THE ROMANESQUE CHURCH AT MELBOURNE

By RITA WOOD

The parish church of Melbourne is a satisfying building, but also something of an enigma: historians have no date for the Romanesque construction and no word of its intended function. Architectural style suggests a date of around 1120, and it is thus likely that the patron was Henry I. In such distinctive surroundings, the sculpture cannot be inconsequential and should tell us something, and the building itself, with its discrete and uncommon spaces, a little more. It is suggested that the royal church was built to be served by an unrecorded Augustinian community, and that the canons were engaged in training entrants for a pastoral ministry.

The twelfth-century church at Melbourne, once a symbol of royal power[1] and still impressive, is however not complete or in its original form (Fig. 1). Not only are the roofs now lower and the tower higher, but the three apses once at the east end have gone and most of the fenestration of the nave is altered.[2] Any corbel table has been lost. Renewed capitals are possibly, but not certainly, authentic and, even if passable copies, they may not have been positioned as before. And though some of the old work was imitated, more has been lost or is in process of fading away as the sandstone weathers.

Considering the likely patronage of the church, it would certainly have been interesting to see the western gallery in its first form, but it is the loss of the east end of the chancel and the room over it which is perhaps the greatest loss of all. The chancel was vaulted and, from outside, scars on the east wall of the tower and some walling at the upper level show that there was an equally spacious room above. The visual unity both inside and out has been lost, and substantial clues as to the function of this singular building have gone too. Had windows or decoration in the upper chamber at the east end survived, they would have helped us to understand whether it had been a chapel or a room with some other function.

Curiously, there is one virtually complete survival which has been sidelined in previous discussions but which was a major focus of the twelfth-century interior — this is the set of carved capitals framing the entrance to the chancel. The first part of the present paper concentrates on these carvings, seeking to define their subjects and, in so doing, raises the possibility that the sculpture was designed for a small community of Austin canons. It is perhaps necessary to point out that Augustinian or Austin canons were not monks but regular canons or priests living a common life, and that in this period they often engaged in parochial work.[3]

PART 1: THE SCULPTURE AT MELBOURNE CHURCH

The main area of sculpture comprises eight large capitals, four just inside the chancel and facing north and south, and four facing west into the crossing (Figs. 2–4). There are not many such full sets of figurative carvings in this position surviving in Britain. The display is not rambling like that at Castor nor incomplete and reset like Stoke Dry;
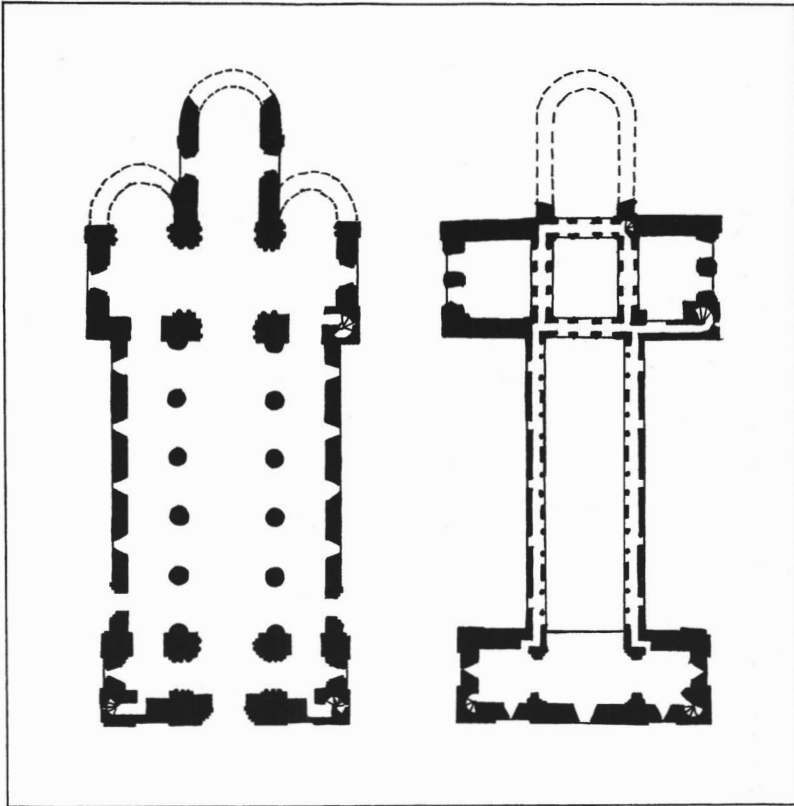
Fig. 1:   Reconstructed plans for the early twelfth-century church (after
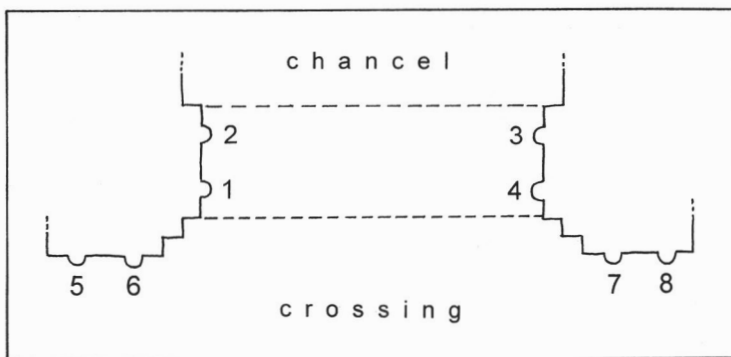   Wilkins 1797 and Draper 1936).

Fig. 2:   Diagram of the scheme at the entrance to the chancel.

its effect is not weakened by repetition in the arches, as at Adel, Ault Hucknall or
Tickencote.[4] The singularity and concentration of the subject matter suggest a coherent
teaching scheme. Only these capitals on the eastern angles of the crossing are carved,
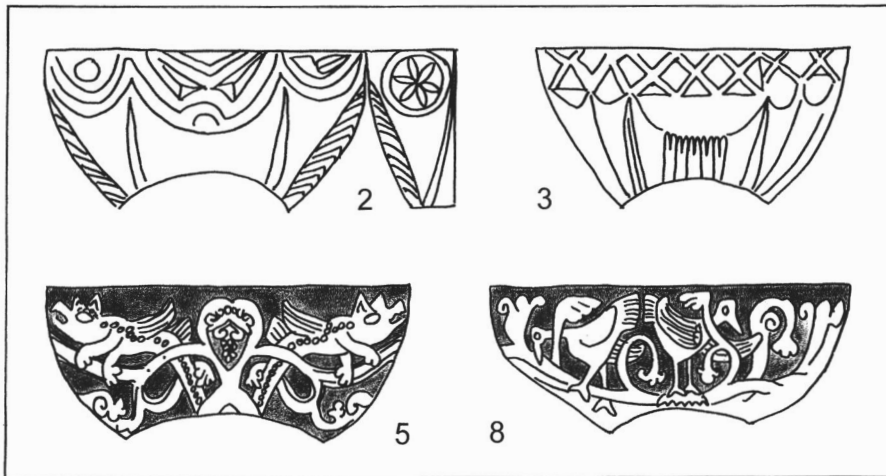
Fig. 3: Capitals with conventional patterns. This and all subsequent figures are drawn from photographs. They are for use as guides only.

the western capitals being neatly-finished but entirely plain. This disposition of orna-mentation is normal in any parish church: whereas the west face of a chancel arch is seen by those in the nave and is decorated, the east-facing side is usually plain and almost always without sculpture. To judge by the routine motifs used at the entrance to the north chapel (Pl. 20a and b), the proximity of an altar alone did not always merit such inventiveness. The west doorway, where some display is called for (compare nearby Tutbury!) uses a few of the motifs found in the scheme at the crossing, but the designs are interspersed with less intense foliate capitals. There is nothing anywhere else in the church approaching the complexity of the eight large capitals running frieze-like at the entry to the chancel.

Each capital is about 0.7m wide, though it would be more accurate to say a pair of capitals is approximately 1.4m wide since there is some variation in the span of individual blocks. Capitals 1, 4 and 8 are the most extended, while the bird on the left side of Capital 7 carries its tail onto the adjacent plain surface towards Capital 4. Some extensions may have been made for the practical purpose of including all the desired motifs, but in the case of Capital 8 there was no need to enlarge it towards Capital 7 except to unite it with the rest. The isolation of the set and the proximity within it suggests there are relationships between the various subjects. The eight large capitals display a series of signs which could speak to an assembly or to individuals in the immediate area. The clear, bold forms are easy enough to pick out now, but there are traces of red pigment around the animal on Capital 4, and we must imagine all the sculpture was once painted, and very easily legible.

A general survey of the subjects in the eight capitals at the crossing

To facilitate discussion, the designs have been grouped into conventional patterns (Fig. 3) and individual figurative compositions (Fig. 4). The top row of Figure 3 shows the innermost capitals in the chancel, those furthest east, Capitals 2 and 3. They both have geometric patterns. Below are shown the outermost pair of capitals in the crossing,
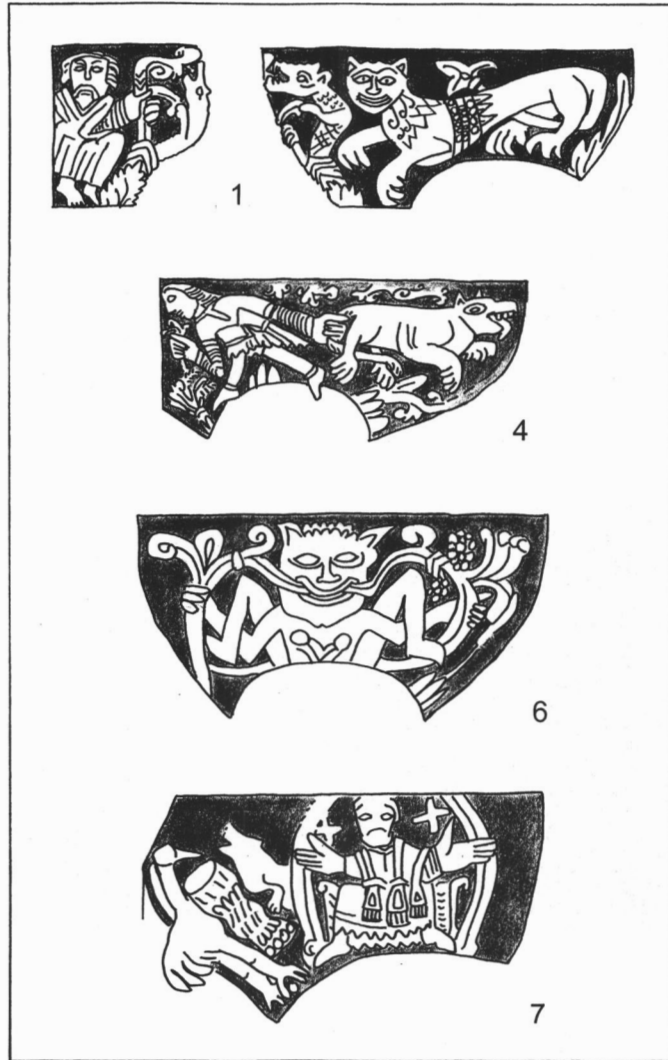
Fig. 4:   Capitals with individual figurative motifs.

those at the extreme north and south ends of the display, Capitals 5 and 8. They have wyverns and birds in foliage, motifs usually thought of as decorative patterns. Figure 4 shows the capitals immediately at the chancel arch. The pair within the chancel have a dense arrangement of men, animals and foliage (Capitals 1 and 4). The remaining pair of capitals face west from the crossing and are the first seen when approaching from the nave (Capitals 6 and 7). Like the previous pair, these have individual motifs, but only Christ enthroned will be confidentially identified. Although these two capitals are the most prominent, they will be discussed last since they summarise the remainder. The capitals are discussed in the same order as they appear in Figures 3 and 4, that is, Capitals 2 and 3; 5 and 8; 1; 4; 6; 7.

Capitals with conventional geometric patterns: Capitals 2 and 3 (Pls. 1 and 2)

The patterns on Capital 2 are made up of many parallel lines, with three centres: a circle, perhaps a saltire cross, and a threefold motif. Patterning with concentric lines is unusual but occurs at two churches dated to *c.* 1130 in Yorkshire. That comparison may seem trivial, but it is the first of many that will be made with churches in the East Riding, in particular with Kirkburn church, which belonged to the Augustinian priory of Guisborough.[5] An early record of Melbourne church is of its being granted by Henry I to endow the bishopric of Carlisle, which was based at an Augustinian priory.[6] The pattern of 'nested Vs' or double cable on the angles of the capital, and on the base of the pillar below it (Pl. 21), is found as a traditional pattern on fonts and voussoirs in the East Riding, but also in early work elsewhere, perhaps by Norman masons, in Kent; double cable as a Romanesque pattern is found widely in Germany and Denmark too.
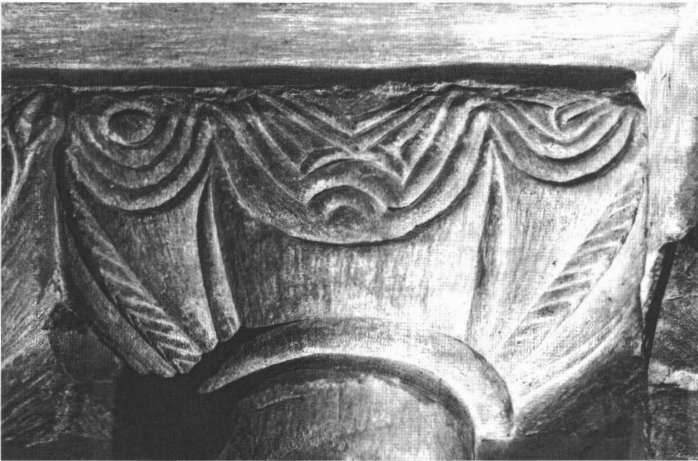

Plate 1:   Capital 2: geometric patterns.

Plate 2:   Capital 3: geometric patterns.

The saltire cross pattern like that on Capital 3 was very common in England in the first part of the twelfth century.

Geometric patterns were not primarily decorative, in the sense of frivolous or meaningless, but their abstract perfection was deliberately employed to suggest spiritual light or God's glory.[7] Such patterns referred to heavenly things, things of God rather than man. Here, they are only used on the two easternmost capitals of the scheme and, as well as stimulating thoughts of heaven, they no doubt reflected the presence of the main altar nearby, somewhere within the eastern part of the chancel or on the chord of the apse.

Capitals with conventional animal or bird designs: Capitals 5 and 8 (Pls. 3 and 4)

These outer capitals, close to the entrance to the transepts, have unfortunately been damaged in the course of later works. Capital 5 has lost much of its right-hand margin, perhaps due to the insertion of a screen across the transept at some time; Capital 8 has been partially masked by the organ since 1957. The photograph used for Plate 4 was probably taken between 1920 and 1937, the year the chancel screen was removed.

Plate 3:   Capital 5: wyverns in foliage.

Plate 4:   Capital 8: birds in foliage (*Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art*).

Enough remains of the northernmost capital, 5, to be sure that it had a high degree of symmetry, which has been reconstructed for Fig. 3. The capital has wyverns ('dragons' with two legs and usually winged) arranged in a grape vine. Strange as it may seem, a wyvern might be used to picture a snake.[8] The wyvern is used in some illustrated bestiaries to represent a snake with a good character; it has a positive inter-pretation based on the fact that a snake shed its skin and emerges as if a new creature. This was a useful metaphor for life after death, and was taken into early Christian iconography from classical sources.[9] The combination of wyverns with vine foliage in a symmetrical design makes the theme of new life in heaven even clearer. This type of motif is common in German churches, where sometimes two wyverns emerge from the mouth of a man, in other examples they appear symmetrically with a man's head, as may have been the case in a decaying capital on the right side of the west doorway at Melbourne (Pl. 28). The snake sloughing off of its old skin can also picture 'abstinence for the sake of Christ', as some bestiaries put it. It is a parallel for the shedding of worldly ways comparable to St. Paul's imagery of changing one's clothes, 'putting off the old man' (Eph. 4:22–24; Col. 3:9–11). An application of this image of renunciation to Christian initiation will be mentioned below in relation to Capital 4.

The depiction of birds in scrolling, luxuriant foliage, as seen on Capital 8, has long been a symbol of life in paradise. The Roman motif from which the design derived was rhythmic though not necessarily symmetrical, and the birds were pictured behaving in a natural manner. They would often be doves, but in this instance they are not at all dove-like. The bill of the bird on the left is long, straight and heavy, its head is circular and on a longish neck; the legs are long too. Even making allowance for the lack of concern for scientific accuracy, these are a different type of bird, intentionally given these particular features. However, there was no room on the capital for any attributes derived from anecdote or text by which we might positively identify the species: we must rely on their resemblance to the large bird on the north face of Capital 7 (Pl. 13), or to those in Fig. 5 which, as will be explained below, are all cranes. The crane, like the dove and like the snake, has an association with the afterlife. Capitals 5 and 8 are therefore similar in their meaning. Of the four capitals with patterns in Fig. 3, the geo-metric designs speak of the glory of God; those with foliage patterns evoke the after-life of believers.
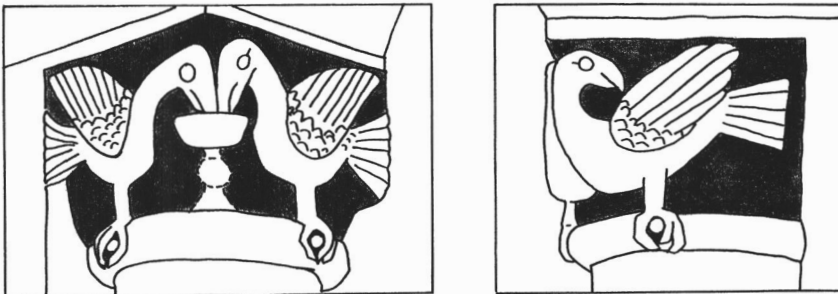

Fig. 5:   Capitals of the chancel arch at Hampnett church, Gloucestershire.

Capitals with individual figurative carvings in the chancel: Capital 1 (Pls. 5, 6 and 7)

Capital 1 has two carved faces and four motifs: the large animal facing south; the man facing west, and the foliage and snake on the angle. The main face of the capital (Pl. 5) is almost entirely filled by a fine example of the ubiquitous Romanesque lion, with a full mane and a trefoil-tufted tail raised over its back. The description 'Melbourne cat', which is given in the current excellent guide, will be seen to be inadequate, but that the creature smiles is certainly true.[10] It is easy to imagine why the Virgin or angels in Gothic sculpture should smile sweetly to themselves: cheerful lions occur quite often in Romanesque sculpture but are rarely recognised as such.[11] The lion, the king of beasts, symbolises Christ in his ascended power and he smiles because he has triumphed. In the medieval period, when teeth were rotten and breath was bad, it was good manners to smile with the lips together, as the Gothic figures do. Some Romanesque sculptors were

Plate 5:   Capital 1, main face: the lion.

Plate 6:   Capital 1, west face and angle: the man, the tree and the snake.

Plate 7: Capital 1, west face: the squatting
man.

less sophisticated, and what may look at first sight like a leer or a threat, may really be
a cartoon-like grin. As well as smiling in triumph, this lion reveals his importance by
wearing a wide belt which is lightly incised with three rows of beading, suggesting cabo-
chon jewels. There are other lions in Romanesque sculpture that wear a jewelled collar,
as if they were a favourite dog or horse.[12] Either belt or collar might have been seen as
the animal's equivalent of a king's crown.

The west face of the capital and the upper part of the adjacent pilaster are carved
to show a squatting man, robed but barefooted (Pls. 6, 7). He is bearded and also ton-
sured, the little raised patch at the top of his head resembling the tonsure of clergy in an
illustration in the *Benedictional of St Aethelwold*, or that of Henry of Blois on an enamel
and bronze plaque; from the combination of beard and tonsure, we may conclude that
this man is a priest or canon.[13] His face is placid, expressionless. His robes are full and
pleated, one arm is extended, showing the sleeve of an undergarment. His bare feet may
indicate humility, and his muted gestures, patience or peacefulness.[14] His only action
is to grasp the bare stem or trunk that rises from a tuft of leaves on the angle near the
forepaws of the lion. At the top, this little tree is shared with the snake just around
the corner on the main face of the capital. The snake, whose tail is united in the bole of
the tree, stands upright and bites delicately at one fruit at its very tip.[15] It has an animal
head with ears and is legged; it is a snake-like wyvern, a wingless one. The combination
of a snake or wyvern with foliage has been explained already as a symbol of resurrec-
tion life: the man grasps the hard trunk as it rises from the earth, but he cannot taste
the tender fruit above as does the snake. This man could be understood as taking hold

of the hope of resurrection in this life, but unable to enjoy its fullness until he enters heaven and takes up his 'new body', represented by the snake (1 Cor. 15:35, 44–52). The motifs of man, tree and snake thus combine to make an image of faith and hope in the life-to-come. There are other examples of the gesture of grasping, for example on fonts at Toller Fratrum, Dorset, and Stoke Canon, Devon, and on a capital in the crypt of York Minster.[16] Those examples may also express 'holding a belief that is above': what that belief might be is expressed in the carving at Melbourne.

If the idea of 'holding fast' (*tenere*) is followed up in the Vulgate, a closer characterisation of the man on this capital can be suggested. In Job 2:3 God commends Job for holding on to his integrity or innocency in prosperous times. Later, though Job is afflicted by many disasters and is sitting wretchedly on the rubbish heap, he declares that even in that state he will hold fast his righteousness and not let it go (Job 27:6). The carving does not represent Job himself because although the posture is appropriate, the context is not that of Job: but this man has Job's qualities, that is, tenacity, faith and patience.[17] 'Holding fast' the good is urged by several New Testament writers.[18] A glance at Capital 4 opposite shows us a character who is holding something in each hand, and the apparently simple gesture proves to be significant there also.

Capitals with individual figurative carvings in the chancel: Capital 4 (Pls. 8 and 9)

On the main face of the capital are a man and an animal determined to go in opposite directions (Plate 8). The man has fleshy lips and luxuriant long hair down his back, he wears secular clothing which includes a full-skirted tunic, an overgarment of some complexity and shoes. He is a beardless, young and active man: it was mature or rich men or clerics who wore beards and long gowns like the man on Capital 1. The nature of the animal is not obvious, and although it is dog-like, so are some Romanesque lions. It is not a lion because it has no mane; nor is its long muzzle lion-like. Its flanks have irregular vertical ridges, perhaps indicating a shaggy coat, and it wears no collar. This is a wild animal rather than a domestic or hunting dog, perhaps it is something like a wolf. Because the animal is held by the tail, the relationship between the man and the animal

Plate 8: Capital 4, main face: the tug-of-war.

Plate 9: Capital 4, east face and angle: the young man and the plant.

is obviously not a natural one: the carving is therefore a spiritual metaphor of some kind. The contenders are surrounded by foliage, which is commonly a sign of heavenly or spiritual life.

The tug-of-war between man and beast is reminiscent of a carving on the font at Kirkburn, Yorkshire, which shows a man tethered by his ankle to a bull's collar: the bull could overturn the man at any time. The sculptural subjects at Kirkburn are strongly influenced by the writings of St Augustine of Hippo, and on the evidence of passages in Augustine's autobiography, *Confessions*, that allegory has been interpreted by the author as depicting Augustine before his conversion, as he himself described it, chained to lust. A text in the Old Testament provides a similar image of self-centred sin sweeping the wicked man to his doom, as an uncontrollable horse rushes a man headlong into battle (Jeremiah 8:4–6).[19] At Melbourne we see a man who tries to run eastwards, altarwards, Godwards. Augustine described the man who is upright in heart as straining forward along the road to perfection, his rational soul being the closest part of him to God, who is Light — and the man's head is as close to the star patterns on the next capital as it could be.[20] If the young man is determined to run on the road to perfection, why then should he keep hold of a wild animal which is equally set on taking him westwards, straight out of the church and into the world, metaphorically into damnation and outer darkness?

Gregory the Great writes of the tension between God's grace and the human will, and it was Augustine's recurrent theme that however much a man's reason desires to come to the knowledge of God, he will find it a struggle to make progress in the spiritual life while he chooses to hold onto depraved desires.[21] The man's luxuriant hair and elaborate jacket are indicators of his worldliness. Further, the shoes the young man wears are conspicuous. According to a sermon of Augustine on 'the harvest and the sower and the preaching of the gospel', it is, metaphorically, those preachers who have not given up dead works who wear shoes, and true apostles who go barefoot.[22] The shoes, given prominence on the ring of the capital, contrast with the equally obvious bare feet of the

man on Capital 1. The wearing of shoes, or not, is but one detail from this sermon which seems to be repeatedly referred to in Capital 4 and elsewhere, as will be shown. The first part of the sermon describes the relationship of all Christians to the gospel and is based on the Parable of the Sower (Luke 8:5–15), the second part sets out the particular duties of a preacher and is based on Christ's instructions to the seventy messengers he sent to alert villages of his coming (Luke 10:1–6).[23]

When sending out the seventy disciples, Christ said to them: 'I send you forth as lambs in the midst of wolves' (Luke 10:3). As well as Augustine's sermon 101 already mentioned, a bestiary chapter on the Wolf seems to be involved in the design. The reason for the identification of the large animal in Capital 4 as a wolf will be given shortly but, first, the historical relationship between the bestiaries cited in this paper and the sculpture must be considered. It is necessary to make clear that the bestiaries which will be quoted subsequently are what is known as Second Family manuscripts, and are of much later date than the sculpture. The Second Family revision produced a bestiary that was more of a reference book than it had been before but also enlarged it with new entries including the Crane and the Wolf.[24] Sculpture ignores the new etymological sections of the text but uses moral lessons of the kind that had for so long been the essence of bestiaries. The two texts to be cited, the Aberdeen and Cambridge bestiaries, date from c. 1200–1210. The sculpture at Melbourne which parallels both their text and illustrations is, according to Richard Gem, of the 1120s. Much the same difference of dates between sculpture and text occurs also in the East Riding, for example, between a carving of the Mole at Kilham and the bestiary in which that animal first appears.[25] Survival of bestiary manuscripts is comparatively poor, but the production of each revision has been calculated to have begun at least fifty years before their apparent currency.[26] This still leaves a lengthy period between the two types of material, carvings and manuscripts, in which the same creatures appear. How might that gap be filled? Although the centres at which the Second Family bestiaries were made have not been identified, their calendars and litanies occasionally indicate links to the Augustinians.[27] There is the possibility that the designers of the sculptural schemes, here and in Yorkshire, were close to the source of the revisions. It may even be that it was the active use of moralised animals as visual aids in pastoral work, that is, in sermons and in sculptural schemes, which eventually stimulated the collecting together of the most popular 'new' fables and the incorporation of them into the next generation of bestiaries, that is, the Second Family manuscripts. Pastoral concern, learning and, later, elaborate illuminated manuscripts are all features connected with the Augustinians.

To return to the tug-of-war, and to the nature of the animal. The animal is reasonably close to the illustration given by White from the Cambridge bestiary's chapter on the Wolf, though both animals are relatively featureless quadrupeds. The bestiary text says the Wolf has its strength in its chest and jaws, and that his neck is unable to turn backward. The drawing shows the animal facing right as in the carving, where it has a deep chest and thick neck. The tail, hairy throughout its length, and the triangular pricked ears are also similar to the drawing.[28] 'The Devil bears the similitude of a wolf... prowling round the sheepfolds of the faithful so that he may afflict and ruin their souls... The Devil fosters those of whom he is sure... with temporal blessings'. As noted above, the young man is active and well-dressed. Meanwhile, the Devil 'pursues such people as [do] good works'... and in the case of 'the blessed Job... the Devil took

away all his substance and even his sons and daughters, in order that his heart might renege from God'.[29] Later in the chapter, the bestiary advises that a man trying to escape from a wolf should take off his clothes and trample on them. This is part of an allegory of baptism, and is reminiscent of the snake sloughing off its skin to become a 'new' creature. As the Aberdeen bestiary says of the snake, 'if you are clad in mortal clothes, that is, your former self,' the Devil will attack you as he attacked Adam. 'If, however, you divest yourself of the robes of princes' the Devil will not attack you.[30]

The young man is like one of the preachers sent out by Christ in the gospel, he is a lamb, and the natural prey of the wolf. Because of the accumulating references to preachers in connection with the young man, he does not represent a lay person despite his secular dress. This carving may have served as a mute warning to young priests, some of whom not only found celibacy difficult but came into the religious life from wealthy families. The sermon of Augustine already mentioned contains an exposition of Christ's instruction to the seventy preachers: 'don't let the slightest thing hold you back from your business ... hurry along to the end set before you'.[31] In the same sermon Augustine is critical of preachers who 'say but they don't do' and contrasts them with those who 'preach peace and have peace'.[32] This again contrasts the men in Capitals 1 and 4.

The foliage filling the gaps between and around man and animal is very varied. Whereas in Capitals 5 and 8 the foliage was orderly and so supported its interpretation as heavenly life, here the foliage echoes the strange disorder of the tug-of-war. At the top of the capital there are loose sprays which have no obvious beginning or end and no regularity. The fruiting vine on the west face of the capital is pushed aside by the animal. Between the young man's feet is possibly a clump of greenery, and in front of him is a more complex shrubby growth comprising a clump and a tall stalk (Pl. 9). The grouping of the clump with the stalk recalls the foliage and trunk on the angle of Capital 1 (Pl. 6). The mature trunk on Capital 1 is a vine, and the slender shoot here on Capital 4 coils just above the man's hand like a vine tendril, so it too could be a vine. The clump of leaves in front of the young man bears two sprays of elongated fruits recalling a carving from St. Mary's Abbey, York, which shows a more compact ear of wheat (Pl. 10). Note that the bole of the plant on Capital 1 is directly on the necking of the capital, not between such little humps as on Capital 4. Are these humps more leaves, or are they conventional open ground, perhaps stones? The idea of wheat growing in stones recalls the Parable of the Sower and especially its picture of early promise and later failure: and this too is expounded in Augustine's sermon.[33] The in-depth comparison of the two men in Capitals 1 and 4 is typical of Augustinian schemes in the East Riding: non-judgmental but concerned and patient with the individual.

The slender stalk rises clear of the clump and is grasped in the young man's right hand, its soft growth unfurling between his hand and head (Pl. 9). It suggests the frailty of the young man's faith as much as its own potential for growth. A striking parallel for this detail occurs in *Confessions*, when Augustine is remembering his adolescence. He writes that the 'fresh young shoot' (*palma*) of his heart would have been better sustained by reciting the Psalms than by practising extravagant oratory, as he had to do at that time.[34] It may well be that the thick lips of the young man refer to the exercise of vain speech, for in art of this period it is the mockers of Christ or the damned who have such thick lips.[35] If so, the young man on Capital 4 represents the adolescent Augustine,

Plate 10:   Capital from St Mary's Abbey, York: a plant of wheat and a
             man's head *York Museums Trust (Yorkshire Museum)*.

just as, at Kirkburn, the man incongruously tied to the bull represents Augustine in his late twenties. The luxuriant hair and elaborate jacket here could depict the boastfulness which Augustine confesses to as a youth. This is the 'pride of life', one of three sins listed in 1 John 2.16: the other two, 'the lust of the flesh and the lust of the eyes', have both been identified on the font at Kirkburn. The text is a favourite of Augustine's.[36] Later in *Confessions*, Augustine describes the intense struggle taking place immediately before his conversion between his old will, carnal, and the new will, spiritual.[37] The moralising in this carving is therefore not condemnatory of the young man, but offers him encouragement. After all, who would have expected the self-indulgent young Augustine to become so celebrated a Father of the Church?

Capitals with individual figurative carvings in the crossing: Capital 6 (Pl. 11)

The last two capitals of this scheme to be discussed, Capitals 6 and 7, are architecturally related by the chancel arch. They are probably related in interpretation also, just as the less prominent capitals have been found to be linked in pairs. As the most visible in the whole set, Capitals 6 and 7 must together make a major statement, and indeed a simple glance is sufficient to appreciate that the so-called 'grotesque' mimics Christ enthroned by confronting the viewer and dominating the capital. This creature has been interpreted as a 'sheela', that is, as a carving depicting lust as repellent,[38] but because of the pairing of capitals and the prime position of this particular pair, the grotesque must be more than just a routine moralising figure: it must represent the highest degree of evil.

Plate 11:   Capital 6: Satan.

It could easily represent the Devil, except that such a blatant opposition of Christ and the Devil is very unusual in Romanesque art. A manuscript of the late twelfth or early thirteenth century with an unusually stark and cosmic contrast is the *Codex Gigas*, in which a gesticulating demon and the city walls of Hell on fol. 289v face the Heavenly Jerusalem on fol. 290r, but there is no image representing God in front of the heavenly city.[39] Pairings of good and evil occur in sculpture, but in a symbolic manner and in a lower key than in these capitals at Melbourne. A scheme in Germany, for example, uses a bestiary source to depict Christ (as a hart) opposing the Devil (as a hunter) catching hares, or vulnerable souls. In this allegory, Christ's presence and his own defeat of the Devil enable the hares to truss their hunter.[40] The unusual opposition at Melbourne may stem, once again, from the writings of Augustine. The question of evil occupied the saint, for example, in *De Civitate Dei*, and in his various refutations of the Manichees, who believed in the existence of two equal powers of Good and Evil. Augustine puzzled over the presence of evil in a creation pronounced 'very good' by its Creator (Genesis 1:31), and came to accept that the source of evil was not in some outside power, but in individual free will exercising wrong choice.[41] Not only had Adam and Eve chosen to disobey God, but already a number of angels led by Lucifer had fallen too (Isaiah 14:12). The fallen angels became the demons in Hell (2 Peter 2:4), under their chief, 'the adversary' or Satan.[42] The figure on Capital 6 is best defined as Satan, with the understanding that this is a fallen creature and not a rival god. Another point to make is that the opposition is not so pure as that between 'Good' and 'Evil', for as well as the Devil, the man 'Job' is plain for all to see: there is no human-like figure apart from Christ that we notice on the right side of the arch (Pl. 29). This is not so much an opposition of two forces as a dramatic conjunction of three elements stimulating such thoughts as Where does the man belong? Where will he end up? The onlooker is meant to identify himself with the 'Job' figure and emulate his faithful endurance.

The role of Satan, the adversary, in biblical texts varies. As an angel attending God's court, Satan disputes the integrity of Job (Job 1:6 to 2:7). In the gospels, Christ several times calls his tempter 'Satan', and once his adversary is St Peter (Matt. 16:23). When the seventy disciples return from preaching, they report that devils had been subject to them, and Christ responds: 'I beheld Satan fallen as lightning from heaven...' (Luke 10:18–20). This passage was not apparently included in Augustine's sermon, but since

it speaks of the reward of faithful preachers it would have been relevant. The conflict with Satan as told in the gospel is most vividly characterised by an encounter in the wilderness at the very beginning of Christ's ministry (Luke 4:3–13), and Augustine linked Christ's three temptations at this time to the three vices mentioned in 1 John 2:16, a text which has been cited already.[43] The mention of Christ's own spiritual conflict when about to enter his ministry recalls the precarious condition of the young man on Capital 4, at a similar point and still equivocating.

Turning for a moment to the foliage in Capital 6, it is clear from the consistent direction of the leaf nodes that there are not two stems emitted from Satan's mouth, but one continuous stem going into and coming out of his mouth. The vine on the west face of Capital 4 was pushed aside by the wolf, and the stem of the vine on Capital 6 does not grow directly upwards from its base (on the damaged north face of the capital) but from there the stem turns horizontally from left to right across the main west face. The vine is diverted from its proper upward direction by Satan, being grabbed, bent down and chewed by him on its way.[44] Satan is not enthroned in his own kingdom, he damages God's creation from within. The carving suggests that the interventions of the Devil distort God's purpose for mankind, however, they do not destroy it for, to the right, the tree bears fruit. Presumably paraphrasing some text of Augustine, G. R. Evans writes of God 'bending back the perverse twist the Devil has given things'.[45] Augustine is certainly clear that God's purpose is not defeated by evil, and that above all the Crucifixion was used for good.

Because God has left Satan free to do what he will in the world, 'everyone may see how thoroughly unattractive evil really is'.[46] Some ugly features of Satan in Capital 6 are shared with the demon Tutivillus in the fourteenth-century wallpainting nearby in the nave, and with many other demons in medieval art in East and West. They have in common, for example, large ears, tufted or wild hair and clawed feet; they often wear short skirts. These features are seen in manuscript drawings of devils in Anglo-Saxon and Romanesque art. The falling angels in one eleventh-century manuscript resemble naked men, they are wingless and wear flame-skirts; in another, the devils have clawed hands and feet; in a twelfth-century drawing of Hell, the demons have grotesque and not human faces.[47] The devil in the wall-painting wears a cloth skirt, and that in the *Codex Gigas* wears a fat, hairy codpiece. These devices hide the sexual organs, but must also mean that the devils are sexed. Satan in Capital 6 is anything but sexless since his duplicated genitals protrude up onto his chest. Satan's contorted posture is more complex than that of the standard sheela or exhibitionist and it is uncommon, at least in England. It is further discussed below in connection to some figures on the north and south doorways, Pls. 25, 26.

Capitals with individual figurative carvings in the crossing: Capital 7 (Pls. 12, 13)

The main figure has already been described as Christ enthroned, which is a common design on Romanesque tympana. The subject seems certain because of the presence of the sides of a mandorla, the one or two cross-shaped stars which it contains, and the front legs of a throne, yet this is not the standard depiction of Christ enthroned: most obviously, there is no blessing and no book. Nor do we see the usual pseudo-classical garments, but Christ wears a stole woven into the cord at his waist and a maniple on his left arm, while the hem of his robe runs evenly between his feet like an item of liturgical

Plate 12:   Capital 7, main face: Christ enthroned.

Plate 13:   Capital 7, north face and angle: the fable of the Fox and
the Crane.

dress. Apart from being seated, he appears as a celebrant at Mass. The large out-
stretched hands are in the style of the Lincoln and Trinity College Bible, but that does
not supply the model of Christ as a priest.[48]

Sharing the uncommon features of this carving are illuminations in one opening
of the *Uta Codex*, a manuscript made about 1025 for the Niedermünster nunnery,
Regensburg.[49] The left-hand page shows Christ on the Cross: he is crowned, robed and
wearing a stole woven into the cord around his waist. As at Melbourne, therefore, he is
both King and heavenly High Priest (Romans 8:34; Hebrews 7:24–27). At Melbourne,
however, the carving shows the resurrected Lord, he is enthroned. The right-hand
page in the *Uta Codex*, opposite the mystic Crucifixion, shows the nunnery's patron

St Erhard as he celebrates Mass. Erhard is dressed in the character of Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18), that is, he is a high priest prefiguring Christ (Ps.110:4), and he offers bread and wine on the altar, which corresponds to the self-offering of Christ on the Cross, shown on the left-hand page.[50] The Christ at Melbourne, with the arms spread wide and fingers joined, holds a posture taken up at the beginning of the prayer of oblation in the Sarum mass that ends with a mention of Melchizedek.[51] The liturgical gesture made both by Melchizedek in the *Uta Codex* and by the seated Christ at Melbourne is modelled on the posture of the crucified Christ. The parallels between the two artworks go further: Adam Cohen remarks of the Uta Codex illuminations that 'the dependence of the four cross tituli and the enframing hexameters on the thought, indeed the very words, of Augustine, is absolutely clear'.[52] It is unfortunate that the head of Christ in the carving has suffered from water running down the wall so that it cannot be known if he wore a crown like the figure in the illumination. However, it has already been suggested that the lion on Capital 1 is wearing the animal equivalent of a crown, the jewelled belt, so the idea of kingship probably did not need repeating here: Capital 7 concentrates on priesthood and the feast the Priest provides.

Melchizedek is cited in the New Testament as a type of Christ, for example in Hebrews 5:6. A few verses earlier, the text has described Christ enthroned in heaven as king and high priest mediating mercy and grace to men (Heb. 4:14–16), then comes a passage describing the duties of every high priest (Heb. 5:1–4). The mention of Melchizedek at verse 6 is followed by a passage criticising those teachers who have become dull or have fallen away (Heb. 5:11–6:8). Then comes an exhortation to priests to minister diligently (Heb. 6:9–12). This passage would have been be familiar to any priests. Christ pictured as priest was a role-model for the actual priest at the altar some-where in the chancel. A carving on the font at Kirkburn is similarly reassuring for those priests who perform the other major sacrament of the church, that of baptism.[53]

Christ's victory over Death and Hell is celebrated with a feast, not only on earth in the sacrament of the altar but in heaven in the life-to-come. The idea of the heavenly feast is embodied in the prominent and elaborate fluted chalice carved on the north western angle of the capital (Pl. 13). This final subject also includes the bird on the north face of the capital and an indistinct animal between the chalice and the mandorla (Pl. 12). Like the adjacent head of Christ, the upper part of this area has been damaged by water, but it was legible enough to be identified by Kenneth Varty as depicting Aesop's fable of the Fox and the Stork.[54] It is important to appreciate that the same fable also appears under the title of the Fox and the Crane, and that it is a crane, not a stork, that is carved at Melbourne. The ancient fable has been revised to teach a Christian lesson by the addition of references to the crane taken from the bestiary. There are two features of the crane given in the bestiary that are observable in the carv-ing of the bird.[55] Firstly, texts relate that one crane stands guard at night on behalf of the flock, keeping alert by holding up a stone. On the capital the stone can be seen held by the foot nearest the chalice. Secondly, some bestiaries, including the two already cited regarding the Wolf, depict the crane with a naturalistic flounced tail. By no means all depictions of the crane have this sort of tail, compare Plate 4 and Fig. 5. In repainted carvings at Hampnett, Gloucs, are cranes with a fanned tail. They are shown drinking from a chalice in much the same way as a symmetrical pair of peacocks or doves were widely used in early Christian art to illustrate the blessed feeding on Christ in heaven.[56]

It has been suggested by the author that Romanesque carvings of the second meal of the Fox and Crane, as here on Capital 7 at Melbourne, represent the faithful Crane feasting at the heavenly banquet (Rev. 19:7, 9) while the Fox, now rewritten with a definitely 'bad' character, is effectively excluded. The use of the fable in this way is found in carvings at three other churches in England, of which two were Augustinian and the third may have had an Augustinian designer.[57] The updated fable implies that those who have not watched tenaciously through 'the night of this world' will miss the feast, which is another warning to the young man with free will on Capital 4 to make the right choice while he has time. Those who persevere in goodness, although they may live frugally in this life, will feast in heaven: this hope is embodied in the man, the tree and the snake on Capital 1.

In Jeremiah chapter 8, already mentioned regarding its image of the headstrong horse (Capital 4), the prophet derides the waywardness of God's people, and he contrasts them with the stork, turtle, swallow and crane, which always 'observe the time of their coming' in their seasonal migrations (Jer. 8:7). In other words, the crane is obedient to God's laws, and it knows the day is coming (Rom. 13:12; Heb. 10:25). As well as the qualities praised by Jeremiah, the Cambridge bestiary tells us that the crane is altruistic, it watches in the night not just for itself but on behalf of its fellows and in turn with them. The Aberdeen bestiary similarly brings in references to a community. It interprets the stone as Christ held constantly in the mind; the sleep as sin when Christ is forgotten; when the stone drops, the sinner wakes up to his condition with a cry of repentance; then follows an appeal for all 'the brethren' to watch faithfully and to pray for each other. The Cambridge bestiary describes the co-operation of the whole 'comrade-army' of migrating cranes, their orderliness, equality and natural affection. In accord with the text, the illustration to this chapter shows a group of cranes with flounced tails standing together, and a single one holding a stone. On the north face of Capital 7, the elongated pointed shape above the complete bird's back resembles the head of another member of the flock, and so brings in these references to 'the brethren'. This one odd detail, no doubt clearer when the carvings were painted, means that the capital pictures a whole community together rewarded with the heavenly feast.[58]

Cranes are occasionally carved in England and there are probably more to recognise here, but it is possible that the models for Melbourne could have come from the Rhineland or Flanders. Birds carved in that region have seldom been identified as cranes, being commonly called 'eagles', or in one example in Tournai cathedral, 'swans'. The so-called swans have the heavy beak, round head and long neck of the English cranes. The beaks at Tournai curve slightly like the beaks of the cranes at Hampnett. The 'swans' are a combination of two creatures, bird and snake, and their serpentine tails probably show that the faithful creatures have acquired the snake-like quality of new life. On a capital in the north aisle of Tournai cathedral, a symmetrical pair of bird-snakes, with raised crests, drink from a fluted chalice. These too may be cranes, since one species, the Demoiselle crane, does have a crest.[59] At Melbourne in the gallery arcade on the north side of the nave are two octagonal columns, similar in shape to pillars exported from Tournai. The trefoil with a central stud, used for the tail tuft of the lion on Capital 1 (Pl. 5), and on a capital at the first level of the crossing, is also seen on a Tournai font at St Mary Bourne, Hants. This trefoil, and the lion himself, shows Italian influence. Similarly, the snake united with the base of the tree (Pl. 6), has

parallels in early Christian sculpture in north Italy.[60] From this region motifs and archi-tectural fashions had been carried over the Alps and down the Rhine; the Augustinian life itself was to follow the same route. The expansion of the order in the Empire occurred at a similar time to that in England or a little earlier.[61]

There are no doubt many more links between individual carvings and the works of Augustine of Hippo that could be teased out here. There are two passages that summarise the meanings suggested above. Firstly, a short passage in *Confessions* unites the interpretation of the four capitals adjacent to the chancel arch (Capitals 1, 4, 6 and 7). This is a paragraph in which Augustine mentions the distortions of sin, the wasteful-ness of his own youth, the beauty of God and the rest awaiting the man who at last 'enters into the joy of his Lord'.[62] There is a second key passage which unites the four capitals facing westwards into the crossing (Capitals 5 to 8) together with the bearded man on the west face of Capital 1. This is in the conclusion to Augustine's book on free will, *De Libero Arbitrio*, in which he says that whereas Satan gives a false imitation of God and is malevolent towards man, Christ who offered his own blood for us is a 'sublime' spectacle, and 'while the devil showed himself a model of pride, the Lord [showed] himself a model of humility, through whom we are promised eternal life'.[63] It was probably this passage which suggested the unusual confrontation of Satan and Christ in Capitals 6 and 7.

The significance of the scheme at the crossing for historians

The eight large capitals cannot be seen from anywhere in the church but within the chancel, the crossing and a little of the first bay of the nave: in a standard monastic church this space would be reserved for the community, and much the same allotment would have occurred in an Augustinian priory church. In the interpretations of the carvings, passages from Jeremiah, Luke, Hebrews and one sermon of St. Augustine have been mentioned. These texts concern preachers, teachers or priests, while certain bestiary passages on the Crane have been mentioned which speak of co-operation among fellow-workers or brothers. The carvings are embodiments of basic texts appro-priate to a canonical ministry, and the intention of the scheme seems to be to encourage tenacity of purpose, devotion to preaching and a hope of heaven among a community of regular canons. The carvings functioned as visual aids for the teachers, and there-after as notes, a memory stimulus, for the young men who were the pupils. Instruction would have covered all the implications of the carvings, and these must have been taught to small groups standing in front of each capital in turn, combined with much reading and exposition elsewhere. The figurative capitals within the chancel could only have been completely assimilated by a constant turning and comparison, which is the activity of a lesson: the view from the west comprises a spread of interest and meaning across several capitals, and this view would have been suitable for longer contemplation, for example, during services.

Such specialised carvings must reflect the general nature of their audience, and the conclusion that this sculpture was made for the use of Austin canons can hardly be escaped. What is suggested to have existed at Melbourne is not a community with buildings comparable in size and complexity to a monastery: as is often said of the Austin canons, they were popular with donors because the expense of establishing them was less than for monks, their communities could be as small as two or three men. A

school for preachers would not have needed a large number of teachers, perhaps four or five canons with their servants, one of their number also being the priest of the church. Nor was it a new establishment, but rather an augmentation of the staff of the church of the royal manor, which was probably already functioning as a parish church. It would have been a shrewd and economical benefaction by the king, to encourage a small community of canons at the new royal church. There are no records from any period for a separate foundation of Augustinians here, but then the arrangement would not necessarily have generated special documents. It could be that a lack of a separate legal status for the community was one of the factors in the early decline of the project.

The examination of the sculpture provides information which is valuable in several ways. Firstly, it extends the list of English Augustinian sites with a prestigious and unusually complete building. Records of pastoral activity by Austin canons are few and vague, so vague that it has sometimes been assumed that the canons began to lead an enclosed, monastic type of life soon after their houses were founded, but here we have a house which was intended to do more than provide this church with priests, it took seriously the distinctive obligation of the order to preach in secular society. To judge by the sculpture it was evidently intended as a centre where young men received training for a ministry of preaching.[64]

Romanesque sculpture is sometimes relegated to the status of decoration applied to architecture, or it may be dismissed as employing a forgotten language we can only guess at. At Melbourne, however, motifs similar to those seen in parish churches have been used by a learned designer to transmit the deepest and most particular nuances of important texts to a literate audience. The impressive teaching scheme within these carvings is the work of a specialist in a hitherto disregarded field. His familiarity with Augustine's works and his skill in presenting so subtle a network of cross-references in such an economical manner is impressive. His craft is not the same as, nor derived entirely from, that seen in illuminated manuscripts. It may have had its roots in schoolroom teaching methods, traces of which can be seen in the pages of the *Hortus Deliciarum*, in the lost Mappa Mundi of Hugh of St Victor and in his surviving work, *Noah's Ark*.[65] It is hard to know whether this degree of skill in design was common or rare, but it was evidently esteemed. The content of the almost contemporary sculpture at Kirkburn has many similarities, both general and particular: could the same designer have been involved there? The representation at both sites of Augustine as unconverted, and the illustrations of Christ performing a sacrament, are the most striking of many affinities. There are suggestions in features of a smaller scheme at a chancel arch at Liverton, North Riding, that the same designer worked there too and, more tenuously, that his base could have been Nostell priory. That, of course, is where Adelulf was prior at the time he became the holder of Melbourne church and bishop of Carlisle.[66]

That completes the description of the eight major capitals, but there is other sculpture around the church which is well worth mentioning before considering functional aspects of the building and its setting in Part 2.

Other sculpture at Melbourne: inside the church

Capitals in the western entrance lobby or narthex are similar in form to the plain ones on the west side of the crossing. In the nave, there is at first sight little distinctive sculpture. The stilted arches have chevrons, they are set on shallow, square, notched capitals

and cylindrical pillars. Most capitals are multi-scallop types in low relief, but there are some voluted capitals at the west end of the nave, one with two crosses on the south and east faces (Pl. 14).[67] The only other detail which is sculptural in effect rather than architectural is a series of eight heads looking westwards from below the impost of the piers of the crossing. Five of there are original, of which one is a grotesque human face and one is damaged. Two of the well-preserved heads are on the north western side of the north west crossing pier (Pl. 15) and another is on the south western side of the south west pier, these are all solemn heads looking upwards in the manner of heads seen

Plate 14:   Capital in the nave at the west end of
            the north arcade.

Plate 15:   Two heads on a capital of the northwest pier of the
            crossing.

on many corbels. The two illustrated are not by the same sculptor as the major series of capitals in the crossing, but are in a style which recalls Ottonian manuscripts.[68] They have a strong resemblance to heads at Pocklington and Huggate in the East Riding dated to about 1180 because of their association with 'stiff leaf' foliage (Pl. 16). The well-preserved head on the south west pier does not have their anxious expression, but is otherwise like these.

The fact that surviving windows throughout the church are not narrow slits but would have required much glazing, and that many are shafted inside and out, are indications that this building was of more than local importance. East of the crossing, in the side walls of the chancel there are differences from the openings as shown by Wilkins: E. W. Draper represents the present conditions.[69] There are three original capitals in the two windows. In the north window, the left-hand capital has three scallops on each face, recalling those in the upper part of the tower interior. The capital on the right is a modern 'mouth-puller', a motif fairly common on corbels and not suited to this position.

The left capital of the south window of the chancel has many small domes with a central bored hole, these are placed within a scale pattern. The pattern on the north face of the capital is regular (Pl. 18), but on the west face it becomes irregular, perhaps because of the decreasing length of the rows. It is likely that this pattern pictures the starry sky because scale pattern can represent the slates of an actual roof or, by analogy, the substance of the firmament.[70] The small domes can be stars.[71] The spiritual sense would interpret this carving as a suggestion of heaven. The other capital of the south window has the head of a horned sheep or ram among foliage, also a patch of scale pattern this time imitating a roof, which alludes to the firmament and heaven as before (Pl. 19). In the bestiary, sheep provide little moral teaching, but the carving could be intended to illustrate the Wild Goat. The animal signifies a soul that climbs high for the best spiritual food. That is the basic moral for this creature, found already in a

Plate 16:   Two heads on the west respond at Huggate church, East Riding, Yorkshire.

bestiary of c.1120, and it probably applies to the occasional ram's head seen on corbels, but the later bestiary at Cambridge has the added reference to good preachers, 'who rise up and up from one virtue to another'.[72]

At the east end of the church there is a remnant of a capital from the main apse (Pl. 17a). This original fragment, and parts of two chevron voussoirs in a section of arch which remains *in situ* above it, give valuable clues to the form and decoration of

Plates 17a and 17b: Remains of a capital and arch of the main apse.

Plate 19: Capital in the chancel, south window, right side.

Plate 18: Capital in the chancel, south window, left side.

the three windows that once lit the apse. The windows seem to have been the same size as the present windows in the chancel and, like the windows of the surviving apse at Birkin, Yorkshire, they were the only ones with chevron moulding (Pl. 17b). Only the lowest part of the capital remains: it shows two arms, trailing cuffs, and hands with extended fingers held inwards or against the body as if carrying something draped in cloth. The fingers are held flat in ritualised formality, like the hands of Christ on Capital 7, Plate 12, or those of clergy in a tenth-century ivory.[73] It may be that the six capitals of the three windows in the apse showed priests or angels holding utensils or symbols of the liturgy, a subject which is said to be quite common in a region of France served by Augustinian canons.[74]

There is a pair of larger capitals framing the former north apse (Pl. 20). These have routine foliage and star patterns. It is not known what survives of the corresponding capitals of the south apse, which are concealed by the modern organ case. The bases of the major columns in the chancel arch are patterned (Pl. 21), while some of those in the nave have lugs which have been compared to work in Carlisle cathedral, and it would be understandable if workmen moved between Carlisle and Melbourne.[75] On the inside face of the tower above the crossing, the walls are arcaded all over, in three bays and three storeys on each wall. The first level is open to the gallery passage all round, while above that are blank arcades. Single capitals on the shafted openings at the first level on the faces to the crossing have foliage, beaded scallops or (one) a geometrical design (Pl. 22a, b, c), but on the face to the passage all capitals are plain and flush with the wall. Above the first level the blank arcading has only scallop capitals. The passages down the sides of the nave have simple scallop capitals only.

Other sculpture at Melbourne: outside the church

The north and south doorways are in the westernmost bays of the nave, the south doorway being the one nowadays used as the entrance. This has renewed sculpture. It is impossible to tell if the foliate inner capitals of the south doorway were accurately copied from those existing, or if they derive from capitals elsewhere. The outer pair of

Plates 20a and 20b: Capitals to the
former north
apse.

capitals are copies of those on the north doorway reversed, and transposed from left
to right side (but not from east to west). It is necessary to study primarily the worn but
original carvings on the north doorway and to deal critically with the Victorian copies
at the south entrance because those are inaccurate in some important details.[76] Both
capitals on each doorway contain naked figures, which conventionally are understood
as souls, and these souls are to be interpreted as experiencing different fates.

The head of the man in Pls. 23 and 24 is of the same general type as in Capital 1 at
the crossing, the man who holds onto the good and shuns evil, while the contorted pose
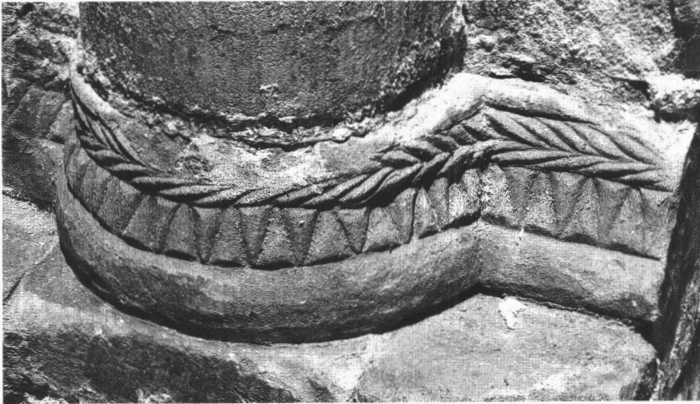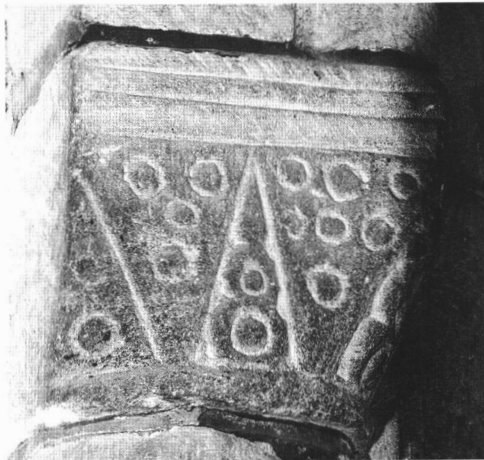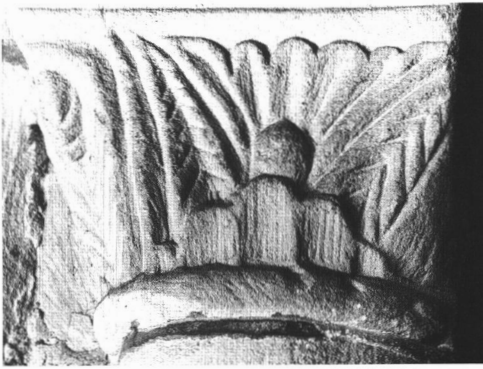
Plate 21:   Column-base on north side of chancel arch.

Plates 22a, 22b and 22c: Capitals at the first level of the crossing.

is similar to that of Satan in Capital 6. A contorted pose is found elsewhere in sculpture of the first half of the twelfth century, for example, in Modena, Italy, where the complete man is carved, naked and sexless.[77] In Aquitaine is shown 'a man with his legs

Plate 23:   Capital of north doorway, left side.

Plate 24:   Capital of south doorway, right side.

flexed outwards in such a way that the knees lie just above the necking' of the capital.[78] There the complete man is again visible but he is discretely draped by passing stems of foliage. At Melbourne the man's legs are held open by the weaving of them with his arms, and it is not necessary for the foliage stems to cover his nakedness because the necking of the capital does that. The old capital on the left side of the north doorway (Pl. 23) most likely showed the man holding onto sprays of foliage. The copy (Pl. 24) is unreliable. For example, the man has foliage sprouting where his hands should be, but this metamorphosis is a nineteenth-century fantasy encouraged by worn sandstone. The same plate shows a cross-like motif just above the man's knee, but this too is probably a misreading, it may have been a trefoil leaf (compare Pl. 5) or a star of the same form as appear in the mandorla in Capital 7. The original design would have contrasted with that of Satan on Capital 6 (Fig. 4; Pl. 11) in that the man would have been sexless and that he would have grasped the soft foliage in each hand, much as Job holds onto the hard trunk of the tree in Capital 1. The carving shows a man who had practised self-denial on earth now in Paradise (Matt. 22:30).

A similar message is given by a capital now in the treasury of Cologne cathedral: there a man, in a frontal squatting position and wearing realistic breeches, is accompanied by two wyverns and the foliage and fruit of a vine.[79] He makes a huge effort of self-restraint, shown by his bulging biceps and by the wyverns pulling on his beard as if it were a bridle restraining a horse (compare Jer. 8.6).[80] There are other carvings in England and Normandy expressing the same idea but not in so contorted a pose. In these a standing man, naked and sexless, holds sprays of foliage in both hands or is among symmetrical foliage (Fig. 6).[81]

The old capital on the right side of the north doorway has a naked man who is falling (Pl. 25). In the copy the man is tonsured (Pl. 26), and this appears to be in accord with the old carving. This, then, is the soul of a priest, falling hellwards for sins no doubt defined by the two or three items which accompany him. The object held in the hand to the east on both doorways is not a money-bag as suggested by Jarman since a money-bag in twelfth-century sculpture is shown as a narrow sock with a circular toe to suggest the coins inside. The falling priest holds a bag or basket, which is another of those things, like shoes, that a true preacher should not have (Luke 10:4). In sermon 101, Augustine interprets the purse or bag as wisdom hidden away and not shared.[82] Like the young man on Capital 4 inside the church, this priest holds onto his sins but, there

Fig. 6:   A capital in the chapel of Durham Castle.

Plate 25:   Capital of north doorway, right
           side.

Plate 26:   Capital of south doorway, left side.

being no longer any foliage for him to grasp, he has fallen beyond hope. There is an arrow or spear in his body according to the modern carving, but this is not very clear in the old work. Is it possible that in his right hand, on the angle of the old capital, the man holds a sword dagger-wise with the blade running nearly horizontally back towards the church? Either weapon could indicate the vice of anger, the opposite of the virtue of patience. Anger stabs himself in a carving at Autun.[83]

The west doorway, (Pls. 27, 28), was the entrance for those who used the west gallery and, perhaps, the nave. At some date the grand entrance of five orders had been restricted to the width of the other doorways, but it was 'opened up to its original extent' during Gilbert Scott's restoration, and consequently the first two orders have been entirely renewed.[84] Since the restoration decay has progressed so that little detail of the outermost capitals remains. There is teaching in the eight more or less legible capitals, but this can never have been so admonitory a scheme here as exists at the

Plate 27:   Capitals of the west doorway, left side.

Plate 28:   Capitals of the west doorway, right side.

crossing. The inmost capital on the left is probably broadly trustworthy. It is a version of the man, tree and serpent of Capital 1 (Pl. 6). It may be understood here in the general sense as representing the Christian grasping the hope of eternal life, leaving the particularisation of the man as Job-like for the complex scheme at the chancel: there is no tonsure on the reproduction, for example. The opposite capital has a wyvern and a winged quadruped, thus picturing resurrected, lively, new bodies in heaven. Three other capitals have foliage, and three have symmetrical arrangements of snakes or wyverns.[85] On the worn fourth order, these wyverns emerge from heads on the angle. The left head was probably a mask representing death, and the right head, with the wyverns breathing new life on him, a man's head. The theme of all these capitals on the west doorway is the life after death, new life in heaven. There is none of the austerity expressed in the major carvings, but there is encouragement to the same end, namely heaven.

The upper border on all the capitals of the west doorway is a diamond or star pattern which was probably the same as that used on capitals of the transept windows, but these are worn. The window on the north side of the chancel has foliage capitals similar to those used elsewhere. In the west towers, north and south windows and their capitals were renewed at the restoration, with foliage capitals on the south which resemble those used in the crossing. On the north side, two capitals are similar to two in the chancel, the ram and the (Victorian) mouth-puller. These are even more clearly Victorian substitutions.

The lesser sculpture, like that of the chancel and apse, provides evidence for the function of the building, as discussed below.

PART 2: FUNCTIONAL CONSIDERATIONS AT MELBOURNE

For some time historians thought the builder of Melbourne church was Adelulf, bishop of Carlisle, and so it was perhaps all too easy to see this building as a variation on the episcopal double chapel, of which several are extant on the continent and at least one example is known to have existed in England. There are several examples in the

Rhineland of episcopal chapels on two floors with a central oculus a few metres across linking them. The most impressive must be the chapel on the outskirts of Bonn at Schwarzrheindorf which still retains the spectacle of its (much restored) mural paintings at both levels. It is said that one could sit privately above and see the service being conducted below: the distance is not great and the angle of view fairly steep. Mainz not only has an episcopal double chapel of this type adjacent to the cathedral, but in the cathedral itself there are rooms over the aisles at the east end with large openings onto the choir enabling the service taking place below to be heard. It may be that the high-ranking users of the upper accommodation combined their obligation to hear the daily mass with the need to conduct temporal business in privacy.[86] Nowadays however, due to the revised dating, historians consider Adelulf to have received Melbourne church from the king complete or nearly so, and we can admit that the building is nothing like any episcopal chapel known, but resembles a large parish church with a upper storey added (Fig. 1).

At the upper level there was an eastern room, a west gallery and a network of passages connecting them. Comparisons for this are few and inconclusive. Cathedral crypts, as at Canterbury, may allow two levels of liturgical use, but the levels are independent. The tenth-century *Benedictional of St Aethelwold* contains a drawing of the dedication of a church strongly suggesting the laity were separated from the clergy by their being in an upper storey or gallery.[87] But it is perhaps dangerous to read too precisely from this somewhat Cubist drawing, for the parallel lines which give the impression of a balcony may represent a chancel screen, or nothing more than 'space' between two groups of people on the same level.

St John's chapel in the Tower of London, built soon after the Conquest, has an upper gallery. It runs above the vaulted aisles and round the apse, it is wide and the edge to the nave is protected by a low wall. There is no western gallery, nor is there any direct connection between the two levels. The obvious functions of this gallery are as part of a complete passage around the White Tower and as a device for indirectly lighting the chapel; it could have been used to attend to any hanging candelabra or lamps.[88] The passages along the nave and around the crossing at Melbourne would have been useful in all these ways too, but they are within the thickness of the wall, they are supported by the arches below and not by aisles. The passages are only just wide enough to take one person, a minimum of 0.6m wide and 1.8m high. For comparison, the internal doorways giving access to the vices, or spiral staircases, at the west end are 0.71m wide and of ample height. The edge over the nave and crossing was completely unprotected between the columns.[89] Such carved details as there are on capitals at this upper level face into the nave or the crossing, while the passages themselves are so utilitarian that even plaster and paint could not have improved their status much. It must be doubtful that any eminent person used them regularly. We might reasonably conclude that the west and east spaces at first floor level were not common to one group of people, and therefore that the lost room over the chancel was not a chapel for the users of the west gallery. Similarly, it is doubtful if the room were a chapel accessed from the end of the building used by the canons. The doorway itself is lost, but there is nothing in the nature of the passage approaching it to indicate any liturgical importance for the room over the chancel.

In English parish churches generally, the mundane use of an upper room may often be suspected. Upper rooms separated from the main worship-space itself seem to have been usual in Anglo-Saxon churches, for example, at Deerhurst.[90] Upper chambers in towers of parish churches sometimes look as though they could have been lived in by the clergy.[91] Tickencote, Rutland, has a room over the vaulted chancel which it has been suggested may have been used by the priest, to sleep in or perhaps for storage of valuables.[92] The same author suggests that the room above the chancel at Elkstone, Gloucs, had been a priest's chamber at some time; another room exists at Warkworth, Northumberland, over the vaulted chancel; a room is said to exist at Studland, Dorset, over the chancel and adjacent to a central tower. No illustration or plan of any of these rooms is available, and most of them cannot be easily entered nowadays. They are unlikely to have been used for services as their windows are small and few, and the roofs are relatively low. By contrast, to judge by the limits seen in the roof line on the east wall of the tower, the remaining short lengths of wall and its plan, the upper room at Melbourne was of good proportion despite the meanness of its access.[93]

Upper rooms have been linked to the storage of valuables belonging to the institution or to its tenants or neighbours, this has been suggested at Fountains Abbey where a room 'designed with security in mind' still exists up a long flight of stairs off the cloister. Being over the warming room, it 'was one of the driest rooms in the abbey... in all probability it served as a muniment room where the abbey's archives were kept'.[94] At Selby Abbey a room said to have been a treasury exists over the north porch. This room is only reached indirectly by a vice and a gallery walk, a route similar to that to be taken at Melbourne to reach the room over the chancel, where access is by the vice in the south western corner of the south transept to first floor level and then along two sides of the gallery (Fig. 1). As to the eastern room itself, nothing is known of its fenestration. If it had had narrow windows then perhaps it was a treasury, such as exists at Canterbury cathedral.[95] If it had been as well-lit as the rest of the church seems to have been, it could have been a workroom.[96] These various practical considerations lead to the suggestion that the room over the chancel functioned as a treasury, library or scriptorium. Given the interests of the canons here, perhaps it was the library.

It is the provision of two distinct viewpoints which determines the special character of Melbourne church, and the first part of this paper has concentrated on the components of one: the eight large capitals seen from the crossing. It is in this area that a church's decoration was customarily at its finest and where the liturgical action was concentrated, where, in this interpretation, the would-be-preachers received some of their training and the community assembled for services. The appearance of the eastern parts of the church when in use is illuminated by a pair of late tenth century ivories from Reichenau.[97] These show the interior of an apsed monastic church viewed from the west. On one ivory, priests holding books stand in an arc in the apse while the central figure, the celebrant, faces west over the altar towards a row of monks. On the other plaque, the priest and the monks are singing a psalm. These men all stand in front of a nearer arch, with the arc of clergy in the apse as before. The spaces are not precise, but these ivories demonstrate that, in a church with a plan like Melbourne's, the senior members of the community were in the apse, that the altar would have been within the chancel, and other members assembled west of it in the crossing. If we consider the view seen by the less important members during services (Pl. 29), we see that the west face

Plate 29:   View of the main scheme from the crossing.

of Capitals 6, 1 and 7 would have been most effective at that time. Those standing in the crossing could see their rôle-model, the Job-like figure, with Satan close by but the victorious Christ at hand.

The use of the gallery passages and the eastern parts of the church at both levels have been discussed, and bring us now to a consideration of the west gallery. This is a highly distinctive viewpoint, and the unique feature of the building (pl. 30). A central seat in the west gallery is in what might be called the 'Charlemagne position', in likeness to the emperor's view in the chapel at Aachen.[98] Dominating and yet aloof, one who sat here could have seen those in the nave below had he wished to — and be seen by them — but the focus of attention from the gallery was the main altar with the apse as a backdrop. Perhaps surprisingly, from this position it is possible to hear words spoken in the crossing when the voice is raised somewhat above normal speaking tones. The sculptural scheme discussed above has surely demonstrated that this was a culture in which pictures were as informative as words: similarly, the services of the church were largely read by the laity from actions not books, through the eye and not the ear. The congregation were expected to stand or kneel as signalled by the priest's change of position and posture during the course of the mass, and to make their own prayers meanwhile. They responded aloud only when they heard a few keys phrases from the clergy. It was thus important for the laity to be able to see the altar and the priest, but not to hear every word spoken by him.[99] In such circumstances the west gallery had the best seat in the house. The author would agree with the suggestion of Dr. Richard Gem that the king when he was at his manor might be expected to use the west gallery, and that he supplied priests to serve the church. As has been demonstrated, in all probability this chaplaincy was provided by a resident community of Austin canons.

Throughout this paper German parallels have been noted, and the ground plan of the church, with its three eastern apses and its two west towers and narthex, would not be uncommon for the church of a German community.[100] One further clue to the function
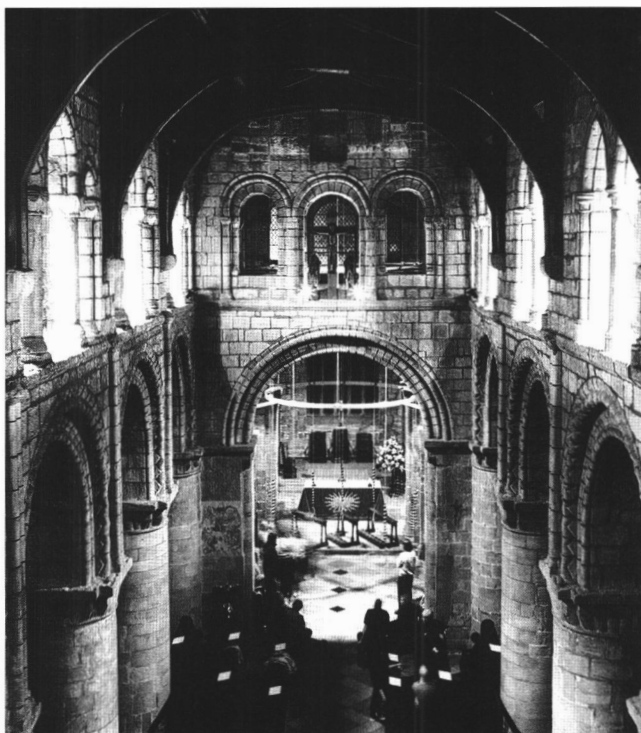
Plate 30:   View into the crossing and chancel from the west
gallery.

of the gallery, also with German comparisons, may be in the church's dedication. At present that is to St Michael with St Mary, but pre-Reformation the dedication is known as to St Michael only.[101] In the *westwerk* of a German church, a chapel at an upper level was often dedicated to St Michael the archangel.[102] We may suppose that if the king took part in some services by watching them from the west gallery as outlined above, there may have been other occasions when that gallery itself functioned as his private chapel of St Michael. Unfortunately, the space is not in its original state, and it is probably impossible to find any trace of relevant fittings or sculpture. Over time, and with the loss of any records, the dedication of the main altar in the chancel was forgotten and the royal or manorial dedication may have come to apply to the whole church.

The canons, though few in number, seem to have been established with the expectation of permanent residence and must have had their own buildings nearby. It may be useful to speculate a little on the layout around the church. Barman considered that the large barn close to the west front and askew to it 'is certainly contemporaneous with the church', but the general opinion nowadays is that this oldest, northern, part of the building is more safely dated 'medieval'.[103] It is made of large sandstone ashlar, of similar size blocks to the church, and in its east wall are five or six very small windows with one-piece lintels. This tall, solid building is uncomfortably close to the church's grand west entrance, and although there are perhaps traces of an opening in this east

wall, that is not aligned on the west doorway.[104] It looks as though the wall marked an immovable boundary to the land occupied by the canons. The previous church mentioned in Domesday Book must have been smaller, and it is quite possible that when the twelfth-century church replaced it, the sanctuary area of the old church was retained for the new.[105] If so, the nave would perforce have spread westwards towards the limits of the community's ground as now marked by the east wall of the barn. What immovable presence might have so constrained the site to the west? The answer could be, the proximity of the lord's manor house. Historians do not know where the twelfth-century royal manor house was, whether it was on the same site as the fourteenth-century castle or elsewhere.[106] Melbourne castle is well placed for its garrison to protect the area round the church from any invasion from the north, or to deploy into the settlement round the market place on the hill, but by the same token it is not an appropriate situation for a manor house. That was often adjacent to its church, as at Tutbury. According to the interpretation given earlier, the west doorway is aimed at a lay public rather than the community and, because it gives immediate access to the west gallery, it would have been the entrance used by the king. Perhaps, then, the royal manor house lay beyond the barn to the west of the church, where the former Bewley (Beaulieu?) Hall was, now the Dower House.

If the west doorway was for the great, the south doorway, where unfortunately the original decoration is unknown, was possibly an entrance for the lesser laity. The north doorway was probably entered from the community area because the message of its sculpture is aimed at priests (Pl. 25). Possibly the medieval rectory house, or bishop's house, which later became Melbourne Hall, first belonged to the canons and lay within their bounds. The blocked doorway with heavy lintel at the east end of the south aisle might have given access to something like a cloister. The clustering of buildings necessary to service even a small community would account for the lack of a medieval burial ground immediately round the church, and is perhaps shadowed by the present encirclement of housing.[107]

Begun, and perhaps even finished in the 1120s, the church is never known to have been visited by the king; by 1133 it had become part of the endowment of the bishopric of Carlisle. Initially, it may have been at the suggestion of Adelulf, as a confidant of Henry,[108] that a small training school was incorporated in this regal building, and that the sculptural scheme at the chancel entrance was designed, but we shall never know for certain. Anyway, the gift did not suffice to keep Adelulf's interest in England, for he seems to have 'made the transition to being a Scottish bishop following 1138'.[109] By the 1140s, therefore, the bishop might have been taking income from the church,[110] rather than allowing it to fund the canons' work, and if so they would have had to rely largely on manorial and parish support. The royal manor was held by lesser lords in the middle of the century; it is recorded that King John resided there for a time after 1194, but it seems not to have been much used by any monarch after this.[111] Interest generally in the Augustinians slackened as first the Cistercians and then the friars became the recipients of fashionable donations. Without their first royal patron or the bishop visiting, the teaching community may have dwindled quite soon for lack of funds, with the specialists retreating to a better-endowed house and a priest or two remaining to serve the parish. By the mid-thirteenth century, substantial repairs became necessary to the south clerestory of the nave, perhaps as a result of this poverty and reduced status.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

NOTES AND REFERENCES

[1] Mayr-Harting, H., *Melbourne Church in its earliest historical surroundings* (2004), (Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*), 15.

[2] Gem, R., 'Melbourne, Church of St Michael and St Mary', *Proc. of the Summer Meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in the Nottingham Area, 1989*, (Gem, 'Melbourne'), supp. to *Archaeological Journal* 146 (1989), 24–30. A plan and long section of the church in that article is taken from among plans and drawings of sculpture dated 1797 by William Wilkins, snr., held at the Society of Antiquaries of London. For reconstructed view from south east drawn by C. B. Sherwin in 1916, see Barman, R. J., *A history and guide to the parish church of Melbourne, Derbyshire* (Derby 1960), (Barman, *Melbourne*), 8, or front cover of Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*.

[3] See Dickinson, J. C., *The origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England* (London, 1950), (Dickinson, *Origins*), 4.

[4] There are some similarities of handling to the work at Castor, near Peterborough, for example in the foliage on capital 5, perhaps suggesting a similar date.

[5] Wood, R., 'The Augustinians and the Romanesque Sculpture at Kirkburn church', *East Yorkshire Historian* (Wood, 'Kirkburn'), 4 (2003), 3–59.

[6] Gem, 'Melbourne', 24.

[7] Wood, R., 'Geometric Patterns in English Romanesque Sculpture', (Wood, 'Patterns'), *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, (*J. B. A. A.*), 154 (2001), 1–39.

[8] Wheatcroft, J. H., 'Classical Ideology in the Medieval Bestiary', in Hassig, D., ed., *The Mark of the Beast* (New York, 1999), 141–159; White, T. H., *The Book of Beasts* (1984, 1992), (White, *Beasts*), 187 with illus. For the Aberdeen University Library bestiary, see colour reproductions, translation, etc., at www.abdn.ac.uk

[9] See Hubert, J., *et al.*, *L'Europe des Invasions* (1967), (Hubert, *Invasions*), pl. 116.

[10] Ross, F., *Melbourne Parish Church* (Tonbridge, 2000), (Ross, *Melbourne*), 9.

[11] Wood, R., 'The Lions in the Crypt of Canterbury Cathedral', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, cxx (2000), 386–393; Wood, R., 'The Romanesque Tomb-slab at Bridlington Priory', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 75 (2003), (Wood, 'Bridlington'), 73–4.

[12] Horses of knights and the Magi have decorated harness in twelfth-century work. For the colourful collars worn by the dogs belonging to one fourteenth-century lord, see *The Hunting Book of Gaston Phoebus*, trans. J. P. Tallon (London, 1984), (Gaston, *Hunting*).

[13] Dodwell, C. R., *Painting in Europe 800–1200* (Harmondsworth, 1971), (Dodwell, *Painting*), 105; Lasko, P., *Ars Sacra 800–1200* (Harmondsworth, 1972), (Lasko, *Ars Sacra*), pl. 279. Henry of Blois, a bishop active in the world, is bearded: enclosed monks were shaven. The facial type is seen in Germany, for example, Krause, H. J., *Die Stiftskirche zu Wechselburg* (Berlin, 1972), 2, (Krause, *Wechselburg*), pl. 73.

[14] Penitential processions at Rogationtide in Anglo-Saxon times were supposed to be made barefoot. It was a general sign of humility and spiritual need.

[15] A photograph by Professor Zarnecki in the Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, 166/ 45(10), highlights the stalk.

[16] Wood, R., 'Real People in English Romanesque Sculpture' *Medieval Life* 11 (1999) fig. 11; Bond, F., *Fonts and Font Covers* (Oxford 1908; reprinted London 1985), 180; Halfpenny, J., *Gothic Ornaments in York Minster* (York 1795, 1831), pl. 18.

[17] For the 'patience' of Job (James 5:10, 11, *A.V.*), see Hartley, J. E., *The Book of Job*, Grand Rapids, 1988, 67, note 17.

[18] For example, 1 Thess. 5:21; Hebrews 3:6, 4:14,10:23; Rev. 2:13, 2:25, 3:11.

[19] For the bull, see Wood, 'Kirkburn', fig. 6; 48–49. For the horse, compare Wood, 'Kirkburn', pl. 14 left; 20–21.

[20] Evans, G. R., *Augustine on Evil* (Cambridge, 1982), (Evans, *Evil*), 162; 38; 30.

[21] Evans, *Evil*, 163; 95.

[22] *The Works of Saint Augustine: a translation for the 21st century*, Sermons, vol. III/4, ed. Rotelle, J. E., trans. Hill, E. (New York, 1990–93), (Augustine, *Works*), Sermon 101.5–7.

[23] This gospel story is the reason apostles are depicted barefoot. *Apostelos* is Greek for messenger.

[24] Baxter, R., *Bestiaries and their users in the Middle Ages* (Stroud, 1998), (Baxter, *Bestiaries*), 209.

[25] The bestiary used by T. H. White was *Cambridge University Library, MS Ii 4.26*. James, M. R., *The Bestiary* (Oxford, 1928) contains a facsimile of the same ms. Comparable texts and illustrations are found in both this and the Aberdeen bestiary, note 8, but the illustrations in the Cambridge bestiary are usually somewhat closer to the carvings; its texts also often seem relevant. See also Thurlby, M., *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Little Logaston, 1999), 10.

[26] Baxter, *Bestiaries*, 227–228.

[27] Morgan, N. J., *Early Gothic Manuscripts, 1190–1250* (London, 1982), 61. For the possible attribution of Aberdeen University Library, MS 24 to Bridlington Priory, see Geddes, J., 'Observations on the Aberdeen Bestiary', *Reinardus* 11 (1998), 67–84 and pls.

[28] See Gaston, *Hunting*, 28 for similar depictions of wolves.

[29] White, *Beasts*, 56, 59.

[30] Aberdeen bestiary, fol. 71.

[31] Augustine, *Works*, 69 (Sermon 101.8). The translator sees this passage as derived from Heb. 12:1, 2.

[32] Augustine, *Works*, 71 (Sermon 101.11); Matt. 23:3, Jer. 8:11.

[33] Luke 8:6, 13; Augustine, *Works*, 66 (Sermon 101.3).

[34] Augustine, *Confessions*, 1:17.27. See Latin text and commentary, O'Donnell, J. J., *Confessions* (Oxford 1992), (O'Donnell, *Confessions*), I, 13; II, 92.

[35] For example, Winchester Psalter, BL Ms Cotton Nero C.IV, fols. 21, 37. See also 2 Peter 2.18; Jude 16. In *Confessions* 7.7.11–7.8.12, Augustine refers to the spiritual 'swollenness' of his cheeks, abated by God's 'stinging ointment of sorrow' (trans. F. H. Sheed).

[36] Wood, 'Kirkburn', 20, 21, 51; Augustine, *Confessions* 2.6.13; 10.34.51–10.49.66; O'Donnell, *Confessions*, III, 203–4.

[37] Augustine, *Confessions*, 8. 10, 11.

[38] For example, Weir, A. & Jerman, J., *Images of Lust* (London, 1986) 107–8.

[39] A possibly Bohemian manuscript; see Cahn, W., *Romanesque Bible Illumination* (New York 1982), (Cahn, *Bible Illumination*), pl. 130; 176–8, 257–8.

[40] This passage discusses sculpture at Königslutter. See H. Appuhn, *Die Jagd als Sinnbild in der norddeutschen Kunst des Mittelalters* (Hamburg, 1964), p. 8–15.

[41] Augustine and his friends came to this conclusion while in Rome shortly after his conversion (*Retractiones* 1.9.2).

[42] Both Augustine and medieval Christians thought of the Devil and the other fallen angels as evil spirits present in the air, see Augustine *De Agone Christiano* (*The Christian Conflict*), 3.3, 5.5.

[43] The temptations are narrated in Matthew also, but their order is different from that in 1 John and Luke: the scheme at Melbourne uses the gospel of Luke elsewhere. For 1 John 2:16 and Augustine, see *De Vera Religione* (On True Religion), 38.70, 71; *Enarrationes in Psalmos* (*On the Psalms*) 8.13 and O'Donnell, *Confessions*, III, 205–6.

[44] Compare Werkmeister, O. K., 'The lintel fragment representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun', *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, 35 (1972), 2.

[45] Evans, *Evil*, 94–95, 109; Augustine, *De Vera Religione* xxi. 41.

[46] Evans, *Evil*, 109; Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* xx.8, 9.

[47] Aelfric's *Paraphrase of Pentateuch and Joshua*, BL Ms Cotton, Claudius B.IV, fol. 2; *New Minster Liber Vitae*, BL Ms Stowe 944, fol. 7v; *Winchester Psalter*, BL Ms Cotton Nero C.IV fols. 18, 39.

[48] Kauffmann, C. M., *Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (London, 1975), Cat. 13; ills. 30, 33.

[49] Cohen, A. S., *The Uta Codex: art, philosophy and reform in 11th century Germany* (Pennsylvania, 2000), (Cohen, *Uta Codex*), 53–75, 83. The imagery became 'a local Regensburg tradition', 71, 72, n. 97. For the illuminations, see also Mayr-Harting, H., *Ottonian Book Illumination: an historical study*, (London, 1991), part 1, pl. XVIII and pl. 76; Beckwith, J., *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque* (London, 1964), (Beckwith, *Carolingian*), ill. 97; Pächt, O., *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: an introduction* (Oxford, 1986), 39–43.

[50] Augustine narrates the story of Melchizedek in *De Civ. Dei*, xvi.22; in x.22, he writes of Christ being both priest and offering. See also Kantorowicz, E. H., 'The Quinity of Winchester', *Art Bulletin*, xxix (1947), 83.

[51] For the prayer '*Unde et memores*', which mentions Melchizedek, see Procter, F. & Frere, W. H., *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (London, 1929), 289. Some early ordination prayers also mention 'the seventy men' of Luke 10 as good examples for priests.

[52] Cohen, *Uta Codex*, 61–2.

[53] See Wood 'Kirkburn', 43. The carving uses a text of Augustine.

[54] Varty, K., *Reynard the Fox* (Leicester 1967) 99–100. Varty links this and several of the other carvings at Melbourne with the *Roman de Renard*. His description of capital 8 is inaccurate; and the animal on capital 4 has its tongue hanging out of its mouth.

[55] White, *Beasts*, 110–112.

[56] For peacocks and a chalice, see Hubert, *Invasions*, pl. 119A. If the Victorian painter at Hampnett had known of the Early Christian motif, a complete chalice would probably have been outlined.

[57] Wood, 'Kirkburn', 23; Wood, 'Bridlington', 71–73. The revised fable of the Fox and Crane was an alternative to depicting the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, a text used elsewhere in the twelfth century in France and England.

[58] The Aberdeen bestiary likewise seems to be written for a community, comparing to cranes 'those discerning brothers who provide temporal goods for their brethren in common and have a special concern for each one of the community. They watch over the obedience of their brothers, as far as they can, protecting them prudently from the assaults of devils and the incursions of this world' fol. 46r. Translation taken from web-site, n. 8. In the *Bridlington Dialogue*, the master calls the disciple 'brother', see note 64.

[59] For the crested bird, see Scaff, V., *La sculpture romane de la cathedrale Notre-Dame de Tournai* (Tournai, 1971), pl. 67, etc. Demoiselle cranes were kept in aviaries and are described in Frederick II's *Book of Falconry*.

[60] Hubert, *Invasions*, pl. 119B (Pavia); H. Busch & B. Lohse, *Pre-Romanesque*, London 1966, pl. 62 below (Cividale).

[61] Dickinson, *Origins*, 43–46; 110–11; Bartlett, R., *England under the Norman and Angevin kings 1075–1225* (Oxford, 2000), 38–40.

[62] Augustine, *Confessions*, 2.10.18.

[63] Pontifex M., trans., *Augustine, The Problem of Free Choice* (London, 1955), 219. The reference is in Augustine, *De Libero Arbitrio*, 3.76.

[64] For evidence of parish work, see Dickinson, *Origins*, 232–41. Augustinians communities were multi-functional: Gilbert de Gant II said he was born at Bridlington Priory, and educated there. The *Bridlington Dialogue* does not explicitly mention preaching outside the community, but does speak of canons staying in parishes for a period. See *Robert of Bridlington: the Bridlington Dialogue, an exposition of the Rule of St Augustine for the life of the clergy*, trans. & ed., a religious of C.S.M.V. (London ,1960).

[65] The *Hortus Deliciarum* is a teaching text for a nunnery, with question and answer dialogues, pictures and labelled diagrams throughout; Hugh of St Victor taught scholars with a large diagram alongside the text of *Noah's Ark*.

[66] The work at Kirkburn is usually said to be of c.1140, but the author would favour a date in the 1130s. The date of Adelulf's appointment as prior of Nostell is uncertain; he resigned in 1153. For Liverton, see Wood, R., 'The Romanesque Chancel Arch at Liverton, North Riding', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, forthcoming. A series of schemes in Yorkshire beginning in the late 1150s may be attributed to one designer, a Cluniac monk, see Wood, R., 'Not Roman but Romanesque: a decayed relief at Conisbrough church', *Yorks. Archaeol. J.*, 76 (2004), 105–6.

[67] Single painted consecration crosses with the look of twelfth-century work are on original plaster at Penn church, Buckinghamshire. A complete one is near the west end of the nave on a pillar, but not so high as these.

[68] Such as the Gospel Book of Otto III, c.1000 and made at Reichenau on Lake Constance, see Beckwith, *Carolingian*, ill. 85; or a Regensburg ms. of c.1002–14, the *Pericopes* or *Sacramentary of Henry II*, fol.2r, illus. in Baxter, *Bestiaries*, 76.

[69] Gem, 'Melbourne', 26; Barman, *Melbourne*, 37. For alterations to the church before the Victorian restoration, see Barman, *Melbourne*, 31–33.

[70] Wood, 'Patterns', 20–21.

[71] Wood, 'Patterns', 7. For the heavenly sky with this pattern, see Swarzencki, H., *Monuments of Romanesque Art* (London, 1954), ill. 197 or Wilson, P. L., *Angels* (London, 1980), colour pl. opp. 153.

[72] White, *Beasts*, 43.

[73] Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, pl. 155, St Millàn between saints.

[74] Seidel, L., *Songs of Glory: the Romanesque Facades of Aquitaine* (Chicago, 1981), 47; figs. 19, 49. See also Crozet, R., *L'Art Roman en Saintonge* (Paris, 1971), 156–7; pls. LXX B-D, LXXI B.

[75] A base with a sculpted lug is included in the William Wilkins drawings, n. 1. The detail is probably foliage. Plain lugs are seen at San Ambrogio, Milan.

[76] Jerman, J. A., 'Linguistics and Sculpture at Melbourne Church, Derbyshire' *Derbys. Archaeol. Miscellany*, 9/4 (1981), 82–87.

[77] Carlsson, F., *The Iconology of Tectonics in Romanesque Art* (Hässleholm, 1976), (Carlsson, *Iconology*), fig. 210.

[78] McNeill, J., 'The East Cloister Walk of Saint-Aubin at Angers', in *Anjou: Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, xxvi (Leeds, 2003), 127–128; figs. 29–34.

[79] The stone is no. 203, inv. B857, the carving is attributed to the Master of the Laacher Samson and dated c. 1200.

[80] Carlsson, *Iconology*, 90–95; Wood, 'Kirkburn', 20–21.

[81] Wood, R., 'Before the Green Man', *Medieval Life* 14 (Autumn 2000), 8–13.

[82] Augustine, *Works*, 67 (Sermon 101.6).

[83] Grivot, D. & Zarnecki, G., *Gislebertus, Sculptor of Autun* (London, 1961), 72, pl. 19.

[84] Barman, *Melbourne*, 38–39, gives a summary of the work done at the Victorian restoration under Gilbert Scott.

[85] Wood 'Bridlington', 68–9. Wilkins' drawings show an original capital like those renewed ones in the second order.

[86] Modern cynics might dismiss such a practice as hypocrisy, but this was not necessarily the early medieval understanding of the situation: there was felt to be great advantage in being physically close to the sacrament or relics. The *OED* notes a long history of two senses of the verb 'to attend' which couple the ideas of 'being alert to' and 'being physically present at'.

[87] Dodwell, *Painting*, 105.

[88] Avery, M., *The Exultet Rolls of South Italy* (Princeton, 1936), pl. XVIII (Bari 2); pl. CXXIII (Casanatense).

[89] The outer openings of the three on each face of the crossing have been raised by two courses.

[90] Rahtz, P. and Watts, L., *St Mary's church Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: Fieldwork, excavations and structural analysis, 1971–1984* (Woodbridge, 1997), 173–182, and figs. 105, 107.

[91] Wood 'Kirkburn', 13.

[92] Coldwell, W. St. G., *The Church of St. Peter, Tickencote* (Stamford, before 1944), 6–7.

[93] For exterior view, see Ross, *Melbourne*, front cover: Barman, *Melbourne*, 8.

[94] Gilyard-Beer, R., *Fountains Abbey, North Yorkshire* (HMSO, 1970), 53–4.

[95] Kahn D., *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1991), the treasury or *vestiarium*, illus. 164.

[96] For scriptorium in upper room, see Spanish Beatus ms. of late tenth century, Dodwell, *Painting*, ill. 119.

[97] See R. Hinks, *Carolingian Art* (London 1935), ill. xvi; O. Pächt, *Book Illumination in the Middle Ages: an Introduction* (Oxford , 1986), 34, 35, figs. 32, 33.

[98] Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*, 6–8.

[99] *The Lay Folks Mass Book* (Early English Text Society, original series, no. 71. 1879). The English text is c.1375, but the Norman-French original is thought to be of mid twelfth-century date. For the position of the altar, see Barnwell, P. S., 'The Laity, the Clergy and the Divine Presence: the use of space in smaller churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *J. B. A. A.*, 157 (2004), 41–60.

[100] See, for example, Kubach, H. E., *Romanische Kirchen an Rhein und Maas* (Cologne, 1978) for plans of Andernach, Celles, Limburg, Maastricht Liebfrauenkirche, Maria Laach, Utrecht, Cologne St Pantaleon, also Krause, *Wechselburg*, pl. Z2. Barman, *Melbourne*, mentions Hersfeld and Goslar as plans similar to Melbourne. Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*, 7–8, suggests further German influences on Henry I.

[101] Barman, *Melbourne*, 24–5, says that the dedication to St Mary was apparently added following the suppression of a chapel or church of that name in the town in the sixteenth century, and that St Mary's is mentioned first in a document of 1400.

[102] An eighth-century example is the abbey church of Corvey, see Barral y Altet, X., *The Early Middle Ages from late Antiquity to A. D. 1000* (Cologne, 2002), 145–9.

[103] P. E. Heath, *Historical Notes on the Tithe Barn* (2002), pers. comm.

[104] Barman, *Melbourne*, 19.

[105] Compare successive plans in Bell, R.D., Beresford, M. W., *et al.*, *Wharram: a study of settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, 3, *Wharram Percy: the Church of St. Martin* (London, 1987), fig. 7.

[106] Gem, 'Melbourne', 29.

[107] For the slightly later sites of larger communities of canons, see *Kirkham Priory*, English Heritage guide, 1980, plan, and *Augustinians at Christ Church: the canons regular of the cathedral priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin*, ed. S. Kinsella (Dublin, 2000), 51–3, fig. 5. These seem relaxed versions of a typical monastic plan: smaller sites have not survived well.

[108] Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*, 12, 13 and Gem, 'Melbourne', 24–29, for fuller biographical information on Athelwold/Adelulf.

[109] Gem, 'Melbourne', 24–28.

[110] Mayr-Harting, *Melbourne*, 15.

[111] Gem, 'Melbourne', 24, 29.