rippled, as at Chitry and Fyé. John James has suggested a date for the Saint-Bris capital of 1180 or later (in comparison to my more conservative date around 1190).

⁸⁸ Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, *Dictionnaire Raisoné de l'architecture française du XI^e au XVI^e siècle*, 10 vols. (1854 - 1861), Reprint, Bibliothèque de l'Image, (Poitiers: Aubin Imprimeur, 1997), vol. 5, 505, Fig. 22B.



FIGURE 30. Saint-Prix and Saint-Cot, Saint-Brice, west end: south aisle (left) and north aisle (right)

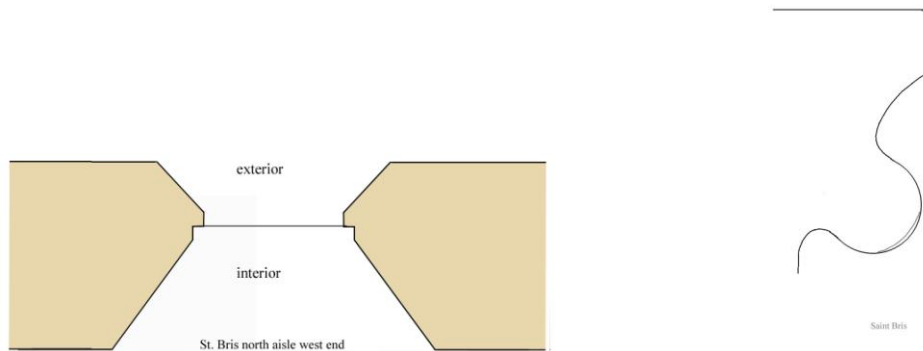


FIGURE 31. Saint-Prix and Saint-Cot, Saint-Brice, window plan (AB1) (left) and molding profile (right)

continuous bases attached to a lower block (socle) that has an elevation standard in the other churches in the Yonne microregional group (compare **fig. 33**). The square-edged respond of the piers, however, is no longer set at a 90°, but is angled at close to 110°. The highly developed setup of the pier at Saint-Brice points to a slightly later date for the first construction.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ These piers have developed from Romanesque cruciform piers but they have evolved with a Gothic diagonality. The angled responds accentuate this transformation.



FIGURE 32. Saint-Prix and Saint-Cot, Saint-Bris, nave, capital (left) and detail of the crocket (right)

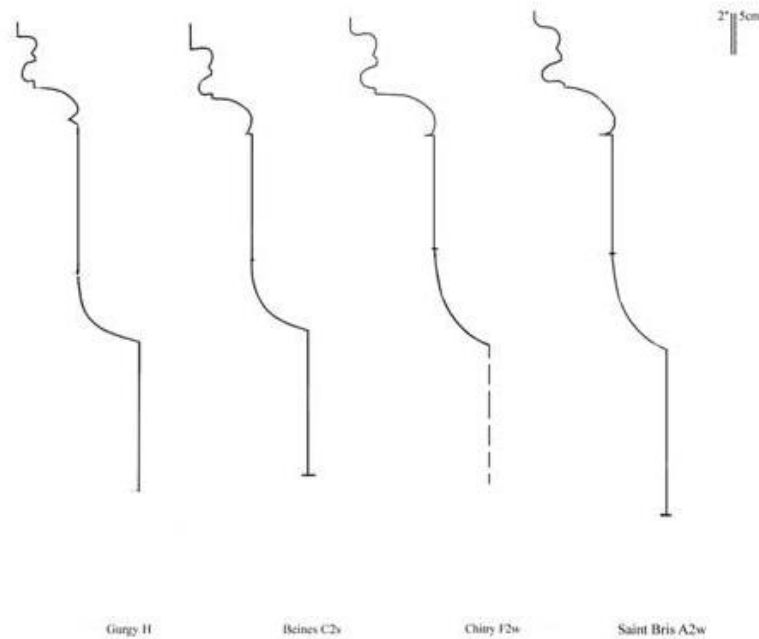


FIGURE 33. Saint-André, Gurgy; Notre-Dame, Beines; Saint-Valérien, Chitry; and Saint-Prix and Saint-Cot, Saint-Bris (no socles remain at the chapel at Fyé), base/socle profiles

The twelfth-century construction at Chitry (nave), Fyé (eastern two bays), Gurgy (chevet and first bay), Beines (chevet and nave), and Saint-Bris (westernmost bays), reflecting a unique layout of the parts set into a whole, points to the work of one individual. The distinct *parti*, indicates that the builder was not only familiar with concurrent trends—found in well-known larger churches in the Paris region—but was also able to put these elements together in a unique fashion (it is important to note that this style is not found outside of the Yonne apart from the one exception to be discussed below, Châalis). Additionally, the correspondence of the capitals, profiles, and pier layouts suggests an Early Gothic date in line with the final construction phase

at the other buildings in the central Yonne group. One feature in particular, the continuous molding encircling the windowsill, is such an unusual characteristic that it remains one of the strongest arguments for identifying these buildings with the Yonne Valley Builder.

The Northern Paris Basin and the Cistercian Abbey of Châalis, Daughter of Pontigny

As noted earlier, in searching to confirm the extent of the work of the Yonne Valley Builder, a systematic investigation was conducted spiraling out from the Yonne Valley. Only one construction was found outside northern Burgundy that can be attached to this builder, the Royal Cistercian abbey of Châalis, founded by the northern Burgundian monks of Pontigny and situated about twenty miles north of Paris in the department of the Oise (**fig. 1**, map, and **fig. 34**, ruins).⁹⁰ Although located in the north, Châalis has an important relation to Burgundian architecture. As Caroline Bruzelius previously observed, the church of Châalis is evidence that the Cistercians brought northern Burgundian design to the northern Paris basin.⁹¹

With regard to the layout of the east end of the churches affiliated with the Cistercian church of Clairvaux, early scholars—notably Karl-Heinz Esser, Henri-Paul Eydoux, and Anselme Dimier—have noted the existence of a standardized plan.⁹² Similar to the consistency noted in the design of the east end at daughters of Clairvaux, Bruzelius pointed out that the “uniformity within the filiation was strong” also under Pontigny. She emphasized that Châalis and a number of other daughters had a hemicycle, surrounded by multiple individual chapels,

⁹⁰ Originally known as *Kaeliz* or *Calisium*, the name was changed in 1136 to *Caroli locus* by the founder of the abbey, Louis VI (le Gros), in memory of Charles (le Bon). Later the abbey was referred to as Châalis, Chaâlis, or Châlis (see Lefèvre-Pontalis, “Châalis,” *Bulletin monumental*, 66 (1902), 450; and François Blary, *Le Domaine de Chaalis, XII^e-XIV^e siècles. Approches archéologiques des établissements agricoles et industriels d’une abbaye cistercienne* (Paris: Editions du C.T.H.S., 1989). The abbey was classified with the Monuments Historique in 1965. Châalis, like the churches of the central group in northern Burgundy, is also known for wine production. There is evidence that Châalis had an urban house used for sale of wine in Paris and Beauvais (by the 1240s) and that boats were used for this purpose along “the Seine, Marne and Oise.” Williams, *Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, 341, 393. See also Alain Michaud, “Les caves de la maison de Chaalis,” *Sauvegarde et mise en valeur du Paris Historique*, numero special (1971), 92-97; M. Hector Quignon, “L’Hotel de Chaalis à Beauvais. Étude des rapports de l’abbaye cistercienne de Chaalis du diocese de Senlis avec Beauvais et le Beauvaisis, XII^e-XIII^e siècle,” *Bulletin Historique et philologique du Committee des travaux Historiques et scinetifiques* (1914), 389-404; and François Blary, “Chaalis et ses domaines. I. Les données de l’inventaire,” in *L’Espace Cistercien*, (ed.) Léon Pressouyre (Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques, 1994), 431-435.

⁹¹ Caroline Bruzelius, “The Transept of the Abbey Church of Châalis and the Filiation of Pontigny,” *Mélanges à la mémoire du père Anselme Dimier*, vol. 6 (Arbois: Pupillin, 1982), 447-455. Certainly there is some connection between the elements at Châalis and those at sites in the Ile-de-France (whether Cistercian or not) but a discussion of this aspect would be too extensive for this paper.

⁹² Cîteaux, the mother-house, and her four daughters governed the Cistercian Order. Pontigny was the second daughter and Clairvaux the third. The standardized plan—related by some scholars to the influence of St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux—was often called the Bernardine plan. Karl-Heinz Esser “Les fouilles de l’église romane de l’abbaye cistercienne d’Himmerod,” *Mémorial d’un voyage d’études de la Société nationale des antiquaires de France en Rhénanie*, (Paris: Palais du Louvre, 1953), 171-174.; Henri-Paul Eydoux, “Les fouilles de l’abbatiale de Himmerod et la notion d’un ‘plan bernardin,’” *Bulletin monumental* (1953), 29-36; and Père M.-Anselme Dimier, “Eglises cisterciennes sur plan bernardin et sur plan bénédictin,” *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet* (Arbois: Pupillin, 1966), 697-704.

following in the line of the mother-church at Pontigny.⁹³ As early as 1928, Georges Fontaine had recognized the similarity of the sexpartite vaults in the polygonal transept chapels of Châalis to



FIGURE 34. Notre-Dame, Châalis, France, view toward the ruins of the abbey (from the gate toward east) (left) and north transept (right)

the vaults in the radiating chapels at Pontigny.⁹⁷

Today, the church at Châalis is in ruins; the majority of the structure was demolished between 1794 and 1803 and only three chapels of the north transept are still vaulted.⁹⁸ The

⁹³ Bruzelius, "The Transept of the Abbey Church of Châalis," 450.

⁹⁷ Fontaine, *Pontigny, abbaye cistercienne* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1928), 34.

⁹⁸ In 1785, the monastery was closed and the monks were sent to other abbeys. Gilberte Paulet Renault, *La Mer de Sable: Chaalis. Son abbaye cistercienne. Les cardinaux d'este. Les stalles de baron. Le maître autel de Senlis. Les Collections Jacquemart André* (Paris: E. Lanord, 1962), 30. "En 1786, Louis XVI chargea les abbés de Pontigny et Clairvaux de procéder à la liquidation des terres de l'abbaye dont les dettes se montaient à 1,400, 000 livres" (In 1786, Louis XVI put the abbots of Pontigny and Clairvaux in charge of proceeding with the liquidation of the grounds of the abbey whose debts had mounted to 1,400,000 pounds). Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis, "Chaalis," *Bulletin monumental* 66 (1902): 450-451.

integration of the monastic buildings, elevated along the north transept, probably kept this portion of the church from collapsing (**fig. 35**, north of 13-15).⁹⁹ These remains (enough to give us sufficient information on the construction patterns) include a portion of the upper hemicycle

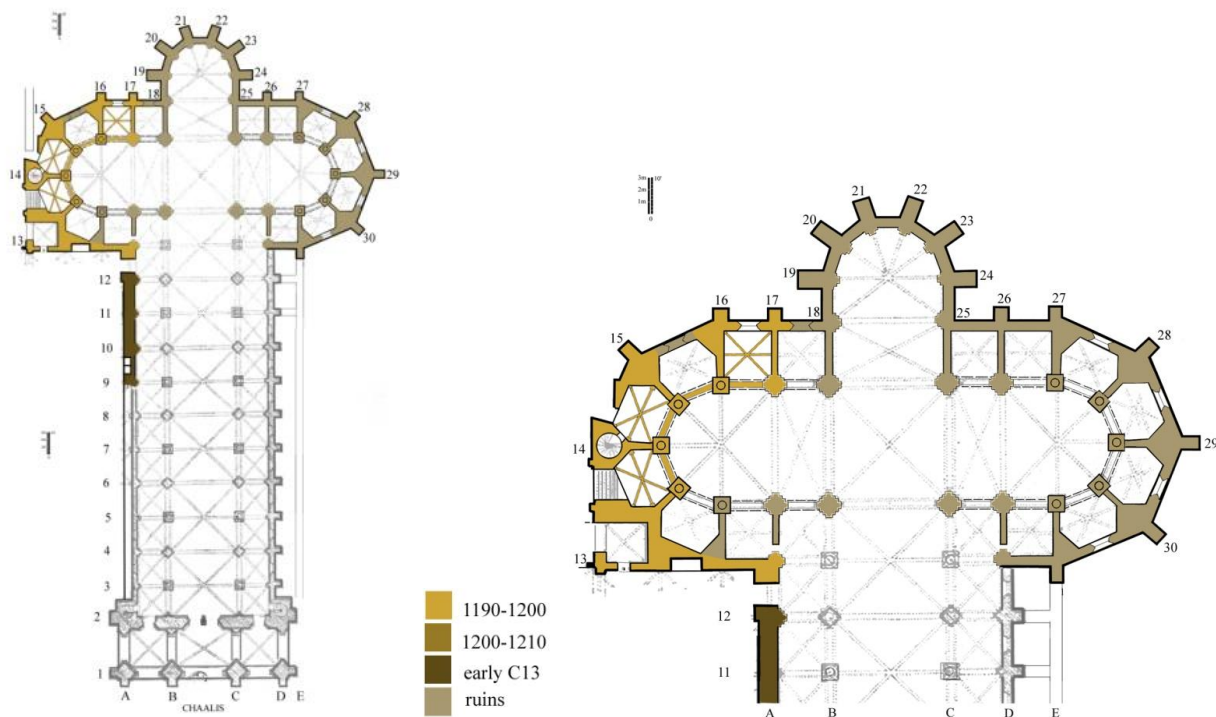


FIGURE 35. Notre-Dame, Châalis, church plans, overall (left) and east end (right) (after Lefèvre-Pontalis)

wall which is coursed in long regular-shaped blocks (similar to the upper chevet walls at the motherhouse, Pontigny). Most importantly, the existing windows, walls, and coursing confirm a close date for the clerestory level of the transept hemicycle at Châalis (1190-1200) and the chevet hemicycle clerestory at Pontigny (1190-1200).¹⁰⁰

In her assessment, Bruzelius pointed out that the projecting blocks (culots) supporting the rib vaults in the square chapels and the colonnettes in the polygonal chapels repeat—with slightly updated deviations—the configuration of the rib supports in the chapels surrounding

⁹⁹ This plan of Châalis, based on that of Lefèvre-Pontalis, “Chaalis,” 449-487, was adjusted to fit measurements taken on-site. This plan of Pontigny’s chevet follows the 1995 plan by Bernard Collette, Architect of the Monuments Historiques (Collette’s plan was drafted after the 1950 plan by Jean Trouvelot, Architect of the Monuments Historiques), but was adjusted after taking precise measurements on site.

¹⁰⁰ The portions dated to 1190-1200 are in yellow ochre on the plans of Pontigny’s chevet and Châalis’ transept. (**fig. 36**) According to leading scholars, the new chevet of the Cistercian abbey church of Notre-Dame and Saint-Edme at Pontigny was begun in the 1180s and completed between 1205 and 1212. These dates are based on speculation rather than on concrete physical evidence. An onsite review of the building, in clarifying the campaigns, indicates slightly earlier dates of construction between 1170 and 1190-1200. See Canejo, “Transforming Early Gothic Form,” Chapter 1, Notre Dame and Saint Edme at Pontigny.

Pontigny's ambulatory.¹⁰¹ (**fig. 36**) Measurements recently taken for this research confirm another relation of the two churches; that is, the rib used in the lower level transept chapels and nave aisles at Châalis (a pointed torus flanked by two cavettos), used in the Yonne throughout the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, resembles the geometric schema of the rib in the sacristy at Pontigny (compare **fig. 37**, left and right). In fact, the main rib at Châalis employed in the transept hemicycle vault, a pointed torus flanked by two rounded tori, seems to be a variation of the one used at Pontigny and neighboring churches in the Yonne.¹⁰² (**fig. 38**)

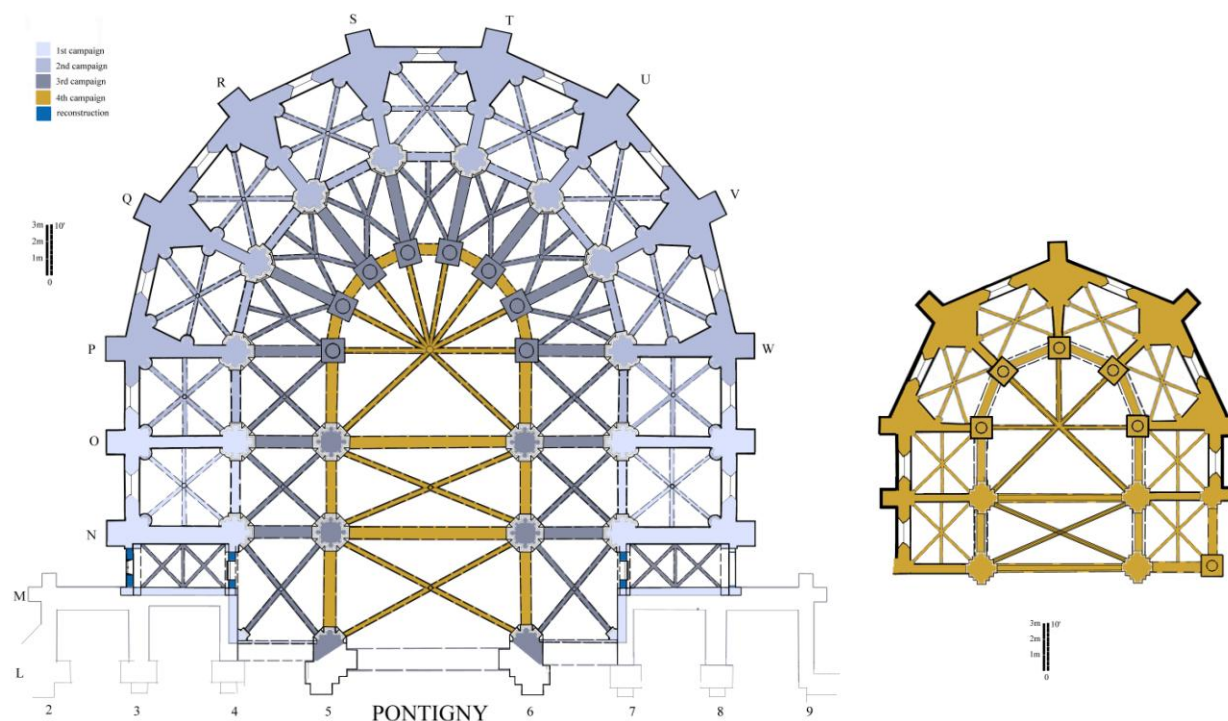


FIGURE 36. Notre-Dame, Pontigny, chevet, plan, (left) and Notre-Dame, Châalis, south transept, plan (in original state) (right)

Given the analogous layout, Bruzelius concluded that the elevation of the north transept arm at Châalis seems to have been modeled after Pontigny's chevet hemicycle.¹⁰³ (**fig. 39**) Like Pontigny, the two-story elevation is divided by a large expanse of wall positioned above the semi-circular arcade and below the long thin lancets.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the transept arcade at Châalis repeats the setup of Pontigny with large leaf capitals with ribs, and stilted arches while

¹⁰¹ Bruzelius, "The Transept of the Abbey Church of Châalis," 452.

¹⁰² A similar rib was used in the beginning of the thirteenth century at Sainte Chapelle, Paris, but with a curved point on the central pointed torus (a style that seems to be later than the rib at Châalis. James, *Template-Makers*, 71.

¹⁰³ Bruzelius, "The Transept of the Abbey Church of Châalis," 451.

¹⁰⁴ The wall, constructed of two ashlar skins filled with rubble, is consistent with Pontigny's chevet (note that scholars have often considered the large expanse of wall as an element of "Cistercian style").

the hemicycle columns take on the appearance of monolith columns at Pontigny.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, an unusual characteristic of both Châalis and Pontigny is the tiny socle that sits on abaci of the single engaged columns placed at the joints of the polygonal panels.¹⁰⁶

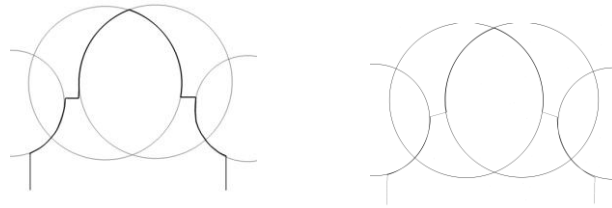


FIGURE 37. Notre-Dame, Châalis, transept chapel (left); and Notre-Dame, Pontigny, sacristy (right), rib profiles with geometric schemas

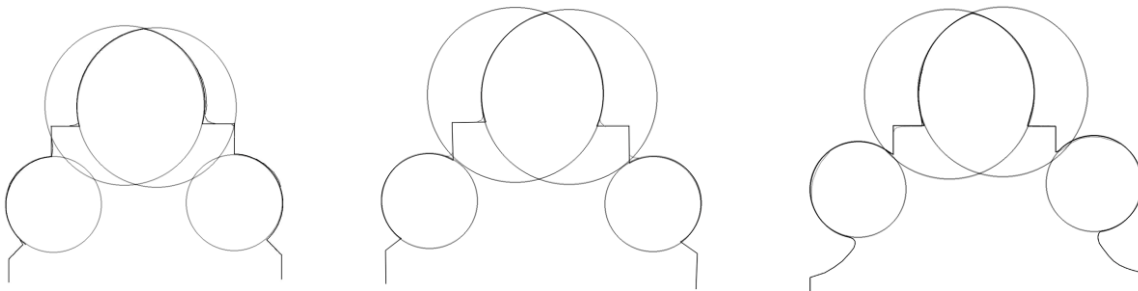


FIGURE 38. Notre-Dame, Pontigny, chevet (left); Saint-Martin, Chablis, nave (center); and Notre-Dame, Châalis, transept (right), rib profiles with geometric schemas

However, even though the transept clerestory level at Châalis looks similar to the *parti* of Pontigny's chevet clerestory, there is a distinct difference: the thin columns in brackets alongside the clerestory windows are actually coursed into the walls at Pontigny, whereas at Châalis, the slender columns flanking the lancets are *en-délit* shafts. Moreover, in spite of the similarity of the ensemble of elements to the Cistercian mother-church, Pontigny, the continuous molding that frames the window at Châalis is an unusual characteristic that, rather than having a relation to regional northern or Parisian works, appears to have been brought directly by the Yonne Valley Builder from his non-Cistercian designs in northern Burgundy to the Oise (compare **fig. 7**, molding in red, 24, 39, left, and 40).¹⁰⁷ Notably, this molding encircling the window has a profile that is in line with those of other non-Cistercian churches discussed in the central Yonne group.¹⁰⁸ (**figs. 41, 42**) In seeking to confirm a date, a comparison of profiles dating between 1180 and 1205 seems to set these moldings at Châalis in this period. For example, the profile

¹⁰⁵ The columns look like monolith hemicycle columns from a distance even though they are not really made from one single stone but are coursed to the chapel walls.

¹⁰⁶ The difference at Pontigny is that a small capital sits under a tiny socle.

¹⁰⁷ Bruzelius, "The Transept of Châalis," 453, compared the design to Nouvion-Vingré in the Aisne in which the molding, continuous from the abaci of the capitals, extends upward and over the arch of the window (rather than under the windowsill as support).

¹⁰⁸ Although flying buttresses are found on the chevet at Pontigny, Châalis (like the two-story construction at the other churches built by the Yonne Valley Builder) does not seem to have had flyers.

taken from the molding at the church of Dannemoine in the Yonne Valley with Gothic diagonality has been dated slightly later to after the turn of the thirteenth century.¹⁰⁹ (fig. 42)



FIGURE 39. Notre-Dame, Châalis, north transept hemicycle (left) and Notre-Dame, Pontigny, hemicycle (right)

Other elements support connections to the Yonne Valley group of churches; for instance, the *en-délit* columns encased in brackets supporting the wall rib at Châalis follow construction patterns at Beines, rather than Pontigny. Attached or engaged columns as employed at Pontigny are typically used in Cistercian works; whereas, *en-délit* shafts were used in the non-Cistercian structures of the Yonne Valley Builder (compare fig. 40, above and below).¹¹³ In addition, the capitals with ball crockets at the end of each broad leaf are close in style and date to those in the central Yonne group (notice that they are particularly close to capitals at Saint-Bris, (compare fig. 45 and fig. 32).¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ The profile at Châalis could be compared to profiles of the abaci at Notre-Dame, Paris, that were dated to ca. 1190-1220. See Bruzelius, "The Construction of Notre-Dame in Paris," *Art Bulletin* (1989), 563, figure 25, e.

¹¹³ Of importance is the fact that the lower chapel window layout and the simple rebate holding the glass at Châalis are analogous to those at Beines as well as Pontigny. See figs. 43, 44.

¹¹⁴ In regard to capitals, John James has placed Châalis in the 1180s section, vol. 1, noting that "the buds are tightly formed and reminiscent of some of the Soissonaise churches of the 1180s and early 90s, such as Longpont and

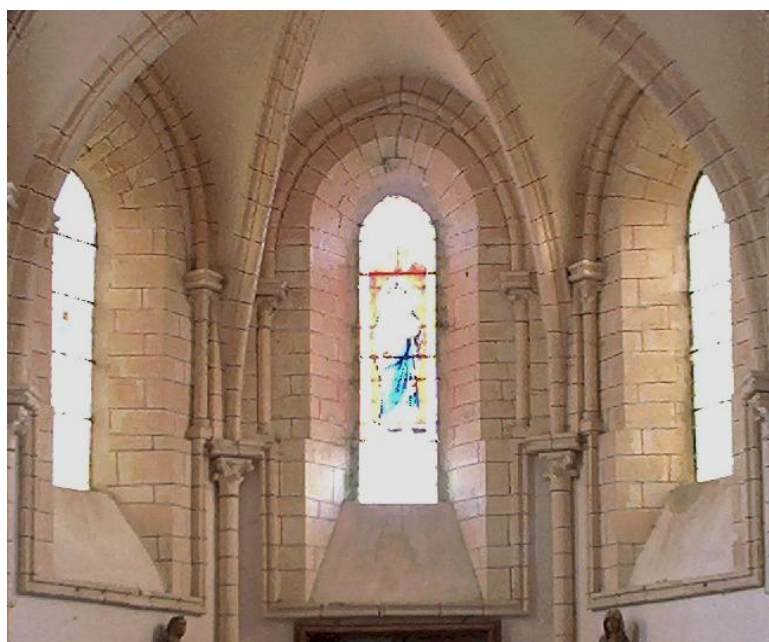


FIGURE 40. Notre-Dame, Châalis, transept (above) and Notre-Dame, Beines, chevet (below), interior, continuous molding

Braine,” *The Ark of God, Part A* (2002), 356. If this is the case, Châalis would have been contemporary with the other churches in the central group and, consequently, the builder could have been sent to work on Châalis while constructing portions of the Yonne churches.

In light of this new evidence, it can be seen that the layout and elevation of the transept hemicycle at the Cistercian abbey church of Châalis is consistent with chevet types found in non-Cistercian buildings in northern Burgundy designed by the Yonne Valley Builder. The overall correspondence of the profiles and plans in the Yonne structures cannot be dismissed as merely a coincidence or regional style (the *parti* is not found in earlier works as would be expected if that were the case). Given that the style seems to be limited to a small number of buildings found only in two particular regions, it is concluded that the five Yonne churches and Châalis appear to be the distinctive work of the Yonne Valley Builder.¹¹⁵ In acknowledging that portions of the plan and elevation of Châalis can be linked to the east end of Pontigny, evidence suggests that the transmission of these elements seems to be through the Yonne Valley Builder.¹¹⁶



FIGURE 41. Notre-Dame, Châalis, transept, clerestory (showing depth of the continuous molding that framed the window sill)

¹¹⁵ It will be argued that even though this builder may have worked at two Cistercian sites (Pontigny and Châalis), there is no indication that he was a Cistercian.

¹¹⁶ While one might infer that this builder had been on the crew at Pontigny, it is certainly possible that the Yonne Valley Builder was an apprentice to the builder who designed Pontigny—learning the trade and adapting the style to make it his own.

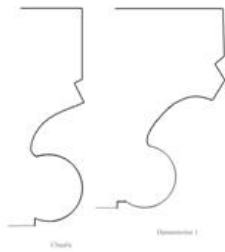


FIGURE 42 –Notre-Dame, Châalis (left) and Dannemoine (right), molding profiles

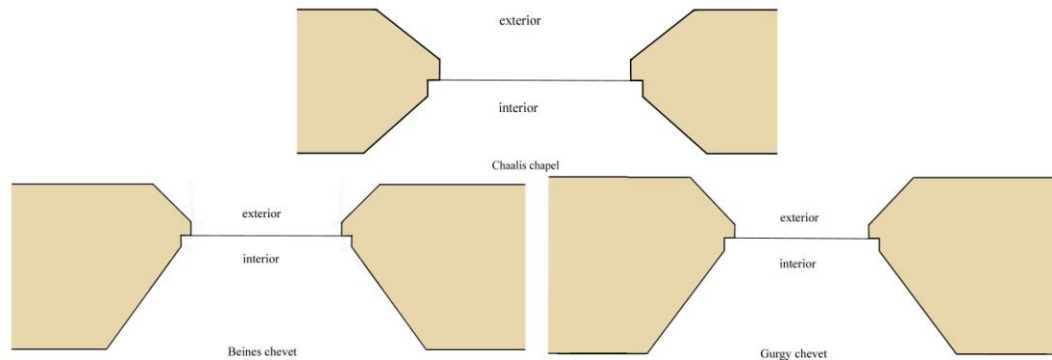


FIGURE 43. Notre-Dame, Châalis (AB25) (above); Notre-Dame, Beines (lower left); and Saint-André, Gurgy (lower right), window plans

The Central Yonne Group, the Yonne Valley Builder, Châalis, and Possible Connections

In searching for evidence that can shed light on this investigation into the five Yonne structures in northern Burgundy and the connection to Châalis in the Oise, it is necessary to address the possible connections to the builder as well as the significance of the benefactor or patron. In discussing the connection of politics and construction, Marcel Aubert has stated that, during “une grande partie du Moyen Age, l’architecte est attaché à un chapitre, un évêque, une communauté, une ville, un roi, ou un seigneur” (a large part of the Middle Ages, the architect is attached to a chapter, a bishop, a community, a town, a king, or a lord).¹²¹ Following the idea of Aubert, can these Early Gothic constructions be related to someone in power? What do the facts reveal in northern Burgundy and the Oise?

St.-Bris, Chitry, Gurgy, and Beines were, during the Middle Ages, in the diocese of Auxerre while Fyé was in the Tonnerrois (at the border of Auxerrois).¹²² The Auxerrois,

¹²¹ Aubert, “La construction au moyen age,” *Bulletin monumental* 2 (1961), 83.

¹²² According to Quantin, *Dictionnaire topographique*, 11, 36, 58, 65, 112, Beines “était avant 1780, du diocèse d’Auxerre et de la province de l’Ile de France, et le siège d’une prévôté qui ressortant à Saint Florentin et relevant en fief du seigneur de Maligny” (was, before 1780, of the diocese of Auxerre and the province of the Ile de France, and the head office of a provostship emerging in Saint Florentin under the stronghold of the lord of Maligny) and “Gurgy was a ‘seigneurie dépendant de l’abbaye Saint-Germain d’Auxerre’ which was, “au IX^e siècle, du pagus d’Auxerre, et, avant 1789, du diocèse, du bailliage et du comté d’Auxerre” (in the ninth century, in the rural district of Auxerre, and, before 1789, in the diocese, in the district under the authority of the bailiff and the count of Auxerre). Chitry was, “au VI^e siècle, du pagus et du diocèse d’Auxerre, et, avant 1789, partie de la province de

Tonnerrois, and Nivernais came under the rule of the counts of Nevers in the mid-eleventh century. Yves Sassier, using sources of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, laid out the complex divisions and struggles for power between the count, the bishop, and the seigneurs. The conflict stabilized only during reign of Pierre de Courtenay, Count of Auxerre (who was also Count of Nevers and Tonnerre from 1184 to 1199). Sassier, pointing to the presence of the Count of Champagne in the Auxerrois between 1190 and 1218, demonstrated the concomitant decline in power of the Count of Auxerre.¹²³ In relation to Auxerre, Constance Bouchard has shown that,

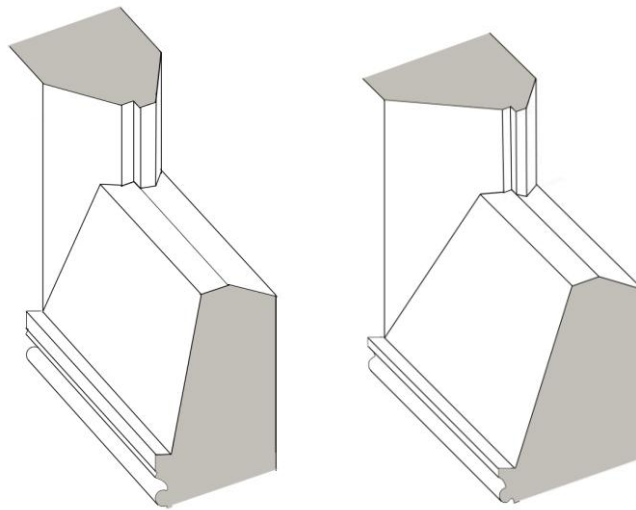


FIGURE 44. Notre-Dame, Châalis, (AB25) (left) and Notre-Dame, Beines (right), general scheme of the windows

between 1092 and 1220, the Bishop of Auxerre was, in fact, the chief authority.¹²⁶ These churches would have been under construction during this period; however, without applicable documents, the connection of the central Yonne group to any of these personages is not possible.

Bourgogne, partie de celle de l'Ile-de-France et du bailliage d'Auxerre" (in the sixth century, of the rural district and diocese of Auxerre, and, before 1789, part of the province of Burgundy, part of the one of the Ile-de-France and the bailliage of Auxerre) and Fyé was "avant 1789, du diocèse de Langres, de la province de l'Ile-de-France et de l'élection de Tonnerre, et siège d'une prévôté particulière" (before 1789, in the diocese of Langres, province of the Ile-de-France and election of Tonnerre, and head office of a particular provostship). Finally, "Saint-Bris, baronnie importante, relevant du comté d'Auxerre" (Saint-Bris, barony important, under the count of Auxerre) was, "au V^e, du pagus d'Auxerre et, avant 1789, du diocèse du même nom et de la province de Bourgogne, élection d'Auxerre; siège d'un bailliage particulier qui ressortait à celui d'Auxerre et chef-lieu d'un archiprêtré" (in the fifth [century], in the rural district of Auxerre and, before 1789, in the the diocese of the same name and the province of Burgundy, election of Auxerre; head office of a particular bailiwick emerging at Auxerre and county town of an archpriest).

¹²³ Yves Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois du X^e au début du XIII^e siècle* (Auxerre: SFAMHY, 1980), 209.

¹²⁶ Constance Bouchard, *Spirituality and Administration: The Role of the Bishop in Twelfth-Century Auxerre* (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1979), 2.



FIGURE 45. Notre-Dame, Châalis, capitals: transept, arcade (left), and clerestory (right)

Taking into account other regional connections, Beines was located in the fief of the Seigneurs de Maligny (until the Revolution) and Gurgy was placed under the Seigneurs de Seignelay. Since Beines and Gurgy were under the authority of two different lords, it is unlikely that the builder was working under Seigniorial influence.

Considering other churches in the central group, the village of St.-Bris was in the possession of the Seigneurs de Mello (Dreux and Guillaume) during the twelfth century; the same noble house of the de Mello family that, curiously enough, originated in the Oise (in Picardie).¹²⁷ Of special interest is Renaud de Mello (brother of Guillaume, abbot of Vézelay, and stepbrother of Dreux) who founded the Prieuré de Mello in the Oise which later became the Cistercian abbey of Châalis.¹²⁸ While it is possible that the de Mellos may have had something to

¹²⁷ The de Mello family appeared in the Beauvais in the eleventh century. Henri de Faget de Castejau, "La Maison de Mello en Bourgogne," *Annales de Bourgogne* [1980]: 5) and became Seigneurs of Saint-Bris by the twelfth century (Quantin, "Recherches Historiques sur Saint-Bris et ses seigneurs," *Annuaire statistique du département de l'Yonne; Recueil de documents authentiques destinés à former la statistique départementale* (1838), 281-295. There is evidence that, in 1388, Dreux de Mello, their descendant, inherited half of the Seignior of Chitry from his mother (Faget de Casteljau, "La Maison de Mello en Bourgogne," 30.

¹²⁸ Founded originally as a Benedictine priory by Renaud de Mello, the Prieuré de Mello was a dependency of the abbey of Vézelay. As noted, King Louis le Gros (or Louis VI) converted the priory into a Cistercian monastery in the name of Charles le Bon, Count of Flanders, who died at Bruges in 1127. The abbey of Vézelay allowed the move under the house of Pontigny. The Cistercian foundation of Châalis dates officially to January 10, 1136. In 1138, the foundation was reconfirmed by Louis VII (Louis the Younger), the son and successor of Louis VI who became a patron of the abbey of Châalis (r. 1137-1180) (*Cartulaire Châalis de 1399* (Cartulaire de l'abbaye Notre-Dame de Chaalis, Chartularium monasterii Caroli Loci, Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS latin 17113, fol.11).

Neither Éric Bournazel, *Le gouvernement Capétien au XII^e siècle 1108-1180. Structures sociales et mutations institutionnelles* (Limoges: Presses Université de France, 1975) nor Yves Sassier, *Recherches sur le pouvoir comtal en Auxerrois du X^e au début du XIII^e siècle* (Auxerre: SFAMHY, 1980) mention Renaud, but Henri de Faget de Casteljau, "La Maison de Mello en Bourgogne: Une révision à partir des Archives des Chalon," *Annales de Bourgogne* (January-March 1980), 5-42, places Renaud as brother of Guillaume, Abbot of Vézelay, and step-brother of Dreux, Seigneur at Saint-Bris.

do with the construction of the church at Saint-Bris, there is no evidence that they were in a position to erect the church at Châalis in the late twelfth century.

On the other hand, Lefèvre-Pontalis placed the beginning of the east-end of Châalis before 1202 basing this date on a document from the Bibliothèque de Senlis that mentions a donation by Pierre Choisel that would continue to be made until the church was completed (signifying the date when the church would have been in construction).¹²⁹ While the Cistercian abbot and monks at Châalis may have been the primary benefactors behind the construction of the new church, contributions like this one came from patrons outside the monastery. The existence of this recorded gift as well as the patronage of Louis VII suggests the availability of alternative means of funding (possibly including unrecorded donations). Even so, we are no closer to identifying the connection to the builder.¹³⁰

Of interest is the state of affairs at the commencement of the rule of King Philippe Auguste in 1179 and the changes that take place over the years.¹³¹ Philippe was from the Champagne family; his mother was Adèle of Champagne (the wife of King Louis VII inhumed at Pontigny). The dates of his rule encompass the works of architecture of the late twelfth century in the central Yonne group. While Philippe had wanted to expand into northern Burgundy, there is no evidence that he did this through the construction of these churches.¹³² With a number of connections of powerful figures to Châalis, one does not stand out as definite.

In his investigation of Early Gothic churches, John James was unable to determine a

¹²⁹ The document states: “Gaufridus dei gratia Silvanectensis episcopus omnibus fidelibus in perpetuum notum facimus presentibus et futuris quod Petrus Choisiaus pro remedio anime sue promiserat se daturum singulis annis quinque solidos parisiensium ad opus cuiusdam nove ecclesie que apud Karolilocum fabricabatur quousque eadem ecclesia perficeretur” (Geoffroy, by the grace of God, bishop of Senlis, to all faithful forever, we make known, present and to come, that Peter Choisel for remedy of his soul promised to give five Parisian *solidos* [gold coins] once each year to benefit a certain new church to be built at Karolilocum [*Caroli locus*] until which time the church would be completed). Lefèvre-Pontalis believed that the completion of the chevet followed the consecration on Sunday, October 20, 1219, by Guérin, Bishop of Senlis (“Anno Domini MCCXIX die vigesima mensis octobris” [in the year of our Lord, 1219, the twentieth day, month of October], MSS d’Afforty, t. XV, 363). (Note that Geoffroy II [or Gaufridus] who was Bishop of Senlis between 1185 and 1213 was followed by Guérin [or Garinus]). In point of fact, the documents only confirm that the church was in production during this period (the consecration does not necessarily signify a date of completion for the entire building).

¹³⁰ On patrons and donations from outside the abbey as well as donations made on entrance of new followers to the monastery, see Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights, and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991) and Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000) as well as L. Fautrat, “Notes sur Chaâlis,” *Comptes rendus et memoires* (1919-1920), 1-24.

¹³¹ John Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus: Foundations of French Royal Power in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 35.

¹³² A document dated between 1221 and 1222 shows the later interests of the king; that is, “Philippe Auguste takes under his guard and special protection the abbeys of Pontigny and Clairvaux,” (an eighteenth-century copy is found in the Archives départementales de l’Yonne, Auxerre, document ADY H 1401, 4; and published as a supporting document in André Courtet, *Etude historique sur l’abbaye de Notre-Dame et Saint-Edme de Pontigny, au diocèse d’Auxerre, de la fondation [1114] au XVI^e siècle, suivie d’un essai sur la formation du temporel*, Positions des thèses de l’Ecole des chartes, 1920 [Auxerre, Archives départementales de l’Yonne, ADY microfilm 4MI 108]).

correlation between politics and construction in the Paris region.¹³³ The conclusion is very similar in regard to the work of the Yonne Valley Builder; while the political relations overlap at a number of the churches, no single political figure had definitive control in all communities. In regard to cathedrals, Stephen Murray wrote that, “It is dangerous to see the great projects as simply the expression of the established power of the clergy, the growing power of the king or the civic awareness or wealth of the bourgeois, because all these groups and agencies were locked inextricably together both in cooperation and in strife.”¹³⁴ Even though it is possible that the builder was attached to one or more related persons, it is impossible to differentiate among them without pertinent documents with direct references to the construction. Thus, in spite of Aubert’s belief that an architect/builder is usually attached to a patron or person in power, no evidence was found indicating that this is the case for the Yonne Valley Builder.

In regard to possible connection of the builder or the buildings to certain patrons or organizations, we must discuss the organization of the Cistercian Order in which a rather practical system was developed that allowed for better governing of the houses of the Order: all daughter abbeys were overseen by the mother-house. In the Cistercian Order, the abbot of the mother-church initially sent thirteen monks to found a daughter-house. In this case, the Abbot Guichard of Pontigny sent twelve monks and an abbot, André de Baudimont, to Châalis.¹³⁵ Following the rules of the Order, abbots of each Cistercian abbey were required to attend the yearly General Chapter meeting.¹³⁶ Specifically, under the “Charter of Visitation,” the abbot of the mother-house was obliged to visit every daughter-house annually for a regular inspection of the monastery.¹³⁷ As a result of these regulations, the two Cistercian abbeys would have been closely connected. Even though we have no documents to link the construction at Châalis to Pontigny, it is possible (even likely) that the connection of the northern Burgundian builder to the Oise may have been through its Cistercian mother-house, Pontigny.¹³⁸

While the builder may be linked to a Cistercian abbey, is he necessarily a Cistercian? In

¹³³ John James, “An Investigation into the Uneven Distribution of Early Gothic Churches in the Paris Basin, 1140-1240,” *Art Bulletin* 66 (1984), 15-46, 18.

¹³⁴ Stephen Murray, *Notre-Dame, Cathedral of Amiens: The Power of Change in Gothic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 13.

¹³⁵ Blary, *Le Domaine de Chaalis*, 8. The number of monks would be in reference to Christ and the apostles.

¹³⁶ The General Chapter is a yearly monastic general assembly of Cistercian abbots.

¹³⁷ Bruzelius has suggested that the homogeneity apparent in the architectural structures affiliated with Pontigny may be related to these connections between the mother-house and her daughters. Bruzelius, “Cistercian High Gothic: The Abbey Church of Longpont and the Architecture of the Cistercians in the Early Thirteenth Century,” *Analecta Cisterciensia* 35 (1979), 142-143 and email correspondence, June 19, 2010. Under the *Charter of Charity* amended in the late twelfth century, a “co-abbot” might take the place of an abbot (or, in the early thirteen century, a monk from the mother-house could step in every other year). Williams, *Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, 42-43.

¹³⁸ Indeed, it is likely that the Yonne Valley Builder or his workers were a part of the atelier working at Pontigny. For the relation of the chevet of Pontigny, see my forthcoming article “Illuminating Cistercian Construction through an Investigation of Non-Cistercian Architecture,” in the *Cistercienser-Chronik*, Forum für Geschichte, Kunst, Literatur und Spiritualität des Mönchtums, Austria/Germany, 2011 (Dr. Hermann J. Roth, Editor; published by Verlag Abtei Mehrerau Bregenz).

regard to the possibility that the Yonne Valley Builder may have been a Cistercian monk or lay brother working on non-Cistercian buildings, Williams pointed out “an early statute (1157-75)” which “forbade Cistercians from working on projects for lay-folk.”¹³⁹ That this rule was necessary implies that Cistercians had already, to some extent, worked outside the monastery.¹⁴⁰ However, since evidence of this individual builder and his design is found in a variety of buildings both Cistercian and non-Cistercian, it seems more likely that the Yonne Valley Builder was not a Cistercian since monastic limitations on his time would probably not have allowed for work on so many non-Cistercian constructions. Indeed, given that his atelier worked at five different northern Burgundian sites, it seems likely that the builder was not affiliated with any particular religious community and may have been a secular worker.¹⁴¹ Even though evidence (or even speculation) on either a non-Cistercian religious builder or a secular architect designing a Cistercian work is uncommon this research indicates that it is necessary to consider the possibility.

The Yonne Valley Builder: Northern Burgundy Non-Cistercian Design in the Oise

Through an investigation into both the northern and southern Paris basin, a new relationship between Cistercian and non-Cistercian buildings is recognized. Five non-Cistercian structures in the Yonne Valley—the parish churches at Beines, Gurgy, Saint-Bris, and Chitry as well as the monastic chapel at Fyé—have been presented as the work of the Yonne Valley Builder. By identifying both the designer and his design, northern Burgundian elements specific to this builder became apparent at the Cistercian church of Châalis in northern France. In connecting northern Burgundy to the Oise and comparing profiles to trends in urban churches in the northern Paris basin, the contemporaneity and innovation of rural churches in the southern Paris basin is emphasized.

This hands-on investigation indicates that these smaller buildings (Beines, Gurgy, Chitry, and Fyé) have a great deal in common with the larger structures (Saint-Bris, Châalis, and Pontigny). A wealth of information—including layouts, building techniques, and profiles—has been culled from the chapel or small parish church; in fact, the correspondence of the architectural elements (the profiles, plans, and layouts as well as the *parti*) within the central Yonne group is dependent on the evidence from the four small churches. Nearly identical elements link all six works to one builder responsible for the construction of both small and large structures in the Yonne Valley and the Oise. In the end, the focus on smaller works has allowed us to compare the profiles with contemporary Parisian trend, permitting a reevaluation of the value of concurrent Early Gothic construction south of Paris.

While the existence of a truly “Cistercian style” has frequently been debated, many scholars maintain that Cistercian architecture can be loosely defined through a number of

¹³⁹ Williams, *Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, 197. See also Aubert, “La construction au moyen age,” 81.

¹⁴⁰ For evidence, see the sources mentioned in Williams, *Cistercians in the Early Middle Ages*, 197.

¹⁴¹ There may have been six non-Cistercian northern Burgundian buildings, if further evidence someday confirms Sainte-Cosme (the priory of Saint-Cosme at Chablis, a dependency of the Augustinian priory of Saint-Cosme at Tours) as a part of the central group of works by the Yonne Valley Builder.

tendencies.¹⁴² In using elements considered typically Cistercian, the builder at Châalis and Pontigny employed contiguous but independent chapels (specifically for the private mass of the monks) and preserved a large expanse of wall.¹⁴³ Worth noting, however, is that Châalis diverges from Pontigny in assimilating northern Burgundian elements of the Yonne Valley Builder that would not be considered particularly Cistercian: *en-délit* shafts (instead of engaged columns often used in Cistercian architecture), columns encased in brackets, and the characteristic continuous molding of the framed-sill. While we may be tempted to attribute Cistercian construction to Cistercian monks or *conversi* (lay brothers), evidence suggests that a non-Cistercian builder was probably in charge at these six Cistercian and non-Cistercian sites.¹⁴⁴

Concerning workers, Caroline Bruzelius wrote that, “Although in the twelfth century the order seems to have had its own architects and masons, it supplemented them with local workmen who brought with them their own way of doing things, and who subsequently passed on to work for other local building programs.”¹⁴⁵ In the past, it has been proposed that the Cistercians tended to adopt techniques of local construction and to take advantage of neighboring workers, thus the masons and sculptors picked up regional tendencies as part of their working repertoire. For this reason, it was often believed that it was difficult to isolate Cistercian elements. Considering the likelihood that this builder may not be Cistercian, these arguments need to be reconsidered and even modified.

Through evidence collected onsite, this research indicates that characteristics of design may be transmitted through a blend of non-Cistercian and Cistercian design rather than simply through the creation of a “Cistercian style” or the emulation of regional construction. In this way, Cistercian architecture seems to have developed much more eclectically than once supposed. In pushing to reassess the relation of Cistercian and non-Cistercian construction, it is hoped that this research will inspire studies based on specific physical evidence from both Cistercian and non-Cistercian sites. This integration will lead to a better conception of Cistercian developments in construction as well as Cistercian and non-Cistercian interactions and/or exchanges.

Ultimately, it is significant that the *parti* of the Yonne Valley Builder is found in the Oise. Caroline Bruzelius has associated the architecture of the monastery of Châalis with northern Burgundian Cistercian construction at the monastery of Pontigny, the mother-church. In consideration of the complexity of the interrelated buildings, this study attempts to further identify a unique designer in the Yonne Valley and connect him to the work at Châalis. Rather than simply the result of regional construction in the Oise or the dissemination of a Cistercian

¹⁴² Even though the question of whether or not a “Cistercian style” exists is not the focus of this study, it is important to note that the two characteristics that scholars have often noted in Cistercian architecture—the lack of superfluous decoration and a relatively low two-story elevation—are also found in the non-Cistercian construction at the buildings designed by the Yonne Valley Builder.

¹⁴³ The large number of chapels reflects an increasing need for private altar space in Cistercian houses. See B. Lucet, “Les ordinations chez cisterciens,” *Analecta sacri ordinis cisterciensis* 10 (1954), 273 as cited by Bruzelius, “The Transept of Châalis,” 447-455.

¹⁴⁴ Although we may never know why the Yonne Valley Builder was called to the Oise, we may speculate that he may have needed work after completing the five churches in the Yonne, and the Cistercians would have been looking for an architect/builder for Châalis. As an innovative builder with traditional leaning who was familiar with Cistercian needs, the Yonne Valley Builder would have been a desirable option.

¹⁴⁵ Bruzelius, “Cistercian High Gothic: The Abbey Church of Longpont,” 16 (on this subject, see also 8, 59).

style, the overall design of the transept of Châalis can be seen as a complex mixture of Cistercian developments with techniques and patterns developed at non-Cistercian northern Burgundian sites; that is to say, the unique contemporary hybrid design at Châalis was quite likely transported to the north by the Yonne Valley Builder and/or his workers.



Personal Piety or Priestly Persuasion: Evidence of Pilgrimage Bequests in the Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-1474

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Despite the complex contemporary arguments surrounding the legitimacy of pilgrimage as a concept, it is clear that during the later Middle Ages popular pilgrimage was an accepted and acceptable part of the lay religious experience. Whilst serving a number of personal functions, from the highly spiritual search for enlightenment to the provision of "holy day" entertainment, the physical and religious act of pilgrimage has become the subject of an entire discipline of study. Drawing upon multiple sources of evidence, which include everything from the architectural and archaeological to the purely literary, such studies have led to the recognition of pilgrimage as a fascinating insight into the spiritual and religious beliefs of the age.¹

However, despite the diversity of the sources, and the quantity of material available, one area of pilgrimage studies remains largely in the shadows. The ultimate objects of medieval pilgrimage, the saints, shrines and buildings that housed them, have been studied in depth by numerous scholars.² Likewise the account rolls and finances of individual shrines, ranging from the internationally famous sites such as Canterbury down to the localized and short-lived sites such as St Leonard's outside Norwich, have been examined and scrutinized in painstaking detail.³ The routes of pilgrimage have been mapped, the logistics studied and even their souvenirs have been analyzed to such a degree that, alongside observations on artistic and stylistic content, we can now be certain of the metal composition itself and, in some cases, its likely source.⁴

However, when we consider the number of individuals, particularly from the lower orders, who actually undertook a pilgrimage at some point in their lives, we find that we actually know remarkably little about them. Whilst we can with some confidence record that 40,000 pilgrims passed through the gates of Munich on a single day in 1392, or that 142,000 arrived at

¹ J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion*, London (1975), D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, Hambledon and London (2000), R. Marks, *Image and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, Sutton (2004).

² J. Crook, J., *English Medieval Shrines*, Boydell (2011).

³ D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (2000); M. R. V Heale, "Veneration and renovation at a small Norfolk priory: St Leonard's, Norwich in the later Middle Ages," *Historical Research* vol. 76, no. 194 (November 2003), pp. 431-49.

⁴ B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Medieval finds from excavated London*, 2nd Edition, Boydell (2010), pp. 7-13.

Aachen on a single day in 1496, we know next to nothing about the pilgrims themselves.⁵ The beliefs, hopes and motivations that inspired a large percentage of the late medieval population to undertake a pilgrimage are almost as much of a mystery to modern scholars as the exact geography of the world was to the medieval pilgrims who traversed it.

With regard to the individuals who undertook, or expressed the wish to undertake, a pilgrimage we have two key primary sources to draw upon. Putting aside analysis of the literary tradition, of which Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is by far the best-known work, and the guidebook-like "itineraries" to the major shrines, the individual pilgrim's voice is found in both the wills of those who left bequests for pilgrimages to be undertaken and in those collections of miracles, most usually compiled by clerics, to support claims to sainthood. This last source, of which a good number survive, would appear on the surface to be an extremely useful source for historians of pilgrimage and social history alike. Many of these accounts give details of the individuals involved, their place of origin, occupation and occasionally an indication of social status.⁶ However, although detailed analysis of these documents has been attempted, even down to a geographical analysis in some cases, the voice that is heard is not that of the pilgrims themselves, but that of the scribe who compiled the collection.⁷ Indeed, attempts by clerics such as William Fitz Stephen to transpose the testimony given by witnesses to miracles into the first person are so artificial in their construction as to widen rather than narrow the gulf of understanding.⁸

The wills of the late Middle Ages, of which a very large number survive in one form or another, have long been regarded as true reflections of lay piety and an important source in the study of medieval pilgrimage. These post-mortem pilgrimages specified in these documents largely take two forms. Most commonly they appear as bequests that a pilgrimage should be undertaken, often to a specific site for a specified sum, for the sake of the health of their everlasting soul. Alternatively they appear, though far more rarely, as a final bequest to fulfill a vow of pilgrimage that was made during the testator's life but, for various reasons, were not fulfilled prior to the making of the will.⁹ Although in both these cases the inclusion of a specific bequest regarding a post-mortem pilgrimage has been recognized as being both unusual and subject to external influence, these documents have remained one of the key forms of evidence regarding pilgrimage amongst the commonality. However, recent analysis of one corpus of surviving wills, those belonging to the Archdeacons of Sudbury in the mid- fifteenth century, would suggest that these documents were far more open to external influence than previously thought.¹⁰ Indeed, the demonstrable level of external influence exhibited by these documents

⁵ B. Spencer, *Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum, Medieval Catalogue, Pt.2: Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museums (1990), p.8.

⁶ Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, pp.181-82.

⁷ H. Forrest, "The Miracle of Henry VI in Northamptonshire," *Northamptonshire Past and Present* (1971/2), pp. 363-65.

⁸ J.C. Robertson (ed.), *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, Rolls Series (1881).

⁹ Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 191.

¹⁰ The wills of the archdeacons of Sudbury, 1439-74, have been published in two volumes by the Suffolk Records Society. P. Northeast (ed.), "Wills of the Archdeacons of Sudbury, 1439-74: Wills from the register 'Baldwyne,'"

makes their value as a direct source of information concerning intended pilgrimage amongst the commonality highly questionable.

The popularity of pilgrimage amongst all classes is well-attested during the late Middle Ages. The massive numbers of medieval pilgrims attending continental shrines such as Aachen and Munich, already mentioned. Although associated with particular festivals or offers of indulgence, which might make these figures atypical, popular shrines such as Wilsnack in northern Germany regularly received in excess of 100,000 pilgrims per annum which, for a town whose likely population was no more than 1000, was an impressive feat of logistics.¹¹ Similar popularity is shown at the major English shrines in the 15th century. Although exact numbers of pilgrims visiting the major shrines of St Thomas at Canterbury and Our Lady of Walsingham in Norfolk are harder to establish, the revenues produced by these shrines, derived largely from pilgrims' offerings, suggest that they continued to attract very large numbers of pilgrims, right up until the dissolution. Indeed, by the very end of the 15th century the shrine at Walsingham, and the relatively new shrine of Henry VI at Windsor, were both generating an income over seven times that generated by the pilgrims to Canterbury.¹²

It was not just the major shrines that continued to derive large parts of their income from pilgrims' donations. The chapel of St Leonard at Norwich was a small priory that acted as a cell of Norwich cathedral priory and, for such a small institution, is exceedingly well- documented.¹³ Over 140 account rolls survive that record in the greatest detail its financial dealings for the two centuries prior to its dissolution in the 1530s. St Leonard's was situated only a short walk from the main priory, across the river Wensum on the edge of Thorpe Woods and outside the city itself. Although the site may well have acted as some form of retreat for the members of the mother house St Leonards was financially independent, albeit not exceedingly wealthy, for much of its existence.

The principal income of the priory was derived from offerings left before the images within the priory chapel. Although the priory contained several images, all of which are recorded as generating income from offerings and bequests, it was the image of St Leonard himself that generated the largest single sum. At the time the financial records for the priory begin, in the year 1348/9, the priory's income was recorded as being a little over £46, of which over £38 had been generated by the image of St Leonard alone. Although relatively modest in general terms, and given the priory's tiny endowment, this sum was enough to support an on-going building program that continued into the 15th century. Although the cult of St Leonard declined in the late 14th century, with income reaching a low point of less than £10 in 1425, it saw a revival in the 1430s, 40s and 50s that saw it rise to over £40 again - reaching a peak of £43 4d in 1454/5.

pt. 1, *Suffolk Records Society* (2001) and P. Northeast and H. Falvey (eds.), "Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74: Wills from the register 'Baldwyne,'" pt. 2, *Suffolk Records Society* (2010).

¹¹ B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (2010), p. 13.

¹² At the height of its popularity in 1220, the year the relics of St Thomas were translated into the choir, Canterbury received the massive sum of £1,142 in offerings. However, the site more normally generated an income in the region of £400. However, by 1535 this had fallen to a mere £36. In contrast Walsingham that same year received £260 – a sum that outstripped the income of other large pilgrim centres such as nearby Bury St Edmunds even at the height of their popularity. J. Sumption, *Pilgrimage: an image of medieval religion*, London (1975), p.160.

¹³ M.R.V. Heale, "Veneration and renovation at a small Norfolk priory: St Leonard's, Norwich in the later Middle Ages," *Historical Research*, vol. 76, no. 194 (November 2003), pp. 431-49.

Although the records do not provide a further breakdown of the figures, enabling exact numbers of pilgrims to be calculated, it is clear that the numbers of pilgrims were not inconsiderable.¹⁴

Given the obvious number of individuals who, during the later Middle Ages, continued to undertake pilgrimages then perhaps one of the most surprising things is the actual lack of evidence for post mortem pilgrimage bequests in 15th -century wills. However, a number of those wills that do contain bequests for pilgrimages to be undertaken can be quite complex in their requirements. Marion Fenkele of Gipping in the parish of St Peter, Stowmarket, Suffolk, whose will is dated 2nd May 1446, specified that

*a year's stipend to a suitable chaplain to go on pilgrimage for a year to the court of Rome, to celebrate for my soul, and for the souls of John Fenkele my husband, my parents and benefactors and of those for whom I am specially bound... ..
Dated Monday before the feast of Valentine the Martyr in the said year; Thomas Cake, my cousin and godson, chaplain, to have the aforesaid service to the court of Rome, if he wishes to do it and be our chaplain for 2 or 3 years and celebrate for our souls. A man to go on pilgrimage for us to St James, to St Thomas of Canterbury, offering there according to the discretion of my attorney's, and to Mary of Walsingham, offering the Lady a pound of wax.*¹⁵

In the cases of a number of wills, particularly those associated with the elite classes and clerics, such post mortem pilgrimage requests could reach levels of complexity clearly indicate a good deal of premeditation and planning. The Priest, Robert Kent of Stowmarket, whose will is dated 29th of April 1443, had made arrangements with his curate as to his intentions for a post mortem pilgrimage, detailing a bequest

*to Sir John Bateler, vicar of Stowe, my curate, to go on pilgrimage and be my chaplain for a whole year, to the court of Rome, he being legally able and willing to take this service upon himself, and to do for my soul and the souls of my parents, kin and benefactors, and of those for whom I am bound, 20 marks, if, for legal reasons, he is not able to do it, another suitable chaplain to be chosen by my execs to make the pilgrimage in like form, he having for his stipend as they may agree and according to their discretion.*¹⁶

Another example, that of Richard Suttone of Oxborough in the county of Norfolk, dated the 8th of October 1451, required that

my vows, which I made to divers saints in time of necessity, to be put into effect: a gold coin to be bestowed on St Thomas of Canterbury the archbishop, that is a "crowne," or 3s 4d in its place, and a pilgrim to go on pilgrimage in my name to St Mary of Walsingham, St Edith of Eagle (Acle?) in Lincolnshire, St John of Bridlington and St

¹⁴ Ibid. p. 439.

¹⁵ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 72. (no. 346. Marion Fenkele of Gipping in the parish of St Peter, Stowmarket. 2nd May 1446 and 13th Feb 1446/7).

¹⁶ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 56. (no. 288. Robert Kent of Stowmarket, 29th April, 1443).

*John of Beverley; all these to be carried out faithfully by William Suttone, my attorney, and the money paid and laid out by him with the counsel of Richard the Hermit (Ricardi Heremite) and the advice of the aforesaid Thomas Todenham, knight, out of the proceeds of a tenement in Weston sold by me to the same William for 40 marks, in the presence of Dame Isabel Galyon.*¹⁷

Likewise, a number of other bequests not only specified the destination of the proposed pilgrimage, and the identity of the pilgrim, but also bound the request with other bequests in the will. In 1440 Isabell Turnour, widow of Sudbury, left to her daughter Christine "a silk girdle, harnessed with silver, and a pair of jet beads with the paternosters of silver, gilded, and a ring, a brooch and a crucifix." However, Christine was only to receive the items "on condition that she go on pilgrimage to Walsingham for me, to fulfil my promise of old."¹⁸ However, in many cases the bequest for a post-mortem pilgrimage is far more general in nature, leaving any details to be settled subsequently. Peter Fysscher of Hepworth, whose will is dated 1st October 1439, stated simply that he bequeathed 40 shillings "to a suitable man to visit the shrine of St James as a pilgrim for my soul." Likewise John Parkyn the elder of Barningham, whose will is dated the 8th April 1460, requests "an honest pilgrim to go on pilgrimage to Rome, for my soul and the souls for whom I am bound, 5 marks."¹⁹

In some cases these surviving wills are the only evidence we have of local sites of devotion or minor pilgrimage destinations. Alice Cooke of Horstead in Norfolk left bequests in her 15th-century will for pilgrimages to "Our Lady of Reepham, St Spyrite (Elsing), St Parnell of Stratton, St Leonard without Norwich, St Wandreda of Bixley, St Margaret of Horstead, Our Lady of Pity at Horstead, St John's head at Trimmingham and the Holy Rood of Crostwright."²⁰ None of these sites is recorded elsewhere as a site of pilgrimage with the exception of the previously mentioned "St Leonard without Norwich." Likewise, just over the border in Suffolk the only mention we have of contemporary devotion to "Our Lady of Lakenheath," an image contained within the chancel of Lakenheath Church, is in the 1517 dated will of William Gerard, in which he stipulates that he is to be buried before the image with "a marble stone upon my grave."²¹

¹⁷ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 107 v. (no. 489. Richard Suttone of Oxborough, 8th Oct. 1451).

¹⁸ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 31 b. (no. 175. Isabell Turnour, widow of John Bachbrook, of Sudbury, 12th Aug 1440).

¹⁹ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 2v. (no. 17. Peter Fysscher of Hepworth, 1st Oct. 1439).

²⁰ R. Hart, "The Shrines and pilgrimages of the County of Norfolk," *Norfolk Archaeology* vol. vi (1864), p. 27.

²¹ J.T. Munday, "Mans Manor" in *Lakenheath Records Series*, Privately Published (1970).



FIGURE 1 Our Lady of Lakenheath, 15th century, Suffolk. Photo: Matthew Champion.

The preceding extracts clearly demonstrate just why wills have become such a well-studied resource in respect of pilgrimage history. Taken in isolation, the wills appear to have the potential to shed light upon the individuals' attitudes towards pilgrimage and add an often forgotten voice to the complex debate that forms the core of any study into the religious belief of the lower orders during the later Middle Ages. However, as a corpus of evidence it has already long been recognized that the surviving wills of the late medieval period have a number of potentially severe limitations.²² Indeed, detailed analysis of the corpus, rather than the individual, only goes to further highlight these limitations and multiply the questions concerning the validity of these individual wills as a source of evidence. The fundamental question, which has already been asked by several scholars, is how much do these wills truly reflect actual wishes of the testators and, therefore, reflect attitudes to lay piety in general and pilgrimage history in particular?

In the first instance it must be noted that wills were entirely atypical documents. They were often created at a time of both immense physical and spiritual stress. A time when the testator may have been facing imminent death, suffering from life-threatening illness or embarking on a life changing journey of some sort. In some cases this "stress" was the prospect of embarking upon a pilgrimage itself, such as that written in 1460 by Geoffrey Artur of

²² Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 191.

Wattisham, Suffolk, "*dated the day of St Edmund the Archbishop 1460; about to go on pilgrimage.*"²³ This stress is overtly apparent in a number of surviving wills that include bequests for post mortem pilgrimages. In the 1462 will of William Grene of Creting St Peter, Suffolk, he stipulates that "*a suitable priest to go to Rome immediately after my death, and to stay there until he has well and truly completed the stations.*"²⁴ Likewise, the 1459 will of Thomas Pekerell of Rickinghall Superior, Suffolk, provided for pilgrimages to Norwich, Ely, Lowestoft, Bury and "peterthorpe," to begin "*immediately after his decease.*"²⁵ This insistence upon an immediate start to the requested pilgrimages implies that, to the testator at least, time was a very real consideration. Given the medieval belief in the torments of purgatory, visually reinforced by the images found in almost every parish church in England, the ambition to cleanse the testator's soul at the earliest opportunity must have been a strong one. This stress, fear of death, and the immediate spiritual torment that was likely to follow all but the most unblemished soul, must have been a key influence during the drawing up of the testators' last will. As Diana Webb wrote "the mental state of the soon-to-be-deceased was obviously influential."²⁶ In addition, as Clive Burgess pointed out, the drawing up of a will was something that was designed to deal with the immediate aftermath of an individual's passing. It dealt with the minutiae of burial and immediate bequests, but "fundamental aspects of both property bequest and pious provision were frequently omitted."²⁷

In addition to the atypical nature of wills as documents, and the stress that the testator may have been under when faced with his own day of judgment, it must be remembered that all wills, virtually without exception, were not the result of a free-form creative act by the individual. They followed a standardized formula and were created in an environment where a number of other elements and individuals would also have had influence. The setting of an individual's affairs in order, be it property, land, household possessions or simply their everyday clothing, was an act that almost encouraged participation from both friends and family. Although many testators appear to have dealt with the disposal of large proportions of their estates prior to making a will, it was perhaps a very last opportunity to direct events within their own immediate sphere of influence.²⁸ This is perhaps demonstrated in wills such as that of Adam Onge of Barningham, who, in 1439 stipulated that his wife was to inherit a large part of his estate as long as she "*do not marry and remain good and chaste (bonum et castam).*" The rest of the estate was

²³ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 274 v. (no. 1346. Geoffrey Artur of Wattisham, 16 Nov. 1460).

²⁴ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 336. (no. 89. William Grene of Creting St Peter, 8 Nov. 1462).

²⁵ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 240 v. (no. 1207. Thomas Pekerell of Rickinghall Superior, 25 Jan. 1459/59).

²⁶ Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 191.

²⁷ C. Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered" in M.A. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, Alan Sutton Publishing (1990), p. 15.

²⁸ Burgess, pp. 16-17.

to go to his son, William Onge, on the condition that he was good to his mother - "*if he do not behave towards his mother, he is to have nothing*."²⁹

Beyond the influence of friends and family, and overriding such influence in matters of spiritual wellbeing, was that of the parish priest. For many members of the parish, the local priest would probably be the last living soul they had contact with upon their deathbed. It would be he who performed those last rites that would shrive them of confessed sins and, in most cases, it was he who transcribed their wishes into the document that became their will. This, in effect, was the channel through which their worldly and spiritual bequests had first to pass. As such the influence of these individuals, whose dedicated task was to ensure the spiritual wellbeing of the everlasting souls under their care, cannot be underestimated. Indeed, the formulaic structure of the late medieval will only went to reinforce this situation and position of influence.

Beginning by commending their soul to almighty God, the Virgin and the saints of heaven, the testator then stipulated where their mortal remains were to lie. For the better-off this was within the church itself, with the average person being content often to simply name a churchyard for burial. Once the disposal of the earthly body had been dealt with, the testator's next act was invariably to make their peace with holy mother church. Payments to the high altar "for tithes overlooked, underpaid or forgotten" were followed by personal, though perhaps guided, bequests to individual images or altars within the church, or specific building projects already in hand. It is difficult to envisage a situation where the parish priest, in the middle of raising funds for a new rood loft or side altar, would fail to draw this to the testator's attention. Then, only after the material obligations associated with the church had been dealt with, for the testator's spiritual well being, did the document turn to the more mundane requests of land and property, friends and family.

In a few remarkable incidents the testator was also entirely reliant upon the good and accurate memory of the priest. Margaret Tye of Sudbury, whose will was dated April 1464, obviously had no time to prepare an official will, but did manage to make her, quite extensive, wishes known to those around her. Suffering from serious infirmity (*gravi infirmitate laborante*) the details of her will were "*carefully remembered and later put in writing*" (*ultima voluntas, diligent memorata et postea in scriptis redacta*).³⁰ As the document was proved the following February it appears that such practice was accepted and it is interesting to speculate exactly how many such wills were actually created post mortem.

The Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury represent a fascinating opportunity to examine in detail a collected corpus of material and, rather than focusing upon individuals and their recorded bequests, to look at the wider patterns of gift giving and acts of piety. In particular, the sheer quantity of wills recorded from a relatively small area within a clearly defined time period allow analysis of aspects such as scribal influence within a parish, or group of parishes, that is not obvious when examining individual examples.

The archdeaconry of Sudbury was a separate administrative district of the Diocese of Norwich and, until the early 19th century, covered the area that today constitutes the western half of the county of Suffolk and the eastern fringes of Cambridgeshire. The archdeaconry was, despite its name, administratively based upon Bury St Edmunds, although Bury itself was not

²⁹ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 23. (no. 124. Adam Onge of Barningham, 31st Jan. 1439/40).

³⁰ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 359. (no. 166 Margaret Tye of Sudbury All Saints, 12 Apr. 1464).

part of the archdeaconry. The town was actually administered by the powerful Abbey of Bury St Edmunds as a separate and independent archdeaconry in its own right. There were other strange anomalies within the archdeaconry as well. Certain parishes, such as Hadleigh, Monks Eleigh, and Moulton, were actually part of the Archbishop of Canterbury's deanery of Bocking in Essex, despite being located within the center of the archdeaconry of Sudbury. However, the archdeaconry of Sudbury contained approximately half of the county of Suffolk within its borders, and in the 15th century this county was amongst the richest in England.³¹

Although many of the individual wills from the archdeaconry were lost many centuries ago, an unusually large number of the probate registers, in which copies of wills were transcribed, do survive. Over 100 volumes contain many tens of thousands of wills dating between 1439 and 1858 are now kept in the Suffolk Records Office. The earliest of these volumes, known simply as "Baldwyne" for reasons now unknown, contains records of over 2300 wills dated between 1439 and 1474. Although "Baldwyne" is not a complete account it does represent a significant corpus of material from a defined area and timeframe that allows at least limited statistical analysis to be undertaken.

The most obvious feature highlighted by even the most cursory examination of "Baldwyne" is that bequests for post mortem pilgrimages are actually a rarity. Of the 2,324 wills recorded during this period only 49 make reference to pilgrimage in one form or another. Of these one will, that of Geoffrey Artur of Wattisham (1460), was actually written prior to his own pilgrimage. In addition, five of the wills actually refer to funds being bequeathed for various masses to be said for the testator's soul at traditional sites of pilgrimage. For example, William Turnour of Walsham (1471) bequeaths 40d "*for a mass at Scala Celi*," whilst Laurence Spragy of Haughley (1470) specifies that three shillings are to go "*to Rome for masses to be celebrated for me and my friends at Scal Celi*."³² In none of these five cases is the undertaking of a post-mortem pilgrimage specifically mentioned. As Diana Webb indicates, such remote offering of money that did not involve the physical act of pilgrimage appear to become increasingly common in the later 15th century.

Putting aside these six wills, we are then left with only 43 individually recorded wills that specifically make bequests for post mortem pilgrimage - out of a total of over 2300 examples. In statistical terms we are then looking at a little over 2% of surviving wills containing reference to pilgrimage. Although it can be argued that "Baldwyne" contains only a selection of wills from the period, and that losses have been incurred even down to quite recent centuries, there is no evidence that these losses have the potential to dramatically alter such statistics. Indeed, such a percentage of wills containing pilgrimage references actually compare quite favorably with other surviving wills from elsewhere. It must then be concluded that the inclusion of a bequest of this nature was not simply unusual, but extremely rare.³³

Although the realization that such bequests are extremely rare, and given the large numbers of wills recorded in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, questioning whether further statistical analysis of the data is worthwhile is justified. However, even the most limited analysis

³¹ P. Northeast and H. Falvey (eds.), "Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74: Wills from the register 'Baldwyne'," pt. 2, *Suffolk Records Society* (2010), Introduction.

³² *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 470 (William Turnour of Walsham, 10 July 1471), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 477 (Laurence Spragy of Haughley, 15 Feb. 1470).

³³ Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England*, p. 192.

of the 43 wills that contain direct reference to pilgrimage makes plain a number of anomalies that are worthy of consideration.

The wills of the archdeaconry that do survive are not uniformly spread across the administrative area, or even chronologically across the period. Certain parishes, or groups of parishes, are represented by a far higher number of surviving wills than others. The assumption that these concentrations of surviving material would be centered upon the parishes that contained larger settlements, such as the market towns of Sudbury, Haverhill or Lavenham, would appear to be largely borne out by the evidence. However, there are also notable exceptions. Whilst population centers such as Sudbury and neighboring Long Melford and Glemsford appear well-represented, with 88, 42 and 33 wills respectively, similar market centers such as Haverhill and Eye, with 27 and 31 wills, appear less well so. Similarly, in the relatively sparsely populated edge of fenland the village of Mildenhall is represented by 61 wills, whilst its neighbor Lakenheath, which was economically similar in many respects, is represented by only nine wills. The same slightly uneven distribution is also seen at the smaller parish level. Parishes such as Ixworth and Woolpit, both of which may be regarded as reasonably affluent, are represented by 24 and 29 wills respectively. However, similarly affluent parishes such as Brent Eleigh and Hengrave are barely represented, with only two and three wills respectively. However, taken across the entire archdeaconry it would appear that the number of surviving wills does correspond in general terms with the relative local population. In purely geographical terms, taken across the entire period, this creates a number of concentrations of wills, or "hot spots."

In purely statistical terms those wills that contain reference to pilgrimage should also show a similar geographic bias as those that do not. Although the limited numbers of wills may be considered to have the potential to slightly alter this bias, a concentration of these wills around certain numerical hot spots should be identifiable. However, this is not the case. Geographical analysis of the 43 wills does indicate certain concentrations in their location. However, these new "hot spots" do not correspond to the areas where the general wills are concentrated. Whilst Sudbury and Glemsford, two of the most noticeable general concentrations of surviving wills, are represented by two specific references to pilgrimage in each parish, the 43 wills of neighboring Long Melford contain none. Similarly the 45 wills of Lavenham contain only one reference to pilgrimage, whilst the 61 wills of Mildenhall contain none.

Indeed, the "hot spots" associated with reference to pilgrimage in their wills are located well away from the previously identified concentration. Intriguingly, of the parishes that sit along the northern edge of the archdeaconry eleven of them represent between them 19 wills that contain specific reference to pilgrimage. The parish of Barningham, is represented by only 18 wills and yet three of these contain pilgrimage references. Nearby Rickingham Inferior is represented by only nine wills, two of which contain pilgrimage references. Its neighbor, Rickingham Superior, is represented by only eight wills, of which two contain pilgrimage references. Neighboring Botesdale and Thelnetham are represented by 19 and 16 wills respectively, and yet both have two wills that contain pilgrimage references. In all this collection

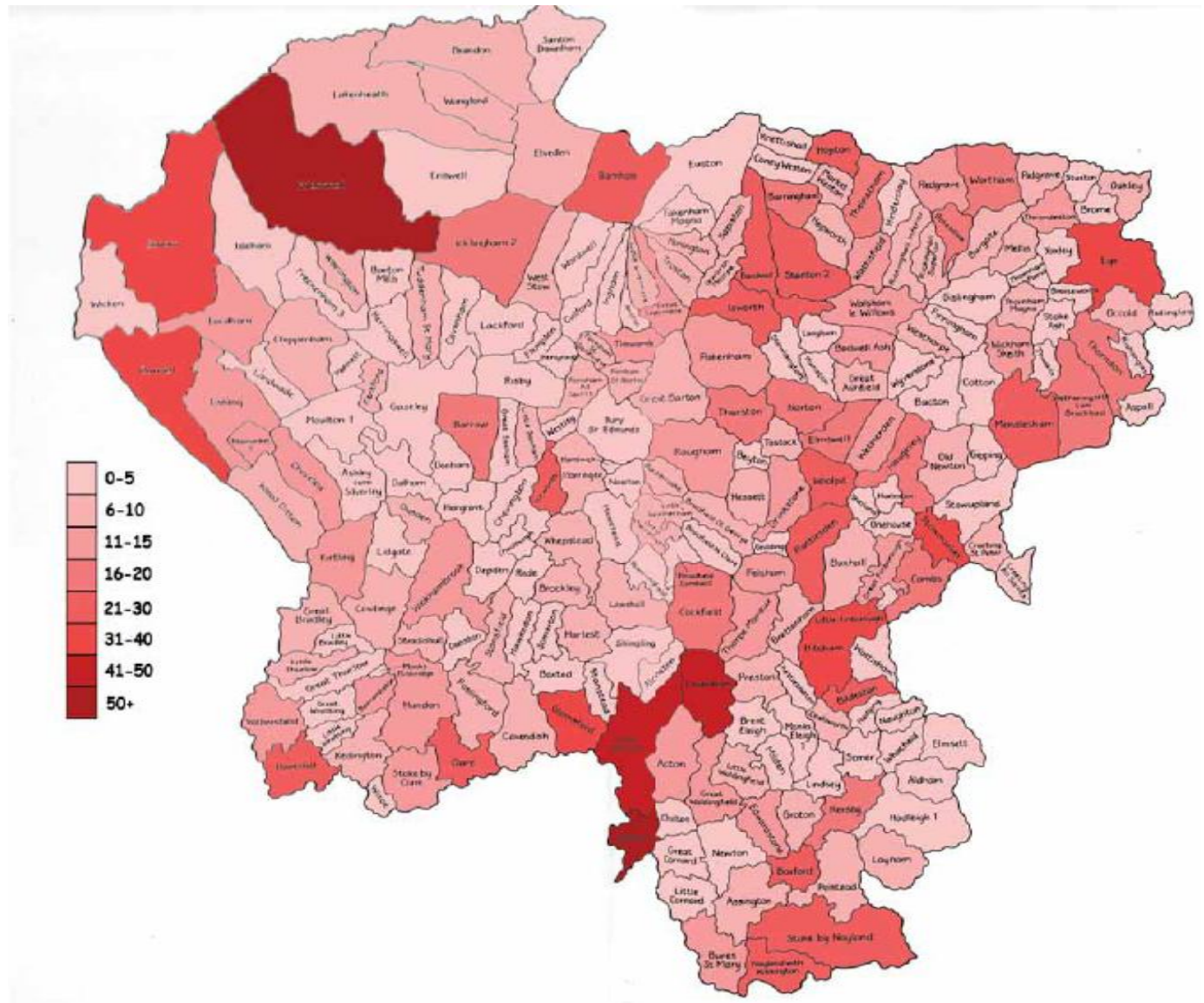


FIGURE 2 Number of wills surviving in late medieval Suffolk, by parish. Map: author.

of parishes, strung out along the Norfolk border, contains over 40% of all the wills that contain pilgrimage references – yet represent less than 5% of the total wills recorded. This area, which appears centered upon the six parishes of Rickingham Superior, Rickingham Inferior, Barningham, Bottesdale, Thelnetham and Hepworth, clearly shows a marked bias for the surviving wills to contain pilgrimage references. A similar concentration of pilgrimage references appears further south centered upon the parishes of Stowmarket, Newton, Haughley and Creeting St Peter. Although this concentration is located around a significant population

center, it is worthy of note that Stowmarket appears less-well represented in terms of general numbers of surviving wills than its contemporaries.

The number of pilgrimage references contained in the wills of these areas is statistically improbable. If these inclusion of pilgrimage bequests in wills was entirely a reflection of the individual then, in purely statistical terms, the references should be spread throughout the archdeaconry in a similar manner to the wills in general. In simple terms, the majority of references should be concentrated around the population centers of such market towns as Sudbury and the neighboring parishes of Glemsford and Long Melford. That they are not located in these places, but demonstrate a clear, but different, geographical bias, would strongly suggest that other factors have influenced the testator's decision to include a pilgrimage bequest in their will.

What possible factors could be causing these concentrations of bequests for post mortem pilgrimage? In the first instance, the influence of family, friends, neighbors and even local tradition cannot be ruled out. That Thomas Grene of Creting St Peter requested a pilgrimage to Rome in his will of 1439 may well have influenced the 1462 bequest of a William Grene of Creting St Peter for a pilgrimage to Rome and Compostela.³⁴ Likewise, the 1448 request of

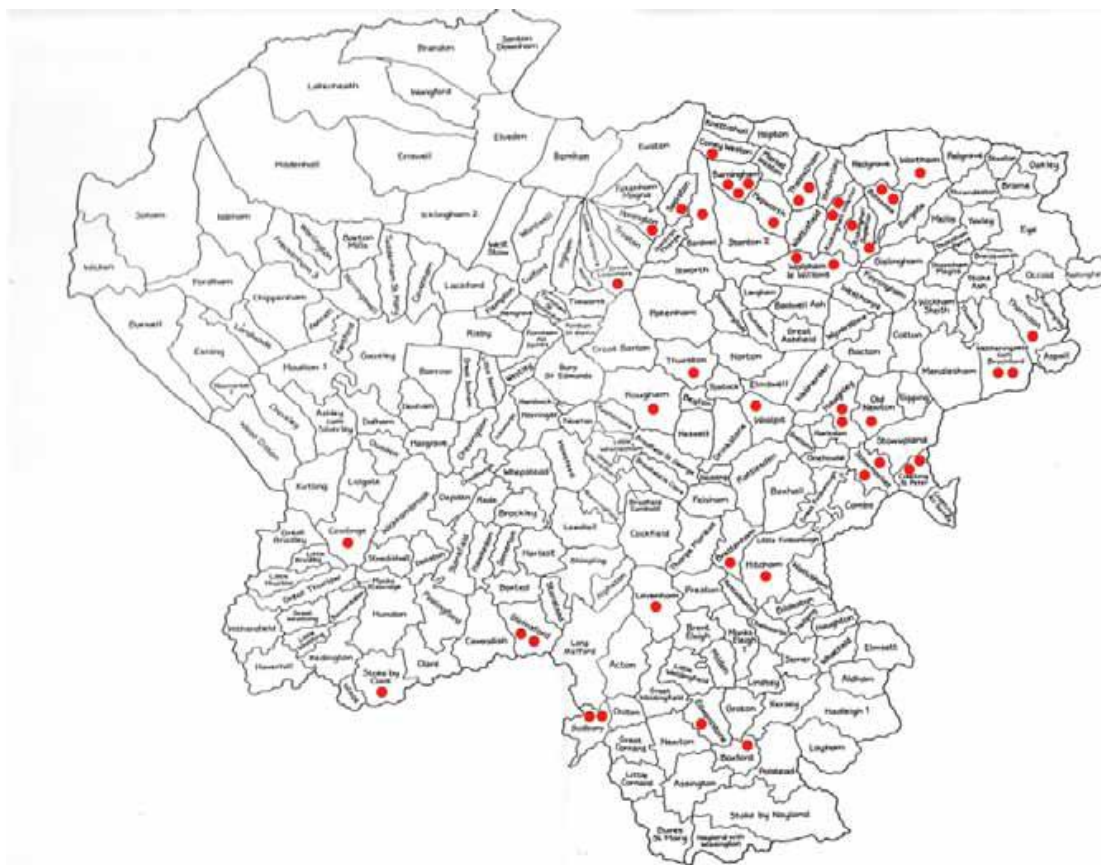


FIGURE 3 Distribution of wills containing post-mortem pilgrimage requests by parish in Suffolk. Map: author.

³⁴ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 3. (no. 20 Thomas Grene of Creting St Peter, 31st Oct. 1439), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 336. (no. 89 William Grene of Creting St Peter, 8 Nov 1462).

Richard Chapman of Rickinghall Inferior for a pilgrimage to Rome may have influenced the 1471 request of John Chapman of the same parish for a pilgrimage to the same destination.³⁵

In a similar vein, the 1471 bequest of Thomas Roote of Glemsford for a pilgrim to visit Walsingham and Canterbury was probably echoed in Nicholas Roberdson of Glemsford's request the same destinations for pilgrimage the following year.³⁶ However, the similarity in chosen destinations between testators may actually be pointing to a much more immediate influencing factor. In the neighboring parishes of Walsham le Willows, Botesdale, and Rickinghall Inferior, the wills of Joan Robhood (1468), Thomas Goldfynche (May 1471) and John Chapman (April 1471) all requested post-mortem pilgrimages to "*the sepulchres of the Apostles Peter and Paul*" (Rome).³⁷ The request for pilgrimages to the same specific destination, coupled with the exact same terminology used in each will, would suggest that the influencing factor may well have been the individual who actually scribed the wills themselves. This is perhaps further supported by a general examination of the bequests for pilgrimage that appear in the concentration of wills surrounding the six parishes of Rickinghall Superior, Rickinghall Inferior, Barningham, Bottesdale, Thelnetham and Hepworth. Of the 12 bequests for post-mortem pilgrimage contained in the wills of these parishes no less than eight specify Rome as the destination - a far higher proportion than the average at this period.

The suggestion of scribal influence in the bequests of testators is nothing new.³⁸ However, the extent of this influence is more difficult to quantify. That both Nicholas Rodys (April 1472) and Simon Turnour (March 1472) left bequests to "*the east window of the south side*" of Combs church, as opposed the numerous other windows in the building, may well reflect nothing more than local support for a major building project.³⁹ Likewise, the bequests of Rose Goddrych (August 1470) and Isabel Machon (April 1471) for windows in the newly built porch of Felsham church may be no more than a local desire to see a long running project completed.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 1, Fol. 85 v. (no.393 Richard Chapman of Rickinghall Inferior, 24th, May, 1448), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 480 (no. 522 John Chapman the elder of Rickinghall Inferior, 11 April 1471).

³⁶ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 476 (no. 508 Thomas Roote of Glemsford, 30 June 1471), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 519 (no. 640 Nicholas Roberdson of Glemsford, 22 Feb. 1472).

³⁷ *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 434 (no.401 Joan Robhood of Walsham le Willows, widow, 1 August 1468), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 460 (no. 467 Thomas Goldfynche of Botesdale, 9 May 1471), *Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74*, pt. 2, Fol. 480 (no. 522 John Chapman the elder of Rickinghall Inferior, 11 April 1471).

³⁸ The role of scribal influence of wills, with particular emphasis upon the form and structure of wills has been the subject of numerous studies. See C. Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered" in M.A. Hicks (ed.), *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Later Medieval England*, Alan Sutton Publishing (1990), n. 6.

³⁹ P. Northeast and H. Falvey (eds.), "Wills of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury, 1439-74: Wills from the register 'Baldwyne'," pt. 2, *Suffolk Records Society* (2010), p. lvii.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

However, the close dating of such bequests would suggest that such charitable acts were undoubtedly being directed towards works that would have been close to the heart of the parish priest. However, to be able to suggest that such clusters of similar bequests, be it for pilgrimage or building works, were the result of scribal influence then it should also be able to demonstrate that other clusters or hot spots for identical bequests also exist.

In the over 2,300 wills of the archdeaconry of Sudbury it is possible to identify a number of other bequest hot spots that, like those for post mortem pilgrimage, show significant statistical anomalies in their location. A general examination of bequests made for the painting of images within the church, albeit rarely defined as being either a statue or wall paintings, also show very clear geographical bias. Once again the areas that contain a large number of surviving wills, such as the parishes of Sudbury, Long Melford and Lavenham, do not appear as concentrations of bequests for image painting. Interestingly, the area to the north of the archdeaconry, where the concentration of pilgrimage bequests is located, is also largely devoid of image painting bequests. The principle concentration of these bequests is in the area of Stowmarket, in the far east of the archdeaconry. Here, within six parishes, are to be found 11 out of the 29 painting bequests. Although it must be acknowledged that Stowmarket does represent a minor population

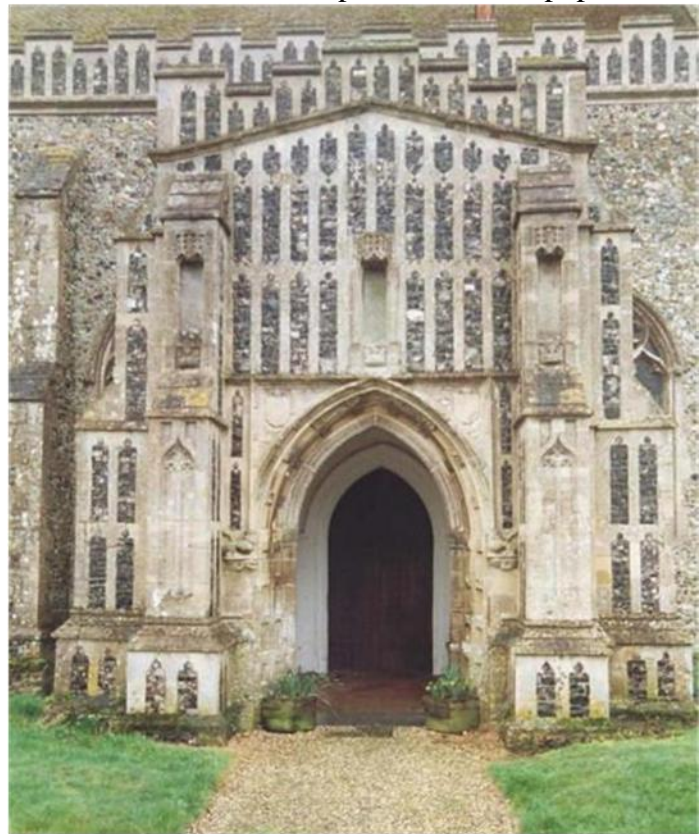


FIGURE 4a Acts of Mercy Window, 15th-century, Church of St. Mary, Combs, Suffolk;
FIGURE 3b Porch, Felsham Church of St. Peter. 15th century, Felsham, Suffolk. Photos: Alice Malliet.

center, and does contain a significant number of surviving wills, the level of concentration is such that, in purely statistical terms, it is comparable with the concentration of pilgrimage bequests located in the north.

The identification of these multiple bequest concentrations, lying away from population centers and areas that show concentrations of surviving wills, indicate that factors other than probability are likely to be influencing the statistics. The nature of the bequests, and the repeated use of the same phraseology within the documents, would suggest that we are seeing a significant level of influence or intervention from the priest or scribe. Although some of these bequests, and repetitions, may well be the result of local influence of family, friends or neighbors, the level of concentrations and their distribution throughout the parish hierarchy would suggest that the most likely source was the parish priest himself.

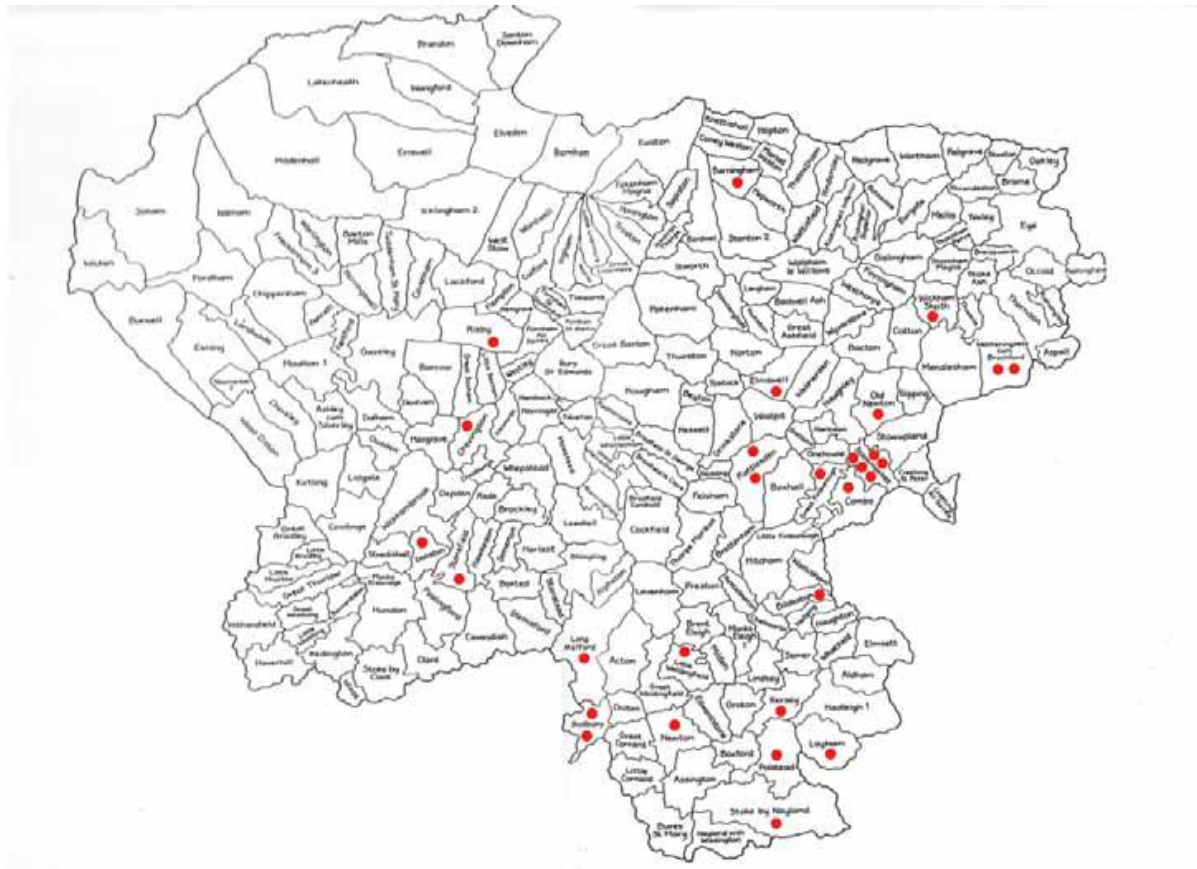


FIGURE 5 Distribution of wills containing painting bequests, by parish in late medieval Suffolk. Map: author.

Conclusions

Although wills have long been regarded as a key source of evidence regarding aspects of lay piety and pilgrimage amongst the commonality and middling sort the value of these documents, and their veracity as primary sources, must be regarded as questionable. In the first instance, the number of wills that include reference to post mortem pilgrimage constitute a very small percentage of all surviving wills. In the archdeaconry of Sudbury, which may be regarded

as a reasonably typical example, such references appear in only a little over 2% of surviving documents. As seen in the wider corpus, these documents are atypical, often created at a time of extreme physical and spiritual stress. They are subject to external influence, from friends, family and, above all perhaps, those individuals who both drafted the wills themselves and were responsible for the spiritual wellbeing of the testator. This clerical influence, as evidenced by the geographical and chronological concentration of bequests in the wills of the archdeaconry of Sudbury, would appear to be an extremely significant factor in the nature of the bequests they contain in terms of post mortem pilgrimage. Although in most cases such clerical influence can never be precisely demonstrated, with few parishes containing the depth of documentation needed to rule out all other possible influencing factors, there are a small number of examples that may act as exemplars of the larger phenomena.

Recent analysis by Eamon Duffy of the tiny 16th-century West Country parish of Morebath, based upon the accounts of the long serving vicar, have clearly shown how one individual can, over the period of a single lifetime, introduce, promote and firmly establish devotion to a local cult.⁴¹ Shortly after his arrival in the parish in 1520 Sir Christopher Trychay introduced into his tiny church the cult of St Sidwell, a local saint with whom he had an affinity. He began his long campaign by personally paying 33s 4d for a gilded statue of the saint that was set up on the "Jesus altar." The first modest bequests came within three years with minor gifts of altar cloths and a brass bowl. However, what began as a trickle of bequests soon developed into a steady and regular stream of gifts. Lamps, basins, lights and even swarms of bees were soon being devoted to the saint and by 1526 the saint even had her own small "store," administered by the churchwardens and supported by her own flock of sheep. Between her introduction in 1520 and the banning of such images in 1546, St Sidwell gradually became a cornerstone of parish devotion, which resulted in the statue eventually being adorned with gold and silver surrounded by colored and painted cloths - and even the naming of at least two of the parishes children as "Sydwell."⁴² From the middle of the 1520s onwards it is a rare parish will that does not contain bequests and gifts to the saint. Indeed, examination of the parish wills, without prior knowledge of the priest's devotion and promotion of the cult of St Sidwell, would suggest to researchers a strong local tradition. However, by examining the wills in the context of the wider parish records, it becomes clear that this sudden upwelling of devotion to the saint was the result of a single individual's influence and dogged persistence.

It must, therefore, be concluded that the use and analysis of wills in isolation, be it concerning pilgrimage bequests or devotion to wider cults, is fraught with possible dangers of misinterpretation. Indeed, as Burgess states, "wills were not designed to serve historians."⁴³ Given that historians of pilgrimage and lay piety are reliant upon only single passing references to evidence the existence of certain local cults, as shown with such sites as Our Lady of Reepham and Our Lady of Lakenheath, we must remain cautious of ascribing too much significance to such references, no matter how fascinating they may appear. Although

⁴¹ Eamon Duffy, *The voices of Morebath; Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village*, Yale University Press, 2001.

⁴² Ibid. pp.73-78.

⁴³ C. Burgess, "Late Medieval Wills," p. 15.



FIGURE 6 Church of St Sidwell, Morebath, Devon, mostly 15th century. Photo: Alice Malliet.

they may be evidence of a popular cult of limited duration that has been previously overlooked, as well may be the case with the West Country "Maiden of Marston" who appears in a handful of 15th century Suffolk wills, they are just as likely to be simply manifestations of the influence of local priests who were perhaps, less persuasive and persistent than Morebath's Sir Christopher Trychay.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ The "Maiden of Manston" appears in two wills of the archdeaconry of Sudbury (Isabel Man of Brettenham and Margaret Tye of Sudbury). She is also mentioned in the 1477 Suffolk will of Christopher Bennytt of Debenham (SROI, vol. II, fol. 347) and the 1484 will of John Tizard of Cratfield (SROI, IC/AA2/3/152). Although the site of this probable image shrine has been tentatively identified as being near Shaftesbury in Dorset little else is known of it. Why it should significantly feature in Suffolk wills of the period remains a mystery.



The Emperor Charles V as Santiago Matamoros

by Jan van Herwaarden, University of Rotterdam

Introduction: a missing painting?

Towards the end of 1983, in connection with *Europalia 85 España*, plans were mooted to mount an exhibition in the Belgian city of Ghent, which would survey the European significance of the Spanish veneration of the Apostle James the Great, otherwise known as Santiago de Compostela.¹ Henri Defoer of the Catharijne Convent Museum in Utrecht and myself were asked to organize the Dutch contribution to this exhibition. Now, I very much wanted to borrow a certain painting for this exhibition, namely, the portrait of the emperor Charles V as *Jacobus Matamoros*, that is, James the Slayer of Moors. **(Figure 1)** The painting is presently in the Worcester Art Museum in Worcester, Massachusetts, USA. I was familiar with the painting thanks to an illustration in the book by Yves Bottineau, *Les chemins de Saint Jacques*, in which the picture is attributed to a painter from the Dutch city of Leiden, one Cornelis Corneliszoon Kunst (1492/3-1544).²

The exhibition organizers entrusted the acquisition of the painting to George Zarnecki, then director of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute in London. The reply to his request to borrow the picture was a long time coming – and when it did arrive, was highly puzzling. We were informed that the painting was not present in the Worcester Museum, nor did they have anything comparable; presumably, they suggested, there was a confusion of Worcesters! Of course, Zarnecki immediately informed me of this curious news and all I could do was reiterate that my sources gave the location as Worcester Massachusetts.³ Meanwhile, time was running out and since there were many other equally interesting items of Jacobiana traveling to Ghent from far and wide, and it was high time the catalog was prepared, we decided to let the matter drop for the time being; but it continued to vex me.

It was to be many years later, when I was preparing material about the role of the Spanish veneration of St James as a component in the struggle against Islam during the Spanish *Reconquista*, that the portrait of Charles V as James the Slayer of Moors once more made an appearance – and this time the story received a fitting conclusion.⁴ The time had come to find out what exactly had happened to the painting. And what was the answer? The portrait most certainly was in the Worcester Museum in the USA – but it was said to be a completely different representation, to wit, the humiliation of the Roman emperor Valerianus (AD199-after 260) by the Persian king Sapor I (240/2-272).⁵ We were thus confronted with the question: what exactly did this painting represent?

Let us assume: the emperor Charles V as James the Slayer of Moors, Santiago Matamoros

According to the theory generally held until 1974 the panel represents the emperor Charles V mounted upon a white stallion with a Moorish dignitary prostrate before him: an allegory for Charles's victory at Tunis in July 1535. He overcame Khair-ed-Din (1466?/1483?-1546), the lord of Algiers and admiral of the Turkish fleet, who had recently conquered the kingdom of Tunisia. The name literally means "Defender of the Faith"; he was also known by the



FIGURE 1 Charles V as Santiago Matamoros. Photo: Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, MA, USA.

nickname Barbarossa. Upon the latter's defeat by Charles, the legitimate "king", Mulay Hasan (reigned 1526-1542), was restored to the throne.⁶ In general, Charles's expedition was held to be a great success. His return journey from North Africa via Sicily and Italy was one uninterrupted triumphal progress, one of the highlights being held in Rome on Easter Monday, 17 April 1536 when the emperor made an important political speech in the presence of Pope Paul III.⁷ It isn't so surprising that Charles V, in view of the popularity of the cult of St James and the emperor's Spanish connections, was represented as James Matamoros: James the Slayer of

Moors. **(Figure 2)** The white stallion harks back to tales of the miraculous appearance of the Apostle James the Great in moments of conflict and crisis, as at the Battle of Clavijo. **(Figure 3)**



FIGURE 2 Martin Schongauer, *Santiago appears in the Battle of Clavijo* (ca. 1472), dia-positive.
Photo: Collection Jan van Herwaarden.



FIGURE 3 Clavijo as it is today with the ruins of the 14th-century castle. Photo: Jan van Herwaarden.

According to a 12th-century addition to the legend of St. James it was in this battle, which would have been fought in 834, 844 or 859,⁸ that St James helped the Asturian king Ramiro obtain victory. **(Figure 4)** This episode became extremely popular as a theme in visual art, but was much disputed while it was combined with the Reconquista promoting a tax payment known as the *Voto de Santiago*, to be paid by Christians to Compostela, once they had been freed from the yoke of the oppressors (that is, the Arabs). They owed their liberation to St. James, and so it was supposed to be quite logical that a small payment should be made to his shrine in gratitude for his help. Not surprisingly, those involved thought slightly differently, and thus the *Voto* proved the source of innumerable conflicts.⁹ It is remarkable to note that the whole theme is left out the three-volume Spanish standard work about the pilgrimages to Saint James by Vazquez de Parga, LaCarra and Uria Riù, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, published in 1948-1949: Franco had gained victory in the Spanish Civil War being assisted by his Moroccan troops.¹⁰ The Spanish expansion over the Atlantic brought the theme in the New World, where the *Matamoros* became *Mataindios* (Slayer of Indians) or *Matacaribes* (Slayer of the Caribbeans).¹¹ **(Figure 5)** Interestingly, the statue of St James carried in processions in Santiago de Compostela also represents St. James as Matamoros; this is probably the most famous representation of this theme.¹²

Back to the painting: it currently hangs (since 1934) in the museum of Worcester (Massachusetts, USA). Horst Woldemar Janson wrote a report on the panel in the museum's annual book of records in 1935, in which he referred to the appearance of St James during the Battle of Clavijo. The representation looks remarkably like the picture of James Matamoros on one of the banners that was carried during the expedition. Janson then refers to other similar portraits and suggests a resemblance between the facial expression of Charles V in this panel and later portraits by Titian, for example the famous picture of Charles V after the battle of Mühlberg, 1547. In the Worcester Art Museum catalog the resemblance is described as "far from compelling," but this is very much a matter of opinion.¹³

Janson doesn't go so far as to attribute the panel to Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen (1500-1559), who, being the court painter of Charles V, had shared the whole expedition from start to finish and who on the journey home through Italy remained for much of the time in the emperor's company.¹⁴ In June 1546 Vermeyen made a contract with the emperor's sister Mary of Hungary, who represented her brother as regent(ess) of the Low Countries, to produce designs which could be used for a series of tapestries on the subject of the expedition.¹⁵ This makes it highly possible that Vermeyen created the scene discussed, and in my opinion there is a striking likeness between the knight on this panel and the picture of Charles V in the cartoon Vermeyen made between 1546 and 1548 on which the second tapestry is based. **(Figure 6)** It is titled *Charles V inspecting the troops at Barcelona*, an event that apparently took place on Friday 14 May "at 5 o'clock in the morning by the Saint Daniel's Gateway."¹⁶ It is evident that these show one and the same person, namely Charles V.¹⁷

As far as the actual painter of the panel is concerned, Janson came no further than suggesting that this may have been a pupil of the prominent Leiden painter Cornelis Engebrechtszoon (1468-1527), who then went on to work further in the circle of Vermeyen.¹⁸ Various writers have connected a number of names of originally Netherlandish artists with this piece, including that of Jan Wellenszoon de Cock (before 1485-c.1528)¹⁹ and Cornelis Corneliszoon Kunst (1492/3-1544),²⁰ a son of Cornelis Engebrechtszoon (whose name, incidentally, is also mentioned from time to time in connection with this work).²¹ If either Jan Wellenszoon de Cock or Cornelis Engebrechtszoon had in fact painted this scene, then any reference to events at Tunis would naturally be out of the question.



FIGURE 4 *St. James comes to Ramiro's Help*, picture on wood above the entrance to the Church of Villadangos del Páramo, along the way to Saint James between León and Astorga.
Photo: Jan van Herwaarden.



FIGURE 5 *Santiago Matamoros*, 18th-century procession-statue, Santiago de Compostela.
Photo: Jan van Herwaarden.

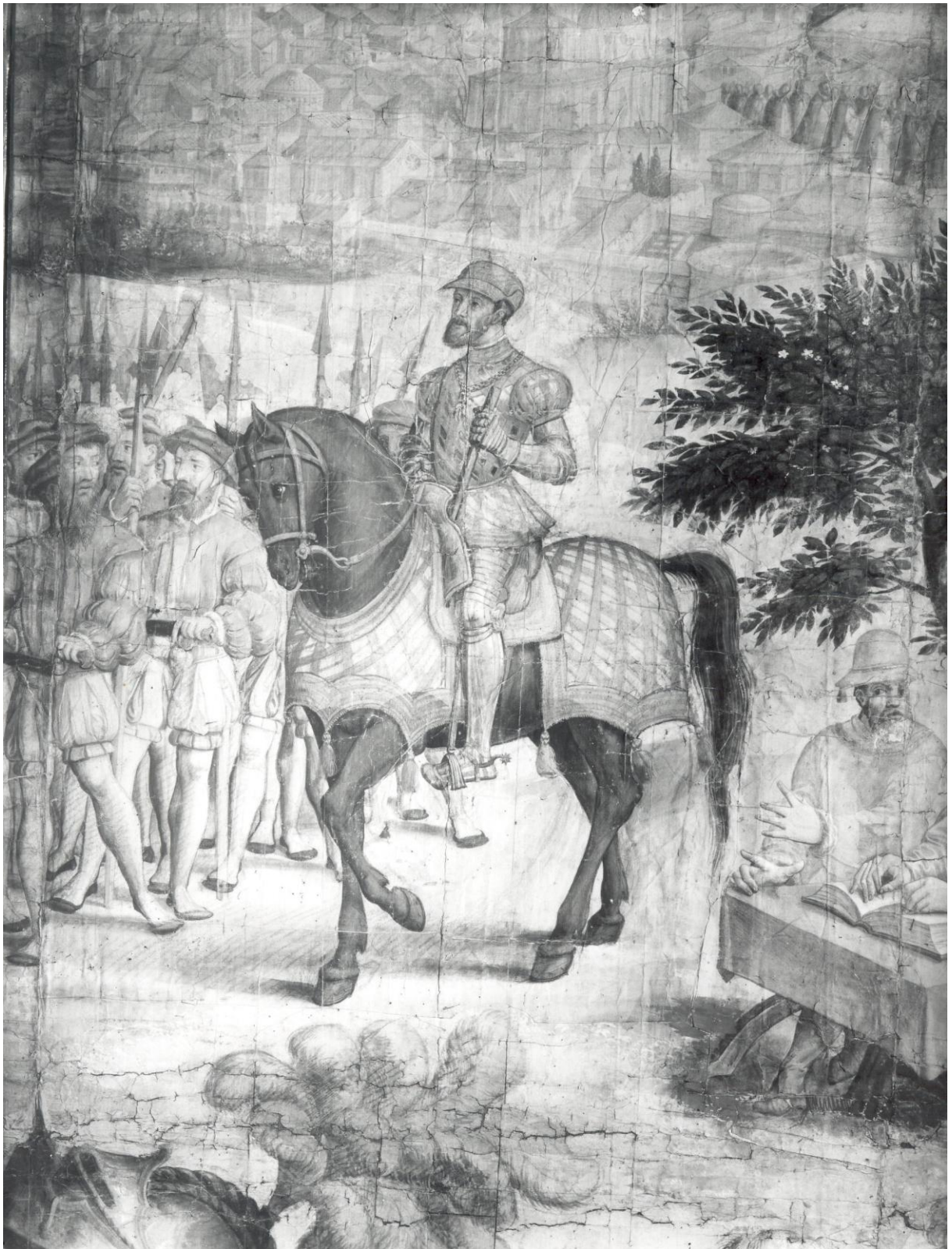


FIGURE 6 Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen, *Cartoon of Charles V inspecting the troops at Barcelona* (c. 1548). Photo: Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna.

An alternative theory: the Persian King Sapor and the humiliation of the Roman emperor Valerianus

In the catalog of the Worcester Art Museum published in 1974 the suggested date of the panel is around 1515-25 and - with an obvious reference to Jan Wellens de Cock - it is attributed to the Antwerp School. It states quite definitely that the scene represents the humiliation of the emperor Valerianus (AD199-after 260) by the Persian king Sapor I (240/2-272), who in 260 achieved a crushing victory over Valerianus, taking him prisoner;²² this interpretation was first voiced somewhat tentatively in 1927 following an exhibition held in London.²³ By way of comparison, the Worcester catalog referred to the preliminary drawings of Hans Holbein the Younger from around 1521 made for the Council Chamber in Basle, showing a historical moralizing scene. Incidentally, the sketches were probably never implemented.²⁴ **(Figure 7)**

The drawing clearly shows the Persian king Sapor mounting his horse using the bowed back of Valerianus as a footstool; the latter is crouched upon his hands and knees. This episode might well be seen as an illustration of the words in Psalm 110:1 "The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool," a text that found its echo in the New Testament in Paul's letter to the Hebrews (10:13) "... expecting till his enemies be made his footstool."²⁵ The episode is described by Lactantius (AD c. 250-c. 320), whose text only emerged for the first time in 1679. However, the story is mentioned as a prophecy in the description of the martyrdom of Pontius of Cimiez, who was executed in the persecutions under Valerianus in 257. In the life of this saint, probably written in the sixth century, there is a reference to a sermon in which he foretold that Valerianus would be humiliated in this manner by Sapor.²⁶ The passage appeared in the *Speculum Historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais and was lifted from that source in around 1300, translated, and placed in the Second Part of the Middle Dutch *Spiegel Historiael*, a work consisting almost entirely of stories of the saints by Philips Utenbroeke, and which continues the work of Jacob of Maerlant.²⁷ However, as far as I know, this did not imply that the text was widely circulated through the Netherlands. The passage in the text from the *Spiegel Historiael* has been handed down in only one manuscript, which was produced in the Carthusian monastery of Herne in about 1400 and later found its way into the library of the monastery of Rooklooster near Brussels.²⁸ In the *Divisiechroniek* of 1517 (which is important for the formation of images in the Netherlands) although Valerianus appears, he does so without the exemplum.²⁹

Furthermore, the story about Pontius only occurs in one Middle Dutch manuscript martyrology dating from 1574.³⁰ In the Lives of the Saints, which were distributed throughout the length and breadth of the Netherlands, there is no mention of Pontius; his feast day isn't listed in either a Southern or a Northern Netherlandish edition of the Golden Legend, *Legenda aurea*.³¹ However, Pontius does appear in most manuscripts and early printed editions of a Southern German version of the Lives of the Saints and later editions of this - both published in Nuremberg - although his feast day is given as 8 March.³² If we consider the contribution of Beatus Rhenanus (1485-1547), active in Sélestat (Alsace) - who in all probability advised the council of Basle on this matter - and also the drawings by Holbein, the southern German sphere of influence radiated as far as Alsace and Basle. Sebastian Münster (1488-1552), a geographer active in Basle from 1529, also includes the Sapor-Valerianus account in his *Cosmographie*.³³ As for the picture, according to the Worcester catalog it is supposed to be an extremely rare presentation of a scene used to symbolize the concept of Justice; apart from this panel the only other example we know of this scene is the Holbein drawing.³⁴



FIGURE 7 Design of Hans Holbein the Younger, *The Persian King Sapor Humiliates the Roman Emperor Valerian* (1521). Photo: Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel.

Charles V as James Matamoros after all

Of course this doesn't make the first explanation totally unacceptable, but the other interpretation, in view of the popularity of the James cult, seems more plausible. Charles V, when a young man, (**Figure 8**) once made a vow to go on pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. It was like this: on Monday 7 September 1517 Charles V set sail from Middelburg in Zeeland for Spain. The ship's captain was Jan Cornelis from Zierikzee, the very man who in 1506 had brought Charles's father Philip the Fair to Spain. Five days into the voyage, according to the account followed here, thus on Friday 11 September, a violent storm blew up when the ship was crossing the Bay of Biscay. The storm lasted fourteen hours and it was noted on 12 September that "because of the tempest the king swore a vow that he



FIGURE 8 Bernard of Orley, Charles V (1516), Musée de Brou, Bourg-en-Bresse. Photo: Collection of Jan van Herwaarden.

would make a pilgrimage to Santiago in Galicia.”³⁵ (Figure 9) This incident shows very clearly how closely Erasmus’s *Colloquium Naufragium* (On shipwrecks) was related to actual incidents and how familiar a phenomenon his subject must have been for his contemporaries. For although the *Colloquium* was first published in the *Colloquia* edition of 1523, it was, in fact, based on an account Erasmus had heard of a shipwreck in January 1516. From other sources we also hear of vows hastily made in the face of threatening shipwreck. The formula



FIGURE 9 *Shipwreck with doves as souls of the dead*, 14th-century Flemish miniature, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Douce 374, 40r. Photo: Collection of Jan van Herwaarden.

book of the chancellery of the Utrecht bishops provides a couple of examples of this type of vow, including a vow to make a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, for having been saved from shipwreck. In the report of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1519, the Dominican priest Jan Want observed in connection with this type of vow made in the hope of staving off shipwreck that he, as a priest, wasn't permitted to make vows of this sort.³⁶

And what else happened to Charles V on that ocean trip in 1517? For a whole week the vessel tossed to and fro and no one knew exactly where they were on the sea: "everyone on board spent the whole night earnestly praying and the writer earnestly doubting." Then on Saturday 19 September they spied land – the captain, Jan Corneliszoon, had observed the previous evening that they were approaching the coast of the Asturias, in northwest Spain. A discussion ensued as to whether they should bear away in the direction of Santander and from there travel on to Santiago de Compostela, or go ashore at the first possible opportunity. They decided on the latter course, whereby they would avoid further adverse winds. That day the king dined on board at midday and then everyone went ashore at Tazones and took the route inland towards Villaviciosa. After spending a few days there, they continued towards Santander. It proved impossible to fulfil the vow to make a pilgrimage to Santiago at that time, because when they landed they were told that the plague was raging in that part of the country.³⁷

On his way back to The Netherlands we see, however, in 1520 Charles making his pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, approaching from the direction of Valladolid. He took the route that so many pilgrims have followed, the *Ruta de los Franceses*, coming from Astorga, traveling as follows, beginning on 15 March, with each place marking a day: Astorga, Rabanal del Camino, Ponferrada, Villafranca del Bierzo, Vega de Valcarce, Triacastela, Sarría, Portomarín, via Ligonde towards Mellid and finally on Monday 27 March arriving towards the end of the day in Santiago de Compostela; the two Sundays during the trip were observed as days of rest and spent in respectively Ponferrada and Mellid. Once in Compostela Charles didn't abandon his task of reigning monarch, and dealt out a vast quantity of honors to his loyal followers. But there was also time for relaxation, as appears from an item on an account stating that the king had paid a certain sum of money on 10 April to six trumpeters of the archbishop of Santiago de Compostela for entertaining him with their music while he was partaking of his midday meal.³⁸ Charles stayed in and near Santiago until 12 April 1520, leaving on Friday 13 April for La Coruña, whence he set sail for The Netherlands on Sunday 20 May.³⁹ Clearly, Charles V would have been familiar with the Spanish veneration of St James.

Now back to 1535 and the emperor's expedition to Tunis which from the very start caused quite a sensation. This appears from the correspondence of Erasmus, which I now quote. **(Figure 10)** On 21 February 1535 Erasmus wrote from Freiburg im Breisgau to his financial representative in Antwerp Erasmus Schets (died 1550) that "the emperor was preparing himself to confront the pirate," by which he meant Barbarossa. A week later Erasmus informed his Polish friend Piotr Tomicki (1464-1535) about the preparations for the expedition which, according to some people – at least so Erasmus reported – was a dubious enterprise.⁴⁰ Erasmus received further news concerning preparations for the the expedition, from Genoa, Rome and Antwerp; in both Genoa and Antwerp a fleet of considerable size was being equipped.⁴¹ Meanwhile Charles V, having spent several months in Madrid, announced on 1 March 1535 that he was leaving for Barcelona where he would prepare his expedition against Barbarossa. The following day Charles left Madrid for Barcelona where he arrived on Saturday 3 April, after he had made a pilgrimage to the cloister of Our Lady of Montserrat to beseech God's blessing on his enterprise. On Thursday 1 June 1535 the fleet sailed out from Barcelona bound for North Africa.⁴²

At the close of July Erasmus received a message from Düsseldorf from Conrad Heresbach (1496-1576), councillor to duke Willem V of Cleves, saying that every day new and favorable news arrived concerning the war against Barbarossa; in Brabant people were already celebrating the emperor's victory with firework displays – which the writer considered somewhat premature.⁴³ Considering the slow speed with which news traveled in those times it seems improbable that people in Düsseldorf or Brabant already knew that on 14 July the port of Goleta had been stormed, led by Charles in person, and captured, and that the emperor had triumphantly entered the city of Tunis on 21 July.⁴⁴ In mid-August Erasmus received news from three of his correspondents telling of Charles's victory, which meant the liberation of many thousand Christians who had previously been taken prisoner. One of Erasmus's pen-pals even sent him a letter from Rome, with a sketch-plan of the situation in northern Africa.⁴⁵ According to one report of the expedition, after the capture of Tunis on 21 July 1535 on that very day 20,000 Christian captives were liberated.⁴⁶ This caused Erasmus's faithful friend from Bavaria, Ambrosius Gumpfenberg (c. 1500-1574) to write to him from Rome on 21 August 1535: "God gave the emperor victory in all things and his grace to us all."⁴⁷ Erasmus remained sceptical, especially since in his opinion the emperor would have been better employed attending to affairs in Germany where the city of Münster had fallen into the hands of the Anabaptists.⁴⁸



FIGURE 10 Hans Holbein the Younger, *Erasmus, the so-called Longford-portrait* (1523). Photo: After postcard, collection Jan van Herwaarden.

In one of the accounts of Charles's expedition there is an explicit reference to the fact that a few days after the victory at Tunis the emperor and his entourage celebrated Mass on the feast day of James the Great (25 July). They attended the service, it is told, in a small Franciscan monastery on the outskirts of the city.⁴⁹ We may assume that the recent victory was linked with the presentation of James as the Slayer of Moors, *Matamoros*. This seems all the more likely given that, according to another account, St James was invoked during a skirmish; furthermore 1535 was a Holy Year for Santiago because the saint's feastday fell on a Sunday in that year.⁵⁰ And still further, when Charles was in Naples during his triumphant procession through Sicily and Italy, he met the humanist and historian Paolo Giovio (1483-1552). The emperor told him in a private conversation how he had, as a kind of battle cry, called upon James the Great with a loud voice. This confirms beyond any doubt the relationship between Charles V and James Matamoros.⁵¹

The picture now becomes clear: the victorious emperor mounted upon his steed beside a crouching figure, depicted in keeping with illustrations of James Matamoros as a wretched figure prostrate upon his back - quite a different position from the footstool-crouching figure of Valerianus in Holbein's drawing. Thus it was with the caption "Charles V portrayed as St James" that the panel was used in 1964 to illustrate Yves Bottineau's *Les chemins de Saint Jacques*.⁵² The same interpretation was followed by André Chastel (who attributed the panel to Cornelis Vermeijen) in a discussion over Charles V's triumphal processions in Italy. Moreover, Chastel pointed out a parallel here with the depiction of Charles V as a victorious mounted figure on a triumphal arch that was constructed in Milan in 1541 and where beside the "Turk" and the "Indian" a third and similarly vanquished figure is shown, identified there as "Barbarossa."⁵³ The question now arises as to who is the vanquished figure in our scene? If we follow the line of interpretation taken so far, the answer is Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa, usurper of the throne of Tunis, who was overcome by Charles's army. **(Figure 11)** However, it is also quite possible that the figure represents Mulay Hasan. After all, he was the monarch who had been forced to flee and who, thanks to Charles's victory, was restored to his throne. However much he was now an ally, he was and remained an unredeemed infidel, only able to survive thanks to the Christian emperor to whom he owed his sceptre and his throne. This interpretation gains a certain support when we know that Mulay Hasan was present in Charles's army camp and that the artist Vermeyen had actually seen him. Consequently he made a portrait (whereabouts currently unknown) of which there is an extant copy in the form of a woodcut coloured in by hand. With a little imagination we may detect a certain similarity between the subjected figure in this woodcut and that on the panel under discussion.⁵⁴

So we're looking at either Mulay Hasan or Barbarossa, but in any case at a vanquished Moor and a triumphant emperor. Were we to follow this interpretation we should have to give the painting a later date than the Worcester catalog, naturally after August 1535, which would mean it couldn't have been the work of Jan Wellens de Cock (or Cornelis Engebrechtszoon). Indeed, it may even be the case that the picture was painted well after the events at Tunis and (in view of the likeness we have noted between the two "Charles" portraits) that it dates from the same period as the cartoons for the tapestries - the late 1540s. This would also imply that whoever painted the panel must have belonged to the immediate circle of Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen, or possibly the artist was actually Vermeyen himself...?

One objection to the Matamoros interpretation is mentioned in the Worcester catalog: the primary attribute of St James, namely the scallop shell, is nowhere to be seen. However, this is not in fact decisive, since the most typical feature of the Matamoros representation is the saint's white horse; this appears in a fourteenth-century fresco originally painted in the church of St



FIGURE 11 Silvester of Paris after Jan Corneliszoon Vermeyen, *Mulay Hassan*, hand-colored woodcut. Photo: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes.



FIGURE 12 Desiderius Helmschmid, *Breastplate of the armor of Charles V*, made by the armorer in Augsburg. Photo: Madrid, Real Armería

James in Bologna where the saint is depicted clothed in a capacious cloak and seated upon a galloping white stallion with not a scallop shell in sight.⁵⁵ A further problem raised by the catalog, regarding the crown-like headgear and the sceptre of the prostrate figure, also puzzles me. After all, these are the attributes of a vanquished Moorish ruler, whether that was Khair-ed-Din Barbarossa or Mulay Hasan.

In the Worcester catalog the “unicity” of Charles as James Matamoros is assumed in contrast to the Sapor-Valerianus theory, with - for the time being - only one parallel. We should recognize that in the sixteenth century James Matamoros was an extremely popular figure. Princes such as Charles V and Philip II had themselves portrayed as the Moor-Slayer, Matamoros. The picture of James Matamoros was also popular on military banners. Furthermore, it seems highly probable that the victory at Tunis persuaded Charles V, when he was having the breastplate made for the armour he would wear during the 1541 expedition against Algiers, to decorate it with the figure of the victorious Matamoros. **(Figure 12)** Indeed, even the breastplate armor worn by horses at that time might be decorated with a picture of the Slayer of Moors.⁵⁶ Thus we are shown the emperor Charles V pictured as a *miles christianus*, a soldier of Christ, and depicted as James the slayer of the infidel Moors.

In conclusion: whichever way we look at it, the picture represents Charles V as *Jacobus Matamoros*

So far, so good: but should we take the picture seriously? Isn't the artist befuddling us with something like a display by Don Quixote (before the hero existed)? For instance, what are we to make of the bare legs sprouting from a pair of boots? And isn't the motif of the breastplate too effeminate? The knight's plumed helmet has an exaggerated air to it, reminiscent of the mass of feathers which Holbein places upon the head of his Persian king, Sapor: not the normal headgear of a Christian prince or knight, though Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) in around 1507 provided St George with a similar plume.⁵⁷ It would seem that what we are dealing with here is a satirical representation of the *miles christianus*, the Christian soldier. The Spanish context permits this taunting tone, as it cannot be denied that Erasmus, through his *Enchiridion militis christiani* and his ironic outlook on contemporary events, prepared the ground for the flourishing of the later exotic fantasies of Cervantes in Spain.⁵⁸ But in any case, the panel certainly doesn't represent Sapor and Valerianus, but is an allusion - satirical or not, it's hard to tell - to the emperor Charles V as James the Moor-Slayer, *Jacobus Matamoros*.

Notes

1. Europalia 85 España, *Santiago de Compostela. 1000 jaar Europese bedevaart* (St Pieters Abbey, Ghent 1985).

2. Yves Bottineau, *Les chemins de Saint-Jacques* (Paris-Grenoble n, 1964) 55; recently, the German art-historian Norbert Wolf wrote in his book *Die macht der heiligen und ihrer Bilder* (Stuttgart, 2004) 162 without any restriction or comment: “A picture of the Dutch painter Cornelius Cornelisz. surnamed Kunst in the Museum of Worcester (MA) shows around 1535, so perhaps after the expedition in Tunis, the emperor Charles V on his horse as *Matamoros*, the orthodox warrior and catholic champion against the Infidel.”

3. Besides Bottineau's contribution this applies in the first instance to the description given by H.W. Janson, “A mythological portrait of the emperor Charles the Fifth,” *Worcester Art Museum Annual* 50 (1935) 19-31; see also: Wolfgang Braunfels, “Tizians Augsburger Kaiserbildnisse” in Wolfgang Braunfels (Hrsg.), *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien*

für Hans Kauffmann (Berlin, 1956) 192-207; 206; André Chastel, "Les entrées de Charles Quint en Italie" in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris, 1975) 197-206; 204, 206 and Pl. XI, 1 and 2.

4. Jan van Herwaarden, "Jacobus en Mohammed. Culturen in samenleving en strijd in Spanje" in D.E.H. de Boer (ed.), *Kennis op kamelen. Europa en de buiten-Europese wereld (1150-1350)* (Amsterdam, 1998) 144-175; 172-173; cf. Jan van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus. Studies in late-medieval religious life: devotion and pilgrimage in the Netherlands*. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought 97 (Leiden-London, 2003) 451-491; 487-488; 493-505, appendix: "The emperor Charles V as James Matamoros."

5 Louisa Dresser (ed.), *European paintings in the collections of the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester, MA, 1974) 154-159: "King Sapor of Persia humiliating emperor Valerian" (E. Haverkamp Begemann).

6. Albert-P. Prieur, *Les Barberousse, corsaires et rois d'Alger* (Paris, 1943) 148-166; for a compact description of the event: Henry Kamen, *Spain 1469-1714. A society in conflict* (London-New York, 1991²) 70-71; cf. Fehmi Ismail, "Al-Hasan ben Muhammed" and "Khair ad-Din Pasha" in Peter G. Bietenholz (ed.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* 2 (Toronto-Buffalo-London, 1986) 166; 259-260; in connection with the illustrations: Hendrik J. Horn, *Jan Cornelisz Vermeyen. Painter of Charles V and his conquest of Tunis* (2 vols, continuous pagination; Doornspijk, 1989), esp. 111-116; see also Geoffrey Parker, "The political world of Charles V" in Hugo Soly (ed.), *Charles V and his time, 1500-1558* (Antwerp, 1999) 113-225; 163-165, and Fernando Checa Cremades, "The image of Charles V" in *Ibidem*, 477-499; 486-487: cartoons by Vermeyen for tapestries to be made by Willem Pannemaker.

7. Bonner Mitchell, "Charles V as Triumphator" in James V. Mehl, *In laudem Caroli. Renaissance and Reformation Studies for Charles G. Nauert*. Sixteenth century essays & studies XLIX (Kirkville, 1998) 95-112; 104-110; cf. Vincenzo Saletta, "Il viaggio in Italia di Carlo V (1535-1536)," *Studi Meridionali* 9 (1976) 276-327; 452-479; 10 (1977) 78-114; 268-292; 420-442; 11 (1978) 329-341; Bonner Mitchell, *The majesty of the state. Triumphant progresses of foreign sovereigns in Renaissance Italy (1494-1600)*. Biblioteca dell'Archivum Romanicum I.203 (Florence, 1986) 151-174; Jean de Vandenesse, *Itinéraire des voyages de Charles-Quint, de 1514 à 1551* in M. Gachard, *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas* II (Brussels, 1874) 53-464; 110-113: the expedition; 114; 567-572: triumphal entry into Messina (20 October 1535); 115-116, 573-581: triumphal entry into Naples (25 November 1535); 117-118, 131: Rome (16-18 April 1536); Pauli Iovii *Opera* IV: *Historiarum* II.1, curante Dante Visconti (Rome, 1964) 338: Charles V in Palermo and Messina *triumphali pompa exceptus*; 340: passing the winter with festivities in Naples; 351: Charles V *triumphali pompa exceptus* te Rome; account of the speech held by Charles V in Rome: Allen XI, 324-325, nr. 3121, Martin Slap to Erasmus (Rome 13 May 1536), ll. 8-11; cf. Manuel de Foronda y Aguilera, *Estancias y viajes del emperador Carlos V* (Madrid, 1914), 17 April 1536: *En presencia del Papa, Sacro Colegio, Embajadores de Francia y Venecia, muchos Señores y Prelados, pronunció S. M. en la Cámara de Consistorio, un discurso de alta importancia política*; cf. Braunfels, "Tizians Augsburg Kaiserbildnisse," 204.

8. Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 463-464.

9. J.K. Steppe, "De iconografie van de Heilige Jacobus de Meerdere (Santiago)" in *Santiago de Compostela. 1000 jaar Europese bedevaart* (Ghent, 1985) 129-152; 141-144; the best-known picture from this period is the engraving made between autumn 1471 and spring 1473 by Martin Schongauer, Pantxika Béguerie (ed.), *Der hübsche Martin. Kupferstiche und zeichnungen von Martin Schongauer* (Colmar, 1991) 243, 256-259: K 5; cf. Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 349, 463-464.

10. L. Vazquez de Parga, J.M. LaCarra and J. Uria-Riù, *Las peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela* (3 vols.; Madrid 1948-1949; repr. 1996).

11. Robert Plötz, "Lazo espiritual y cultural entre América y Europa: Santiago de Compostela" in Emilio González López et al., *Galicia, Santiago y America* (La Coruña, 1992) 57-74; 65-70: *Matamoros*; 72: *Mataindios*; Santiago Sebastián, "La iconografía de Santiago en el arte hispanoamericano" in José María Díaz Fernández (ed.), *Santiago y America. Mosteiro de San Martiño Pinario* (Santiago de Compostela, 1993) 276-288; 283: *Mataindios o Matararibes*.

12. Bottineau, *Chemins de Saint-Jacques*, 194.

13. Dresser (ed.), *European paintings*, 156 n. 4.

14. Horn, *Vermeyen*, passim; about him: Karel van Mander, *Het schilderboek* (Amsterdam, 1995) 143-146 (cf. Horn, *Vermeyen II*, 339-341).

15. Wilfried Seipel (pub.), *Der Kriegszug Kaiser Karls V. gegen Tunis. Kartons und Tapisserien* (Vienna, 2000) 41-51: Georg J. Kugler, "Der Maler Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen als Kriegsberichtstatter und seine Vorlagen für den Tapissier Willem de Pannemake," 41-42: the contract; the cartoons are kept in Vienna.

16. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Friday 14 May 1535: *En este día (viernes), a las 5 de la mañana, S.M., a caballo, presenció el alarde de gentes de guerra, a la puerta de San Daniel*.

17. Seipel (pub.), *Kriegszug*, 27, Abb. 15: "Der Kaiser bei der Musterung"; Horn, *Vermeyen II*, Plate XI (Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum); cf. however *Ibidem I*, 15 and 74, note 150-151, where Horn, with scant argumentation, entirely dismisses the panel here under discussion.

18. Janson, "Mythological portrait," 22-23: the banner; 23-25: comparable pictures: Dürer's *Little Horse* (B 96; 1505), Burgkmair's equestrian portrait of Maximilian (1508; cf. Erich Egg (ed.), *Maximilian I. Ausstellung Innsbruck* (Innsbruck, 1969) 48-49: no. 184, fig. 27) and the famous engraving by Dürer, *The Knight, The Devil and Death* from 1513 (B 98); 25-27: the attribution.

19. N. Beets, "Zestiende-eeuwse kunstenaars" IV: "Lucas Corneliszoon de Kock," *Oud-Holland* 53 (1936) 60 and n. 2, corrected by Friedländer to Jan Wellens de Cock, Max J. Friedländer, "Jan de Cock oder Lucas Kock" in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde* (Brussels, 1949) 48-88.

20. G.J. Hoogewerff, *De Noord-Nederlandsche Schilderkunst III* (The Hague, 1939) 204-205; Julius S. Held, *Holbein and his contemporaries. A loan exhibition of painting in France, the Netherlands, Germany and England*. The John Herrin Art Museum (Indianapolis, 1950), no. 44 (with reproduction; no page numbers).

21. Among others by Max Friedländer, cf. Walter S. Gibson, *The paintings of Cornelis Engebrechtsz* (New York, 1977), no. 89, who has grave doubts about this attribution and also excludes the possibility that it was made by pupils of Cornelis Engebrechtsz or artists belonging to his circle.

22. Dresser (ed.), *European paintings*, 154; cf. Julius S. Held, *Dürers Wirkung auf die niederländische Kunst seiner Zeit* (The Hague, 1931) 21 and n. 2: Antwerp School.

23. Ludwig Baldass, "Die Niederländer des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts auf der Ausstellung flämischer Kunst in London 1927," *Belvedere. Illustrierte Zeitschrift für Kunstsammler* 58 (1927) 109-117; 112: *Ich [Baldass] halte es für möglich, daß hier König Sapor von Persien in seinem Triumph über den Kaiser Valerian dargestellt sein soll*. (It would seem to me [Baldass] that this picture represents King Sapor of the Persians triumphing over the emperor Valerian.)

24. Gert Kreytenberg, "Hans Holbein d.J. - Die Wandgemälde im Basler Ratsaal," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 24 (1970) 77-200: hypothetical reconstruction; 78, 80, fig. 2 and 85, fig. 5: it refers to two drawings one of which was the workroom copy; 80, n. 11: texts (nos. 8 and 2); 81: "Wir wissen nicht einmal mit gewißheit, ob alle diese Entwürfe ausgeführt wurden": from Sapor etc. in any case, no remnant has ever been found; cf. Heinrich Alfred Schmid, *Hans Holbein der Jüngere. Sein Aufstieg zur Meisterschaft und sein englischer Stil* (2 vols, continuous pagination; Basle 1948; separate *Tafelband* (Basle, 1945) I, 163-174; 172: Sapor, and *Tafelband*, 23: Abb. 16.

25.C.H. Baer, *Die Kunstdenkmäler des Kantons Basel-Stadt I* (Basle 1971 [=1932]), in one volume with: François Maurer, *Nachträge 1971*: 715-776; 517-608: Rudolf Riggensbach, "Die Wandgemälde des Rathauses zu Basel aus dem XV. und XVI. Jahrhundert," 531-569: about Holbein, 533-534, on Sapor-Valerian: 568-568 and figs. 405, 421, cf. *Nachträge*, 768-769; Öffentliche Kunstsammlung Basle. Kupferstichkabinett, *Katalog der Zeichnungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Teil 2A: Christian Müller, *Die Zeichnungen von Hans Holbein dem Jüngeren und Ambrosius Holbein* (Basle, 1996) 85-88; 90: nos. 127 and 128; Oskar Bätschmann and Pascal Griener, *Hans Holbein* (Zwolle, 1997) 78: fig. no 98; 80-82: Erasmus's friend Beatus Rhenanus was involved with the work on the Basle Council Chamber; cf. Derek Wilson, *Hans Holbein. Portrait of an unknown man* (London, 1996) 99: possibly Erasmus consulted by the city council including humanist Basle; S. Vögelin, "Wer hat Holbein die Kenntnis des classischen Althertums vermittelt," *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 10 (1887) 345-371: esp. on Beatus Rhenanus, nothing about Sapor-Valerian; C. Müller, "New evidence for Hans Holbein the Younger's wall paintings in Basel Town Hall," *The Burlington Magazine* 133 (1991) 21-26: no news about Sapor-Valerian.

26.Lactance, *De la mort des persécuteurs*. Sources chrétiennes 39 (2 vols.; Paris 1954) I, 22: publication in 1679; 82, V.2-4: [V.2] *Hic [near Edessa] captus a Persis non modo imperium, quod fuerat insolenter usus, sed etiam libertatem, quam ceteris ademerat, perdidit vixitque in servitute turpissime*. [V.3] *Nam rex Persarum Sapor, is qui eum ceperat, si quando libuerat aut vehiculum ascendere aut equum, inclinare Romanum iubebat ac terga praebere et imposito pede super dorsum eius illud esse verum dicebat exprobrans ei cum risu, non quod in tabulis aut parietibus Romani pingerent*. [V.4] *Ita ille dignissime triumphatus aliquandiu vixit, ut diu barbaris Romanum nomen ludibrio ac derisui esset*; cf. II, 221-223: commentary, cf. Lactantius, *De mortibus persecutorum*, edited and translated by J.L. Creed (Oxford, 1984) 10: text, 85-86: commentary (N.B: this episode not in Aurelius Victor, *De caesaribus* 32; this only mentions the treacherous way Valerianus was taken prisoner: Aurelius Victor, *De caesaribus*, translated with an introduction by H.W. Bird (Liverpool, 1994) 32: text; 135: annotation; S. Aurelius Victor, *Die römischen Kaiser. Liber de Caesaribus*, Lateinisch-deutsch. Herausgegeben, übersetzt und erläutert von Kirsten Groß-Albenhausen und Manfred Fuhrmann (Zürich-Düsseldorf 1997) 88-89: text; 250-251: commentary); Pontius (14 May): *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*. Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (2 vols, continuous pagination; Brussels 1900-01 [reprinted 1949]) II, 1003-1004, s.v. Pontius [BHL 6897]; the text in the *Acta Sanctorum* of the Bollandists on 14 May: *Non multo post tempore transacto [that is, after the martyrdom of Pontius] completus est sermo quem S. Pontius praedixerat Valerianus scilicet Imperator in captivitatem ductus a Sapore rege Persarum non gladio, sed ludibrio omnibus diebus vitae suae merita pro factis; percepit ita ut quotiescumque rex Sapor equum conscendere vellet non manibus ejus sed incurvato dorso et in cervice ejus pede posito, eque membra locaret*.

27.M. de Vries and E. Verwijs (ed.), *Jacob van Maerlant's Spiegel Historiael* (4 vols.; Utrecht 1982 [=Leiden 1871-1879]) IV: F. von Hellwald, M. de Vries and E. Verwijs (eds.), *Tweede Partie bewerkt door Philip Utenbroeke* (Utrecht 1982 [=Leiden 1879]) 158, II.iii.29, 69-78; 85-88: *Niet lange en was daer af de beide / Van dat die heilege man [nl. Pontius] voreseide, / Want die keyser Valeriaen / Wert van den coninc Sapore gevaen / Die in Persien droech die croene, / Die settene teenen dienste onschone: / Want, als de coninc sat op zijn paert, / so sette hi sinen voet ongespaert / Op den hals van Valeriane, / Ende sat also op, na minen wane, ... Sente Pontius heeft ontfien / Sine passie, hebbic verstaen, / Inden Mey op de pridie yde [Vincent of Beauvais: pridie Idus Maii] / Ende es met Gode altoes blide*, with reference to Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* XII.79, cf. Werner Williams-Krapp, *Die deutschen und niederländischen Legendare des Mittelalters. Studien zu ihrer Überlieferungs-, Text- und Wirkungsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1986) 291.

28.The manuscript is presently in Vienna (Oesterreichische National-Bibliothek, Cod. 13.708) and re-emerged thanks to Ferdinand von Hellwald (1843-1884) who discovered it there; Jos A.A.M. Biemans, *Onse Speghele Ystoriale in Vlaemsche* (2 vols, continuous pagination; Louvain 1997) 116-123; 450-452: MS. 64 (the fragment in question not in MS. 8, at that place, 355-359); 117: the section copied out by Philip Utenbroeke in 1402; see also J. Deschamps, *Middelnederlandse handschriften uit Europese en Amerikaanse bibliotheken* (Leiden, 1972²) 95-98: no. 28, both considered the MS. to be the product of the Rooklooster monastery near Brussels; cf. however Erik Kwakkel, *Die dietsche boeke die ons toebehoeren. De kartuizers van Herne en de productie van Middelnederlandse handschriften in de regio Brussel (1350-1400)* (Louvain 2002) 17: the Rooklooster theory; 34 and n. 93: the MS. was produced in the Carthusian monastery of Herne and later turned up in the Rooklooster monastery, cf. 117; 181-183; 97-112; 130-135: on the production and destination of the Vienna codex; 264-271: content of the Vienna codex (I thank Jos Biemans who brought to my attention the doctor's thesis of Dr

Kwakkel).

29. *Chronijck ende historien van Holland ...*, van nieuws oversien ... by W. van Gouthoeven (Dordrecht, 1620) 22: II.17: *Ten leste wert Valeriaen gevangen van de Coninc van Persen daerup hy starf.*

30. E.A. Overgaauw, *Martyrologes manuscrits des anciens diocèses d'Utrecht et de Liège* (2 vols., continuous pagination; Hilversum 1993) II, 734: Pontius 14 May, on the basis of the martyrology of Usuard (9th century) only in MS. Berne, OPrem (I, 227-229), dating from 1574 (I, 244-247).

31. Cf. Williams-Krapp, *Legendare*, 53 ff.: the section on the Netherlands.

32. Williams-Krapp, *Legendare*, 189-191: *Der Heiligen Leben* compiled in around 1400 in Nuremberg, intended for a broad public; 332: the later edition of *Der Heiligen Leben* in c. 1406 in Nuremberg or nearby was intended for use in monasteries; 250-251: Pontius is listed as number 100 in 29 of the 33 MSS. of the Winterpart and mentioned (323) in 3 of the 10 MSS. of the later edition, placed there on 8 March.

33. Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographie* (Basle, 1550), II.32, CCXLIX: *Er [Valerian] ward gefangen von der persiern künig und in schnöder dienstbarkeit von im gehalten. Dann solang Sapur der Persier künig lebt, müst Valerianus der keyser vor im niderfallen und sein füßschemel sein wann er auff ein pferd steigen wolt.*

34. Karl Simon, *Abendländische Gerechtigkeitsbilder* (Frankfurt, 1948) 50; in addition it can be stated that the episode doesn't occur in Frederic C. Tubach, *Index exemplorum. A handbook of medieval religious tales*. FF Communications 204 (Helsinki, 1969).

35. Date of departure: Allen III, 86-89, nr. 663, Cuthbert Tunstall to Erasmus (Bruges, 14 September 1517), ll. 1-2: *Vix tandem [7 September 1517] Hispaniarum Rex in regnum navigavit*; De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Friday 18 September 1517: *El piloto de Zierixée llamado Juan Cornille (que es el que había conducido al Rey Don Felipe)*; Saturday 12 September 1517: *... quinto día de navegación, el barco del Rey sostuvo grandes temporales de viento contrario que poco tiempo después de la calma anterior se convirtió en bruma, no haciéndose camino alguno, sino tal vez retrocediendo, cuya niebla, creyendola precursora de tormenta, hizo que se tomaran grandes precauciones. Siguió el duro temporal durante catorce horas y continuó hasta el día siguiente. La gran tormenta motivó el voto del Rey de ir a Santiago de Galicia, y se cree que si no fuera por la peste que allí reinaba, allí se habría verificado el desembarco.*

36. Van Herwaarden, *Between Saint James and Erasmus*, 166-167; 200 and n. 231; cf. L.-E. Halkin, F. Bierlaire and R. Hoven (eds), *Colloquia*. ASD I.3 (Amsterdam, 1972) 325-332: *Naufragium*, 328, ll. 92-95: Santiago vow; *The Colloquies of Erasmus*, translated by Craig R. Thompson (Chicago-London, 1965) 138-146: Shipwreck, 141: Santiago vow.

37. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Friday 18 September: *Pasandose todo el día cada uno de ellos con su creencia y el cronista en su incertidumbre*; Saturday 19 September: *...dozavo del viaje, a eso de las seis de la mañana los pilotos se fueron convenciendo de no ser Vizcaya la tierra descubierta, lo que les contrarió mucho porque, como vizcaínos que eran, deseaban que el Rey desembarcase en su país y no en costas de Asturias, como las altas montañas descubiertas acusaban, dando razón a lo dicho la víspera por el piloto Juan Cornille. Se discutió si convendría torcer para Santander, encaminarse a Santiago o desembarcar allí mismo, resolviendo esto último para evitar que un viento contrario retardase el arribo, por ser prudente tomar tierra en el primer punto que, sin peligro, se presentara. En esto se estaba a seis leguas del puerto. ... El Rey de Castilla comió a bordo; desembarcó al anochecer en un puerto llamado Stasoins [Tazones], país de Sture [Asturië], y cenó y pernoctó en la villa de Villaviciosa.*

38. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Tuesday 10 April: *Donativo de 18 libras y 15 sueldos a seis trompetas del Arzobispo de Compostela, por haber, el día diez, tocado sus instrumentos ante el Rey, durante su comida y para su recreo.*

39. *Ibidem*, Thursday 15 March 1520: set out from Valladolid for Astorga – Friday 13 April 1520: set out from Santiago de Compostela for La Coruña; Sunday 20 May: *Embarque del Rey para Flandes*; cf. Pedro Mártir de Anglería, *Epistolario IV: Libros XXXIII-XXXVIII, epístolas* 656-813. Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España XII (Madrid, 1957) 14-16; 19-24, nrs. 663 (24 februari 1520), 664 (5 maart 1520), 666 (5 april 1520), 667 (8 april 1520), 668 (28 april 1520): Cortes convoked at Santiago de Compostela; Charles' pilgrimage to Compostela via the *Ruta de los Franceses*; Charles visits the sanctuary (nr 666): *He visitado el templo de Santiago, venerable por la maravillosa majestad de su antigüedad. No enseñan el cuerpo del Santo*; (nr 668): *Desde Compostela hemos venido a La Coruña* (between 12 and 20 February of the same year Charles already had touched the *Ruta*, from Logroño through Najera, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Belorado, San Juan de Ortega, Miraflores to Burgos, where he arrived on 20 February 1520).

40. Allen XI, 71-74, nr. 2997, to Erasmus Schets (Freiburg im Breisgau, 21 February 1535) l. 88; Allen XI, 78-79, no. 3000, to Piotr Tomicki (Freiburg im Breisgau, 28 February 1535), ll. 57-60.

41. Allen XI, 111-115, nr. 3007, Franz Rothart (Franciscus Rupilius) to Erasmus (Rome, 29 March 1535), ll. 83-84; 91-93; Allen XI, 115-122, no. 3008, Louis de Spinula to Erasmus (Genoa, 8 April 1535), ll. 267-268; Allen XI, 122-123, no. 3009, Erasmus Schets to Erasmus (Antwerp, 14 April 1535), ll. 45-54.

42. De Foronda, *Estancias y Viajes*, Monday 1 March 1535: imperial charter *anunciando su partida para Barcelona a hacer los preparativos contra Barba Roja*; Wednesday 31 March 1535 at Montserrat, cf. Parker, "The political world of Charles V," 163; Tuesday 1 June 1535: *Partí lo Emperador... de Barcelona per anar a Tunis.*

43. Allen XI, 149-156, no. 3031, Conrad Heresbach to Erasmus (Düsseldorf, 28 July 1535), ll. 47-50: the premature celebration of the victory in Brabant.

44. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Wednesday 14 July: *comenzó el ataque de la Goullette, se dio el asalto, dirigido personalmente por el Emperador, y entre una y dos de la tarde penetraron en la plaza*; woensdag 21 juli: *Toma de Túnez. Miércoles. S.M. entró en Túnez.*

45. Allen XI, 193-197, no. 3037, Goclenius aan Erasmus (Louvain, 10 August 1535), ll. 85-91; Allen XI, 204-206, no. 3042, Erasmus Schets to Erasmus (Antwerp, 17 August 1535), ll. 45-49; Allen XI, 197, no. 3038, Anselmus Ephorinus to Erasmus (Rome 16 August 1535), ll. 12-14: sketch of the situation, cf. Allen XI, 295-297, no. 3104, to Gilbertus Cognatus (Basle, 11 March 1536), ll. 59-60; cf. the reports in: Allen XI, 222-224, no. 3050, Johann Koler to Erasmus (Augsburg, 31 August 1535), ll. 42-48; Allen XI, 228-229, no. 3055, Henricus Glareanus to Erasmus (Freiburg im Breisgau, 10 September 1535), l. 33; Allen XI, 235-236, no. 3061, Goclenius to Erasmus (Louvain, 28 September 1535), ll. 51-56; Allen XI, 250-251, no. 3071, Viglius to Erasmus (Spiers, 17 November 1535), ll. 32-33; Allen XI, 255-256, no. 3073, Christoffel van Stadion to Erasmus (Dillingen, 27 November 1535), ll. 21-23; Allen XI, 260-262, no. 3078, Damião de Goís to Erasmus (Padua, 22 December 1535), ll. 14-18; Allen XI, 269-270, no. 3084, to Leonard de Gruyères (Basle, 24 January 1536), ll. 5-8.

46. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Wednesday 21 July: *la Magestat del Emperador y Rey N.S. ... prengue Tunis e desliurats passats vint milia crestians qui staven presos en dita ciutatt de Tunis.*

47. Allen XI, 212-214, no. 3047, Ambrosius von Gumpfenberg to Erasmus (Rome 21 August 1535), ll. 67-74; 73-74: citation.

48. Allen XI, 206-209, no. 3043, to Damião de Goís (Basle, 18 August 1525), ll. 106-110; Allen XI, 214-217, no. 3048, to Bartholomeus Latomus (Basle, 24 August 1535), ll. 68-74; Allen XI, 217-222, no. 3049, to Piotr Tomicki (Basle, 31 August 1535), ll. 116-137.

49. De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Wednesday 21 July: *Toma de Túnez. ... S.M. entró en Túnez*; Sunday 25 July: *Día de Santiago S.M. oyó misa en un pequeño convento de Franciscanos, sito en los arrabales de Túnez*
Vandennesse, *Itinéraire*, 113: *Et ce mesme jour [21 Jly] ledict Thunes fut prins par force et y entra Sa Majesté. Et le jour Sainct-Jacques fut ouyr la messe en ung petit monastère de Cordeliers estant aux faulbourgz dudict Thunes.*

50. Antonii Ponti Consentini, *Hariadenis Barbarossa seu bellum Tuneteum quod Carolus V Imperator cum Hariadeno Barbarossa et Turcis olim gessit*, in: Antonius Matthaeus, *Veteris aevi analecta*, ... (5 vols; The Hague, 1738) I, 1-34 (with eulogy on 35-36); 15: *Sed nec certe palluit, nec quicquam deforme aut dixit, aut fecit, **nomen tamen Sancti Jacobi** sibi ut praesto esset invocavit,*

51. Pauli Iovii Novocomensis episcopi Nucerini ex Historiarum sui temporis libro XXXIII. de Caroli .V. Caesaris in Tunetum fragmentum, in: *Rerum à Carolo .V. Caesare Augusto in Africa bello gestarum commentarii elegantissimi iconibus ad historiam accomodis illustrati*, auctore Joanne Etrobio et aliis, edidit Cornelius Scepperus (Antwerpen 1554) 97-134; 119^v: *In eo concursu **Caesar ipse**, uti ante agmen armatus constiterat, **divum Iacobum**, quod est Hispanorum equitum tutelare numen, **pro tessera clariore voce invocavit**, et in Barbaros ita inectus est, ut non ducis modo intrepidi, sed pugnacissimi etiam militis officium praestaret, coronaeque civicae honorem promereretur*, cf. 120^v: *Audi vi ego (i.e. Paolo Giovio) postea a Caesare quum apud Neapolim mihi scripturo totius parte victoriae seriem enarraret...*; cf. Pauli Iovii *Opera* IV: *Historiarum* II.1, curante Dante Visconti (Rome, 1964) 328; see also Albert-P. Prieur, *Les Barberousse, corsaires et rois d'Alger* (Paris, 1943) 148-166; esp. 150-151: Francisco de los Cobos, grandmaster of the *Orden de Santiago*, Charles's favourite secretary; 163: the invocation of St James.

52. Bottineau, *Chemins*, 55, cf. 23, 203-204: on Jacobus Matamoros as representation.

53. André Chastel, "Les entrées de Charles Quint en Italie" in Jean Jacquot (ed.), *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint* (Paris, 1975) 197-206; 204, 206; cf. Jean Jacquot, "Panorama des fêtes et cérémonies du règne. Évolution des thèmes et des styles" in *Ibidem*, 413-491; 442, and Pl. XI, 1 and 2; cf. Mitchell, *Majesty*, 175-176, without naming Barbarossa.

54. Mulay Hassan was received by the emperor on Tuesday 29 June 1535 in his army encampment near La Golette, De Foronda, *Estancias y viajes*, Tuesday 29 June: ..., *llegó al campo de S. M. Muley Hassen, siendo recibido por el Emperador*; portrait: Seipel (pub.), *Kriegszug*, 43, illustration no. 33: "Mulay Hassan, König von Tunis. Silvester von Paris nach Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen," cf. Horn, *Vermeyen* II, Figure A 48 (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Épreuves); there are also more or less contemporary portraits of Barbarossa that have survived: Horn, *Vermeyen* II, Figure C 46 (by Agostino dei Musi); Münster, *Cosmographie*, DCXCIX: VI, "Von dem land Africa," and a comparison may be made with the reclining figure shown here.

55. The fresco referred to is presently in the Pinacoteca Nazionale of Bologna, Lucia Gai, "Vie di pellegrinaggio e configurazione dei centri abitati nell'Italia centro-settentrionale. Prospettiva e ricerca," in Enrico Menestò (ed.), *Le vie e la civiltà dei pellegrinaggi nell'Italia centrale*. Atti del Premio internazionale Ascoli Piceno, Nuova serie 10 (Spoleto, 2000) 77-110; 86: fig. 2.

56. See for example *1000 jaar Europese bedevaart*, 362-365, nos. 359-365; Serafin Moralejo, *Santiago, camino de Europa. Culto y cultura en la peregrinación a Compostela* (Santiago de Compostela, 1993) 421-426, nos. 116-118; 120; Steppe, "Iconografie" in *1000 jaar Europese bedevaart*, 142: the breastplate; to be found in Madrid, Palacia Real, Armería A149-156: Armour of Charles V, c. 1540, breastplate with Santiago Matamoros.

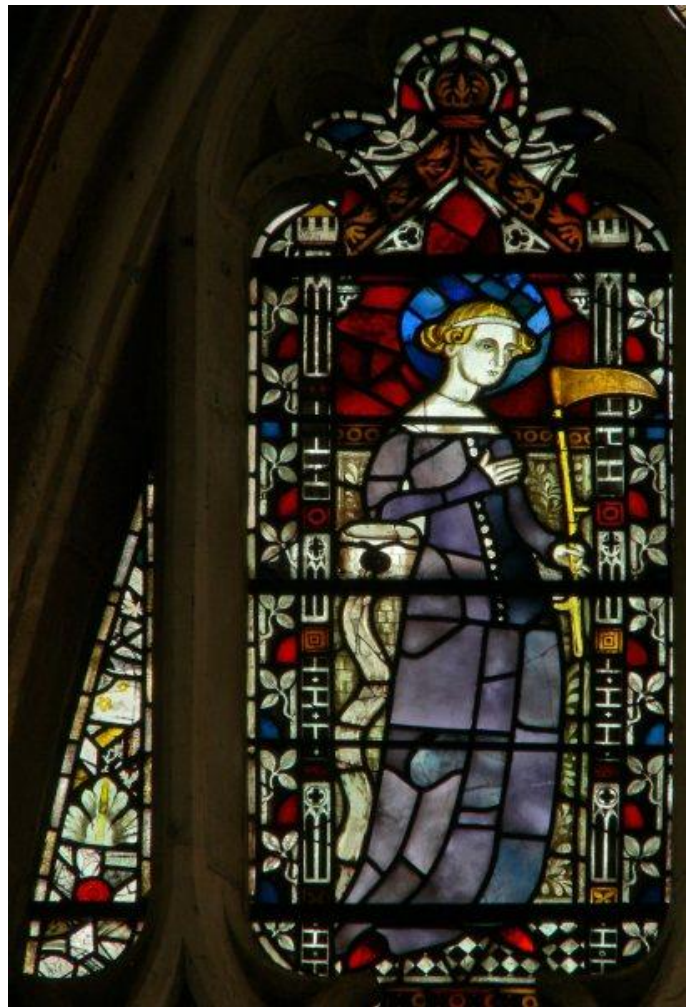
57. Giulia Bartrum, *German Renaissance Prints, 1450-1550* (London, 1995) 171-172, no. 173; cf. 135-136, nos. 134 (1508), 135 (1518?): St George by Hans Burgkmair (1473-1531); 133-135, nos. 132 (1508), 133 (1509/1518): Emperor Maximilian I on horseback.

58. Marcel Bataillon, *Érasme et l'Espagne. Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle*, préface de Jean-Claude Margolin (Geneva, 1998) 819-844: with reference to Cervantes.

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St. Sidwell, Exeter Cathedral, East Window, late 14th/early 15th century

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http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xSTd6HIQ494&feature=player_embedded

Limbourg Brothers

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNd9bmQvN0Q&feature=player_embedded

Liturgy Calendar Book of Hours





DISCOVERIES

Migration-Period Art

Revealed: hidden art behind the gospel truth

Sixty previously undetected drawings have been discovered in the Lindisfarne Gospels - nearly 1,300 years after the illuminated Latin manuscript was created as one of the world's greatest artistic treasures. The discovery, made by Michelle Brown, curator of illuminated manuscripts at the British Library, using a high-magnification binocular microscope, was said yesterday to show that the volume marked the birth of the first distinctively and proudly "English" culture.

Study of the drawings, discovered on the back of calf hide parchment, established them as by far the earliest known use of a metal-point pen, a forerunner of the pencil. No other metal-point drawings are known to have existed before 1100. In many of the drawings, the artist also used paint that washed through to the front of the parchment. This can still be faintly seen. But the metal-point outlines are invisible to the naked eye. Some traces of drawings were noted when the Lindisfarne Gospels were last closely examined at the British Museum in the 1950s. Ms Brown said they were not found then, partly because microscope technology was less advanced. "I went looking for them. It was a bit like looking at an archaeological site." She used steeply angled light. "Lo and behold, the drawings were there - like the plough marks you get in a field."

What she had discovered was a series of practice sketches on every page of the manuscript. They were the doodle-pads used by a monk working in an era of recurrent invasions, when monasteries in remote, rocky places such as Lindisfarne were refuges of learning and art. The artist is believed to be Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne from 698 to 721. He practiced script letters and tried out preliminary versions of flowers, birds and other images. He did this preparatory work on the backs of parchments because calf hide was too expensive to be used as sketchpaper. Ms Brown said these indicated that he was "consciously creating a new English culture." The sketches proved that he had begun by planning to write the gospels in a traditional Roman half-uncial script familiar from the culture of Lindisfarne's mother churches in Rome and the Mediterranean. But in his finished manuscript, he fused this style with Anglo-Saxon runic letters, some of them only seen before on pagan inscriptions. "He was grafting these on to Mediterranean script," Brown said, "... having to make up his font as he went along. It was a conscious decision. It was the first time runic figures had been used in a book."

They proclaimed to Rome, according to Brown that the young English church was "no provincial outpost but vibrant and integrated... A prime motivation was to define what it meant to be Northumbrian, to be English and to be a part of the wider Christian church. The style of lettering was important. It needed to ring bells in the audience's mind of both 'Englishness' and 'Romanness.'"

Another key finding of the research is that the dating of the gospels - one of the prime sourcebooks of English Christianity - should be moved forward from the long-accepted 698 to about 720. This means that the Venerable Bede, author of the first English history book, is now thought likely to have also been involved in producing the masterpiece. The argument for re-dating the manuscript is based on evidence about its style and technical production. Bede, a monk at Jarrow 40 miles from Lindisfarne, which had close links with it, was 47 years old in 720 and his Ecclesiastical History of the English People was finished in 732. "I think Bede would have been consulted about the thinking behind the production of the gospels," Ms Brown said. "One of the figures in the volume's painting of St. Matthew relates to a theological issue he raised."



Re-written from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2000/may/30/books.booksnews>

Anglo-Saxon Christian grave find near Cambridge "extremely rare"

An Anglo-Saxon grave discovered near Cambridge could be one of the earliest examples of Christianity taking over from Paganism, archaeologists said. The skeleton of a teenage girl was found buried on a wooden bed, with a gold and garnet cross on her chest. The grave is thought to date from the mid-7th Century AD, when Christianity was beginning to be introduced to the pagan Anglo-Saxon kings. Uncovered at Trumpington Meadows by Cambridge Archaeological Unit, the cross is only the fifth to be discovered in the UK, and one of only thirteen "bed burials" to be discovered.



Alison Dickens, who led the excavation, said the combination of a bed burial - where the body was placed in a wooden frame held together by metal brackets - and a Christian symbol, was "extremely rare. We believe there has only been one other instance of a bed burial and pectoral cross together, at Ixworth in Suffolk." The grave of the teenager, who was believed to be about 16 years-old, was one of a cluster of four uncovered at the site, but the three others were described as more typical Anglo-Saxon burials with no indications of Christianity.



The 3.5cm (1.4in) cross found on the girl's chest had probably been sewn onto her clothing. Other artifacts, including a bag of precious and semi-precious stones, and a small knife were also found with the body. Dr Sam Lucy, a specialist in Anglo-Saxon burial from Newnham College, Cambridge, said the method of burial and quality of the jewelry could indicate the girl was from a noble or royal family. "Christian conversion began at the top and percolated down and this cross is the kind of material culture that was in circulation at the highest sphere of society." The idea of burying a body with "grave goods" for the afterlife was "counter to the Christian belief of soul and not body continuing after death." However, she believed the merging of burial rites showed the grave was "right on the cusp of the shift from Pagan to Christian."

Re-written from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-cambridgeshire-17378845>

Romanesque Art

Bath Abbey archaeologists discover cathedral remains



Archaeologists at Bath Abbey have unearthed the remains of a Norman cathedral, thought to be the first ever built on the site as well as what is left of a medieval abbot's lodgings nearby. The foundations, which stand 3m to 4m high (9ft to 13ft), have been buried for several hundred years. "It's a rare opportunity to dig in the centre of such an historic city," said Mark Collard, from Cotswold Archaeology. "We do an awful lot of work which is very mundane but this really is a privilege here." It is hoped that the dig will also help the abbey to expand its facilities. "Firstly we're looking at the possibility of putting new rooms underground," said Charles Curnock from Bath Abbey. "We need new facilities here: toilets, storerooms, choir rooms and so on." Inside the building it's quite different. There we are looking to provide a stable floor because the floor is collapsing."

Re-written from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-england-bristol-12299434>

The medieval mystery of Nine Men's Morris investigated at Creswell Crag in Derbyshire

When archaeologists working through the Victorian spoil heaps at Creswell Crag in 2006 uncovered a stone with a familiar carved geometric pattern, it opened yet another aspect of the ever-developing story of the important prehistoric caves. What the experts from Sheffield University had unearthed was in fact a medieval incarnation of the strategy board game Nine Men's Morris, which had been popular since Roman times.

Its discovery provided a glimpse into medieval activity at the Crag, which is the most important cluster of caves inhabited during the last Ice Age and the scene of Paleolithic finds ranging from stone tools to cave paintings. But it also opened up a medieval mystery; how did the game get there and who had made it? Other medieval finds, including coins and bottles, were discovered alongside the stone carved game suggesting the site may have been used as an illegal



drinking and gambling den by the monks linked to nearby Welbeck Abbey. As well as pondering the behavior of their medieval forebears, visitors have the chance to have a go on an interactive version of Nine Men's Morris and, of course, see the real medieval board itself.

Re-written from <http://www.culture24.org.uk/history+%26+heritage/archaeology/art314454>

Archaeologists uncover slate at Nevern Castle "that kept evil spirits at bay"

Rare pieces of inscribed slate unearthed during a dig at one of the nation's oldest castles may provide valuable clues to life in medieval Wales, experts said. Archaeologists involved in a recent excavation on the site of Nevern Castle in the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park believe the markings, dating back more than 800 years, indicate some ritualistic methods of warding off evil. The archaeological dig, headed by Dr. Chris Caple, of the University of Durham and Pete Crane from the Pembrokeshire Coast National Park Authority found twelve slates - complete with stars and other designs incised - were found at the site's 12th century cut-stone entranceway. Caple said: "These inscribed slates are really interesting. They were found in only one place in the castle and were probably intended to ward off evil. Scratched images from the medieval world are rare, and we can confidently date these to the period 1170-1190 when the stone phase of Nevern Castle was built. These drawings connect us with the lives and beliefs of masons or laborers who built the castle. We hardly ever recover evidence about the peasants of the medieval world, and never information about their beliefs and ideas, but these scratched designs are from the imagination of a serf, a farm laborer or a man at arms."

Re-written from <http://www.walesonline.co.uk/news/wales-news/2011/09/30/archaeologists-uncover-slate-at-nevern-castle-that-kept-evil-spirits-at-bay-91466-29511417/>

Egyptian blue found in Romanesque altarpiece

A team of researchers from the University of Barcelona has discovered remains of Egyptian blue in a Romanesque altarpiece in the church of Sant Pere de Terrassa (Barcelona). This blue pigment was used from the days of ancient Egypt until the end of the Roman Empire, but was not made after this time. So how could it turn up in a 12th Century church? Egyptian blue or Pompeian blue was a pigment frequently used by the ancient Egyptians and Romans to decorate objects and murals. Following the fall of the Western Roman Empire (476), this pigment fell out of use and was no longer made. But a team of Catalan scientists has now found it in the altarpiece of the 12th-century Romanesque church of Sant Pere de Terrassa.

"We carried out a systematic study of the pigments used in the altarpiece during restoration work on the church, and we could show that most of them were fairly local and 'poor' - earth, whites from lime, blacks from smoke - and we were completely unprepared for Egyptian blue to turn up," said Mario Vendrell, co-author of the study and a geologist. The researcher says the preliminary chemical and microscopic study made them suspect that the samples taken were of Egyptian blue. To confirm their suspicions, they analyzed them at the Daresbury SRS Laboratory in the United Kingdom, where they used X-ray diffraction techniques with synchrotron radiation. "The results show without any shadow of a doubt that the pigment is Egyptian blue," noted Vendrell, who stated it could not be any other kind of blue pigment used in Romanesque murals, such as azurite, lapis lazuli or aerinite, "which in any case came from far-off lands and were difficult to get hold of for a frontier economy, as the Kingdom Aragon was between the 11th and 15th centuries."

The geologist also says there is no evidence that people in medieval times had knowledge of how to manufacture this pigment, which is made of copper silicate and calcium: "In fact it has never been found in any mural from the era. The most likely hypothesis is that the builders of the church happened upon a 'ball' of Egyptian blue from the Roman period and decided to use it in the paintings on the stone altarpiece," Vendrell explained. The set of monuments made up by the churches of Sant Pere, Sant Miquel and Santa María de Terrassa are built upon ancient Iberian and Roman settlements, and the much-prized blue pigment could have remained hidden underground for many centuries. "But only a little of it, because this substance couldn't be replaced - once the ball was all used up the blue was gone."

Re-written from <http://www.alphagalileo.org/ViewItem.aspx?ItemId=75182&CultureCode=en>

Gothic Art

Italian art experts who restored a cryptic medieval fresco depicting a tree of fertility have been accused of censoring the work by painting over the numerous phalluses which dangle from its boughs.

The unusual 13th-century Tree of Fertility fresco was discovered by chance a decade ago in the Tuscan town of Massa Marittima and has recently been subjected to a three-year restoration. The experts who carried out the restoration have been accused of sanitizing the mural by scrubbing out or altering some of the testicles, which hang from the tree's branches along with around 25 phalluses. "Many parts of the work seem to have been arbitrarily repainted," said



Gabriele Galeotti, a town councilor who has called for an investigation after seeing the finished work. "The authenticity of the fresco seems to have been compromised by a restoration effort that did not respect the original character of the work."

But restorers denied the charges, saying that if any of the body parts have changed in appearance it is because of the thick deposits of salt and calcium that encrusted the work and had to be painstakingly removed. "The restoration in no way radically modified the original features," said Mario Scalini, the head of heritage and arts for the local province of Siena and Grosseto. "The operation was carried out with the greatest of care." Giuseppe Gavazzi, one of the restorers, said the mural was already badly damaged when restoration work began and that there had been no intention to remove or cover up any of the private parts.

Scholars have puzzled over the meaning of the fresco, which was painted in about 1265 but only rediscovered in 2000. Some believe it is an allegory of fertility, while others argue that it was a political manifesto illustrating models of good governance, amid rivalry between the rival Guelph and Ghibelline factions, whose feuding was linked to power struggles between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Papacy in the 12th and 13th centuries. The mural, found concealed on a wall inside one of Massa Marittima's public fountains, consists of a tree with human penises and testicles hanging from its branches, beneath which stand eight or possibly nine female figures in medieval dress. One of the women appears to be using a pole to pull one

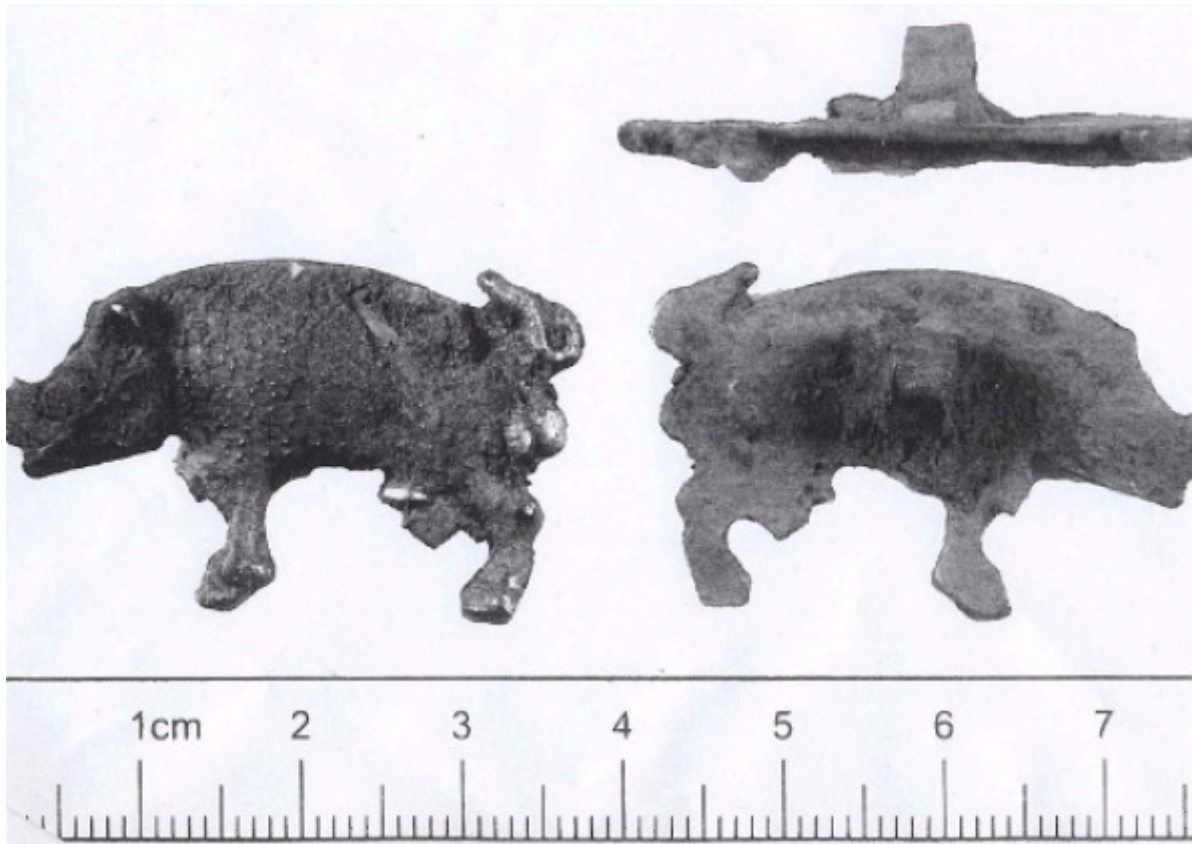
of the penises to within reach. According to one scholar, it is "unparalleled in the history of Western art."

Re-written from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/art-news/8714235/Italian-art-experts-accused-of-censoring-phallic-fresco.html>



Two medieval brooches discovered

Sitting on a Treasure hearing at Selby Magistrates' Court, Coroner Rob Turnbull said the two items, both livery brooches, were discovered at separate locations in Beal and Stillingfleet. The first item, a silver-gilt brooch depicting a stag's head with three antlers, is believed by experts to date from either the 14th or 15th century. The second brooch, depicting a wild boar, is thought to be from the 15th century and a celebration of the reign of Richard III to whom the symbol of the white boar was often attributed. Found at Stillingfleet by a metal detector, the silver-gilt brooch is in good condition.



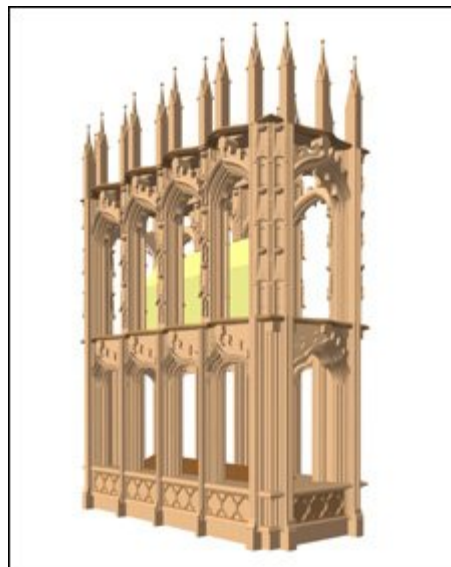
Re-written from http://www.goolecourier.co.uk/news/local-news/two_medieval_brooches_discovered_1_4059814

York saint's shrine on show for first time in 400 years

St. William was York's only Saint and had two shrines in York Minster and the remains these shrines are to be exhibited together for the first time in 400 years, forming part of the new medieval display when the Yorkshire Museum in York. The oldest shrine to St William of York, dating from 1330, has not been seen by the public since it was mostly destroyed by Henry VIII during the dissolution of the monasteries. A second shrine, dating from the 15th century, will also be on show but in a much more complete state than previously seen since it was destroyed.

Andrew Morrison, curator of archaeology at York Museums Trust, said: "St William is York's only saint and regarded as one of the most historically important in the north of England. He was unusually crowned Archbishop of York twice. For 300 years thousands of pilgrims came to York to worship his shrines, which became bigger and grander over time and were reportedly the scene for many miracles. "As you would expect the shrines were beautifully made by the finest craftsmen in the north. We are delighted to be able to put some of the most interesting and incredible parts of the shrines on show together for the first time in four centuries."

The older of the shrines would have been positioned above the tomb of St William in York Minster. It is made of incredibly intricate carvings, created by some of the most skilled craftsmen in the country at the time. It includes figures depicted in great detail. The 15th-century shrine would have been positioned near the high altar of the Minster. For hundreds of years the shrines' remains were hidden underground and were uncovered during building work on what is now Precentor's Court near the Minster. Enough of the 15th century shrine was uncovered to put it on public show in the Yorkshire Museum. A later excavation uncovered more of both shrines and the combinations of all of these parts, which have been painstakingly restored, will make up the new display in the Yorkshire Museum.



Re-written from

http://news.bbc.co.uk/local/york/hi/people_and_places/history/newsid_8726000/8726512.stm

Late Gothic/Renaissance Art

An amateur actress uncovered a 500-year-old long-lost vault at a historic church after accidentally putting her foot through the floor tiles during rehearsals.



Kathy Mills exposed the entrance to the secret chamber that had been hidden for centuries as she rehearsed a scene for a production of the musical *Quasimodo* at St. Mary's Church, in Redgrave, Suffolk. She dislodged a marble flagstone near the altar of the 14th-century building and her foot vanished into a dark void below. Though she suffered a swollen ankle, it was worth it to be told she had uncovered a mystery tomb containing coffins thought to contain the remains of the village's aristocracy stretching back centuries. "They lifted it up (the flagstone) and you could just see some mud and sand underneath. It's possible my foot went down eight inches. I wondered where I was going. It was quite a shock. I was thrilled when they told me I had discovered this vault they did not know was there. One or two people have now started calling me the Tomb Raider."

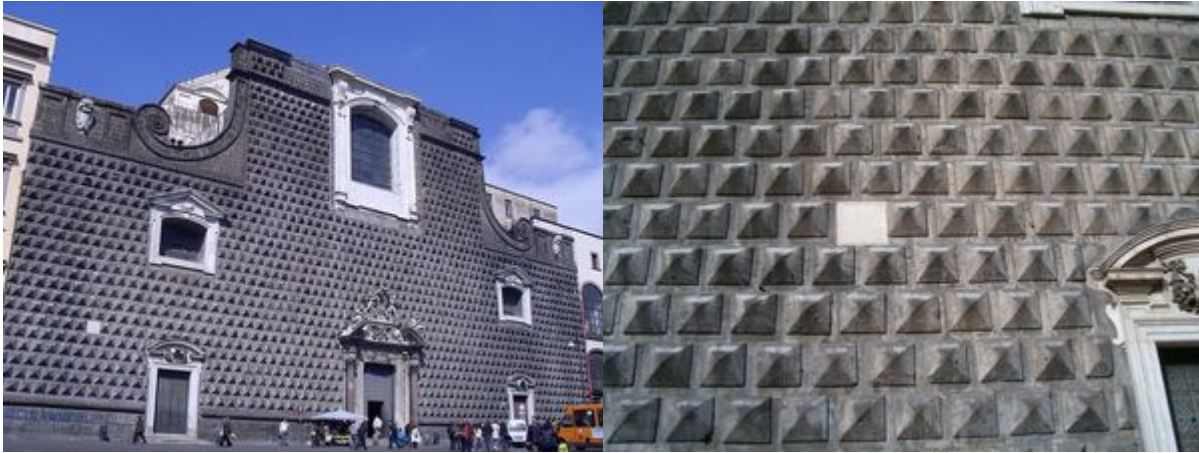
Rumors had been rife for decades that an intriguing labyrinth of passages and tombs lay under the ancient slabs of the church, now owned by The Churches Conservation Trust. Bob Hayward, chairman of Redgrave Church Heritage Trust, said stories had passed through the generations of how people walked through the tunnels as recently as the 1920s, but records of their existence could not be found.

Now the damaged flagstones (caused by rotted timbers under the floor tiles) were lifted up and a light lowered down where a tunnel was discovered with a set of steps descending into the ground visible in one direction and a cluster of about six coffins tucked inside a dark chamber in the other. The coffins are thought to belong to descendents of the local ruling Holt family. Sir John Holt became lord of the manor in 1703 and an imposing memorial to his life sits above the newly uncovered vault. But the chamber is believed to have been built deep in the 1500s by the Bacon family although their remains are located in another tomb beneath the

church's font. Mr. Hayward said: "It's exciting. You think you know these places but you don't until something like this happens."

Re-written from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/newstopics/howaboutthat/7887511/Actress-uncovers-500-year-old-church-vault-by-accident.html>

Renaissance score engraved in church's exterior



One of the most beautiful churches in Naples, Italy, conceals a musical score within its unusual stone-clad facade, a new study has concluded. Famous for its triumphant Neapolitan Baroque interior and lavishly decorated with colored marble and frescoes, the fortress-like church of Gesù Nuovo has long puzzled historians for the mysterious symbols engraved on the diamond-shaped stones protruding from its facade. "It was believed that these symbols represented the names of caves of a volcanic rock called piperno from which the stones were made," art historian Vincenzo De Pasquale told Naples daily *Il Mattino*. "Instead they are Aramaic letters [an alphabet adapted from Phoenician]. We have seven letters, and each of them corresponds to a musical note," De Pasquale said. Read from right to left and bottom to top, the coded engraved notes form a 45-minute concert for stringed instruments. "It's a Renaissance music score which follows a Gregorian canon," said De Pasquale, who conducted the study with Csar Dors, a Jesuit expert on Aramaic, and Hungarian musicologist LőrBnt Réz.

According to De Pasquale, the use of some sort of coded signs to compose a musical score wasn't unusual for that time. "Another palace of the Sanseverino princes features musical notes engraved in its stones. Named "Enigma," the newly discovered music has been transcribed for organ rather than for plectrum (stringed) instruments.

Re-written from <http://news.discovery.com/history/renaissance-score-engraved-in-churchs-exterior.html>

Badge dug up in field linked to Cult of St. Ursula



The badge, the only one of its kind ever found in Britain, provides a link 500 years ago between this corner of rural Lancashire and the great pilgrimage sites of mainland Europe. It shows one of the companions of St Ursula, one of the most popular mystical legends of medieval Europe. She was said to be a British princess who sailed with 11,000 virgin companions to marry a pagan prince in Brittany, but diverted to go on a pilgrimage to Rome - and in some versions of the story, Jerusalem. After many adventures they came to Cologne, where all were slaughtered by Hun tribesmen. When a large cemetery of Roman era bones was found in the city in the 11th century, they were declared the remains of the saint and her companions, and her cult spread across Europe.

King, a member of the South Ribble metal detecting club, found the silver plaque at the end of April in a field some miles from his home in Walton-le-Dale, where he had already found several hundred Victorian coins, but returned with the blessing of the landowner for a sweep with his new more high-powered metal detector. "I knew immediately she was something special," he said. "I think she was hidden deliberately - she was folded over, not damaged by a plough strike in any way. It is extraordinary and moving to think how much history is locked up in this little piece of metal."

Although a church in Cologne holds her shrine and a whole chapel still decorated with the supposed bones of her companions, there were so many bones that the relics spread across Europe and beyond. Some of the most beautiful reliquaries, life sized busts of fashionably dressed young women, were made to hold the bones. The badge from Lancashire is a representation of just such a shrine (and so close in style and early -16th-century date that it may come from the same Bruges workshop that made the original reliquaries). These reliquaries displayed gently smiling young women with their hair in a modish plaited style. The badge would have been bought as a souvenir by the Lancashire pilgrim from just such a shrine.

British Museum curator James Robinson said he was "beside myself with excitement" when he saw an image of the find. "To be honest if I hadn't been working on the exhibition it might have taken me a while to clock it - as it is I recognized her immediately as one of the

companions of St Ursula. I hesitate to call it a miracle, but it is a most extraordinary coincidence that this should turn up just at this time."

Re-written from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/culture/2011/jun/20/badge-dug-field-medieval-treasure>