THE YORK VIRGIN AND ITS DATE

By SIR ALFRED CLAPHAM

The remarkable relief-sculpture, generally known as the York Virgin (Plate IV), was found incorporated in a wall of the Minster in 1839. It is cut in a slab of Tadcaster stone (now $31\frac{1}{2}$ in. by $22\frac{1}{2}$ in. but originally 40 in. high) and has an inscription across the top which reads 'Sca Maria'. The head of the Virgin and the back of the Child's figure have been defaced, but otherwise the subject is intact. The execution shows the utmost sophistication and the relief is obviously based more or less directly on an original very foreign to the art and culture of the immediate place of origin of the sculpture itself. The carving and the surface of the slab itself possess, furthermore, a smoothness and careful finish which may give some indication of the material of the original from which the stone rendering was made. Photographic reproductions of this sculpture have been reproduced in Prior and Gardner's *Figure Sculpture*[1] (1912), in a paper by Sir Eric Maclagan, in the *British Academy*[2] (1923), in my own *Romanesque Architecture, I*[3] (1930) and *European Romanesque*[4] (1936) and in Saxl and Wittkower's *British Art*[5] (1948). Prior and Gardner incline to ' at any rate a date before 1125 ', and Maclagan suggests that it belongs to not later than the first quarter of the twelfth century. My own view was that it dated from about 1000, and was of direct Byzantine descent from the revival of that art under the Macedonian dynasty and transmitted to this country through Ottonian Germany ;[6] this view, at least as to the ultimate Byzantine origin of the relief, was supported by S. Casson in the *Burlington Magazine*[7] (1931) and by Talbot Rice[8] (1947). In 1948 appeared *British Art and the Mediterranean* by the late Dr. Saxl and Dr. Wittkower ; in this work the relief is assigned to about 1150, and various parallels are produced. Dr. Saxl was prepared entirely to accept the Mediterranean and presumably Byzantine origin of the original from which the relief descended, but the parallels he cited vary from the beginning of the eleventh to the thirteenth century, and it does not at all appear why he assigned the particular date he did to the York Virgin.

However this may be, it is clear that there is a very wide divergence of view, extending over a century and a half, in the date assigned to the sculpture. All are agreed as to the paramount quality and importance of the relief itself, and it becomes increasingly necessary to see if some greater approach to finality cannot be achieved by a method, which, though I have already referred to it myself, I have not hitherto

[1] E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Mediaeval Figure-sculpture in England*, 1912, p. 134 and fig. 116.

[2] *Proc. Brit. Academy*, x, p. 479, 1923, ' A Romanesque relief in York Minster.'

[3] A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture, before the Conquest*, 1930, p. 139. pl. 63.

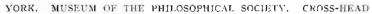[4] A. W. Clapham, *Romanesque Architecture in Western Europe*, p. 152, pl. 36.

[5] F. Saxl and R. Wittkower, *British Art and the Mediterranean*, 1948, 27, 2.

[6] Clapham, *Romanesque in Western Europe*, p. 152.

[7] *Burlington Magazine*, lix, 1931, p. 208 ; lxii, 1933, p. 31.

[8] D. Talbot Rice, ' The Byzantine element in late Saxon Art ' (W. H. Charlton Mem. Lecture), 1947.

PLATE IV

YORK.   MINSTER, CRYPT.   VIRGIN AND CHILD

Photo, Walter Scott

PLATE V

a

b

YORK. MUSEUM OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY. CROSS-HEAD

attempted to pursue in any detail. This method is the study of the epigraphy of the inscription, which contains two forms which should supply definite, if not exact, chronological evidence. These two forms are the square C, and the Uncial or looped A in the form of a capital.

To deal first with the square C: it has long been recognized that this form generally disappeared from use everywhere in the course of the twelfth century; but its longer and more frequent survival in France[9] than in England has somewhat obscured the issue in regard to this country, and it is very much this country with which we are concerned. The following list will give an indication of the employment of the square C, and incidentally of the square G, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

INSCRIPTIONS ON STONE, IVORY, LEAD AND OTHER METALS (EXCLUDING SEALS) ATTRIBUTABLE TO THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

Form of the letter C, together with any occurrence of the square G

		Ⴌ	C	Ⴑ
Breamore Church, Hants.[10]	Inscription, c. 1000	1	~	1
Whitchurch, Hants.[11]	Tomb, c. 1040	4	~	1
York S. Mary Castlegate[12]	Inscription, c. 1040	—	6	1
Cambridge Mus. Majesty[13]	Ivory, c. 1050	2	—	—
Deerhurst Church and Chapel[14]	Inscriptions (2), 1056	2	7	—
Aldborough, Yorks[15] (E. Riding)	Sundial, early to mid 11th century	—	2	—
Bishopstone, Sussex[16]	Sundial, 11th century	—	1	—
Kirkdale, Yorks.[17] (N. Riding)	Sundial, c. 1060	4	1	—
Ipswich, S. Nicholas[18]	Inscription, c. 1060	2	2	—
Lincoln Cath.[19] (Sifford)	Lead plate, c. 1060	2	3	1
Canterbury, S. Augustine[20]	Lead plate, 1063	—	2	—
Caen Trinite Queen Matilda[21]	Tomb, 1083	15	2	1
Potterne, Wilts.[22]	Font, late 11th century	2	—	—
Lincoln Cath. (Deyncourt)[23]	Lead plate, c. 1090	10	—	—
Little Billing, Northants[24]	Font, c. 1100	5	1	1
Old Sarum Cath. (Godwin)[25]	Tomb, c. 1100	9	—	—
Canterbury, St. Augustine[26]	Lead plates (2), c. 1100	1	3	2

9 P. Deschamps, *Étude s. la paleographic des Inscriptions lapidaires de la fin de l'epoque mérovingienne aux dernières annees du XIIe siècle* (1929).

10 G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, II, 2nd Edit. (1925), p. 351.

11 V.C.H. *Hants*, IV, p. 304. Tomb of Frithburga; c.f. Burl. F.A. Club, *Art in the Dark Ages*, pl. xxxix.

12 *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xx, p. 209. Dedicatory inscription, now under glass; may equate in date with the very curious cross-head from the same church and now in the York museum (Ibid., p. 176).

13 Burl. F.A.C. *Ivories Cat.*, 1923, No. 74, and M. H. Longhurst, *English Ivories*, No. 70. It is reputed to have been found at Elmham, Norfolk, in 1847. The Burlington Cat. ascribes it to the 10th-11th century and Miss Longhurst to the 11th century.

14 *Arch.*, l, pp. 69-70. J. H. Middleton.

15 *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, v, opposite p. 135.

16 Ibid., v, p. 197.

17 Ibid., v, opposite p. 135; G. Baldwin Brown, *Arts in Early England*, I, p. 357.

18 *J. Brit. Arch. Ass.*, i, p. 146, inscription in A-S, J. Romilly Allen, *Early Christian Symbolism*, pp. 273, 385; C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana* (1904), pls. 44 (showing two square Cs in the tympanum) and 138.

19 *R. Arch. Inst. Lincoln Volume*, 1850, p. xliv, to Sifford the priest and supposed pre-conquest.

20 *Antiq. Journ.*, iv, p. 423, cross to Wulfmaeg, dated 1063.

21 C. A. Stothard, *Monumental Effigies* (1817), opposite p. 3.

22 *Anastatic Drawing Soc.*, 1876, pl. xxv.

23 *Arch. Inst. Lincoln Volume*, 1850, p. 248. William D'eyncourt died temp. William II.

24 G. Baker, *Hist. of N'hants.*, I, 1822-30, p. 30. The lettering of the inscription is compared with that on the seal of William I.

25 *Proc. Soc. Ants.*, 2nd Ser., xxvi, p. 110, fig. 8. Godwin, precentor of Sarum.

26 Lead plates of Lothaire and Wihtred, Kings of Kent, in graves in S. transept when bodies were moved by Abbot Scotland, *Arch. Cant.*, xxxviii, p. 112.

		E	C	E
Farleigh Hungerford, Somerset[27]	Inscription, c. 1100	2	5	—
Salisbury Cath. (Bp. Osmund)[28]	Tomb, c. 1100	—	7	—
Weaverthorpe, Yorks.[29] (E. Riding)	Inscription, c. 1110	—	8	—
Wynford Eagle, Dorset[30]	Tympanum, early 12th century	—	1	—
Gloucester, Candlestick[31]	Bronze, c. 1110	—	13	—
Hawkesworth, Notts.[32]	Inscription, c. 1120	—	8	—
Caster, Northants[33]	Inscription, 1124	—	7	—
Canterbury Cath. (Almer)[34]	Lead plate, 1137	—	2	—
Henry of Blois Plaque[35]	Metalwork, c. 1140	—	12	—
Lullington, Somerset[36]	Font, mid 12th century	—	4	—
St. Thomas Apostle, bowl[37]	Metalwork, c. 1150	—	12	—
Stafford, St. Mary[38]	Font, mid to late 12th century	—	4	—
Aline, Yorks.	Doorway, mid to late 12th century	—	1	—
Lewes, Southover (Gundrada)[39]	Tomb, c. 1160	—	9	—
Canterbury Cath. (Theobald)[40]	Lead plate, 1161	2	1	—
Sherborne Abbey, Dorset[41]	Tomb, c. 1160–5	—	3	—
Tolpuddle, Dorset[42]	Tomb, late 12th century	—	3	—
Newcastle Castle[43]	Coffin-lid, c. 1170–80	—	1	—
Brookland, Kent[44]	Lead font, c. 1175	—	11	—
Stanton Fitzwarren, Wilts.[45]	Font, c. 1180	—	12	—
Warneford Ch., Hants[46]	Inscriptions, c. 1180–90	—	6	—
London, Temple Church[47]	Inscription, 1185	—	11	—
Clee Ch., Lincs.[48]	Inscription, 1192	—	9	—
Lesnes Abbey, Kent (Fulc.)[49]	Tomb, c. 1195	—	4	—

Not included in the above schedule is the lead cross, reputed to have been found on the body of King Arthur at Glastonbury about 1191,[50] and reproduced in two versions in the first and the 1637 edition of Camden's *Britannia*.[51] All three C's in the inscription are of the square form, but the date of the cross, which no longer exists, is not established, and in any case the inscription may well be a conscious attempt at archaism.

The schedule, otherwise, may not be entirely exhaustive, but there can be no doubt that it includes all or nearly all the inscriptions on stone, lead or ivory

[27] C. E. Keyser, *Norman Tympana*, p. xxvii; plain semi-circular stone, without carving and re-set above the S. porch. The absence of ornament indicates an early date.

[28] Tomb brought from Old Sarum and now in the nave of Salisbury Cathedral. The inscription points indisputably to Bishop Osmund who died 1099. *Arch. Journ.*, civ., p. 146.

[29] *Arch.*, lxxii, p. 58; *Antiq. Journ.*, viii, p. 512.

[30] *R.C. Hist. Mons. Dorset*, I, photo.

[31] V. and A. Mus. *Exhibition of English Medieval Art*, 1930, No. 38 (inscription not in facsimile), pl. 12.

[32] C. E. Keyser, op. cit., pl. 94.

[33] V.C.H. *Northants*, II, p. 479. Dedication inscription with date.

[34] *Archaeologia*, xv, Prior Almer died 1137.

[35] Brit. Mus. *Mediaeval Guide* (1924), p. 81, fig. 45, enamel plaques.

[36] Nat. Bldgs. Rec. photo and Soc. Ants. Collection of drawings of Fonts.

[37] B.M. *Mediaeval Guide* (1924), p. 189.

[38] N.B.R. photo.

[39] R. Gough, *Sepulchral Monuments*, I, A. 1. The elaborate acanthus-ornament, as is generally

agreed, demands a date as late as that here assigned to it.

[40] *Arch.*, xv, pl. x. Archbishop Theobald died 1161.

[41] A. Gardner, *English Mediaeval Sculpture* (1935), p. 178, fig. 212.

[42] *Dorset Arch. and N.H. Soc.*, liii (1931), 252.

[43] C. Boutell, *Christian Monuments in England and Wales*, p. 84. Coffin lid.

[44] *Arch. Journ.*, vi, 161, and *Arch. Cant.*, iv, 86.

[45] *The Builder*, iii (1845), p. 6. Names of Virtues trampling on Vices.

[46] F. Grose, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, V: *Hants*. Inscriptions on N. and S. doorways.

[47] T. Rickman, *Styles of Architecture* (7th Ed. 1881), p. 111. Tympanum.

[48] Ibid., p. 158. Dedication inscription dated 1192.

[49] A. W. Clapham, *Lesnes Abbey* (1915), p. 64. Tomb-slab.

[50] J. Armitage Robinson, *Two Glastonbury Legends* (1926), p. 10.

[51] W. Camden, *Britannia* (1586), p. 104; 1637, p. 228.

which concern the present enquiry, those on stone being obviously of the greatest significance.

An analysis of the list shows the following significant facts. The examples here assigned, for reasons entirely unconnected with epigraphy, to the eleventh century, eighteen in all, exhibit : 59 square C's, 42 round C's and 8 square G's. The twenty-two examples assigned to the twelfth century exhibit : 2 square C's (both, be it noted, in the same leaden inscription), 143 round C's and no square G's. The evidence from this feature is thus overwhelming.

A study of seal-inscriptions shows a slightly different usage. In H. S. Kingsford's schedule of seal-epigraphy[52] three out of 43 examples of the twelfth century have C's of a square form, rounded at the angles. These are the seals of Geoffrey Rufus, Bishop of Durham, 1133, Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, 1139, and St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, 1199. They survive only in impressions, and in the seal of 1199 the two forms occur side by side in the word *ecclesia*. Of the earlier seals, that of Godwin and Godgytha[53] of c. 1050 has one square C and four square G's. Square C's also occur on the second seal of William I, 1070, and on that of Ralph Flambard, 1099.

In addition to seals, it has been pointed out to me that certain coins struck in the first half of the twelfth century show a tendency to retain the use of the square C[54] long after it had been abandoned in stone-carving. I do not think that this fact materially affects the conclusions arrived at above, for two reasons, (*a*) With so great a number of formal inscriptions cut in stone in the twelfth century, the practice in this medium must obviously be of primary importance in assessing a date for an example in the same material. (*b*) The form of the letters used in coinage at that period obviously depended on the usage familiar to the moneyer responsible for any individual example. It can thus not safely be cited as evidence for the usage, at the same period, of lettering for formal display and dictated by the lettered classes.

It would thus appear that it would be hazardous and against the great weight of evidence to put the York inscription appreciably after the end of the eleventh century in the face of the use therein of the square C.

Let us turn now to the far more unusual looped A, which is the form adopted in the last letter of the inscription, though not in the other two A's. The uncial A, written in curved lines is common in manuscripts throughout the period which concerns us, except where the Insular majuscule or minuscule is used, and the uncial A is indeed the ' lower case ' A in use at the present day. In a few instances this ordinary uncial A does indeed appear in another medium—on the lead plates (*a*) of Sifford, from Lincoln, assigned to the late pre-conquest period—and, curiously enough, in a context of ordinary Latin capitals; (*b*) of Eadgyvu a nun of Bath, of late pre-Conquest date ; and (*c*) of Godfrid, bishop of Chichester, 1088. It is not, however, with this ordinary rendering of the uncial A that we are here concerned, but rather with a more ornamental form used as a capital, in which the loop is bent out from a single straight stroke with serifs. A fairly extensive search in the

[52] H. S. Kingsford, ' Epigraphy of Mediaeval Seals,' *Arch.*, lxxix, pp. 152-3.
[53] *Brit. Mus. Anglo-Saxon Guide* (1923), p. 111.

[54] See Grueber, *Handbook of Coins of Great Britain and Ireland in the British Museum.*

available material would appear to indicate, that in England at any rate, there are only three inscriptions on stone (or in metal or ivory as well) where this form is used, and it so happens that two of these come either certainly or probably from York. The first is the subject of this note, and the second is on a mutilated cross-head from Whitby,[55] with the name ABBAE, both A's being of this form and the stone dating probably from not later than 875. The third example, probably from York, is the middle part of a small cross-head with a circular panel on each face, one with a four-line inscription and one with a four-leaved enrichment (Plate V, *a* and *b*). The inscription is cut in beautifully formed capitals and runs as follows : ' SALVE PRO MERITIS P̄R̄S ALME TVIS '. Both the A's are of the looped form and not as reproduced incorrectly by W. G. Collingwood in the *Yorks. Arch. Journal.*[56] The start of the curves of the arms of the cross indicate the form with semi-circular re-entrants and, no doubt, curved outer edges ; the material is Tadcaster stone. As to the date of the cross-head, there can be no doubt that it is pre-Conquest, though Collingwood's suggestion that it may belong to his period A2 (eighth century) is not supported by any evidence.

Dr. F. J. E. Raby writes to me as follows about the inscription. " This is a pentameter line with an internal (Leonine) rime. The rime may be accidental as such rimes are difficult always to avoid (a glance through Ovid shows this). It is possible, however, that the rime was intentional as it is an inscription with a single verse and the rime is necessary to give it a little ' character '. Leonine rimes come in in Gaul in the last half of the ninth century and were much used in the tenth and eleventh. The use of the word Presbyter for priest is common in Anglo-Saxon times and was always preserved in liturgical use, though *sacerdos* ousted it in general use in later times (e.g. twelfth century). Salve and alme are words which are more likely to have been used in these early centuries than later. I am inclined to place the inscription in the tenth or early eleventh century though it may conceivably be earlier still. One is reminded of the inscription on Ovin's cross, now in Ely Cathedral, which seems to be a ruder attempt at a pentameter and presumably dates from the seventh century. But this has no contractions or abbreviations and is, I think, in Roman lettering. The lettering of our inscription seems nearer that of the eleventh century MS. of Prudentius.'

Mr. Ralegh Radford, whom I have also consulted, while not inclined to disagree with Dr. Raby's conclusions, would prefer to assign to the inscription a somewhat earlier date.

In manuscripts the Uncial capital A is far more frequent than in other media. In Anglo-Saxon MSS., examples may be cited from the Codex Aureus of Stockholm[57] (*c.* 800 or earlier), the Cuthbert Gospels of Vienna[58] (*c.* 770), S. English Gospels at Rome[59] (*c.* 775), Edgar's donation to Winchester[60] (966) with eight examples, Aethelwold's Benedictional[61] (late tenth century) and the Hereford Gospels[62] (eleventh century). Cognate examples may be cited from the Gospels[63] Dowse 176,

[55] C. A. Ralegh Radford in ' The Saxon Monastery of Whitby ', *Arch.*, lxxxix, p. 45.

[56] W. G. Collingwood, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xx, p. 178 and illustration.

[57] E. H. Zimmermann, *Vorkarolingische Miniaturen* (1916), Taf. 280.

[58] Ibid., Taf. 309.

[59] Ibid., Taf. 313.

[60] J. O. Westwood, *Miniatures . . . of A.S. and Irish Manuscripts* (1868), pl. 47.

[61] *The Benedictional of St. Ethelwald*, Roxburghe Club, 1910.

[62] *Burlington F.A. Club. Illuminated MSS. Cat.*, 1908, pl. 10.

[63] E. H. Zimmermann, op. cit., Taf. 142.

N.E. France (c. 800), the Laon Orosius[64] (c. 760) and Isidore[65] (c. 760-70), N. Gaul or Cologne Gospels Lowe 238[66] (eighth-ninth century), Fragment of Sacramentary Berlin[67] (Fulda, c. 975), and the Echternach Gospels at Trier[68] (c. 775).

In other media and in the same continental area, the Uncial capital is extremely infrequent. P. Deschamps' corpus[69] of stone inscriptions in France down to the end of the twelfth century does not record a single example. My attention, however, has been called by Sir Eric Maclagan to a single isolated example[70] at Santiago de Compostela which dates probably from the first half of the twelfth century and occurs in a country in which archaisms of a like nature are not infrequent as in the case of the survival of the XP monogram both at Santiago (Puerta de las Platerías) and in the Pyrenees. Of Carolingian work there survives an ivory book-cover of the end of the eighth century, now at Brussels,[71] which has three looped A's and eleven of the ordinary form.

After the Conquest the Uncial capital, and that only in a derived form, becomes so extremely uncommon in English manuscripts as to be a rarity. Examples may, however, be seen in the St. Edmunds' Bible[72] ascribed by Millar to the period 1121-48.

Let us now consider the general results obtained from this review of the epigraphical evidence and their application to the dating of the York relief. The use of the square C renders it highly improbable that the relief was executed appreciably after 1100, and the use of the Uncial capital A renders it equally or even more improbable that the relief was executed after the Conquest. This last conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the only two other examples of the use of the looped A, in stone, both from Yorkshire and one probably from York itself, are both of pre-Conquest date. It should furthermore be remembered that during the first generation after the Conquest, the art of stone-carving throughout the country, so far as the evidence from datable buildings is concerned, was either of extreme crudity[73] or completely non-existent. It follows then, almost inevitably, that a sculpture of the quality of the York Madonna could not have been produced in a centre like York in a period of sculptural stagnation, quite apart from the economic condition of a county then recently devastated by the harrying of the North. We are thus, by cumulative evidence, driven to place the relief before the Conquest, and the only question which remains open is, what period before that event is most appropriate for such a setting.

Casson, Talbot Rice and Dr. Saxl all agree with my own conclusions as to the Byzantine descent of the York relief, so it will only be necessary to consider the most suitable background for such a descent. I have already referred to the unusually finely-finished surface of the relief and this in itself is sufficient to suggest ivory as the suitable material for the intermediate step or steps between the

[64] E. H. Zimmermann, op. cit., Taf. 144.

[65] Ibid., Taf. 147a.

[66] Codices Latini antiquiores, Pt. II, E. A. Lowe, 1935, No. 238.

[67] A. Goldschmidt, German Illumination, II, 107.

[68] H. Picton, Early German Art, 1939, pl. LIV.

[69] P. Deschamps, op. cit.

[70] Kingsley Porter, Rom. Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads, I, p. 220, and VI, pl. 705.

[71] A. Goldschmidt, Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen u. sachsischen Kaiser, I. Two plates. See also Burl. F. A. Club. Ivories Cat., pls. IX and X.

[72] E. G. Millar, English Illuminated MSS., Xth-XIIIth century, pl. 39.

[73] e.g. the capitals in the castle-chapel of Durham, royal work of 1072.

Byzantine original and the English copy. After this point we reach the stage of surmise ; it may, however, be not unprofitable to suggest, as I have already done in outline elsewhere,[74] a possible sequence in that descent. That Byzantine influence was reasonably strong in the Carolingian and Ottonian Empires is an accepted fact, and the marriage in 972 of Otto II to Theophano, daughter of the Emperor Romanus II, is recognized as a symptom of this, rather than as one of its contributory causes. The Byzantine background is itself represented by the tenth century Mangana relief of the Virgin found in 1922, and now in the Constantinople museum, and in Italian Byzantine works at Santa Maria in Porto near Ravenna, at S. Maria in Piazza Ancona, at St. Mark's, Venice, and elsewhere, all in stone or marble, and also by such ivories as the tenth century Madonna and Child[75] (Col. Stroganof), now at Cleveland museum, which incidentally includes the looped A in its inscription. From Germany itself there is a mid ninth century throned Virgin and Child[76] in the Bib. Nat., Paris, the same subject on an ivory book-cover at Essen, safely dated 1039-54[77], and many reliefs with other subject matter.

The close cultural connexion between later Anglo-Saxon England and the Empire has not, I think, been sufficiently emphasized, and is here again illustrated by a marriage, that of the Emperor Otto I to Edith, sister of King Athelstan, in 929.[78]

In this connexion it will be pertinent to cite two writers, contemporary or nearly contemporary with the Conquest and both bearing witness to this well established artistic contact between the two countries. The first of these writers is William of Poitiers,[79] chaplain to the Conqueror and sometime Archdeacon of Lisieux. After recounting what rich gifts were brought back, from England, to the Norman abbeys immediately after the Conquest, by Duke William and his lords, he continues as follows : ' The women of England are as skilful with the needle and gold embroidery as their menfolk excel in every craft. Moreover those Germans most knowing in such arts have been wont to settle among them. Merchants also who go to distant lands in ships bring in the work of cunning hands.' The second passage is taken from an anonymous annalist[80] of the See of York (and hence, to us, more particularly pertinent), and relates to the rebuilding and embellishment of the Minster of Beverley by Aldred (1061-69), the last of the Saxon archbishops. The new pulpitum which he set up is thus described : ' Above the choir door he also caused to be made a pulpitum of incomparable work of bronze and gold and silver and on either side of the loft he set up arches and in the middle, over the loft, a higher arch

[74] Clapham, *Romanesque in Western Europe*, p. 152.

[75] C. Diehl, *Man. d'art Byzantin*, II, 1926, p. 666, fig. 327.

[76] Goldschmidt, *Elfenbeinskulpturen*, I, pl. XXVIII.

[77] *Art. Bull.*, vii (1924-5), pl. CIX, p. 159.

[78] The relations with Flanders are discussed by P. Grierson in ' The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest ', in *R. Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 4th Ser., xxiii (1941), p. 71.

[79] Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, cxlix, p. 1267. Willelmi Conquestoris gesta a Willelmo Pictavensis, Lexoviorum archidiacono contemporaneo scripta. ' Anglicae nationis feminae multum acu et auri textura, egregie viri in omni valent artificio. Ad hoc incolere apud eos Germani solebant talium artium scientissimi. Inferunt et negotiatores qui longinquas regiones navibus adeunt doctarum manuum opera.' See also R. S. Loomis, ' The origin and date of the Bayeux Embroidery ' in *Art. Bull.*, VI (1923-4), pp. 3-7.

[80] *Historians of the Church of York* (Rolls Ser.), II, pp. 353-4. ' Supra ostium etiam chori pulpitum opere incomparabili, aere, auro argentoque fabricari fecit, et ex utraque parte pulpiti arcus, et in medio supra pulpitum arcum eminentiorum crucem in summitate gestantem, similiter ex aere, auro et argento opere Theutonico fabrefactos erexit.' See also *Arch.*, lxviii, p. 51.

carrying on its top a cross likewise of bronze and gold and silver skilfully fashioned of Teutonic work.' One may indeed imagine this to have been a reflection of the work of Bishop Bernward at Hildesheim. We have thus set before us a striking testimony to the super excellence of island craftsmanship on the one hand, and equally clear evidence of the cultural interdependence of England and the Empire on the other hand, at the very period to which I would assign the York Madonna on epigraphical evidence. The glories of the pulpitum at Beverley may well have been equalled or surpassed by the fittings of the metropolitan church of York, and of these the Madonna must surely have formed a part.

It is not my intention to attempt any closer approximation in the dating of the sculpture than that already arrived at, as this would inevitably involve me in the pitfalls of art appreciation. These I am determined to avoid, confining myself strictly to such definite evidence as the inscription itself affords. I leave, therefore, to others the determination of the position assignable to the York Madonna in its descent from its Byzantine original ; but I hold that any such determination must, for the future, be controlled by the necessity of placing the relief with a high degree of certainty before the Norman Conquest.