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### Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture (Volume 3, Issue 2)

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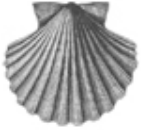
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## Welcome

### Welcome

### Current Issue

### Photo-bank

### About the Society

### Submission Guidelines

### Call for Papers

### Publishing Opportunities

### Conferences

### Organizations

### Exhibitions

### Research Announcements

### Notices

### Obituary

### Related Links

Welcome to this issue of *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art & Architecture* featuring articles on a wide range of subjects and approaches. Interdisciplinary, or the more-trendy term “interdisciplinarity,” is at the center of many academic discussions. To that end, this issue of *Peregrinations* features several articles which approach works of art and architecture in a manner quite different from art historians. We are delighted to present the different disciplinary approaches of History, Geography, and Anthropology. Information brought forth by these researchers is quite different and, we believe, will be of great use to art historians who work on similar objects and in similar areas. In this issue we are also privileged to present several articles that use more familiar theoretical and practical approaches to Art History. A major subsection, guest edited by Margaret Cormack, explores how, as Cormack herself notes, “the arrangement of church dedications in a landscape, may reflect pilgrimage or trade routes, mountain passes, political alliances, and various types of localized commercial activity. Knowledge of the dedication of a church – or of a miracle credited to a saint at a specific location – can provide evidence for the identification of paintings or other objects and can suggest reasons for the dedication of churches or chapels or for the purchase of statues.” The three articles in this section trace records of church dedications to provide evidence of intellectual, artistic, and social trends and of the speed with which innovation could spread. Margaret Cormack investigates church dedications and records of where certain works of art were known to be situated in the Diocese of Hólar in Iceland. Michael Costen, using documents that pinpoint dedications, dates of fairs, holy wells, and more, researches how there were three successive layers of dedications to be found in the Diocese of Bath and Wells, reflecting changing religious and political sentiment. Donald Prudlo examines the spread of the popular cults of St. Thomas Becket and Peter of Verona, and how the distribution of recorded miracles allows us to trace their continuing popularity or their fade into relative obscurity. All three articles make use of the latest geographical database technologies that allow scholars to track and map historical developments.



Other featured articles using interdisciplinary approaches include the work of Saltanat Rzayeva, an anthropologist who traces the very ancient traditions through early medieval depictions of deer, explaining how their meaning changed to suit new religious beliefs. Matthew Champion explores the historical difficulties of honoring a bequest to build a chapel that, for various intriguing reasons, was unwanted. Indeed, outside of a few stones, these documents are all that remain of a once-important chapel. Traditional art-historical methodology is found in the articles of Bobbie Dykema, who focuses on the relationship of memory and morality in medieval bestiaries, Emma J. Wells, who explores how the senses enhanced and directed the pilgrimage experience at Canterbury Cathedral and York Minster, and Grazia Maria Fachechi, who proposes a new a classification structure for cataloging and understanding mixed-media sculpture in medieval Europe.

This issue also includes Short Notices and Discoveries sections. Short Notices contains an obituary honoring the archaeologist Geoff Egan, a short article investigating a pilgrimage in the steps (physically and spiritually) of St. Francis, and an essay by Francisco Javier Ocaña Eiroa exploring 50 fascinating historical ideas about The Way of Saint James. Discoveries include reportage on a wide range of finds from the earliest Christian art to the surprise discovery of a portrait of Henry VIII on a wall painting of a house once owned by a court favorite. There are also links to new image websites, which make their high-quality images available for educational and scholarly uses at no cost. The highlight of these is the work of Genevra Kornbluth and her historical archive of medieval metalwork, glass, and more. More links have been added to the Links page, and this issue features the site of [Medieval Hungary](#). We also, as usual, list calls for papers, conferences, research announcements and more.



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!...” otherwise the database will not work properly. 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: Sarah Blick or Rita Tekippe. Our grateful appreciation and thanks for partial funding provided by Kenyon College.

et al.

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**Vol. 1, Issue 4 (2004)**

**Vol. 1, Issue 3 (2003)**

**Vol. 1, Issue 2 (July 2002)**

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FABRICATI DIEM, PVNC

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

#### **Publication Information**

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## *Saints and Geography*

By Margaret Cormack, *College of Charleston*

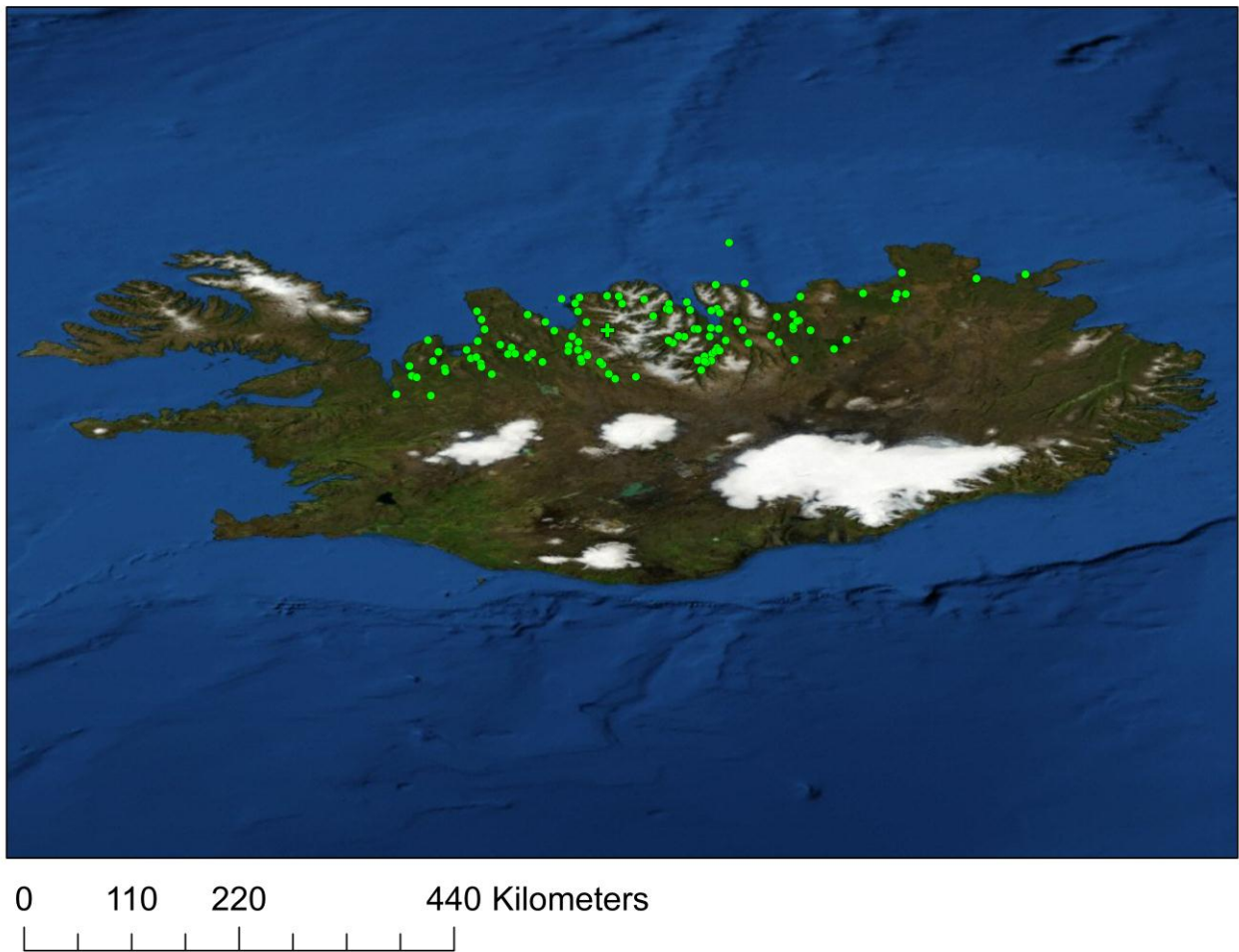
Images, statues, and reliquaries of saints are valuable evidence for the art historian; their presence in a church, like the arrangement of church dedications in a landscape, may reflect pilgrimage or trade routes, mountain passes, political alliances, and various types of localized commercial activity. Knowledge of the dedication of a church – or of a miracle credited to a saint at a specific location – can provide evidence for the identification of paintings or other objects and can suggest reasons for the dedication of churches or chapels or for the purchase of statues. Miracle accounts are among the very few medieval sources that contain information about women, children, and the lower classes. They may also supply data about the environment and climate of the past. The dates of all these different types of material can provide evidence of intellectual, artistic, and social trends and of the speed with which innovation could spread.

Several initiatives to create comprehensive collections of dedications and make them available to the public have already been undertaken. Readers may be familiar with Steven Boardman's Database of Dedications of Saints in Medieval Scotland at <http://webdb.ucs.ed.ac.uk/saints/> or with the Trans-National Atlas and Database of Saints' Cults (TASC) created by Graham Jones at <http://www.le.ac.uk/users/grj1/tascintro.html> as the culmination of a number of international meetings. The following articles examining the distribution of saints' cults are part of a project aiming to create an interactive website comparable to Boardman's to which other scholars will be able to contribute. They were presented at a conference on "Saints and Geography" held at Hólar, Iceland, in 2006 which was supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities; the Icelandic ministries of Culture, Justice and the Church; the British Embassy in Reykjavík; the German Embassy in Reykjavík; Sveitarfélagið Skagafjörður; the Þorlákssjóður of the Icelandic Catholic church; and the Icelandic Millennial Fund. The conference was held at the invitation of the Jón Baldvinsson, Bishop of Hólar, and hosted by Skúli Skúlason, Rector of the University at Hólar. The participants wish to express their thanks to all of these for having made that event possible. **(figs. 1, 2)**

Michael Costen's paper is based on a database containing dedications and other information, such as the dates of fairs and the locations of holy wells, pertaining to the cult of saints in the Diocese of Bath and Wells. On this basis he has identified three successive layers of dedications, including one attributable to the West-Saxon kings, reflected in dedications to St. Andrew, and one that is even older. His contribution includes four appendices: 1) a list of estates belonging to the Bishopric of Wells and the church dedications on those estates; 2) dedications of parish churches belonging to the Cathedral of Wells; 3) dedications of parish churches belonging to Glastonbury Abbey; and 4) dedications of parish churches on estates belonging to Glastonbury Abbey. His article also calls attention to the shrine of St. Cyngar at Congressbury, about which he has written previously. Among other items of interest emerging from his database are the numerous holy wells in the diocese. **(fig. 3)**



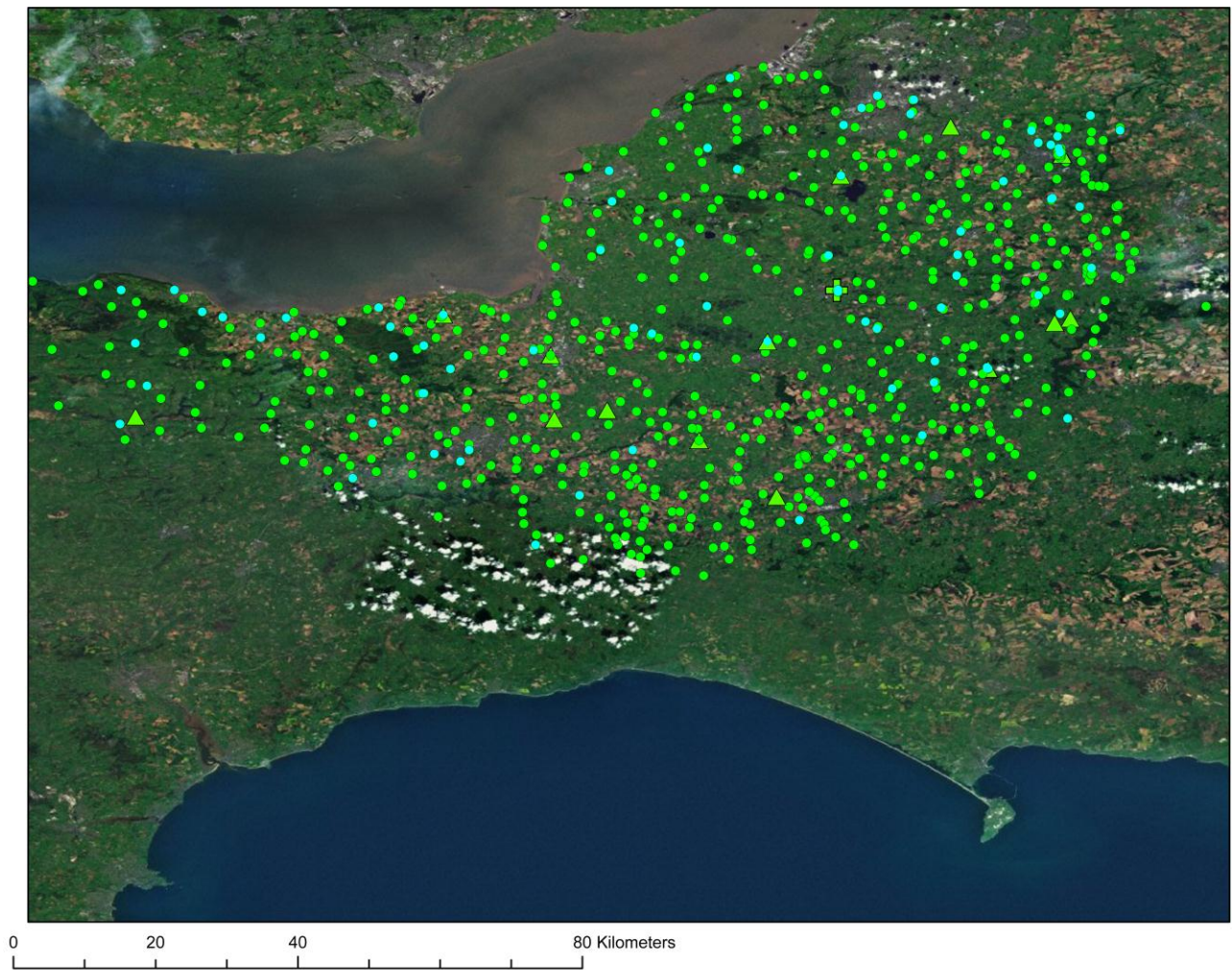
**Figure 1** Hólar Cathedral, present building consecrated 1783. Steeple in commemoration of Bishop Jón Arason, 1950. Photo: Margaret Cormack.



**Figure 2** Religious sites in Hólar diocese *c.* 1400. Hólar cathedral is indicated by a cross. Map: Margaret Cormack.

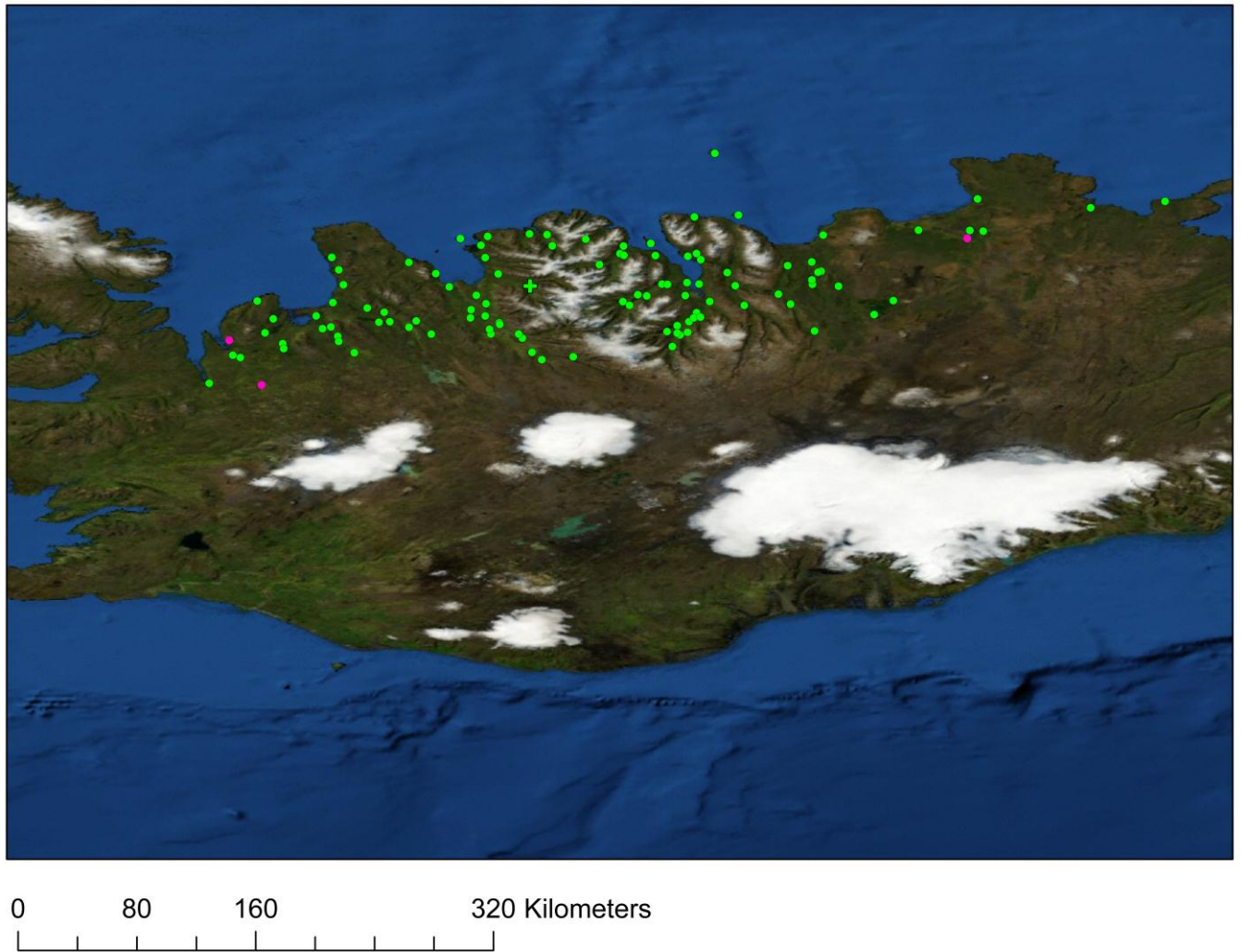
Donald Prudlo's article and database are based on collections of miracles attributed to Thomas Becket and Peter Martyr. Prudlo examines the distribution of miracles and analyzes the reasons why the two martyrs' cults spread in the ways they did. It is worth noting that Peter Martyr, in spite of the "army of accomplished preachers" dedicated to spreading his cult, did not achieve the lasting popularity of Becket. (see **figs. 1, 2, 4, and 5** in Prudlo's article)

Cormack has long been occupied with the study of saints' cults in Iceland. After attending several meetings of the TASC group, with the aid of Norbert Winnige of the Max Planck Institut zur Erforschung multireligiöser und multiethnischer Gesellschaften (at that time the Max Planck Institut für Geschichte), she produced an interactive database for Hólar, the northern diocese of Iceland, which can be viewed at [www.tasc.mpg.de/iceland\\_new/](http://www.tasc.mpg.de/iceland_new/). Her contribution to this volume is a survey of the saints' cults attested in the diocese based on that database. (**fig. 2**) It includes references to statues and paintings as well as church dedications. She examines the development of several cults in detail and argues that images, not dedications, may be the most significant indicator of a saint's popularity.



**Figure 3** Religious sites in the diocese of Bath and Wells. The Cathedral is indicated by a cross, monasteries by triangles, and holy wells by blue dots. Map: Margaret Cormack, using a database created by Michael Costen.

A project that will incorporate these articles in a single, on-line database is under construction at [www.saintsgeog.net](http://www.saintsgeog.net). Please note that it is still in progress, and full data will likely not likely be entered before the end of 2012. The site will enable analysis and comparison of, for example, the development of the cult of Thomas Becket in the areas covered. Prudlo has outlined the expansion of the cult as indicated by the locations of miracles. (see **figs. 1, 2** in Prudlo's article) Those locations will be compared to the distribution of dedications in the diocese of Hólar (**fig. 4**) and the diocese of Bath and Wells. (**fig. 5**) We solicit comparable data from others working with either dedications or miracle collections. The resulting site will be made accessible on line, free of charge; with it, scholars will be able to examine the relationships among miracles, dedications, and works of art in their geographical, social, and religious settings. ●



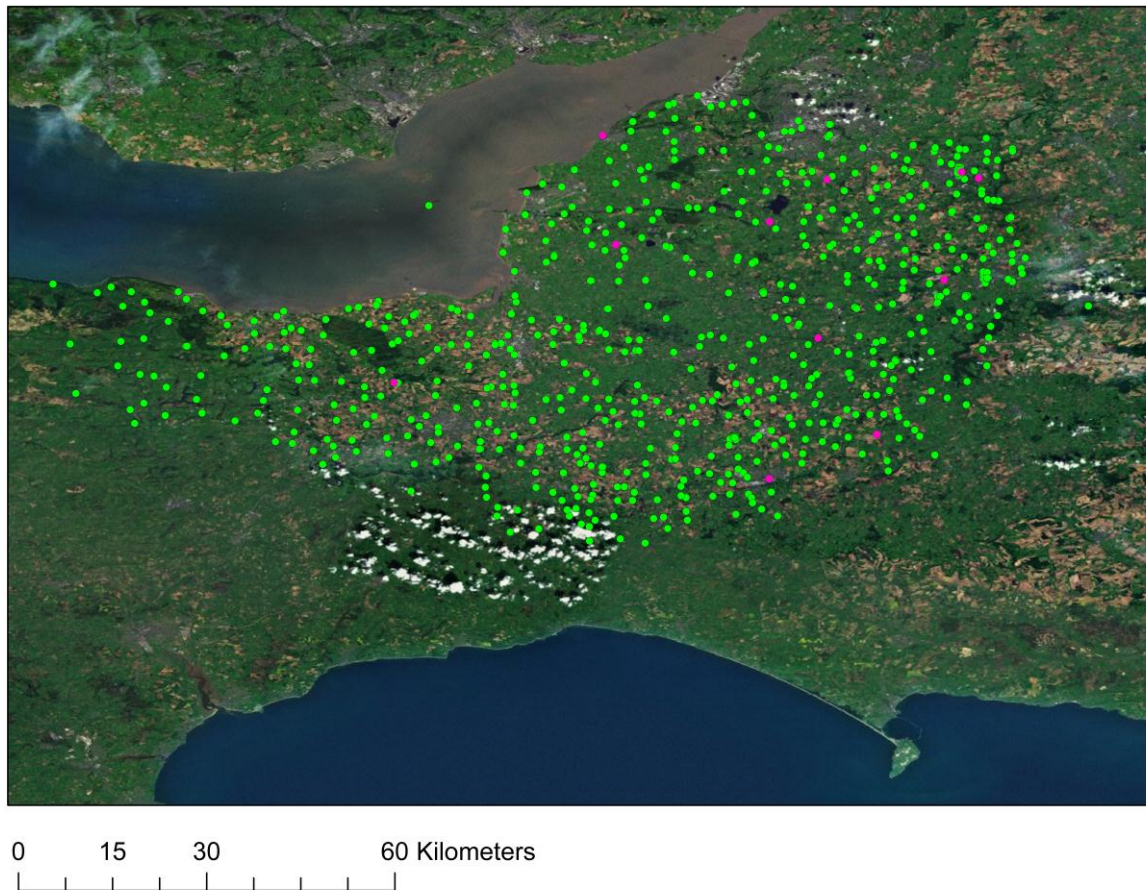
**Figure 4** Churches and chapels in the diocese of Hólar c. 1400, with dedications to Thomas Becket indicated by pink dots. Map: Margaret Cormack.

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**Figure 5** Sites of religious significance in the diocese of Bath and Wells, with dedications to Thomas Becket indicated by pink dots Map: Margaret Cormack, using a database created by Michael Costen.



## *Saints of Medieval Hólar:<sup>1</sup> A Statistical Survey of the Veneration of Saints in the Diocese*

By Margaret Cormack, *College of Charleston*

The Diocese of Hólar, comprising the northernermost of the four legal divisions (quarters) of medieval Iceland, was founded in 1106, a century after Iceland's acceptance of Christianity; its first bishop, Jón Ögmundarson (1106-1121), was locally canonized on March 3, 1200. He is said to have assigned episcopal tithes for the building of a church and monastery at Þingeyrar (and to have measured out the circumference of the future church with his cloak), although the monastery itself, the first in Iceland, did not become functional until 1133.<sup>2</sup> It was followed by another Benedictine monastery at Munkaþverá in 1155, an Augustinian house at Möðruvellir in 1296, and a convent at Reynistaður in 1295. By this time there were over one hundred churches in the diocese, as well as numerous chapels. The present article is a survey of dedications and images of saints in Hólar Diocese. When the evidence permits, I will discuss the development of the cults of individual saints.

The primary source for evidence of the cults of saints in Iceland is found in church contracts called *máldagar*, which usually include detailed inventories of church contents, including statues and lives of saints (in Latin or the vernacular), as well as other evidence of veneration. The *máldagar* also specified the number of clergy at the church, the number of masses to be sung, and other provisions, such as the requirement to disburse alms on a saint's feast.<sup>3</sup> The more detailed *máldagar* allow us to visualize church interiors with their alabaster altarpieces, enamelled chalices, and gilded reliquaries. These documents were kept (and updated) at the church itself; in addition, bishops compiled their own registers to keep track of the property of churches in the diocese. The registers provide the basis for the present study. Unfortunately, these documents were not exhaustive; free-standing chapels rarely merited separate entries, nor did churches that were for some reason outside of the parish system, such as the church at the trading center at Gásar, of unknown origin and status. Ecclesiastical institutions such as monasteries or the cathedral itself appear to have kept their own records; information

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<sup>1</sup> This paper is based on a presentation made at the conference "Saints and Geography" at Hólar, Iceland, in June, 2006. Thanks are due to the sponsors of this event (see introduction), and to the National Endowment of the Humanities for a Summer Stipend which enabled me to complete my contribution. The College of Charleston Research and Development Fund, the Icelandic Centre for Research (RANNÍS), and the Icelandic Millennial Fund (Kristnihátíðarsjóður) provided financial assistance at various stages of the project. I thank Helgi Skúli Kjartansson, Svavar Sigmundsson, Guðrún Ása Grímsdóttir and Gunnar Guðmundsson for valuable comments which saved me from numerous errors. Dr. Asimoula Alissandratos greatly improved the style. Any remaining errors or infelicities are my own.

<sup>2</sup> *Biskupa sögur* I, ed. Sigurgeir Steingrímsson *et al.* (Reykjavík: 2003) part 2, pp. 227-228, hereafter BS.

<sup>3</sup> Margaret Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland. Their Veneration from the Conversion to 1400* (Brussels, 1994), pp. 25-29; Orri Vésteinsson, *The Christianization of Iceland. Priests, Power and Social Change 1000-1300* (Oxford: 2000), pp. 101-108.

about their property is preserved in a rather haphazard fashion, the earliest record being, in many cases, from a compilation made in 1525.

The parish structure found in the *máldagi* collections dates from the twelfth century at the earliest. Recent archaeological excavations have provided evidence of churches from the eleventh century that do not appear in the documents, and may have been moved, fallen out of use, or perhaps survive as some of the chapels referred to in the *máldagar*. Once recorded, however, *máldagar* were unlikely to have been omitted from the registers, even if the church no longer existed; bishops would want the records available in case of eventual rebuilding.



**Figure 1** Hólar Cathedral today. Photo: author.

The present study includes data from all ecclesiastical institutions with *máldagar* recorded before the Reformation (1550), a maximum of 127. Their age is generally unknown. It

should be noted that dedications were not fixed; churches could be rededicated, or new patrons silently adopted. As I have treated the cult of the saints in Iceland before 1400 in detail elsewhere (Cormack 1994), this article contains detailed references primarily for evidence from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Medieval Iceland was a rural society with few areas of concentrated population; for the most part these would have been at monasteries or at the two cathedrals. The places where churches were located were farms, not towns or even villages; most of these farms still exist today. When more than one farm has the same name, additional information has been supplied to aid in the identification. Hólar in Eyjafjörður is not the same as Hólar Cathedral (**fig. 1**), and the church at Möðruvellir in (southern) Eyjafjörður should not be confused with Möðruvellir Monastery, further north. Those unfamiliar with Icelandic geography may refer to the database at [www.saintsgeog.net](http://www.saintsgeog.net), which, when complete, will present the data in searchable format.

### **Dedications in Hólar Diocese**

The following list shows the number of ecclesiastical institutions at which each saint is listed as the main patron (i.e., the church is referred to as St. X's church) as a fraction of the total instances when the saint is mentioned as a patron. Churches first appearing in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries are listed by name in the right-hand column; they are included in the total. It should always be borne in mind that dedications could change (some examples are given in the discussion of individual saints), and that *máldagar* do not always include a complete list of patron saints.

<b>Primary Patrons / Total Patronage</b>	<b>Church first attested 15th c. or later</b>
Apostle Peter 20 / 24	
Virgin Mary 5 / 20	Hofstaðir
Nicholas of Myra and Bari 10 / 18	
Olaf of Norway 13 / 16	
John the Baptist 12 / 14	Skarð (Geitaskarð) in Langidalur
John the Apostle and Evangelist 4 / 8	
Andrew the Apostle 3 / 6	
Þorlákr (locally canonized 1198) 3 / 5	
Michael the Archangel 3 / 4	
Martin of Tours 3 / 3	
Thomas Becket (canonized 1173) 3 / 3	
Cecilia 2 / 2	
Magnus of Orkney 1 / 2	
Lawrence the Deacon 2 / 2	
Paul the Apostle (along with Peter) 1 / 2	
Ambrose of Milan 1 / 2	Viðvík
Apostles 1 / 1	
Bartholomew the Apostle 1 / 1	
Catherine of Alexandria 1 / 1 (changed dedication, see below)	
James the Greater 1 / 1	
Jesus Christ 1 / 1	
Jón of Hólar 2 / 2 (Cathedral and a half-church; see below)	
Matthew the Apostle 1 / 1	

Stephen the Deacon 1 / 1

Thomas the Apostle 1 / 1

The list of church patrons yields a group of universal saints, to which Olaf of Norway, Magnus of Orkney, and Icelandic Þorlákr and Jón have been added. The most popular saints (attested at ten or more churches) were Peter, Mary, Olaf, Nicholas, and John the Baptist. It might appear surprising that Peter is the most popular compared to, for example, the Virgin Mary, who was patron of the diocese, but was relatively infrequent as primary patron of churches within it. Peter, however, was not only “Prince of the Apostles,” but also patron of Skálholt Cathedral which was, for fifty years, the cathedral of Iceland. Furthermore, it appears that, in Iceland, the cult of the Virgin began to bloom in the thirteenth century (see below).



**Figure 2** Retable in Hólar Cathedral, 16th century. Photo: Margrét Tryggvadóttir, with permission

Dedications are not always the most important evidence for the *cultus* of a saint. The bishop, not the builder of the church, had final say on the dedication.<sup>4</sup> However, church funds or donations supplied by devout individuals paid for the statues and other decorations of the church, as well as literature about the saint. It was considered proper for a church to own an image of its patron saint, as well as a vernacular version (saga) of his or her life, if possible. The presence in a church of a statue or a saga of its patron saint might thus indicate nothing more than a sense of what was fitting. Of greater interest are images of a saint at churches *not* dedicated to him or her; in such cases, someone had spent money with a particular devotion in mind. As William Christiansen has pointed out, the “active” saint, the one to whom people pray when in need, is not necessarily the same as the titular patron, the saint to whom the church was dedicated or for whom it was named.<sup>5</sup> The following list records the number of images of saints attested at

<sup>4</sup> *Laws of Early Iceland: Grágás*, ed. Andrew Dennis, Richard Perkins, and Peter Foote, vol. 1 (Winnipeg: 1980), p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Christiansen, William, *Person and God in a Spanish Valley* (New York: Seminar Press, 1972), p. 68.

churches or religious houses *not* dedicated to them, compared to the total number of images.<sup>6</sup> Few have survived *in situ*; most surviving medieval religious objects can be viewed at the National Museum in Reykjavík. A notable exception is the sixteenth-century retablo in Hólar Cathedral. (**fig. 2**) For illustrated discussion of extant wooden carvings, see Ellen Marie Magerøy; for alabaster, Bera Nordal.

### **Images at non-patronal churches, monasteries, and the cathedral**

**\*Note\*** Numbers refer to the number of churches and institutions that do *not* name the saint in their dedications but own images vs. the total number with images. Multiple images in a single church are not counted. Dates of acquisition (when known) are treated in the discussion of individual saints.

Mary 81 / 101

Olaf 22 / 35

John the Baptist 10 / 23

Peter 10 / 31<sup>7</sup>

Nicholas of Bari 9-10 / 26-27<sup>8</sup>

Catherine of Alexandria 7 (excluding Hvammur, Vatnsdalur, see below) / 8

Guðmundr Arason 7 (counting Hólar Cathedral, where his shrine was, and of which he might be considered a patron) / 7

Magnus of Orkney 7 / 8

Michael the Archangel 6 (including one on an altar dedicated to him) / 9

Jón Ögmundarson of Hólar 6 / 7

Margaret of Antioch 5 / 5

Þorlákr 5 / 10

Anne, mother of the Virgin Mary 5 / 5 (including one in a chapel dedicated to her)

Mary Magdalene 5 / 5

Andrew the Apostle 4 / 8

Paul the Apostle 4 (associated with Peter in three cases) / 6

James the Greater 4 / 4

Zita 4 / 4

Stephen the Deacon 3 / 4

Agatha 2 / 2

Christopher 2 / 2

Elizabeth 2 / 2

John the Evangelist 2 / 6

Martin of Tours 2 / 5

Zacharias 2 / 2

Anthony (presumably the hermit) 2 / 2

<sup>6</sup> In the following I use the terms “image” rather than “statue” because some of the items are painted on wood, rather than carved in wood or stone, and the Icelandic terms can be ambiguous. For the precise term used for each item, the reader may refer to the database.

<sup>7</sup> The church at Mikligarður, dedicated to the Apostles, is taken as including Peter among its dedicatees.

<sup>8</sup> The cathedral at Hólar owned an image of either Thomas or Nicholas; see below.

Cecilia 1 / 3  
 Lawrence the Deacon 1 / 3  
 Benedict of Nursia 1 / 3 (two of the images were at Benedictine monasteries)  
 Ambrose of Milan 1 / 2  
 Bartholomew the apostle 2 / 3  
 Barbara 1 / 1  
 Brigid of Kildare 1 / 1  
 Edmund king and martyr 1 / 1  
 Jerome 1 / 1  
 Charlemagne 1 / 1 (on a tapestry)  
 Thomas Becket 0 / 3  
 Thomas the Apostle 1 / 1  
 Thomas, not identified as the apostle or Becket 6 / 6 (images in churches dedicated either to the apostle or to Becket are assumed to represent that saint).  
 Matthew the Apostle 0 / 1

**Images found only at monasteries (none of which are dedicated to the saint)**

Clare of Assisi at Þingeyrar Monastery 1  
 Bonaventura at Möðruvellir Monastery 1  
 Halvard of Norway at Möðruvellir Monastery 1

Comparison of the two lists leads to a number of observations. The top places in both lists are held by the same five saints, but in different order. In terms of images, the Virgin Mary far outnumbers all other saints. In fact, hardly a church in the diocese did *not* own an image of her. Most famous of these was a statue at Hofstaðir (see below). At non-patronal churches, statues of the Norwegian Olaf outnumbered those of Nicholas, John the Baptist, and Peter.

The relatively small number of churches where St. Þorlákr was venerated contrasts markedly with the evidence for the country as a whole, where he appeared as patron saint and/or was represented by an image in numbers comparable to those of Nicholas, Olaf, and Peter.<sup>9</sup> This reflects, in part, that he was patron saint of the diocese of Skálholt, which had three times as many churches as Hólar. Þorlákr's cult originated among the clergy of Hólar, and it is possible that the dedications to him represent their enthusiasm, rather than that of the average parishioner in the diocese.

A number of saints, some of whom were not known from any dedications within the diocese, are represented by five to ten images at non-patronal churches. It should, of course, be remembered that dedications were not always written out completely, and it is possible that a more complete *máldagi* would have listed these saints as patrons. However, the cults of these saints were apparently "late arrivals" that spread in Iceland in the thirteenth century when the major period of church founding was over. Among them we find the universal saints Catherine of Alexandria, Margaret of Antioch, the Archangel Michael, Mary Magdalene, and Anne, mother of the Virgin. Local and semi-local saints also belong to this group: for example, Magnus of Orkney, whose relic arrived in Skálholt in 1298 and whose feast became obligatory in 1326. Bishop Guðmundr Arason of Hólar, who was never formally canonized, is represented in

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<sup>9</sup> Cormack, *The Saints in Iceland*, p. 29.

numbers comparable to Jón and greater than those for Þorlákr, despite the fact the latter's inclusion in five dedications in the diocese.

A special category consists of saints identified only from monasteries. The contents of these institutions were mostly little known before being recorded in 1525, and it is likely that the saints in question were venerated earlier, though how much earlier is unknown. They are Clare of Assisi, Bonaventure, and Halvard of Norway. It is interesting that although Clare of Assisi and Bonaventure were represented by images at monasteries, there was no sign of interest in St. Francis outside the liturgy, though his feast was used occasionally to date documents.

Of the remaining saints, Elizabeth and Zacharias appeared together at two churches dedicated to their son, John the Baptist, and Charlemagne appeared on a tapestry at the church at Hvammur in Laxárdalur in the late fourteenth century (DI III 174).

It should be noted that individual donors could have considerable influence on the saints represented at a given church. For example, a *máldagi* for the church at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður from c. 1500 records payments by two individuals who had been in charge of the farm at different times. *Húsfrú* Margrét supplied a gilded alabaster altarpiece, a statue of St. Lawrence and one of St. Zita.<sup>10</sup> The farmer Grímr Pálsson acquired for the church an image of Peter and one of Christopher, two of Margaret, one each of Guðmundr, Thomas, Barbara, Magnus, Michael, and a small image of Mary with doors. At the end of the fourteenth century, the church dedicated to St. Martin had owned only images of him and of the Virgin. Interestingly, the net result of these individuals' stewardship was that the church was indebted to them. One wonders whether the debt would have been treated as a donation for the good of their souls, or whether they expected it paid.

## Geography

Medieval Iceland had very few usable harbors. There were two major ports in the diocese of Hólar, at Gásar in Eyjafjörður, near the monastery at Möðruvellir, and Kolkuós, which would have been the closest port to the cathedral at Hólar. Ships are also recorded arriving at Siglunes. Glacial rivers could be as dangerous as the ocean, as described in a dramatic miracle in *Þorláks saga*.<sup>11</sup> Within the country, travel was usually on horseback (no roads were good enough for wheeled vehicles until the twentieth century), rather than by ship. We read of Bishop Páll of Skálholt arriving from Norway in Eyjafjörður, and the saga of Bishop Jón Ögmundarson suggests that when Jón arrived from his consecration journey in the early twelfth century, he arrived in southern Iceland and traveled to his diocese by land.<sup>12</sup>

The fifteenth century in Iceland is often characterized as the "English Age" because of trade with that country, although there was also a fair amount of traffic with Germany in the latter part of the century and into the next. During the fifteenth century, the bishops of Hólar were foreign more often than native, including Norwegians, a Dane, and -- in the middle of the century -- an Englishman who was also bishop of Skálholt; Skálholt also had a Dutch and a Danish bishop. Inventories and surviving artifacts indicate acquisition of objects from England,

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<sup>10</sup> DI V p. 308. Terms like *bóndi* (roughly translated "farmer") and *húsfrú* (lit. "house-lady;" perhaps "lady of the manor" catches the sense) are titles that often indicate high social position. An Icelandic "farm" could be an extensive estate.

<sup>11</sup> BS II 138-39.

<sup>12</sup> BS II 303, BS I 200 and note 5.

Ireland, and Germany. Of particular interest are alabaster statues and altarpieces, presumably of English origin, which were owned by many Icelandic churches.<sup>13</sup>

### Development of the cult of individual saints

The following is a selective commentary on the development of cults in the diocese of Hólar. Trends have been noted, but detailed analysis has been postponed until material from the diocese of Skálholt can be incorporated. Primary source references are included regularly only for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; for the earlier period, the reader is referred to *The Saints in Iceland* and to the database at [www.saintsgeog.net](http://www.saintsgeog.net). Liturgical material is not examined in detail; those interested may refer to Stockholm Perg. 4to nr. 36 V (written in the mid-fifteenth century and described in KLM vol. VIII cols. 108-109), which contains a list of feasts celebrated in the diocese. For Icelandic liturgy see Gjerløw, Lilli, *Liturgica Islandica* and *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*. For liturgical calendars of Scandinavia, see KLM VIII cols. 89-147. Books have not been mentioned when they are the only evidence of knowledge of a saint, as they may represent purely intellectual interests rather than veneration.

### AGATHA

The Church at Ufsir in Svarfaðardalur owned an image of St. Agatha – probably a recent acquisition – at the beginning of the fourteenth century, but it was missing by 1478 (DI V 251) and was replaced by an image of St. Olaf, patron saint of nearby Vellir. The record of an image of Agatha at Vellir in 1525 (DI IX 333) suggests that the item simply changed location; however, we lack information about Ufsir for that year. The Cathedral at Hólar also had a copy of St. Agatha's saga at this time (DI IX 299). In the earliest records (DI II 433 from 1318) her feast was observed by abstaining from work at Grenjaðarstaður.

### AMBROSE of Milan

The church at Höfði in Höfðahverfi was dedicated to St. Nicholas and St. Ambrose and owned an image of the latter in 1318. Possibly Guðmundr Arason, who spent some time there in 1233, was involved in the dedication.<sup>14</sup> Ambrose appears as the main patron of the church at Viðvík, possibly a recent foundation (it is not mentioned in earlier collections) in 1432 (DI IV 511). An image of him was acquired between 1461 and 1525 by the church at Vellir in Svarfaðardalur (DI IX 333).

<sup>13</sup> Bera Nordal, "Skrá um enskar alabastursmyndir frá miðöldum sem varðveist hafa á Íslandi," *Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 1985 (Reykjavík: 1986), pp. 85-128, with English summary and black and white illustrations. According to Nordal, the main places of production were Nottingham, Chellaston, Burton-on-Trent, Coventry, York, Lincoln and London. See also her 1977 dissertation, "An English Gothic Alabaster Triptych from the Cathedral of Hólar in Iceland."

<sup>14</sup> Guðmundr, who was said to have been devoted to the saint, stayed at Höfði for two years, according to Bisk I, p. 440, n. 2, and p. 552; annals note that he was there in 1233-35 after being deposed from office the previous year (*Íslandske Annaler indtil 1578*, 130 and other index entries for Guðmundr). Cormack (1994), p. 77 incorrectly dates this visit.

## ANDREW apostle

Veneration of St. Andrew was well established in several locations at the beginning of the fourteenth century, with dedications to him at Sjárvarborg, Ríp in Hegranes, Tjörn and Urðir in Svarfaðardalur, and the rather-isolated Þönglabakki. Images of him were found at the churches of Auðkúla and Breiðabólstaður (the latter was named for him in 1432, DI IV 513). In the course of the fourteenth century, the church at Sjárvarborg received gift(s) for the apostle, including a cow from whose milk butter was to be paid to the church on the feast of St. Andrew (DI III 173). During that century the church at Laufás, on the opposite side of Eyjafjörður from Tjörn and Urðir, acquired an image of him; an *historia* of the saint was recorded at nearby Höfði in Höfðahverfi. Images were recorded at the monasteries of Munkaþverá and Þingeyrar in 1525 (DI IX 305, 313). As these are the earliest records from these monasteries, there is no way of telling when the images were obtained. Easily passable routes connected Þingeyrar to the church at Breiðabólstaður.

## ANNE, the Mother of the Virgin

The cult of St. Anne in Iceland has been studied by Kirsten Wolf in her edition of the *Saga heilagrar Önnu*.<sup>15</sup> The cult is generally considered to have arrived in Iceland through trading contacts with Germany.<sup>16</sup> Although the Hamburg merchant confraternity of “St Anne of the Iceland-farers” founded c. 1500 is most prominent in this regard, merchants had been active in Iceland during the previous century. *Contra* Wolf,<sup>17</sup> I believe that the image of St. Anne at Seltjarnarnes (today a suburb of Reykjavík, in medieval times part of the diocese of Skálholt) was attested c. 1400 and is thus the earliest evidence of her veneration in Iceland (DI IV 109).

The feast of St. Anne was not entered in the summary of feast ranks from Hólar compiled c. 1400 (AM 687c 4to).<sup>18</sup> It was, however, included in the *Missale Nidrosiensis* of 1488. There were chapels dedicated to Anne in the cathedral at Hólar in 1520 (DI VIII 732, 734) and the monastery of Munkaþverá in 1525 (DI IX 305). Munkaþverá Monastery also owned a gilded image of her,<sup>19</sup> while the chapel in Hólar Cathedral contained an image of the Virgin (DI IX 295). Both chapels may have been in existence for some time before they were recorded. In addition to the one at Munkaþverá, statues of St Anne are recorded at Möðruvellir Monastery, Laufás, and Vellir in Svarfaðardalur in 1525 (DI IX 317, 331, 333) and at Grund in Eyjafjörður in 1551 (DI XII 197). The images at Laufás and Grund were part of “payments” to the church that had been made shortly before the time they were recorded.

At Höskuldsstaður in Húnaþing, a statue of the St. Anne Trinity existed at the beginning of the nineteenth century; it was positioned over the entrance to the choir, and the description

<sup>15</sup> Kirsten Wolf, *Saga heilagrar Önnu* (Reykjavík: 2001), pp. xxix-xlv.

<sup>16</sup> Hans Bekker-Nielsen, “St. Anna i islandsk senmiddelalder,” *Fróðskaparrit* 13 (1964), pp. 203-212.

<sup>17</sup> Wolf, p. xxix.

<sup>18</sup> The feast 9/12 was added to the calendar AM 249 e fol. from Eyri in Skutulsfjörður in the diocese of Skálholt, along with the Conceptio Mariæ 8/12; Gjerløw, *Liturgica Islandica I*, pp. 103-104, 124. According to Gjerløw the original calendar is probably from the second quarter of the fourteenth century.

<sup>19</sup> Wolf, p. xxix.

notes that “one of them holds a baby, the other a book;”<sup>20</sup> however, it is not recorded in any of the extant *máldagar*, nor is it to be identified with the existing statue on display at the National Museum of Iceland (Þjms. 2069, from Holt, Öfundarfjörður, in the West Fjords, belonging to the diocese of Skálholt).<sup>21</sup> The example illustrated by Magerøy is of unknown provenance.<sup>22</sup> In 1513, the St. Anne Trinity was invoked in a letter sent by Icelanders to the King of Denmark to protest the behavior of the local clergy (DI VIII 429-37, “Leiðarhólmsskrá”).

Perhaps the most interesting evidence for devotion to St. Anne in the diocese is the donation by Teitr Þorleifsson of the estate Glaumbær to “God, St. Anne, and John the Baptist” after his lifetime (DI X 99, a letter by witnesses dated 1537). Teitr and his wife both invoke the saint, along with many others, in their wills dated 1531 (DI IX 586, 591).

“Anna” was given as a personal name starting in the fifteenth century, though, of course, it is uncertain whether the use of the name commemorated the saint. The name appears somewhat earlier in Norway than in Iceland, and it is possible that the name commemorated a Norwegian friend or relative.

## ANTHONY

A passage from “Nýi annáll” for the year 1417 reads: “There was such a bad storm throughout Iceland on the first Saturday in Þorri [the month beginning on the third Friday in January] that men and animals suffered badly. In that same storm, St. Anthony performed a wonderful miracle for a man in the north of the country who called on him. At that time Ivent Sasse was here, requesting money for the sake of St. Anthony; everyone responded well to this.”<sup>23</sup>

Ivent Sasse is otherwise unknown. While it is possible that he was a Franciscan collecting for Anthony of Padua, it should be noted that the hospital order of St. Anthony the Hermit was expanding in Scandinavia in the fourteenth century (KLNMI cols. 167-68) and that Iceland had just been through a serious plague, which struck in the early part of the century (after their having escaped the Black Death fifty years previously). Collectors for the hospitals of the Antonine order are recorded in fifteenth-century English episcopal registers<sup>24</sup> and it is possible they reached Iceland as well.

All Icelandic references to “Anthony” in Hólar *máldagar* date from the fifteenth century or later. Although the saint is never more precisely identified, it is probable that the hermit rather than Anthony of Padua is meant. Liturgical and dating references, as well as two vernacular translations of *vitae* of “Anthony” pertain to the hermit, and it might be assumed that if the cult of a new “Anthony” arrived, both of them would be identified in some way in order to avoid confusion.

<sup>20</sup> Sveinbjörn Rafnsson, *Frásögur um fornaldarleifar* II (Reykjavík: 1983), p. 483.

<sup>21</sup> Kristján Eldjárn, *Hundrað ár í Þjóðminjasafni*, Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs, 4th ed. (1973) nr. 20.

<sup>22</sup> Ellen Marie Magerøy, “Útskurður og líkneskjusmíð úr tré,” *Árbók hins íslenska fornleifafélags* 1999 (2001), p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> Kom hríð svo mikil laugardaginn fyrsta í þorra um allt Ísland, að bæði hraktist menn og fénaður. Gerði heilagur Antoníus þá fagra jarteign þeim manni, er hann kallaði til dugnaðar sér í þeirri sömu hríð fyrir norðan land. Var Ivent Sasse þá hér á landi, og bað peninga vegna heilags Antonii; vikust þar allir vel undir. *Annálar 1400-1600* (Reykjavík: 1922-27) I, p. 21.

<sup>24</sup> Dr. Pat Cullum, personal communication.

An image of St. Anthony, along with other items, was obtained for the church at Miklibær in Blönduhlíð by its priest, Síra Sigmundur (who also gave a copper crown for Our Lady) between 1464 and 1472 (DI V 324). The convent at Reynistaður, located in the same broad valley as Miklibær, owned a saga of the saint in 1525 (DI IX 321). The monastery at Munkaþverá owned an “old” image of “Anthonius” in 1525 (DI IX 305). The first Icelandic named Antonius is referred to in a patronymic when an Íon Antoniusson is mentioned in 1510 (DI VIII 303).

#### **APOSTLES** (see also individual apostles)

The Church at Mikligarður in Eyjafjörður was dedicated to the apostles, and it owned images of the Virgin Mary and Peter.

#### **BARBARA**

Before 1400 Barbara was venerated at two churches dedicated to her in the diocese of Skálholt. In the diocese of Hólar, interest in her dates from the fifteenth century. An image of her, along with images of numerous other saints, was paid to the church at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður at the time of the first visitation of Bishop Gottskalk of Hólar (1442-1457; DI V 308). A saga of the saint is listed at Möðruvellir Monastery in 1461 (DI V 289).

#### **BARTHOLOMEW the Apostle**

In the diocese of Hólar the veneration of the apostle Bartholomew is limited to Eyjafjörður, where the church at Ufsir at the mouth of Svarfaðardalur was dedicated to him and owned an image of him in 1318. Across Eyjafjörður, the church at Grýtubakki had acquired an image of him between 1394 and 1471 (DI V 266). The first full record of the monastery at Möðruvellir in 1525 lists a statue of the saint (DI IX 316) and a Bartholomeus *kver* (“booklet,” perhaps containing an office) (DI IX 318).

#### **BENEDICT of Monte Cassino**

The monasteries at Þingeyrar and Munkaþverá were Benedictine houses. The former owned an altar and image of St. Benedict in 1525 (DI IX 313), while the latter owned a “large gilded image” of the saint (DI IX 305). The monastery at Möðruvellir owned a copy of a saga about him in the second half of the fourteenth century (DI V 289). Outside the monastic environment, an image of St. Benedict is recorded at Fagranes in 1360. In his will, composed in 1363, Benedikt Kolbeinsson requests to be buried at Þingeyrar and notes that he trusts in the suffrages of this saint (DI III 185).

#### **BIRGITTA of Sweden**, d. 1373 canonized 1391. See also BRIGID of Kildare.

“Brigitar bok j norænu” (“Brigit’s book in Norse”) is listed at Hólar Cathedral in 1525, after a volume containing four saints’ sagas (DI IX 299). That the item is a separate volume, called “book” rather than “saga,” and is specifically stated to be in Norse, suggests that it belongs to a different category than the translated saints’ lives. It is probably a vernacular version of the *Revelations of St. Birgitta*, rather than a saga about the saint (which would have probably been listed as “Brigitar sögu a einni bok” or the like). The presence of St. Birgitta’s *Revelations* need not indicate a direct tie with Sweden, as her order was widespread and her *Revelations* had been translated into many vernaculars.

**BONAVENTURE**, Franciscan, d. 1274, canonized 1482.

There was an image of Bonaventure in the *kapella* at Munkaþverá Monastery in 1525 (DI IX 305). His feast was not, to my knowledge, included in any of the Scandinavian liturgical books.

**BRIGID of Kildare**. See also BIRGITTA of Sweden

The single Icelandic statue of St. Brigid, in Bergsstaðir, Svartárdalur, first appears in 1360. A saga about her was found at the monastery at Möðruvellir in a volume with sagas of other female saints who were not well-known in Iceland: Ursula, Euphemia, Justina, Eugenia, and Basilla (DI V 289-90). It is thus surprising to see “Brigida” following the better-known Mary Magdalene, Cecilia, and Margaret in a list of holy virgins in a vow made at Grund in Eyjafjörður in 1477 (DI VI 105).

**CATHERINE of Alexandria**

The development of the cult of St. Catherine in the diocese of Hólar can be followed more clearly than that of many saints, as all the churches in question have *máldagar* in Auðunn’s collection of 1318. The only reference to her in that collection is to the statue at the church at Hvammur in Vatnsdalur (DI II 476), which according to that collection is dedicated to the Virgin. In 1432 the church at Hvammur is listed as “the church of St. Catherine” (DI IV 513). By the end of the fourteenth century, there is evidence of her veneration from Eyjafjörður: a painted image (*blað*) of Catherine had been acquired by the church at Hrafnagil (DI III 560), while the church at Höfði on the eastern bank of the fjord owned a copy of her office (DI III 569). By 1461, images are recorded at four more churches in Húnaþing and Skagafjörður (Breiðabólstaður, Vesturhóp (after 1360); Holtastaðir, Langidalur (after 1394); Hvammur, Laxárdalur, (after 1360); Víðimýri, Skagafjörður (after 1360). The church at Hrafnagil had acquired a statue (*líkneski*) and a saga of the saint, in addition to the *blað*, in 1461 (DI V 315-16). A saga is recorded at Möðruvellir Monastery in 1461 (DI V 289).

The 1525 collection of inventories, which includes references to the religious houses, reveals a saga about the saint at Hólar Cathedral (DI IX 299), but no image is mentioned: possibly Catherine is represented by one of the four *meyia líkneski* (“images of virgins”) in the *kapella* (IX 295). At this time Þingeyrar Monastery and the convent at Reynistaður owned images of her. The one at Reynistaður was made of alabaster (DI IX 313, 320).

Both the dating and the distribution pattern suggest Húnaþing as an early locus of the cult that perhaps emanated from the monastery at Þingeyrar. Víðimýri, however, is in close proximity to Reynistaður Convent.

**CECILIA**

In 1318 St. Cecilia is attested as patron of Saurbær in Eyjafjörður, which also owned a *vita*, saga, and statue of her; by the end of the century it owned a section in the woods of another farm that were named for the saint (*Ceciliu partur*, “Cecilia’s section,” DI III 524 ). The church at Nes in Aðaldalur was also dedicated to her in 1318; although it owned an image of St. Olaf at that time, a statue of Cecilia is first recorded in 1394 (no *máldagi* exists from 1360). In 1360 an image of Cecilia is recorded in the first *máldagi* of Glaumbær in Skagafjörður. The *cultus* appears to stagnate during the fifteenth century.

## **CHARLEMAGNE**

A tapestry portraying Charlemagne was owned by the church at Hvammur, Laxárdalur, in the second half of the fourteenth century; the monastery at Möðruvellir (DI V 290) and the convent at Reynistaður owned copies of his saga (DI IX 321). At Möðruvellir, it is associated with sagas of other saintly kings, see OLAF. *Karlamagnús saga* has been preserved in medieval manuscripts and is a translation of various *Chansons de geste*.

## **CHRISTOPHER**

The only image in Iceland recorded before 1400 is that at Hof on Skagaströnd in 1318. The church at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður records an alabaster image of St. Christopher (along with images of other saints), given by the farmer in the mid-fifteenth century (DI V 308).

## **CLARE of Assisi**

An image of St. Clare was at Þingeyrar Monastery in 1525 (DI IX 313).

## **HOLY CROSS**

It goes without saying that all churches and chapels were supplied with crosses and/or crucifixes. However, a donation of a painting of the crucifixion (along with one of the Virgin Mary) is selected for special attention as the gift of a priest to the church at Grenjaðarstaður at the end of the fourteenth century (DI III 582).

In addition to the churches at Silfrastaðir and Spákonufell, with dedications attested before 1400, the one at Barð in Fljót was dedicated to the Cross as well as St. Olaf according to the *máldagi* from 1472 (DI V 254). The dedication may in fact be older, though unrecorded. In 1525 there was a Cross chapel at the cathedral and a Cross altar at Þingeyrar Monastery (IX 295, 313). See also JESUS.

## **EDMUND, King and Martyr**

The feast of Edmund king and martyr is included in the *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, and three churches were dedicated to him in Norway. The only evidence of his veneration in Iceland, however, is an image, obtained in the fourteenth century, at Lögmanshlíð, where the local family was able to trace their genealogy to him. The year of Edmund's martyrdom became the key date in Icelandic chronology, according to Ari fróði, who identified it with the year in which Norwegians first settled in Iceland (note that this dating is not necessarily accurate).

## **ELIZABETH, mother of John the Baptist**

Statues of Elizabeth and Zacharias, parents of John the Baptist, were located at Auðkúla and Vesturhópshólar, both of which were dedicated to the Baptist.

## **FRANCIS of Assisi**

Franciscan houses did not exist in Iceland. St. Francis is known from liturgical fragments,<sup>25</sup> and his feast was well enough known to be used in dating; it was the dedication day of the church at Vesturhópshólar (DI V 343 from c. 1461). Although no evidence attests to the veneration of the saint himself, two other Franciscan saints, Clare of Assisi and Bonaventure, are represented by images at the monasteries of Þingeyrar and Munkaþverá, respectively.

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<sup>25</sup> Gjerløw, *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, p. 36, 38.

## GERVASE and PROTASE

These martyrs are recorded as patrons of the church at Ás in Vatnsdalur in 1432 (DI IV 512).

## GUÐMUNDR ARASON, Bishop of Hólar d. 1237

Although never formally canonized, Guðmundr Arason was venerated in the diocese of Hólar following the promotion of his sanctity in the early fourteenth century by Bishop Auðunn of Hólar (r.1313-1322), in whose time a number of miracles were recorded. Recent work on Guðmundr by Ciklamini focuses on narrative sources, most of which were composed in the first half of the fourteenth century to record his life and promote his *cultus*.<sup>26</sup> It is thus not surprising that sagas of Guðmundr are the earliest evidence of interest in him, as it would have been considered improper to venerate images of an individual whose sanctity had not yet been established. There were sagas at Múli in Aðaldalur and Goðdalir in Skagafjörður in 1318. By 1360, as a result of the activity of Auðunn and others, images of Guðmundr were acceptable, and could be found at the church of [Stóra-]Ásgeirsá and at Hof on Skagaströnd. In 1394, images are recorded at Fagranes and at Svalbarð on Svalbarðsströnd. By the middle of the fifteenth century, images were to be found at Hrafnagil and the church at Möðruvellir, both in Eyjafjörður (DI V 315, DI V 308): the latter was part of a payment including several other images.

When information about monasteries becomes available in the early sixteenth century, it is hardly surprising to discover that copies of his saga were owned by the religious houses Reynistaður, Munkaþverá, and Þingeyrar (DI IX 321, 307, 314). The cathedral at Hólar owned two copies, one of which was described as “old,” as well as a statue and Guðmundr’s shrine (DI IX 295, 297, 299).

If a pattern is to be discerned here, it is the not very surprising fact that veneration developed in Eyjafjörður somewhat more slowly than in Skagafjörður or Húnaþing, where the presence of the cathedral and the monastery at Þingeyrar, respectively, can be assumed to have promoted it. It is worth mentioning two vows, one made at Hólar Cathedral in 1365 (DI III, 205-7) and another at the monastery of Munkaþverá in Eyjafjörður in 1403, the year the plague reached Iceland (DI III 682-3), to collect funds to send a messenger to the pope and to try and obtain Guðmundr’s canonization. Sixteenth-century documents refer to a renewed attempt to obtain his canonization (DI IX 84-85, cf. 228-29, 335-36, 419). Presumably it was funds for this purpose that were claimed to have been wrongfully held by the Bishop of Skálholt according to a letter from 1522 (DI IX 120). The gift of land to the cathedral in 1432 asks no reward except such as the donor may receive from the Virgin Mary, Johannes (Jón Ögmundarson), and Guðmundr the good (DI IV, 510).

## HALVARD of Oslo

The feast of St. Halvard of Oslo is found in both the *Ordo* and *Breviarium Nidrosiensis* and in the calendar AM 249b fol. The only evidence for his veneration in Iceland, however, is a statue recorded in the *Jónsstúka* (John’s chapel) at Munkaþverá Monastery in 1525 (IX 305).<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Ciklamini 2004. For sagas about Guðmundr, see Stefán Karlsson, “Guðmundar sögur biskups,” *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Pulsiano *et al.*, (New York: 1993), pp. 245-246. There has been some discussion as to the extent to which individual sagas should be considered “hagiographic,” but I will not enter into it here.

<sup>27</sup> I consider the reference to St. Halvard in the saga of Guðmundr Arason (Bisk. I 453) to reflect the author’s sense of propriety in having the major local Scandinavian saints appear to a visionary rather than reflecting any significant veneration of Halvard.

### **JAMES (presumably James the Greater)**

One of the most famous early Icelandic pilgrimages is said to have included a stop at Santiago de Compostela,<sup>28</sup> and a will, dated 1405, requests the heirs of the testator, Björn *Jórsalafari* (“Jerusalem-traveler”) to fulfil his obligation to make the pilgrimage if he has not done so by the time he dies (DI III 703). However, the *cultus* of St. James is poorly attested in early church dedications. *Máldagar* often refer to “James” without specifying which is meant, but James the Greater seems likely. In 1432 the church at Marðarnúpur in Hólar diocese is recorded as dedicated to “James” (DI IV 513) and a will from 1363, which mentions donations made to that church, invokes James and his brother John, suggesting that James (and perhaps John) were its patron(s) (DI III 186). More evidence for “James,” from major ecclesiastical institutions, appears in the sixteenth century.

In 1525 a gilded image of him was to be found at Grenjaðarstaður (DI IX 322), and another (acquired, with images of several other saints, after 1461) at Vellir in Svarfaðardalur (DI IX 333). There was a statue of him in the *Jónsstúka* (John’s chapel) at Munkaþverá Monastery (DI IX 305), and another at Þingeyrar Monastery (DI IX 313). Hólar Cathedral owned a saga of “John the Apostle and James” at this time (DI IX 299).

A post-Reformation tradition associates the church at Gröf on Höfðaströnd in Skagafjörður with St. James, see “Þóris þátrr hasts ok Bárðar birtu” found in in seventeenth-century manuscripts.<sup>29</sup>

### **JEROME**

An image of St. Jerome was acquired at Hrafnagil between 1394 and 1461 (DI V 315).

### **JESUS CHRIST (fig. 3)**

In 1318 a Christ Church was located at Másstaðir in Vatnsdalur. It had a small endowment with no burial rights and the dedication is dated with respect to the feast of St. Francis (DI II 475). Together this information suggests a relatively recent foundation. The fifteenth century sees the appearance of images of Our Lord distinguished from crucifixes – possibly representations as the “Man of Sorrows.”<sup>30</sup> In the late fifteenth century, the church at Höskuldsstaðir owned an image of Jesus (DI V 346), and the church Urðir in Svarfaðardalur owned an “image of Our Lord made of alabaster” (DI V 259). In 1525 a statue of Jesus is listed at Þingeyrar after a picture (*mynd*) of the Trinity and before a statue of Mary (DI IX 313); at Möðruvellir Monastery one is listed between images of Mary and Anne – perhaps part of a St. Anne Trinity (DI IX 317). A similar arrangement is found at Munkaþverá in 1525, with cloths over the Virgin, Jesus, and Anne (DI IX 306). Again, the arrangement suggests a Saint Anne Trinity, although in that case one might expect a single covering over the whole group. At Grenjaðarstaður in 1525 there were two images of Jesus in addition to crucifixes (DI IX 322). A “Jesus Choir” is noted at the cathedral in 1550 (DI XI 852). See also HOLY CROSS, TRINITY.

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<sup>28</sup> Hrafn Sveinbjarnarson, who lived in the West Fjords of Iceland, is said to have traveled there in the late twelfth century.

<sup>29</sup> *Íslendinga sögur*, ed. Guðni Jónsson (Reykjavík, 1947) vol. 8, xi, 359-360.

<sup>30</sup> I thank Helgi Skúli Kjartansson for this suggestion.



**Figure 3** Christ figure from crucifix, originally hung in church at Ufsir, North Iceland. Birchwood with traces of pigment, 12th century. National Museum of Iceland nr. 10888. Photo: Margaret Cormack.

## JOHN

When treating saints named “John” I have made the assumption that if the patron saint is identified as John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, or John of Holar in one or more of the *máldagar*, any statues or sagas of “John” in that church pertain to that saint. The only statue whose identity remains uncertain is one recorded at the convent at Reynines in 1525 (DI IX 320).

## JOHN THE BAPTIST

The eight indications of patronage (i.e., where John is named as patron, or an image is recorded, and he is later named as patron) recorded in 1318 are mostly in the western part of the diocese. In Húnaþing we find special veneration of the Baptist’s parents, Elizabeth and Zacharias, at the churches of Auðkúla and Vesturhópshólar. Strikingly, even in the sixteenth century none of the fourteen churches mentioning the Baptist in their dedications -- and only one of the twenty-three possessing images of him -- is located east of Eyjafjörður: Grenjaðarstaður, a

major church which first records an image in 1525, is the easternmost location recording evidence of his *cultus*.

Virtually all churches dedicated to the Baptist contain an image of him contemporaneous with the first record. The single exception is Hólar in Eyjafjörður, which owned an image of the Virgin in 1318 and would acquire one of its patron, John only by 1394.

By the end of the Middle Ages in the diocese of Hólar fourteen churches were dedicated to the Baptist and there were ten statues at churches or monasteries not dedicated to him.

## JOHN THE EVANGELIST

John the Evangelist was patron of eight churches in the diocese. He was the primary patron of the churches at Svalbarð on Svalbarðströnd, Bakki in Öxnadalur, and Víðivellir in Blönduhlíð (all of which possessed a saga about the saint at the time of their first recording: the first two owned images as well), and at Eyjardalsá. He was co-patron at Hafrafellstunga in Öxarfjörður, Garður in Kelduhverfi, Spákonufell on Skagaströnd, and Espihóll (also known as Stórihóll). The church at Ás in Kelduhverfi (not dedicated to John) obtained an image of him by the late fifteenth century. At that time, two other churches in the general area were dedicated to him: at Hafrafellstunga (which owned an image at the end of the fourteenth century) and at Garður, where other patrons (the apostle Thomas and Þorlákr) seem initially to have been more important -- if we judge by the images there. An image of John is also first recorded here in the late fifteenth century. The Evangelist is thus represented at three churches in Kelduhverfi and Axarfjörður, an unusually large concentration for this area. At Eyjardalsá and Spákonufell other saints were preferred when it came to purchasing images, with one of Mary recorded at both churches in 1318 (however, an anonymous *líkneski* is recorded at Eyjardalsá), while the church at Spákonufell had acquired an image of Þorlákr by 1360. For this year there is no *máldagi* for Eyjardalsá, which in 1394 had images of “Thomas” and “John,” neither identified further. The church at Víðivellir in Blönduhlíð would appear to have been associated with the Apostle Peter in 1318, as it owned a statue and a saga about him. In 1394, the record contains the dedication to “the Apostle Peter and the Apostle John” and notes that the church owned sagas about and images of both saints. Reference to the Evangelist as the church’s primary patron is first made in 1432 (DI IV 511). An image is recorded at Þingeyrar Monastery in 1525 (DI IX 313).

## JÓN OF HÓLAR

The center of Jón’s veneration was Hólar Cathedral, where his shrine was located over the high altar. In addition, the cathedral boasted elegant silver and gilt items decorated with filigree which must also have contained relics of the saint: Jón’s head and Jón’s arm “all the way to the elbow.” The cathedral also owned a large gilded image of the saint and a copy of his saga (DI IX 295, 297). The 1550 inventory records two bells named for its patrons, Jón and the Virgin Mary (DI XI 852). I believe we may safely assume that the “Jóns *stúka*” – or chapel – mentioned in this inventory was that of the Icelandic Jón rather than some other saint of the same name. A gift of land to the cathedral in 1432 invokes Jón along with the Virgin Mary and Guðmundr Arason (DI IV 510).

According to a visitation record from 1432 (DI IV 510-11) a half-church (i.e., a church at which half the usual number of masses was celebrated) was dedicated to Jón at Akarar (now Stóru-Akarar) in Blönduhlíð. Peter Foote (BS I 1 cccxiii) argues that the entry must be erroneous, but I see no reason to reject the identification. Another *máldagi* (DI XII 26-28, date uncertain; however, the relevant part of the document appears to be from 1382) names Peter as the church’s

patron, but it also notes that lights are to burn during certain parts of the mass before the images of Peter, John the Baptist, and Jón of Hólar, and throughout the entire mass before the image of the Virgin Mary. This is consistent with the late-fourteenth century *máldagi* of Miklibær (in Miklibær) which names Akrar as a subordinate full church served by the priest of Miklibær (DI III 565) without mentioning its patron saint. Interestingly, the Miklibær *máldagi* is copied virtually unchanged in 1461 (DI V p. 324); the church at Akrar is not listed as a half-church in this document. This could reflect the bishop's unwillingness to accept that Akrar could no longer support a full church (and pay the corresponding dues). Alternatively, the *máldagi* might simply have been copied without being updated. It is worth noting that the visitation list from 1432 contains another dedicatee different from earlier ones: St. Catherine replaces the Virgin Mary at Hvammur in Vatnsdalur (which, however had an image of St. Catherine, DI IV 513, cf. DI II 476). Furthermore, many entries in this document are incomplete, with spaces left for filling in relevant information.<sup>31</sup>

The churches at Glæsibær and Laugaland owned images of Jón in 1394; in each case, this is the first surviving *máldagi* of the church in question, and tells us little about the actual dates of acquisition. The churches are both within 5 km. of Möðruvellir Monastery, where a copy of Jón's saga is recorded in 1461 (DI V 289). The images at Lundarbrekka and Sauðanes were acquired during the first half of the fifteenth century (DI V 320, DI V 277). The image at Vellir in Svarfaðardalur was obtained between 1461 and 1525 (DI IX 333). In 1525 the monastery at Þingeyrar owned an image and a saga about Jón (DI IX 313-14); the original saga is, in fact, attributed to a Þingeyrar monk in the early thirteenth century. The monastery at Munkaþverá had copies of *Jóns saga* in both Latin and Norse in 1429 (DI IV 374). Like the cathedral, the monastery at Munkaþverá had a chapel known as "Jónsstúka"; use of the vernacular, as opposed to the Latin, form of the name suggests that the chapel should be associated with Jón of Hólar rather than the Apostle or the Baptist. Another chapel, known simply as *kapella*, held images of (the apostles) Johannes and Jacobus, whose names were carefully given the Latin forms (DI IX 305 from 1525). Copies of *Jóns saga* were presumably available long before they were recorded in 1525 at the cathedral (DI IX 297) and the convent at Reynistaður (DI IX, 321).

## JOSEPH

Statues of the Virgin Mary and Joseph were found in an altarpiece at Hólar Cathedral in 1550 (DI XI 852).

## LAWRENCE the deacon

Two churches in the diocese were dedicated to St. Lawrence: at Grund in Eyjafjörður and Reykjahlíð in Mývatnssveit. Both had images of him in 1318. An image of the saint, along with one of St. Zita, was given to the church at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður by *húsfrú* Margrét in payment of its *portio* for the 16 years before 1461 (DI V 308). Möðruvellir is not far from Grund.

## MAGNUS of Orkney

The first attestations of the *cultus* of St. Magnus of Orkney in the diocese are the dedications of Húsavík and (together with other saints) Þönglabakki, attested in 1318. The

<sup>31</sup> The document in question, AM 235 4to 1-7, consists of a list of the general form "the church of St. X at Y has . . ." with a brief indication of land or income, followed in some cases by full *máldagar*, in others by spaces into which a more detailed description of the church's property is obviously meant to be entered.

church at Húsavík owned a statue of the saint at this time, but that at Þönglabakki did not, though it had one of its main patron, St. Olaf. The feast of St. Magnús was adopted as obligatory for Iceland in 1326, and his *cultus* spread during the following centuries. The churches at Skútustaðir, Mælifell, and Svalbarð on Svalbarðsströnd acquired images of St. Magnus during the fourteenth century. The images at Urðir in Svarfaðardalur and Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður were acquired in the first half of the fifteenth century (DI V 259, 308); in 1525, the monasteries at Munkaþverá and Möðruvellir owned images of the saint (DI IX 305, 317). Oddly enough, no evidence exists of veneration in Kelduhverfi, where Magnus performed a miracle according to an account found in a manuscript from the late fourteenth century.<sup>32</sup>

### **MARGARET of Antioch**

Images of St. Margaret of Antioch are attested at Goðdalir and Þverá in Skagafjörður in 1318. One was acquired by the church at Vesturhópsþólar in Húnaþing in the second half of the fourteenth century (DI III 547). In the first half of the fifteenth century, an image was acquired by the church at Hrafnagil in Eyjafjörður (DI V 315), and two (one made of alabaster) were paid to the church at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður by the farmer on the estate, Grímr Pálsson (DI V 308).

### **MARTIN of Tours**

The *cultus* of St. Martin belongs to the oldest strata of Icelandic dedications; references to him occur in the early thirteenth-century sagas of the two native saints, Þorlákr and Jón. He is patron of the venerable church at Haukadalur in the diocese of Skálholt, as well as the important church at Grenjaðarstaður in the diocese of Hólar.

The cathedral at Hólar and the church at Grenjaðarstaður may have owned relics of St. Martin mentioned in *Jóns saga*, composed early in the thirteenth century (BS I part 2, 222-223), and possibly referred to in an episode found in the sagas of both Jón and Guðmundr (BS I part 2, 297-98; Bisk I, 468). At the beginning of the fourteenth century dedications are found at three churches: Grenjaðarstaður, Hof in Vesturdalur, and Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður. An altar devoted to St. Martin at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður is first attested in the mid-fifteenth century (DI V 308) when the church also owned an image of him and a reliquary, though, as usual in Iceland, the contents of the reliquary are not described. An antependium from Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur has survived to the present day. (**fig. 4**) The church at Grenjaðarstaður owned a saga of the saint in 1318, but did not acquire an image until 1394--a reversal of the usual pattern. The church at Lundarbrekka in Bárðardalur had acquired an alabaster image by the mid-fifteenth century (DI V 320). In 1525, an image is recorded at the monastery at Munkaþverá, and sagas are recorded at Munkaþverá, Reynistaður, and Grenjaðarstaður (DI IX 305, 307, 321, 322).

The distribution of the churches dedicated to St. Martin is interesting in that it includes two churches at the very ends of inhabited areas. A convenient route north across the highlands (Kjölur) would depart from Haukadalur in the diocese of Skálholt, where the church (probably founded very early) was dedicated to Martin. Hof in Goðdalir is the furthest church inland in Vesturdalur, not far from the northern end of the Kjölur route, an area once dominated by the family named for Haukadalur. *Landnámabók* claims a connection between the two locations: Eiríkr Hróaldsson, the purported first settler at Hof, is said to have married the sister of the wife of Ketilbjörn the Old of Mosfell, ancestor of the first bishops of Skálholt and their relatives at

<sup>32</sup> *Magnus' Saga. The Life of St Magnus Earl of Orkney 1075-1116*, tr. Hermann Pálsson and Paul Edwards (The Perpetua Press, 1987), pp. 41-42.

Haukadalur.<sup>33</sup> One wonders if an older highland route might have connected the two churches (and the families who presumably built them).



**Figure 4** St. Martin antependium from Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur, produced in Bergen in the early fourteenth century (Cormack 1994 p. 124). National Museum of Iceland 6430. Photo: Ívar Brynjólfsson. After “Handritin heima” <http://www.handritinheima.is/juni2002/html/fyrirbrik.htm>

### **VIRGIN MARY (figs. 5, 6)**

The Virgin Mary was the original patron of Hólar Cathedral (founded in 1106); Hvammur, Vatnsdalur; Tjörn, Vatnsnes; Staður, Hrútafjörður; and Hofstaðir, Skagafjörður. Her veneration was not as widespread as that of Peter or Olaf in the earliest period. This is consistent with the fact that in the original text of Iceland’s Christian Law, the *Pater Noster* was the only prayer Icelanders were obliged to know (along with the *Credo*): the *Ave Maria* was added in the

<sup>33</sup> Jakob Benediktsson, ed., *Íslendingabók – Landnámabók* (Reykjavík, 1968), p. 231.

course of the thirteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Later her popularity increased rapidly, as illustrated by the number of churches owning images of her or mentioning her as co-patron. Of the five churches at which the Virgin was listed as primary patron, we know that half the farm at Staður was a donation to her by Þórunn Eyjólfsdóttir c. 1318, who stipulated that masses be celebrated for her soul and that three paupers should be fed annually on seven feast days, including those of Mary (DI II 485). The church at Hofstaðir, which first appears on record in the fifteenth century, owned the farm at that time (DI IV 277-8, 381, 511). An image at that church, the “Hofstaða María,” was a focus of veneration. Among others, the newly-consecrated bishop of Skálholt, Ögmundur Pálsson, made a vow to her when in danger at sea in 1522 (DI IX 98).

In a vow made for protection from the plague in 1402, pilgrims were enjoined to recite fifty *Ave Marias* on their knees before images of the Virgin at locations that ensured that they travel a significant distance (DI III 680-81). A gift to the cathedral in 1432 invoked her, as well as the two Icelandic patrons, Jón and Guðmundr (DI IV 510). Icelandic vows, prayers and indulgences are associated with the Virgin.<sup>35</sup> Selma Jónsdóttir analyzed a statue of the Virgin in *Saga Maríumyndar*.

## MARY MAGDALENE

The *cultus* of Mary Magdalene developed in the fourteenth century, when images of her were acquired by three churches: Hólar in Eyjafjörður, Ríp in Hegranes, and Skútustaðir in Mývatnssveit. The church at Svalbarð on Svalbarðsströnd acquired one in the second half of the fifteenth century (DI V 300). A chapel at Reykir (today Stóru-Reykir) in Fljót received a donation of drift-collecting rights in a will dated 1400 (DI III 671). The testator referred to the otherwise unknown chapel as that of “my [dear] Mary Magdalene.” A saga of the saint at Hólar Cathedral and an image of her at Þingeyrar Monastery were recorded in 1525 (DI IX 299, 313), but were probably older.

## MATTHEW the Apostle

The church at Fagranes in Skagafjörður was dedicated to the Apostle, but its first statue, recorded in 1318, was of the Virgin Mary. Images of St. Benedict and St. Nicholas had been obtained by 1360. A two-dimensional image of St. Matthew (*blað*), as well as one of Guðmundr Arason (possibly three-dimensional), was recorded in 1394. Interestingly, the earliest inventories also mention a copy of the gospel of Matthew (assuming the *æuum* of DI II 468 is an error for *euangelium* of DI III 174).

## MICHAEL the Archangel

Four dedications to St. Michael in the diocese are attested in 1318. He was the main patron at three of them, all of which also owned images: Bólstaðarhlíð, Núpufell, and Reykir. At Tjörn in Svarfaðardalur he was co-patron with the Virgin Mary, John the Baptist, and Andrew; there were images only of the Virgin and the Baptist. At that time, images of this archangel were to be found at Kaupangur in Eyjafjörður and Höfði on Höfðaeströnd. The church at Glaumbær in Skagafjörður owned an image when its *máldagi* was first recorded in 1360. The church at

<sup>34</sup> Ole Widding, “Ave Maria eller Maríuvers i norrøn litteratur,” *Maal og Minne* (1958), pp. 1-7; Cormack (1994), pp. 126-129. The large number of images and “co-” patronages (as opposed to primary patronages) also points in this direction.

<sup>35</sup> These are discussed in Cormack, 2009.



**Figure 5** Virgin and child from AM 249 c. fol. c. 1300. Photo: Jóhanna Ólafsdóttir



**Figure 6** Virgin and Child from Möðruvellir in Hörgárdalur, perhaps once owned by the monastery at that location. Photo: National Museum of Iceland nr. 10888, with permission.

Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður received an image as part of a payment on the occasion of the visitation of Bishop Gottskalk in the mid-fifteenth century (DI V 308), and one was acquired at Laufás between 1461 and 1525 (DI IX 330). At that time the monastery at Munkaþverá had both an image of and an altar dedicated to St. Michael (DI IX 305).

#### **NICHOLAS of Bari (figs. 9, 10a, b)**

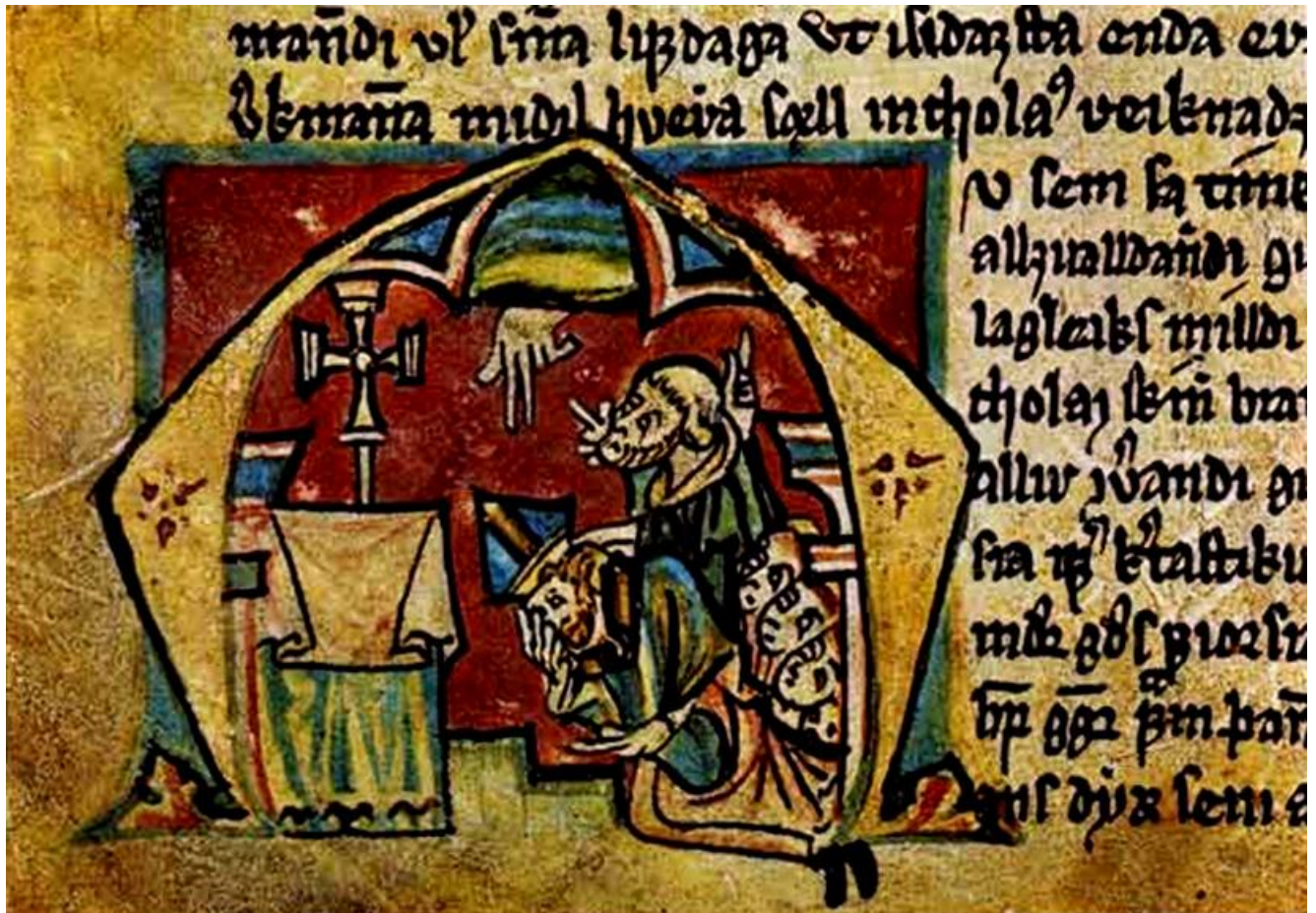
The cult of St. Nicholas is attested early in Iceland. An influential Iclander is known to have visited Bari in the mid-twelfth century, and a pilgrim guide presumed to have been composed by Abbot Nikulás of Munkaþverá (d. 1159) mentions the shrine. Interestingly, Munkaþverá does not seem to have been a center of the cult of St. Nicholas, which was spread fairly evenly throughout the diocese, nor does its distribution appear to reflect the interests of sea-farers. The strongest area of veneration appears to have been the area of Skjálfafljót and Aðaldalur in Þingeyjarþing. Aðaldalur includes Helgastaðir, whose church owned the famous *Helgastaðabók*, an elegant illuminated manuscript of Nikulás saga. (figs. 7-10) The nearby church at Grenjaðarstaður, for which early references name only St. Martin as patron (and which appears to have owned a relic of that saint; see above) names Nicholas as a co-patron, together

with the Virgin Mary, in 1525 (DI IX 514). The church had owned a statue of Nicholas since *c.* 1394 (DI III 581).



**Figure 7** St. Nicholas on his episcopal throne, Helgastöðabók, Stockholm Royal Library Perg. 4to nr. 16, *c.* 1400, with permission. Photo: Kristján Pétur

Of special interest in the case of St. Nicholas is the prevalence of copies of his saga. More sagas about St. Nicholas were recorded (at thirteen churches) than about any other saint, including the Virgin Mary. The church at Myrká, in fact, had two copies, an “old” and a “new” saga. This probably reflects composition in the early fourteenth century of a new version, in a more elaborate literary style than the earlier one, by Abbot Bergr Sökkason of Munkaþverá. The manuscript from Helgastaðir contains that work. (**fig. 7, 8, 9, 10a,b**) The difficulties faced by those responsible for episcopal registers are reflected in the entry of a “statue of Thomas or Nicholas” at the Hólar Cathedral in 1525 (DI IX 295). One would have thought the residents at the cathedral might have known which of the two bishops was represented.



**Figure 8** Vision of St. Nicholas' election, Stockholm Royal Library Perg. 4to nr. 16, c. 1400, with permission. Photo: Kristján Pétur

### OLAF of Norway

The sixteen dedications to St. Olaf are fairly evenly distributed geographically. All but one of these churches also owned an image of him. The exception, Spákonufell, owned images of two other patrons, instead: Mary and Þorlákr. St. Olaf also had a prominent presence in religious houses, as can be seen from the records from 1525. Þingeyrar Monastery had an altar dedicated to him, as well as two images--one made of alabaster (IX 313). Reynistaður Convent also had one made of alabaster. The cathedral at Hólar (DI IX 295) and Möðruvellir Monastery (DI IX 317) also owned two images each, including a gilded one at the cathedral. In Munkaþverá the image was located "over the high choir" (DI IX 305). By this time, too, the church at Vellir in Svarfaðardalur owned a bell named for the saint (DI IX 333).

Ten *Olafs sagas* were recorded among the liturgical books of churches and monasteries in the diocese, all but two in churches where he was patron. Possibly some of them are versions of the translated *vita* found in the *Norwegian Homily Book*. This is not always the case, however, as can be seen from a saga found in an entirely different context, a partial book-list from Möðruvellir Monastery (DI V 290). Listed in this order are: a saga of Olaf Tryggvason, a saga of St. Olaf, and "a book of kings beginning with Magnús Ólafsson the Good up to Sverrir" (i.e., a continuous history of the kings of Norway from Olaf Tryggvason to Sverrir). Interestingly, the



**Figure 9** Consecration of St. Nicholas, Stockholm Royal Library Perg. F4to nr. 16, c. 1400, with permission. Photo: Kristján Pétur

saga listed immediately before those of the two Olafs was that of Charlemagne (see above). These three individuals were not just kings, but Christian, even saintly, kings.



**Figure 10a** Death of St. Nicholas, Stockholm Royal Library Perg. 4to nr. 16, c. 1400. Photo: with permission, Stockholm Royal Library



**Figure 10b** Detail of Death of St. Nicholas, Stockholm Royal Library Perg. 4to nr. 16, c. 1400. Photo: Kristján Pétur

## PAUL Apostle

Peter and Paul were the patron saints at Skinnastaður; St. Paul alone, at Auðbrekka (DI III 521). Images of St. Paul, usually accompanied by images of Peter, were first recorded at the end of the fourteenth century or later. Only at Auðkúla, where Paul was represented by an image attested in 1394, was there no obvious association with Peter; the church was dedicated to John the Baptist. The nature of “Paul’s book” (*pälsbok*) at Hrafnagil is a mystery.

## PETER Apostle

St. Peter was patron at twenty-four churches in the diocese of Hólar, the highest number for any saint. He is accompanied by Paul in one case (Skinnastaðir). With few exceptions, images were found at churches dedicated to him (only Geldingaholt, Miklibær in Óslandshlíð, and Þönglabakki lacked images). By 1525, ten other churches (one, Auðbrekka, dedicated to St. Paul) owned images of him.

### **STEPHEN the Deacon, Protomartyr**

The church at Melstaður in Miðfjörður was dedicated to St. Stephen. Unfortunately the images it owned in the fourteenth century are not identified until 1461, when they included an image of the Protomartyr. The churches at Grýtubakki in Höfðahverfi and Víðivellir in Blönduhlíð acquired images of the saint in the fourteenth century (though the church at Grýtubakki appears to have owned his saga at an earlier date). The church at Sauðanes had obtained an image of St. Stephen in the first half of the fifteenth century (DI V 277).

### **THOMAS unidentified**

Seven churches owned images and/or sagas of “Thomas” without indicating which saint was meant (Höskuldsstaðir, Skagaströnd; Hrafnagil, Eyjafjörður; Möðruvellir, Eyjafjörður; Muli, Aðaldalur; Ríp, Hegrans; Staður, Hrótafjörður; Eyjadalsá, Barðardalur). A statue of “Thomas or Nicholas” was found at the Hólar Cathedral in 1525 (DI IX 295; see above).

### **THOMAS, Apostle**

The Apostle Thomas was patron, with other saints, at Garður in Kelduhverfi, which also had an image of him (DI II 427, DI III 585).

### **THOMAS of Canterbury**

Thomas Becket was the sole patron of three churches: at Ás in Kelduhverfi and at Efrinúpur and Kirkjuhvammur, both in Miðfjörður. All three churches owned images of him.

### **TRINITY**

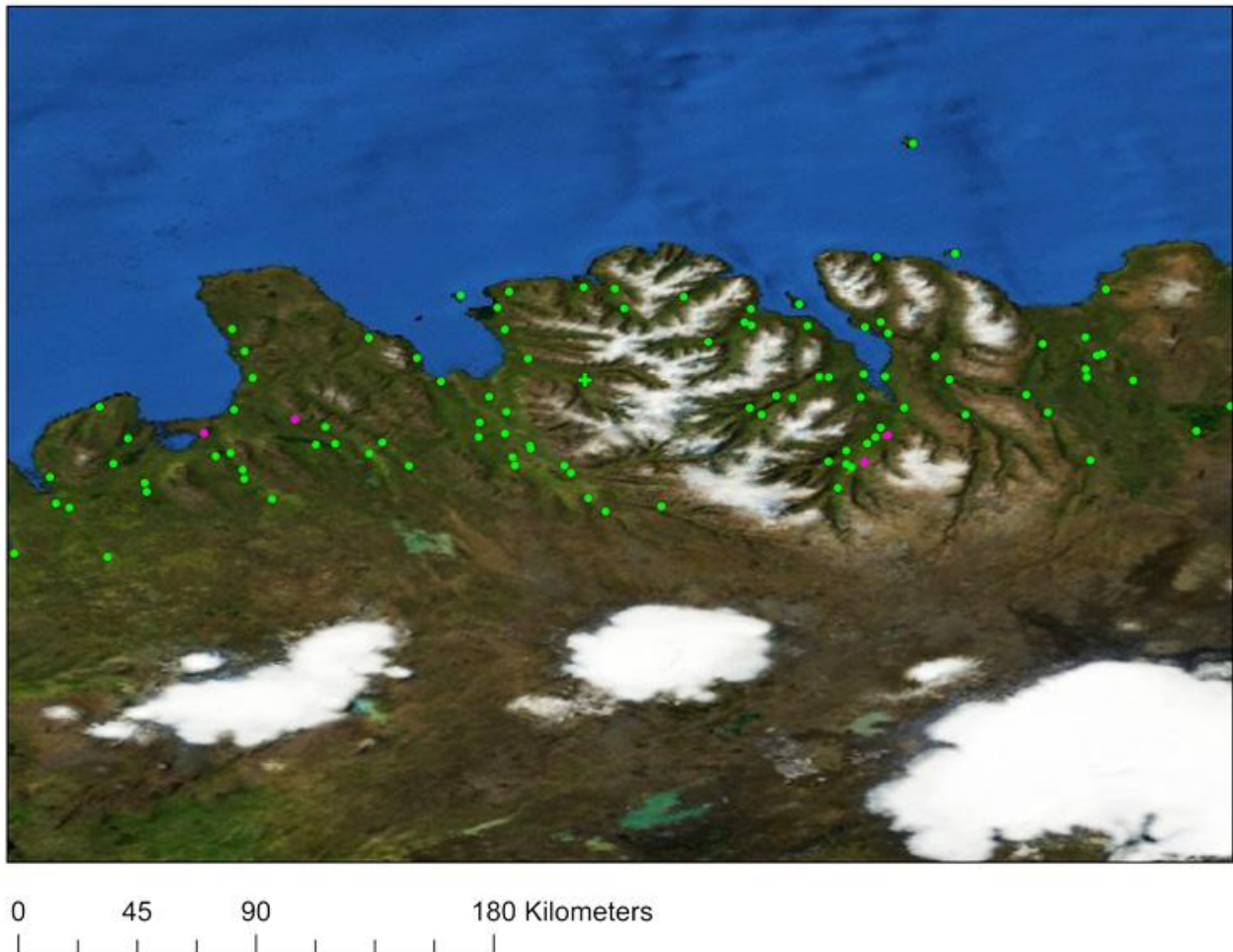
In 1525 images of the Trinity were recorded at the monasteries at Munkaþverá (*líkneski*, IX 305) and Þingeyrar (*mynd*, IX 313), and at Saurbær in Eyjafjörður (*blað*, DI IX 328). Of these the *blað* was two dimensional, the *mynd* might have been, and the *líkneski* was probably three-dimensional. See also Jesus Christ.

### **ZACHARIAS See ELIZABETH**

### **ZITA**

Zita's *cultus* appears to have been rare outside Italy and England-- the latter more likely served as the origin for its appearance in Iceland. Two images, at Holtastaðir in Langidalur (DI V 350) and Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður (DI V 308), were recorded in the collection of *máldagar* of Ólafur Rögnvaldsson, compiled between 1461 and 1510. Both churches are in the vicinity of monasteries (Þingeyrar and Munkaþverá, respectively) where images of the saint were recorded in 1525 (DI IX 313, 305). Since we have no earlier records from those monasteries, the images might be older. It is worth noting that the image at Möðruvellir in Eyjafjörður was paid as part of the church's *portio*, along with, among other things, an alabaster altarpiece and an image of St. Lawrence, by the lady in charge of the farm between the visits of Bishop Gottskalk in 1450 and

that of Ólafur Rögnvaldsson in 1461. She was Margrét, daughter of governor (*hirðstjóri*) Vigfús *hólmr* and wife of Þorvarður Loptsson. Vigfús's family was commemorated in the prayers of the chapter of Canterbury Cathedral, according to a letter from 1415 (DI III 764-765). It is possible that this English connection led to the purchase of an image for the church at Möðruvellir from which the devotion spread to the monastery at Munkaþverá, rather than the reverse. (**fig. 11**)



**Figure 11** St. Zita in Iceland. Dots indicate churches and chapels; the cross is Hólar Cathedral. Pink dots are locations of statues of St. Zita, from left to right: Þingeyrar monastery, Holtastaðir church, Möðruvellir church, Munkaþverá monastery. Map: Margaret Cormack.

### Þorlákr

St. Þorlákr was named as patron of five churches in the diocese. He first appeared at one of these (Garður in Kelduhverfi) in this capacity in 1461, apparently replacing three other saints (DI V 275, cf. DI III 585).

The chronology of the acquisition of images can be documented to some extent. At Höfði on Höfðaströnd, the church owned an image of Þorlákr, as well as images of Mary and Michael, in 1318. The dedicatees of this church are unknown. At Barð, the image seems to be a fairly recent acquisition in 1318; it is listed along with an image and saga of St. Olaf at the end of the *máldagi*. Olaf was one of the patron saints of the church. The same collection of *máldagar*

records the priest Björn's gift to the church at Bergsstaðir of a painting (*spjald*) of the Virgin Mary and images of Olaf and Þorlákr, its two patrons. In 1360 at the other end of the diocese another (presumably) priest called Björn had recently given to the church at Presthólar some books and an image of Saint Þorlákr, to whom the church was dedicated. It already owned an anonymous, probably two-dimensional, image (*skript*). The church at Spákonufell obtained an image of Þorlákr, one of its patrons, during the first half of the fourteenth century; it already owned an image of Mary, another patron.

At the church of Víðimýri, dedicated to the Virgin and St. Peter, an image of Mary was the first acquired, and the statue of St. Þorlákr was obtained between 1360 and 1461, along with one of St. Peter. At this time it had an additional, alabaster, image of the Virgin, and one of St. Catherine as well. The church at Laugaland first appears on record in 1394, at which time it owned images of its patron John the Baptist, as well as Mary, Nicholas, Jón of Hólar, Ólaf and Þorlákr. The only recorded copy of *Þorláks saga* in the fourteenth century was at Glæsibær, though copies were recorded at Þingeyrar Monastery and Hólar Cathedral in 1525 (DI IX 314, 297).

If a pattern is to be observed here, it is that the cult was developing first at coastal churches in outlying areas, possibly new foundations. Some of the *máldagar* appear to be recent as well, for example, that of Spákonufell, where the complete dedication and detailed provisions concerning which farms shall pay tithe suggest that the church is not particularly old. The document for the church at Bergsstaðir is similar, and concludes with a note that "Bishop Lawrence (1324-1331) built the churchyard and permitted burial" (DI II 473). Interestingly, Bishop Lawrence was in office *after* the purported date of the collection (1318); this inconsistency suggests that this note might have been added to the episcopal book. ●

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**PEREGRINATIONS**  
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**Martyrs on the Move:  
The Spread of the Cults of Thomas of Canterbury and Peter of Verona**

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In a recent survey of historians, Thomas Becket (1118-1170) was nominated as one of the ten worst Britons in history, and took the title for the twelfth century.<sup>1</sup> Peter of Verona (1203-1252) for his part bears the title “Prince of the Holy Inquisition,” a dubious honor in contemporary society.<sup>2</sup> That these two lay claim to sanctity perplexes the modern world, and even evokes outright hostility. For centuries both Peter and Thomas have been figures characterized by contradiction. They were often reduced to simplistic caricatures of un-reflexive and monomaniacal churchmen on one hand or of flat cut-outs of saintly paragons on the other. Such was not the case in the medieval world. Though both had their share of adversaries from the very beginning, they were foci of some of the first popular, universal cults of the period. Common people, who regularly sought the suffrages of holy men and women, flocked to both Thomas and Peter. Far from being resented and marginalized, both of their cults – especially Thomas’s – became central to European Christian consciousness. As much loved as Henry II (r.

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<sup>1</sup> York Membery, “Who Were the Worst Britons,” *BBC History Magazine* 6.13 (Jan 2006). The best scholarly assessments of Thomas’s life are: Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1986); and David Knowles, *Thomas Becket* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1970).

<sup>2</sup> Sixtus V, “Invictorum Christi militum” [13 April 1586], cfr. *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 7 vols., ed. T. Ripoll (Rome: Ex Typographia Hieronymi Mainardi, 1759), vol. 5, 448. The older source for Peter of Verona’s life is: Antoine Dondaine, O.P., “Saint Pierre Martyr,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953), pp. 107-134. However the current comprehensive treatment is: Donald S. Prudlo, *The Martyred Inquisitor: The Life and Cult of Peter of Verona*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008).

1154-1189) is today by some scholars, it is very likely that his contemporaries might have voted *him* to be the “worst Briton” of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup> As odd as the Inquisition sounds to modern ears, it was not so to the medievals.<sup>4</sup> The popular reaction to the murders of Peter and Thomas was stunning, and the velocity of the canonizations was swift. No matter how one viewed Peter’s and Thomas’s personalities, the glaring fact of their instant and enduring cults forces the conclusion that their contemporaries all over Europe saw in them, and especially in their martyrdoms, desirable and compelling prototypes for Christian perfection. The spread and extent of these cults is the subject of this study.

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Saints in the medieval period obtained and kept a place in popular devotion for one primary reason: their efficacy in performing miracles. Thomas’s and Peter’s devotees reported miracles at the very beginning of their cults, and stories of their intercession continued to pour in throughout the medieval period, making Thomas in particular one of the best known saints of the time, as well as establishing his shrine as one of the four most important pilgrimage sites in Christendom. More than seven hundred miracles were recorded by the monks at Christ Church in Canterbury during the first seven years after his death. Though the rapidity of the cult’s geographic expansion is certainly a result of the word-of-mouth tales of his martyrdom, when these were combined with subsequent stories of the remarkable number of miracles, Thomas

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<sup>3</sup> For an example of this transition from hatred to vindication, see: W. L. Warren, *King John* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 4-6.

<sup>4</sup> For a recent realistic assessment of the inquisition see Christine Caldwell Ames, “Does Inquisition Belong to Religious History?” *American Historical Review* 110/1 (Feb 2005), pp. 11-37.

became venerated throughout Europe.

Although other types of evidence exist - church dedications, altars, artwork, sermons, and the like also attest to the spread of saintly veneration - I will limit myself to the examination of miracle stories for the following reasons.<sup>5</sup> First, the miracle stories collected for canonization processes in the twelfth century and later represent a vast and underused element in medieval cult study and hagiography. Marginalized by many as fantastical tales, only recently have they begun to be used in scholarship. As noted above, the miracle collections for both of these saints are extensive and accessible.<sup>6</sup> In addition, the stories offer a wealth of data to analyze. Most evident are the needs and desires of the cult promoters. Their principles and strategies in the collection and editing of the stories provide a unique glimpse into the mentality and mechanics of cult promotion. All miracle collections are mediated through cult promoters, however, the result is not a one-way flow of information that monks and clerics mediated to the receptive and uncritical laity; the narratives themselves give evidence of a definite dialogue. The individual miracle

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<sup>5</sup> Literature on medieval miracles is extensive. See especially Benedicta Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record, and Event, 1000-1215* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982). Also significant are, André Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 427-477; Caroline Walker Bynum, "Miracles and Marvels: the Limits of Alterity," *Vita Religiosa im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Kaspar Elm Zum 70. Geburtstag*, Berliner historische Studien 31, eds. Franz J. Felten and Nikolas Jaspert (Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1999), pp. 799-817; R. I. Moore, "Between Sanctity and Superstition: Saints and Their Miracles in the Age of Revolution," *The Work of Jacques Le Goff and the Challenges of Medieval History*, ed. Miri Rubin (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), pp. 55-67; R. C. Finucane, "The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles," *History* 60 (1975), pp. 1-10; J. A. Hardon, "The Concept of Miracle from St. Augustine to Modern Apologetics," *Theological Studies* 15 (1954), pp. 229-257.

<sup>6</sup> All of Thomas' miracles are edited in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. James Cragie Robinson, vols. 1-2 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1875), hereafter *MTB*. The primary source for Peter's miracles is *Vita S[ancti] Petri Martyris Ordinis Praedicatorum*, ed. Ambrogio Taegio, *Acta Sanctorum* 12 (Antwerp: Ioannem Meursium, 1675) Apr. III, 679-719; hereafter *VSP* (with specific source information included). This source is a combination of various thirteenth- and fourteenth-century life and miracle collections. My samples include the 775 miracles for Thomas Becket and 151 for Peter of Verona contained in these sources.

stories represent a singular window into the medieval world, especially into the lives of those who are traditionally underrepresented in the conventional literature of the day: the non-aristocratic laity. Their stories, centered around the personal experience of an extraordinary event, include everyday details of life, work, and, most pertinent to this study, geographic location. The miracle stories represent on-the-ground evidence for cultic diffusion, largely independent of clerical or aristocratic mediation implied by much of the material culture of medieval holiness. They provide evidence that shows how saints were integrated into society, and how cults themselves played a formative role in the development of culture.

Geographical and statistical analyses of miracle diffusion illustrate patterns of devotion and give the researcher a map of cultic evolution and extension.<sup>7</sup> A graphical representation of the spread of miracles can offer insight into the mechanics of cult promotion and suggest reasons why miracles predominate in a certain area, yet are absent in others. Such a study can establish patterns among the typologies of miracles. Perhaps childbirth wonders predominate in certain locations, while miracles of sensory restoration prevail in others. Maps can draw attention to these differences and suggest paths for future research. They can also suggest relations between institutions and individuals, showing how cult promoters had access to certain areas, though denied entrance to others. Significantly, a geographical analysis of miracle stories helps to de-center the cult from the shrine. Miracles often happened at the shrine and, since the stories were

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<sup>7</sup> Efforts to quantify miracle data include Howard Clark Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1983), for early Christianity; Pierre-André Sigal, *L'Homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale* (Paris: Cerf, 1985) for the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries; Augustine Thompson, O.P., *Revival Preachers and Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 114-117, for the miracles of the Alleluia (and which includes Peter's ante-mortem miracles); and, Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 427-477, who breaks down 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century miracles.

usually collected there, many have assumed that all medieval saints were shrine saints, marginalizing both the geographic dispersion of the wonders and the origins of the supplicants themselves. Maps readily show the gusto with which medieval people embraced concepts of sanctity, especially in these very unusual medieval cases of canonized martyrs. These maps help to demonstrate the creativity of the medieval laity in not only receiving saint's cults but in actively reformulating them to fit their own theological conceptions and rearranging them to meet their own needs.

In light of the benefits of a study of this sort, one also needs to be wary of the inherent limitations of the sources and the statistical conclusions derived from them. Few records remain of those who appealed to a saint and went away disappointed with the outcome, though the success of a cult over a period of time can suggest that successful petitioners and promoters were able to overcome any negative publicity resulting from failed requests.<sup>8</sup> When analyzing the statistics of type and location one also needs to be aware of the aims of the promoters who arranged and edited the miracle reports. In spite of this inherent bias, the rapidity of Thomas's and Peter's canonizations and the multiplication of early miracles often gives one the impression that the promoters were writing as fast as they could without much evidence of an effort aimed at implementing systems of social control. Of course, none of the statistics presented here can be absolute. The collections themselves make no pretensions to being complete so there is nothing

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<sup>8</sup> Indeed in the few recorded evidences of failed petitions, the cultic promoters immediately attribute the lack of a result to other causes besides a lack of power in their saint, for example, a lack of faith on the supplicant's part, the failure to perform a vow, or the bad disposition of the supplicant or their near relations. Evidence of failed requests can also appear when an attempt is repeated at another shrine, where it proves successful. Promoters of the successful saint are rarely adverse to mentioning the failure of competitors.



Figure 1. Map of Early Miracles of Thomas Becket. Map: author.

approaching statistical certitude. Rather the results are suggestive of overall trends. Most significantly, these narratives are very human; these are records of real people with real problems, and this is likewise true of the promoters, who alternatively express wonder and

surprise, doubt and fear. In the end the miracle collections are one of our best views into the inner life of the Middle Ages.

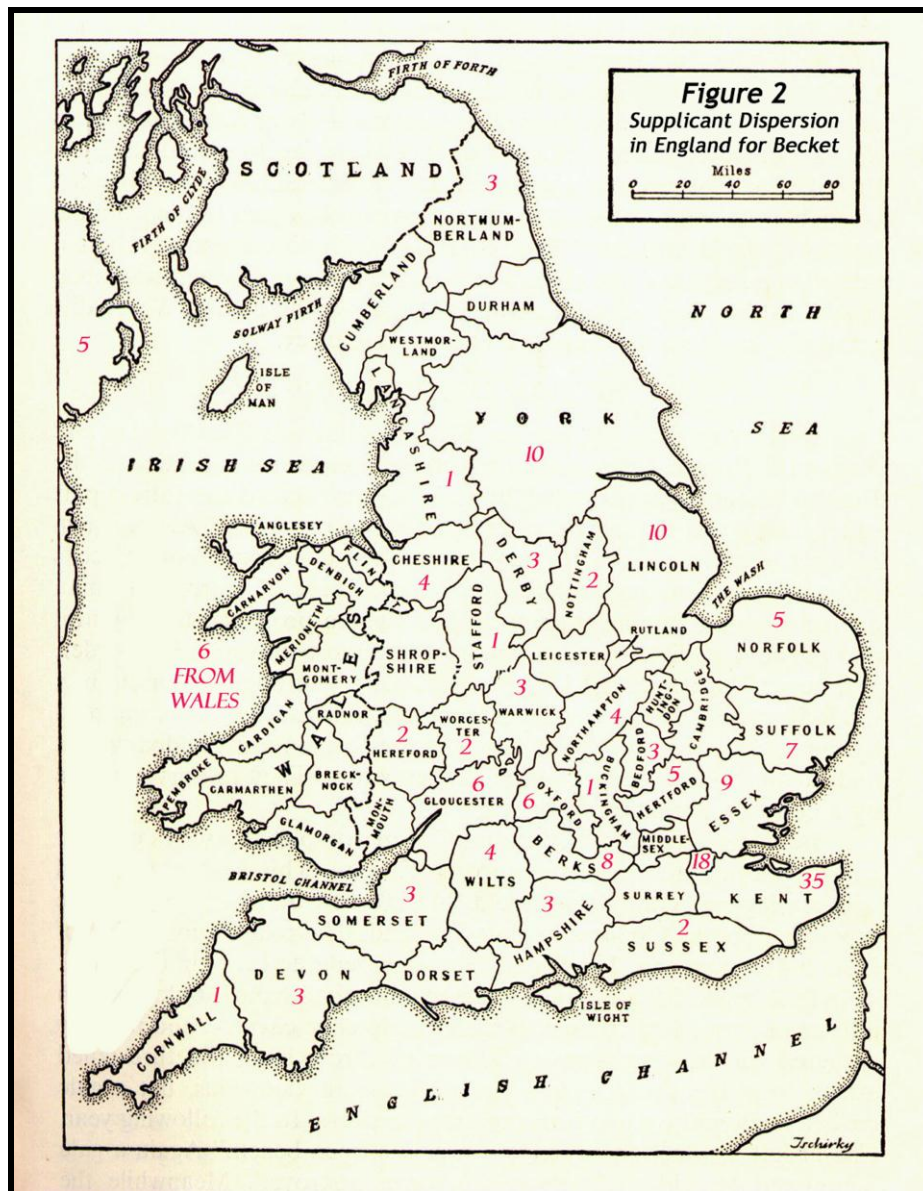


Figure 2: Map of Supplicant Dispersion in England for Thomas Becket. Map: author.

### ***The Cult of Thomas Becket***

Thomas' hagiographers reported that, while he was still lying in his blood in Canterbury Cathedral, miracles began to multiply. Word of Thomas's death spread around Europe, racing from city to city. Henry II became the subject of universal vilification, while Pope Alexander III (r. 1159-1181) raised Becket to sainthood within three years. During that time the custodians of Becket's tomb reported many miracles, while reports of wonders done far away began to filter into Canterbury to be recorded by the shrine chroniclers.<sup>9</sup> Thomas' cult was immediate and spontaneous. Even the threat of official disapproval and harassment during the first year after the murder did little to stem the tide of pilgrims coming to Canterbury either to seek or to report miracles. The small stream of supplicants eventually turned into a flood, especially after the stabilization of the political situation in the months and years following the murder.

The early map of miracle and supplicant diffusion seems very concentrated. **(Figure 1)** A large variety of miracles began very quickly to spread out from Canterbury, a phenomenon which illustrates several key points.<sup>10</sup> First, this cult spread in a very organic manner from the cultic center. Early miracles are centered in Kent. As 1171 progressed, miracles were reported from London and the Home Counties, though there was also strong representation from Lincolnshire.

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<sup>9</sup>As the cultic center the shrine or *martyrium* certainly holds pride of place, and it became the central clearing house for reporting miracles wherever they occurred. The task of recording these miracles diligently fell to the cultic promoters, namely the Canterbury monks in Thomas' case and the Milanese Dominicans' in Peter's. For a good overview of Christian shrines see: John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c. 300-1200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> I am indebted to the pioneering work on Thomas' cult by Raymonde Foreville, especially her "Les 'Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis,'" *Actes du 97e Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, Nantes, 1972. Section du philologie et d'histoire jusqu'à 1610. Paris, 1977.* in *Thomas Becket dans la tradition historique et hagiographique* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), pp. 443-468; and her "La diffusion du culte de Thomas Becket dans la France de l'Ouest avant la fin du XIIe siècle," *Cahiers du civilisation médiévale XIX. Poitiers 1976.* in *Ibid.*, pp. 347-368.

The dispersion of these miracles is significant since it indicates that many locales far from Canterbury were the site of miracles. While ninety-two of the miracles in the first year actually occurred in the town of Canterbury, eighty-four more were scattered throughout England, with four in France, and two in Flanders.<sup>11</sup> Thus, nearly 50% of the early miracles took place away from the shrine. The map of supplicant origins tells a somewhat different story. **(Figure 2)** Those seeking Becket's aid were more evenly distributed throughout the country. Though one can assume that some of the sixty-five supplicants who were English, but of unspecified origin, came from Kent, still there is a marked dispersal. Petitioners came from almost every county, from Cornwall to Yorkshire, and for the first time there was evidence of foreign interest in the cult. One Fleming made an offering to Thomas in return for catching a hawk, while another had her leg healed.<sup>12</sup> When added to three cures from Picardy and Normandy, the long history of Thomas' cultic interaction with the whole of Europe began.<sup>13</sup> Initially an English phenomenon, Becket rapidly became a transnational saint, having one of the first truly universal medieval cults. By the year 1172, Becket's *fama sanctitatis* had become known throughout Europe. All Christendom was aware of his story and began to hear about the efficacy of the "New Martyr." Within the first five years of his death miracles had occurred in Austria, Scandinavia, Ireland, and the Crusader Kingdoms. Far more numerous however was the efflorescence of stories from the kingdom of France, which began to rival England in the production of miracle tales, so that

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<sup>11</sup> One of the few miracles reported from France in this first year was an apparition informing the people of Argentan about the murder. This story presents Becket himself promoting his own cult! Benedict of Peterborough, "Miracula S. Thomae," *MTB*, Vol. 2, 29-30, Book 1, miracle 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 157, Book 3, miracles 55-56.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 159-161, Book 3, miracles 60-62.

by the time of the canonization, nearly half of the miracles came from across the channel.<sup>14</sup> These French miracles are predictably clustered in three main areas: Normandy, still very closely related to England, reported a large number of stories; and Picardy, with its proximity to the cultic center and its importance as the departure point for many continental pilgrims, was also a center of devotion. Less apparent is the reason behind the clustering of miracles in the heart of Burgundy. To answer this, one may fruitfully consult Thomas's biography. During his exile from England, Thomas's main base of operations was the Cistercian abbey of Pontigny, and he was often in residence in Sens.<sup>15</sup> Indeed it was at Sens that the preliminary legal proceedings following the murder occurred.<sup>16</sup> The Cistercians had supported Thomas in his struggle with the king, and continued to advance his cult after the murder. France was thus a focus of the cult for several reasons, not the least being Thomas's physical residence there for most of the six years prior to his death. Indeed, the greatest partisans of the cult were in the French episcopacy, which had wholeheartedly supported Thomas in his quarrel with Henry II. In addition, given the personal interest of Louis VII of France (r. 1137-1180) in the matter and the devotion of the French laity, it is no wonder that Pope Alexander III declared that he had canonized Thomas at the request of the clergy and people of France.<sup>17</sup> Ironically England was divided about the legacy of their

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<sup>14</sup> Only after 1171 do miracles begin to multiply in lands controlled by the English crown: the Plantagenet holdings in France. Before then it was politically inexpedient for public demonstration in favor of Becket in Henry II's French domains. Foreville simply notes the explosion of devotion to Thomas in Plantagenet France without analyzing it chronologically. Raymonde Foreville, "Les 'Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis,'" pp. 447-449. Also: Foreville, "La diffusion du culte de Thomas Becket."

<sup>15</sup> For Becket's exile in France see, Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 117-197; and, Knowles, *Thomas Becket*, 101-126.

<sup>16</sup> Barlow, *Thomas Becket*, 251.

<sup>17</sup> From Cardinal Boso's life of Alexander III, cited in: *Ibid.*, 269.

murdered archbishop, while France had the luxury of a united front in demanding the canonization of the principled exile.

However, it was not simply official French promotion that caused the spread of the cult. Martyrdom was still a significantly popular paradigm in the minds of medieval Christians. Even though there had been few martyrs since the days of persecution and missionary expansion, the idea of dying for the faith retained its place in the popular imagination.<sup>18</sup> Though very rare, people could still recognize a martyr quickly, and most assigned this title to Thomas from the very beginning. Becket's story fired Europe's imagination, and his status as martyr cemented him in the popular consciousness. Indeed the foibles of his life fell away from his biography as the singular fact of martyrdom penetrated Europe. Thomas was recognized not so much for his life, but for his death. Later hagiographers began to refashion his life into something resembling a saintly life, but in reality the people did not care. They had a martyr, who followed Christ to his death, and who on that account was a powerful intercessor before the heavenly throne. Thomas did not disappoint.

The actions of the papal curia in confirming Thomas' martyrdom with canonization go far to help explain the durability of the cult. His canonization by Alexander III represents one of the first real attempts of the papacy to frame and foster transnational devotion to a saint.<sup>19</sup> Papal

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<sup>18</sup> Many who died (or were thought to have died) for the faith turned out to be cases of wives murdered by husbands, workmen killed in jealous rages, political murders, or popular stories of children killed by Jews. Vauchez counts 26 of these types in the thirteenth century alone. Vauchez, *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages*, pp. 149-151. For children supposedly killed by Jews see the notes especially on pages 150-151. For the continuing popularity of martyrdom see James D. Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization," *The Catholic Historical Review* 90/1 (Jan 2004), pp. 1-28.

<sup>19</sup> This is similar to Alexander's glorification of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153) a year later commending his liturgy for the whole Church. I thank Anthony Lappin for this comment.

reservation of the right to canonize was still a very new idea in the twelfth century, but one which Alexander skillfully began to mold as a canonical principle which would redound to the power and prestige of the Roman See.<sup>20</sup> Indeed Alexander's decretal *Audivimus* would later be inserted in the 1234 *Liber Extra* and become the legal foundation for the Roman right of canonization.<sup>21</sup> Thomas' murder, coupled with the evidence of widespread devotion and miracles, provided Alexander with a key opportunity both to glorify a popularly acclaimed saint as well as to secure prestige in his conflict with Frederick Barbarossa and the emperor's antipopes. The privilege of canonization by the Pope was gaining prestige in the Church and among the laity. Indeed one of the first miracles for Thomas in the collection of William of Canterbury touches on this topic. The priest Reginald of Wresham had a vision of a monastic choir. One brother asked his counterpart to begin the antiphon of the New Martyr Thomas. The other replied it was not lawful, since the Roman see had not yet "added him to the catalogue of martyrs in virtue of Apostolic authority." He suggested that since everyone was sure Thomas was a saint, they should go ahead and sing an antiphon in English.<sup>22</sup> This story illustrates nicely that while sainthood could still be popularly recognized (and patriotically celebrated), there was now a qualitative judgment to be expected from Rome. In this case papal recognition set the seal on what people already knew:

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<sup>20</sup> For this process see: Vauchez, *Sainthood*, pp. 22-84; also, Eric Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948); and, Stephen Kuttner, "La Réserve papale du droit de canonisation," *Revue d'histoire de droit français et étranger* 17 (1938), pp. 172-228. For a newer study that focuses on the legal developments in the process see Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht: Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 2004).

<sup>21</sup> Alexander III, "Audivimus." in *Corpus Iuris Canonici II (Liber Extra)*, ed. Emil Friedberg (Leipzig: 1881; reprint Graz: 1956), X 3.45.1.

<sup>22</sup> "Respondit, non eam authenticam esse; nondum enim ex apostolica auctoritate catalogo martyrum martyr ascriptus

Thomas Becket was a true martyr, spontaneously recognized by the Christian people and then officially accepted by the Church.

After the 1173 canonization Becket's cult continued to spread. His position as England's primary national patron became stronger. Becket was one of the first English saints to appeal equally to the Norman aristocrats and the lower-class descendants of the earlier Saxon inhabitants, providing a significant unifying force to national identity. Becket's supplicants came from all over England; nearly all counties are represented. Indeed, some remote counties reported great numbers of miracles. Within the first seven years after the murder, Yorkshire reported twenty-four, Lincolnshire fourteen, Gloucestershire fourteen, and Devon nine: by 1171 almost 50% of the miracles occurred at a distance from the shrine. By 1177 53% of English miracles, and 70.3% of the total number, were reported from locations far removed from Canterbury. Given this data, scholars need to reappraise the image of Becket as a "shrine saint." For instance, Raymonde Foreville's analysis of the miracles was focused on the act of pilgrimage, and drew a picture of a saint intimately attached to the shrine – though she was very thorough in showing supplicant origins.<sup>23</sup> This view needs to be altered. People made the pilgrimage to Canterbury to report miracles as often as they did to seek them. At any one time a large group of pilgrims to Thomas' tomb would be there to return thanks to the martyr for favors already received. Clearly Thomas's cult needs to be de-centered from the moorings of the shrine. His cult was universal, not only in veneration, but also in the origins of the supplicants and in miracle dispersion.

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erat." William of Canterbury, "Miracula S. Thomae," *MTB*, Vol. 1, 150-151, Book 1, miracle 11.

<sup>23</sup>Foreville, "Les 'Miracula,'" pp. 445-451.

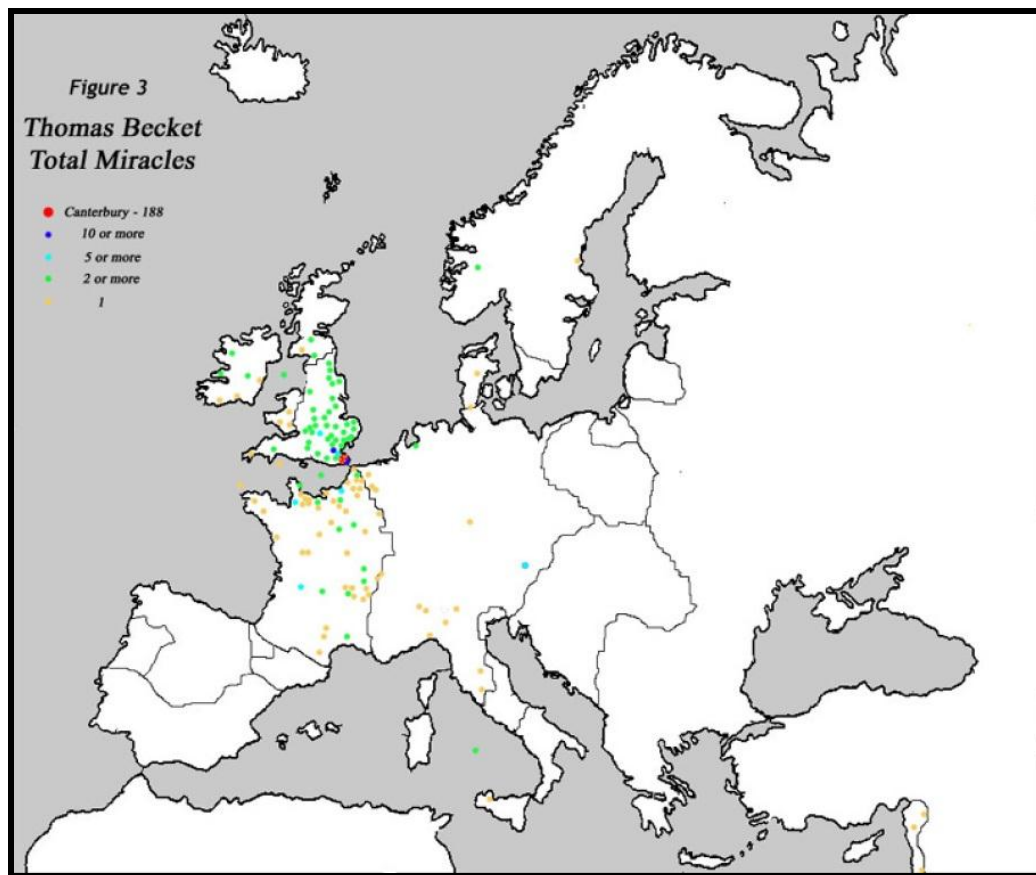


Figure 3: Map of Thomas Becket, Total Miracles. Map: author.

One must still give an account of the way in which the cult spread throughout Europe. Several things are apparent from the geographic pattern of the individual miracles. **(Figure 3)** Reports from England and France predominate. As the places that were most immediately familiar with the living saint, they were naturally the places where the cult would take immediate root. Nine miracles were reported in Ireland, significantly from Norman nobles fighting there for Henry II. There were no reports from the native Irish; not only did they already have their own saints, but Henry II's incursion into the country – undertaken partly to escape from the notoriety

he gained following Becket's murder – could have done little to endear an English saint to that island, even one who had been in conflict with Henry. It was similar with Wales and Scotland, both interested in maintaining their distance from England at that time. Wales only reported six miracles attributed to Becket in the whole period, whilst Scotland only had nine, fewer than many individual English counties. One of the main effects of Thomas Becket's cult was an increase of English nationalism, something which the Celtic peoples would come to view with some apprehension.<sup>24</sup> Fourteen miracles were reported from Italy, a relatively large amount compared to the other European regions. This is probably because Thomas was specially favored by Pope Alexander III, and English pilgrims traveled the roads from France to Rome, bringing the story of their "New Martyr" with them.

As the map shows, two large gaps in Europe stand out. No miracles were reported in Spain, which is somewhat puzzling. Spain generally supported Alexander III, so opposition to papal policy cannot be the reason. The Spanish kingdoms were very much occupied with the *Reconquista* at this time, were being hard pressed by the Almohads, and did not figure much into the Church-State battles of the 1170s. Another thing to consider is the privileged position of Santiago de Compostela at this time as one of the greatest pilgrimage sites in Europe. Spaniards would have had little interest in the opening of a significant new shrine, one which could siphon off many of the English and French pilgrims who eagerly came to Santiago. The other large gap is the huge expanse of Frederick Barbarossa's German Empire. Excepting the statistical anomaly of seven miracles from Klosterneuburg in Austria, where a devout knight named Ludwig had

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<sup>24</sup> For a discussion about the problems of the construction of English national identity see Krishan Kumar, *The Making of English National Identity*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), particularly chapter 4.

brought relics from England for which a chapel was constructed at the monastery of Augustinian canons,<sup>25</sup> there was only one miracle from the immense area of Frederick's empire: the resurrection of a dead child in Bamberg.<sup>26</sup> In light of the humbling of Henry II after Becket's death and the emperor's continued support of antipopes, Barbarossa probably looked on the extension of Thomas' cult into his lands with extreme disapproval. Since the majority of the miracle stories take place before 1177, about the time Frederick I (1194-1250) ceased his opposition to Rome, there is little to no evidence of Becket veneration in German-speaking lands. Thus, although Thomas's cult must be de-centered from the shrine, the fact remains that its expansion fell somewhat short of complete penetration of Europe. Though centered primarily in England and France, Becket still represents one of the first transnational saints.

### ***The Cult of Peter of Verona***

Peter of Verona's story is very similar to that of Thomas. His *vita* relates that within hours of Peter's murder on the road north of Milan, thousands were streaming out of the city gates to meet his body. So great was the throng that his brethren could not carry him into the city that night and had to lay him in a temporary sarcophagus within the church of San Simpliciano, outside of Milan's walls. That very night the poor and sick were among those who visited his body. A miserable woman named Jacoba, who had a fistula in her hand, knew what to do. With great difficulty she worked her way through the throng until she came to Peter's body. She

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<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 518-520, Book 6, miracles 129-134.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 1, 541, Book 6, miracle 163.

caused his hand to make the sign of the cross over her fistula, a gesture she may have seen him make when alive. She reported instant healing, and Peter's cult was off to a rapid start.<sup>27</sup>

Peter's cult was fortunate in that a "perfect storm" of overlapping motivations propelled it into international recognition. The first was the genuine devotion of the people of Milan. From the sources one can see that Peter was genuinely loved there during his life. He was known as a discerning confessor, a skilled spiritual director, a kind man, and a powerful preacher. It was the enthusiasm of the people of his city that impelled the initial public recognition of his cult. Coupled with this was the excitement of the Dominican order. Initially in deep mourning for their lost brother, it did not take the friars long to realize the immense asset they had just acquired. In contrast to the canonization of three wildly popular members of the Franciscan order – Francis in 1228, Anthony in 1232, and Elizabeth of Hungary in 1235 – the Dominicans only had the tardy canonization of Dominic in 1233 to their credit, and he did not possess a generally popular cult. With Peter and his martyrdom, the Dominicans realized they had a genuinely popular saint to hold up against the Franciscans. Finally, the interests of the papacy at this period were intertwined with those of the mendicant orders. Innocent IV (c. 1195-1254), recently triumphant against Emperor Frederick II, saw the murdered Dominican as an ideal anti-imperial and anti-heretical saint.<sup>28</sup> Peter had opposed the empire during his life and had ceaselessly hounded the heretics of northern Italy. Glorifying Peter would not only reinforce Innocent's

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<sup>27</sup>VSP, 5.40<sup>1</sup>, 698, [Agni, ca. 1270].

<sup>28</sup> Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 25 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982), p. 24, and "The Politics of Canonization in the Thirteenth Century," *Church History* 44 (1975), pp. 294-307. He considers Peter's canonization as the climax of anti-heretical and anti-imperial papal policy, though this is oversimplified. The greatest threat from the empire had already passed by 1253, and the papacy would be concerned with heresy long into the future.

victory, but would also do much to enhance papal prestige and bolster papal policy. The combination of these three factors produced a near-instantaneous result. After a rapid investigation of Peter's life and miracles, Innocent IV canonized Peter 337 days after his murder – the fastest papal canonization in history.<sup>29</sup>

The news of Peter's murder quickly spread throughout Europe, and most contemporary chronicles noted the date. Given the velocity of his glorification, there was not much time to compile miracle stories. However, one can pick out a small group of nineteen narrative units that form the body of pre-canonization miracles. These date from his death in April of 1252 to his canonization in March of 1253. The miracle stories came from the areas where the saint had been active during his lifetime, primarily locations around Milan (13), with two stories from Florence, and one miracle each from Pavia, Venice, Lugano, and Brescia.<sup>30</sup> They represent the earliest geographic distribution of the saint's cult. One can see that this was an organic development: the people who knew the saint most intimately were also the ones who were reporting cures. A ring of about 150 miles could be drawn around Milan, and this would represent not only the primary area of Peter's biography, but also of his immediate cultic afterlife.

This picture is too simplistic however. If the early miracles represent the investigation performed before the canonization – which I believe they do – then the short amount of time precluded the inclusion of miracles from outside of the immediate area of investigation (which

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<sup>29</sup>Innocent IV, "Magnis et Crebris," *Bullarium Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Vol. 1, 228-230.

<sup>30</sup> Pre-canonization miracles are determined by the order given in a late thirteenth-century vernacular Italian version of Thomas Agni's *vita* in Novara: Biblioteca Comunale MS 10, fols. 44-74<sup>v</sup>. I am of the opinion that this is a translation of the early canonization proceedings. Later, when Peter's story was first compiled, editors eliminated the chronological report of miracles in favor of a topical arrangement.

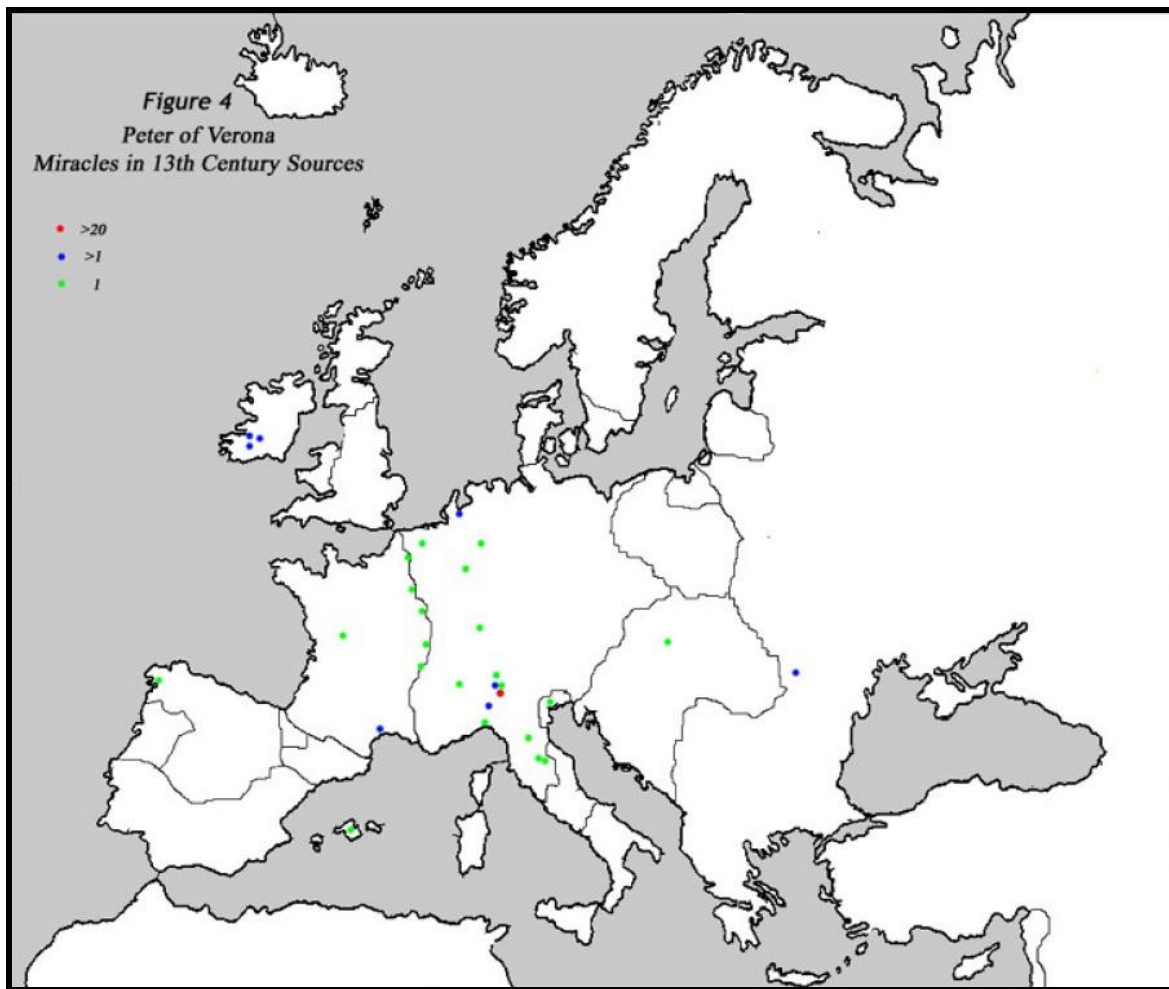


Figure 4. Map of Peter of Verona Miracles in 13th-century Sources. Map: author.

took place in Milan).<sup>31</sup> This is aptly shown by a miracle reported in Gérard de Frachet's 1259 *Vitae Fratrum*. In this story, a Dominican tells an abbot near Poitiers to pray to the yet-uncanonized Peter for relief from his terrible headaches.<sup>32</sup> This miracle must have occurred

<sup>31</sup> Michael Goodich was the first to provide this hypothesis in his: *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century*, Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, 25 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982), p. 151, though I have augmented and expanded his arguments in my own work.

<sup>32</sup> *VSP*, 9.72<sup>2</sup>, 708; Gérard de Frachet, O.P., *Vitae Fratrum Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum

before March of 1253, when Peter was canonized. It happened so soon after Peter's death that there was no time for its inclusion into the primitive collection of miracles probably used as material for the investigation. Such a miracle, coming so early in the cult's life from so far away is not a statistical anomaly, rather it indicates the rapid expansion that Peter's cult would experience within twenty years of the canonization. As the story of the healed abbot shows, it was an expansion in part propelled by the devotion and interest of the Dominican order.

While there are far fewer miracles in Peter's sources than in Thomas's, one can still form a good idea of the spread and extent of the cult. The early stories come from all over Europe. Out of seventy-one miracles, thirty-four came from Italy (47.9%) while two were from Provence. The rest were from all over the Europe: no fewer than thirteen miracles from Ireland, eight from France, four from Flanders, two from Germany, and one each from Hungary, Aragon, Castile and León, and Bohemia. **(Figure 4)** In addition, the missionary appendix of the *Vitas fratrum* listed four miracles performed in Peter's name in the eastern Hungarian territories. Unlike Thomas, fewer miracles occurred at Peter's shrine (only 14.1% of the early miracles), though pilgrimage to the tomb at Sant' Eustorgio was a significant factor in the cult. But similar to Thomas's, Peter's cult exhibited a marked and pan-European diffusion. Many places which were associated with Peter's life reported miracles after his death. This is consistent with the data presented on Thomas above. Indeed one can also trace two of Peter's possible foreign trips in the miracle trail. In 1249 Peter traveled through Germany to the General Chapter of the Dominican order in Trier, while at another time he made a trip to Paris, perhaps for another general chapter. If one looks at

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Praedicatorum Historica 1, ed. Benedict Maria Reichert, O.P. (Louvain: E. Charpentier & J. Schoonjans, 1896), p. 242. Hereafter *VF*.

the pattern of miracles in the thirteenth century, it is possible to speculate that the routes which Peter took to those two events are represented in the geographic dispersion of the miracles.

There are in addition many stories which are impossible to connect to the living saint, beginning with the Poitiers miracle in western France. Other strange miracle locations appear on the map: a 1259 miracle account from Santiago de Compostela in Spain that narrates the healing of a crippled beggar; a man named Dominic cured of a stomach complaint in Mallorca; four miracles from the eastern Hungarian missions; the thirteen miracles reported from southwestern Ireland. It is possible to trace most of these back to the aggressive Dominican presentation of Peter to the communities where the friars ministered. When the Dominicans expanded, they carried their saints with them. In Peter of Verona they had a powerful cultic ally – an individual whom they considered to manifest the best characteristics of the order. Sometimes Dominic and Peter were the first saints of whom new Christians would hear, as in the missions to the Hungarian Cumans, so miracles involving Peter are fairly predictable in this case.<sup>33</sup> At other times, the miracle stories have overtones of Peter's superiority over other saints. The miracle from Compostela is indicative of this. Peter could help where other powerful saints could not. The cured beggar lived in the city of Saint James, one of the most important pilgrimage sites in Christendom. Santiago did not help, whereas the "New Martyr" provided immediate healing.<sup>34</sup>

Official Dominican sponsorship provided Peter with an immediate and Europe-wide cadre of elite preachers to tell people about his cult. It is no wonder that miracle reports

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<sup>33</sup> *VF*, 208-209.

<sup>34</sup> *VSP*, 12.93, 713, [*VF*, 245-246, ca. 1259], this miracle is itself dated to 1259 in the text.

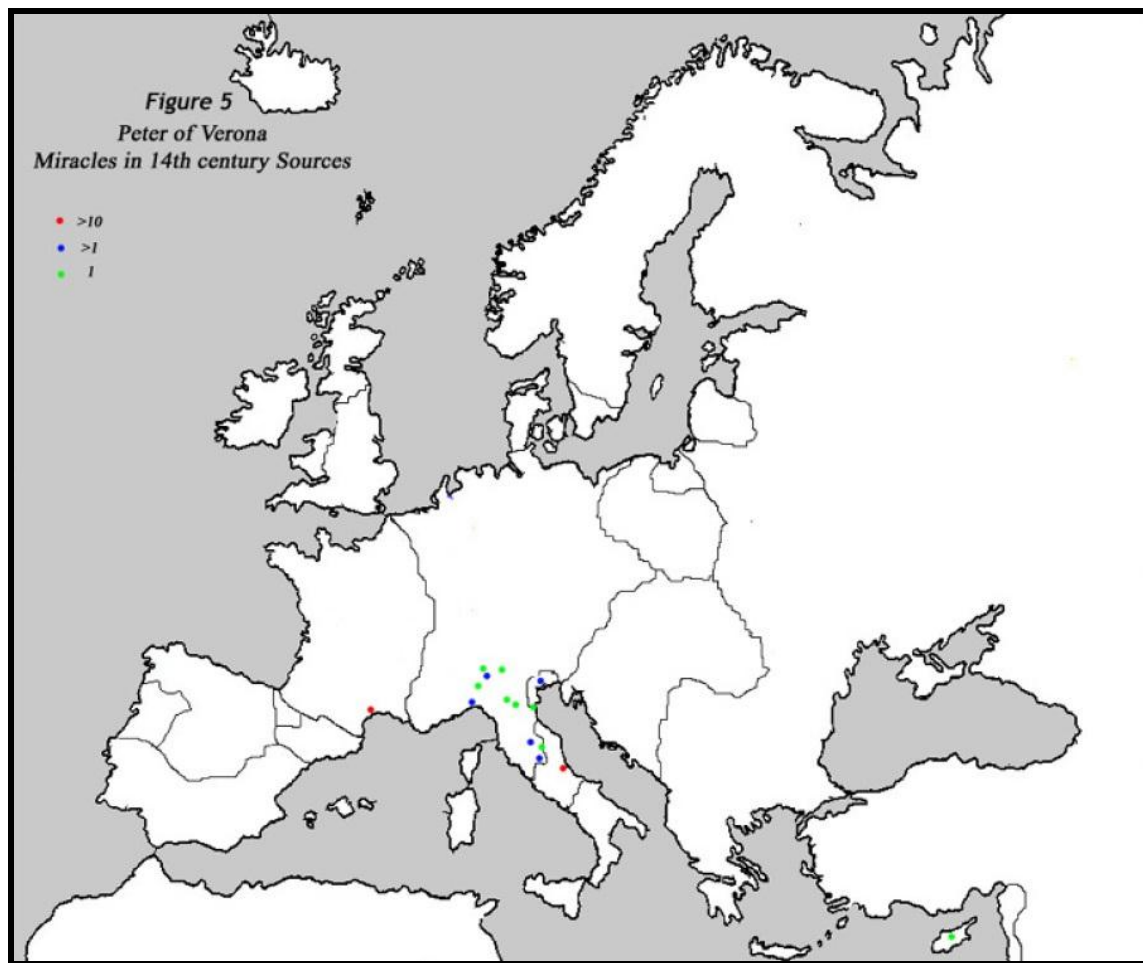


Figure 5. Map of Peter of Verona Miracles in 14th-century Sources. Map: author.

immediately began to come in from the far corners of Christendom. Peter was a genuinely popular saint who had been widely loved during his life among those to whom he ministered and the friars were able effectively to communicate that popularity throughout Europe. Peter had also been credited with working miracles when he was alive, so the Dominicans had a ready-made body of stories for preaching right from the beginning.<sup>35</sup> They effectively organized the cult,

<sup>35</sup> For miracle working among the Mendicants in this period see Augustine Thompson, O.P., *Revival Preachers and*

turning Sant' Eustorgio into a model pilgrimage Church, they composed a mass and office for him to be said yearly, and they aggressively carried his relics and story wherever they traveled. In this Peter had an advantage that Thomas did not, a virtual army of accomplished preachers for whom Peter was the image of their highest ideals.

However, in the fourteenth-century hagiography, Peter's cult contracted. Almost all of the miracles reported came from the Dominican heartland of Provence, and northern and central Italy. **(Figure 5)** The lone exception was a well-attested birth miracle from Cyprus.<sup>36</sup> This may represent a coalescence of the cult from its initial days of international propagation to the fall back locations of the places where it was truly popular. It can also be explained by failure of the more remote Dominican priories to report miracles for Peter. From the typologies of the miracles one can see that in this period the more mundane cures were marginalized in favor of the narration of extraordinary wonders, dramatic resurrections, and vengeance miracles. The everyday miracle of healing was no longer of much interest to the cult promoters; rather they needed new and exciting tales to fire the imaginations of their listeners.

Though important, mere Dominican will to promote Peter was not the central factor in the maintenance of Peter's cult throughout the Middle Ages. Just as with Thomas Becket, the type of death Peter suffered was sensational. Martyrdom was compelling and rare, and people very much valued it. To medieval people it seemed that the fact of the martyrdom granted Peter special status, one which promised immediacy of intercession. His hagiography is heavy with the term

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*Politics in Thirteenth-Century Italy: The Great Devotion of 1233* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 179-204.

<sup>36</sup> VSP 8.63, 705-706. [Berengar, 1316].

“New Martyr,” one which had also been applied to Becket.<sup>37</sup> The novelty of this type of death in the Middle Ages struck a chord with Christians, and those who merited the title were doubly honored in the middle ages. Tied to this was official recognition of the martyrdom. The special care that the papacy took in swiftly glorifying Peter and applying the title “martyr” to him significantly helped the cult, as it had helped Thomas’s. Both canonizations clearly spelled out papal policy and put the Pope right at the center of the recognition of sanctity in the Church. Indeed Peter of Verona’s cult represents the first effort of the papacy to sustain and maintain a transnational cult over a period of time. Especially between 1254 and 1266, the popes were very active in mandating the observance of Peter’s feast, granting indulgences to pilgrims, and fulminating against cultic abuse. For previous saints the papacy had been content to issue the bull of canonization and leave it at that, but for various political reasons the popes felt it necessary to foster Peter’s cult. Though this paper is too short to analyze this phenomenon in depth, I contend that this extraordinary patronage was due to the fact that Peter’s cult was the first papal cult to meet significant opposition from imperial loyalists and especially heretics. This opposition occurred during the development of the theology of papal infallibility in canonization, making it imperative for the Popes to begin to defend their saints. Becket’s cult did indeed face opposition in England, but mostly before his canonization. After the fact, opposition became muted.

Most directly, though, Peter’s cult, like that of Thomas Becket, found continued popularity because of its presumed efficacy. Miracle stories poured in from all over Europe, were

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<sup>37</sup> The title appears at the beginnings of Becket’s cult, and is found throughout Peter’s hagiography. Vauchez notes that the denominator “new” had eschatological overtones, perhaps of saints who had fulfilled an image with archetypal perfection. Vauchez, *Sainthood*, p. 111.

duly recorded by the guardians of the shrine, and then (especially in Peter's case) publicized far and wide in the preaching of the cultic promoters. Indeed the laity often themselves touted the successful results of the saints' patronage. Apart from the apparatus of official cultic promotion, the cults of Thomas and Peter owed their existence to their ability to draw new devotees.

### *Factors in the spread of the martyrs' cults*

I have pointed to many factors that influenced the quick spread of the cults of Peter of Verona and Thomas Becket over so large an area, but several are essential to understanding this new phenomenon: the transnational saint in medieval Europe. When a saint's cult is focused at a discrete location, usually the shrine where he or she is buried, there is limited opportunity for the laity to come into physical contact with it. Even though miracles did occur without any tangible connection to the physical remains of the saint, people wanted something more. This period was suffused by the desire to be in the physical presence of the holy, a phenomenon evidenced by the Catholic liturgy, by the popularity of the external forms of Christian worship, and especially by arduous and difficult pilgrimages.<sup>38</sup> Miracle stories of the period evince this desire; people made vows of pilgrimage,<sup>39</sup> they rubbed themselves in dirt and dust in the places of martyrdom,<sup>40</sup> they slept in shrines (a practice called incubation),<sup>41</sup> and they forcibly held epileptics and the

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<sup>38</sup> Many of these manifestations of lay piety are described in the broader context of medieval Italy in Augustine Thompson, *Cities of God: The Religion of the Italian Communes, 1125-1325* (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2005).

<sup>39</sup> Almost 7% (53) of Thomas' miracles involve a vow of pilgrimage.

<sup>40</sup> VSP, 5.43<sup>3</sup>, 699. [Agni, c. 1270].

<sup>41</sup> Benedict of Peterborough, "Miracula S. Thomae," *MTB*, Vol. 2, 74, Book 2, miracle 24.



Figure 6. Pilgrim Ampulla, Canterbury Cathedral, England, 13th century, tin. Collection: Cluny Museum. Photo: Sarah Blick.

possessed in front of tombs and altars.<sup>42</sup> When immediate presence at the shrine was unavailable however, people could rely on a further method to achieve physical presence: relics.<sup>43</sup> From early

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<sup>42</sup> VSP, 13.105, 716. [Berengar, 1316].

<sup>43</sup>For medieval relics see Philippe George, "Les reliques des saints. Publications récentes et perspectives nouvelles," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 80/2 (2002), pp. 563-591; Godefridus Snoek, *Medieval Piety from Relics to the Eucharist: A Process of Mutual Interaction* (New York: Brill, 1995); Caroline Walker Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995); *Holy Feast and Holy*

in the history of the Church relics were a realistic way to extend the veneration of a saint and to broaden the reach of the holy. But relics themselves were limited, there was only so much of a saint's physical body to go around. Though the unscrupulous did sometimes try to pass off bits and pieces of inauthentic relics, by and large this was not a problem, especially with well-known, contemporary saints. The creative interaction of the laity provided an answer. In a continuation of Early Christian practice, they came to the tombs and rubbed clothing, linens, crosses, or anything else they had on the bones or the tomb. In this way they sought to communicate some of the inherent power of the shrine into their everyday items which they could then bring back to their own towns and villages. In effect the laity circumvented the close clerical control of the major relics and set up for themselves independent access to the power of the saint, and in doing so created a lay-run paraliturgical system of miracle working.

In the twelfth- and thirteenth-centuries, a new form of relic extension became very popular. This was the creation of "Saint Water."<sup>44</sup> This was water poured over the saint's body or bones, and which was reputed to have very powerful healing powers. Some evidence suggests that this practice may have begun when sick people drank the leftover water that remained after the initial washing of a dead saint's body (people in the Middle Ages did not wait for niceties

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*Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987); and Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981). Older, but still useful studies include: Wilfred Bonser, "The Cult of Relics in the Middle Ages," *Folk-Lore* 73-74 (1962-63), pp. 234-256; Heinrich Fichtenau, "Zum Reliquien wesen in früheren Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen der Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 60 (1952), pp. 60-89.

<sup>44</sup> For methods of healing by ingestion of holy or relic-sanctified water see: Pierre-André Sigal, "Naissance et premier développement d'un vinage exceptionnel: l'eau de saint Thomas," *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xe-XIIe siècles* 44:1 (2001), pp. 34-44; Colin Morris, "San Ranieri of Pisa: The Power and Limitations of Sanctity in Twelfth-Century Italy," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 45 (1994), pp. 588-599; and, Ward, *Miracles*, p. 101.

such as formal canonization to decide who was a saint).<sup>45</sup> Such water had more immediate effect than the second- or third- class relics made by simply touching clothing to the tomb. Indeed the laity creatively appropriated this new type of relic as well, applying the water to injured areas as well as ingesting it – the most popular method. In this manner the cult could be spread as far as the water could be carried. **Figure 6** shows an example of such a pilgrim's ampulla from the Museum of London. Indeed some very early miracles of Peter of Verona come from southwestern Ireland, nearly 1000 miles away from the cultic center of Milan, (**Figure 7**) and all are water miracles.<sup>46</sup> These miracles seem to have led to the foundation of the Dominican priory of St. Peter of Verona at Lorrha, in northern Tipperary. (**Figure 8**) Contact with this form of relic was seen as the equivalent of physical presence, indeed it may have been considered even better. Here was a chance to internalize physically the power of the saint. One could literally “drink” the saint, causing some of the most intimate and powerful contact possible in an age which demanded physical proximity to holiness. While this type of miracle was common for Peter – 9.9% of his miracles occur in virtue of the relic water – fully 20% (155 miracles) of Thomas’s miracle stories transpire after contact with the water. Here was an unmixed boon for the cultic promoters. In giving relic water they really gave away nothing. They lost no control over the primary bodily relics while at the same time extending the geographical reach of their cults.

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<sup>45</sup> “Puer quidam inflaturam habens in collo et gurgure valde magnam, cum de aqua quae de lotionis vasis, ubi B. Petri Mart. reliqui repositi fuerant, bibisset, illico totam illam sanie[m] evomere coepit, ita quod infra tres dies fuit plenissime ac perfecte liberatus.” *VSP*, 14.110<sup>5</sup>, 717 [VF, 242, ca. 1259]. It is little wonder that such a potion had an emetic effect!

<sup>46</sup> *VSP*, 14.108-110, 717, [Agni, ca.1270]. All of the miracles with identifying information come from the area around Limerick.



Figure 7. Tomb of St. Peter of Verona by Giovanni di Balduccio Church of Sant' Eustorgio Milan. 1339. Italy. Photo: Wikipedia Commons.

To underscore further the point of geographic dispersion, only 23.9% of Thomas' water miracles occurred at Canterbury, the rest were scattered all over Britain and Europe. This extension enabled Thomas and Peter to become truly transnational saints from a very early period.




Figure 8. Priory of St. Peter of Verona at Lorrha, Tipperary, Ireland, 1296-15th century. Photo: author.

### *Conclusion*

Peter and Thomas could have both had very successful local cults, like so many before them in the early Middle Ages, but several factors intervened that thrust them into the international spotlight. The increase in trade, travel, and general order in Europe meant that it was easier to carry the news of new saints. The facts of their martyrdom appealed widely to the European Christian population. The nascent practice of papal canonization set an increasingly

important seal of approval on both their lives and miracles. Finally, in Peter's case, an aggressive and competent body of preachers spread out over Christendom to reinforce the presence and power of the new saint. These elements came together for Peter and Thomas in significant ways to make their cults international and to undergo a wide geographic dispersion.

Though this work has shown some overall trends, much remains to be done. The miracle stories themselves have much to tell, and offer exciting insights into the medieval religious world. If this project can be tied to a broader analysis of cultic trends – altar and church dedications, naming practices, confraternities, and such – a fuller picture of cultic dispersion will appear. Indeed perhaps the most important aspect of such a cultic analysis shows that both Thomas and Peter were genuinely popular saints, especially in the years immediately following their deaths. Consecrated by the aura of martyrdom, and sanctioned by the increasingly effective official stamp of canonization from Rome, both Peter and Thomas had long cultic existences. In truth, to those who today malign them as narrow and petty individuals, and who could never picture them firing the imagination of a continent, the vast majority of the saints' contemporaries would beg to differ. 



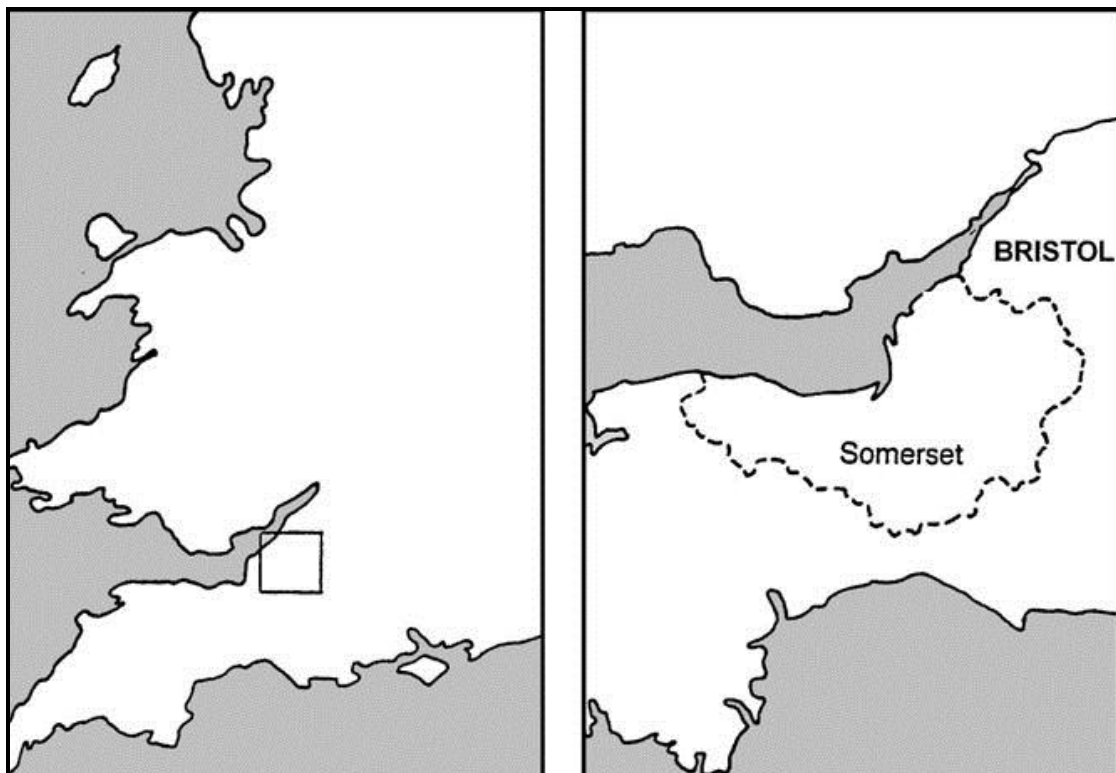
## **Saints, Monks and Bishops; cult and authority in the diocese of Wells (England) before the Norman Conquest**

Michael Costen, University of Bristol, UK

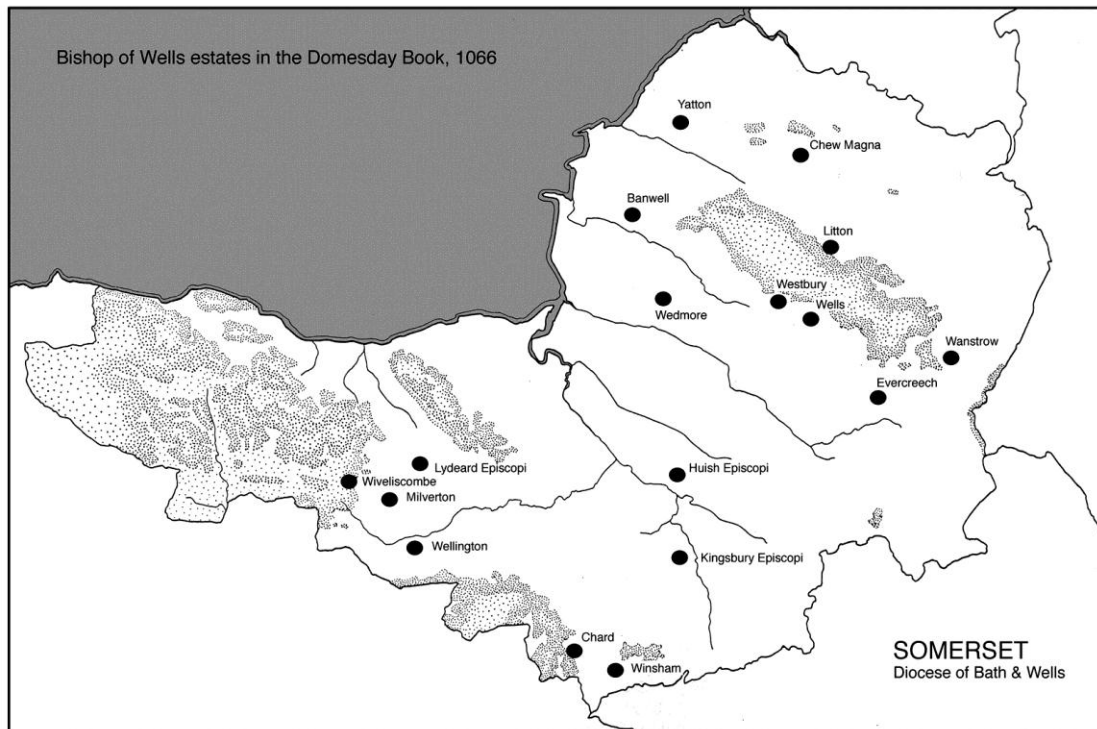
### **Introduction**

This paper is founded upon a database, assembled by the writer, of some 3300 instances of dedications to saints and of other cult objects in the Diocese of Bath and Wells. The database makes it possible to order references to an object in many ways including in terms of dedication, location, date, and possible authenticity, and it makes data available to derive some history of the object in order to assess the reliability of the information it presents.

Using the data, combined with other historical and archaeological evidence, this paper attempts to analyse the dedication policies, if any, followed by bishops and monasteries in the diocese in the tenth and eleventh centuries in order to ascertain whether or not this throws any light on the relationship between the secular and the regular branches of the Church in this period. This was a time when the newly founded diocese with its headquarters at the minster at Wells was seeking to establish itself, while the mid-tenth century also saw the revival and growth of a group of monasteries in Somerset, of which Glastonbury and Bath were by far the most important, as part of the wider tenth-century resurgence of monasticism throughout Europe. (**fig. 1**)



**Figure 1.** Map of Diocese of Somerset. Map: author.



**Figure 2a** Map of Bishop of Wells Estates in the Domesday Book, 1066. Map: author.



**Figure 2b** Wells Cathedral, 13<sup>th</sup> century, England. Photo:author.

## Wells Cathedral

We will first examine the bishop's churches and the estates within which they were found and then those of the monastery of Glastonbury in an attempt to assess the possible origins of the dedications.

King Alfred's confidant and biographer, Asser, was elevated to the see of Sherborne between 892 and 900. When he died in 908 or 909 his old diocese "West of the Wood," which covered the shires of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, was divided into the three smaller dioceses of Wells (later called Bath and Wells) which covered the shire of Somerset, Crediton which served Devon, and Sherborne which retained Dorset (Stenton 1947, 433). At the time of the division concerning the monastery at Sherborne, the bishop seated there held extensive lands in Dorset, Somerset, and Devon. Land near Priddy, "apud Menedip," Congresbury, Wellow, "iuxta Pedridun," Chesterblade and Chard (Somerset), or Chardstock, in Devon, are all mentioned in the two fourteenth-century lists from Sherborne (O'Donovan 1988). These lands in Somerset, formerly held by Sherborne, seem to have passed to the new bishopric at Wells as its endowment and their identification is discussed by O'Donovan (1988, pp. xxxvii-xlvii). There are no charters extant for most of the land and it may be that none were ever made to authenticate grants which had been made initially to Sherborne, perhaps at the beginning of the eighth century (Robinson 1918). However, the estates recorded as belonging to the Bishop of Wells and to his chapter in 1066 were extensive and deserve detailed examination (they are listed in detail with the dedications of their churches in **Appendix 1**). The bishop's lands were set out in the charter S 1042 of 1065 and this document, which cannot be reconciled with the property detailed in the Domesday Book, has been accepted as a post-Conquest forgery (Sawyer 1968).<sup>1</sup> Simon Keynes suggested that it should be seen as part of the campaign by Bishop Giso to recover the estates which he believed the Church of St. Andrew at Wells should rightly hold (Keynes 1997). (**figures 2a, 2b**)

Of Wells itself, there is no authentic early evidence of its existence. It is named in the charter of AD 766 X 774, S262, but this is probably a later, tenth- or eleventh-century reworking of an earlier charter issued to Sherborne, where the old diocese was based (Edwards 1988, 259-61; Levinson 1946, 262). Assuming that such a reworked charter dates from some time in the tenth century, it is clear that the dedication of the Minster there to St. Andrew was already established; given that the Wells estate itself had originally belonged to Sherborne, it probably came to it at the time of the creation of the diocese "West of the Wood." It was at the center of a very large estate, which was still measured as a fifty-hide unit in 1086 (DB 6,1).

Whether Wells was originally a minster center with the large estate as an endowment prior to its elevation into the cathedral, or merely a large estate belonging to Sherborne, is not clear, but it seems very likely that such an estate would have been provided with a church from early in the Anglo-Saxon annexation of the region in the mid-seventh century, if it were ecclesiastical in origin. In any case, the archaeological work of Dr. Warwick Rodwell clearly points to Wells, with its powerful spring, *St. Andrews Well*, on the ecclesiastical site, as a locus of cult which may have been linked to the Roman past (Rodwell 2001, vol 1, 40-9 & 55-60), though a contrary view about the continuity of cult is expressed by John Blair (2004). The church of *St. Cuthbert*, situated c. 750 meters away from the cathedral, acted as the parish church for the estate. (**figure 3**) The parish of St. Cuthbert Without came to cover many thousands of acres, included several settlements which never became parishes, although they had chapels. The area still shown on the surviving vast tithe map as the parish of St. Cuthbert Without most likely marks the core of that estate (Costen 1992, 145-7). *St. Cuthbert's* church itself may well mark the center of the early secular rural settlement at Wells, separated as it is from the cathedral by the later town of Wells.

<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Saxon charters are referred to throughout by their number in Sawyer's list.



**Figure 3** St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, Wells, 13<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

There is as yet no indication that *St. Cuthbert* had a cult anywhere else in the diocese. Bishop Robert in the mid-twelfth century confirmed a gift of half a hide of land given to the church of *St. Cuthbert* at its dedication by Bishop Godfrey at the beginning of the twelfth century (Bird 1907, 33). It seems unlikely that the church was really new at this time. Instead we may have a record of a rebuilding. The most likely source of the cult is an interest in *Cuthbert* generated by King Athelstan of Wessex's campaigns in the north of Britain from AD 927. In AD 934, on his expedition to Scotland, he made a gift, which included a copy of the Gospels, perhaps written at Glastonbury, to *St. Cuthbert* at Durham. The circumstances of this gift have been discussed by Dr. Luisella Simpson and she has shown how the community at Durham had an interest in the support of the up-and-coming royal house of Wessex in the time of Athelstan and how the king, in turn, replied with devotion to the saint (Simpson 1989). Professor David Rollason has argued that the devotion of King Athelstan to *St. Cuthbert* helps to explain Cuthbert's cult in Wessex and it is probable that it is to this connection that we owe the dedication (Rollason 1989, 419). Was the king actually administering and benefiting from the Wells estate at this time and hence endowing the church and giving it a relic associated with *St. Cuthbert*? The

Minster certainly commemorated *St. Cuthbert* since there is a form of the Mass for him found in the *Sacramentary of Bishop Giso* dating from the mid-eleventh century, so the cult was clearly established by his time (Rollason 1989, 419). It may be that this was the period when the parish church was established for secular use, allowing the Head Minster of St. Andrews to concentrate on its diocese-wide functions and separating the bishop and his clerks from the everyday work of the *parochia*.

Another very important site connected with the bishop deserves detailed attention. The estate at Congresbury was first mentioned in Asser's "Life of King Alfred," where Asser relates that the king gave him the monasteries "called Congresbury and Banwell in English" (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 97). The "Life" was written in AD 893 and the gift must therefore have taken place shortly before, perhaps in AD 886 (Keynes 1999, 48-50). The gift did not last and it is very unlikely that the estate passed to the new bishop of Wells in AD 909. A charter of AD 904, S373, shows the property in the hands of the bishop of Winchester and by AD 968 Banwell was described as having been given by King Edgar, to the community at Cheddar, where there was also a minster, in exchange for land at Carhampton (S 806). However, the priest Dudoc, who became bishop of Wells in 1033, was given both Banwell and Congresbury by King Cnut before he became bishop (Robinson 1918). Dudoc had been a clerk in the royal house and the gift of a monastery or minster church and its estate would have been a suitable reward for such a man. He was probably a Saxon or a Thuringian (Hunter 1840 & Keynes 1997). Although his successor suggested that he left the diocese in poor shape, he may have been a man who cared about his cathedral, for when he died in 1060 he tried to leave it vestments, relics, altar vases, and books as well as his estates at Congresbury and Banwell. However Archbishop Stigand and Earl Harold persuaded King Edward to annul Dudoc's will in 1061 and Congresbury and its minster came back into royal hands from whence it passed to Earl Harold. This was no doubt the intended aim of the maneuver. It was only after the Norman Conquest that the bishop recovered the land and the church which went with it. (For a much fuller discussion of the likely sequence of events relating to this property and other lands during Bishop Giso's reign see Simon Keynes' essay on Giso 1997). There was clearly a church here at the end of the ninth century and there is no reason to doubt that the dedication to *St. Andrew* is ancient, but its importance to the bishop lay in its role as a major cult site of the Celtic saint *Cyngar*.

The legend of *St. Cyngar* was studied by Canon Doble (1945-6). He suggested that he was one of a group of Old Welsh missionaries who worked in the west of Britain in the later fifth and early sixth centuries and that the *Cyngar* commemorated in north Wales is a different saint, since he does not share a feast with the Somerset *Cyngar* (27<sup>th</sup> November). Current scholarship now discounts the idea of a major missionary movement from Southern Wales into the south-western peninsula of England. A more plausible explanation is that the commercial and political connections across the Bristol Channel in the post-Roman period were enough to carry the cults of local churchmen and saints across into Somerset. The Somerset *Cyngar* does not have a cult outside the shire, since he is not mentioned in either the Breton or the Cornish Kalendars. There is another dedication to *St. Cyngar* in Somerset at Badgworth to the south, on the edge of the Wedmore island, but there is nothing to suggest that this low-status community had a very early church site and this may be a secondary dedication.

We have seen that information provided by Asser shows that a church existed at Congresbury at the end of the ninth century and further evidence of its importance is provided by the document entitled "*Secgan be pam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston.*" *St. Cyngar* is recorded as resting at Congresbury: "*Ðonne restedð*



**Figure 4** Congresbury Christ, Anglo-Saxon, 1033-1060, Somerset England. Possibly once part of a shrine to Welsh missionary St. Cyngar. Photo: author.

*sanctus Congarus confessor on Cungresbyrig.*” Professor Rollason dates the compilation of this document to in or about 1031, noting that it contains material up to 1013 (1978). This mention of the saint places him in the company of nearly 90 others throughout England and such a list was clearly intended to document saints whose cults were active and who could be regarded as potentially attractive to pilgrims as well as being objects of interest, veneration, and cultivation by monks and clerks. It seems clear, therefore, that the cult of *St. Cyngar* at Congresbury was active at the beginning of the eleventh century, although we do not know when the cult first developed.

In recent years some physical evidence of the cult has come to light with the discovery of substantial fragments of figurative carving from what is believed to be the eleventh century shrine of the saint. The quality of the carving is very high and it shares stylistic influences with the carvings at Bradford-upon-Avon (Wiltshire), the Beverstone Christ (Gloucestershire), and the Bristol Christ, all of which can be related to the figures in the Sherborne Pontifical, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Oakes and Costen 2003). **(fig. 4)** This was a cult center backed by the diocese and probably visited by sophisticated members of the clergy and the aristocracy.

In the mid-fourteenth century the cult was still alive, as there is a reference in Harley MS 3776 that “*apud Congresbery que distat a Bristollia x mil. iacet Sts Congarus*” (Doble 145-6 34). In 1411, William Felawe, also known as William “Congresbury,” the rector of Portishead, left a bequest in his will to the lights in the church at Congresbury, including one to *St. Cyngar*, suggesting there was still an image at least, at that date (Weaver 1901, 46). In 1501, the church was mentioned in a will as dedicated to *St Cyngar*, although it is now dedicated to *St. Andrew* (Weaver 1901, 46). A re-dedication of the church took place in 1216-17 when Bishop Joscelyn also endowed it (Bird 1907, 241). The endowment must mark the point at which the church and the estate of Congresbury were finally parted, with the estates going to the bishop, who gave some of the land to the church, and the church to the Dean and Chapter. It may be at this time that the dedication to *St. Andrew* was first established, replacing *Cyngar*, and the mention of the dedication to *Cyngar* in 1502 might therefore be a mark of the tenacity of the cult. However, since there is strong evidence to suggest that the present church site is one established by the seventh or early eighth-century Wessex kings, the balance of probabilities is that *Andrew* was the original dedicatee, often displaced in medieval minds by the local saint (Oakes and Costen 2003, 287). *Congresbury Church* was still the site of pilgrimage as late as 1513, but to *the Rood* and not to *St. Cyngar* (Weaver 1903, 173). The fair mentioned in 1227 was held on the feast of *The Holy Cross* (14<sup>th</sup> September), so it seems likely that this is an additional cult which was already established by that date.

At Wells, the cult of *Cyngar* was important enough for him to merit a place in the Kalendar of the Cathedral in the second half of the eleventh century (Wormald 1988) and in the twelfth-century history of the bishopric the story was maintained that Congresbury had been the earliest seat of the bishop (Hunter 1840, 10-11). This history is usually quoted for its embedded information taken from an account written by Bishop Giso, Dudoc’s successor, but the story of Congresbury as the bishop’s seat is not part of Giso’s account and is clearly legendary. It may however contain a memory of a time when the Minster at Congresbury was of major importance or even of a time when a Celtic bishop was sited there. Even if that idea is too speculative to entertain, nevertheless the story suggests that Wells was anxious to emphasize the importance of its connection with Congresbury in the twelfth century, at a time when the memory of Dudoc’s gift and its loss was still strong. The *Vita* of the saint, also from this period, contains considerable detail about the supposed misfortunes of two

kings (they went blind) and the “liquefaction” of a prince, all of whom crossed the saint (Horstman 1901, 248-54). Congresbury had been withheld by kings and princes so perhaps the community at Wells were indulging in a little wishful thinking. In addition the cult was well known in other parts of Somerset, since both Muchelney Abbey and Dunster Priory commemorated his feast in their Kalendars (Wormald 1988).

Turning to the churches of the estates which formed the ancient core of the endowment at Wells, besides Wells itself, we find that Kingsbury Episcopi, Chard, Huish, Wiveliscombe, Evercreech, Chew Magna, Wanstrow, and Litton did not generally follow the Head Minster in their dedications. (See **Appendix 2**) The churches of four smaller estates, Chard, Huish, Wanstrow, and Litton were all dedicated to the *Virgin*, Evercreech to *St. Peter*, Kingsbury to *St. Martin*, Wiveliscombe to the *Trinity*, and only Chew Magna to *St. Andrew*. All these properties were provided with churches at an early date, some of which may even pre-date the arrival of the West Saxon kings in the mid-seventh century. We perhaps might therefore look to the influence of Sherborne in the dedications or possibly that of *St. Aldhelm* or his eighth-century successors. In each case the dedications which might be expected for early churches at important centers, the *Virgin Mary*, *St. Peter*, *The Trinity*, and *St. Andrew* are all central dedications. Only *St. Martin* is just a little outside the Anglo-Saxon mainstream, but again his dedications are often ancient. The later additions to the patrimony of Wells, at Banwell and Congresbury, long claimed by bishop and chapter, were indeed dedicated to *St. Andrew*. The existence of four great church centers, on large estates, with the same patron, so close to one another certainly points to some co-ordination of dedication. There is every possibility that all four sites were possessions of the West Saxon kings before they became the property of Sherborne, since both Banwell and Congresbury belonged to King Alfred in the later ninth century (see above), and Wells and Chew were probably very early grants to Sherborne by the West Saxon kings or royal grants to the Bishop Aldhelm when the new diocese “West of the Wood” was created in 706. The *St. Andrew* examples therefore stand out as unusual and the roots of those dedications must lie in a period before the creation of the diocese. The *monasterium* of Sherborne and its bishop seem not to have had dependent churches dedicated to Andrew outside Somerset. *Peter*, *Peter and Paul*, *Mary*, and *Matthew* were all dedications associated with *St. Aldhelm* (Levinson 1946, 259-65), who, in any case, seems not to have worked much in Somerset apart from along the eastern border (Hamilton 1870). He does not seem to have been associated with “Andrew” dedications. It may be that instead we should look to the early West Saxon kings and their clerical advisers as major influences. Other major royal estates in Somerset also had churches dedicated to *St. Andrew*. These were at Cheddar, halfway between Wells and Congresbury, at Curry Rivel, and at Old Cleeve -- all places named as royal land in Domesday Book. A major church dedicated to *St. Andrew* existed at Northover, just outside Ilchester, and in 1066 it belonged to Glastonbury Abbey. It has been suggested that it came to Glastonbury as a gift from the West Saxon kings and that it started as a part of the Somerton estate (Dunning 1974, 244-9). This church was the mother church for the estate, although it lay far from the estate center. Dr. Dunning has suggested that it may have started as an extra-mural church for the Roman town of Ilchester, just outside which it stands, close to an extra-mural cemetery of Roman and post-Roman origin. A final candidate would be the church at Aller, where Guthrum famously took his oath to Alfred and received baptism. This site may have been chosen for the ceremony because it was a royal estate, although this was no longer the case by 1066. The church here was also dedicated to *St. Andrew*. (**fig. 5**)



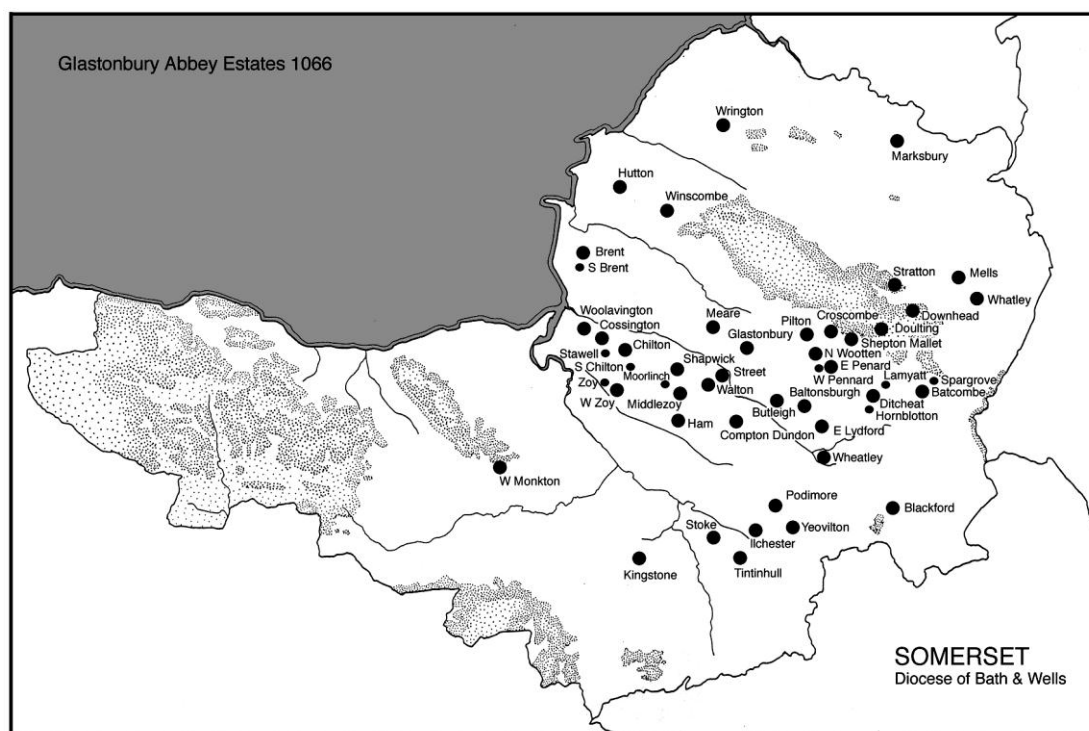
**Figure 5** St. Andrew's Church, Banwell, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

It would appear then, that the bishop of Wells did not pursue a coherent policy with regard to estate church dedications prior to the Conquest. In particular, the St. Andrew dedications, often assumed to be the result of connection to the church at Wells, seem to be due to the influence of the kings of Wessex, not the bishop. Instead he inherited a large number of the dedications, most of which may have been the result of policy or preference on the part of earlier West Saxon kings and their advisers, as part of their drive to integrate the pre-existing Old Welsh church in the conquered areas into their Gallican oriented scheme.

### **Glastonbury Abbey**

What was the position for the Abbey of Glastonbury in the tenth and the eleventh centuries? Glastonbury held far more estates in Somerset than the bishop. The monastery undoubtedly had a very ancient origin, and leaving to one side the

possibility of an Old Welsh origin, it was probably founded or re-founded by the West Saxon kings towards the later part of the seventh century (Costen 1992). (**fig. 6**)



**Figure 6** Map of Glastonbury Estates. Map: author.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the physical extent of the Glastonbury Twelve Hides, its core estate, especially since this grew throughout the Middle Ages according to the monks' estimation, as a result of its privileged status. Dr. Abrams made a detailed examination of the difficult and contentious issues surrounding the foundation of the monastery and the development of its endowment (Abrams 1996 123-31). Within the entry for Glastonbury in the Domesday Book we can discern Glastonbury Abbey itself, (subject of further discussion below), and surrounding settlements, mostly "islands" in the marshes, some of which are mentioned in early documents. (**fig. 7**) At Glastonbury the abbey had settled on its dedication to *St. Mary* by the late tenth century (Whitelock 1955, 231). If the charter S 791 of AD 973 is authentic then the monastery was undoubtedly dedicated to *St. Mary* at that date, but the dedication is almost certainly very much earlier. The problematic nature of the early Glastonbury charters, with so much interpolated material among a basis of older fact makes evidence from earlier sources difficult to assess. The charter for West Pennard of AD 681, S 236, for instance, although quoted by Levison (1946, 263), is almost certainly interpolated with a reference to both *St. Patrick* and to *St. Mary* and cannot be used as evidence (Edwards 1988, 14). However, the dedication to *St. Bridget* at Beckery is almost certainly early, since it was a focal point for Irish monks traveling to and from the continent in the early eighth century (Rahtz and Hirst 1974). The chapel of *St. Martin* at Marchey, a few miles to the north-west of Glastonbury was named in the early charter S 1253 of AD 712 (Edwards 1988, 36). Since this was named in a grant there is nothing to suggest that the abbey founded this chapel, rather they received it from the bishop "west of the wood" in the early eighth century and it certainly looks like a possible pre-English foundation. Its remote and isolated situation would make it a possible hermitage or retreat.

Closer to the abbey itself was the church of *St. John the Baptist* which was the parish church provided for the lay community, which was certainly in existence by c.1160 (Bird 1907, 26). The church of *St. Michael* stood on the Tor close to a site which had been occupied during the post-Roman period (Rahtz 1991, 3-38), but the dedication of the church cannot be taken further back than c. 1100. The second town church dedicated to *St. Benedict* is also medieval in origin, but cannot be traced to an early date.



**Figure 7** Glastonbury Abbey, late 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

Glastonbury clearly did have a more coherent approach to its churches than the bishop did to his. (**See Appendix 3**) Sixteen of their churches were dedicated to *St. Mary*. (**Appendix 4**) In two cases at least, *St. Mary* replaced an earlier dedication, at Meare and at Shapwick. At Lamyatt a dedication to *St. John and St. Mary* suggests that *St. John* had been the earlier dedication which had been supplemented at some point, perhaps on the occasion of a rebuilding. Five churches had been dedicated to *St Andrew*. Northover (mentioned above) and Shapwick were important estates given to the monastery at an early date by the West Saxon Kings. Mells and High Ham also came from the king in the tenth century: only Compton Dundon was a small estate, where the dedication may be a late one. This seems to support the suggestion made above that the *St. Andrew* dedications were the work of the early West Saxon kings or their ecclesiastical advisers. In the tenth and the eleventh centuries the abbey was content to accept them and only occasionally moved to change the dedication, when, much later, post-Conquest, a church was rebuilt or moved to a new site, as at Shapwick (Costen 2006, 1051-3). (**fig. 8**)



**Figure 8** Ruins, Shipwick Church, Somerset, England. Note parch marks that outline the walls of the church in the center. The dark line is of the graveyard ditch. There are traces of several other buildings in the graveyard that date from the Bronze Age to the twelfth century. Photo: author.

Close to the monastery, and within its ancient core estate, lay the church at Marchey, dedicated to *St. Martin* and the church of *St. Bridget* at Beckery, as noted above. These ancient dedications may point to a stratum of cult which takes us back to the earliest days of the monastery and may connect to a period before the arrival of the West Saxons. It is noteworthy that the estate at Brent, one of the earliest acquisitions of the seventh century monastery (S 238), also had a church dedicated to *Bridget*, at Brean, a subsidiary settlement within the estate. It may also be significant that the name of the estate, which is derived from a large hill-fort which dominates an otherwise flat landscape, has been derived from British “*Brigantia*.” This is connected with the Old Irish *Brigit*. The name may mean “the place where Brigantia is worshipped” or “a high place” (Turner 1951, 150-151 and Ekwall 1960).

However, other dedications suggest a rather more eclectic approach to the process. *St. John the Baptist* has two dedications, at Glastonbury and at Pilton. *St. Michael* at South Brent was appropriate for a church beside a hill-fort and *St. Leonard* fitted a wooded site at Butleigh where hunting might take place. Yet a few dedications suggest the interest of the monks in the history of the region. In *Benignus* they had a local saint whose cult they could promote, while *St. Gildas*, at Street, connected them with a distant and mythical past. *St. Aldhelm* was both a bishop and a monk and the monks paid homage to him by maintaining the church at Doultong, where he died and which was dedicated to him. But the man himself was buried at Malmesbury Abbey, which he founded and thus could hardly become the object of a major cult. He did, though, attract a popular following at the church he had built. His is the only holy well in Somerset which is connected with a historically verifiable figure. The well is situated at the foot of a steep bank to the west of the church and the siting of the



**Figure 9** Well, St. Aldhelm's, Douling, wellhead dates from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
Photo: author

church built by Aldhelm, may be the result of a “Christianization” of an earlier cult (Preest 2002, 260). (**fig. 9**)

We might then, tentatively distinguish three phases in the history of cult in the countryside, as it applies to Glastonbury Abbey. The first phase was probably an early period in the mid-seventh century when the monastery relied upon its core estates, which may have already possessed some chapels with dedications from a post-Roman

past. Little of this now remains. The second phase included the estates acquired in the early eighth century and which came from the royal court. Churches may already have existed on some of these and clearly re-dedication would not have been a politic activity. Third and finally, re-acquired or newly granted estates in the tenth century may often have lacked churches and where these were founded the rejuvenated monastery often promoted *Mary*, their own patron as the appropriate dedicatee. Such a policy did not preclude the possible antiquarianism of *Benignus* and *Gildas* mentioned above.

## Conclusion

For both bishop and monastery the evidence points towards a past which was dominated by the West Saxon Kings rather than local religious interests. This would fit well with the view that the early West Saxon kings, in the seventh and early eighth centuries, were anxious to use the new alliance with the Roman church to strengthen their control of society in the western parts of Britain which they had so recently taken over. The foundation of new churches on their recently acquired estates enabled them to assert their relationship with the Roman Church by the dedications to universal saints, among whom Andrew was particularly favoured in the mid-to late seventh century (Farmer 1987, 18-19). Of the 391 dedications of Anglo-Saxon churches listed in Taylor and Taylor (1980), 9 per cent were dedicated to Andrew, a frequency exceeded only by St. Peter (9.6 per cent), All Saints (11 per cent) and the Virgin (23 per cent).

There is little evidence that the bishop was anxious to venture into a coherent policy of dedication on his own estates. He was probably more concerned with building up his estates to provide a sound economic base for his bishopric. The monastery also seems to have been connected to its landscape through cults which it had either inherited from benefactors or which it had instituted itself as the extent of its estates grew rapidly in the later tenth century. The bishop and the monastery moved in two separate worlds of their own. However, competition between the two may have existed through the medium of saints' remains. Glastonbury, of course, made considerable claims before the Conquest to the remains of many important saints. *St. Patrick*, *St. David*, *St. Cuthbert*, and *St. Dunstan* were all claimed, but the presence of their bodies at Glastonbury cannot be realistically entertained (Blair 2002, 405-565). These men were in three cases ancient saints and there is little evidence that Glastonbury could ever have had any connection with them, while the Dunstan former abbot and re-founder of the house had moved on to become Archbishop of Canterbury, where he was buried. Indeed the very antiquity of the monastery was something which later writers and the monks themselves, were to spend much time and effort in trying to establish (Crick 1991, 217-243). Yet, when revived in the tenth century the monastery did take an interest in its local saints and had enshrined the remains of *St. Indracht* within the monastery itself, after a possible time at Shapwick (Lapidge 1982 179-212). *St. Benignus* was enshrined at Meare but was moved to the monastery after the Conquest. Otherwise, the monastery may have contained the relics of *Aidan*, Bishop of Lindisfarne, d. 651 and *Ceolfrið*, Abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow (d. 716), both of whom were moved as a result of the disturbances and uncertainties caused by the Danish incursions of the ninth century (Blair 2002).

Wells was at a slight disadvantage, though its tenth-century foundation preceded the revival of Glastonbury. It is possible that the cult of *St. Cyngar* at Congresbury should be seen as a parallel to the cult of *St. Benignus*. By the early eleventh century, the saint at Congresbury had a prominent shrine, worthy of his

status as a nationally known saint. There is evidence to suggest that this was part of a conscious policy by the bishop, Dudoc, who must have spent a great deal of money on the construction of a fitting shrine (Oakes and Costen 2003). The cathedral could not boast the relics of a saint within its walls and certainly did not contain a shrine, but the dedication to *St. Cuthbert* at the parish church, which must have needed a relic of some sort, may well have been intended as a way of raising the status of the bishop's seat. The early eleventh-century bishop and his canons could look to a modest, but distinguished cult landscape, close to the minster and at a subordinate minster site within its estates. Glastonbury could also claim its local saint – *Indracht*, with *Benignus* also on its estates. Its additional possession of no less than two northern saints meant that, in numbers of bodies, Glastonbury outdid its near neighbour. However, it may well be that in terms of status the saints of the Cathedral counted for more. *Cyngar* and *Cuthbert* both had a national following, but the same could not be said for *Indracht* and *Benignus*, who never reached that status. Here may be one reason why the bodies of so many other famous saints were said to rest at Glastonbury.

## **Appendix 1. The Bishop of Wells estates and their churches**

### Kingsbury Episcopi

This twenty-hide estate in 1086 (DB 6,3) was probably part of the ancient endowment, although it does not appear in early documentation at Sherborne (O'Donovan 1988, xxxix). It is only mentioned otherwise in the charter S 1042, while the bounds only survive in the Chartulary of Muchelney Abbey, and are clearly late medieval in their form (Bates 1899, 99). The church was dedicated to *St. Martin*.

### Chard

Although only an eight-hide estate in 1086, Chard grew throughout the Middle Ages, eventually to be a substantial property. Again this manor was probably part of the endowment of 909 and the church was dedicated to *The Virgin* (O'Donovan 1988, xxxix).

### “Litelande”/ Huish Episcopi

The Domesday Book Entry for “Litelande” probably covers Huish Episcopi (Thorn and Thorn 1980, p 354, notes to 6,5). It was a small estate of only two hides, but was conveniently situated, close to Somerton and also to the Anglo-Saxon fort at Langport. The church was dedicated to *The Virgin*.

### Wiveliscombe

A manor of fifteen hides, this was probably part of the early endowment. The church is dedicated to *St. Andrew* and the *Holy Trinity* but the fact that a fair in 1285 took place on Trinity Sunday suggests strongly that *The Holy Trinity* is the earlier dedicatee.

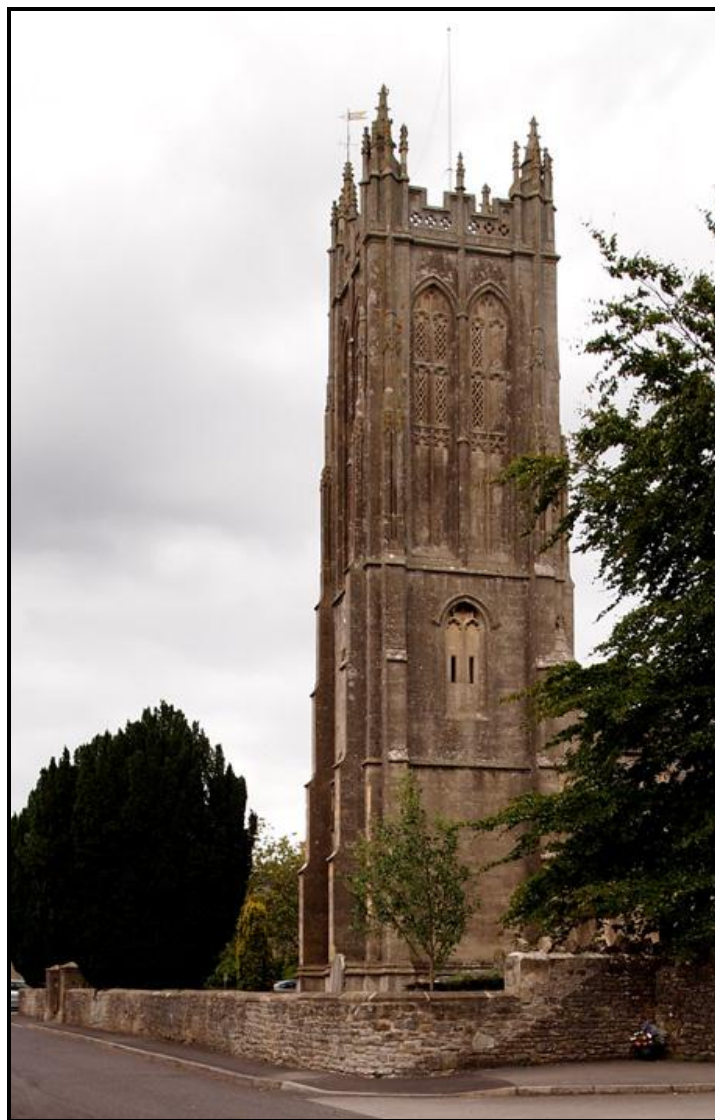
### Wellington

This fourteen-hide estate included the manor of West Buckland (DB 6,7). The charter S 380 of 899 X 909 is a grant by King Edward the Elder to Asser, bishop of Sherborne, in which the estates at Wellington, West Buckland, and Bishops Lydeard were exchanged for the minster at Plympton in Devon. This does appear to be a charter which has a genuine basis, although the property does not appear in King Alfred's Will (Keynes and Lapidge 1983). It is likely that there was already a church

on what was a fairly large royal estate. The church was dedicated to *St. Mary and St. John Baptist* 1174-84. The church at West Buckland is dedicated to the *Virgin*.

#### Bishops Lydeard

A ten-hide estate, this was also part of the grant in S 380 noted above. The church was dedicated to the *Virgin* in 1281.



**Figure 10** Church of St. Peter, Evercreech, 14<sup>th</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Banwell

The first certain mention we have of Banwell comes from Asser's "Life of King Alfred," where he relates that the king gave him the monasteries "called Congresbury and Banwell in English" (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 97). The "Life" was written in 893 and the gift must therefore have taken place shortly before, perhaps in 886 (Keynes 1999, 48-50). The gift did not last and it is very unlikely that the estate passed to the new bishop of Wells in c. 909. A charter of AD 904, S 373, shows the property in the hands of the bishop of Winchester and by 968 Banwell was described as having been given to the community at Cheddar in exchange for land at Carhampton (S 806). The priest Dudoc, who became bishop of Wells in 1033, was

given Banwell and Congresbury by King Cnut prior to his appointment (Robinson, 1918). He had been a clerk in the royal house and the gift of a monastery or minster church and its estate would have been a suitable reward for such a man. There was clearly a church here at the end of the ninth century and there is no reason to doubt that the dedication to *St. Andrew* is ancient.

#### Evercreech

This twenty-hide estate held by the bishop in 1066 (DB 6,10) was almost certainly part of the ancient endowment, since there are no references to it except in the charter S 1042 and there is no sign that it ever passed into other hands before the Conquest. Regrettably, early references to the dedication of the church do not occur, but in early modern times the dedication was to *St. Peter*. Its outlying settlement at Chesterblade had a chapel dedicated to *St. Mary*.

#### Westbury-sub-Mendip

This manor of six hides abutted the estate of Wells on the west side and may once have formed part of it. The church was dedicated to *St. Lawrence*.

#### Winsham

This was an estate which Bishop Giso persuaded William the Conqueror to return to him. In 1066 it belonged to Alfsi, but had been wrongfully detained by him, according to Giso (Keynes 1997). Its church was dedicated to the *Virgin*.



**Figure 11** St. Andrew Church, Chew Magna, 1190-1500, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Chew Magna

This large estate of 30 hides had land for fifty ploughs (DB 6,3). It, too, was included in the charter S1042. Chew Magna had probably been an endowment of the church at Wells from its foundation and a property of Sherborne before that (O'Donovan 1988, xxxix). The church was dedicated to *St. Andrew*. Its subsidiary settlements at Dundry, Chew Stoke and Stowey all had chapels, dedicated respectively to *St. Giles*, *St. Andrew*, and *SS. Mary and Nicholas*.



**Figure 12** Church of St. Mary, Wedmore, mostly 15<sup>th</sup> century with some 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century features, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Yatton

This estate did not appear in the charter S 1042 and had probably never belonged to Wells in the pre-Conquest period. In 1066 it belonged to John the Dane and may represent a grant originally made by Cnut to a follower. The church was dedicated to the *Virgin* and the subsidiary chapel at Claverham was dedicated to *St. Swithun*. In the medieval period the chapel at Claverham was described as a free chapel. There are good reasons to think that the free chapels, of which there were about 20 in the diocese, were originally minor Anglo-Saxon field churches, churches without

graveyards, mostly founded in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, rather than later chapels of ease, in which case the dedication is certainly of interest, since it is probably pre-Conquest.

#### Wedmore

The bishop certainly held a part of Wedmore in 1086 and the land had been the subject of a grant to Giso by Edward the Confessor (S 1115 of 1061-6). This had been royal land, unhidated and untaxed prior to King Edward's gift. As ancient demesne it is likely that there was a church already there before the gift, and although it had slipped from Giso's grasp after the Conquest it was restored in 1068 - 1083 by a writ of Queen Mathilda (Bird 1907, 66). The church was dedicated to the *Virgin*. The church at Mark, a subsidiary estate added to Wedmore, was dedicated to *The Holy Cross*.

#### Wanstrow

This estate belonged to the canons of Wells in 1086. It was only a small estate of four hides, but seems to have belonged to Wells from before the Conquest. The church was dedicated to the *Virgin*.

#### Litton

Simon Keynes points out that the wording of the king's writ which announced that Litton had been purchased by Giso suggests that Wells may once have owned the place (Keynes 1997, 229). It was an eight-and-a-half hide estate (DB 6,17) and the church was dedicated to the *Virgin*.

#### Milverton

This estate was held by the king in 1086 (DB 6,18), but it was claimed by Wells in 1066, and although Queen Edith was recorded as the holder, she had earlier given the estate to Wells (Bird 1907, 16 and Harmer 1952, no. 70). Although an estate with a low hideage it was still a substantial property with eleven ploughlands (DB 1,26). It was clearly not part of the ancient endowment. The church was dedicated to *St. Michael*.

## Appendix 2; Summary list of dedications of parish churches on estates belonging to Wells Cathedral in 1086

Ash Priors	Holy Trinity
Banwell	St. Andrew
Chard	BVM
Chew Magna	St. Andrew
Evercreech	St. Peter
Huish Episcopi	BVM
Kingsbury Episcopi	St. Martin
Litton	BVM
Lydeard Episcopi	BVM
Milverton	St. Michael
Wanstrow	BVM
Wedmore	BVM
Wellington	BVM & St. John Baptist
Wells	St. Cuthbert
Westbury-sub-Mendip	St. Lawrence
Winsham	BVM
Wiveliscombe	St. Andrew
Yatton	BVM

## Appendix 3. Glastonbury Abbey Estates and their Churches

### Baltonsborough

This estate of five hides probably came to Glastonbury in the mid-eighth century and was a five-hide estate (S 1410). However, the dedication of the church, a chapel of Butleigh, to *St. Dunstan* must be post-tenth-century (Weaver 1901, 372 and Bird 1907, 393).

### Batcombe

The charter S 462 of 940 for Batcombe was for a grant by of King Edmund to a layperson, but the land had reached Glastonbury by c. 971 (Abrams 1996, 55). This was an estate of 20 hides in total. There were two churches within the estate. The church at Batcombe itself was dedicated to *St. Mary* and the chapel at Spargrove was dedicated to *St. Lawrence*. This last was a free chapel, not a chapel of ease of Batcombe. It is likely therefore to have been a pre-Conquest foundation as a field-church without a graveyard.

### Berrow

This five-hide estate, originally part of the Brent estate, was not recorded separately in the Domesday Book, although it had already emerged as a separate entity in the later tenth century when a charter named it (S 793). It was probably a part of the Brent estate which had been granted away and was then recovered. The church was dedicated to *St. Mary*.

### Brent

This was originally a ten-hide estate granted to Glastonbury as early as 693 (S 238; Abrams 1996, 69 and Edwards 1988, 23). It was still regarded as a single unit for administrative purposes in 1086, although there are now several parishes within it (DB 8, 23). The inclusion of a reference in the Domesday entry to a priest holding

land there suggests that there was a church with land, probably based at the modern East Brent which seems to have been the medieval administrative centre. The church was dedicated to *St. Mary*. At nearby South Brent (now called Brent Knoll), the church was dedicated to *St. Michael*. Also within the estate were three other parishes: Lympsham, with a modern dedication to *St. Christopher*, Berrow, discuss above, and Brean dedicated to *St. Bridget*.



**Figure 13** St. Bridget Church, Brean, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Butleigh

This estate of twenty hides may have come to Glastonbury in the early ninth century (S 270a). The dedication to *St. Leonard* is almost certainly post-Conquest (Farmer 1987, 264).

#### Camerton

This estate was not held by Glastonbury in 1066, but it was obtained by exchange with the count of Mortain for Tintinhull before 1086 (Abrams 1996, 229-31). Its church is dedicated to *St. Peter*, but it is not known if this was an early dedication.

#### Compton Dundon

This modern parish comprises two manors belonging to the abbey. How the two parts came together is not clear (Abrams 1996, 94-5), but they shared a church dedicated to *St. Andrew*.

#### Cossington

This three-hide estate was held from the abbey by a tenant in 1066 (DB, 8,7), but there are some grounds for believing that it formed part of the early endowment of the Abbey (Abrams 1996, 98). Its church was dedicated to *St. Mary*.

### Cranmore

This place now exists as two parishes, East and West Cranmore. Caroline and Frank Thorn consider that the split which formed the two manors occurred after 1086 and that there was a single estate of Cranmore in 1066 (DB, notes p. 356 and Bird 1907, 393). Unfortunately there is no medieval evidence for the dedications of the churches here, both of which were chapels of the church at Doultong. Currently the church at West Cranmore is dedicated to *St. Bartholomew* and that at East Cranmore to *St. James*.

### Ditcheat

This was a large estate which the abbey had probably held from the mid-tenth century (S 292). The now separate parishes of Hornblotton and Lamyatt were parts of the Ditcheat estate in 1086. The church at Ditcheat was dedicated to *St. Mary Magdalene*, the church at Lamyatt to *Saints Mary and John* and the church at Hornblotton to *St. Peter*.



**Figure 14** St. Mary Magdalene Church, Ditcheat, 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Doultong

This was a twenty-hide estate in 1086 (DB 8,23). It is recorded that *St. Aldhelm* died here in the wooden church in 709 or 710 and the abbey was supposed to have built a stone church here as a memorial to the saint (Hamilton 1870, 282-3). The church was dedicated to him.



**Figure 15** St. Aldhelm Church, Doultling, 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England.  
Photo: author.

Downhead

This estate close to Doultling was very small, three hides, in 1086 (DB 8,35). Its church was a chapel of Doultling and was dedicated to *St. Nicholas* in 1480.

Durborough

This small estate was later part of Stogursey parish. It had a chapel in 1316, but its dedication is unknown (Hobhouse 1887, 8).

Glastonbury

Glastonbury and its core estate are discussed in the main text above.

### High Ham

This property came to the abbey in 973 by exchange with King Edgar for a property in Devon (S 791). Its church was dedicated to *St. Andrew*.

### Northover (Ilchester)

The church of *St. Andrew*, was in Glastonbury's hands in 1066, when it was held by one of their thegns, Brictric (DB 8,37). This church owned an estate of three hides, which later formed the basis of the parish of Northover. As noted above it stood close to the extra-mural graveyards of the Roman town of Ilchester, alongside the Fosse Way, the Roman road running from Devon to Lincoln. It was probably the mother church of the royal estate of Somerton.

### Kingstone

This estate belonged to Glastonbury and possibly came to the abbey in the tenth century from King Edmund (Abrams 1996, 220-2). Its church was dedicated to *St. John the Evangelist and All Saints*, but the patronal festival corresponded with that of *St. Bridget* before 1450 (Maxwell-Lyte & Dawes 1934, 149).

### Marksbury

This estate came to the abbey in the later tenth century, though the circumstances are somewhat obscure. The charter S 431 of 936 was to a layman and the land must have come to Glastonbury with its charters at a later date. The modern dedication of the church is to *St. Peter*.

### Meare

Meare was an early acquisition of the abbey, lying only five kilometres to the west, on the far side of the large lake which gave it its name (Abrams 1996, 169-71). The church here was dedicated to *The Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints, and St. Benignus* in 1323 (Hobhouse 1887, 219). *St. Benignus* was believed to be an Irish abbot of Glastonbury, successor to *St. Patrick* (Scott 1981, chaps. 13 & 33). He was translated to Glastonbury Abbey in 1091. Little else is known about this obscure and possibly mythical saint. The abbey had held the land since perhaps the eighth century, but we cannot know if *Benignus* was the primary dedication. It is note-worthy that the abbey did change dedications when churches were rebuilt (see Shapwick below). It may be that the addition of both the *Virgin* and *All Saints* marked successive rebuilding campaigns at the church, with the earliest dedication preserved because of the survival of the cult at Glastonbury but it is perhaps more likely that the earliest dedication was to the *Virgin* and that *Benignus* at least, was added at about the time of his translation or during the century before, when the monastery was promoting his cult.

### West Monkton

This was an estate of fifteen hides (DB 8, 28). It lay near Taunton, well away from the monastery. Its church was dedicated to *St. Augustine*.

### Mells

This twenty-hide estate came to the abbey in the mid-tenth century and was theirs in 1066 (DB 8, 25). Its church was dedicated to *St. Andrew*.

### North Wootton

This was a part of the estate of Pilton in 1066 (DB 8, 20), but was recognised as a separate estate in the tenth century (S 509 of AD 946). A small estate of five hides, its modern church dedication is to *St. Peter*.

### Pennard East and West.

These two estates lay close to Glastonbury and have charters with very early dates. Their histories as land units are obscure and only “Pennard” is mentioned in the Domesday Book, where it was a ten-hide estate, with twenty hides actually in existence (DB 8, 21). The editors of the 1980 edition used here considered that West Pennard was included with East Pennard (DB, notes p.356), but Lesley Abrams is less certain (Abrams 1996, 195-198). What is clear is that Domesday Book names the estate as “Pennarminstre” – Pennard Minster. Lesley Abrams suggests that this may simply mean that prior to the grant to Glastonbury of East Pennard the estate had belonged to an ecclesiastical body. It was apparently granted in S 563 of 955 to a nun at Wilton who subsequently granted it to Glastonbury, while West Pennard may have been granted as early as 681 (S 236). The church at East Pennard was dedicated to *All Saints*. It was the mother church of a group of chapels. At West Pennard the chapel was dedicated to *St. Nicholas*, at West Bradley the chapel dedication is unknown while at Stone the dedication was to *St. James*.



**Figure 16** Church of All Saints, East Pennard, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England.  
Photo: author.

### Pilton

The large Domesday estate of Pilton included the settlements of Pilton, Croscombe, Shepton Mallet, North Wootton and Pylle (DB 8, 20). The estate was regarded as part of the early endowment of the abbey, but as so often with Glastonbury the documentation is suspect (Abrams 1996, 200-4). At Pilton itself the church was dedicated *St. John the Baptist* and on its subsidiary manors, at Shepton Mallet to *Saints Peter and Paul*, at Croscombe the *Virgin Mary*, at Pylle the modern dedication is to *St. Thomas Becket*. North Wootton is covered above.



**Figure 17** Interior of St. John the Baptist Church, Pilton, 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Podimore

This small estate belonged to Glastonbury in 1066 (DB 8, 3), and had a church with a modern dedication to *St. Peter*.

#### Shapwick

This estate, probably in the monastery's hands from the early eighth century onwards, has been the subject of extensive study (Gerrard and Aston 2006). The central part of the Domesday estate lay at Shapwick and the church here was certainly pre-Conquest and dedicated to *St. Andrew*. That dedication was changed to the *Virgin Mary* when the original church was abandoned and its successor rebuilt on a site some 800 metres away in 1331 (Costen 1991, 48). Ashcott, not part of the Domesday estate of Shapwick, although a Glastonbury property, was a chapelry of Shapwick and its church was dedicated to *All Saints* and the small chantry at Pedwell, a dependency of Ashcott, was dedicated to *St. Martin*. Other subsidiary settlements had their own

churches in the post-Conquest period, but there is no evidence about the pre-Conquest period. Moorlinch, evidently part of the central Shapwick estate in 1086, had a church dedicated to *St. Mary*. Moorlinch was one of the “seven churches.” A charter S 250, of King Ine dated AD 725 purported to make a grant of lands in Somerset to Glastonbury and to affirm a grant of privileges to the seven churches of Glastonbury Abbey, including Moorlinch. With its reference to the Bishop and Chapter of Wells (the bishopric was founded c. 909) everyone is agreed this is an egregious forgery of the post-Conquest period, probably early twelfth century (Abrams 1991, 125-6). This charter named seven churches Middlezoy, Brent, Moorlinch, Shapwick, Street, Butleigh, and Pilton which were the subject of a long dispute between the bishop of Bath and the Abbey over jurisdiction. The whole issue was judged by Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter c. 1174 (Morey 1937, 132-3). However, the forged diploma does enable us to know that *St. Mary*’s church at Moorlinch and the other churches, existed by the early twelfth century as did the dependent chapels.



**Figure 18** *St. Mary*’s Church, Moorlinch, 13<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Sowi

At Domesday this estate probably included the whole of the “Zoyland” island which embraced the later parishes of Middlezoy, Westonzoyland, and Othery (DB 8,6). The whole island was probably an ancient possession of the abbey. The church at Middlezoy seems to have been the central estate church and in c.1220 was dedicated to *St. Lawrence* (Watkins 1947-56, vol 2, 501). Of the dependent churches, Othery was dedicated to *St. Michael* and *St. Mary* is the modern dedication at Westonzoyland.

#### Stawell

This small holding was possibly an early part of the Shapwick estate which had become detached. Its modern dedication is to *Mary Magdalene*.

### Stratton on the Fosse

This was an estate part of which was held by the abbey in 1066 (8,38). The modern dedication of the church is to *St. Vigor*, but in 1736 it was to *St. Laurence*. There is a reference of 1281 to the grant of a fair to Thomas de Sancte Vigore (Hulbert 1936, 99). Here surely we have the origin of the dedication of the church which probably ought to be to the *Blessed Virgin*, since 8th September, the date of the fair, is the feast of her Nativity. Note that the real St. Vigor (d. c. 537) was bishop of Bayeux and founded a monastery at St-Vigueur-le-Grand, near Bayeux (Farmer 1987, 424).

### Street

This is probably represented by the Domesday manor of Overleigh (DB 8, 6). The church was dedicated to *St. Gildas*, (*floruit* c.500-c.570) the author of *De excidio Britanniae* (Farmer 1987, 184). Knowledge of his writings was widespread in late Anglo-Saxon England and it is likely that his work was well known to the monks of Glastonbury. They certainly claimed to have his remains, although there are no grounds for believing that this was true (Carley 1978, 20). The name of the settlement in the earliest charter was Lantokay and there are good grounds for regarding this as a post-Roman dedication to an Old Welsh saint (Calder 2004, 1-28).



**Figure 19** St. James the Great Church, Winscombe, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Whatley

This manor was in Glastonbury hands in 1066. Its church was dedicated to *All Saints*.

### Winscombe

This large manor seems to have come to Glastonbury in the tenth century (Abrams 1996, 248). Its church was dedicated to *St. James the Great*. As a dedication this is unlikely to have occurred before the later tenth century at the earliest and is probably of the eleventh or even twelfth century as the pilgrimage to Santiago became popular.

### Woolavington

This estate was a part of Shapwick for the purposes of Domesday, but was separate parish in the later medieval period. Its church was dedicated to the *Blessed Virgin*.

### Wrington

This was a large, twenty-hide estate which came to the abbey during the tenth century (Abrams 1996, 254). Its church was dedicated to *All Saints*.

## **Appendix 4. Glastonbury Parish Church dedications**

Baltonsborough	St. Dunstan
Batcombe	BVM
Blackford	St. Michael
Butleigh	St. Leonard
Chilton Polden	St. Edward
Compton Dundon	St. Andrew
Cossington	BVM
Croscombe	BVM
Ditcheat	St. Mary Magdalene
Doulting	St. Aldhelm
Downhead	All Saints
East Brent	BVM
East Lydford	BVM
East Pennard	All Saints
Glastonbury	St. Benedict
Glastonbury	St. John Baptist
Glastonbury	St Michael
Greinton	St. Michael
High Ham	St. Andrew
Hornblotton	St. Peter
Hutton	BVM
Kingstone	St. John Evangelist & All Saints
Lamyatt	BVM & St. John
Limington	BVM
Marksbury	St. Peter
Meare	BVM, All Saints & St. Benignus
Mells	St. Andrew
Middlezoy	St. Lawrence
Moorlinch	BVM
North Wootton	St. Peter
Northover	St. Andrew
Pilton	BVM
Podimore Milton	St. Peter
Shapwick	BVM

Shapwick	St. Andrew
Shepton Mallett	SS. Peter & Paul
South Brent	St. Michael
Spargrove	St. Lawrence
Stawell	St. Mary Magdalene
Stoke sub Hamdon	SS. Denys, Andrew & Mary
Stratton on the Fosse	BVM
Street	St. Gildas
Sutton Mallett	Unknown
Tintinhull	St. Margaret
Walton	Trinity
West Monkton	St. Augustine
West Pennard	St. Nicholas
Westonzoyland	BVM
Whatley	St. George
Wheathill	St. John Baptist
Winscombe	St. James the Apostle
Woolavington	BVM
Wrighton	All Saints

### Abbreviations

DB. Thorn, Caroline & Thorn, F. eds. 1980. *Domesday Book*, 8, Somerset, Chichester, Phillimore. Numbered references are to chapters and paragraphs.

S. Sawyer, P. H. 1968. *Anglo-Saxon Charters; An annotated list and bibliography*, London: The Royal Historical Society. References are to the charters as numbered by Sawyer.

SANHS, *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society*, Taunton.

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## ***Preaching the Book of Creation: Memory and Moralization in Medieval Bestiaries***

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In 1125, Bernard of Clairvaux was asked by the abbot William of St. Thierry to speak in defense of Cistercian simplicity over and against what both saw as the excesses of Cluniac monasticism. In his *Apologia XII*, Bernard rails against the ornamentation of the Cluniac cloister:

But in the cloisters, before the eyes of the brothers while they read—what is that ridiculous monstrosity doing, an amazing kind of deformed beauty and yet a beautiful deformity? What are the filthy apes doing there? The fierce lions? The monstrous centaurs? The creatures, part man and part beast? The striped tigers, fighting soldiers, and hunters blowing their horns? You may see many bodies under one head, and conversely many heads on one body. On one side the tail of a serpent is seen on a quadruped, on the other side the head of a quadruped is on the body of a fish. Over there an animal has a horse for the front half and a goat for the back; here a creature which is horned in front is equine behind. In short, everywhere so plentiful and astonishing a variety of contradictory forms is seen that one would rather read in the marble than in books, and spend the whole day wondering at every single one of them than in meditating on the law of God. Good Lord! If one is not ashamed of the absurdity, why is one not at least troubled at the expense?<sup>1</sup>

While some scholars have interpreted Bernard's diatribe as a rant against grotesquerie and excessive ornamentation in religious architecture generally, it seems clear from the context that he was particularly concerned about the potential distractions and waste of money represented by such details in specifically monastic settings, and that he sought to draw attention to their

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<sup>1</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux, *Apologia XII.29*, as translated by Conrad Rudolph in *The "Things of Greater Importance": Bernard of Clairvaux's Apologia and the Medieval Attitude Toward Art* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), p. 283. Quoted in Nona C. Flores, ed., *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1996), xv-xvi. Elided material supplied as translated by David Burr, *Medieval Source Book* <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/bernard1.html>, accessed 5 October 2010.

presence in Cluniac houses as further evidence of the Cluniacs' worldliness. However, at the very moment of Bernard's writing, there were arising in his own Cistercian order, as well as in other monastic establishments, any number of bizarre and monstrous creatures, lurking in the pages of illuminated manuscript books. The books in question were bestiaries, and one of their purposes, interestingly, in a contemplative order, was to facilitate the creation of sermons memorable for both preacher and audience.

Bernard's world of twelfth-century Western Europe was in many ways in a state of profound change, in social, religious, environmental and economic terms. The population was becoming increasingly urbanized, with the accompanying sense of rootlessness for those who were no longer directly attached to the land.<sup>2</sup> A new educated class was beginning to appear with the rise of the universities<sup>3</sup> and the influx of both new and forgotten learning from the Islamic world.<sup>4</sup> Medicine, theology, and law were beginning to emerge as specialized, self-governing professions.<sup>5</sup> Population pressures affected both the natural and the built environments,<sup>6</sup> as demand for more arable land came into conflict with royal privilege enshrined in such traditions

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<sup>2</sup> Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse, *Authentic Witnesses: Approaches to Medieval Texts and Manuscripts* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1991), p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> John C. Jacobs, ed. *The Fables of Odo of Cheriton* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Morton W. Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952), p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Jacobs, p. 26.

<sup>6</sup> Aleks Pluskowski, "The Zooarchaeology of Medieval 'Christendom': Ideology, the Treatment of Animals and the Making of Medieval Europe," *World Archaeology* 42/2 (2010), p. 203.

as the English Forest Law,<sup>7</sup> laid down by William the Conqueror to reserve both huge tracts of land and the most desirable game for the pleasure of the king.<sup>8</sup>

The world was changing in religious terms, as well. The first Crusade was preached by Pope Urban II in 1095 in response to Muslim incursions into the Byzantine Empire, and crusading continued throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Crusading abroad was accompanied by religious revival at home. The Gregorian Reform of the mid-eleventh century began a process of shifting the locus of lay affective piety from saints' relics to the Eucharist,<sup>9</sup> and both lay men and women began joining monastic orders in large numbers, or seeking to practice, inasmuch as it was possible, monastic forms of spiritual devotion at home.<sup>10</sup> New, apostolic forms of monastic life were beginning to be created to meet this burgeoning need.<sup>11</sup> Innocent III's Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 articulated and responded to the growing demands of lay spirituality by providing for the appointment of preachers and confessors to assist the bishops with the care of souls, along with the establishment of cathedral schools to train the new dispensers of the *cura animarum*.<sup>12</sup> Preaching took on a "quasi-sacramental character"<sup>13</sup> in this context, and with the rise of the universities and of theology as a discrete profession, a new

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<sup>7</sup> Debra Hassig, *Medieval Bestiaries: Text, Image, Ideology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 46-47.

<sup>8</sup> Jacobs, pp. 21-22.

<sup>9</sup> Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> C.H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York: Longman, 1994), p. 121.

<sup>11</sup> Giles Constable, *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1988), p. 365.

<sup>12</sup> Joseph Goering, *William de Montibus (c. 1140-1213): The Schools and the Literature of Pastoral Care* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1992), p. 75.

<sup>13</sup> Constable, "The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 25 (1994), p. 135.

rhetoric of preaching supported by a wide array of new textual resources began to develop.<sup>14</sup> The rising interest in both preaching and active monasticism coalesced in the establishment of the mendicant orders, with the Dominicans receiving papal approval in 1216 and the Franciscans in 1220.<sup>15</sup>

All of these developments are bound up with the phenomenon of medieval contemplatives being called upon to preach, and needing textual resources to support them in their pastoral ministry. But the most compelling reason for the Church to press monks into service outside the cloister was what Mary A. Rouse and Richard H. Rouse have called “the most widespread and successful challenges to orthodoxy that the Church had faced in many centuries”<sup>16</sup>—namely, the Cathar and Waldensian heresies.

Both the Cathars and the Waldensians favored voluntary poverty and (unauthorized) evangelistic preaching.<sup>17</sup> However, the Cathars’ rejection of the sacraments and denial of the humanity of Christ,<sup>18</sup> as well as the anticlerical streak found in both groups, brought them into conflict with Church orthodoxy. The Premonstratensian prior Everwin of Steinfeld contacted Bernard of Clairvaux in 1143, asking him to speak out against the heretics.<sup>19</sup> Bernard’s Sermons 65 and 66 on the *Song of Songs* constituted his first response to Everwin;<sup>20</sup> in 1145 the Cistercian abbot traveled to southern France to preach against the heretics himself, thus opening the door

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<sup>14</sup> James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 310.

<sup>15</sup> Beverly Mayne Kienzle, *Cistercians, Heresy and Crusade in Occitania, 1145-1229: Preaching in the Lord’s Vineyard* (York: York Medieval Press, 2001), p. 46.

<sup>16</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 192.

<sup>17</sup> Kienzle, p. 44ff.

<sup>18</sup> Kienzle, p. 47.

<sup>19</sup> Kienzle, p. 82.

<sup>20</sup> Kienzle, p. 85.

for a more concerted Cistercian response to the problem.<sup>21</sup> From 1145 to 1229, Cistercians went forth to Languedoc and the Rhineland attempting to persuade the dissident groups to return to orthodoxy.<sup>22</sup>

This was in contradiction of both the Cistercian contemplative tradition and official Church prohibitions; however, the need was perceived to be sufficiently great that under Innocent III the order was effectively made the “papal workhorse,”<sup>23</sup> whose commission to preach lasted through the early years of the mendicant orders.<sup>24</sup> By the time of the formation of the Dominican Order of Preachers and the Franciscan Friars Minor — whose establishment in response to Catharist and Waldensian threats to the Church<sup>25</sup> is paralleled by that of the Jesuits in the wake of the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation — preaching by contemplative monks had become accepted as a “normal and even laudable practice.”<sup>26</sup>

Itinerant preaching by contemplatives against heresy and vice was a new mode of discourse in many respects. The preachers and audiences were oftentimes unknown to one another;<sup>27</sup> the audiences were likely to represent a mix in terms of education, background, interests, and economic class;<sup>28</sup> and the preaching itself was likely to take place in the open air.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Kienzle, pp. 90-91.

<sup>22</sup> Kienzle, p. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Jessalynn Bird, “The Religious’s Role in a Post-Fourth-Latern World: Jacques de Vitry’s *Sermones ad Status* and *Historia Occidentalis*,” in Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), p. 216.

<sup>24</sup> D.L. d’Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 24.

<sup>25</sup> Anders Piltz, *The World of Medieval Learning*, trans. David Jones (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), p. 159.

<sup>26</sup> Constable, *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders*, p. 374.

<sup>27</sup> Claire M. Waters, “Talking the Talk: Access to the Vernacular in Medieval Preaching” in Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson, eds., *The Vulgar Tongue: Medieval and Postmedieval Vernacularity* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), pp. 33-34.

<sup>28</sup> Constable, “The Language of Preaching in the Twelfth Century,” p. 142.

The thrust and content of preaching also changed, from careful explication of a long biblical text to moral persuasion based on a short passage.<sup>30</sup> And itinerant preachers were unlikely to be carrying very many books, so much of the homiletic craft relied on the preacher's memory.<sup>31</sup>

Part of the challenge posed to the preacher's memory skills was met by the structure of the sermon itself. The "old" sermon form, dating back to Origen (c. 185-c. 254), consisted of the *exordium* (allusion to Scripture), a lengthy exegesis of a passage's allegorical, tropological, and anagogical meanings, practical application, and exhortation; and doxology.<sup>32</sup> In the new, thematic and moralized sermon form, known as *dilatio*, the preacher began with a prayer for divine aid, followed by a *prothema* (introduction); *thema* (short scriptural quotation); *divisio* of the *thema* into (usually three) *articuli*, each further subdivided into a number of *capitula*;<sup>33</sup> and *prosecutio* of the members of the *divisio*.<sup>34</sup> The thirteenth-century English theologian Thomas de Chobham, and the fourteenth-century Catalan Franciscan Francesc Eiximenis, in their respective *Artes praedicandi*, both explicitly recommended such an orderly structure to facilitate the preacher's memory.<sup>35</sup> The preacher might additionally employ a mnemonic rhyme consisting of summary catchphrases to recall each of the divisions.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 71.

<sup>30</sup> Kimberly Rivers, "Memory and Medieval Preaching: Mnemonic Advice in the *Ars Praedicandi* of Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1327-1409)," *Viator* 30 (1999), p. 256.

<sup>31</sup> Kurt Danziger, *Marking the Mind: A History of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 79-80.

<sup>32</sup> J. Kevin Coyle, "From Homily to Sermon to Homily: The Content of Christian Liturgical Preaching in Historical Perspective," *Liturgical Ministry* 15 (Winter 2006), p. 3.

<sup>33</sup> Carolyn Muessig, "Preaching the Beatitudes in the Late Middle Ages: Some Mendicant Examples," *Studies in Christian Ethics* 22/2 (2009), p. 142.

<sup>34</sup> Murphy, p. 325.

<sup>35</sup> Rivers, p. 258, 265.

<sup>36</sup> Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge:

The emergence of these mnemonically organized, moralized thematic sermons in the twelfth century coincides with that of textual collections of biblical *distinctiones*—explications of individual words of scripture which distinguish each word’s various figurative meanings, supplying a scriptural text for each meaning.<sup>37</sup> *Distinctiones* were not the only form of textual preaching resource to flourish in this period. Collections of *exempla* (moralized anecdotes), *vitae de sanctis* such as the Golden Legend, treatises on virtue and vice, *florilegia* (anthologies of quotations from earlier writers), model sermons, and *Artes praedicandi* (art of preaching) manuals all multiplied across England and the Continent in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,<sup>38</sup> many of which were used for explicitly mnemonic purposes. Collections of *fabliaux* such as that by theologian and preacher Odo of Cheriton (c. 1185-1246/47) were used as reference handbooks for preachers and orators,<sup>39</sup> and Chaucer in his Pardoner’s Tale alludes to the mnemonic value of the short edifying tales collected in books of *exempla*,<sup>40</sup> for the audience and presumably for the preacher as well.

The mnemonic value of the tales collected in books of *exempla* and *fabliaux* lay precisely in their capacity to surprise and amuse with colorful detail. Witness this example from Odo, about a man pursued by a unicorn:

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Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 105.

<sup>37</sup> Rouse and Rouse, p. 209, 205.

<sup>38</sup> d’Avray, pp. 64-80.

<sup>39</sup> Arnold Clayton Henderson, “Medieval Beasts and Modern Cages: The Making of Meaning in Fables and Bestiaries,” *Publication of the Modern Language Association* 97/1 (1982), p. 41.

<sup>40</sup> “Thanne telle I hem ensamples many oon / Of olde stories longe tyme agoon. / For lewed peple loven tales olde; / Swiche thynges kan they wel reporte and holde.” Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales*, VI, ll. 435–38, in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. L.D. Benson (Oxford, 1988). Quoted in Sebastian Sobiecki, “Exemplary Intentions: Two English Dominican Hagiographers in the Thirteenth Century and the Preaching Through *Exempla*,” *New Blackfriars* 89/1022 (2008), pp. 479-80.

A unicorn was following a certain man who, as he fled his pursuer, came upon a tree loaded down with beautiful fruit. Below the tree was a pit filled with serpents, toads, and reptiles. Also, two worms—one white and the other black—were gnawing away at the tree. Even so, the man climbed up into it and dined upon the fruit, all the time delighting in the tree's leafy branches. To those two worms who kept on gnawing, he paid no attention. And the tree fell. And the wretched man plunged down into the pit.<sup>41</sup>

The lively details of the unicorn, worms, serpents and toads create a vivid and memorable mental picture. Stories such as this were commended to the medieval preacher and orator in the popular *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, attributed to Cicero and both utilized and commented upon by numerous medieval theologians and authors, which advised that “what is unusual and marvelous strikes us and is retained in the memory more than what is ordinary.”<sup>42</sup> And no volume likely to be found in a library of monastic preachers was apt to contain more unusual, marvelous, striking and colorful material than the medieval bestiary.

Bestiaries are illustrated compendia of both real and fabulous animals, which developed out of the early Christian/late antiquity text the *Physiologus*.<sup>43</sup> While the date of the *Physiologus* is much debated, it is generally accepted that it was first produced in Egypt, most likely in Alexandria, perhaps as early as the second century.<sup>44</sup> Drawing from the fables and animal tales of Aristotle, Pliny, and other ancient sources, including both Greek and Near Eastern religion and natural philosophy, the *Physiologus* is the original bestiary in that it provides moral exegesis of the described animal characteristics and habits through a system of correspondences by which

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<sup>41</sup> Odo of Cheriton, *The Fables of Odo of Cheriton*, trans. and ed. John C. Jacobs (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1985), pp. 120-21.

<sup>42</sup> “mirabile plus movet quam consuetum,” quoted in Carruthers (who is herself quoting Albertus Magnus), p. 141.

<sup>43</sup> Hassig, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> Michael J. Curley, trans., *Physiologus* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), xvi-xviii.

animals with good habits figure as types of Christ, saints, or virtuous persons, and animals with bad habits as types of the Devil or persons seized by vice.<sup>45</sup>

By the twelfth century, the *Physiologus* was beginning to be adapted and appended with source materials such as Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, the *Hexaemeron*s (six days) of both Basil and Ambrose, and other texts;<sup>46</sup> it is at this point that the work evolves into the medieval bestiary. The number of animals increases significantly, from two or three dozen to as many as a hundred and fifty.<sup>47</sup> The majority of the bestiaries were illustrated, some of them lavishly;<sup>48</sup> for their mnemonic function in crafting sermons the pictures were at least as important as the text.

While bestiaries were long disparaged by post-Enlightenment natural historians as naïve and unsystematic scientific treatises characterized principally by their incredulity,<sup>49</sup> it is now well understood that the bestiaries were theological in nature.<sup>50</sup> For the medieval person, God had revealed Himself not only in the words of scripture, but also in the works of nature.<sup>51</sup> Scripture itself declared this truth: "For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen" (Rom. 1:20). Making use of God's creatures to teach faith and morals made

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<sup>45</sup> F.N.M. Diekstra. "The *Physiologus*, the Bestiaries, and Medieval Animal Lore," *Neophilologus* 69 (1985), pp. 142-43.

<sup>46</sup> Christopher de Hamel, "Introduction," in *Book of Beasts: A Facsimile of MS Bodley 764* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2009), pp. 6-7.

<sup>47</sup> Curley, pp. xxx.

<sup>48</sup> Richard Barber, trans., *Bestiary: Being an English Version of the Bodleian Library, Oxford M.S. Bodley 764 with all the Original Miniatures Reproduced in Facsimile* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993), p. 11.

<sup>49</sup> Harriet Ritvo, *The Platypus and the Mermaid and Other Figments of the Classifying Imagination* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), p. 138.

<sup>50</sup> de Hamel, p. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Spencer, p. 81.

sense from a theocentric perspective in which animals ranked below human beings;<sup>52</sup> it affirmed humans' divinely-ordained dominion over the natural world.<sup>53</sup> Even imaginary creatures could



**Figure 1** Unicorn, *Physiologus*, Oxford University MS Laud Misc. 247 fol-149v b, England, c. 1120. Photo: Oxford University.

serve a didactic purpose;<sup>54</sup> and monstrous ones, imaginary or not, revealed God's power to violate the order of nature as a means of instructing humankind.<sup>55</sup> Indeed, failure to include any creature that might possibly exist somewhere could be seen as censorship of the divine

<sup>52</sup> L.A.J.R. Houwen, "Animal Parallelism in Medieval Literature and the Bestiaries: A Preliminary Investigation," *Neophilologus* 78/3 (1994), p. 492.

<sup>53</sup> Pluskowski, p. 202. Cf. Genesis 1:28-30.

<sup>54</sup> Pamela Gravestock, "Did Imaginary Animals Exist?" in Debra Hassig, ed., *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 130.

<sup>55</sup> John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), p. 109, 119.

message.<sup>56</sup> The implicit antithesis of animality and humanity set up by the bestiaries was analogous to that between holy and unholy, human and divine.<sup>57</sup>

These beliefs were skillfully exploited by the itinerant preachers. Indeed, evidence for the use of bestiaries as theological works and preaching resources is manifold. Based on their appearance in contemporary book lists, Ron Baxter has described monastic institutions as the “prime consumers” of bestiaries;<sup>58</sup> and Cistercian houses in particular owned significantly more bestiaries per 1,000 total volumes than any other monastic group.<sup>59</sup> Indeed, the Cistercians also owned the oldest surviving manuscript of the bestiaries’ prime source document, the *Physiologus*.<sup>60</sup> Other religious orders with bestiaries in their libraries included Augustinians, Benedictines, Carmelites, Cluniacs, Franciscans, and Premonstratensians,<sup>61</sup> all of whom were, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, involved in preaching.<sup>62</sup>

In medieval library catalogues, bestiaries are classified with other theological works, and in mixed volumes they are bound with such works, particularly other types of preaching resources, including *exempla*, sermon collections, and *vitae de sanctis*.<sup>63</sup> One example of this is

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<sup>56</sup> de Hamel, p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> Alison Syme, “Taboos and the Holy in Bodley 764,” in Debra Hassig, ed., *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life, and Literature* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), p. 174.

<sup>58</sup> Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Users in the Middle Ages* (Strand: Courtauld Institute, 1998), p. 212.

<sup>59</sup> Baxter, p. 180.

<sup>60</sup> John Morson, “The English Cistercians and the Bestiary,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 39:1 (September 1956), p. 147.

<sup>61</sup> Baxter, p. 180.

<sup>62</sup> Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Past in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 334.

<sup>63</sup> Baxter, pp. 188-89.

MS Harley 3244, (**fig. 2**) which contains a bestiary, a collection of *exempla*, sermons, Peraldus' *Liber de vitiis* (Book of Vices), and Robert of Thetford's *Ars praedicandi*.<sup>64</sup>



**Figure 2** Pard and Panther, British Library Harley 3244 f. 37, England; 2nd or 3rd quarter of the 13th century, after c. 1236. Photo: British Library.

A donation inscription in Pierpont Morgan Library MS 81, a deluxe English bestiary of the last quarter of the twelfth century, indicates that the bestiary was a gift to Worksop Priory from a canon at Lincoln, along with a Psalter, Gospels, *mappa mundi*, and a copy of the Meditations of the Blessed Anselm “for the edification of the brethren.”<sup>65</sup> Not only were bestiaries classified with other preaching resources; the peak of bestiary production coincides with the

collecting of such textual preaching resources by mendicant orders,<sup>66</sup> and David d’Avray has demonstrated that the loss rate for manuscripts in constant use by traveling preachers is likely to have been significantly higher than that for other types of medieval books.<sup>67</sup> Hence, extant

<sup>64</sup> Hassig, p. 175.

<sup>65</sup> “ad edificationem fratrum,” quoted in Xenia Muratova, “Bestiaries: An Aspect of Medieval Patronage” in Sarah Macready and F.H. Thompson, eds., *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque* (London: The Society of Antiquaries, 1986), p.118. See also <http://corsair.morganlibrary.org/msdescr/BBM0081a.pdf>

<sup>66</sup> Baxter, p. 209.

<sup>67</sup> David d’Avray, “Printing, Mass Communication, and Religious Reformation: The Middle Ages and After” in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham, eds., *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 55-56.

bestiaries whose provenance indicates the patronage and/or ownership of pious and wealthy nobles<sup>68</sup> may be a very minor subcategory of usage with a much higher survival rate, while the bulk of contemporary production was aimed at itinerant preaching use (and thus lost).

Bestiary quotations and references in extant recorded sermons are further evidence for their usage as sermon source materials. Bernard himself employed the bestiary's description of the mythical basilisk in a sermon on Psalm 15:

The basilisk, they tell us, bears in his eye his poison, vilest of animals, beyond others to be execrated. Wilt thou know the eye that is empoisoned, eye of evil, eye that has fascination? Then think thou upon envy.<sup>69</sup>

Vollhardt's survey of the Latin homilies of Bernard of Clairvaux and Radulfus Ardens finds additional references to "the adder, with a jewel in its head, the fox, the wolf, the bear, the lion, [and] great and little fish."<sup>70</sup> In an exhaustive study of the sermons of the Cistercians Aelred of Rievaulx (1109-1167), Gilbert of Hoiland (d. 1172), and Baldwin of Ford (d. 1193), John Morson found forty-six references to bestiary creatures, the majority of which could not have come from any other source.<sup>71</sup> A hundred years later in Italy, Marcus of Orvieto's 1290 *Liber de moralitatibus* contains a lengthy bestiaresque exposition on the peacock.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> de Hamel, p. 20.

<sup>69</sup> Bernard of Clairvaux on the Psalm *Qui habitat*, xv. 4, in *Patrologiae latina* 183:237, ed. J. P. Migne. (Paris: Migne, 1841), quoted in Charles Sears Baldwin, *Medieval Rhetoric and Poetic (to 1400) Interpreted from Representative Works* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), pp. 235-236.

<sup>70</sup> W. Vollhardt, *Der Einfluss der lateinischen geistlichen Litteratur auf einige kleinere Schöpfungen der englischen Übergangsperiode* (Leipzig, 1888), quoted in Joseph Albert Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1911), p. 48.

<sup>71</sup> Morson, pp. 165-166.

<sup>72</sup> Friedman, "Peacocks and Preachers: Analytic Technique in Marcus of Orvieto's *Liber de moralitatibus*, Vatican lat. MS 5935" in Willene B. Clark and Meredith T. McMunn, eds., *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 188.

Even into the fifteenth century, preachers were employing bestiary illustrations; John Felton (d. 1434) in his *Sermo de Innocentibus* recounts the bestiary story of the mother ape, who has two young. She loves one and hates the other. When she is hunted, she runs off with the loved one in her arms, but the other clings to her neck. When the ape is hard-pressed by the hunters, she is forced to drop the baby she loves, but she cannot rid herself of the other, and by that means she is caught. Likewise the covetous man has two offspring: worldly goods, which he loves very much, and the wrath of God. When he is pursued by devils, he loses his goods, but the wrath of God cannot be shaken off, and brings him to destruction.<sup>73</sup> Joyce Salisbury notes that the story of the ape mother with twins who accidentally loses her favorite was one of the most popular animal stories used in *exempla* collections, and thus one of the most likely to be used in sermons.<sup>74</sup>

Further evidence for bestiary usage in preaching can be seen in just such cross-fertilization between bestiaries, *exempla*, *fabliaux*, and other preaching resources. Odo of Cheriton's collection of stories may be considered a blending of the *fabliaux* tradition of Aesop with that of the bestiaries. Odo's tales include unicorns, which are bestiary, not fable, animals, and conclude with strongly Christian morals foreign to Aesop.<sup>75</sup> Jan Ziolkowski sees such Christian conditioning in the fables of the fifteenth-century Scottish poet Robert Henryson, as well.<sup>76</sup> The preaching manuals themselves, such as Richard of Wetheringsett's *Summa Qui bene*

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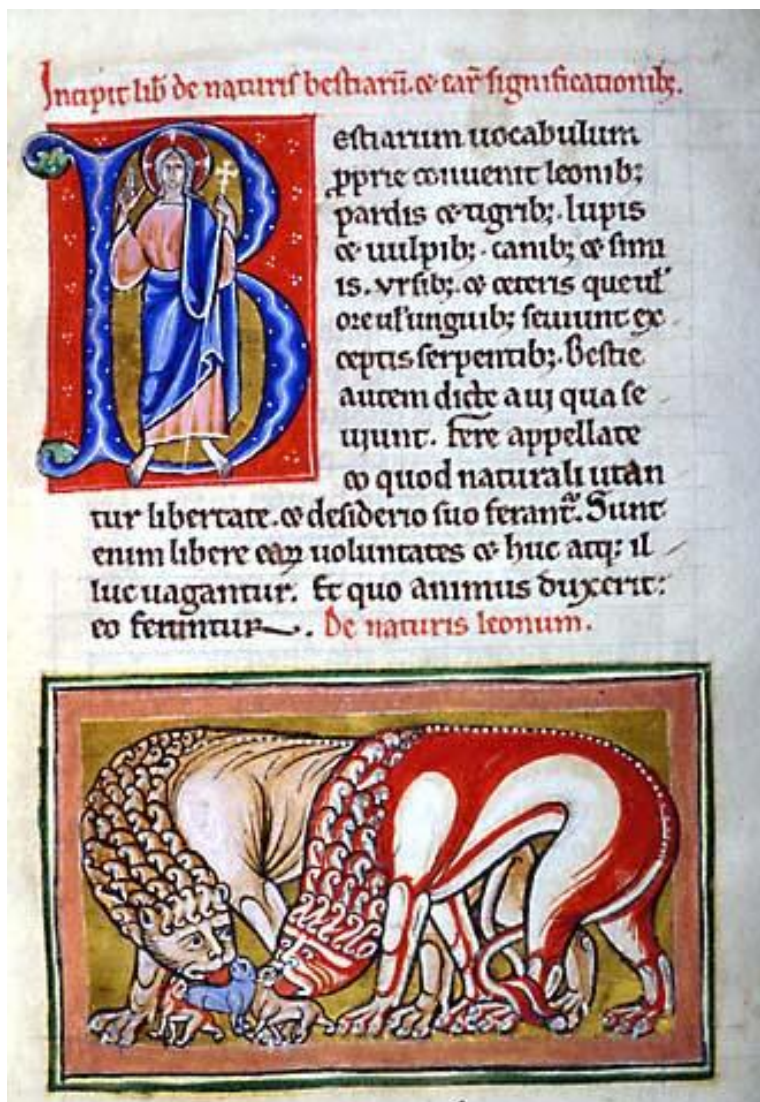
<sup>73</sup> John Felton, *Sermo de Innocentibus*, Oriel College MS 10, fo. 279<sup>va</sup>, quoted in Spencer, p. 344.

<sup>74</sup> Joyce E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 127.

<sup>75</sup> Salisbury, p. 125.

<sup>76</sup> Jan M. Ziolkowski, "Literary Genre and Animal Symbolism" in L.A.J.R. Houwen, ed., *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 13-14.

*presunt*, composed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century,<sup>77</sup> often employ bestiary imagery and lore, sometimes extensively. In a discussion of the capital vices, Richard mentions the scorpion, the lion, the serpent, the onager, the fox, the hedgehog, the ostrich, the owl, the peacock, the sparrow, the bear, the camel, the dog, the fish, and the spider; elsewhere he employs the bestiary description of lion cubs born dead and resurrected by the breath of their father, as (fig. 3) well as discussing the elephant in connection with the danger of concupiscence of the



**Figure 3** Lions with Young, Pierpont Morgan Library MS M.81 fol. 8r, England, possibly Lincoln or York, c. 1185. Photo: Pierpont Morgan Library

<sup>77</sup> Goering, p. 86.

flesh.<sup>78</sup>

The anonymous English Franciscan author of the *Fasciculus morum* also draws upon bestiary animals as moralizations of vice, in a passage that is virtually a verbatim quote of the English bestiary manuscripts Cambridge Ii 4 26 and MS Bodley 764:

we read further about an animal called panther, which is very meek and beautiful because it is sprinkled with various colors. Its company is very delightful to all other animals except the dragon and its offspring. When this animal has eaten its fill, it enters its cave, where it is said to sleep for three days and nights without interruption. But on the third day it awakens and gives forth a loud cry, accompanied by a most sweet odor. When the other animals hear this cry, whether they are far or near, they run toward it because of the sweet smell and follow it... This panther, because of its meekness and beauty, symbolizes Christ...<sup>79</sup>

The illustration of the panther in Bodley 764 (**fig. 4**) is indeed quite memorably “sprinkled with various colors.” If the writers of the preaching manuals (who themselves preached) demonstrate such familiarity with the bestiaries, it seems safe to conclude that itinerant preachers were familiar with them also. Clearly, medieval preachers were encouraged to rely on both the book of scripture and the book of creation, in which the animals could be understood as the words of the text.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Muratova, p. 132. Muratova attributes the *Summa* to Richard’s master, William de Montibus, who was chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral, including its school, from c. 1189 to his death in 1213. Goering, p. 43.

<sup>79</sup> “de quodam animali pantera nomine narratur, quod est animal mansuetum et pulcrum valde, eo quod variis coloribus est respersum. Cuius presencia omnibus animalibus est valde delectabilis preterquam draconi et pullis eius. Cum ergo comederit animal illud et fuerit saciatum, cavernam intrat, ubi tribus diebus et noctibus continue fertur dormire. Tercio vero die evigilans clamorem magnum emittit, quem odor suavissimus committatur. Cuius clamorem cum audierint animalia longe aut prope distancia, propter odoris suavitatem sibi occurrunt et secuntur... Pantera autem iste propter suam mansuetudinem et pulcritudinem signat Christum...” Siegfried Wenzel, ed. and trans., *Fasciculus Morum: A Fourteenth-Century Preacher’s Handbook* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1989), pp. 274-75.

<sup>80</sup> Ziolkowski, p. 8.

Beryl Rowland has argued that bestiaries were “intended as aids to the creation of invisible pictures in memory.”<sup>81</sup> She notes that, particularly in the deluxe editions of English bestiaries produced in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, “the animals are presented with such vivacity and vigor that they are oddly compelling, pulsating with life even when



**Figure 4** Panther, Bodleian Library, Oxford University, MS Bodley 764 f. 7v, England, c. 1225-50. Photo: Bodleian Library, Oxford University.

grotesque.”<sup>82</sup> The moral teachings embodied by these compelling and memorable animals were reinforced by the ubiquity of bestiary imagery in late medieval literary and visual culture.<sup>83</sup>

Bestiary animals and lore pop up in contemporary stained glass<sup>84</sup> and sculpted church decor,<sup>85</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Beryl Rowland, “The Art of Memory and the Bestiary” in Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn, eds., *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 17-18.

<sup>82</sup> Rowland, p. 17.

<sup>83</sup> Houwen, “Animal Parallelism in Medieval Literature and the Bestiaries,” p. 484.

heraldry,<sup>86</sup> maps,<sup>87</sup> wall paintings,<sup>88</sup> hunting manuals,<sup>89</sup> books of hours,<sup>90</sup> Psalters,<sup>91</sup> and mnemonic bibles,<sup>92</sup> and even in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.<sup>93</sup> Lina Bolzoni adumbrates how the systems of mnemonic architecture enjoyed a rich interplay in the visual world of the medieval Christian:

The schemas are primarily in the mind and take on form in various ways: through words, purely mental images, mixtures of words and images, illuminated manuscripts, images that are painted, sculpted, broken up and recomposed in mosaic or made to gleam in stained-glass windows. They are schemas straddling the border between the visible and the invisible, between reading and writing, memory and invention, exegesis and recycling.<sup>94</sup>

The liminal quality of the bestiary figure can be observed through a number of *topoi*. The moralized animals of the bestiary mediate between the material, terrestrial plane and the cosmic,

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<sup>84</sup> Emile Mâle, *The Gothic Image: Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. Dora Nussey (New York: Harper & Row, (1958) 1972), pp. 38-43. Mâle observed that the animal program in symbolic windows in cathedrals at Lyons, Bourges, Chartres, Le Mans, and Tours are directly influenced by the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius Autun. However, he argued that medieval preachers came by their knowledge of bestiaries through this work, and not through direct use of the bestiaries themselves.

<sup>85</sup> Wilma George and Brunsdon Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1991), pp. 14-16.

<sup>86</sup> Hassig, p. 40.

<sup>87</sup> Margaret Hoogvliet, "De ignotis quarumdam bestiarum naturis" in L.A.J.R. Houwen, ed., *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 189-208.

<sup>88</sup> Miriam Gill, "Preaching and Image: Sermons and Wall Paintings in Later Medieval England" in Carolyn Muessig, ed., *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 163.

<sup>89</sup> James I. McNelis, III, "A Greyhound Should Have 'Eres in þe Manere of a Serpent'" in L.A.J.R. Houwen, ed., *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 67-76.

<sup>90</sup> Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, Inc., (1988) 2001), p. 99.

<sup>91</sup> de Hamel, p. 21.

<sup>92</sup> Carruthers, pp. 246-47.

<sup>93</sup> L.A.J.R. Houwen, "Flattery and the Mermaid in Chaucer's *Nun's Priest's Tale*" in L.A.J.R. Houwen, ed., *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature* (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 77-92.

<sup>94</sup> Lina Bolzoni, *The Web of Images: Vernacular Preaching from its Origins to St. Bernardino da Siena* (Hants, England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2004), p. 6.

spiritual plane.<sup>95</sup> They partake of both the real world and the world of ideas,<sup>96</sup> negotiating the shifting chasm between fact and fiction and endowing both with enhanced meaning.<sup>97</sup> They traverse the boundary between human and animal.<sup>98</sup> Dwelling in *chronos* time, they point the way toward the *kairos* time both of salvation history and the future eschaton.<sup>99</sup> Existing as both picture and verbal story, they bridge speech and apophasis.<sup>100</sup>

With so many symbolic and semiotic functions, bestiaries undoubtedly had a plurality of uses. Willene Clark has demonstrated how the *De avibus* of Hugh of Fouillooy was likely to have been used in the instruction of lay brothers among the Cistercians and other monastic orders.<sup>101</sup> Other scholars have noted the bestiaries' utility as both instructional books for the young<sup>102</sup> and devotional works for wealthy, pious and literate nobles.<sup>103</sup> While the bestiaries undoubtedly enjoyed multivalent usage, it is my contention that they reached their apogee as homiletic resources. Amid far-reaching social and religious change, including the rise of heretical sects, a growing need for preaching and pastoral care among the laity summoned contemplative monks, especially the Cistercians, from their cloisters. These newly commissioned itinerant preachers

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<sup>95</sup> Thomas Rockwell, "Visual Technologies, Cosmographies, and our Sense of Place in the Universe," *Zygon* 37/3 (September 2002), p. 608.

<sup>96</sup> Mâle, p. 34.

<sup>97</sup> Jacobs, p. 45.

<sup>98</sup> Dorothy Yamamoto, *The Boundaries of the Human in Medieval English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 29.

<sup>99</sup> Jacques Le Goff, *The Medieval Imagination*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 80.

<sup>100</sup> David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), p. 9.

<sup>101</sup> Willene B. Clark, "The Illustrated Medieval Aviary and the Lay-Brotherhood," *Gesta* 21 (1982), pp. 63-74.

<sup>102</sup> Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn, "Introduction" in Clark and McMunn, eds., *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages: The Bestiary and Its Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), p. 5.

<sup>103</sup> de Hamel, p. 20.

had need of vivid mnemonic markers to create sermons memorable for both themselves and their audiences. The bestiaries arose as one means of meeting this need, as is evidenced by their contemporary classification with other preaching resources and theological works, as well as by the use of bestiary material in recorded sermons and preaching handbooks. The moralized instruction emblemized by the bestiary animals was reinforced by animal imagery throughout medieval visual and literary culture.

The medieval preacher in this context became the transmitter of a series of images, translated from the visual to the auditory in the preparation of the sermon, and from the auditory back to the visual as the listeners reconstructed their own striking and memorable allegorical menageries in their minds. Martin Luther described what such a cognitive process may have been like for the listener, in writing about his internal responses to hearing Christ's Passion preached:

it is impossible for me to hear and bear it in mind without forming mental images of it in my heart. For whether I will or not, when I hear of Christ, an image of a man hanging on a cross takes form in my heart, just as the reflection of my face naturally appears in the water when I look into it.<sup>104</sup>

Luther seems to have experienced these internal, mental images in response to auditory descriptions with sufficient clarity to compare them to a reflection seen in a pond. Likewise, medieval preachers in their use of bestiary imagery sought to inscribe both the natural and human-made worlds with reminders to embrace virtue, flee vice, and to meditate day and night on the wonders God has made. 🍷

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<sup>104</sup> Martin Luther. "Against the Heavenly Prophets in the Matter of Images and Sacraments, 1525" in *Luther's Works Vol. 40: Church and Ministry II*. Edited and translated by Conrad Bergendoff. (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958), pp. 99-100. "ich's aber hören oder gedenten, so ist mir's unmöglich, dass ich nicht in meinem herzen sollte Bilder davon machen. Denn ich wolle oder wolle nicht, wenn ich Christum höre, so entwirst sich in meinem herzen ein Mannsbild, das am Kreuze hängt, gleich als sich mein Untliss natürlich entwirst ins Wasser, wenn ich drein sehe." Luther. "Wider die himmlischen Propheten, von den Bildern und Sakrament, 1525" in *Martin Luther's Werke: Kirtische Gesamtausgabe, 18 Band*. (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1908), p. 83.

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## Making ‘Sense’ of the Pilgrimage Experience of the Medieval Church\*

By Emma J. Wells, Durham University

### Introduction

It cannot be doubted that medieval devotion towards the cults of saints was a physical affair, involving touching, kissing and even crawling as a way of coming into direct contact with the intercessory power of the divine. Expressions of the physicality of this type of worship can be seen in the design of the architectural and decorative schemes of medieval *foramina*-type saints’ shrines, and permeate the artistic elements of these sacred locales. Few survive, but in the stained glass and illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth through to the fifteenth century, pilgrims are depicted crawling into them, kissing the shrine through its apertures, and bestowing *ex voto* offerings in the shape of infected or broken limbs. Whilst highlighting the variety of monumental architecture deployed in the space of cult churches, they also demonstrate the importance of the *multi-sensory* involvement of such locations.

This paper will explore the importance of sensory experience throughout the late twelfth to the early fifteenth-century, with a particular focus on the act of bodily participation with the divine, and how this was reflected in the architectural and visual structure of a saintly site. To illustrate the importance of sensory means of veneration towards the cults of saints, several stained glass images from the decorative frameworks of two of the most popular English shrines of the medieval period will be analyzed; one of whom was a very locally venerated saint, and the other who was perhaps the most popular saint in the country for much of the Middle Ages.<sup>1</sup>

The senses became evermore influential on the fabric of the church building itself, changing as a direct result of the pilgrimage experience. This complex notion will be explained in two parts: the first will focus on understanding, interpreting, and experiencing images of saintly devotion, and the second will detail the physical process of seeing and moving around the locations, creating the experience that this interaction and participation provided.

The medieval period was extremely sensory. Medieval religiosity dominated life and with it engagement with the senses was inherent, ranging from the burning incense, the chiming of bells, the kissing of relics to the aural sounds of the churches and monasteries;

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\* This paper was developed from a session entitled, ‘Saints’ Cults and their Evolution in Space and Time’, at the International Medieval Congress held at the University of Leeds, 12– 15 July 2010. A significant amount of the analysis also comes from my current Ph.D. thesis, ‘Kings, Commoners and Communities: ‘Sensing’ the Pilgrimage Experience of the English Medieval Church, c. 1170–1550’ (Durham University).

<sup>1</sup> York Minster and Canterbury Cathedral were chosen as case sites as they are two of the most complete schemes of medieval stained glass in England and include detailed hagiographical cycles of their patron saints. They also allowed for a comparison of the architectural and decorative devotional campaigns of one major Northern and one major Southern pilgrimage church and at different scales of analysis due to their varying religious functions; York being a secular minster and Canterbury, a Benedictine monastery.

stimulation of the senses was inescapable.<sup>2</sup> In light of the current interest on visuality and spatiality across various disciplines; most notably drama,<sup>3</sup> it is therefore surprising that little consideration has been given to the interaction between saintly practice and sensory encounter analysis and its influence on the art and architecture of this period in relation to these sensory uses.<sup>4</sup> This is even more significant given at that this time, hagiography was often represented by visual and architectural means, and thereby pilgrimage was described as “seeing with the senses.”<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, in order to understand how and why pilgrims

<sup>2</sup> Although too complex to consider within the extent of this paper, it could be argued that the sensory experience, or focus on the corporeal interaction of the Church, determined its demise and ultimately led to the iconoclastic Protestant reforms of the sixteenth century. For in-depth analyses of this topic see for example, C. Pamela Graves, “From an Archaeology of Iconoclasm to an Anthropology of the Body: Images, Punishment, and Personhood in England, 1500-1660,” *Current Anthropology*, 48/ 1 (February, 2008), pp. 35-57; Margaret. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and literacy in late medieval religion* (London and Rio Grande: Hambledon Press, 1984); *idem.*, Public worship and iconoclasm. In *The archaeology of the Reformation 1480–1580*, (eds.), D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, (Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Monograph 1, 2003), pp. 9–28; Joseph Leo Koerner, “The icon as iconoclasm,” in *Iconoclasm: Beyond the image wars in science, religion, and art*, (eds.), B. Latour and P. Weibel, (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 2002), pp. 164–213; *idem.*, *The reformation of the image* (London: Reaktion Books, 2004); Sarah Tarlow, “Reformation and transformation: What happened to Catholic things in a Protestant world?” in *The archaeology of the Reformation 1480–1580*, (eds.), D. Gaimster and R. Gilchrist, (Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Monograph 1. Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 108–21; John Phillips, *The reformation of images: Destruction of art in England, 1535–1660* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1973); Bruno Latour and Peter Weibel, (eds.), *Iconoclasm: Beyond the image wars in science, religion, and art* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: MIT Press, 2002); Richard Marks, *Image and devotion in late medieval England* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing.; Eire, 2004); M. N. Carlos, *War against the idols: The reformation of worship from Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Eamon Duffy, *The stripping of the altars: Traditional religion in England 1400–1580* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1992); *idem.*, *The voices of Morebath: Reformation and rebellion in an English village* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> The most recent work on the relationship between devotional performance and sensory encounter is Jill Stevenson, *Performance, Cognitive Theory, and Devotional Culture: Sensual Piety in Late Medieval York* (New York, 2010), but see also Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens, (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001); Clifford Davidson, *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2007); Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100–1389* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Beverly Mayne Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record” in (ed.), Carolyn Muessig, *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2002); Donald Perrest, “The Meaning of the Mystery: From Tableaux to Theatre in the French Royal Entry” in (eds.), Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens, *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 187-211; Anne Bagnall Yardley, *Performing Piety: Musical Culture in Medieval English Nunneries* (New York: Palgrave, 2006; and Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 2 vols.

<sup>4</sup> An earlier attempt to understand the development of architecture in relation to its use and function was Alain Erlande-Brandenburg, *The Cathedral: the Social and Architectural Dynamics of Construction*, trans. by Martin Thom (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).

<sup>5</sup> See Georgia Frank, “The Pilgrim’s gaze in the age before icons,” in Robert S. Nelson and Norman Bryson (eds.), *Visuality before and beyond the Renaissance: Seeing as Others Saw* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 9. Pilgrimage was a personal act and so the intentions for such a journey were extensive, ranging from personal penance, group activity or even simply a quest for an adventure. Medieval concepts of visuality and sensuality have been applied to pilgrimage in the past by Edith and Victor Turner in *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978). Drawing on Van Gennep’s model of the rite of passage, the Turner’s work proposed the devotional journey as a stage of liminality which they suggest is an inherent aspect of any rite of passage. They argue that during pilgrimage people are free from social standing as they move from real into sacred time and space temporarily transcending mundane social

participated in such sensory actions, an examination of the development and construction of the sites in which they worshipped is crucial.

Evidence from contemporary documentary accounts and from the two- and three-dimensional imagery that adorned churches is particularly important given the crucial role art played in promoting the cults of saints. In essence, the visual imagery of the churches “defined and communicated the identity of a saint to the faithful,”<sup>6</sup> immortalising the saint’s majesty, numinism, and power, whilst authenticating and projecting the sanctity of their relics.<sup>7</sup> As such, the encasement of the shrine, that is the form and decoration of the reliquary and the imagery of the windows, walls and ceilings surrounding it, created and determined the experience of pilgrims.<sup>8</sup>

## The Medieval Image-Experience

Interest in the individual’s reaction to devotional images was discussed throughout the Middle Ages becoming a more popular subject towards the end of the period as illustrated by texts ranging from St. Augustine’s *De Genesi as litteram* (401-415), St. Gregory’s eighth-century edict regarding the use of images, and St. Bernard’s *Cantica* (1088-1102); all of which psychologically typified human sight and perception.<sup>9</sup> Medieval seeing was thought to provide the beholder with the sense of touching the object of their vision, creating an affective power. In simple terms, sensation was the means by which belief was to be experienced. This process of medieval sensory perception has been succinctly explored by Suzannah Biernoff<sup>10</sup> and, more recently, by Chris Woolgar’s analysis of the medieval senses.<sup>11</sup> Biernoff explains: “The relationship between viewer and image was one of reciprocity, in which optical, carnal, and redemptive vision combined to allow for bodily participation in the divine. This she calls “ocular communion.”<sup>12</sup>

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structures. Although the majority of the Turner’s argument is rather extreme, the concept of transcending the stages of reality, of time, place and space can be applied to the sensory experience of the cults of saints. As Stephen Gudeman noted, “saints are boundary figures, partaking of the spiritual and the divine and because they occupy this dual position, saints are called upon to act as mediators.” See Colin Morris, “Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages” in C. Morris & P. Roberts (eds.), *Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 145. As a result, the stage of intercession by the saint; the time in which the salvific effect is received, would be felt to eclipse the reality of that specific point in the pilgrim’s life. The viewer’s were in effect lost to their experience through this bodily participation and present reaction that such images provided. Thus, the devotional experience of these sites provided temporary relief from mundane existence and everyday ritual forms, but did not remove social status or identity as through the development of pilgrimage art and architecture, identity and social status was certainly displayed, projected and understood by the medieval person.

<sup>6</sup> Richard Gameson, “The early imagery of Thomas Becket,” in Morris & Roberts, *Pilgrimage*, p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative; the Rise of the Dramatic Close-Up Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting* (Abo: Abo Akademi, 1965), pp. 11-31. The most detailed discussion of medieval visuality and spirituality is Robert S. Nelson, ed., *Visuality Before and Beyond the Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>10</sup> Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).

<sup>11</sup> Christopher M. Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006).

<sup>12</sup> Woolgar p. 133ff.

The material qualities of an object signified its meaning within experience and in turn, devotional images evoked a deep emotional experience to the viewer which Ringbom called “the emphatic approach.”<sup>13</sup> Sensory experience allowed the sacred to flow from these objects into the very being of believers. Images therefore initiated powerful connections between man and God which were interpreted and deciphered by the medieval viewer, subsequently becoming “a mediator between ‘earth’ and ‘world,’ between the mundane things of existence... and the sacred meaning of being articulated in ritual devotion.”<sup>14</sup> As Milner explains, “Sense experience was the pathway for divine grace, corporeally integrating believers and the experiences of religious life in a beneficial sensuality.”<sup>15</sup>

It is this sensory experience that was evoked at pilgrimage sites. The architectural and material aspects of these sacred locations including their plan, altars, screens, glass, paintings, relics, and shrines created and expected multiple experiences designed to stimulate their audience’s mental visualizations through use of all of their senses.

### The Pilgrimage Experience at Canterbury

When pilgrims arrived at Canterbury Cathedral, they were greeted by monks who escorted them to the chapter house in order to enamour them with the stories of the life and miracles of St. Thomas Becket.<sup>16</sup> Then the pilgrims processed around the determined route,<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative*, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Anne Harris, “Stained Glass Window as Thing: Heidegger, the Shoemaker Panels, and the Commercial and Spiritual Economies of Chartres Cathedral in the Thirteenth Century,” *Different Visions: A Journal of New Perspectives on Medieval Art* 1 (September 2008), p. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Matthew Milner, “A Sensible Reformation: The Senses and Liturgical Life in Tudor England,” (Ph.D. diss. University of Warwick, 2006), p. 14.

<sup>16</sup> Fitzstephen’s comments on this practice which can be found in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket*, (ed.), by James Craigie Robertson and J. Brigstocke Sheppard, 7 vols, Rolls Series, 67 (London: Rolls Commission, 1875-1885), III, p. 151: *Sed de miraculis ejus in Anglia, sacerdotum et bonorum virorum testimonio declaratis, et in capitulo Cantuariensis ecclesiae publice recitatis, magnus codex conscriptus exstat.* “But about his miracles, declared by the testimony of priests and good men throughout England and recited to the public in the chapter house of the church of Canterbury, there exists a great, written book.”

Although this process of regaling the pilgrims with dissertations of Becket’s life and miracles in the chapter house is mentioned in this twelfth-century account, pilgrims in Chaucer’s *The Tale of Beryn with A Prologue of the Merry Adventure of the Pardoner with a Tapster at Canterbury* (eds.), F. F. Furnivall and W. G. Stone (Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing Co, 2004) (although fictional) amuse themselves with attempts to decipher the meanings of the windows. See particularly p. 6 (lines 153-155):

“He bears a stout stick,” said the one, “or else a rake’s end.”

“Thou failest,” said the Miller, “thou hast not well thy mind/It is a spear, if thou can see, with a prick tofore/To push down his enemy, and through the shoulder bore.”

Subsequently, we must be cautious when referring to the speaking to pilgrims in the chapter house as a generalized practice occurring throughout the medieval period. This may not have been the case for the later fourteenth to early sixteenth-century as documents do not provide any clues as to whether this practice was continued. It must also be stressed that parishioners or pilgrims were not usually invited into chapter houses as they were reserved strictly for chapter or parliamentary business, as was the case at York Minster whose similar duality with Westminster meant that it served as a meeting place for Parliament, the Northern Convocation and even the City government. See Sarah Brown, *‘Our Magnificent Fabrick’: York Minster: An Architectural History c. 1200-1500* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), pp. 56-58.

<sup>17</sup> There have been some discrepancies regarding where pilgrims entered the church. It would appear that even after the remodelling was completed in 1500, pilgrims would enter via the south-west porch, process up the north side of the south aisle and enter the south transept via an iron gate at the east end of the south aisle. It is

passing through stations within the cathedral, beginning at an altar in the north transept where Thomas Becket was martyred in 1170.<sup>18</sup> They were then directed downstairs, plunging deep into the crypt in order to visit the original tomb-site of Becket. This part of the route is particularly significant. Even though here the pilgrims may not have yet viewed the miracle windows (placed upstairs), they were processing through the exact space where those miracles were experienced and initially recorded.<sup>19</sup> In a sense, the pilgrims were physically experiencing the sanctity of the tomb due to the presence and authentication that had previously been attributed to the site. As such, they were experiencing the sanctity of Becket through the architectural surroundings which still remained venerated even after the translation of the body to the shrine above in 1220.

Finally, the pilgrims emerged from the darkness of the crypt and ascended into the light-filled Trinity Chapel which housed the shrine of Becket. Surrounding this section of the route were twelve windows of the ambulatory of Trinity Chapel, and nearby at its apex, was the light-filled Corona Chapel, which featured the head reliquary of Becket. Two of the windows in the ambulatory illustrated Becket's life, whilst ten depicted the posthumous miracles he performed in the immediate years following his martyrdom (between 1171 and 1173). The stories depicted in the stained glass were selected from accounts of Becket's life and miracles recorded by the monks, Benedict of Peterborough (c. 1135-93) and William of Canterbury (fl. 1162-74; d. c.1190).<sup>20</sup> Of the many types of miracles they recorded, perhaps unsurprisingly, healing miracles were chosen to be illuminated in the Trinity Chapel windows which enclosed the shrine area, authenticating the intercessory power of the cult.

Both the iconographic choice of the windows, in addition to the complex pilgrim route around the building, indicate the participation of the monastic community in arousing the hope of a miraculous cure by St. Thomas; the primary purpose of the pilgrimage to Canterbury.<sup>21</sup> This was fulfilled by prioritising the physical experience of the pilgrim in establishing the memory of the saint.<sup>22</sup> Although the historic-architectural element of the Trinity Chapel, created by the shrine and its proximity to the foundations of the cult in the

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here, in the south transept, that the pilgrimage tour began. However, Tim Tatton-Brown suggested that the south transept could be entered directly from a door in the south wall which led out to the lay cemetery and from entering via this door, pilgrims could process down the crossing tunnel into the north transept. I do not believe this to be the case. The south transept door may have been used as an entrance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (before the construction of the tunnel) as it would appear that once the crossing area was walled off, the south-west porch was made the official entrance to the cathedral. Therefore, I rather think that the south transept door was added during the later fourteenth/early fifteenth-century remodelling and then functioned as an *exit* route for pilgrims, so that they did not have to take the longer route back down the south side of the south nave aisle and out via the south-west porch. See: Tim Tatton-Brown, "Canterbury and the architecture of pilgrimage shrines in England," in Simon Coleman and John Elsner (eds.), *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), pp. 90-107; M.F. Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket," *The Art Bulletin*, 76/1 (March 1994), pp. 19-52; Sarah Blick, "Comparing Pilgrim Souvenirs and Trinity Chapel Windows at Canterbury Cathedral: An Exploration of Context, Copying, and the Recovery of Lost Stained Glass," *Mirator* (September 2001), p. 5.

<sup>18</sup> Blick, "Comparing," p. 5. See also, Anne F. Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass" in Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage In Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2004), p. 272.

<sup>19</sup> Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass," p. 250.

<sup>20</sup> Blick, "Comparing Pilgrim Souvenirs and Trinity Chapel Windows at Canterbury Cathedral," p. 5.

<sup>21</sup> Blick, "Comparing," p. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass," p. 272.

crypt directly below,<sup>23</sup> is indeed important in the overall shaping of the experience, the significance of the stained glass in projecting the power of Becket's cult is even more incredible.



**Figure 1** The cure of Petronella of Polesworth, from window n IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, Engalnd, (1213-1216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

### The Corporeal Aspect of Medieval Cults of Saints

Many of the Trinity Chapel windows promote the importance of a physical connection with the shrine, and hence, Becket himself. In the cure of Petronella of Polesworth, she is depicted suffering from epilepsy, coming to the tomb to be cured. (**fig.1**) Seated at the tomb, Petronella's feet are bathed in the holy water of St. Thomas (nIV, 50).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* p. 265.

<sup>24</sup> Throughout the paper the CVMA (Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi) numbering method will be used in reference to the glass. Every part of the medieval stained glass at Canterbury has been recorded and examined in detail by Madeline H. Caviness in her influential volume *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral ca.1175-1220* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), which was then followed by *The Windows of Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury* (CVMA, Great Britain, 2; London; New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1981)

In another panel of the same window, Ethelreda of Canterbury who suffered from a malarial disease known as Quartan fever and is depicted as noticeably pale due to the loss of blood cells caused by her illness (**fig.2**) Yet as the panel inscription: *cessant quartane vis forma subit quasisane*<sup>25</sup> suggests, when she drinks the blood of St. Thomas mixed with water she is shown to fully recover as her face returns to the “healthy” color of the other protagonists in the scene (nIV 8).



**Figure 2** The Cure of Ethelreda of Canterbury, from window n IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England, (1213-1216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

At Canterbury, the blood of Becket was mixed with holy water from the church as it was thought that even diluted, the blood held miraculous properties.

<sup>25</sup> “The fever receded to the power, and she took on a healthy form.”

The importance of having faith in Becket's cult is strongly emphasized throughout the stained glass. As such, the necessity of visiting his tomb over useless medical and, most importantly, non-spiritual treatments is promoted repeatedly throughout the scenes, particularly in the inscriptions. For example, the texts in the cure of the Petronella of Polesworth panels suggest that she came to the tomb "rather than to trust herself to 'hirelings and those who are not true physicians.'" <sup>26</sup> Furthermore, in the first panel of the cure of Hugh of Jervaux (nIII), a lay physician diagnoses that Hugh is dying, yet in the following scene, the monks administer the blood and water of St. Thomas. The holy mixture is proven to be the effective remedy as in the final scene, Hugh is shown to be cured. Once again, the scene serves to highlight the ineffectiveness of surgeons and physicians. <sup>27</sup> There are also several panels depicting ampullae which contained the blood/water mixture, again proclaiming the role of this spiritual water in the healing miracles. <sup>28</sup> In the miracles of William Fitz-Eisulf (nII 11), (**fig.3**) the window shows the boy being revived by the water of Becket, <sup>29</sup> with the several ampullae consciously emphasized throughout by their larger-than-life-size scale, bright color and obvious position around the necks and in the hands of the main figures in the scenes. In her study, Sarah Blick found that two ampullae designs attributed to the cult of Becket, actually imitated the iconographic compositions of the glass panels. <sup>30</sup> Blick, perhaps unsurprisingly, discovered that these were most certainly objects of memory, not only instilling in the pilgrims the memory of a rite of passage or of the heightened experience to the shrine, but also that they possessed a container filled with the miraculous liquid from the sacred saint. <sup>31</sup>

<sup>26</sup> M. A. Michael (ed.), *Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (London: Scala, 2004), p. 106.

<sup>27</sup> Michael, *Stained Glass*, p. 106; Blick, "Comparing," p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> At many of the most popular shrines of the later medieval period, lead ampullae could be obtained. These small objects were filled with holy water or oil associated with the saint. At York, sweet-smelling oil which seeped from William's tomb from 1223 onwards was sealed in ampullae and sold to pilgrims as thaumaturgical souvenirs. For a detailed discussion of the few surviving St. William of York ampullae see Katja Boertjes, "Pilgrim Ampullae of York Minster and the Healing Oil of the Shrine of St. William" in Sarah Blick, (ed.), *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spencer* (Oxbow Press: Oxford, 2007.), pp. 48-63. In his influential volume on *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges (Medieval Finds from Excavations in London)*, (Boydell & Brewer: London, 2004), Brian Spencer noted that in England ampullae were the chosen memento, often sold in town shops or stalls by the gates of the cathedral as in the example of Canterbury and York, until they were overtaken by pilgrim badges in the fourteenth-century. See Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs*, p. 141 for Canterbury, and Rawcliffe, p. 22; *Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, (ed.), James Raine (Durham: Surtees Society XXXV, 1858), pp. 225-226; *York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls 1396-1500*, (ed.) Richard Barrie Dobson (Gateshead: Surtees Society CXCII, 1978-1979), p. 145 for a tale of a group of chandlers fined for erecting illegal stalls along the major roads to York Minster in 1475-76). For a detailed discussion of pilgrim objects see: Brian Spencer, "Medieval Pilgrim Badges," *Rotterdam Papers*, vol. 1 (Rotterdam, 1968), pp. 137-147.

The association between these ampullae and the glass can be explained by their intended function. Both were created to promote the power of Becket's cult to miraculously heal the sick which was to be achieved via contact with the blood-mixed water contained in the pilgrim ampullae sold at the cathedral. Sarah Blick correctly observed that "the stained glass windows helped form the pilgrim's experience at Canterbury and the ampullae enabled them to partake in and remember the experience." "Comparing," p. 4.

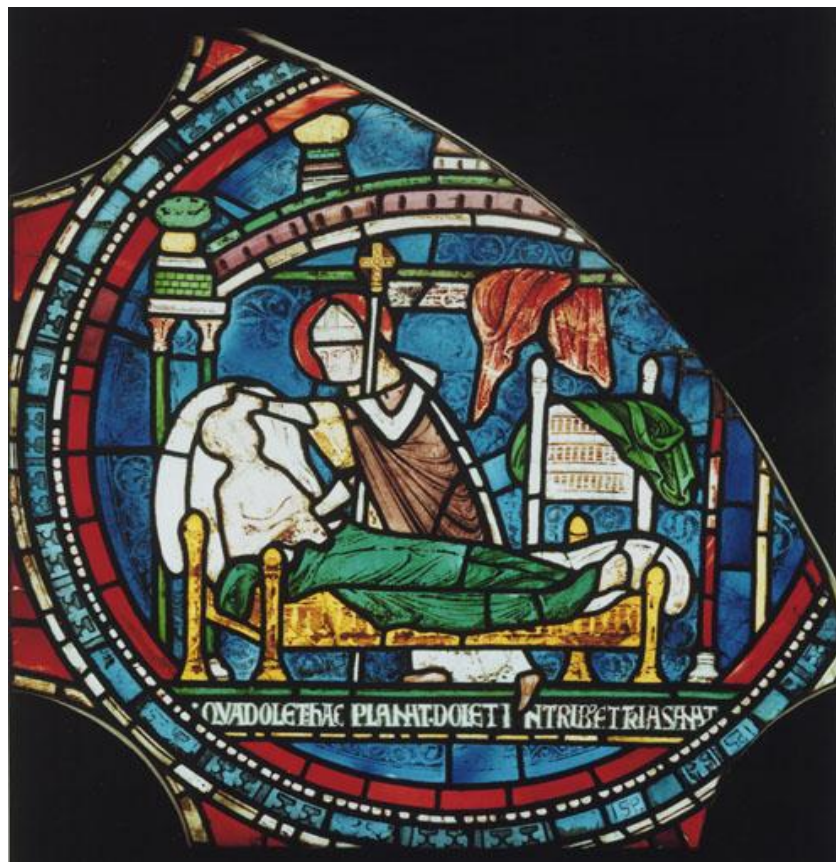
<sup>29</sup> Blick, "Comparing," p. 8.

<sup>30</sup> Blick, "Comparing," p. 1.

<sup>31</sup> Blick, "Comparing," p. 17.



**Figure 3** The Miracle of William Fitz-Eisulf, from window n II, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England, (1213-1216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.



**Figure 4** Becket touches head of an ailing figure, from window n IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England, (1213-1216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

How the holy water was accessed emphasized the role of the senses in the experience of the pilgrim. As seen in the tale of Petronella of Polesworth, this mixture was used to cure, promoting the idea once again that the salvific essence of Becket's cult lay in his body. This process was the means by which the votives offered at devotional locations or the souvenirs that many pilgrims left with were instilled with the sanctity of the saint. Devotees placed both of these types of objects near the shrine, physically proclaiming the saint's powers, and as such, they were thought to cure illness, ensure salvation, and repel evil, as the miraculous legends and stories surrounding the cult transformed these mere mementoes into relics.<sup>32</sup>

They were regarded as endowed with the force of a relic, either because they contained a fragment of holy material or because pilgrims touched their tokens to the reliquaries or shrines, thereby absorbing their curative powers. They were the physical embodiment of devotional promises.<sup>33</sup>

The production of these objects therefore proclaimed and multiplied the miraculous power of Becket's body,<sup>34</sup> exerting the desirability of offering thanks, gifts, and *ex votos* at the tomb of the saint. The previous panels illustrate the requirement of a physical element for the cure through recurrent depictions of the use of Becket's blood through the process of swallowing, the cure by holy water (and ampullae), and the need for a sense of closeness to the relics of the saint. Thus, evoking the authenticity of the stories contained in these windows required an action related to the body to be performed through use of at least one sense. For the pilgrims visiting the shrine, they were reassured of Becket's power by observing its effects on the body via the senses. This focus on the body, not only Becket's but also St. William of York's, is reflective of the core of the pilgrimage cult: the Translation of the saintly relics "because...the removal of [the] bones from a humble place to a glorious space [meant] that... [they] had the power to remit the sins of the assembled."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Sarah Blick, "Votives, Images, Interaction and Pilgrimage to the Tomb and Shrine of St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral" in Sarah Blick and Laura Gelfand (eds.), *Push Me, Pull You: Art and Devotional Interaction in Late Medieval and Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, forthcoming 2011).

The distinction between votives and souvenirs must be noted. Votive objects (or *ex votos*) were offerings of largely any medium (e.g. jewellery; wax, wood, stone or metal objects or small images) which were brought to the relics or sacred image to seek blessings or to give thanks for vows made when purchasing, making or donating the item (see Blick, "Votives," p. 1-2.) The presence of discarded *ex votos* around a cult site proved its efficacy and so pilgrims were encouraged to present such gifts so that once left, their presence would continue the credulity of the cult.

Pilgrim souvenirs were more simply mementoes which, similarly for today's tourists, commemorated one's visit to the site. The most common form of souvenir was the pilgrim badge or brooch; made of lead or pewter they depicted either a miniature of the shrine itself or they carried depictions of the saint or instruments of martyrdom, many of which had pins or clips in order for the pilgrim to display evidence of their peregrinations on their hat or cloak. For an overview of these objects see Ben Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (The Boydell Press: Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 111-112 and Spencer, "Pilgrim Badges." For a detailed discussion of Canterbury's votives and souvenirs see Blick, "Votives," and Blick, *Beyond*.

<sup>33</sup> Blick, "Votives."

<sup>34</sup> Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass," p. 279.

<sup>35</sup> *Patrologia Latina*, (ed.), J P Migne, vol. 190 (Paris, 1850), p. 422 para 35. Translated as "...And let us therefore hope for the present remission of sins for us, because of our translation of the martyr," by Harris in "Pilgrimage, Performance and Stained Glass," p. 278.



**Figure 5** William heals a blind woman, from window n VII, St. William Window, York Minster, England, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: © Dean and Chapter of York.

In fact, emphasis on the corporeality of the cults of both Becket at Canterbury and St William of York is reaffirmed in the few glass panels that the saints appear in. In the majority of the scenes, Becket and William directly touch recipients, displaying their presence both visually and physically.<sup>36</sup> An example of this can be seen in the panel in which Becket touches that of an ailing figure (nIV 57), (**fig.4**) and in a panel from the St. William window at York Minster (c.1414/15) where William heals a blind woman (15b), (**fig.5**) he intentionally stretches out his fingers to receive the woman's forehead which she offers to him with her hands. As Anne Harris correctly identified, Becket and William are presented as hands-on saints.<sup>37</sup> This was not only the case in their lives but perhaps more so after the deaths of these saints, as the multiplicity of the corporeal elements were the focus of much imagery associated with their cults. This can be seen in the depictions of *ex voto* offerings which were made at their shrines, where physical offerings were expected to result in physical healing. At Canterbury, the panels depicting the cure of Robert of Cricklade (n IV) who became lame when in Sicily show his crutch, cloak and shoes as *ex votos*. (**fig.6**) The inscription which stretches over the architectural canopy within which the scene takes place

<sup>36</sup> Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass," p. 262.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*



**Figure 6** The cure of Robert of Cricklade, from window nIV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England, (1213-1216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

reads, “his stick, his garment, his shoes, are all witnesses to his cure.”<sup>38</sup> As the inscriptions of such panels were difficult to read, the detailed depictions of the *ex votos* serve to explain the storylines themselves.<sup>39</sup> Madeline Caviness has suggested that the verses on ampullae could be recited like a spell over the sick person who was to receive the holy mixture of St. Thomas as “even if he/she could not understand the Latin, the inscribed letters carried the mystique of literacy that was associated with the church.”<sup>40</sup> Equally, the inscriptions in the windows could be read aloud (by a “guide” or literate pilgrim) and then recited by the remaining pilgrims,

<sup>38</sup> *est baculus uestis pero cure sibi testis.*

<sup>39</sup> Although many *tituli* (verses) and inscriptions were notably difficult to read, there is evidence (especially at Canterbury) that many monks functioned as “tour guides” whose task it was to explain the images and inscriptions to the masses of pilgrims. Alyce A. Jordan, “The St. Thomas Becket Window of Sens Cathedral,” in Evelyn Staudiger Lane, Elizabeth Carson Pastan and Ellen M. Shortell (eds.), *The Four Modes of Seeing: Approaches to Medieval Imagery in Honor of Madeline Harrison Caviness* (Burlington; Surrey: Ashgate, 2009), p. 563, Blick, “Comparing.”

<sup>40</sup> For a detailed discussion see Madeline Caviness, “Beyond the Corpus Vitrearum: Stained Glass at the Crossroads,” *Compte Rendu: Union académique internationale*, 72<sup>ème</sup> session (Brussels, 1998), pp. 20-21, and Blick, “Comparing.”



**Figure 7** The cure of Mad Henry of Fordwich from window n IV, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England, (1213-1216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

proffering a similar type of spell either over themselves or the person for whom they were visiting the cathedral for. The glass therefore also attained the guise of "mystery" as the pilgrims copied the strange yet hopefully powerful language of the church and its saints.

Still, in these miracle scenes it is the *physicality* of the attributes that is being stressed as integral to fulfilling the cure at the shrines. In the cure of Mad Henry of Fordwich (n IV), (**fig.7**) the later scenes portray Henry in a more dignified manner with sticks and rope presented as *ex votos* (instead of in the previous scene where they are used to bind and beat him) as they are placed around the shrine alongside the many offerings that adorned the structure in the previous panel.<sup>41</sup> In the York St. William window there are a large quantity of candlesticks depicted around the tomb/shrine and many pilgrims are presented with the particular attributes associated with their cure needs i.e. crutches and shackles. However, unlike the Canterbury panels where *ex votos* and ampullae recurrently feature to authenticate the miracle accounts, images of votive offerings in the York window rarely occur and it is rather the contact that pilgrims make with the shrine structure itself that is continually stressed. This is surprising given the amount of human attributes left around the portable shrine of St. William listed in the surviving inventories. Such items included a golden nose, many pairs of gilded shoes, several hands, and even a silver breast!<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Michael, p. 73.

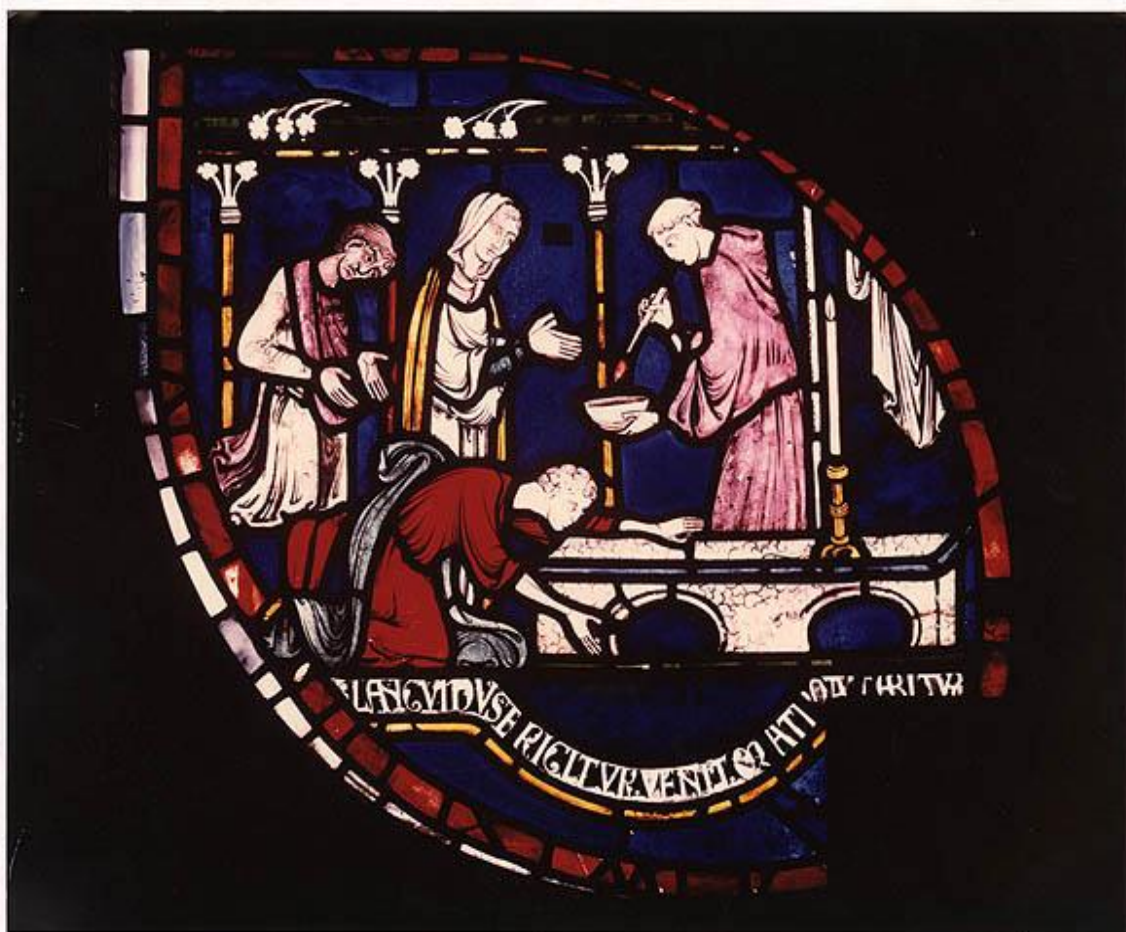
<sup>42</sup> Robert Norman Swanson (trans.), *Catholic England: Faith, Religion and Observance Before the Reformation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), pp. 179-180.



**Figure 8** Cripples collect healing oil at the tomb of St. William, from window nVII, St William Window, York Minster, England, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

The extraordinary access to the tomb is clear. Throughout the glass pilgrims are seen kneeling within the shrine niches, touching and kissing the reliquary caskets, and even licking the shrine as in the case of the cripples seeking the salvific effect of the sweet oil which exuded from William's shrine from 1223 onwards (15c). (**fig.8**) What is also notable are the poses of the pilgrims; nearly all are kneeling, once again, cementing the idea of immediacy and intimacy with the relics of the saint. At Canterbury, in the cure of Richard of Sunieve (nII 57), (**fig.9**) a similar image of bodily involvement is portrayed as Richard is seen stooping at the tomb, his hands outstretched and touching the side and top of the structure. He is again in the closest possible proximity to the saint. Accordingly, at both locations there is a repetitive theme of contact in order for a cure to be achieved. Further confirmation exists in that *only* the main protagonists (the receivers of the cure) make physical contact with the tomb/shrine and therefore it is clear that interaction with the relics is a vital component in fulfilling the cure. It would appear that "physical proximity to the tomb became physical proximity to the saint, thus the rapidity and power of the cures."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Harris, "Pilgrimage, Performance, and Stained Glass," p. 273.



**Figure 9** The cure of Richard of Sunieve, from window n II, Trinity Chapel, Canterbury Cathedral, England, (1213-11216). Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

In the St. William window at York perhaps one of the most literal examples of corporeal interaction for saintly intervention can be seen. In the scene where a man offers a wax leg at the tomb (24e), (**fig.10**) replications of bodily parts are brought to the structure for healing.<sup>44</sup> That the replicated parts are so detailed suggests the importance of their function. In the background a female head, a leg, a hand, and a heart in wax form are hung on the tomb; a typical act performed by pilgrims who wished for certain body parts to be cured by intercessory power. Therefore the actual visual display and constant repetitive depictions of such cures (or more specifically objects for cures) inspired faith and hope in the pilgrims waiting to visit the shrines for their own needs, and thus through identification with the divine prototypes they valued the power of these images to stimulate their perception of and experience to them. Interestingly, the cults did not just promise that the pilgrims might be healed through contemplation of images and stories, they made available to pilgrims the physical agents (the repetitive images of the *ex votos*) through which this healing was made manifest in visual form.

<sup>44</sup> The use of replicated bodily parts in devotional worship is a long-standing tradition in religious practice. In ancient Greece, Rome, and other ancient religions this was characteristic. See Ralph Merrifield, *The Archaeology of Magic* (London: Batsford, 1987) and Hugo van der Velden, *The donor's image: Gerard Loyet and the votive portraits of Charles the Bold* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).



**Figure 10** Man offers wax leg at tomb of St. William, from window n VII, St William Window, York Minster, England, 15<sup>th</sup> century. Photo: © Crown Copyright, NMR.

The scale and position of the miracle windows at Canterbury meant that their images (at least at their base) were large enough for pilgrims to see.<sup>45</sup> This works to position the pilgrim in the closest distance possible to the saint in order to receive his intercessory power. Although the enormous St. William window at York is set high up in the wall, the consistent repetitive image of the tomb/shrine in the small panels (a frequent feature in both churches' glass) makes the images identifiable from afar. Adding to the visual clarity of the message, at Canterbury, the compositions were quite consistent: with the miracle recipient placed to the left and the tomb and the saint or his attendants to the right,<sup>46</sup> making the composition understandable with an ability to be easily memorized by the viewer. This is also interesting as the pilgrims themselves could identify with the left hand protagonist, and their own proximity to Becket's shrine in the Trinity Chapel.

<sup>45</sup> Anne Harris noted the unusual proximity of viewer to image at Canterbury due to the unusually low locations of the windows, p. 253.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.* p. 273.

## The Memory Aspect

The multitude of images within the space where pilgrims waited to view the shrine of St Thomas Becket and St William of York, it would appear, denotes their intention. As Sarah Blick noted,

These windows showed events within memory of some early pilgrims, and, more importantly, pictured objects from the Cathedrals itself [such as Becket's and William's tomb] reminding the pilgrims that the events shown had actually occurred in the very place they were now standing.<sup>47</sup>

This has been explained by studies of medieval relics and reliquaries which explored their power to provoke imaginative memory.<sup>48</sup> Through the documents and stories which are created to produce and to transform the meanings of the shrine “relics [were thought to] bring to life...an origin or a founding event, and...[so] for the believer they made the present the full, holy effect of the past.”<sup>49</sup> It could be said then that the glass images also re-evoked the past within the present therefore cementing the authenticity of the miracle cures through their physical presence in the glass. This was an important tool used by medieval artists as by depicting real events, places and objects as visual mnemonics, the observer could understand and experience these images through recognition and remembrance. Subsequently, the shrine structures became icons as the repeated depictions were recognised and symbolically interpreted by the viewer. In both cases, the glass then assumed the function of a giant advertisement for the merits of the local saint, visually attracting the stream of passing pilgrims.

## Public, yet Private Space?

Like devotional images, relics and other parts of the sensory experience of pilgrimage sites fuelled and inspired devotion. First printed in 1526, Desiderius Erasmus wrote a satire that reflected his 1512-1514 visits to the shrines of Our Lady of Walsingham and St. Thomas Becket of Canterbury. In *A pilgrimage for Religion's sake*,<sup>50</sup> Erasmus observes the contradiction at Canterbury between the desire for a site that welcomes all pilgrims to worship and offer at the shrine stations, yet restricts access to the most sacred of objects and areas of the cult.<sup>51</sup> For example, he notes the intense adoration that took place at the

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<sup>47</sup> Blick, “Comparing,” p. 7.

<sup>48</sup> Simon Coleman and John Elsner (eds.), *Pilgrimage: Past and Present in the World Religions* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p. 193.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> Desiderius Erasmus, *Pilgrimages to Saint Mary of Walsingham and Saint Thomas of Canterbury*, trans. by John Gough Nichols (John Bowyer Nichols and Son: Westminster, 1849).

<sup>51</sup> Erasmus. p. 46. He explains, “The iron screens stop further progress, but yet admit a view of the whole space from the choir to the end of the church.” In fact, if a medieval pilgrim looked towards the east end from the nave they would first have to look through the Great Rood, then through the iron gates in the pulpitum screen (made c.1404 and reset c.1450), and then in the far distance they may be able to glimpse the top of the elevated shrine visible through and above the iron screen called ‘le Hake’ situated above the High Altar and which survived until the late sixteenth-century. Tatton-Brown, “Canterbury and the architecture of pilgrimage shrines in England,” p. 102.

numerous pilgrim stations, as well as the ability to kiss the relics in the north side of the choir, and the kissing allowed to the top of Becket's cranium, teeth, jaw-bone, hands, fingers and arms;<sup>52</sup> many of which appear to have been openly available to all society.<sup>53</sup> However, he observes the restriction of access given to the bones of Becket that reside in a gold chest that are to be touched only by the monk (here the Prior) with a white rod.<sup>54</sup>

This access and restriction is evident when he repeatedly mentions open ironwork screens and gates located before each successive stop on the route, which permitted viewing, but closed off access to certain spaces.<sup>55</sup> According to Erasmus, gates were placed before the entrance to the Chapel of Our Lady in the Undercroft, in the south choir aisle, and leading up to the Trinity Chapel.<sup>56</sup> Such restrictions or "control systems," had various purposes. Although they certainly increased security, they also enhanced the pilgrim's sense of wonder and perception of visual grandeur as they created vistas of the most holy areas. This culminated in excitement as the various relics and shrines of Becket were viewed. Tim Tatton-Brown's analysis of Canterbury conveyed the same conclusion by suggesting that these gates were essentially used to *heighten* the pilgrim's experience by providing a "glimpse" of the great elevated shrine throughout their journey.<sup>57</sup> Obstructing view seems to have been a requisite of many screens designed to exclude the gazes and bodies of the laity from the sacred precinct of the shrine, except when permitted to do so by the clergy.<sup>58</sup> Subsequently, focus on the vista appears central to the entire purpose of the barrier arrangement. That screens could be looked over, through and beyond "reinforced their roles as reminders of the [sacred] zone that [lay] behind."<sup>59</sup> No doubt the design accentuated the *sanctum sanctorum* aspect and the process of entry; entering one door and leaving via another added a degree of solemnity.<sup>60</sup>

Various scholars have concluded that the boundaries created by such screens were used to structure rites of passage.<sup>61</sup> Using psychology, the screens did not block movement,

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<sup>52</sup> Erasmus, pp. 47-48.

<sup>53</sup> I believe this to be the case as Erasmus goes on to say:  
 "A pall was shown, which, though wholly of silk, was of a coarse texture, and unadorned with gold or jewels. There was also a sudary, dirty from wear, and retaining manifest stains of blood. These monuments of the simplicity of ancient times we willingly kissed.  
*Me.* Are they not shown to anyone?  
*Og* (Erasmus). By no means, my good friend." p. 50.

<sup>54</sup> Erasmus, pp. 55-56.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.* p. 81.

<sup>56</sup> Tatton-Brown, "Canterbury and the architecture of pilgrimage shrines in England," p. 102. See also Jane Geddes, *Medieval Decorative Ironwork in England* (London: Society of Antiquaries Monograph, 1999).

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> Jacqueline E. Jung, "Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches," *Art Bulletin*, 82 (December, 2000), pp. 622-57, p. 626.

<sup>59</sup> Jung, p. 631.

<sup>60</sup> Jennie Stopford, (ed.), *Pilgrimage Explored* (York: York Medieval Press, 1999), p. 103.

<sup>61</sup> The theory was developed by Arnold Van Gennep in *The Rites of Passage* (1909. Reprint, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960). It was then used by Victor Turner in *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (New Jersey: Aldine Transactions, 1969), followed by Jung who used the principles of the theory in her analysis of choir screens in "Beyond the Barrier," pp. 630-633.

but rather signified a passage through to a new territory that lies beyond them, and where a new special status will be assumed by the individual who enters it.<sup>62</sup> Because the doors were always visible, they continually enticed people with the potential of passing through them; an aspect shared by choir screens.<sup>63</sup> Jacqueline Jung suggests that these screens had an incorporative function, uniting the space of the choir and nave, using a distinctive visual vocabulary aimed at the socially differentiated viewers who inhabited the respective spaces.<sup>64</sup>

Visibility and visuality of cathedral shrines from outside the feretory or shrine locale can tell us a great deal about both the theological and practical aspects of sanctity, as well as the architectural and social history of the church itself. The general consensus was that shrines needed to be visible from afar;<sup>65</sup> however, the interior of Canterbury as discussed above appears to have given the opposite impression, with the vista from the nave being largely that of screens with a small view of the top of the shrine. Nilson argues that the vista was in fact exceptionally significant in the planning of the great church with the necessity of a “long-range view of the feretrum”<sup>66</sup> being at the top of the agenda, providing a visually impressive sacred sight culminating in a small preview of the magnificent shrine spectacle to come.

The pilgrimage route at Canterbury restricted (and incorporated) access to various places; this was also the case at York Minster. There, access was controlled at the east end, which was a sacred area that contained Archbishop Richard Scrope’s and St. William’s shrine. The arrangement of the liturgical space was as follows:

...The choir aisles were accessed through gates from the east side of the main transepts... There were also, it appears, screens across the choir aisles on the west side of the eastern transepts, through which gates gave access to the eastern bays of the aisles and the Lady Chapel.<sup>67</sup>

St. William was translated to his shrine behind the high altar in 1284, and again in 1472 to a more elaborate shrine to celebrate the re-consecration of the Minster. But the view of both shrines was obstructed by a tall, stone screen located between the high altar and shrine. Such a restricted approach was very unusual for English churches with residing shrines,<sup>68</sup> yet it appears to have been used as a tool for controlling the flow of pilgrims. The gates could be opened at certain times only, to specific volumes of pilgrims and even to certain social

<sup>62</sup> Jung, “Beyond the Barrier,” p. 631.

<sup>63</sup> Jung, “Beyond the Barrier,” p. 631.

<sup>64</sup> Jung, p. 264. Choir screens, in parish churches, also marked out areas of responsibility. That is, the clergy were responsible for the upkeep of the space beyond the screen (the choir) and the laity, for the space in front of the screen (the nave).

<sup>65</sup> Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 81.

<sup>66</sup> Nilson, p. 81.

<sup>67</sup> Christopher Norton “Sacred Space and Sacred History: The Glazing of the Eastern Arm of York Minster,” in Rüdiger Becksmann (ed.), *Glasmalerei im Kontext Bildprogramme und Raumfunktionen* (Nürnberg: Internationalen Colloquiums des Corpus Vitrearum, 2005), pp. 167-182, p. 169. In two early printed plans of the Minster dating to around 1726, the screens across the choir aisle on the east side of the eastern transepts are shown. See Brown, “*Our Magnificent Fabrick*,” plan 2, p. 271 for plan of c.1726 drawn by E Barker and engraved by J Nutting, and Ivan Hall (ed.), *Samuel Beck’s Yorkshire Sketchbook* (Wakefield: 1979), pp. 260-261.

<sup>68</sup> Christopher Wilson, *The Shrines of St. William of York* (York: Yorkshire Museum, 1977), p. 20.

classes, whilst the screen protected the visibility of the shrine to the chosen few that were allowed access to the shrine. Although it seems strange that a relic as important to York as St. William's shrine was blocked off from a large portion of visitors, the presence of such significant stained glass in this area may explain this oddity. The huge walls of glass in this most sacred of areas may have functioned as signifiers for the holy space: the Great East window indicating the high altar and St. William's window, his magnificent shrine. At the same time, the specific nature of the windows' locations, height, and grandeur suggest that they also acted as visual sacred relics for the devotional areas unable to be freely entered by the majority of the medieval population. As such, the painted glass images became substitutes for the saintly visions that could no longer be experienced in the sacred areas, and so, simply by looking on these ocular intercessory narratives "the vision [produced by the image] filled that gap that existed in the imagination of the common beholder and gave a sense of nearness [to the saint]."<sup>69</sup> In comparison, due to the restrictions on sight of the shrine at Canterbury, a similar function was adopted by the glass. As the windows framed the shrine locale, the huge scale and intense jewel-like tones of the Trinity Chapel glazing created an illuminated frame around the space of the shrine making the sacred area visible from almost all areas of the pilgrimage route. Furthermore, as the windows resided in the eastern end of the church they also, like at York, acted as signifiers of these most holy of areas; the high altar, the shrine behind and the tomb directly below.

***non solum ad edificacionem sed ad recreationem***<sup>70</sup>

Erasmus' account also reflects another important feature of pilgrimage sites: the presence of various shrines and altars within one larger location. This is important to the concept of sensory perception and interaction as the numerous types of saintly engagement provided by these various attractions heightened the overall experience of the cult, giving greater prestige to the church, and subsequently enticing more pilgrims to visit. The competition between saintly sites is apparent throughout the entire medieval period,<sup>71</sup> and as a result, the churches wished to both stimulate and appease an appetite, both for contact with the holy and for various shrines to visit. Multiple cult stations provided an overall pilgrimage attraction heightened by the visual decorative schemes of the glass and wall paintings (which also functioned as official sanctions of Becket's and William's intercessory power). Numerous sacred areas created an embodied type of experience as different emotions were provided by different parts of the building's fabric.<sup>72</sup> Expectation was created on immediate

<sup>69</sup> Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, trans. by Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), p. 412.

<sup>70</sup> "not only for the edification but also for the entertainment" in Jung, p. 636.

<sup>71</sup> Competition was particularly fierce during the late thirteenth to fifteenth century when the popularity of many established cults was starting to wane. The churches had to counteract this problem first with the creation of miracle accounts further to the original sets, such as with St. Cuthbert's cult after Becket was martyred. This was followed by vast amounts of money invested in developing shrine structures and elaborating church interiors in order to draw pilgrims to their saints. See Emma J. Wells "....he went round the holy places praying and offering": An examination of the evidence for Cuthbertine pilgrimage to Lindisfarne and Farne," *Newcastle and Northumberland*, (eds.) Jeremy Ashbee and Julian. M. Luxford, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, XXXVI (forthcoming, 2012).

<sup>72</sup> At Canterbury the shrine locations in the 1170s consisted of: the place of martyrdom in the north transept, the tomb in the crypt of the Romanesque Trinity Chapel and the altar in the Trinity Chapel. As Becket's body remained in the original burial place until 1220, the new Trinity Chapel did not become another sacred site for several decades, yet the Corona took the place of the old Trinity altar sometime after construction ceased in

entry to the church by the shrine vistas, anticipation was stimulated on the journey route to the main shrine, visits to the lesser known sites and also during the wait to enter the Corona and Trinity Chapel (at Canterbury) and to the choir (at York), culminating in heightened excitement as the various relics and shrines of both Becket and William were subsequently viewed.

Entry into many areas of the medieval church was forbidden to pilgrims or greatly controlled, as previously explained, but once they gained entry to the shrine precinct, what becomes fascinating is the access to the actual shrine structure itself. Many shrines contained apertures (later niches) designed for pilgrims to kiss or touch the shrine base implying that contact with the sacred was an important aspect of the construction.<sup>73</sup> Shrines dating from the early twelfth-century, as seen in early images and descriptions of Cuthbert's shrine at Durham and suggested reconstructions of St Æthelthryth's shrine at Ely, show a thin stone slab atop a row of columns.<sup>74</sup> Whilst restricting admission and acting as spatial dividers, the apertures also created a harmonious integration with their architectural surroundings offered by the aesthetic unity of the structures which compliment the decorative schemes around them. An example of this can be seen at Durham Priory. It cannot be doubted that the origin

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1184. Therefore between c.1185 and 1120: three sacred sites, and after 1220: the new shrine made a fourth. See Hearn, "Canterbury Cathedral and the Cult of Becket," p. 44.

At York, there were two sacred sites associated with St. William. He was originally commemorated by a small altar and tomb in the Minster since 1154 (this was located in the centre of the east end of the nave), but in around 1284 the bones were moved to a new larger shrine behind the High Altar, although the original tomb site in the nave was still sanctified and a monument erected over it by Archbishop Melton (1317-40). Christopher Wilson, *The Shrines of St. William of York*. York: Rusholmes Printers, 1977; Eric Gee, "The Topography of Altars, Chancies and Shrines in York Minster," *The Antiquaries Journal*, 4 (1984), pp. 337-350, p. 12. A new, more elaborate shrine was then constructed in the 1470s to entice pilgrims to return and offer at the main shrine in time for the consecration. See Brown, 'Our Magnificent Fabrick,' pp. 236-237.

<sup>73</sup> *Foramina*-type shrine structures consisted of a stone chest pierced with large holes known as "apertures," Although St. Oswald's and St. Candida's are the only English example to survive, early images of Becket's tomb (made 1171) as illustrated in the glass, are of this type with two holes per side. Most interestingly, it has been suggested, that this design was not used for Becket's shrine once the relics had been Translated in 1220 due to the recurrence of many pilgrims who had become stuck in the holes in their search for a cure. The new shrine rather had six columns and wide, round-headed arches supporting a flat table, as is depicted in the Trinity Chapel glass and the fifteenth-century images of Becket's shrine in Nettlestead parish church, Kent.

The *foramina*- type design then developed into one with shallower niches with the introduction of the highly decorated solid base-plinth in the mid-thirteenth century, pierced with tall niches in which praying pilgrims could kneel as St. William of York's is depicted in the glass; "the supplicants' heads pressed against the stonework of the base and their elbows resting on a sort of table which often filled the niche to a height of two or three feet." See Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 43-49 for a detailed discussion of the development of bases.

<sup>74</sup> The shrines of Cuthbert and Æthelthryth, along with the most notable shrines of the medieval period, are analyzed in detail by Nicola Coldstream in "English Decorated Shrine Bases," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, XXXIX (1976), pp. 15-34. See also: Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*; John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cults of Saints in the Early Christian West c.300-c.1200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Virginia Blanton, "Building a Presbytery for St. Æthelthryth: Bishop Hugh de Northwold and the Politics of Cult Production in Thirteenth-Century England," in Sarah Blick and Rita Tekippe (eds.), *Art and Architecture of Late Medieval Pilgrimage In Northern Europe and the British Isles* (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2004), pp. 539-565. The significance and focus on the corporeality in the construction of Æthelthryth's shrine, which like St. Cuthbert's, has been attested to the incorruptibility of her physical body as the shrine was seen as an extension of that body. This concept has been widely studied by Virginia Blanton-Whetsell in her article: "Tota integra, tota incorrupta: The Shrine of St. Æthelthryth as Symbol of Monastic Autonomy," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 32/2 (Spring, 2002), pp. 227-267, and most recently in her book *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St. Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007).

of the building's design derives from the need to house the bones of St. Cuthbert. As such, the design of the entire east end plan appears to have reflected this purpose, focusing the space around the symbol of the monastic community's identity. Not only his first shrine, but also St. Cuthbert's second, more elaborate, shrine-structure commissioned in 1372<sup>75</sup> featured four elliptical arched recessed openings cut into the marble of the base. Moreover, in its later development, Cuthbert's shrine contained several other sensory stimulants which invaded its spatial surroundings. On Cuthbert's feast day the carved and painted wooden canopy above the shrine was raised by a pulley system and six silver bells which were attached to it would ring out permeating the considerable barriers of the choir and subsequently the Neville choir and rood screens into the body of the church so that anyone not in the immediate vicinity would be stirred by the sounds.<sup>76</sup> If we examine this evidence in light of my earlier argument regarding the corporeality of such shrine designs, there is no doubt that the sensory elements combined to enforce a symbolic experience like never before. Although Blesser and Salter's work on aural architecture proposed that the "earconic" aspects of the niche embellishment were incidental,<sup>77</sup> this analysis surely proves that definite planning was undertaken with respect to enhancing the entire sensory environment.

Moreover, it has been suggested that the resonances and amplification of the recesses in shrine-bases also created an intimate encounter with the saint, while the visual isolation contributed to the feeling of private worship, making the saints' spirits a visual and aural accessible experience.<sup>78</sup> One example can be seen in the panel from the St. William window at York which depicts cripples collecting healing oil at William's tomb (15c). (**fig.8**) On the left stands a man supporting himself on two crutches; next to him a blind man leans into the arcading of the tomb, whilst another man's head can be seen within the niches of the structure. Although the exact purpose of this disembodied head is unclear, its presence illustrates the significance of the bodily involvement in worship at the shrine. Is it demonstrating the importance of the head in devotion or is it a wax offering, a vision or perhaps something else?

It can be assumed that as many shrines contained these similar apertures designed for pilgrims to kiss or touch the sarcophagus, the functions were numerous. Not only did they provide acoustical properties appropriated for experience as the echoes of pilgrims' prayers reverberated around the enclosed space, but the power of touch combined with vision also appears to have been a significant quality. Such an intimate and small spatial area for a large

<sup>75</sup> Coldstream, "English Decorated Shrine Bases," p. 25.

<sup>76</sup> James T. Fowler (ed.), *Rites of Durham: being a description or brief declaration of all the ancient monuments, rites and customs belonging or being within the monastic church of Durham before the suppression* (Durham: Surtees Society, 1903), p. 111; C. Pamela Graves, "Sensing and believing: exploring worlds of difference in pre-modern England: a contribution to the debate opened by Kate Giles," *World Archaeology*, 39/4 (2007), pp. 515-531, p. 525.

<sup>77</sup> Barry Bless and Linda-Ruth Salter, *Spaces Speak, are You Listening? Experiencing Aural Architecture* (MIT Press, 2007), p. 88.

<sup>78</sup> The most innovative study on the aural properties of architecture is Blesser and Salter, *Spaces Speak*, p. 88. Church architects were always aware of aural issues in conceiving the design of religious interiors. For example, the Shrine of St. Werburgh at Chester Cathedral contains six recesses where kneeling pilgrims inserted their heads while pleading their petition. "The cavity serves both as amplifier and filter, thus giving the petitioner's voice dramatic and emotional emphasis: only modest vocal effort is required to produce a strong voice. The shrine's cavity becomes a unique private arena that also excludes external sounds—privacy without walls...Because the experience of being in such a space takes place in a religious ritual, the aural architecture of the cavity gradually acquires symbolic meaning." A very competent summary of Blesser and Salter's contribution to the understanding of aural space can be found at: <http://www.blesser.net/spacesSpeak.html>.

body of people would enhance any type of smell (whether human or religious), heightening the experience and creating a more intimate encounter between the pilgrim and the saint. The popularity of these shrine bases clearly illustrates that the accessibility of the relics was more desirable for the fulfilment of the devotional experience.<sup>79</sup> Many accounts describe pilgrims touching the niches with their foreheads and eyes, and then kissing them,<sup>80</sup> with similar actions being depicted in the stained glass as already seen. At York particularly, throughout various scenes of the St. William window, as well as the St. Cuthbert window located directly opposite, pilgrims are portrayed partaking in the physical elements of the shrine constructions. This shows that the tangibility and tactility of the sacred was becoming a predominant factor in the designs of shrines as the closer pilgrims were to the relic, the more genuine and more immediate access was offered to sanctity.<sup>81</sup>

Furthermore, the emphasis of the design is on the head and hands for partaking in the saintly veneration. As Pam Graves' article on the anthropology of the body elucidated, the head and the hands were thought to embody more of the symbolic life force than any other parts,<sup>82</sup> and many early Christians spoke of their desire of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in order "to see and touch the places where Christ was physically present."<sup>83</sup> As many scholars of medieval vision have shown, "seeing something was in effect touching it,"<sup>84</sup> but it is my opinion that pilgrims wished to receive the intercessory power of the saints as intimately and as quickly as possible. The evidence for pilgrims touching and even sleeping underneath shrines suggests that direct engagement with the holy was extremely important. It is therefore not surprising that focus was often put on these two attributes for saintly veneration or for any type of devotional activity for that matter.<sup>85</sup>

Still, we cannot rule out the importance of vision within these experiences. The combination of sight and touch is resonant within tactile worship, but this concentration on immediacy with contact explains why these two senses were the most predominant. Furthermore, the ultimate importance of the medieval experience was the memory it created within the mind of the pilgrim. As such, the process by which this devotion was undertaken

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<sup>79</sup> Morris & Roberts, *Pilgrimage*, p. 5.

<sup>80</sup> Frank, "The Pilgrim's gaze in the age before icons," p. 105.

<sup>81</sup> Frank, p. 106

<sup>82</sup> In early medieval art, the head and hands are always emphasized over other body parts, as they are the most expressive as Christ was seen as the 'head' of the mystical body, and inside this head, all of the senses were to be found, while the saints only possessed the sense of touch. Karl Rahner, *Theological Investigations, Volume XVI, Experience of the Spirit: Source of Theology*, trans. By David Morland (New York: The Seabury Press, 1979), pp. 104-134. See also C. Pamela Graves, "From an Archaeology of Iconoclasm to an Anthropology of the Body: Images, Punishment, and Personhood in England, 1500-1660," *Current Anthropology*, 48/ 1 (February, 2008), 35-57, p. 41.

<sup>83</sup> Frank, p. 104.

<sup>84</sup> Graves, p. 42.

<sup>85</sup> In fact, these attributes were not only significant in the religious environment, but throughout the social and political structures of the entire medieval world the hierarchy of the human limb was adhered to. For a further discussion see Jacques Le Goff, "Head or heart? The political use of body metaphors in the Middle Ages. In *Fragments for a history of the human body*," pt. 3, (ed.), M. Feher (New York: Urzone, 1989), pp. 13-27. For a detailed discussion of the historiography of the significance of the head and hands in body-part reliquaries see Barbara Drake Boehm, "Body-Part Reliquaries: The State of Research," *Gesta*, 36/1 (1997), pp. 8-19.

was important as “memory consisted of a tidy assemblage of sense perceptions.”<sup>86</sup> Frank explains that perceptions enter the mind in visual form and therefore smells, sounds, and tastes are all translated into a mental picture and stored away.<sup>87</sup> Whichever sense had the most substance, therefore imprinted the experience in the mind and so further explains why a stimulation of each individual sense was created by the church to create such a magnificent memory; “resonances contribute to the sense of being in another world; amplification contributes to intimacy; visual isolation contributes to privacy.”<sup>88</sup>

## Conclusion

*“tasting, smelling, hearing, seeing, touching.  
Taste and smell, hearing, sight, touch;  
By all these five senses everything is known to man.”*<sup>89</sup>

As the Middle Ages progressed, there was a greater emphasis on the emotional and physical aspects of worship as promoted by many clerics. John Drury’s *c.1434 Lenten Instruction* exclaimed that the five senses were like five gates; “just as nothing can enter a city except through the gates, just so may nothing enter your soul, good or bad, except through one of them.”<sup>90</sup> It is clear that as the medieval period drew on the senses became an evermore inherent part of daily devotion. In fact, Drury suggests that sins were committed due to “badly” use of the senses and therefore one must keep the sensory gates closed in order for sins to be kept at bay.

This increased sensory focus certainly penetrated into all devotional practices of the period as illustrated by the development in designs of the architectural and decorative schemes of the pilgrimage church. Stained glass and shrine architecture are both great examples of the substantial amount of bodily participation that, it appears, encompassed almost every aspect of a devotional visit and was considered key in order to fully interact with the divine, with physical involvement being at the heart of any pilgrimage.

As such, the detailed contemporary texts, as well as the images incorporated into the Canterbury and York pilgrimage schemes, raise important questions about the involvement and significance of the body and its senses in medieval devotional experience. Were these decorative and architectural schemes designed to appear to the increasingly large numbers of pilgrims, many of whom travelled long distances desperate to seek salvation or cures and who therefore needed, as much as they *required*, corporeal involvement in their cult experience? Or did the pilgrimage practices, such as the oral recitation of the inscriptions in the glass panels, imprint the hopeful stories into the memories of the faithful pilgrims?

This study of York and Canterbury has attempted to explore how the creation and subsequent development of the pilgrimage art and architecture of the churches was influenced by the sensory experience of the pilgrim. The evidence shows that the idea of seeing and reading, in conjunction with touching as a unified form of sensory practice, was certainly designed to elucidate meaning and understanding of devotional images. However, it suggests that although there was certainly a linear progression in the amount of sensory engagement

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<sup>86</sup> Frank, p, 107.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>88</sup> <http://www.blessed.net/spacesSpeak.html>.

<sup>89</sup> Swanson, *Catholic England*, p. 54.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

required by the pilgrim with the cult images and the shrine structures, throughout the period there existed complex and conflicting ways of seeing and understanding of these devotional schemes and their associated locales.

Such an approach may be fruitful when applied to other shrine sites in England and even Europe, although it must be stressed that more research is needed to understand the exact process of this practice! 🍷



## **The Troublesome bequest of Dame Joan: the establishment of the chapel of St Anne at Walsingham Priory**

By Matthew Champion, Heritage Consultancy and Project Management Services

### **Synopsis**

The establishment of medieval chantries by the wealthy has long been recognized as both a common form of devotion and a pious attempt at creating a lasting memorial to existence. The vast majority of chantry provisions were temporary affairs, designed to last a few weeks, months, or years. Yet, in the case of the truly affluent, the chantry could become a permanent creation in the form of a dedicated chapel with provision for its staff and services. In many instances the creation of purpose-built chantry chapels receives only scant attention from scholars, largely only as a tangible symbol of personal devotion to a particular cult or building, and the physical methods by which such buildings came to be constructed has been largely overlooked. However, the detailed documentation associated with the establishment of the late fourteenth century chapel of St. Anne, within the Priory church at Walsingham, gives us an intriguing insight into the financial, legal and familial complexities associated with such acts of devotion.<sup>1</sup>

In April 1381 Sir Thomas de Felton, Knight of the most illustrious Order of the Garter, hero of the battles of Crécy and Poitiers, seneschal of Aquitaine and Gascony, veteran of numerous military campaigns and companion of kings, died peacefully at his family home. His passing marked the end of a long, distinguished, and, above all, eventful career. Born into a relatively modest Norfolk gentry family, Sir Thomas had built upon his humble beginnings to become one of the most admired, well-respected, and powerful men of his age. A seasoned military campaigner, he had become advisor and friend to the Black Prince, had undertaken daring diplomatic and military missions for his king and had been entrusted with the stewardship of vast territories and castles that made him the envy of his peers. However, despite seemingly being one of the most successful men of his age, at his death Sir Thomas undoubtedly felt the keen lack of two things. His life, adventurous and dashing though it may have been, failed him in two respects. First, and perhaps most significantly for his family's immediate prospects, Sir Thomas had failed to produce a male heir.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Thomas married when relatively young, to Joan Walkefare, the daughter of a neighbouring Norfolk family, and they appear to have had a successful and stable marriage

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<sup>1</sup> E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: traditional religion in England, 1400-1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), pp. 368-376.

<sup>2</sup> P. Morgan, "Felton, Sir Thomas (d. 1381)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online edition, Jan 2008.

that showed all the outward signs of happiness. The marriage had been profitable to both families and Joan had stood beside her husband, witnessing his land transactions and managing his estates, whilst he became a leading figure in the military campaigns in France. Joan provided Sir Thomas with two daughters who survived to adulthood, Sybil and Mary, and a son, also named Thomas. Sadly, the young Thomas, like so many of his contemporaries, died whilst still an infant. At the time of his death Sir Thomas's daughters were both married but childless, and his wife was well beyond the age of childbirth so any possibility of a male heir was gone.

A second regret at the time of his death was perhaps less tangible. Although he had been a respected soldier and, at times, a brilliant commander, Sir Thomas had never been a lucky soldier. He fought alongside many of the greatest names of his age, had been a boon companion to the Black Prince and had more campaign experience than most of the other English (and French) commanders. He had been in the thick of the fighting at both Crécy and Poitiers, had undertaken sieges and skirmishes and had come through engagements that had left many of his contemporaries dead of disease, horrific wounds, or the rigors of fourteenth-century military operations. However, whilst those around him amassed honors, titles, and wealth, by the time of his death Sir Thomas had relatively little to show for a lifetime's hard-fought campaigning for his king. Sir Thomas would not have been unreasonable to blame his lack of tangible wealth upon bad luck. Upon two separate occasions Sir Thomas, largely through no fault of his own, found himself captured by his enemies and subject to ransom. On the second occasion, in 1377, Sir Thomas's honour and reputation led to his captors demanding a ransom of such magnitude that it was only matched by those demanded for captives of royal blood. In short, Sir Thomas's captivities had all but wiped out all the large financial gains that his illustrious career as a soldier, over two decades of hard campaigning, had managed to amass.<sup>3</sup>

Although nowhere near as wealthy as many of his contemporaries, at the time of his death, Sir Thomas still retained a reasonable estate which would, if well-managed and conserved, would leave his family wanting for little. In an act of both piety and remembrance, his widow, Dame Joan, ordered that his body should be buried within the great Priory church at nearby Walsingham and, above the tomb, there should be a chapel created in dedication to the mother of the Blessed Virgin, Saint Anne. In this chapel, which was to act as a chantry to Sir Thomas and his family, were to be installed four chaplains -- canons or seculars who were to celebrate divine service daily, and give prayers for the souls of the de Feltons and the king's father, Edward III. To these ends, Dame Joan created a generous endowment to finance the chapel's creation, the wages of the canons, and the daily burning of a light upon the altar at high mass. There, it was reverently hoped, Dame Joan would also eventually find herself interred, beside her husband, and with the prayers of the chaplains ensuring her soul's safe passage through purgatory. Unfortunately, Dame Joan's seemingly straightforward act of

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<sup>3</sup> Ibid. The level of the ransom is clearly a reflection of Felton's elevated status within the administration. The *Chandos Herald* refers to Felton as one of the Black Prince's companions and closest councillors. D. B. Tyson (ed), *La vie du Prince Noir by Chandos Herald*, (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1975).

remembrance and piety, designed to ensure lasting memorial and eternal salvation, was soon transformed into something that was anything but straightforward.

Despite her good intentions for the well-being of her husband's soul, Dame Joan first had to face realities that his death had thrust upon her. His recent captivity and subsequent ransom had drained the family coffers. The size of the demanded ransom was, even by the standards of the day, large. It was most certainly more than Sir Thomas or his immediate family could ever hope to raise by drawing upon their own resources. Sir Thomas's release was eventually secured after nearly three years in captivity when the king, never quick to act where money was concerned, eventually allowed the family a grant of 30,000 francs.<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas died only a year after his ensuing return to England and it is unclear whether the ransom was ever paid in full. Still, despite having spent much of the family's money on securing his release, and raising further funds upon the promise of the king's grant, it is quite clear that the king never paid the family the full amount of the grant. It appears that once Sir Thomas was in his grave, and the crown had little further use for his family, that the payment of the grant gradually slipped from the King's list of priorities. Therefore, in the months immediately following her husband's death Dame Joan would have found her own financial situation particularly difficult.

These difficulties were further compounded by the acts of the executors of Sir Thomas's Will and the Royal officials at the Exchequer. As soon as Sir Thomas was dead, the Barons of the Exchequer moved quickly. Claiming that Sir Thomas owed the crown vast sums in outstanding loans they took possession of a number of manors that he had held and seized the revenues that they generated for their own use. In particular, the wealthy manor of Kirketon (Kirton) in Lincolnshire, which Dame Joan claimed she held as a joint estate with her husband, was taken from her and became the object of a legal dispute that would continue for over two years.<sup>5</sup>

The truth of the matter was actually very different from that painted by the Barons of the Exchequer and their officials. The records make clear that it was actually the crown that owed Sir Thomas money; a great deal of money. As far back as 1375 Sir Thomas had petitioned the crown to settle the debts and reimburse him for costs incurred whilst acting as Seneschal of Gascony and Aquitaine. By that time the total owed him by the crown was calculated to be £7098 14s 6d and it was agreed that the exchequer would reimburse him by the amount of 2000 marks each Christmas for the next five years.<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas, however, spent much of these subsequent five years in captivity and it appears that during this time the exchequer declined, or was unable, to honor its agreement. In the months following his death Dame Joan and Sir Thomas's executors petitioned the crown to settle the debts, which by that time had escalated to nearly £15,000.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, the executors of the Will were forced to

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<sup>4</sup> Calendar of Letters Patent, 4<sup>th</sup> Richard II, pt 1, membrane 22.

<sup>5</sup> National Archives reference SC8/104/5168.

<sup>6</sup> Calendar of Patent Rolls, 49<sup>th</sup> Edward III, pt 1, membrane 29.

<sup>7</sup> National Archives reference SC8/104/5168.

appeal to the king and council for an immediate advance upon the sums owed as they claimed that they were actually unable to fulfil the terms of the Will itself. Unfortunately, whilst Sir Thomas had been in captivity a new king, Richard II, had come to the throne and the name of Sir Thomas de Felton meant very little to him. The crown pressed its claims to his land and largely ignored the pleas of his widow and executors. In addition, as the months dragged past, Dame Joan and the executors of Sir Thomas's Will increasingly came under pressure to settle the outstanding amounts claimed by his retinue in Gascony and Aquitaine.<sup>8</sup> The sums were not insignificant and Sir Thomas's estate was in serious jeopardy.

It was not until January 1383, almost two years after the death of Sir Thomas, that any form of agreement appeared to have been reached. As was to be expected, the crown was the major beneficiary and Dame Joan was left to salvage what she could from her husband's former estate. By this time the executors had already been forced to pay £1134 12s 6d in arrears of pay to members of Sir Thomas's retinue and a further £600 to the Barons of the Exchequer.<sup>9</sup> Whilst Dame Joan maintained that more had been owed by the crown for Sir Thomas's services overseas, it was agreed that the king would not seek further monies from the estate in return for certain agreements and considerations. In return for this "grant" Dame Joan was to relinquish all claims that she had in the profitable manor of Kirketon and surrender all right of action against the king concerning the monies owed to her husband. In particular, she and the executors were to write off the sum of £7098 14s 6d that dated back to the original claim made by Sir Thomas eight years earlier. In effect, Dame Joan was to surrender everything that she had fought to retain in exchange for the king's promise to refrain from pursuing her family for further money.<sup>10</sup>

It was a disappointing result for Dame Joan but, with no major nobleman to petition the king on her behalf, it was not altogether surprising. Although no one could argue that justice had been done, she had managed to retain part of her husband's estate and settle all outstanding debts against the family. Now, with her financial situation at least partially stabilized, Dame Joan could concentrate on the creation of a lasting memorial to the memory of her husband. Yet her struggle with the bureaucrats of the royal court turned out to be far from over.

The year after Dame Joan reached agreement with the king and his officials of the exchequer she began in earnest to organize the establishment of the chantry at Walsingham in her husband's memory. The three years that had passed since her husband's death had seen a number of dramatic changes in Dame Joan's life. The most significant was that she now found herself living in a nunnery. She had taken refuge from the world in the "Abbey of St. Clare without Aldgate," where her younger daughter Mary was ensconced, not entirely

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<sup>8</sup> National Archives reference SC8/111/5509.

<sup>9</sup> Calendar of Letters Patent, 6<sup>th</sup> Richard II, pt 2, membrane 15.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.

happily, as a Minoress.<sup>11</sup> For a relatively wealthy and well-connected widow to choose to live with the “poor Clares” at Aldgate was not unusual. The Abbey, originally established by Blanche, Queen of Navarre in 1293, from the earliest days of its existence enjoyed the patronage of many of the most powerful women in the country. In 1346 Queen Isabella herself made generous grants to the nuns, as had Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady Clare in 1355, and during Dame Joan’s residency, Margaret, Countess of Norfolk, who made similar generous gifts to the abbess and nuns. Indeed, Dame Joan’s retirement from the world to Aldgate was not one of seclusion and abstinence. A few years after she arrived at the nunnery she would be joined by the powerful Margaret Beauchamp, widow of the Earl of Warwick, who brought with her three matrons and permission from the pope to reside there as long as she pleased. Relatively close to the court, and the markets and the gossip of London, life with the Minoresses without Aldgate must have been an attractive option for many widows of rank.<sup>12</sup>

Along with the removal of herself to a nunnery the years since the death of Sir Thomas also saw Dame Joan taking stock of and reorganizing her remaining lands and estates. Although this had undoubtedly been undertaken to safeguard her remaining assets from the royal officials and stabilize her financial position, this reorganization added immediate complications to her plans for the establishment of the chantry at Walsingham. In the first instance, Dame Joan had a number of her lands, in particular her dower lands and manors in Great and Little Ryburgh, Norfolk, villis in the neighboring parishes of Little Snoring, Bintree, Stibbard, Gateley, Guist, Brisley, Pensthorpe, Pudding Norton, and Colkirk, in fee-farm to Sir Stephen de Hales, Sir Oliver de Calthorpe, Sir Ralph de Shelton, and other local individuals. These grants had ensured that Dame Joan and her daughters received an annual cash income of eighty marks.<sup>13</sup> In addition, these very same lands had been closely associated with some violent confrontations during the uprising that took place in 1381, only a few months after Sir Thomas’s death. So, by divesting herself of these properties, Dame Joan limited her responsibility for any such future violations and distanced herself from conflict.

Dame Joan made similar grants on her holdings elsewhere in Norfolk and East Anglia and, in most cases, the individuals to whom she made these grants appear to be the same ones to whom she granted the Norfolk lands. In effect, she was compounding almost her entire estate, in exchange for annual cash payments to Sir Stephen de Hales and his associates.<sup>14</sup> Although this may have seemed a financially prudent move at the time, the consequences of it immediately added an entirely new layer of legal complexity to Dame Joan’s wish to

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<sup>11</sup> In 1385 Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas de Felton, left the nunnery without permission, was posted as an apostate and a vagabond. The king’s Sergeant at Arms, John de Morewell, was charged with her arrest and return to the care of the Abbess. Calendar of Patent Rolls, 9<sup>th</sup> Richard II, pt 1, membrane 19.

<sup>12</sup> “Friaries: The minoresses without Aldgate,” *A History of the County of London. Volume 1, London within the Bars, Westminster and Southwark* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1909), pp. 516-519.

<sup>13</sup> Document 12, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p.405.

<sup>14</sup> National Archives reference C 143/410/14.

establish the chantry at Walsingham. Later events suggest that Sir Stephen de Hales undertook to act on behalf of Dame Joan with regard to her land transactions and to the Walsingham chantry and this may well have been the intention of the land deals that she struck with Hales from the outset.

The first intimation that the proposed chantry might actually eventually materialize appears in 1384/5 when Sir Stephen de Hales, Sir Oliver de Calthorpe, Sir Ralph de Shelton, and others formally grant “the manor of Great Ryburgh and the manor of Little Ryburgh called ‘Wodehalle,’ a messuage and land in Great and Little Walsingham and the reversion of the advowson<sup>15</sup> of the church of the manor of Great Ryburgh” to the prior and convent of Walsingham. The document states that the lands are currently held for life by “Joan late the wife of Thomas Felton” and that Hales and his companions are to retain land in the parishes of Warham, Burnham, Great Snoring, West Lopham, Barningham, Walsingham, and Holkham.<sup>16</sup> This document would appear to outline the basis of the agreement that must have been reached between Dame Joan and Stephen de Hales and his confederates. The lands being gifted to Walsingham are later judged to be worth forty marks per annum, only half the purported value of the entire parcel of lands transferred from Dame Joan to Hales. In effect, in return for acting on Dame Joan’s behalf for the establishment of the chantry, Hales and his associates retain half of the value of the original transaction. In addition, the lands that Dame Joan was to grant to Walsingham, via the services of Hales, appear to be largely composed of her dower lands; manors that she herself brought to her marriage with Sir Thomas.

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<sup>15</sup> A “messuage” is a dwelling house, its adjacent buildings and lands; “advowson” is the right to name the holder of a church benefice.

<sup>16</sup> National Archives reference C 143/403/21.



**Figure 1.** The River Wensum, boundary between the manors of Great and Little Ryburgh. Woodhall is believed to have been situated to the extreme left of the image Photo: author.

This agreement was quickly followed in May of 1385 by a request, on behalf of the prior and convent at Walsingham, for a license from the king for the “alienation in mortmain” of the lands laid down in the agreement with Sir Stephen de Hales.<sup>17</sup> Such a license was required since the implementation of the Statute of Mortmain in 1279, which decreed that no more land could be granted by individuals to the church without the assent of the king, as such grants were regarded as being detrimental to exchequer.<sup>18</sup> The license cost the prior and convent the princely sum of £100. This document is also the first record that details the general conditions associated with the establishment of the proposed chantry at Walsingham. The money raised by the granted lands, stated as being of the value of forty marks, three shillings and four pence, was to be used to find “four chaplains, canons or seculars, to celebrate divine service daily in the chapel of St. Anne newly built by the said prior and

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<sup>17</sup> Calendar of Patent Rolls, 8<sup>th</sup> Richard II, pt 2, membrane 15.

<sup>18</sup> The church, being an immortal institution, paid no reliefs and could not relinquish what it owned. Therefore, lands which had formally generated the Royal exchequer revenue, as they passed from hand to hand and generation to generation, would be largely removed from the royal economy. C. Coredon and A. Williams, *A Dictionary of Medieval Terms and Phrases* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, Cambridge, 2004).

convent within the said priory, for the good estate of the said Joan, for her soul after death and for the souls of the king's father, the said Thomas de Felton, Thomas his son, and others... and for finding a light to burn daily therein at high mass." With the granting of the license to alienate the lands it would be reasonable to assume that the principal activities and negotiations concerning the creation of the chantry were complete. Sadly this was not the case.

The problems that now arose for Dame Joan, Sir Stephen de Hales, and the Priory of Walsingham were largely the result of the complexities of the land market and manorial system in East Anglia at the close of the fourteenth century. The overall wealth of the region, with its fertile soil, often meant that individual parishes could contain and sustain multiple manors. In some cases this would result in a parish containing a principal manor and a number of lesser ones. However, land transactions, inheritances, and bequests meant that, over time, manors could become combined, separated or change their relative status, all of which would be documented in a complex web of legal documents and court rolls. In addition, individual manors could often find themselves subject to various and multiple charges laid upon them by successive owners and generations. Indeed, by the sixteenth century it was not uncommon for long running disputes to arise between manors within the same parish as to which possessed what rights, who held the advowson of the parish church, or which manor had rights over which area of common. In parishes such as Long Stratton in Norfolk, which contained over half a dozen distinct manors, the legal complexities concerning land transactions were liable to incur costs that outstripped the value of the land in question.

In the case of Dame Joan's bequest, the legal details were actually quite straightforward, but the sheer number of institutions, individuals, and feudal rights involved meant that it would be years before it was fully resolved. Although the license to alienate the lands was granted in 1385, it was actually not until 1390 that the matter once again appears to have gained the attention of authorities. The reason for this five-year delay in moving the negotiations forward remains unexplained. Still, once the matter is highlighted, the legal complexities quickly become clear. In the first instance, Sir John Le Strange, husband of Dame Joan's sister Eleanor, generously released all the rights he held, via his wife, in the knight's fee in the manors of Little Snoring which, he stated, were held of the manor of Great Ryburgh by knight's service. Although these lands did not form part of the physical bequest to Walsingham, it would appear that they were part of the same negotiation, settling and defining rights and entitlements on the remainder of the lands that Dame Joan granted to Sir Stephen de Hales. It is also interesting to note that the document itself was dated at Little Walsingham.<sup>19</sup>

In the same year, 1390, Hales and his compatriots drew up a separate agreement that dealt specifically with the lands involved in the Walsingham bequest. Taking the form of a

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<sup>19</sup> Walsingham consists of two parishes-- Great Walsingham and Little Walsingham. The Priory and pilgrimage center was located in Little Walsingham, which soon grew to many times the size of the neighbouring hamlet of Great Walsingham. The anomaly continues to this day.

royal licence in mortmain,<sup>20</sup> the document was an agreement between Hales and Sir John de Cavendish for the alienation of the lands in Great and Little Ryburgh. Some of these lands, gifted by Dame Joan to Walsingham, had already been gifted by Dame Joan to Cavendish as part of his fee “appertaining to his manor of Fakenham Espes (Suffolk).”<sup>21</sup> Cavendish relinquished his rights and granted license for the transfer to take place. Unusually, there was another agreement between Hales and Cavendish, to exactly the same effect, dated fifteen months after the first.<sup>22</sup>

The complexities of the feudal land holding surrounding the manor of Great Ryburgh continued to engage the time and resources of Hales for some years. In 1392 a further indenture was drawn up, this time between Richard, Earl of Arundel and the prior and convent of Walsingham, that granted license for Hales to give the manor of Great Ryburgh and the advowson of the church to the Priory.<sup>23</sup> The indenture made plain that the manor was held by Dame Joan from the Earl of Arundel in knight service. Arundel was in agreement with the alienation of the land to the Priory, but was equally clear that Walsingham must accept the feudal obligations which were entailed with the manor. In particular, the Priory had to pay the Earl a heriot “on every voidance of the prior, as former tenants of the manor had done, and 100s. in name of relief.” In addition, the priory was also to pay for the suit “which they owe to the Earl’s court at Castleacre for the said manor 3s 4d a year, during the Earl’s life, and 6s 8d after his death.” Not content with these fairly straightforward financial arrangements, the Earl also placed a number of religious obligations upon the prior and convent. The Priory was, he stated, to “keep the anniversary of Richard, late Earl of Arundel, and lady Eleanor his wife, father and mother of the present Earl, and of Elizabeth, late wife of the present Earl... and will pray for the Earl and Lady ‘Phelipp,’ his present wife.” After the death of the Earl and his wife they too were to be included “in the said anniversary.” In effect, the Earl was demanding the establishment of a second chantry at Walsingham on the strength of his agreement to the alienation of the lands provided to establish the first chantry. The prior and convent had little choice but to agree to his request.

In the same year Walsingham’s neighboring Priory, located a few miles to the northeast at Binham, entered the proceedings with its own claims upon the land. The Priory had claims and rights over land in both the manors of Great and Little Ryburgh with a total annual value of over 32s 8d. The indenture that survives from 1392 dealt specifically with the land in the manor of Little Ryburgh, known as “Woodhall,” where Binham claimed the sum of 6s “on every vacancy of their prior’s office... by name of relief, or double the rent of the said lands.”<sup>24</sup> The claims to the land in the manor of Great Ryburgh were undoubtedly set out

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<sup>20</sup> By which permission was granted by, and a fee paid to, the king for use of the properties by a religious community.

<sup>21</sup> Document 50, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p. 405.

<sup>22</sup> Document 51, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p. 405.

<sup>23</sup> Document 505, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p. 405.

<sup>24</sup> Document 410, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p. 405.

at this time also. However, the original document is now lost and the rights and claims are only understood from a later and more detailed general document drawn up in 1395.

Having successfully negotiated agreement for the alienation of the Ryburgh lands to the priory at Walsingham, Hales might be forgiven for thinking that most of the problems associated with the establishment of the chantry were now over. Yet, in 1395, the crown, not satisfied with the original license to alienate in mortmain granted a decade earlier, decided to once again take an interest in the proceedings taking place in Norfolk. The crown now wished to formally examine the details of the transaction to determine if the grants of land that had been agreed upon by the multiple parties were not of detriment to either the king or other individual interests. To this end, the king's Escheator for Norfolk undertook a full inquisition and enquiry into the matter. The enquiry was held at Walsingham in 1395 and appears to have taken the form of a detailed examination of all the grants, land holdings, and associated rights of all the parties involved. The resulting document is the only full record of all the rights and interests associated.<sup>25</sup>

The 1395 document lays bare the intricacies of the land holdings associated with the manors of Great and Little Ryburgh. The land in Little Ryburgh, known as the manor of "Woodhall," proved to be the least complex in terms of legal intricacies. In essence, Stephen de Hales held it of Dame Joan who, in turn, held it of Andrew de Cavendish. Cavendish held the land from the king and the Priory of Binham had a grant of 6s per annum made upon the manor. All parties agreed that it could be granted to the Priory of Walsingham as long as the current feudal obligations associated with it, in particular the monies payable to Binham, were observed. The manor of Great Ryburgh was, however, less straightforward.

The manor of Great Ryburgh was essentially formed of three parcels of land. Far bigger than the manor of Little Ryburgh, and with a number of valuable resources, the manor was a wealthy one which had been divided and sub-divided over the centuries.<sup>26</sup> In effect, although the de Felton's held the manor, which was in the temporary possession of Stephen de Hales, they had held it from three individual grantees. As already seen in 1392, one parcel of the manor was held from the Earl of Arundel by knight's service, with suit due to the Earl's court at Castle Acre every three weeks. The second parcel was held of John Spoo by knight's service of the neighboring manor of Pensthorpe, whilst the third parcel was held of the Priory of Binham for a yearly rent of 26s 8d. The advowson of the parish church, it was determined, was in the gift of Dame Joan from the Earl of Arundel.

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<sup>25</sup> Document 631, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p. 405.

<sup>26</sup> The manor of Great Ryburgh sat upon a strategic crossing of the river Wensum, had extensive commons, watermeadows, fisheries, and at least one mill. Even in relative East Anglian terms, the manor was a wealthy asset.



**Figure 2.** The Church of St Andrew, Great Ryburgh. The advowson of this church was passed to the Priory of Walsingham as part of Dame Joan's bequest. Photo: author.

Having fully investigated the matter, and having determined exactly what rights and responsibilities were entailed with the transaction, the king's Escheator finally pronounced that the grant was in no way damaging to the interests of the king. After a decade of negotiation, discussion, and legal transactions, the grant of the lands to the Priory of Walsingham, so long wished for by Dame Joan, could be undertaken. The chantry, designed to pray for the souls of her long-departed husband and family could finally go ahead. Dame Joan finally had her chantry chapel dedicated to St. Anne.

### **Dame Joan's Chantry**

The second half of the fourteenth century and opening decades of the fifteenth saw a marked increase in the number of chantries being established. In East Anglia, where a large number of records survive, chantries took many forms. The simplest were little more than obits, often limited to a specific number of years, whilst the more elaborate, like that of Dame Joan, involved substantial building works and provision for multiple priests or canons to serve these institutions in perpetuity. In many cases, the more-simple chantry endowments were often associated with those earliest established, such as that of Henry of Longchamp in

the church of Burton Pedwardine in Lincolnshire.<sup>27</sup> Henry endowed the church with only three acres of arable land and, in return, expected a weekly mass and a half pound wax candle to be burnt before the altar upon the anniversary of his death. However, these early and simple endowments were difficult to maintain over the centuries, particularly when faced with changes in relative land values, shifting populations, and inflation, and it was not uncommon for such institutions to be either subject to a change in their provision or to cease altogether. As a result, the chantries endowed in the second half of the fourteenth century tended to be better provided for and often included detailed lists of specific items that were to be purchased for it. The chantry established by John of Harrington, in Harrington church, Lincolnshire, was required to contain “two chalices, one of the price of fifteen shillings and the other of the price of twelve shillings, two vestments, one for feasts, of the price of twenty shillings and the other for weekdays, of the price of ten shillings, one missal of the price of twenty shillings, one portas of the price of forty shillings, one good chest for the keeping of the ornaments of the price of five shillings, and two cruets.”<sup>28</sup>

Dame Joan’s surviving requests concerning the establishment of the Walsingham chantry are relatively straightforward compared to many of the similar institutions established at the period. Her request for “four chaplains, canons or seculars” to celebrate divine service daily and for a light upon the altar during mass, are without ambiguity and appear relatively generous in terms of the overall bequest. Her envisaged endowment of lands worth £40 annually, above and beyond the costs of building the chapel itself, equate to a nominal stipend of £10 annually to each chantry priest. With the usual endowment for a chantry priest, even in the latter half of the fifteenth century, only providing an income of between £5 and £6, her endowment would have been regarded as more than sufficient for the creation of a sustainable chantry and bordering upon the generous.<sup>29</sup> Sadly any further detailed requests or instructions that may have been issued by Dame Joan to accompany the foundation have not survived. Such detailed instructions to the institutions were not uncommon at the period, such as those associated with the Fitzmartin chantry in Lincoln Cathedral, and it must be assumed that Dame Joan, who appears to have been meticulous in most of her business and financial dealings, left similar instructions.<sup>30</sup>

As the fourteenth century drew to a close, and with the negotiations to establish the Walsingham chantry at an end, Dame Joan undertook one final act of endowment. She established a second chantry. In 1398 she endowed the Abbey of Barking, a house of Benedictine nuns, with lands in Barking, Dagenham, and London for the establishment of a

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<sup>27</sup> D. M. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire* (History of Lincolnshire Series, Volume V) (Lincoln: Lincolnshire Local History Society, 1971), p. 92.

<sup>28</sup> Owen, p. 97.

<sup>29</sup> Owen, p. 97.

<sup>30</sup> C.W. Foster and A. Hamilton-Thompson(eds), *The Chantry Certificates for Lincoln and Lincolnshire*, AASRP, xxxiv-xxxv, (1922-5), certificate no.7.

chantry at the altar of St. Ethelburga.<sup>31</sup> The establishment was to have a single priest who was to celebrate divine service and pray for the soul of Dame Joan, her long-departed husband, and the Abbess and nuns of Barking. Although the scale of the endowment and subsequent institution was far more modest than that at Walsingham, being set at forty-one marks annually, the chantry obviously had strong personal associations for her.<sup>32</sup> The most obvious connection, and the probable reason for the chantry's existence, was that the Abbess of the powerful and influential nunnery was none other than Sybil de Felton, her own oldest daughter.<sup>33</sup>

Despite having finally had her wishes granted, Dame Joan's chantry at Walsingham was still to be the cause of further negotiation and compromise. In 1408, almost a quarter of a century after Dame Joan had first formally expressed her wish for the chantry to be established, the relatively new Prior of Walsingham, Hugh Wells, was still not entirely satisfied with the outcome. Appealing to the original signatories of the endowment who still lived, and to the remarkably long-lived Dame Joan herself, he requested that the terms of the endowment be revised.<sup>34</sup> He requested that, considering the great charges to which the priory had been put establishing the chantry and "for the salvation of the estate of the said church," that they be discharged from the duty of finding one of the four chaplains or chantry priests. Dame Joan, who had outlived her husband, most of her children, two kings of England and at least three priors of Walsingham, acquiesced. The document that granted her approval of this request is the last extant document to refer to Dame Joan in person and it must be assumed that she died shortly afterwards. Her place of burial is unknown.

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<sup>31</sup> May 8<sup>th</sup> Westminster -- "Licence for the alienation in mortmain by Joan, late wife of Thomas de Felton, knight, of lands, tenements and rents whether held of the king in burgage or in chief, or of others, of the yearly value of 41 marks, to the Abbess and convent of Berkyng, founded by the kings progenitors." Calendar of Patent Rolls. 21<sup>st</sup> Richard II, Pt 3, membrane 19.

<sup>32</sup> 1398 (June 18<sup>th</sup>, Westminster) -- "Licence for the alienation in mortmain by Joan, late the wife of Thomas de Felton, knight, of 17 messuages and a parcel of land, 6 ½ inches wide and 5 inches long, with appurtenances in the parishes of St Olave, Old Jewry, and St Mary, Stanynghlane, London, held in chief in burgage, and 11 messuages, 219 acres of land and 2s 3 ½d of rent in Berkyng and Dakenham, ot held in chief and of yearly value of £20 15s 1d as found by inquisitions taken by Richard Whityngton, mayor of London, and Clement Spice, escheator in Essex, to the abbess and convent of Berkyng, in part satisfaction, viz. 35marks of lands, tenements and rents to the yearly value of 41marks, which the said Joan had licence by letters patent dated 8<sup>th</sup> May last to alienate in mortmain to the said abbess." Calendar of Patent Rolls. 21<sup>st</sup> Richard II, Pt 3, membrane 9.

<sup>33</sup> That the chantry priest was to direct his attentions to the altar of St Ethelburga, foundress of the Abbey, may also have been for purely personal reasons. Ethelburga, the supposed foundress of the Abbey, was recorded as being one of the saintly daughters of the Anglo-Saxon King Anna of East Anglia. Her sisters, Etheldreda and Withburga, would have been well-regarded local saints in the parishes in which Dame Joan had grown to adulthood. Etheldreda famously patronized the great monastery at Ely, whilst Withburga established the nunnery at nearby East Dereham, where her holy well was still a popular site for pilgrimage at the end of the fourteenth century.

<sup>34</sup> Document 6, Historical Manuscripts Commission, 13<sup>th</sup> report, 1892, Appendix iv, p. 405.



**Figure 3.** Stones discovered in a barn near Walsingham. Photo: After Rev. W. Martin, “Some Fragments of Sculpted Stone found in a Barn at East Barsham, Norfolk,” *The Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society* XI (1892), pp. 257-259.

### Postscript

In 1892 the Reverend W. Martin M.A. published a short article in Volume XI of the well established and highly respected *Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society*.<sup>35</sup> The article, entitled “Some Fragments of Sculpted Stone found in a Barn at East Barsham, Norfolk,” contained a very brief account of certain pre-Reformation sculptures that had come to light during the demolition of an agricultural building a few miles

<sup>35</sup> Rev. W. Martin, “Some Fragments of Sculpted Stone found in a Barn at East Barsham, Norfolk,” *The Proceedings of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society* (1892), pp. 257-259.

to the north of the village of Little Walsingham. The report stated that, amongst a mass of worked medieval stonework that had been re-used as building material in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, had been discovered three fragments of very high class alabaster carvings which appeared to be the remnants of highly decorated and painted religious statues. At the time only two of the three fragments could be positively identified. The first was the lower section of a pietá carving which still showed strong colors upon the surface. The second, which appeared to be a section of the middle of a figure composition, was identified as quite a large statue depicting St. Anne teaching the Blessed Virgin to read. All the fragments appeared to stylistically belong to the second half of the fourteenth, or first half of the fifteenth centuries.



**Figure 4.** Stone from Walsingham lying in the hedgerows. Photo: author.

The alabaster fragments passed into the ownership of the local landlord and have since disappeared. The rest of the medieval stonework taken from the collapsed barn, of which there was reputedly a large quantity, was carried a mile to the east where it was used to construct a new field barn on a local farm. Today, over a century after it was first constructed, that barn now stands in a ruinous state and carved medieval stonework that once decorated one of England's most powerful and popular religious houses lies scattered in the hedgerows. ●



## ***Varietas delectat: towards a classification of mixed-media sculpture in the Middle Ages***

By Grazia Maria Fachechi, *University of Urbino*

Sculpture in the Middle Ages inherited from Antiquity a “free and easy” use of different media (or mixed media) in various combinations which we will define here as *polimateric* (or *polymateric*) *technique* (from the Greek *polys* = various and the Latin *material* = material).<sup>1</sup> These categories can add a necessary clarification to the field of artistic production in the Middle Ages which, because of its very heterogeneous nature, has never been studied by scholars in all its complex media. These categories reflect an important aspect of the medieval approach to art -- that the use of materials chosen to create a sculpture was never accidental, but was determined by specific and conscious purposes. These include a wish to decorate the work of art (in the name of *varietas*) and to accentuate the polychromy, to heighten the realism of the figure, to ennoble the figure, to reuse materials from Antiquity, to convey symbolic meaning, and more. The fragility that is inherent in some kinds of work produced by the polimateric technique can mean that relatively few examples of those kinds have survived, but those which have should be analyzed in terms of types.

Therefore, this essay will explore the different kinds of polimateric techniques found in sculpture from the Middle Ages. These include *polimateric sculpture by superimposition*, *polimateric sculpture by insertion*, *polimateric by juxtaposition*, and perhaps a fourth category which combines previous categories. These typologies of sculpture, ordered according to the ways

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<sup>1</sup> The use of various materials in a single sculpture in Antiquity is certified by physical evidence and literary sources, such as *The description of Greece* by Pausanias (V, 11, 1-2).

in which the materials were combined, coexist over the course of centuries and often appear in the same work. Each category will be defined and discussed, suggesting that art historians become more aware of the kinds of mixed-media sculpture used in the medieval period.

### Category 1: polimateric sculpture by superimposition

The first category is *polimateric sculpture by superimposition*, where the presence of some of the multiple materials is hidden or at least obscured. Its most common appearance is in the use of polychromy, where The basic sculptural form is rendered in a single material, but finished in paint. The polychromy of different media (marble, stone, bronze, wood) was widely diffused in Antiquity<sup>2</sup> and the Middle Ages.<sup>3</sup> As a “second skin,” it was indistinguishable from the form of the work, commonly assuming a mimetic and illusionistic manner, which transforms the base material into “indifferent material.” When classifying mixed-media sculpture in the Middle Ages, a

<sup>2</sup> See: *I colori del bianco: policromia della scultura antica*, ed. Musei Vaticani (Roma, De Luca, 2004).

<sup>3</sup> In regard to medieval polychromed sculptures in Italy, for example, see the recent studies: Raffaella Rossi Manaresi, “Le sculture policrome nel protiro della Cattedrale di Ferrara” in *Un palazzo, un museo: la Pinacoteca Nazionale di Palazzo dei Diamanti*, ed. J. Bentini (Bologna, Ed. ALFA, 1981), pp. 177-188; *Scultura dipinta: maestri di legname e pittori a Siena 1250-1450*, catalogue of the exhibition in Siena 1987 (Firenze, Centro Di, 1987); *I colori del pontile: il restauro delle sculture policrome campionesi nel Duomo di Modena*, catalogue of the exhibition (Modena, 1988); Alessandro Conti, “Sculture policrome, una difficile convivenza tra due arti,” *Gazzetta antiquaria* N.S. 5/6 (1989), pp. 78-82; Antonella Casoli Scarpa, “Le tecniche di esecuzione delle policromie nelle sculture di Benedetto Antelami” in *Battistero di Parma* (Milano: Ricci, 1992-1993) I, pp. 269-272; Bruno Zanardi, *Le sculture policrome in pietra: una nuova tecnica di pulitura*, in *Il Portale della Vergine: Battistero di Parma*, ed. A. Bianchi (Parma: Cassa di Risparmio di Parma, 1992), pp. 27-39; Marco Collareta, *Le immagini e l'arte. Riflessioni sulla scultura dipinta nelle fonti letterarie*, in *Scultura lignea: Lucca 1200 – 1425*, catalogue of the exhibition in Lucca 1995 – 1996, ed. C. Baracchini (Firenze: Studio per Ed. Scelte, 1995) I, pp. 1-7; *Scultura lignea dipinta: i materiali e le tecniche*, eds. C. Baracchini, G. Parmini (Firenze: S.P.E.S., 1996); *La bellezza del sacro: sculture medioevali policrome*, catalogue of the exhibition in Arezzo 2002 – 2003, eds. M. Armandi, G. Centrodi (Arezzo: Provincia di Arezzo, 2002); Stefano Roascio, Alessandro Zucchiatti, Paolo Prati, “Lo studio della policromia sulle sculture “veneto-bizantine” di Cividale del Friuli (secc. XII - XIII)” in *III Congresso Nazionale di Archeologia Medievale* (Castello di Salerno, 2003), eds. R. Fiorillo, P. Peduto (Firenze: Edizioni all'Insegna del Giglio, 2003), pp. 54-58; Alessandra Frosini, *Scultura lignea dipinta nella Toscana medievale: problemi e metodi di restauro* San Casciano V. P. (FI) (Libro Co. Italia, 2005); Claro di Fabio, “Architettura polimaterica e accorgimenti percettivi, policromia della scultura e uso delle immagini nella cattedrale di Genova agli inizi del XIII secolo” in *Medioevo: l'Europa delle cattedrali*, proceedings of international congress in Parma 2006, ed. A.C. Quintavalle (Milano, Electa, 2007), pp. 464-479; Clara Bracchini, “Ymago vero lignea cito perdit pulchritudinem et colorem: problematiche di studio e restauro sul rapporto tra plastica lignea e policromia” in *La deposizione lignea in Europa: l'immagine, il culto, la forma*, eds. G. Saporì, B. Toscano (Milano: Electa, 2004), pp. 403-421; Paola Antonella Andreuccetti, *La policromia della scultura lapidea in Toscana tra XIII e XV secolo* (Firenze: Edizioni Polistampa, 2008).

polychromed sculpture which hides the underlying material can be considered *polimateric sculpture by superimposition*.

Other kinds of *polimateric sculpture by superimposition* include wooden sculptures covered with metal plate or cladding, such as the Ottonian monumental crosses in gold and silver in S. Michele in Pavia and in the Cathedral of Vercelli.<sup>4</sup> If polychromy acted as a painted second skin on sculptures, heightening the realism of the figure, the second, metallic skin here makes the objects more precious materially, enhancing their value and ennobling the pieces. Even though the underlying material is hidden, it still maintains its own form, more or less. Another example of this, where metal which covers the object over a layer of mastic supported by a simple wooden structure is the Romanesque crucifix found the Cathedral of Casale Monserato (c. 1170). Originally located in the Cathedral of Alessandria, it is refinished in metal.<sup>5</sup>

The same practice was also used for gold objects, such as the reliquary of Saint Candidus, from the same time period, conserved in the Treasury of the Swiss Abbey of Saint Maurice D'Agaune (1165)<sup>6</sup> in which the modeling of the metal coating is predetermined by a detailed carving of walnut underneath, (**fig. 1**) or in the later bust of Saint Yrieix (Limoges, 1200-1240) now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Made of silver (partially gilded), filigree, rock crystal, precious stones, and glass – it all has the form of the core of finely sculpted wood.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Adriano Peroni, "Il crocifisso della Badessa Raingarda a Pavia e il problema dell'arte ottoniana in Italia" in *Kolloquium über spätantike und frühmittelalterliche Skulptur: Vortragstexte 1970*, ed. V. Milošević (Mainz a. Rhein: Von Zabern, 1971), pp. 75-109; "Le lamine minori del crocifisso ottoniano di Vercelli" in *Studi di storia dell'arte in memoria di Mario Rotili* Napoli, Banca Sannitica Benevento (1984) 1, pp. 127-133; Id., *L'oreficeria ottoniana in Lombardia e le testimonianze del crocifisso di proporzioni monumentali*, in *Atti del 10° Congresso Internazionale di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* Milano 1983 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1986), pp. 317-332.

<sup>5</sup> Adriano Peroni, *Il crocifisso monumentale del Sant'Evasio di Casale: per una nuova lettura*, in *Arte e carte nella diocesi di Casale*, eds. A. Casagrande, G. Parodi (Gros, 2007), pp. 174-199.

<sup>6</sup> Guido Gentile, *Scultura*, in *Arti e tecniche del Medioevo*, ed. F. Crivello (Torino: Einaudi, 2006), pp. 255-258.

<sup>7</sup> Henk van Os, *The way to heaven: relic veneration in the Middle Ages* (Baarn: de Prom, 2000), pp. 98-101, figs. 110, 112.



**Figure 1** *Reliquary of Saint Candid*, 1165, walnut carving and metal coating. Treasury of the Abbey of Saint Maurice D’Agaune. Photo: after *Arti e tecniche del medioevo*, ed. by F. Crivello (Torino: Piccola Biblioteca Einaudi, 2006), p. 257, fig. 117-118.

## Category 2 - Polimateric sculpture by insertion

The presence of materials with a predominantly ornamental function set into the surface of a sculpture, without compromising the basic design and identity of the work, characterizes the second category, that of *polimateric sculpture by insertion*. This typology of sculpture features simultaneous visibility of various materials. In this category we include, above all, goldsmith work, “polytechnic” *par excellence*, often characterized by the use of different media in quantities -- sometimes overdone -- in the name of *varietas*, which was an important element of the medieval aesthetic. To the medieval mind, the richness of materials increased the effectiveness of the images

with high devotional content, such as the reliquary statue of Saint Foy of Conques-en-Rouergue (Treasury of the Abbey), to which the sick thronged hoping to be healed. Ste. Foy's form is basically a Carolingian structure with a layer of gold and gilt silver covering the wood core. This was enriched over two centuries by the addition of other precious materials.<sup>8</sup> Here the use of mixed-media meets the phenomenon of reuse of spoliated materials (the head is from Antiquity).

Objects can be classified as polymateric sculpture by insertion when they transpose other materials into the techniques of metalwork, as in the case of the marble tombstone known as the Stone of Aldo (Milan, Civiche Raccolte di Arte Antica del Castello Sforzesco, 7th century). The Stone's cloisonné border presents a rough and functional treatment that allowed for better adhesion of the stucco and other inlaid elements made of marble or glass paste that completed the original decoration.<sup>9</sup> This can also be seen in the wood Madonna of Acuto in the National Museum of Palazzo di Venezia in Rome,<sup>10</sup> ornate with cabochons in different colors. (**fig. 2**)

The polymateric sculpture by insertion can also be seen in decorative architecture in the West as demonstrated, for example, in the ferrules in stucco of the Tempietto di Santa Maria in Valle a Cividale,<sup>11</sup> enriched by glass ampullae,<sup>12</sup> or in the East, as seen in Istanbul.<sup>13</sup> The latter is exemplified by the marble fragments full of gems or the alveolar forms filled with polychromed

<sup>8</sup> Beate Fricke, *Ecce fides: die Statue von Conques, Götzendienst und Bildkultur im Westen*, München (Fink, 2007).

<sup>9</sup> Angiola Maria Romanini, *La scultura pavese nel quadro dell'arte preromanica di Lombardia*, in *Atti del IV Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* Pavia, Scaldasole, Monza, Bobbio 1967 (Spoleto: CISAM, 2005), pp. 231-271; *Problemi di scultura e plastica altomedievali*, in *Artigianato e tecnica nella società dell'Alto Medioevo occidentale*, proceedings on the international congress in Spoleto 1970 (Spoleto: CISAM, 1971), pp. 425-467, fig. 21.

<sup>10</sup> Maria Giulia Barberini in *Imago Mariae. Tesori d'arte della civiltà cristiana*, catalogue of the exhibition in Rome 1988, ed. P. Amato (Milano, 1988), pp. 79-80; *Deomene. L'immagine dell'orante fra Oriente e Occidente*, catalogue of the exhibition in Ravenna 2001, eds. A. Donati, G. Gentili (Milano: Electa, 2000), p. 206.

<sup>11</sup> Hans Peter L'Orange, "La scultura in stucco e in pietra del Tempietto di Cividale," *Acta ad archaeologiam et artium historiam pertinentia* 7/3 (1979), pp. 1-246.

<sup>12</sup> Francesca Dell 'Acqua, "Illuminando colorat." *La vetrata fra l'età tardo imperiale e l'alto Medioevo: le fonti, l'archeologia* (Spoleto 2003).

<sup>13</sup> Liz James, *Light and colour in Byzantine art* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).



**Figure 2** *Madonna di Acuto*, early 13<sup>th</sup> century, painted walnut with cabochons. National Museum of Palazzo di Venezia, Rome. Photo: author.



**Figure 3** Column, Church of Saint Polyeuktos, early 6<sup>th</sup> century, marble Proconnesio with pieces of precious marbles and glass. Archeological Museum, Istanbul. Photo: author.

materials, still visible among the remains of the edifice at Boukoleon.<sup>14</sup> In the sixth century, a column made for the sumptuous Church of Saint Polyeuktos (now in the Archeological Museum, Istanbul),<sup>15</sup> adorned with pieces of precious marbles and pieces of glass. (fig. 3)

And we can also classify certain Byzantine bronze doors<sup>16</sup> as polymateric sculpture by insertion, whose sections bear figures were engraved with a burin, creating grooves then filled with strands of silver, copper, enamel and niello, through a metallurgical technique generally similar to stone

<sup>14</sup> Cyril A. Mango, "The palace of the Boukoleon," *Cahiers archéologiques* 45 (1997), pp. 41-50; Marlia Mundell Mango, "Polychrome tiles found at Istanbul: typology, chronology, and function" in *A lost art rediscovered: the architectural ceramics of Byzantium*, eds. S.E.J. Gerstel, J.A. Lauffenburger (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), pp. 13-41; Claudia Barsanti, "Le chiese del Grande Palazzo di Costantinopoli" in *Medioevo: la chiesa e il palazzo*, proceedings of the international congress in Parma 2005, ed. by A.C. Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2007), p. 88, fig. 9.

<sup>15</sup> Richard Martin Harrison, "La scultura marmorea della chiesa di S. Polieucto a Istanbul" in *XXVI corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 1979), pp. 163-170; Eugenio Russo, "La scultura di S. Polieucto e la presenza della Persia nella cultura artistica di Costantinopoli nel VI secolo" in *La Persia e Bisanzio*, proceeding of the international congress in Rome 2002 (Roma: Accademia dei Lincei, 2004), pp. 737-826; Brigitte Pitarakis, "L'orfèvre et l'architecte: autour d'un groupe d'édifices constantinopolitains du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle" in *The Material and the Ideal. Essays in Medieval Art and Archaeology in Honour of Jean-Michel Spieser*, eds. A. Cutler, A. Papaconstantinou (Leiden: Brill Academic Press, 2007), pp. 63-74.

<sup>16</sup> Antonio Iacobini, "Arte e tecnologia bizantina nel Mediterraneo: le porte bronzee dell'XI - XII secolo" in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam*, proceedings of the international congress in Parma 2005, ed. A.C. Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2007), pp. 496-510; Lucinia Speciale, "La porta bronzea di Montecassino a cinquant'anni dal suo restauro: un problema aperto" in *Riconoscere un patrimonio*, 2, *La statua e la sua pelle: artisti tecnici nella scultura dipinta tra Rinascimento e Barocco*, proceedings of the congress in Lecce 2007, ed. R. Casciaro (Galatina: Congedo, 2007), pp. 1-21; *Le porte del Paradiso. Arte e tecnologia bizantina tra Italia e Mediterraneo (XI-XII secolo)*, proceedings of the international congress in Rome 2006, ed. A. Iacobini (Roma, 2009).

sculpture with mastic encrustation. This was an artistic phenomenon completely autonomous with respect to the decorative techniques used for metal, widely used in the Mediterranean during the Middle Ages. Stone sculpture with mastic encrustation is based on engraving of marble or stone and the realization of alveolar forms according to accepted practice, followed by filling these spaces with black and mastic<sup>17</sup> (such as the amber marble slab with the Deposition of Christ in the Parma Cathedral signed by Benedetto Antelami (1178).<sup>18</sup> (fig. 4 )



**Figure 4** Benedetto Antelami, *Deposition of Christ*, 1178, marble. Parma Cathedral. Photo: author

### Category 3 – Polimateric by juxtaposition

We can discern a kind of sculpture defined as *polimateric by juxtaposition* which presents various components all in full view, but in this instance, each component has a role in the description of the image; that is, they do not simply appear on the base design without changing it, but, on the contrary, with their extrinsic qualities, compose the design. This type of sculpture is

<sup>17</sup> Fabio Coden, *Corpus della scultura ad incrostazione di mastice nella penisola italiana (XI-XIII sec.)* (Padova: Il Poligrafo, 2006); *Scultura ad incrostazione di mastice: confronti fra la tecnica orientale e quella occidentale*, in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam*, proceedings of the international congress in Parma 2004, ed. A.C. Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2007), pp. 304-311.

<sup>18</sup> *Corpus...*, pp. 334-335.

realized through a simultaneous mixture of heterogeneous materials, either from different qualities of the same material, such as the wall *sectilia* in Hagia Sophia in Istanbul<sup>19</sup> or the Romanesque cosmatesque decorations.<sup>20</sup> The principal function and effect of this mixture of flat planes is polychromy,<sup>21</sup> an expression of the sensibility for color that appeared in the early Middle Ages, particularly the Migration Period.<sup>22</sup>

In other cases, the simultaneous mixture of different materials is made by distributing forms in space and is therefore structural. This occurs in various compositions of several figures, as seen in the lunette of the central portal of the facade of Orvieto Cathedral,<sup>23</sup> (**fig. 5**) where six bronze angels support a bronze curtain, pulled open to reveal the marble Virgin with Child (Museum dell'Opera del Duomo),<sup>24</sup> or in the funerary monument of Philip II (the Bold) of Burgundy (Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon), created in 1381 by Claus Sluter.<sup>25</sup> Composed of black Dinant marble,

<sup>19</sup> Alessandra Guiglia Guidobaldi, "I marmi di Giustiniano: sectilia parietali nella Santa Sofia di Costantinopoli" in *Medioevo mediterraneo: l'Occidente, Bisanzio e l'Islam*, proceedings of the international congress in Parma 2005, ed. A.C. Quintavalle (Milano: Electa, 2007), pp. 160-174.

<sup>20</sup> Dario del Bufalo, *Marmi colorati. Le pietre e l'architettura dall'Antico al Barocco* (Milano: Motta, 2003); Peter Cornelius Claussen, *Magistri doctissimi romani* (Stuttgart, 1987); "Marmo e splendore. Architettura, arredi liturgici, spoliae" in Andaloro, Maria – Romano, Serena, *Arte e iconografia a Roma dal tardoantico alla fine del Medioevo* (Milano, 2002), pp. 151-174; Luca Creti, *I 'cosmati' a Roma e nel Lazio* (Roma, 2002); Alessio Monciatti, "I 'Cosmati': artisti romani per tradizione familiar" in *Artifex bonus. Il mondo dell'artista medievale*, ed. E. Castelnuovo (Roma: Laterza, 2004), pp. 90-101.

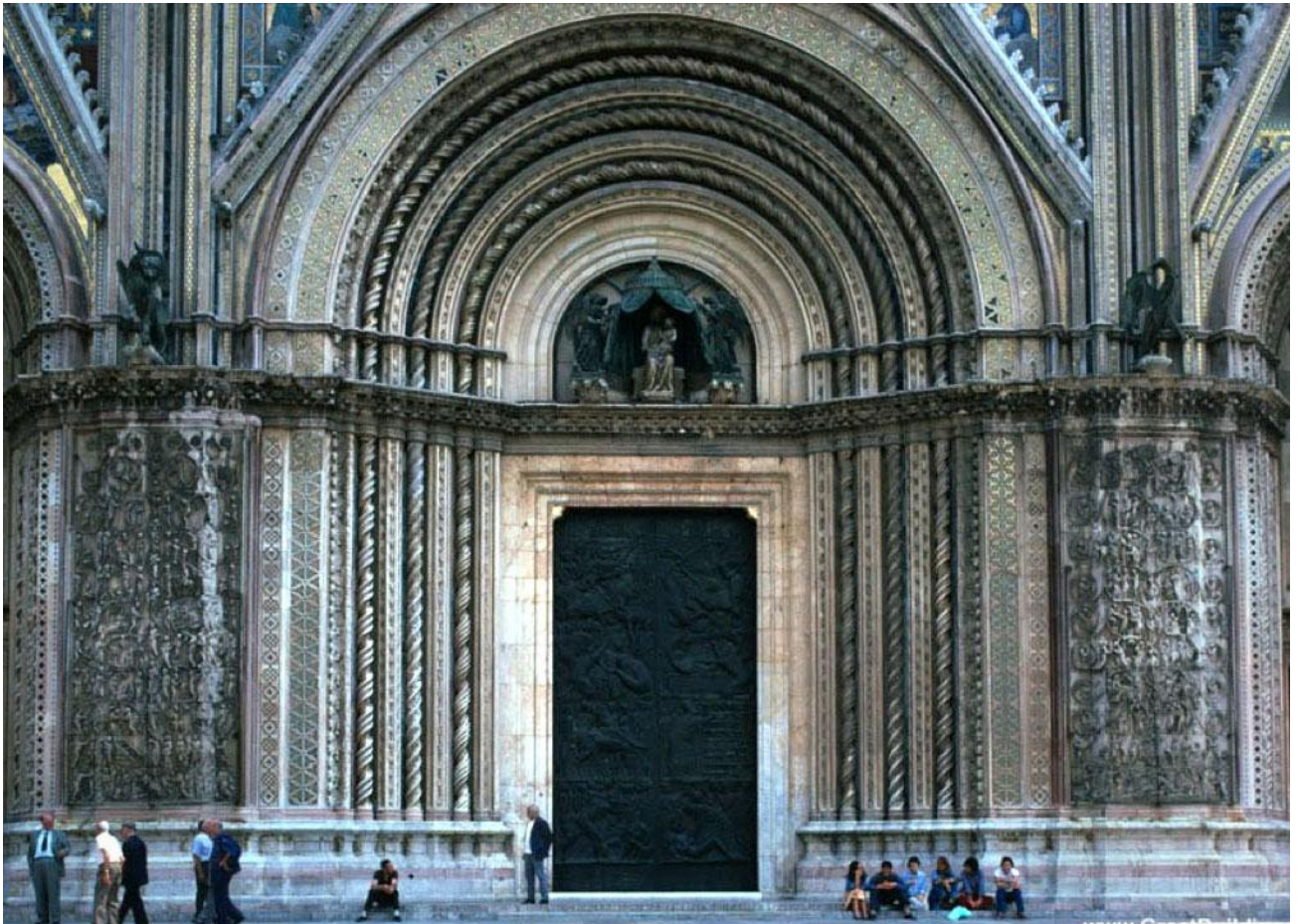
<sup>21</sup> Michelangelo Cagiano de Azevedo, "Policromia e polimateria nelle opere d'arte della tarda antichità e dell'alto Medioevo" in *Felix Ravenna 101* (1970), pp. 223-259; *Cultura e tecnica artistica nella tarda antichità e nell'alto Medioevo*, eds. by S. Lusuardi Siena, M.P. e Rassignani (Milano: Vita e Pensiero, 1986), pp. 19-55.

<sup>22</sup> *Il colore nel Medioevo: arte, simbolo, tecnica*, proceedings of the conference in Lucca 1995 (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 1996); *Il colore nel Medioevo: arte, simbolo, tecnica*, proceedings of the conference in Lucca 1996 (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 1998); *Il colore nel Medioevo: arte, simbolo, tecnica. La vetrata in Occidente dal IV all'XI secolo*, proceedings of the conference in Lucca 1999, eds. F.Dell'Acqu, R. e Silva R (Lucca: Istituto Storico Lucchese, 2001). See also Michel Pastoureau, *Il colore*, in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, II, *Del costruire: tecniche, artisti, artigiani, committenti* (Torino: Einaudi, 2003); *Vedere i colori del Medioevo*, in *Il Medioevo Europeo di Jacques Le Goff*, catalogue of the exhibition in Parma 2004, ed. D. Romagnoli (Cinisello Balsamo (MI): Silvana Editoriale, 2003).

<sup>23</sup> *Il Duomo di Orvieto*, ed. L. Riccetti (Roma: Laterza, 1988); *La facciata del Duomo di Orvieto. Teologia in figura* (Cinisello Balsamo (MI): Silvana Editoriale, 2002); Jürgen Wiener, *Lorenzo Maitani und der Dom von Orvieto: eine Beschreibung* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2009).

<sup>24</sup> Giusi Testa, "Tinte e coloriture in in alcuni manufatti del Duomo di Orvieto: la scoperta e la questione del recupero," *Il colore nel Medioevo* 1 (1988), pp. 77-89.

<sup>25</sup> Kathleen Morand, *Claus Sluter: Artist at the Court of Burgundy* (London, H. Miller, 1991).



**Figure 5** Lorenzo Maitani, *Façade of Orvieto Cathedral*, early 14<sup>th</sup> century, marble and bronze. Photo: author.

white Tonnerre stone (partially painted and gilt), and alabaster from Grenoble (**fig. 6**), it is characterized by a conception of great complexity. This decorative intricacy is echoed in the Well of Moses (Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, 1395-1402) by the same artist, where the prophets were carved in great detail, then painted in lively colors and richly decorated with different materials.<sup>26</sup> In other cases, different materials were used to compose the same figure, such as the *Sedes Sapientiae* of Orcival (Puy-de-Dôme, second half of the 12th century),<sup>27</sup> where the face and the hands in wood emerge from the metal covering, (**fig. 7**) or in the rare example from the late Middle Ages of an ex-

<sup>26</sup> Chiara Piccinini, "Claus Sluter" in *Artifex bonus. Il mondo dell'artista medievale*, ed. by E. Castelnuovo (Roma, Laterza, 2004), p. 205.

<sup>27</sup> François Enaud, "Remise en état de la statue de la Vierge à l'Enfant d'Orcival," *Les monuments historiques de la France* 17 (1961), pp. 79-88.



**Figure 6** Claus Sluter, *Funerary monument of Philip II of Burgundy*, 1381, Dinant marble, Tonnerre stone, and alabaster from Grenoble. Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon. Photo: author.



**Figure 7** *Sedes Sapientiae*, second half of 12<sup>th</sup> century, wood and metal covering. Church of Notre Dame, Orcival. Photo: author.

voto in wax, the Count Leonardo von Gorz (Innsbruck, Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum, c. 1470) whose wooden face and hands emerge from the underlying structure.<sup>29</sup>

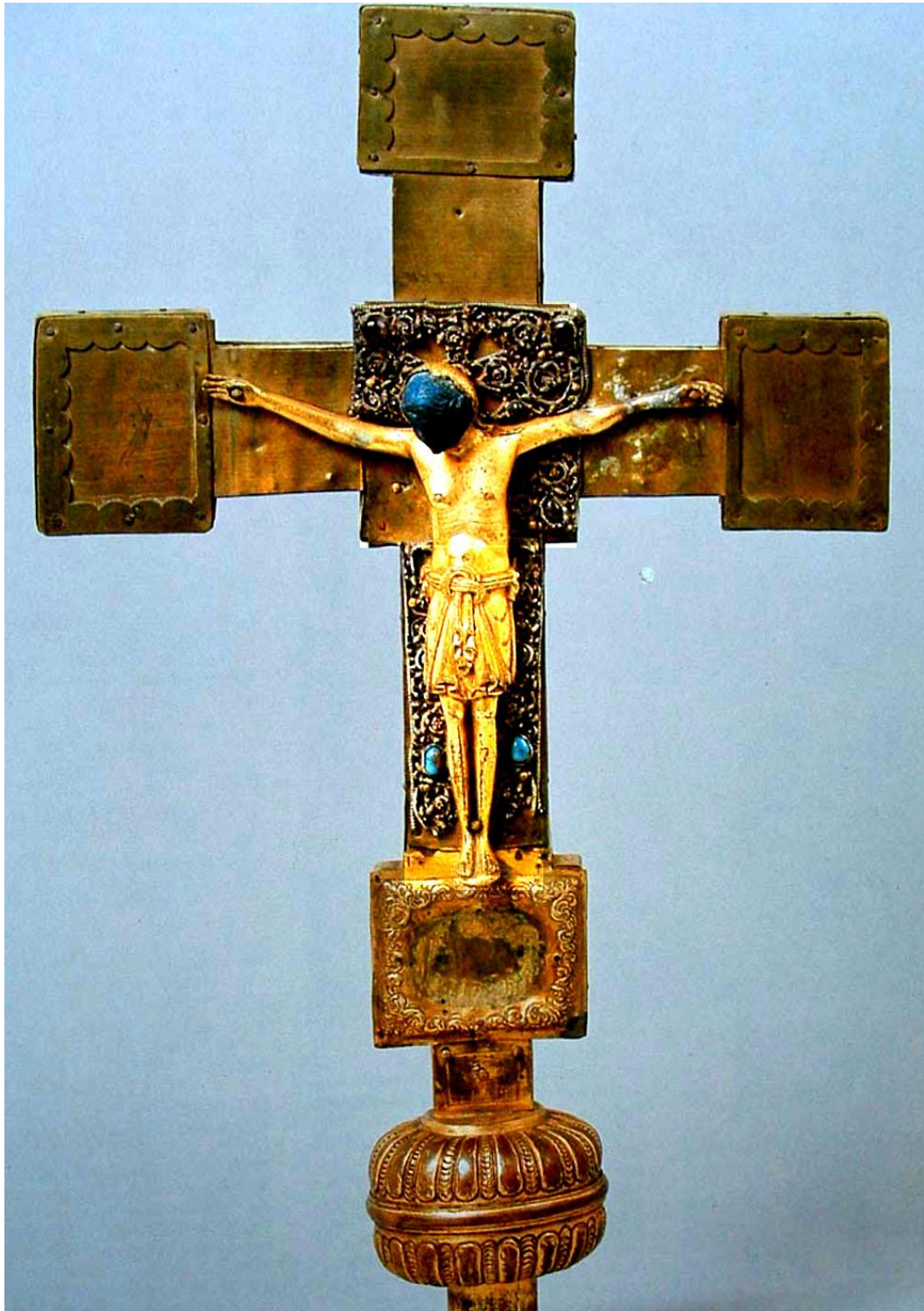
#### Category 4?

An interesting object that can be simultaneously classified in all typologies of polimateric sculpture that we have so far considered is the Herimannkreuz<sup>30</sup> (Erbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne, c. 1056), (**fig. 8a,b**) so-named because commissioned by the Archbishop Herimann of Cologne, grandson of Otto II, as affirms the inscription legible on the upper part of the cross *Herimannus Arciepiscopus me fieri iussit*. His “portrait” is indeed twice repeated on the *verso* of the cross, where he is depicted on the vertical plank and kneeling at the feet of the Madonna, on the lower part, together with Ida, his sister and Abbess of Santa Maria in Capitulo. The Herimannkreuz (41 x 28 cm) is wood covered by gilt copper and bronze (polimateric by superimposition) and presents examples of insertions of precious stones (polimateric by insertion). On the *verso* at the juncture of the cross is a piece of rock crystal, on the *recto* is a carved lapis lazuli head where Christ’s should be, embedded in a cranium of bronze (polimateric sculpture by juxtaposition) This is a small Roman head from the first century, a female face, perhaps of the Empress Livia, wife of Augustus.<sup>31</sup> The insertion of a rare and precious piece from Antiquity at the intersection of the arms of the cross was not an unusual practice in the production of Ottonian crosses with gemstones and had the function of rendering more precious, of ennobling, underlining, and drawing attention to the

<sup>29</sup> Fabio Bisogni, “La scultura in cera nel Medioevo,” *Iconographica* 1 (2002), pp. 1-15.

<sup>30</sup> Ursula Bracker-Wester, “Der Christuskopf vom Herimannkreuz: ein Bildnis der Kaiserin Livia” in ed. A. Legner *et al.*, *Rhein und Maas: Kunst und Kultur, 800 – 1400* (Köln, Schnütgen-Museum, 1, 1972), pp. 177-180; *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, Katalog zur Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums (Köln, 3-6 1985), ed. A. Legner (Köln, Schnütgen-Museum der Stadt, 1985), I, pp. 134-135, 158, cat. B9; Marie-Claire Berkeimeier-Favre, *Das Schöne ist zeitlos: Gedanken zum Herimannkreuz*, in *Das Denkmal und die Zeit: Alfred A. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet von Schülerinnen und Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, eds. B. Anderes and G. Carlen (Luzern: Faksimile Verlag, 1990), pp. 258-269; Peter Bloch, *Romanische Bronzekruzifixe* (Berlin: Deutscher Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1992), pp. 82-87; Ulriche Surmann, *Das Kreuz Herimanns und Ida* (Köln, Diözesanmuseum, 1999).

<sup>31</sup> U. Bracker-Wester (1972).



**Figure 8a** *Herimannkreuz*, c. 1056, wood covered by gilt copper and bronze with precious stones. Erzbischöfliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne. Photo: after *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, ed. by A. Legner (Köln, Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums, 1985), I, p. 157, fig. B9.



**Figure 8** Detail of *Herimannkreuz*, c. 1056, wood covered by gilt copper and bronze with precious stones. Erbischofliches Diözesanmuseum, Cologne. Photo: after *Ornamenta Ecclesiae. Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, ed. by A. Legner (Köln, Ausstellung des Schnütgen-Museums, 1985), I, p. 157, fig. B9.

point which is symbolically most important to the work. Two more examples may be cited, the Heinrichskreuz (Staatliches Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin, first half of the eleventh century)<sup>32</sup> and the Cross of Lothar II (Domschatzkammer, Aachen, c. 1000):<sup>33</sup> In neither, the spoliated head inserted (the first is a young follower of Bacchus, the second is the Emperor Augustus) has no direct connection to the crucifix. In the Herimannkreuz the head also lacks a contemporary connection to the crucifix, or even Christian

symbolism, but the iconographic irrelevance is countered by the strong symbolic congruity of the material from which it is made and its color, as well as its precious character.<sup>34</sup> For every material and every color had a semantic meaning, that is to say, an iconology of material and color. Lapis lazuli<sup>35</sup> was, during the Middle Ages, considered a type of non-transparent sapphire, as noted by Alberto Magnus (1193/1206-1280) in *De mineralibus*. The sapphire, a precious stone of powerful symbolic meaning since Antiquity, was discussed in the Old Testament as having a direct link with God and with the Celestial Spheres. In the Book of Exodus (24.10), God is envisioned with his feet

<sup>32</sup> Gunther Wolf, s.v. *Enrico II*, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, V (Roma, Treccani, 1994), pp. 814-816.

<sup>33</sup> Theo Jülich, "Gemmenkreuze," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 54-55 (1986-1987), pp. 99-258.

<sup>34</sup> Thomas Norberto- Raff Gramacci, *Iconologia delle materie*, in *Arti e storia nel Medioevo*, II, *Del costruire: tecniche, artisti, artigiani, committenti* (Torino, Einaudi, 2002), p. 398.

<sup>35</sup> Michel Pastoureau, *Blu. Storia di un colore* (Milano 2002); see also the recent *The 33rd Annual Ruth K. Shartle Symposium* at the Houston, Museum of Fine Arts, entitled "Lapis Lazuli: A Blue More Precious than Gold," (February 21, 2009).

resting on a slab of sapphire, whose color recalls the Heavens; in Exodus (28.18), the sapphire is one of the stones found on the breastplate of the High Priest Aaron; in the Song of Songs (5.14) the body of the bridegroom, later interpreted as Christ, is described as being composed of ivory and sapphire; Ezekiel (1.26 and 10.1) described the throne of God as being made of sapphire. Later commentators, such as Origen (185–254) and Saint Jerome (347–420), explored the symbolism of the sapphire and its connection with the color of the Heavens, making it one of the signs of Heavenly Life promised by God, in conformity with the contents of Paul’s letter to the Philippians (3.20). Even Gregory the Great (540-604), contrasted the sapphire, symbol of the Heavenly Sphere with the sardonic, symbol of the Earthly Sphere.<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, the lapis lazuli set in the head of the crucifix of Herimannkreuz, noteworthy for its blue color against a gold background, could not but point to the Heavenly Sphere in which the Heavenly Father lives and this symbolizes his closeness to the dying Christ, as a chromatic sign of the divine nature of Jesus, in conformity with the second article of the *Credo*. In this case, the polimateric quality is not only intended for aesthetic ends, but is also tied to the transmission of symbolism. Its implications must have arrived with force and clarity by taking such an extraordinary form, because the work of God is characterized most exactly by those *admirabiles mixturae*<sup>37</sup> which amazed and disturbed, but also induced profound reflection. The “game” of using and mixing materials and colors according to expressive semantic meanings and values which they

<sup>36</sup> Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, *Das Lapislazuli-Köpfchen am Herimann-Kreuz*, in *Kotinos. Festschrift für Erika Simon*, eds. H. Froning, T. Hölscher, H. Mielsch (Mainz am Rhein, P. von Zabern, 1992), pp. 386-393.

<sup>37</sup> See Bernard de Clairvaux (*Sermones in vigilia nativitatibus domini, sermo III*, PL 183, 98B), who observed that God has wanted to mix and combine things so different from each other: “*Et mane, inquit, videbitis gloriam ejus. O mane! o dies, quae melior es in atriis Domini super millia, quando erit mensis ex mense, et Sabbatum ex Sabbato, cum splendor lucis et fervor charitatis usque in altissima illa magnalia terrarum incolas illustrabit! Quis de te cogitare, nedum aliquid praesumat recitare? Interim tamen aedificemus, fratres, fidem nostram, ut si mirabilia illa, quae nobis reservantur, videre non possumus, saltem mirabilia quae propter nos in terris facta sunt, aliquantulum contemplemur. Tria opera, tres mixturas fecit omnipotens illa Majestas in assumptione nostrae carnis, ita singulariter mirabilia, et mirabiliter singularia, ut talia nec facta sint, nec facienda sint amplius super terram. Conjuncta quippe sunt ad invicem Deus et homo, mater et virgo, fides et cor humanum. Admirabiles istae mixturae, et omni miraculo mirabilius, quomodo tam diversa, tamque divisa ab invicem, invicem potuere conjungi.*” In reference to various theories of “Wonder” in the Middle Ages see Caroline Walker Bynum, “Wonder,” *American Historical Review*, 102/1 (1997), pp. 1-17 and William Tronzo, *Mixed Media - "Admirabiles mixturae"*, in *Imagine e ideologia: studi in onore di Arturo Carlo Quintavalle*, eds Calzona A., Campari R., Mussini M. (Milano, Electa, 2007), pp. 207-212.

produced extended beyond the Middle Ages, as demonstrated by the bizarre bust of Tiberius commissioned from the goldsmith Antonio Gentili da Faenza<sup>38</sup> by Ferdinando I Medici in 1580 (now in the Museo degli Argenti in Palazzo Pitti, Florence)<sup>39</sup> (**fig. 9**), whose face is actually a portrait of Augustus from Roman Art of the first century, splendidly rendered in an intense and divine turquoise. This success was due to the effectiveness of mixed media. Ultimately, mixed media in the art of the Middle Ages went beyond a collection of lovely materials intermingled for aesthetic effect; they drew upon deep sources of symbolism of media which significantly enhanced their meanings and functions. ●



**Figure 9** Antonio Gentili da Faenza, *Bust of Tiberius*, 1580, bronze and turquoise. Palazzo Pitti, Florence. Photo: after *Augusta fragmenta*, ed. by M. Scalini (Milano, Silvana Editoriale, 2008), p. 28, fig. 15.

<sup>38</sup> Carlo Grigoni, "Antonio Gentili detto Antonio da Faenza," *Romagna arte e storia* 8/24 (1988), pp. 83-118.

<sup>39</sup> Mario Scalini, "Le ragioni della mostra: aspetti della fortuna dei materiali antichi nella rinascita delle arti dal Medioevo al Rinascimento" in *Augusta fragmenta. Vitalità dei materiali dell'antico da Arnolfo di Cambio a Botticelli a Giambologna*, catalogue of the exhibition in Aosta 2008, ed. M. Scalini (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), p. 28, fig. 15.



## **The Symbol of Deer in the Ancient and Early Medieval Cultures of Azerbaijan**

By Saltanat Rzayeva

This article considers the symbol of the deer in the ancient Azerbaijan art of the Bronze, Iron and Early Medieval eras. In particular, it focuses on the cultural and historical significance of the symbol of the deer for people who inhabited the territory that is now modern Azerbaijan.

The deer symbol has been found on rock engravings from the Absheron Peninsula (shores of the Caspian Sea) and Gemi-Qaya (Nakhchivan Autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan), on bronze belts, on ceramic artifacts, and on three-dimensional metallic figures, and zoomorphic vessels. Because Azerbaijanis are a Turkic people, it is important to consider this within the context of ethnographic material of different Turkic ethnic groups in order to discover the meaning of the deer symbol, so archeological and ethnographic data of neighboring countries – Iranian Azerbaijan, Iran proper, Georgia, and Armenia – are also examined in this article. Comparative analysis is used to define the similarities and differences in the symbol of the deer, and the construction of typological rows is used to observe the development of the symbol in time and space. The symbol of the deer is found as early as the Paleolithic epoch and was subsequently continuously represented in the Mesolithic, Neolithic, and Iron Ages. However, by the Early Medieval period, the appearance of deer in art is significantly reduced reflecting the disappearance of totemism and the spread of the other religions in the area.

The earliest image of the deer yet discovered in Azerbaijan is found on the rock engravings of Gobustan (about sixty kilometers south of Baku, the capital of Azerbaijan) dating to 4000-3000 B.C.E.<sup>1</sup> Here, the majority of the deer appear on a ground line, naturalistically, usually moving. The deer are also represented on the rock forms using geometric forms such as a combination of two triangles. The bodies of deer are filled by dots and are shown with either no antlers or antlers of different sizes. The greatest number of ceramic works adorned with deer images can be found in the East Caucasus.<sup>2</sup>

### A Catalog of Two-Dimensional Deer Image Types

When studying numerous images of deer on rock engravings, ceramic, and metallic artifacts, it becomes evident that they can be categorized in seven broad categories:

**Single deer.** This type is observed among Apsheron,<sup>3</sup>(**fig. 1**) Gemi-Qaya<sup>4</sup> (**figs. 2, 3**) rock engravings of the Bronze Age, and commonly in petroglyphs from Gobustan, dating to 4000-1000 years B.C.E.<sup>5</sup> (**figs. 4, 5, 6, 7**) On ceramic vessels, such as the two Mingechevir dating to the third through fourth centuries B.C. E.<sup>6</sup> and earlier (1000 B.C.E.), portray a single deer.<sup>7</sup> (**fig. 8**) On the vessels from the barrow of the Valley of Ganjachay River,<sup>8</sup> (**fig. 9**) a wavy line is on the back of the deer or similar line crosses the body of a deer in the middle.

<sup>1</sup> I.M. Dzhaferzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), Yazili Hill, stone 4, figs. 1; stone 9, figs. 15; stone 24, fig. 1.

<sup>2</sup> M.A. Guseynova, *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronzi i rannege zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table IV, fig. 1 ;table XII, fig. 4, 29; table XIV, fig. 7; table XXX, figs. 1,2,5.

<sup>3</sup> Ch. Burney and D.M. Lang, *The Peoples of the Hills* (New York: Praeger, 1972), fig. 6.

<sup>4</sup> V. Bakshaliyev, *Gemikaya petroglyphs* (Baku: Elm, 2003), no figure numbers.

<sup>5</sup> I.M. Dzhaferzade (1973), Yazili Hill, stone 4, figs. 1, 2,; stone 13, figs. 5, 41, 42; stone 14, fig. 6, and 1,2; stone 24, fig. 1; stone 32, fig. 1; stone 64, fig. 19; stone 66, fig. 1, 2; Boyukdash, upper trace, stone 9, fig. 12; stone 34, fig. 9; stone 152, fig. 1.

<sup>6</sup> N.I. Rzayev, *Xudozhestvennaya keramika Kavkazskoy Albanii* (Baku: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk Azerbaydzhanskoy SSR, 1964), fig. 17.

<sup>7</sup> T.I. Golubkina, *O zoomorfnoy keramike iz Mingechaura, Materialnaya Kulitura Azerbaydzhana* (Baku: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk Azerbaydzhanskoy SSR, 1951), vol. II, fig. 44.

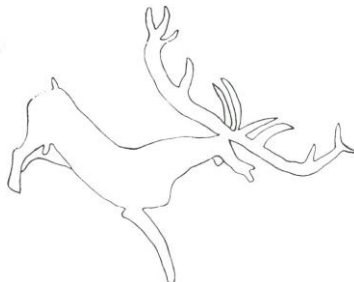
<sup>8</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), table IV, fig. 1.



←**Figure 1** Azerbaijan History Museum, Apsheron, Shuvelani. 4000-1000 B.C.E. Photo: author.



**Figures 2, 3** Rock Engravings from Gemi-Qaya, Azerbaijan. 4000-1000 B.C.E. Photo: after V. Bakshaliev, *Gemikaya petroglyphs* (Baku: Elm, 2003), no figure numbers listed.



**Figures 4, 5, 6, 7** Rock Engravings from Yazill Hill, Gobustan, Azerbaijan. 4, stone 24, pic.1 (4000-3000 B.C.E.); 5, stone 4, pic. 1 (4000-3000 B.C.E.); 6, stone 66, pic. 1 (late 3000 B.C.E.); 7, stone 66, pic. 2 (late 3000 B.C.E.). Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973).



←**Figure 8** Vessel from Mingachevir, 1000 B.C.E., Azerbaijan. Photo: after T.I. Golubkina, *O zoomorfnoy keramike iz Mingechaura, Materialinaya Kulitura Azerbaydzhana* (Baku: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk Azerbaydzhanskoy SSR, 1951), vol. II, fig. 44.



**Figure 9** Dish from the barrow №34, the valley of Ganjachay river, Azerbaijan 14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Photo: after M.A. Guseynova, *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronzi i rannego zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e.* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table IV, pic. 1.



A metallic medallion from Gadabey depicts a single deer with branchy antlers, while the edges of the ornament feature a border with empty spaces.<sup>10</sup> On the bone comb from Mingechevir (3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century) a deer's image is engraved.<sup>11</sup> (fig.10) The body of the deer is filled with by dots and it has an elongated snout image style resembles petroglyphs of Gobustan. The motif is also found in a group of stamps (3<sup>rd</sup> – 4<sup>th</sup> century C.E.) where the deer is depicted on one of them.<sup>13</sup> (fig. 11) The deer's face has elongated shape, often be seen on the other images of the deer dating to the earlier periods. Much later, a glazed plate, dated 11<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> century C.E., with no recorded find place, is now in the History Museum of Azerbaijan.<sup>14</sup> The plate is decorated with several borders, the middle which is adorned with plant ornament. On the white background in the center of the plate, a gazelle is shown surrounded by plants similar to that of the middle border. (fig. 12)



**Figure 10** Bone Comb from Mingechevir, Azerbaijan 3<sup>rd</sup> - 4<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E. Photo: after Nasir Rzayev, *Iskusstvo Kavkazskoy Albanii* (Baku: Elm, 1976), fig. 161.

**Figure 11** ↓ Stamp/Seal from Mingachevir, Azerbaijan,



3<sup>rd</sup> -4<sup>th</sup>

centuries C.E. Photo: after R.M.

Vahidov, *Minkechevir III-VIII esrlerde* (Baki: Azerbaijan SSR Elmler Akademijjasi Neshrijjati, 1961), tab. XIV, p .4.



**Figure 12** Glazed Dish, 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E. Materialinoj Kulituri Azerbaidjan, Azerbaijan Photo: after Arxeologicheskie pamjatniki, *Pamjatniki Materialinoj Kulituri Azerbaidjana*, vol. 7(Akademija Nauk Azerbaidjanskoj SSR, Muzej Istorii Azerbaidjana, n.d.), fig. 71.

- 1.) A few deer standing or following each other. On ceramics they are sometimes divided by a wavy line as seen on the rock carvings of the upper terrace of the Beyukdash mountain

<sup>10</sup> S.H. Sadixzade, *G, Gedim Azerbaydchan bezekleri* (Baku: Ishig, 1971), table X.

<sup>11</sup> Nasir Rzayev, *Iskusstvo Kavkazskoy Albanii* (Baku: Elm, 1976), fig. 161.

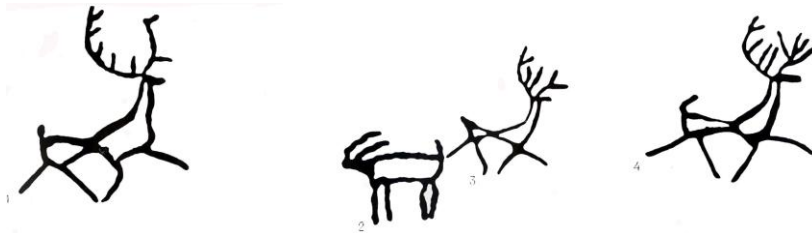
<sup>13</sup> R.M. Vahidov, *Minkechevir III-VIII esrlerde* (Baki: Azerbaijan SSR Elmler Akademijjasi Neshrijjati, 1961), tab. XIV, fig. 4.

<sup>14</sup> Arxeologicheskie pamjatniki, *Pamjatniki Materialinoj Kulituri Azerbaidjana*, tom 7, Akademija Nauk Azerbaidjanskoj SSR, Muzej Istorii Azerbaidjana, p.71.

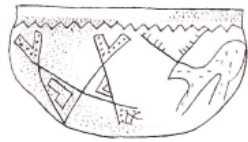
in Gobustan (2000-1000 B.C.E.), which displays two compositions with running deer.<sup>15</sup> (fig. 13, 14) The deer found on the Khanlar dish (1200-1100 B.C.E.) are a combination of geometric and naturalized images of deer standing close to one another.<sup>16</sup> (fig. 15) Another small group of engraved deer are seen running in one row on the Gadabey bronze belt. (fig. 16) The antlers of these deer are quite large, extending over their backs and balanced by their elongated snouts. Their bodies are covered with small dots also seen in ceramic depictions. Note that the third deer from the left's antlers touch the sign of the sun.<sup>17</sup> The theme of deer following one another is also popular on the vessels from Marlik (Iran).<sup>18</sup>



**Figure 13** Beyukdash Mountain, upper terrace, stone 59, 2000-1000 B.C.E. Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* Baku: Elm, 1973), p. 1, 3, 4.



**Figure 14** Beyukdash Mountain, upper terrace, stone 22 (middle 2000 B.C.E.). Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), p. 1, 3, 4.



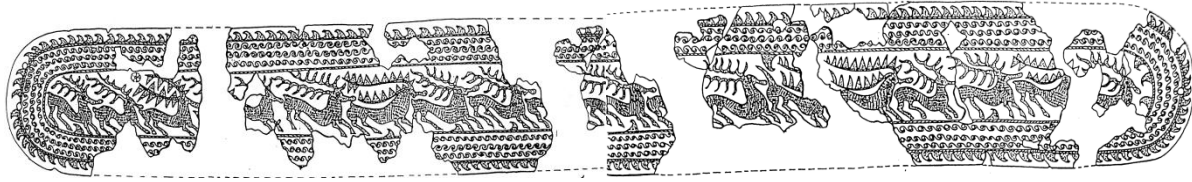
**Figure 15** Bowl from the barrow №33 to the south-west of Khanlar on the right bank of Ganjachay river, Azerbaijan, 12<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Photo: after M.A. Guseynova, *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronz i rannege zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e.* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table XIV, fig. 7.

<sup>15</sup> I.M. Dzhafarzade (1973), Boyukdash, upper trace, stone 22, p. 59.

<sup>16</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), table XIV, fig.7.

<sup>17</sup> Dzh, A. Kxalilov, *Azerbaydzhandan tapilmish tundzh kemerler, Azerbaydzhanin maddi medeniyyeti* (Baki: Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyasi neshriyyati, 1962), volume IV, table III, fig. 2.

<sup>18</sup> O. Negahban, *Marlik*, (Pennsylvania: Science Press, 1966), figs. 5-20, 6-48, 7-50.



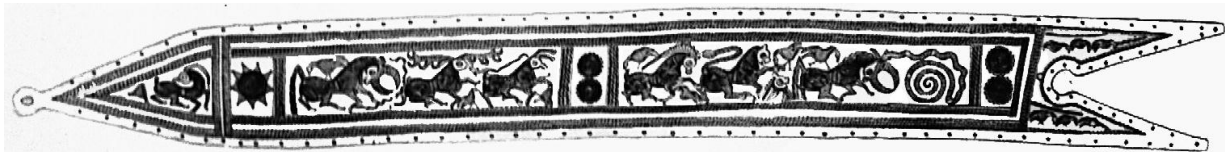
**Figure 16** Bronze belt from Kedabek, Azerbaijan (2000-1000 B.C.E). Photo: after A. Dzh Kxalilov, *Azerbaydzhandə tapilmish tundzh kemerler, Azerbaydzhanin maddi medeniyyəti* (Baki: Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyası neshriyyatı, 1962), child IV, table III, fig. 2.

2.) A horned male deer is chasing a hornless female deer.

Examples of this motif include an image on a ceramic vessel from Ardebil (Iranian Azerbaijan), where a male deer chases a female deer.<sup>19</sup> This is repeated on a stone slab with the image of male deer chasing a female deer was found in Absheron (**fig. 17**) and again on a bronze belt, found in one of the stone chests. (**fig. 18**) Though images on the belt are drawn in a more graceful, thinner manner, those rendered on a stone slab are more realistic.<sup>20</sup> The motif appears engraved again on a wooden plate from the 7<sup>th</sup> century found at Mingchevir. Here while the male deer chases the female deer, a big semi-fantastic bird flies over another pair of deer and a big leaf-like element which resembles an upturned image of tree.<sup>21</sup> (**fig. 19**)



**Figure 17** Stone Slab, Apsheron, Shuvelyani (Bronze Age) Azerbaijan History Muzeum , the Bronze Age. Photo: author.

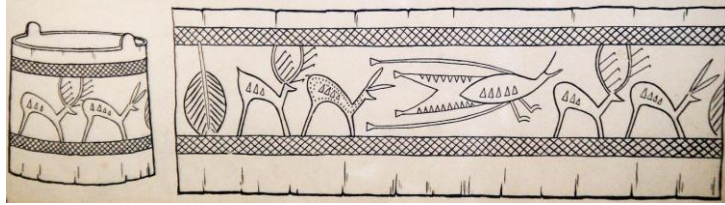


**Figure 18** Bronze belt from Apsheron (found in stone chest), Azerbaijan (end of 2000-early 1000 B.C.E.) Photo: Telman Ibrahimov Archive.

<sup>19</sup> *Trésors de L'Ancient Iran Musée Rath* (Geneva: Acheve d'imprimer sur les presses de l'Imprimerie Atar S.A., 1966).

<sup>20</sup> G.Aslanov, *Ob Arxeologicheskix pamyatnikax Apsherona, Materialnaya Kulitura Azerbaydzhana* (Baku: Elm, 1980), vol. IX, p.77.

<sup>21</sup> Rasim Efendi, *Azerbaijan dekorativ – tətbiqi sənətləri* (Baki: Ishig, 1976), fig.6.



**Figure 19**, Wooden pail or dish, Minkechevir, Azerbaijan (7<sup>th</sup> century C.E.), Azerbaijan History Museum. Photo: Telman Ibrahimov Archive.

**3. Hunting scenes.** In contrast to images of running deer, these scenes consist of predators and hunters chasing deer, archers shooting at deer, or deer being torn apart by fantastic creatures.

**3.1 Predator chasing a deer.** A scene of a dappled predator chasing a dappled deer is depicted on a stone No. 24 in Gobustan (upper terrace).<sup>22</sup> (**fig. 20**)



**Figure 20** Beyukdash Mountain, upper terrace, stone 24-a, Azerbaijan. Photo: after Malahat Farajova, *Rock art of Azerbaijan* (Baku: Aspoligraf, 2009), p. 3.

On the right corner of a different Gadabey belt<sup>23</sup> a vertical composition illustrates predators including a human being, a swimming bird, and a dog chasing a gazelle, while another dog chases a deer with branchy antlers at the lowest level of the composition. The second line of the composition shows a snake bites the antlers of a deer. An image of a deer on the left side and one of a predator on the right side are appears in a decorative bay from mausoleum of 1314 from Khatchin-Darbatli settlement. (**fig. 21**) In comparison to earlier depictions of the deer, these are rather cruder in execution.<sup>24</sup> (**fig. 22**)



← **Figure 21** Mausoleum, Xachin-Darbatli Village, Azerbaijan, constructed by Шахбүз in 1314. Photo: after M. Usejnov, L. Bretanitskij, A. Salamzade, *Istoriya Arxitekturi Azerbaidjana* (Moskva: Izdatelstvo literaturi po stroitelstvu, arxitekture i stroitelinim materialam, 1963), fig. 144.

<sup>22</sup> D.N. Rustamov, F.M. Muradova, "O rezul'tatax arxeologicheskix issledovaniy 1981 goda v Gobustane," *Arxeologicheskie i etnograficheskie iziskaniya v Azerbajdzane (1980-1981)* (Baku: Elm, 1986), p.94.

<sup>23</sup> Dzh. A. Kxalilov (1962), table V, fig. 1.

<sup>24</sup> Usejnov M., Bretanitskij L., Salamzade A., *Istoriya Arxitekturi Azerbaidjana* (Moskva: Izdatelstvo literaturi po stroitelstvu, arxitekture i stroitelinim materialam, 1963), fig.144.



**Figure 22** Detail of the decorative bay from mausoleum in Xachin-Darbatli Village, Azerbaijan. Photo: after M. Usejnov, L. Bretanitskij, A. Salamzade, *Istorija Arxitekturi Azerbaidjana* (Moskva: Izdatelstvo literaturi po stroitelstvu, arxitekture i stroitelinim materialam, 1963), fig. 148.

3.2 Hunter chasing a deer. Images of this motif can be found in several similar Gobustan stone carving compositions dated 3000-2000 B.C.E.<sup>25</sup> (figs. 23, 24) and to the 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E. (fig. 25)



**Figure 23** Gobustan, Yazili Hill, Azerbaijan, stone 100 (mid 2000 B.C.E.). Photo: I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), fig. 2.

**Figure 24** Gobustan, Yazili hill, stone 134, Azerbaijan (3000-2000 B.C.E.). Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), fig. 1.



**Figure 25** Gobustan, Beyukdash Mountain, upper terrace, stone 103 (5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century C.E.). Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), fig. 1.

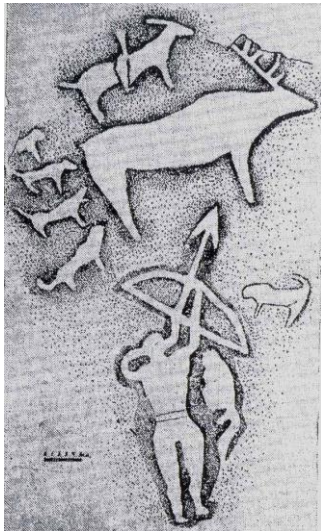
3.3. Archer aiming at a deer. Three ceramic vessels and one ceramic bowl with this iconography have been discovered, all from Boyuk Khanlar and Kilikdag barrows, dating to the 14<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.<sup>26</sup> In all of these depictions, the deer run from left to right. The composition is typically composed of two deer and two hunters painted to create a repeating theme. On one vessel and one bowl, the figure of the hunter is changed to a diamond-shaped figure symbolizing a tree of life. The body of the hunter, filled with dots

<sup>25</sup> I.M. Dzhafarzade (1973), Yazili Hill, stone 9, figs.15, 23, stone 100, fig.2 and stone 134, fig. 1.

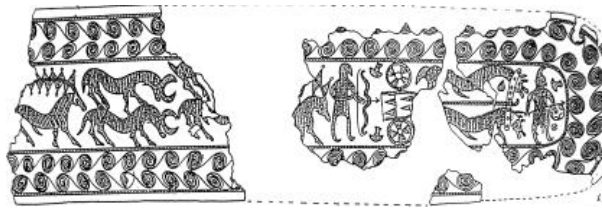
<sup>26</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), table XXX, figs. 1-4

and lines, is formed by two connecting triangles. The hunter's head is an unfinished triangular form, while his limbs are depicted simply: his hands have only three fingers, while each leg seems to have two feet. Depicted above the heads of the hunters is a solar symbol of the circle. Flanking each of the figures are different geometric symbols including rhombuses, circles, triangles painted with dots, and six-pointed signs whose edges and center are decorated with circles. M.A.Guseynova has suggested that the complex six-rayed sign symbolizes the highest sky deity.<sup>27</sup>

Other depictions of archers hunting deer include the Absheron rock engraving (early Iron Age) where dogs chase a deer toward a hunter who aims at the deer with strained bow in an ambush<sup>28</sup> (**fig. 26**) and on a vertical iron panel from Hasanlu (9<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.) where an archer aims at a deer is depicted on one of the layers.<sup>29</sup> Even the mother deer who feeds her fawn on a bronze belt from western Azerbaijan is the target of an archer,<sup>30</sup> as is the deer on the belt from Dashkesan, whose progress is being followed by an archer.<sup>31</sup> (**fig. 27**) There is also a later image of a marksman aiming at a deer on a stone No. 118 in Gobustan (upper terrace) dated 8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century C.E.<sup>32</sup> (**fig. 28**)



**Figure 26** Apsheron, the Bronze Age, Azerbaijan. Photo: after G.M. Aslanov, *Ob arxeologicheskix pamjatnikax Apsherova, Azerbaydzhanin maddi medeniyeti* (Baki: Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyasi neshriyyati, 1980), vol. 9, fig. 6.



← **Figure 27**  
Bronze belt from  
Xachbulag,  
Azerbaijan, end of  
2000-early 1000  
B.C.E. Photo: after

G.K. Kesamanli, *Pogrebenie s bronzovim poyasom iz Xachbulaga* (Sovetskaya Arxeologiya, 1966), 3, fig. 4.

<sup>27</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), p. 84.

<sup>28</sup> G.M. Aslanov, *Ob arxeologicheskix pamjatnikax Apsherova, Azerbaydzhanin maddi medeniyeti* (Baki: Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyasi neshriyyati, 1980), volume IX, fig. 6.

<sup>29</sup> V.C. Pigott, "The Emergence of Iron use at Hasanlu," *Expedition*, vol.31, Nos. 2-3 (1989), table IV, fig. 14.

<sup>30</sup> D. Dzhaferova, "Bronzovie poyasa - kak sredstvo zaschiti voynov," *Irs*, vols. 4-5 (2007), pp. 28-29.

<sup>31</sup> G.K. Kesamanli, "Pogrebenie s bronzovim poyasom iz Xachbulaga," *Sovetskaya Arxeologiya*, vol. 3 (1966), fig. 4.

<sup>32</sup> I.M. Dzhaferzade, (1973), Gobustan, Beyukdash Mountain, upper terrace, stone 118, fig. 2.

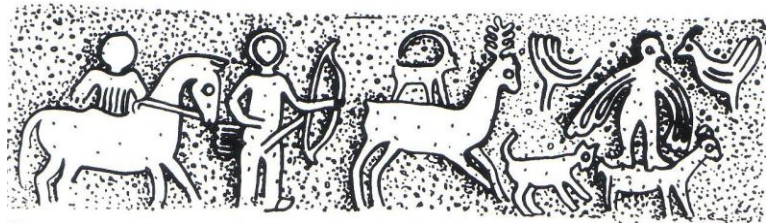


← **Figure 28** Gobustan, Beyukdash Mountain, upper terrace, stone 118, pic. 2, Azerbaijan (8<sup>th</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E.). Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973).

A chasing scene is repeated on a painted plate from Oren-Gala dated 12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> centuries C.E., but this kind of performance style of image is more typical for medieval ceramics.<sup>33</sup> (**fig. 29**)



← **Figure 29** Dish from Oren –Gala, **Azerbaijan** (12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century). Photo: after Rasim Efendi, *Azerbaijan Inceseneti* (Baki: Sherg-Gerb, 2007), n.p.



**Figure 30** Sarcophagus from Village of Yurud, Sisyan region in Armenia (16<sup>th</sup> century C.E.). Photo: after R. Efendi, *Azerbaijan dekorativ – tetbigi senetleri* (Baki: Ishig, 1976), p. 82.

An even-later, but interesting chase scene is depicted on a horizontal gravestone from the 16<sup>th</sup> century found in Sisyan region (Armenia), Urud settlement.<sup>34</sup> (**fig. 30**) There is an Arabic record of the owner of this grave, Oghul ibn Murad, who died in the Muslim year 963 (1555/56).<sup>35</sup> In the complex scene on the gravestone a hunter follows a marksman aiming at a deer. On the back of a deer is a small goat is shown. The deer then chases a cat and an unknown animal with a bird-man on its back. More birds flank the bird-man. The 16<sup>th</sup>-century image of a deer features a creature with small antlers, indicating that its meaning has changed, because in the ancient world its antlers were almost always emphasized.

The theme of the deer, hunted by archers, also appears on many bronze belts found in the Caucasus. On a scrap of the belt from Georgia, we again see an archer following a mother deer and her fawn,<sup>36</sup> and on another belt of Ossetian origin, an archer chases two deer,<sup>37</sup> while at the

<sup>33</sup> Rasim Efendi, *Azerbaijan Inceseneti*(Baki: Sherg-Gerb, 2007), the dish from Oren –Gala. No figure numbers listed.

<sup>34</sup> R.Efendi, *Azerbaijan dekorativ – tetbigi senetleri* (Baki: Ishig, 1976). No figure numbers listed.

<sup>35</sup> Eziz Elekberli, *Gerbi Azerbaijanin Abideleri* (Baki: Agridag, 2006), p.173.

<sup>36</sup> Dzh, A. Kxalilov (1962), table XI, fig. 1.

other end of the belt, a deer and her fawn are depicted.<sup>38</sup> Two archers, aiming at a deer and her fawn are again seen at the beginning and end of a bronze belt from Aqtala village in Armenia.<sup>39</sup> On all belts mentioned above, other animals are also depicted, but the deer and her fawn are the most persistent symbols. Later imagery, such as the deer, dog and a bird of prey shown on a painted plate from Agkend dated 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> centuries Reflect the active composition typical of medieval pottery from Azerbaijan.<sup>40</sup> (**fig. 31**) Here animals are shown afoot while a plant ornament winds round them in the chase scene. A composition is most likely dedicated to a chasing scene. This picture of a deer differs from ancient chase scenes with its decorative presentation of the action.



**Figure 31** Dish from Agkend, Azerbaijan, 11<sup>th</sup> century C.E. Photo: after Rasim Efendi, *Togrul Efendi, Azerbaijan Dekoration*, (n.p.), p. 32.

3.4. Scene of tormenting. On the silver dish from village Karabulak, Kah region (3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.E.), a fantastic creature with wings tears apart the carcass of a deer.<sup>41</sup> (**fig. 32a, b**)

<sup>37</sup> B.V. Texov, *Tsentrallibiy Kavkaz v XVI-X vekax do n.e.* (Moskva:Nauka,1977), fig. 100;

<sup>38</sup> V. Tsagaraev, *Kavkazskaya Atlantida*, [www.anaharsis.ru/arhaika/At13.htm](http://www.anaharsis.ru/arhaika/At13.htm), fig. 33.

<sup>39</sup> Dzh. A. Kxalilov (1962), table XI, fig. 2.

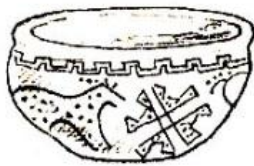
<sup>40</sup> Rasim Efendi, *Togrul Efendi, Azerbaijan Dekoration* (n.p.), p. 32.

<sup>41</sup> Dzh. A. Kxalilov, *Materialinaya Kulitura Kavkazskoy Albanii* (Baku: Elm, 1985), table XXVI, fig. 1.

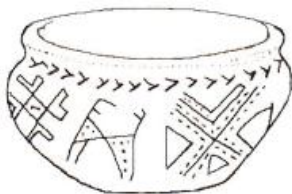


**Figure 32 a, b** Silver dish from Karabulak Village, Kah Region, Azerbaijan, 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E, Azerbaijan History Museum . Photo: after Azerbaijan History Museum, *Azerbajdzhan indzheseneti* (Baki: Ishig, 1992), fig. 12.

4. Deer standing in front of the tree of life. On the ceramics from the Eastern Caucasus, the tree of life might be replaced by semantically identical diamond-shaped or x-shaped figures.<sup>42</sup> (**figs 33, 34**) On a bowl from Khanlar (12<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.) a deer bows before a geometrically shaped tree of life. The form of the tree resembles a depiction of a woman giving birth, which might be the prototype of the symbol of the tree of life. The deer bowing to the tree sports small antlers, a tail that circles inward, and a body covered by dots.<sup>43</sup> (**fig. 35a, b**)



**Figure 33** Dish from barrow №34, the valley of Ganjachay River, Azerbaijan (14<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.). Photo: after M.A.Guseynova, *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronzi i rannege zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e.* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table IV, fig. 3.



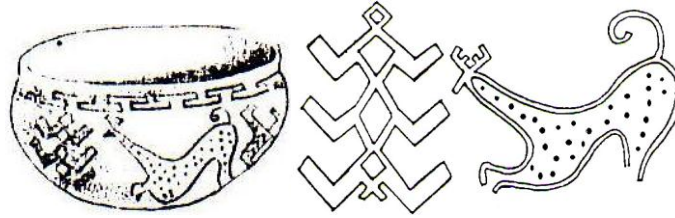
**Figure 34** Dish from barrow №8, the valley of Ganjachay River, Azerbaijan (14<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.). Photo: after *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronzi i rannege zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e.* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table 6, fig. 16.

On the border of a vessel from Mingechevir (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. – 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.) the tree of life is again seen with two water fowl circling a deer, while another deer follows one of the birds. In the lower part of the border triangle-shaped mountains divide the birds and deer, while two stars shine behind the deer.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>42</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), table IV, fig. 3; table VI, fig. 16.

<sup>43</sup> M.A. Guseynova, M, A, 1989, table XII,fig. 4.

<sup>44</sup> N.I. Rzayev (1964), fig. 13.



**Figure 35a, b** Photo: after M.A. Guseynova, *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronzi i rannege zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e.* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table 12, fig. 4. Dish from Big Khanlar barrow №2, Azerbaijan (12<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.).

5. Deer standing close to a human being who prays with their hands lifted up or with the folded arms. The images of deer, goats, and geometric figures of praying human with three fingers are depicted on the bowl from the Khanlar barrow (12<sup>th</sup> -11<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.) (**fig. 36**).



**Figure 36** Dish from the Big Xanlar barrow №2, Azerbaijan (12<sup>th</sup> – 11<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.). Photo: after M.A. Guseynova, *Keramika Vostochnogo Zakavkazya epoxi pozdney bronzi i rannege zheleza XIV-IX vv. do n.e.* (Baku: Elm, 1989), table 12, fig. 29.

The body of the praying figure is filled by dots.<sup>48</sup> On Yazil Hill in Gobustan, a human figure is engraved (mid 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E.) on the rock with their arms bent at the elbows and their fingers spread wide. On his head two protuberances grow, resembling antlers. Above these, solar symbols are engraved. The deer, standing near the figure's legs, turns and looks at the praying man.<sup>49</sup> (**fig. 37**)



**Figure 37** Gobustan, Yazili Hill, stone 14, Azerbaijan (middle 1000 C.E.). Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), p. 12.

There is a thin slab (13<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C.E.) in the Azerbaijan history museum, measuring 12 x 13 cm, found in Mingechevir.<sup>50</sup> (**fig. 38**) This object is either a sinker for fishing or a stamp or seal. There is carved an imagery of a human, with hands raised above his head. Flanking him are two deer heads, one above the other, carved in profile. The motif of adorsed deer heads is repeated on the Dolanlar pendant, which will be discussed below. (**fig. 46**)

<sup>48</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), table XII, fig. 29.

<sup>49</sup> I.M. Dzhafarzade, (1973), Yazili Hill, stone 14, fig. 12.

<sup>50</sup> Azerbaijan History Museum.



**Figure 38** Stone fishing sinker or perhaps stamp or seal from Mingachevir (13<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.) Azerbaijan History Museum. Photo: author.

Another example of a double-headed deer is found on the lower part of the stone No. 22 from the Dashqishlaq collection in Gobustan.<sup>51</sup> Indeed, double-headed images are seen for the first time between Gobustan petroglyphs. Beside this image is a standing human figure with his hands lifted up. Engraved on top of his head are three deer horns similar to those seen on the head of **figure 51. (fig. 39)** The body of figure consists of two round parts and a rectangle divided in half. The foot on one leg of the figure is extended.

↓**Figure 39** Apsheron, Azerbaijan (Bronze Age). Photo: after Malahat Farajova, *Rock Art of Azerbaijan* (Baku: Aspoliqraf, 2009), fig. 23.



Among the Absheron rock paintings there is an interesting composition from the Bronze Age representing a group of people standing with the folded arms.<sup>53</sup> (**fig. 40**) Drawn in the right-hand lower corner is a large woman standing on the back of a deer shown in profile. Flanking her are smaller figures. In the left lower corner another woman with folded arms is shown. The predator is situated over her head and on either side of her are men with weapons (bow and arrows) raised above their heads and pointed at the predator. Another human figure appears to fly upside down over the predator. Half of a human figure remains on the left edge of the rock and diagonally, to its right, is a figure of a standing woman and to her right is a one-eyed creature with raised hands. Of the figures two are evidently women (with breasts), but the gender of the other six figures is difficult to determine. All seven figures wear belts and five of them (including the woman standing on the deer) are shown with the folded arms. In the

<sup>51</sup> Arxeologicheskie I Etnograficheskie iziskaniya v Azerbajdjane (1980-1) (Baku: Elm, 1986); D.N.Rustamov, F.M. Muradova, *O rezulitatax arxeologicheskix issledovanij* (1981), V Gobustane, p. 94.

<sup>53</sup> Malahat Farajova, *Rock art of Azerbaijan* (Baku: Aspoliqraf, 2009), fig. 23.

ancient world a deity was often symbolized by raised hands, but it is, again, difficult to pinpoint which of these figures might be a deity and which might be a figure in prayer. If the figure is a deity, than perhaps the deer would be the divinity's sacred animal, making the woman standing on the deer's back an animal patroness. Among the many images discovered in Azerbaijan, this is the only one found thus far which depicts a human being standing on the deer. Perhaps it was influenced by the Hittite deity Enikey, popular in neighboring regions, who was represented in the same manner.<sup>55</sup> If the stone object decorated with deers' heads in profile is really a stamp or seal, it could have been used for tattooing in sacred rituals.

**Figure 40** Gobustan, Boyukdash, upper terrace, stone 52, Azerbaijan. Photo: after I.M. Dzhaferzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973). →



←**Figure 41** Vessel from Shamkir, Azerbaijan (15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.), Azerbaijan History Museum. Photo: author.



##### 5. Netted composition with deer.

This image can be seen on a circular bronze medallion with a small border from the western part of modern Azerbaijan (end Bronze Age/early Iron Age).<sup>56</sup> In the middle of the circle, a swastika is framed within a rhomboid shape. Rays following the lines of the rhomboid extend up to the line of the border. In two of the cells created by these rays, stand single deer, and in two other cells, ancient artists depicted the images of the single birds. The rhombic net is also found on the famous gold plate plaque from Ziwiye (Kurdistan region of Iran) where it is intertwined with an openwork wavy line.<sup>57</sup> Inside the rhomboid are depicted a deer with big antlers and a goat. Both animals jump with their legs folded, a characteristic typical of Scythian art, which must have influenced this image. (**fig. 40**)

<sup>55</sup> O.R.Gerni, *Xetti* (Moskva: Nauka, 1987), p. 123.

<sup>56</sup> Dzh. A. Kxalilov, *Gerbi Azerbaydzhanin tundzh ve demir dovrunun evvellerine aid arxeologdzh abideler* (Baki; Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyasi neshriyyati 1959), tab XXXIII, fig.1.

<sup>57</sup> G.G. Belloni, *Iranian Art* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), p. 37.

5.) Mixed image of deer with a variety of animals and solar symbols.

A vessel from Shamkir (**fig. 41**) (15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.) features two borders. The lower border is filled by a zigzag line which is interrupted by images of a horse and a swastika. The deer appears in the upper border surrounded by solar symbols (circle with rays framed into bigger circle.). Both the horse and deer are represented in a conventional, geometric form.<sup>58</sup> On one of the Gadabey belts, two-headed gazelles and other animals are shown running, and its ornament on the border resembles an arabesque.<sup>59</sup> Another example of the mixed imagery is seen on the surviving portion of the bronze belt from Southern Azerbaijan where three deer with branchy antlers are



**Figure 42** Sarcophagus fragment (Stone Age), from Azerbaijan History Museum, Azerbaijan. Photo: after Rasim Efendi, *Stone Plastic Art of Azerbaijan* (Baku: Ishig, 1986), fig. 31.

depicted among animals and human figures, also on the run.<sup>63</sup> In antiquity, overall, the images of deer standing apart from other images are the most prevalent, with hunting scenes coming in second. The frequency of occurrence of the other types of iconographic types is approximately equal. Much later, is 16<sup>th</sup>-century gravestone from Mingechavir, now in the Azerbaijan History Museum, which features a horizontal border composed of an ornamental pattern that mixes meander, zigzags, and braids. In its right corner a bull, deer, and two unknown animals are represented, while on its left is an Arabic inscription. The deer is situated over the snake's figure touching its jaw. The image where a snake

<sup>58</sup> M.A. Guseynova and T.Akxundov, "Na kolesnitsax v poiskax bessmertiya," *AZERBAIJAN – IRS* (Winter-Spring, 1999), pp. 2-3.

<sup>59</sup> Dzh. A. Kxalilov, (1962), table V, fig. 2.

<sup>63</sup> D. Dzhaferova, "Bronzovie poyasa - kak sredstvo zaschiti voinov," *AZERBAIJAN – IRS* (2007), pp. 4-5 (28-29).

touches the deer's jaw is also found on Ossetian bronze belts,<sup>64</sup> such as the Gadabey Belt, where a snake bites a deer's antlers.<sup>65</sup> (fig. 42)

### Catalog of Three-Dimensional Images of Deer in Ancient Azerbaijan and its Location and Function

Three-dimensional metallic figures of deer found in Azerbaijan thus far are usually rather small in size. The majority of such figures feature a ring on the back of a deer so that the figure could be hung up. Such figures might be divided into five types:

1. Two slightly flat figures from Molla-Isakli (late Bronze-early Iron Age) illustrate deer with vertical antlers and rings in an extended form.<sup>66</sup> (fig. 43)



**Figure 43** Metal figures from Molla Isakli, Mingechevir, Azerbaijan (end of the Bronze Age-beginning of Iron Age, 16<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.). Photo: after V. Kvachidze & G. Agaev, “Klad iz bronzovogo veka,” *Vishka* 32 (August 9, 2002).

2. Deer with vertical antlers adorned with small protuberances and extended rings on their backs. Two examples of this form have been found in Mingechevir. One has loops on its neck and a bell, attached to the ring on the back (1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.).<sup>67</sup> The second example dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E.<sup>68</sup> (fig. 44)

<sup>64</sup> B.V. Texov (1977), pp. 99-100, fig. 100.

<sup>65</sup> Dzh. A. Kxalilov (1962), table V, fig. 1.табло V, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> V. Kvachidze and G. Agaev, “Klad iz bronzovogo veka,” *Vishka*, 32/ 9 (August, 2002), no figures numbers listed.

<sup>67</sup> C.M. Gaziyeu, *Iki kup ve iki katakomba gebri, Azerbaydzhanin maddi medeniyyeti* (Baki: Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyasi neshriyyati, 1980), volume III, table I, fig. 5.

<sup>68</sup> *Azerbaydzhan indzheseneti* (Baki: Ishig, 1992), fig. 13.



**Figure 44 Metal figure** from Mingechevir, Azerbaijan (1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.). Photo: after *Azerbajdzhan indzheseneti* (Baki: Ishig, 1992), fig. 13.

3. This type of deer displays more naturalistic details, including slightly convex-shaped thighs and rather natural-looking antlers.

Unlike other types of figures this one has the holes in its body. An example is the figure from Nakhchivan dated from 1000 B.C.E.<sup>69</sup> (fig. 45) A similar figure was found in Georgia, with the attachment and the convex-shaped legs, but it differs in its slightly triangular form.<sup>70</sup>

Yet another figure with the same type of attachment was discovered by Soviet archeologists in Ossetia.<sup>71</sup>



**Figure 45 Metal figure** from Nakhichevan, Azerbaijan (1000 B.C.E.). Photo: after R. Efendi, *Azerbajdzhan Indzheseneti* (Baki: Chashi-ogli, 2001), no page number.

4. Two very simple figures with rings on the back and ring-shaped legs were found in Mingechevir, dating from the early centuries C.E.<sup>72</sup>

5. A unique pendant found in Dolanlar, formed by two connected half-bodies of deer (7<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E)<sup>73</sup> (fig. 46) points to the existence of a twin cult in Azerbaijan, as described by M. Pogrebova.<sup>74</sup> The theme of double-headed gazelle is also represented on a bronze belt, found in Gadabey. The earliest exemplars of such pendants are dated to the late Bronze/Early Iron Age, but most can be dated to the end of the first millenium B.C.E. and the early

<sup>69</sup> R. Efendi, *Azerbajdzhan Indzheseneti* (Baki: Chashi-ogli, 2001), no figure numbers listed.

<sup>70</sup> K.X. Pitsxelaui, *Vostochnaya Gruzija v kontse bronzovogo veka* (Tbilisi: Metsniereba, 1979), tab. XXIII, fig..25.

<sup>71</sup> V. Tsagaraev, p.46.

<sup>72</sup> I.G. Narimanov and G.M. Aslanov, *Minkechevirin bir grup gebir abideleri hagginda, Azerbaydzhanin maddi medeniyeti* (Baki: Azerbaydzhan SSR Elmler Akademiyasi neshriyyati, 1962), volume IV, table V, figs. 5, 6.

<sup>73</sup> M.N. Pogrebova, *I Zakavkazie v rannem zheleznom veke* (Moskva, Nauka, 1977), table XV, fig. 1.

<sup>74</sup> M.N. Pogrebova (1977), pp. 131-141.

centuries C.E. In the depiction of figures there is a stylistic tendency that moves from naturalism toward simplification and schematization.



**Figure 46** Metal pendant from Dolanlar, Azerbaijan (7<sup>th</sup> – 6<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E). Photo: after M.N. Pogrebova, *Iran I Zakavkazie v rannem zheleznom veke* (Moskva, n.p., 1977), table 15, fig. 1.

Bronze figures have been found over a broad area of the region, including Georgia<sup>75</sup> and Ossetia<sup>76</sup> of ancient Iran – in Luristan,<sup>77</sup> Tepe-Sialk,<sup>78</sup> Marlik,<sup>79</sup> Amlash,<sup>80</sup> Dailaman,<sup>81</sup> and other areas of the North-Western Iran.<sup>82</sup> Among these figures some are made with holes above front and back legs, seldom with a ring on the back, while some are whole figures. Among figures found in Azerbaijan, two are attached to the ritual standard of a stag. One of them, found in Shamkir and dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. features a deer with an extended snout and little

<sup>75</sup> F. Tavadze, and T. Sakvarelidze, *Bronzi Drevnay Gruzii* (Tbilisi, Izdatelistvo Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoy SSR, 1953), table XXIII, fig. 1.

<sup>76</sup> V. Tsagaraev, fig. 46.

<sup>77</sup> G.G. Belloni, *Iranian Art* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969), fig. 6; E.E. Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1976), table XXXI; Prs. Moorley, *Ancient Persian Bronzes* (London: Faber, 1974), figs. 154-157.

<sup>78</sup> E. Porada (1965), fig. 25.

<sup>79</sup> O. Negahban, *Marlik* (Pennsylvania: Science Press, 1966), figs. 135, 137.

<sup>80</sup> J. Gabus and Junod Rojer-Louis, *Amlash Art* (Hallwag: Orbis Pictis 22, 1967), table XVIII.

<sup>81</sup> W. Culican, *The Medes and Persians* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1965), fig. 13; T. Sano, S. Fukai, *Dailaman III* (Tokyo: The University of Tokyo, Institute for Oriental Culture, 1968), pl. XXXVII, 1b.

<sup>82</sup> W. Culican (1965), fig. 15; O.W. Muscarella, *Bronze and Iron. Ancient Near Eastern Artifacts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988), pic.13

antlers.<sup>83</sup> (**fig.47**) Another, found in Sheki and dating end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> - early 2<sup>nd</sup> centuries B.C.E., depicts antlers connected.<sup>84</sup> Different deer figures attached to the ritual standards have been found in Alaja-Khuyuk<sup>85</sup> (Turkey), Georgia,<sup>86</sup> and Armenia.<sup>87</sup>



**Figure 47 Photo:** after M.A. Guseynova & T. Akxundov, “Na kolesnitsax v poiskax bessmertiya,” *Azerbajdzhan-IRS*, 2-3 (1999). Metal Standard, Shamkir, Azerbaijan (15<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.).

In Zakavkazye [South Caucasus] first ritual standards of a stag appeared in the middle of the second millenium B.C.E. on the representations of late Bronze epoch; they are especially diverse and popular, compared to the following periods.”<sup>89</sup>

In addition to standards, in the territory of modern Azerbaijan zoomorphic vessels made in the form of deer have been found, most of them date from the Alban period (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. – 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.) and they can be divided into three types:

1. Vessels made in the form of deer, standing on four legs, with the mouth of the pot in the middle of the back. Two vessels feature handles on either side of the mouth. One vessel was found in Mingachevir, and another two in different regions of Azerbaijan.<sup>90</sup> (**figs.48,**

<sup>83</sup> M.A. Guseynova and T.Akxundov, “Na kolesnitsax v poiskax bessmertiya,” *AZERBAIJAN – IRS* (Winter-Spring, 1999), pp. 2-3.

<sup>84</sup> Fadlun Efendi, *Etnosoznanie Turetskix narodov i ix iskusstvo* (Baki: Nurlan, 2002), p.81.

<sup>85</sup> E. Akurgal, *The Art of the Hittites* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1962), figs. 1, 2, 10, 12.

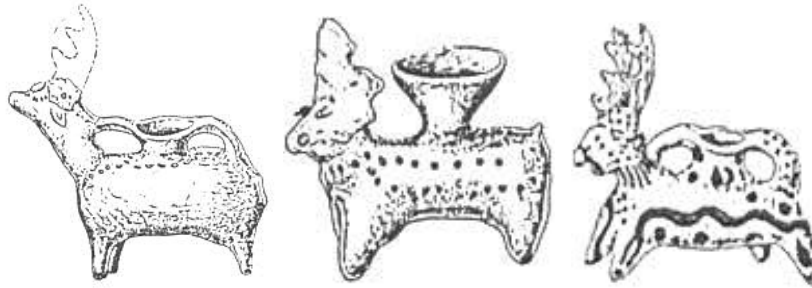
<sup>86</sup> E.E. Herzfeld (1941), fig. 293.

<sup>87</sup> M.N. Pogrebova (1977), table XIV.

<sup>89</sup> M.N. Pogrebova (1977), p. 128.

<sup>90</sup> A.B. Badalov, *Goncharnoe remeslo Azerbajdzhana antichnogo perioda* (Baku; Elm 2003), table XXV, figs. 1, 2, 5.

**49, 50)** The trunk of the deer from Mingachevir is ornamented with a black wavy line and big black stains. Two other figures are ornamented with indented dots.



**Figures 48, 49, 50** Ceramic Rhyton Deer Vessels from Mingachevir, Azerbaijan (1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E.). Photo: after A. Badalov, *Goncharnoe remeslo Azerbajdzhana antichnogo perioda* (Baku: n.p., 2003), table 25, figs. 1, 2, 5.

2. Simple vessels with one handle, the spout of which is shaped like a head of a deer. An example was found in Germe region of Iranian Azerbaijan<sup>91</sup> which dates from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. - 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. Another example is a ceramic rhyton-deer of 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. – 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E. from Mingachevir. The cup-shaped vessel connects the torso of the deer with a spout emerging from it. (**fig. 51**) Where the head and antlers of deer merge with the vessel, a tree is shown. Six dots decorate the forehead of deer, while the trunk of the vessel and the torso of deer are ornamented with zigzag lines.<sup>92</sup> In Mingachevir, a clay head of a deer with small antlers and bulging eyes was also discovered (3<sup>rd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E.) which can be related to this type.<sup>93</sup> Deer vessels from Azerbaijan date from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. up to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century C.E. Many zoomorphic deer vessels have been found in the north-west Iran in Marlik,<sup>94</sup> Amlash,<sup>95</sup> and Dailaman<sup>96</sup> dating from 1000 B.C.E. Among them are vessels whose mouths emerge from the back of a deer, vessels with open and extended mouth parts, and rhytons. Two small sculptures of deer were also found in Tepe-Sialk.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>91</sup> T.S. Kawami, *Ancient Iranian Ceramics* (New York: The Arthur M. Sackler Foundation, 1992), fig. 84.

<sup>92</sup> N.I. Rzayev (1964), fig. 12.

<sup>93</sup> A.I. Alekperov, *Terrakota drevnego Azerbajdzhana* (Baku; AN Azerbaydžana Institut Arxeologii, 1994), table XIV, fig. 5.

<sup>94</sup> O. Negahban (1966), pl. 39, figs. 100, 102; *Trésors de L'Ancient Iran Musée Rath* (Geneva, 1966), fig. 18.

<sup>95</sup> G.G. Belloni (1969), fig. 5; J. Gabus and Junod Rojer-Louis (1967), pl. 13-15; *Trésors de L'Ancient Iran Musée Rath* (Geneva, 1966), fig. 17.

<sup>96</sup> Ch. K. Wilkinson, *Iranian ceramics* (Japan: Book Craft Incorporated, 1963), fig. 9.

<sup>97</sup> I. Aliev, *Istoriya Midii* (Baku; Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk Azerbajdžanskoy SSR, 1960), table CIII a, b.



**Figure 51** Vessel from Mingechevir, Azerbaijan (1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.E. – 1<sup>st</sup> century C.E.). *Pamjatniki materialinoy kulturi Azerbaydzhana 7* (Baku: Akademija Nauk Azerbaydzhana, Muzey Istorii Azerbaydzhana), fig. 40.

### Symbolism and Meaning of the Deer Motif in Azerbaijan

The semantic meaning of the deer, shaped by various religious views, changed through different historic periods of ancient Azerbaijan art. The earliest depictions of deer of Paleolithic and Mesolithic epochs are characterized by primitive hunting magic and fertility. These were followed by depictions of deer in the Neolithic sanctuary Chatal-Khuyuk, devoted to the woman-goddess<sup>98</sup> and deer depicted on murals of late Neolithic sanctuary Kharitani 1 (Dagestan, Russian Federation), along with images of a woman with her hands raised up, praying.<sup>99</sup> The presence of the symbol of the deer in the Neolithic sanctuaries reflects its connection with the symbol of the woman-goddess.

Late Bronze and early Iron Age representations of the deer (found widely on ceramics from the Eastern Caucasus) “might be connected with the cult of the woman-goddess of fertility and sovereign of animals, popular in the Caucasus (Georgia) during those times. The images of deer and tur (a breed of mountain goat, found only in the Caucasus Mountains), depicted on the

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<sup>98</sup> J. Mellart, *Catal Huyuk, A Neolithic Town in Anatolia* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967), figs. 22, 58.

<sup>99</sup> V.M. Kotovich, *Nekotore Dannie o syjazjax Dagestana I Peredney Azii v drevnosti, Srednjaja Azija, Kavkaz I Zarubezhniy Vostok v drevnosti* (Moskva: Nauka, 1983), pp. 4-10.

vessels, are zoomorphic images of the goddess. According to ethnographic and folkloric sources, the cult of a deer and tur is connected to the cult of the sovereign of animals in the Caucasus region. „<sup>100</sup>

V.Tsagarayev, a researcher of ancient Ossetian culture, has theorized that the theme of the marksman, aiming at a deer or wounding the animal was also connected to the image of the Goddess-Mother of Earth.<sup>101</sup> With formation of totems among Turkic people (including Azerbaijanis), the symbol of the deer became a totem, but its connection with the woman-goddess remained. The totem of the deer in the mythology of Azerbaijan is represented in the later legend, *Ana-Maral* (or Mother Deer). As the legend states:

When a hunter named Nurali chased a Horned Deer to the edge of a cliff and aimed at her, milk started pouring down to the rocks from the breasts of the deer. Witnessing this, Nurali condemns hunting, took the deer to her fawns, saving her from a jaguar along the road. Returning home, the hunter broke his gun, but memories of the witnessed scene on the cliff led him to incurable illness. A sorcerer told him that the only medicine for Nurali is the plain yogurt from deer milk. Drinking this yogurt, Nurali will be reborn to life again. Once, in the middle of the night, Nurali asked his wife to take an empty bowl and step outside of the house, where the Horned Deer was waiting to give her milk. The woman brought a bowl close to the breasts of deer and hot milk started pouring in. Then the deer dropped a tear from her eyes into the bowl and the milk turned into plain yogurt.<sup>102</sup>

The murder (other than for ritual purposes) of totemic animals was taboo.<sup>103</sup> Nurali, the character of the legend, had killed many deer during his sixty years of hunting experience, but the pouring milk from deer's breasts woke him up, forcing him to realize the sinfulness of his deeds. His repentance caused his illness which was only relieved after drinking the plain yogurt from the mother-deer's milk.

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<sup>100</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), p. 85.

<sup>101</sup> V. Tsagaraev, no page number listed.

<sup>102</sup> *Azerbaydzhan xalg efsanelery* (Baki: Yazichi, 1985), p. 126.

<sup>103</sup> Z.P. Sokolova, *Kulit zhivotnix v religiyax* (Moskva; Nauka, 1972), p. 26.

In another legend, a hunter met a deer suckling her fawn. The deer, seeing that hunter aiming at them, sat down on her back legs, thus begging the hunter to spare them. The hunter did not kill the mother or the fawn, and after a few days the deer and her fawn came to the house of the hunter, where the deer him to milk her in reward for his mercy.<sup>104</sup> In yet another legend, the deer breastfeeds a lost infant for a few years; after the boy was found, the deer voluntarily followed him.<sup>105</sup> In other legends, fathers asked grooms to bring a deer as a repayment for their daughters. However, in an attempt to catch the deer, the animal throws herself from the cliff, dragging the groom with her.<sup>106</sup>

In folk poetry the statement “*Daglarda Djeyran bu giza gurban*” is well-known. It states that “The Gazelle among the mountains will be a sacrifice for this girl.”<sup>107</sup> The lyrics of the Azerbaijan folk song “*Udja dag bashinda*” (“On the top of the mountain”) tells of the story of how, on the top of the mountain, a gazelle gave a birth to a fawn that a hunter would later wound.<sup>108</sup> In the popular folk song *Aman ovchu* (Plea to a hunter), a female deer asks a hunter to spare her life. In the legend “Tears of the deer,” the hunter wounds a fawn and the mother-deer cries, watching her child die. The next day the hunter comes to the forest again. His own son runs after him and after tiring in his search for his father, climbs up a tree and falls asleep. The hunter was chasing the mother-deer that day and when the deer was running by the tree, he

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<sup>104</sup> Azerbaydzhan xalg efsanelery (1985), p. 188.

<sup>105</sup> Azerbaydzhan xalg efsanelery (1985), p. 128. There are two additional stories with deer breastfeeding human beings. See Azerbaydzhan xalg efsanelery (1985), p. 122, 130.

<sup>106</sup> Azerbaydzhan xalg efsanelery (1985), p. 124, 130.

<sup>107</sup> Xalg Edebiyyati, *child I* (Baki: Elm, 1982), p. 477.

<sup>108</sup> Xalg Edebiyyati, *child I* (Baki: Elm, 1982), p. 446.

aimed at the animal, but the arrow hits the hunter's child, who slept in the tree, instead. Thus, for the killing of the fawn, the hunter paid with the life of his own son.<sup>109</sup>

Other evidence of deer worship by ancestors of the Azerbaijanis is the usage of the names *Maral* (Deer) and *Djeyran* (Gazelle) as popular women's names. The thirteen Azerbaijan folks have *Maral* (Deer) and *Djeyran* (Gazelle) words.<sup>110</sup> Other name traces of the totem of the deer remain among northern Kirgiz where one of the largest tribes in men dubbed *buqu*, which in the Kirgiz language means "male deer." Deer were one of the main totems among ancient-Turkic tribes. According to the legend, a woman with antlers, the daughter of the sacred patron of deer, mountain sheep, and goat, originated was born of a deer and became the progenitor of the *buqu* tribe.<sup>111</sup> This name connection survived for many centuries. For example, "Jordan, a Byzantine historian of the sixth century, cites the interesting myth of Western Huns, according to which a female deer showed to the Hun hunters a way out of a swamp."<sup>112</sup>

The deer was a totem for the people of Altay as well.<sup>113</sup> "Deer are one of the most popular folk personages, assisting humans in tales of Turkic and Finno-Ugric people. A female deer performs this function more often."<sup>114</sup> "The fact that the representation of a deer neighbors the

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<sup>109</sup> *Azerbaydzhan xalg efsanelery* (1985), p. 121.

<sup>110</sup> Xalg Edebiyyati, *child I* (Baki: Elm, 1982), explains that There are *Maral* word - "Azerbaydjan Marali," p. 442, "Gubanin Ag almasi," p.458, "Almani atdim Xarala," p.464, "Kulebatin" p. 466; there are *Djeyran* words: "Udja Dag Bashinda," p.446, "Ket, Aj batanda kel," p. 450, "Yar uzu xalli djeyran," p.452, "Ay Giz, Heyranin Olam," p. 460, "Alma almaya benzer," p. 463, and "Sandaga kirsem neylersen," p. 471. There one can see *Maral* and *Djeyran* words as well: "Kirdim Yarin Bagchasin," p. 450, "Kel-Kel," p. 469; there is also the *Maral* word and the other deer name "*AHU*."

<sup>111</sup> S.M. Abramzon, *Kirgizi I ix etnogeneticheskie I istoriko-kulturnie svyazi* (Moskva:Nauka,1990), p. 298.

<sup>112</sup> X.K. Korogly, "Turksko-Vengerskim folikliernim svyazyam," *Sovetskaya Turkologiya* (1988), p. 3.

<sup>113</sup> L.P. Potapov, "Sledi totemisticheskix predstavleniy u altaytsev," *Sovetskaya Etnografiya* (1935), vol. 3-4, pp. 134-152.

<sup>114</sup> X.K. Korogly, "Turksko-Vengerskim folikliernim svyazyam," *Sovetskaya Turkologiya* (1988), p. 3.

image of woman on the *bokka*, the traditional headdress of Mongol women, is not accidental.

The primogenitor of the Mongols was a beautiful female deer. According to a legend, ‘the golden clan’ of Borjigids, the predecessors of Genghis khan, was started by this deer.”<sup>115</sup> Thus, the image of the female deer survived in the Azerbaijani legends and tales of other Turkic, Mongol, and Finno-Ugric people, as a patron and totem.

Shamanism was practiced among the majority of Turkic people and the image of the deer had an important place in these religious activities. The deer was the assistant and a patron of an Altai shaman.<sup>116</sup> As A.D. Grach noted “deer were considered the main predecessor of the shaman and called the ‘master of the tambourine.’ The images of deer were depicted on the Altai shaman tambourines, and the tambourine was also covered with deer skin.”<sup>117</sup> Z.P. Sokolova concurred: “The tambourine was perceived as a horse, an ox or a deer of the shaman, which he rides when he travels to the spirit world. Pendants, depicting animals and birds, were also attached to the tambourine. Some shamans, such as Evenki, also had a staff, symbolizing a horse or deer. To the supreme world of spirit the shaman rode the ‘deer,’ while the ‘horse’ was used for travels into the world of the dead, to escort the souls of the dead. Also well-known were costumes, symbolizing a deer.”<sup>118</sup> The deer was the sacred animal for ancestors of the modern Azerbaijanis, which is represented by its depiction with the image of a priest or in the scene of a hunt with a three-fingered hunter, and in the hoop on the neck of the bronze deer figure from Mingachevir.

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<sup>115</sup> V.E. Larichev, *Aziya dalekaya I tainstvennaya* (Novosibirsk: Nauka, 1968), pp. 74-75.

<sup>116</sup> Z.P. Sokolova (1972), p. 93.

<sup>117</sup> A.D. Grach, *Drevniye kochebniki v tsentre Azii* (Moskva, 1980), pp. 90-91.

<sup>118</sup> Z.P. Sokolova (1972), p. 96.

There are no written sources recording the practice of shamanism in the ancient Azerbaijan, but some “shamanism rituals are met in the “Kitabi Dede Gorgud,”<sup>119</sup> ancient writing monuments Azerbaijan folk literature dating to the 11<sup>th</sup> -12<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>120</sup> In engraved depictions there is more evidence of the practice of shamanism. In Gobustan, two human figures hold with tambourines in the hands,<sup>123</sup> (fig. 52) while one dances in front of goats.<sup>124</sup>



**Figure 52** Gobustan, Yazili Hill, stone 53, Azerbaijan. Photo: after I.M. Dzhafarzade, *Gobustan: naskalnie izobrazheniya* (Baku: Elm, 1973), fig. 3.

There was once an ancient folk performance, called the deer game (*maral oyunu*) where a person, using a big colorful headscarf, two ladles, and a sickle, imitated the habits of this animal under the accompaniment of a *saz* (a Turkic stringed instrument).<sup>125</sup> The game is more evidence that the symbol of deer had a totemic meaning.

At the same time, Astral cults and their connection to the deer, with the sun as the main cult, spread throughout the Caucasus during the Bronze Age. The image of the deer, as well several other animals and birds, were endowed with the solar symbol and connected to solar deity and

<sup>119</sup> X.K. Korogli, (1976), p.83

<sup>120</sup> Azerbaidjan Sovet Ensiklopedijasi, V cild, (Baki: Gizil Sherg, 1981), p. 408

<sup>123</sup> I.M. Dzhafarzade (1973), Yazili Hill, stone 53, 1000 B.C.E. fig. 3.

<sup>124</sup> I.M. Dzhafarzade (1973), Kichikdash mountains, stone 15, date unknown. p. 258; *Arxeologicheskie I Etnograficheskie iziskaniya v Azerbajdjane* (1979), (Baku: Elm, 1984); D.N.Rustamov, F.M. Muradova, *Gobustanskaja ekspedisiya v* (1979), p.7, stone 110.

<sup>125</sup> E. Aslanov, *Xalg ojunlar ve tamashalar* (Baki: Ishig, 1984), p. 134.

fertility.<sup>126</sup> V. G. Ardzinba, a researcher of the Hittite culture, points to the connection of the symbol of the deer with the cult of the solar goddess of the city of Arinna, and considers them sacred animals.<sup>127</sup>

More complexly, the deer appears in the concept of the Turkic tree of life where the universe is divided vertically into three zones; the highest zone represents the world of the gods, depicted as birds; the middle world represents the world of humans, depicted through hoofed animal with antlers (deer, goats); while the lower world represents the under-world, depicted by snakes or fish.

The resemblance between a deer's antlers and the branches of the tree of life caused their association. "Scythians and Sarmatians to directly correlate the symbol of the deer with the Tree of life," wrote V. Tsagarayev.<sup>128</sup> On the rhyton from Mingachevir, the tree is depicted above the head of a deer. On the bowl from Khanlar, mentioned earlier, the deer is depicted kneeling before the tree of life, stylized under an image of a woman giving birth. This image of a woman is changed to the semantically identical symbol of the rhomboid on other vessels of the same composition. In these images the deer is not only the symbol of the middle world, but also the companion of the goddess-mother, as depicted through the symbol of the tree or rhomboid. The rhomboid itself is the symbol of a planted field and is a feminine source.<sup>129</sup>

Totems also influenced the appearance of flag-standards in the form of deer and other animals. V. Bardavelidze wrote that Svan's flag and the flag of the Eastern-Georgian

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<sup>126</sup> M.A. Guseynova (1989), p. 83; *Istoriya narodov Severnogo Kavkaza s drevneyshix vremen do kontsa 18 veka* (Moskva, 1988), p. 60; V.M. Kotovich (1983), pp. 4-10.

<sup>127</sup> V.G. Ardzimba, *Rituali I mifi drevney Anatolii* (Moskva: Nauka, 1982), pp. 16-17.

<sup>128</sup> V. Tsagaraev. No page numbers listed.

<sup>129</sup> V.M. Kotovich (1983), pp. 4-10.

mountaineers were the transformations of the totemic objects.<sup>130</sup> A.Okladnikov theorized that “totemic flag-standards of nomadic tribes were further developed into flags, while standards of forest tribes became shamanic rods or disappeared.”<sup>131</sup> He noted that “Scythian flag-standards...were obviously ‘totemic signs,’ distinctive emblems of tribal unities, ‘intertribal and internationally accepted signs’ and were used ‘for defense against hostile spiritual forces and for protection of ownership rights.’”<sup>132</sup> The flag standards of the Eastern-Georgian mountaineers were not only the prime symbol of the deity, but also its incarnation.<sup>133</sup> They were used during main celebrations of the commune and during wars; the flag standard was utilized to force evil spirits out of the mentally ill, etc.<sup>134</sup> M. Pogrebova also connected the Caucasian standards with the high world and astral conceptions, because of their dominating connection with small bells and birds.<sup>135</sup> It is likely that flag-standards and metal figures of deer with rings were totems first, and were then in shamanic rituals and astral, as well as other cults.

Bells were also represented on the flag of the Eastern-Georgian mountaineers. V. Bardavelidze explained the meaning of the bell as a symbol of the sky-voice and thunder.<sup>136</sup> M. Pogrebova, too, wrote that ‘bells... were connected with cultic tools and actions. All cultic tools

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<sup>130</sup> V.V. Bardavelidze, *Drevneyshie religioznye verovaniya I obrjadovoe graficheskoe iskusstvo gruzinskix plemen* (Tbilisi: Izdatelistvo Akademii nauk Gruzinskoy USSR, 1957), p. 65.

<sup>131</sup> A.P. Okladnikov, “Drevnie shamanskije izobrazheniya iz Vostoshnoy Sibiri,” *Sovetskaya Arxeologiya*, vol. X (1948), p. 224.

<sup>132</sup> A.P. Okladnikov (1948), p. 223.

<sup>133</sup> V.V. Bardavelidze (1957), p.61.

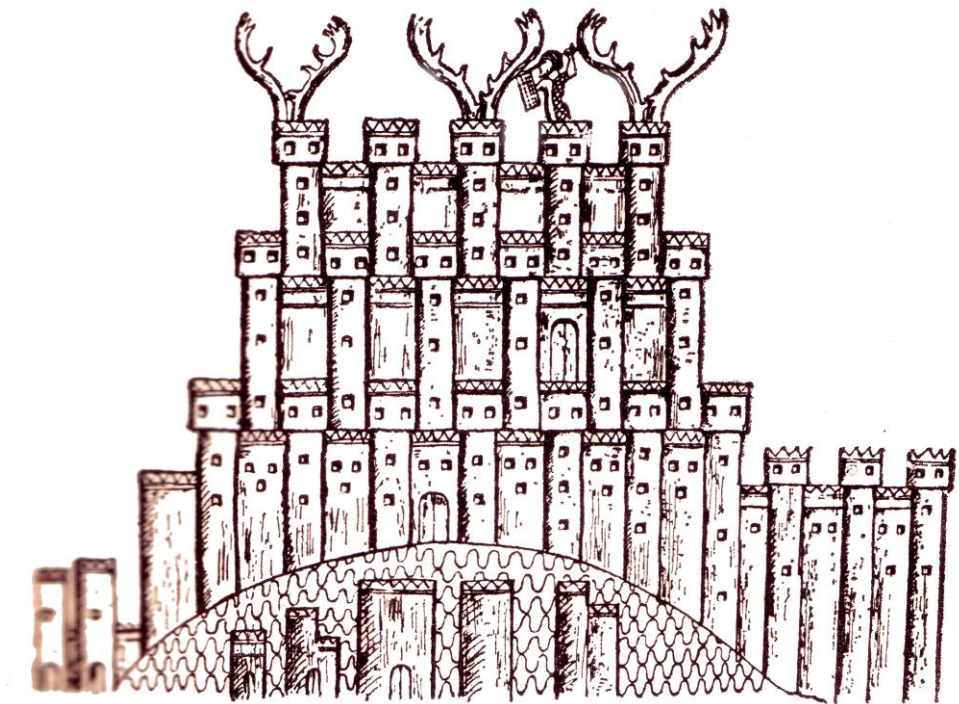
<sup>134</sup> V.V. Bardavelidze (1957), pp. 58-63.

<sup>135</sup> M.N. Pogrebova (1977), p. 117, 131.

<sup>136</sup> V.V. Bardavelidze (1957), p. 62.

were topped by bells...Also bells were found on the chains in the Shilda sanctuary in Kakheti.<sup>137</sup>

In the territory of Iranian Azerbaijan in the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Media country was once situated. We can see Median tower castle Kishessu with the grandiose deer's antlers on the top, shown on the 8<sup>th</sup>-century B.C.E Assyrian relief from Dur-Sharrukina.<sup>138</sup> This image demonstrates the significant degree of the worship of deer among the ancient Azerbaijani population. (fig. 53)



**Figure 53** Median Castle tower of Kishessu, Assyrian relief from Dur-Sharrukina, Iran (8<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E.). Photo: after N. Rzayev, *Adjdadlarin izi ile* (Baki: Azerbaijan Dovlet Neshriyyat-Poligrafiya Birliyi, 1992), p.10.

Deer-vessels, too, might reflect this devotion and they would have functioned in a number of ways. No information is available about the exact function of zoomorphic vessels in

<sup>137</sup> M.N. Pogrebova (1977), p.114.

<sup>138</sup> N. Rzayev, *Adjdadlarin izi ile* (Baki: Azerbaijan Dovlet Neshriyyat-Poligrafiya Birliyi, 1992), p.10.

Azerbaijan, but there is evidence about their usage in neighboring Georgia. “Compound ceramic wine vessel, called *marani* is preserved among Eastern Georgians. It was ornamented with the depiction of a head or entire animal (deer and others), and the mouth of the animal forms the spout of the vessel. For example, during wedding feasts the vessel was presented, along with wedding pie, to the groom and the bride to drink wine. The vessel was used during other ritual feasts which makes its ritual meaning even more obvious.”<sup>139</sup>

Because deer milk is represented in Azerbaijani legends, probably, deer-vessels were used for storage of deer milk. These vessels might be used during the ceremonial pouring devoted to the totem of female-deer or woman-goddess (mother-goddess, patron of the forest), symbolized by the female-deer. At the same time, the totem protected the liquid in the vessel from evil spirits. Depictions of deer on the vessels might have symbolized a similar role of protection. Images of a deer on the medallions and belts also represented a totem, protecting the owners of the artifacts.

Deer were also connected to the sun, which is highlighted by the placement of the image of a deer next to various solar symbols on the vessels from Shamkir and Mingachevir, on a bronze medallion from western Azerbaijan, two bronze belts from Gadabey, and a metal pendant with the depiction of a solar sign from Dolanlar. The presence of deer in funeral ceremonies, as depicted on different buried artifacts, provides evidence that the symbol was interpreted as a carrier of dead souls into the world of ancestors.

This research shows that a deer was one of the most respected (sacral) animals for ancient and early medieval inhabitants of Azerbaijan, while the semantics of the symbol changed through different historic stages. The image of the deer was considered an amulet; the symbol

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<sup>139</sup> B V.V. Bardavelidze (1957), p. 69.

was connected to the fertility cult, the woman goddess-patron of animals, totemism, shamanism, the tree of life, as well as solar and funeral cults. In the early medieval period, the symbol was depicted far less frequently, reflecting the gradual change of ancient pagan cults into the practice of Christianity and Islam in Azerbaijan.



## PEREGRINATIONS

INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



### Why a Pilgrimage ... in Italy?

Saint Francis and Saint Anthony, the Seraphic Founder and the Learned Apostle (*meo episcopus*) of the Franciscan Order are two great figures who have inspired a continual engine of humble and simple spirituality, a perpetual source for all people who are suffering from an existential aridity.

Based on these suppositions beliefs, the wish to offer a pilgrimage was born, aimed at fulfilling the new spiritual requirement. Different from many pilgrimages of the past, it is a research of "movement" where the pilgrim wants to explore *in primis*, original experiences just to open him or herself to the compassion of that Love "that moves the sun and the other stars."

While the apparent the purpose of the pilgrim is to walk to Assisi, in reality "he or she advances towards themselves" to join the Divine within. The Pilgrimage to Assisi is not a recognized pilgrimage as you might suppose, but it is the fusion of many other short traditional pilgrimages, that already existed in the local sphere (See: Assisi, La Verna, Casella, Cerbaiolo, Montecasale, Montepaolo). These ways are linked to peculiar devotions and, lived in this spiritual dimension again, will give a new surge to the interior research, renewing the essence of Francisco's doctrine. So it should be, not only the stone testify to the stranger His Teaching, but also the renewal of the original Franciscan fraternity along the pilgrimage and in the community of Assisi itself.

The town of Assisi will be raised as a "Landmark of Universal Reference" for all men of goodwill, overcoming in this way any distinction of Culture and Belief in symphony with the Fundamental Principles of every True Religion.

Warum ein Giordano <http://www.camminodiassisi.it/>  
<http://www.diquipassofrancesco.it/En/homeEN.html>



←S. Francesco Church at Gubbio on the Pilgrimage Trail to Assisi

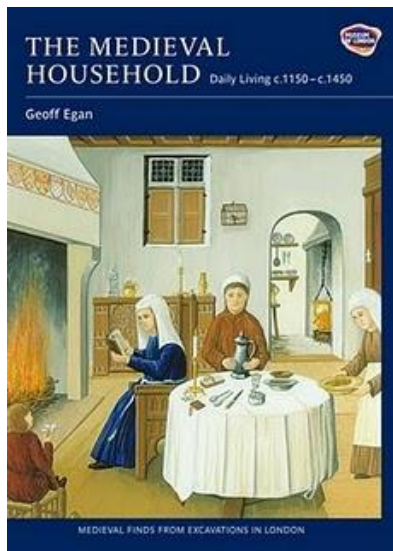


**PEREGRINATIONS**  
INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF PILGRIMAGE ART



## Obituary

Geoff Egan, beloved UK expert in medieval and later small finds, died of coronary thrombosis aged 59. Born in Wembley, London, educated in Harrow County School and Cambridge University, where he studied archaeology and anthropology. Most of his career was spent at The Museum of London where, for 34 years, he worked as an archaeologist becoming Fieldwork Director and then Finds Specialist. Along with Brian Spencer, Geoff established a cordial working relationship between the “mudlarks” (metal detectorists) and the professional archaeologists. This blossomed into a trove of finds made available and the free exchange of information between specialist and amateur. Ultimately, this relationship would lead to the establishment, in 1997, of the Portable Antiquities Scheme to record finds made by members of the public. In 2010 was appointed to a full-time post as finds adviser for the scheme, based at the British Museum.



As a scholar, Geoff published widely. His most important works included: *The Medieval Household* (1998), *Dress Accessories* (1991, with Frances Pritchard), *Toys, Trifles and Trinkets* (2005, with Helen Forsyth), *Material Culture in London in an Age of Transition: Tudor and Stuart Period Finds from Southwark* (2006), and *Meols: The Archaeology of the North Wirral Coast* (2007, with David Griffiths and Robert Philpott). Geoff was greatly loved by his peers and built up many friends in European and American museums and universities. An illustration of his character can be seen in his becoming master (2009-10) of a new city guild, the Company of Arts Scholars, Collectors and Dealers, one of the newest of the city guilds. He is among the members of the guild who exercised their right as freemen of the City of London to drive a flock of sheep across London Bridge. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nr1r2LEjQcw> He loved jazz and good food and good friends. He is survived by his cousin, Graham.



## Featured Website

**Medieval Hungary:** News about medieval art history, with a special focus on Hungary

This beautiful site, written by **Zsombor Jékely** (Budapest, Hungary)

<http://jekely.blogspot.com/p/about-author.html>

features the latest news regarding medieval art history in Hungary. As an extension of the website, Art in Medieval Hungary, <http://home.hu.inter.net/~jekely/> it makes the articles accessible in English. The primary purpose of this blog is to collect news about the field of medieval art history in Hungary, and publish them in English. It's a lovely site with useful links and wonderful photos.



Virgin & Child, Inner City parish church of Pest, Hungary



## DISCOVERIES

### Early Christian Art

#### *Earliest Paintings of Apostles Uncovered in Roman Catacomb*



The humid and closed atmosphere meant that the walls of the tomb of the Roman noblewoman were completely covered with thick white calcium deposits. Two years of restoration have uncovered the fourth-century Christian images. Photo courtesy of Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology.

The images date from the late fourth century AD and were found in the underground chambers of the Catacomb of St. Thecla near San Paolo Fuori le Mura. Professor Fabrizio Bisconti, a university professor at l'Università Roma Tre, notes "It's an exceptional discovery that was made by using a laser technique to uncover the yellow and red pigments beneath layers of calcium deposits. The tomb is believed to have belonged to a noble woman of Rome."



Paul, Peter, John and Andrew. Photo courtesy of Pontifical Commission of Sacred Archaeology.

Chief restorer Barbara Mazzei reported that “Using the laser, restorers were able to sear off all the layers of calcium that had been bound onto the painting because the laser beam stopped burning at the white of the calcium deposits, which when chipped off left the brilliant darker colors underneath it unscathed.”



Re-written from  
<http://heritage-key.com/blogs/bija/earliest-paintings-jesus-apostles-uncovered-roman-catacomb>

## ***Could lead codices prove ‘the major discovery of Christian history’?***

Seventy lead codices were discovered five years ago in a remote cave in eastern Jordan—a region where early Christian believers may have fled after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE. The codices individual pages (about the size of a credit card) are wirebound together. Visually and textually they allude to a messiah and contain some possible references to the crucifixion and resurrection. Their small size seems to indicate that their function was intended for private devotion.

The codices have been test metallurgically and those tests seem to confirm their proposed age. Biblical scholars who have examined the codices suggest an early Christian origin. Philip Davies, emeritus professor of Old Testament Studies at Sheffield University, was "dumbstruck" at the sight of plates representing a picture map of ancient Jerusalem. "There is a cross in the foreground, and behind it is what has to be the tomb [of Jesus], a small building with an opening, and behind that the walls of the city," Davies explained. "There are walls depicted on other pages of these books, too, and they almost certainly refer to Jerusalem."





Re-written from:

[http://news.yahoo.com/s/yblog\\_thelookout/20110330/ts\\_yblog\\_thelookout/could-lead-codices-prove-the-major-discovery-of-christian-history](http://news.yahoo.com/s/yblog_thelookout/20110330/ts_yblog_thelookout/could-lead-codices-prove-the-major-discovery-of-christian-history)

## ***Revised dating places Garima Gospels before 650—none from Ethiopia previously dated before 12th century—perhaps earliest illuminated manuscript to survive?***

What could be the world's earliest illustrated Christian manuscript has been found in a remote Ethiopian monastery. The *Garima Gospels* were previously assumed to date from about 1100AD, but radiocarbon dating conducted in Oxford suggests they were made between 330 and 650AD. The radiocarbon dating could even link the manuscript to the time of Abba (Father) Garima, who established the monastery. Originally from Constantinople, the monk is traditionally believed to have arrived in Ethiopia in 494. Legend has it that he copied the Gospels in a single day. To assist him in completing this lengthy task, God is said to have delayed the setting of the sun.

The *Garima Gospels* are kept in an isolated monastery in the Tigray region. No other Ethiopian manuscripts are dated from before the 12th century, so the *Garima Gospels* represent a unique survival of an early Christian text in sub-Saharan Africa. The *Garima Gospels* have never left the monastery, and because of its remote location and the reluctance of the monks to show them, few scholars have had the opportunity to even briefly see them. Jacques Mercier, a French specialist in Ethiopian art, has seen them on brief visits. He took two, loose small samples of parchment. The manuscript was then in an extremely fragile state, and fragments of brittle parchment broke off almost every time it was opened.



Mercier arranged for the two parchment fragments to be radiocarbon dated at the Oxford University Research Laboratory for Archaeology. A sample of the parchment (probably goat skin) was dated to 330-540 and one from another illustrated page to 430-650. Radiocarbon dating can only yield a range of dates (the *Garima* figures are subject to a 96% probability), not a precise date, but the middle year of these two samples would be 487 or 488.

However, Mercier believes that on stylistic grounds the *Garima Gospels* are slightly later, perhaps around 600. Even this later date would make them among the earliest surviving illustrated Christian manuscripts. The oldest dated are the *Rabbula Gospels* in Syriac, completed

in 586. The texts date from the same period as the illuminations, although these pages have not been radiocarbon dated. They are written in Ge'ez, the ancient Ethiopian language, and they are by far the earliest texts (other than a few stone inscriptions).

A museum is now being set up to provide a secure place where the Gospels can be seen by visitors. On the edge of the monastery is a 19th-century church for female worshippers, but this has just been replaced by a modern building. Work is therefore underway to convert the old church into a museum. Its windows are small, which is good both for security and to keep light levels down, and steel bars are being inserted. The building will also be protected by armed guards.

Michelle Brown, manuscripts specialist, is excited about the discovery: “The *Garima Gospels* cast vital light upon early Christian illuminated manuscript production and upon the role of sub-Saharan Africa...It is the sort of model that inspired such vibrant later Ethiopic art and is an important early witness to the way in which the churches of the Christian Orient both absorbed the courtly Christian culture of Constantinople and developed their own voices and styles.”

Re-written from <http://www.theartnewspaper.com/articles/Discovery-of-earliest-illuminated-manuscript%20%20/20990>

## Byzantine Art

### ***900-year-old Byzantine church unearthed in Southern Turkey***



A 900-year-old Byzantine church has been unearthed in the ancient city of Myra located in the town of Demre in the Mediterranean province of Antalya. Professor Engin Akyürek from Istanbul University's Art History Department, explained that a well-preserved Byzantine church had been found six meters below ground level at the ancient site.

A dome that once had a diameter of five meters and was situated ten meters from the ground was partially destroyed,

but that the tiles on the roof were still in good condition. "The church most probably belongs to the 12th century A.D., but we will be able to determine its exact period once we enter the building," Akyürek said. All Byzantine-period buildings that have managed to survive until today have either undergone restoration or have had their roofs changed, Akyürek said, but added that the Myra church still had its original structure.

Re-written from <http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/n.php?n=900-year-old-byzantine-church-unearthed-in-mediterranean--province-2010-07-15>

### ***1,500-year-old church found in Israel***

Israeli archaeologists have discovered a 1,500-year-old church in the Judean hills, including an unusually well-preserved mosaic floor with images of lions, foxes, fish and peacocks. The Byzantine church located southwest of Jerusalem, excavated over the last two months, has been covered again with soil for its own protection.

The small basilica with an exquisitely decorated floor was active between the fifth and seventh centuries A.D., said the dig's leader, Amir Ganor of the Israel Antiquities Authority. "It is unique in its craftsmanship and level of preservation," he said. The excavation revealed stones carved with crosses, identifying it as a church. The building had been built atop another structure around 500 years older, dating to Roman times, when scholars believe the settlement was inhabited by Jews. Hewn into the rock underneath that structure is a network of tunnels that archaeologists believe were used by Jewish rebels fighting Roman armies in the second century A.D. Stone steps lead down from the floor of church to a small burial cave, which scholars suggest might have been venerated as the burial place of the Old Testament prophet Zacharias.





Adapted from [http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110202/ap\\_on\\_re\\_mi\\_ea/ml\\_israel\\_ancient\\_church](http://news.yahoo.com/s/ap/20110202/ap_on_re_mi_ea/ml_israel_ancient_church)

## Migration Period Art

### *German Archaeologists discover a 2600-year-old Celtic tomb*

An unusually well-preserved tomb made for a Celtic woman (perhaps from the Heuneburg aristocracy?) has been discovered near prehistoric Heuneburg hill fort near the town of Herbertingen in south-western Germany. The subterranean tomb features a 4 x 5 meter chamber that is floored with oak, which will allow a more precise dating of the tomb. Also found were elaborate examples of jewelry made of gold and amber. The area is believed to be a major trading center among Celtic settlements that flourished between 620 and 480 B.C.E. In a dramatic research precaution, the entire chamber (weighing 80 tons) was lifted out by two cranes and trucked to a research facility in Ludwigsburg on Tuesday. The results of the analysis will be presented in June 2011, researchers said, and the tomb and its objects are scheduled to be exhibited in Stuttgart in 2012.



Re-written from <http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/0,1518,736942,00.html>

## ***Egyptian papyrus found in binding of codex discovered in ancient Irish bog***

Irish scientists have found fragments of Egyptian papyrus in the leather cover of an ancient book of psalms that was unearthed from a peat bog. The papyrus in the lining of the Egyptian-style leather cover of the 1,200-year-old manuscript, "potentially represents the first tangible connection between early Irish Christianity and the Middle Eastern Coptic Church," scholars at the Ireland National Museum said. "It is a finding that asks many questions and has confounded some of the accepted theories about the history of early Christianity in Ireland."

Ragnall O Floinn, head of collections at the Museum, said the 8<sup>th</sup>-century manuscript, now known as the *Faddan More Psalter*, was one of the top ten archaeological discoveries in Ireland. It was uncovered four years ago by a man using a mechanical digger to harvest peat near Birr in County Tipperary, but analysis has only just been completed.

The experts believe the manuscript of the psalms was produced in an Irish monastery and it was later put in the leather cover which came from Egypt. "The question is whether the papyrus came with the cover or if it was added. It is possible that the imperfections in the hide may allow us to confirm the leather is Egyptian. The cover could have had several lives before it ended up basically as a folder for the manuscript in the bog," O Floinn said. "It could have travelled from a library somewhere in Egypt to the Holy Land or to Constantinople or Rome and then to Ireland."



Re-written from <http://www.physorg.com/news202991457.html>

## Late Gothic Art

### *Intriguing Finds of Metal Detectorist*



A small plaque discovered by a metal detectorist was brought to Finds Day at the Chesterfield Museum in Derby, England. Derby University scientists scanned the piece and found that it is gilt silver. Featuring the head of a man with a pointed hat and two rather illegible designs on either side, it has not yet been identified. Could it be a pilgrim badge honoring St. Thomas Becket, Canterbury Cathedral?

### *Seventy-Five Pilgrim Souvenirs Discovered in Leicestershire*



Metal detectorists over the past few years (especially since 2003) have discovered a range of pilgrim souvenirs that reveal the wide travels of people who lived in medieval Leicestershire. Pilgrim souvenirs show that these travelers went as far afield as Canterbury, Windsor, and Walsingham in England and St. Andrews in Scotland.

These include ampullae, vials which contained holy water or oil (depending on the originating shrine), which were used for home-based healing and blessings, including protection of the fields.<sup>1</sup> Ampullae found in Leicestershire date from the 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries. Perhaps the most significant of these finds is the ampullae devoted to the Black Madonna of Doncaster seen in the center in the image above.

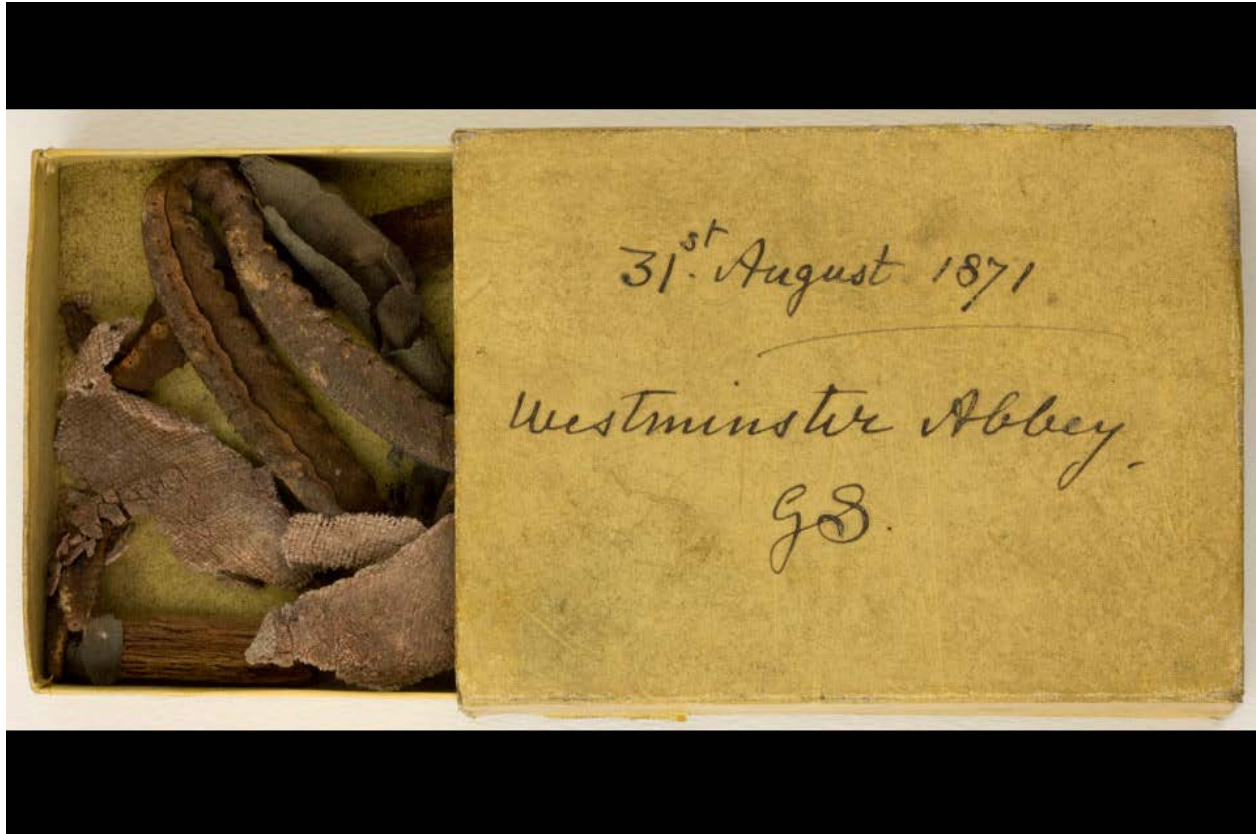
Adapted from <http://www.culture24.org.uk/history+%26+heritage/archaeology/art22693> and <http://medievalnews.blogspot.com/2010/02/relics-from-pilgrimages-found-from.html>

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<sup>1</sup> See William Anderson, "Blessing the Fields? A Study of Late-medieval Ampullae from England and Wales," *Medieval Archaeology* 54/1(2010), pp. 182-203; Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim souvenirs and secular badges* (London : Stationery Office, 1998).

## ***Relic remains of Richard II discovered in the basement of the National Portrait Gallery in London***

A matchbox with the labeled remains were discovered when researchers began to catalog the papers of the Gallery's first Director Sir George Scharf (1820-1895) who was a witness of the opening of Richard's grave in Westminster Abbey on August 30, 1871. The box contained wooden fragments (perhaps from the original coffin) and some strips of textiles and a piece of leather that corresponds with Scharf's sketch of a glove found in the tomb.



Adapted from [http://www.artdaily.org/index.asp?int\\_sec=2&int\\_new=42588](http://www.artdaily.org/index.asp?int_sec=2&int_new=42588)

## ***Late 15<sup>th</sup>-early 16<sup>th</sup> century graffiti incised by handwork apprentices discovered in Nunnery near Aachen Germany***

Forty-two different hammers and geometric forms are etched into the plaster-covered wall that once formed part of the exterior wall of the St. Katherina Church. Measuring 40 x 2 meters, the images of varied hammers (for stone cutting, carpentry, etc.) and rosettes perhaps reflect a lesson given by a master (whose rosette is perfect) trying to guide the apprentices (whose rosettes leave much to be desired).



Re-written from <http://www.thelocal.de/sci-tech/20101116-31213.html>

## ***Tunnel mystery below 15th century home***

For 34 years Max and Angie Irvine wondered if a secret tunnel might lurk beneath their house. And for a moment, they thought someone may have stumbled upon the mysterious piece of history. Workmen digging for neighbor found a water-filled tunnel between the two homes which headed towards the Irvines' sprawling property. Investigations found the dark, damp hideaway was 10ft wide, 6ft high and 30ft long. Their home at Bank Hall in Broughton, near Preston, has a priest's hole and there have been suggestions a tunnel may lead to it. A call to an archaeologist followed and, in his opinion, the tunnel is probably a Victorian sewer, but he can't be 100% sure... So the mystery continues.

Father-of-three, Dr Irvine, 66, said: "We thought it was a tunnel which was linked to our house because it's been rumored over the decades that our house has a tunnel to one of the local churches." "It's unusual, because there wouldn't appear to be sufficient property round here to justify such a large system, but we're not really in a position to explore any further. It's too big a job for us to tackle at this stage so we're going to put a slab back over it and leave it for somebody else to explore in the future."

The house dates back to 1487 and there are rumors that a tunnel led from the house to a church. It was used by priests to hide and escape during the English Reformation under Henry VIII's reign. And two priests were indeed born at the property during the early 1600s. But Doug Moir, Lancashire County Council planning officer with a specialty in archaeology, said: "It's been suggested it may be a means of escape for priests but I wouldn't have thought so. If it's that sort of thing, it would be built out of brick because it would be very expensive. "Drains need to be cleaned out so it's quite usual for them to be larger to allow people to walk through." "But we'd be quite happy to change our opinion if he can find something that shows otherwise."

Adapted from [http://www.lep.co.uk/news/tunnel\\_mystery\\_below\\_15th\\_century\\_home\\_1\\_66260](http://www.lep.co.uk/news/tunnel_mystery_below_15th_century_home_1_66260)

***A medieval mural depicting Henry VIII uncovered by a couple renovating their home***





Angie Powell, 57, and her husband Rhodri, 56, uncovered the 20ft wide, six ft high, wall painting as they peeled back wallpaper and mortar from their grade II listed home in Tauton, Somerset, which was originally owned by Thomas Cranmer who became the Archbishop of Canterbury and helped Henry break from the Catholic Church and set up the Church of England.

The painting, dating from the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, shows the enthroned monarch wearing a crown and holding a scepter. The only other known wall painting of Henry VIII was destroyed when the Palace of Whitehall in the 16th century. Michael Liversidge, former head of history of art department at Bristol University, said "It would have been an expression of loyalty. Cranmer could have done it as a tribute to Henry and that would make it an object of great importance and significance. It is a unique image."

Re-written from <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/art/8289131/A-medieval-mural-depicting-Henry-VIII-has-been-uncovered-by-a-couple-renovating-their-home.html>

See also <http://www.spab.org.uk/cornerstone-magazine/articles-from-cornerstone/every-inch-a-king/>