THE CHICHESTER RELIEFS[1]

By GEORGE ZARNECKI

The choice of subject of this paper needs some explanation. I have not found any document revealing the date of the Chichester reliefs, nor the name of their sculptor. I have, perhaps, a few new details to add to what has been known for years, but nothing of fundamental importance. Yet I think it is necessary to re-examine the whole problem. The reason is almost embarrassing. During the last few years three important books, written by widely acknowledged authorities, and dealing with English medieval art, have appeared in this country. All three discuss the problem of the Chichester reliefs and each arrives at a different conclusion. I refer to the books by Sir Thomas Kendrick, Mr. Arthur Gardner, and Professor David Talbot Rice.[2]

The Chichester reliefs (Pls. XXI and XXII) rank amongst the most outstanding works of art produced in medieval England. Works of such quality, no matter in what period they were created, are usually so different from, and so far above the current artistic production, that they are extremely difficult to classify. The three books quoted above differ so much in their approach to art that certain divergencies are understandable and even stimulating. But the diversity of their conclusions about the Chichester reliefs is so striking that their readers must inevitably question the validity of the methods of art history, when such irreconcilable conclusions are reached.

What are, briefly, the views of the three writers? Mr. Gardner believes that the style of the reliefs is definitely Anglo-Saxon, and is closely connected with the Winchester school of illumination on the one hand, and with such sculptures as the Stepney Rood and the ivory *Adoration of the Magi* in the Victoria and Albert Museum on the other. He attributes these sculptures to the 11th century, and consequently places the Chichester reliefs between 1000 and 1050.[3]

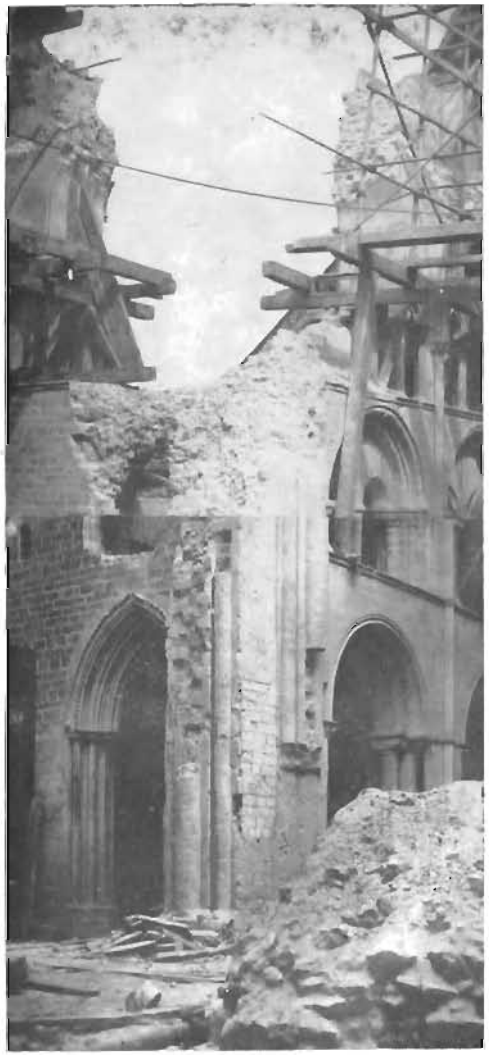
Professor Rice accepts the validity of Mr. Gardner's stylistic analysis, but adds that, at the same time, the reliefs show a close connection with the wall paintings of the Lewes school, especially thos at

[1] This paper was read on December 3rd, 1952, at the meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute.

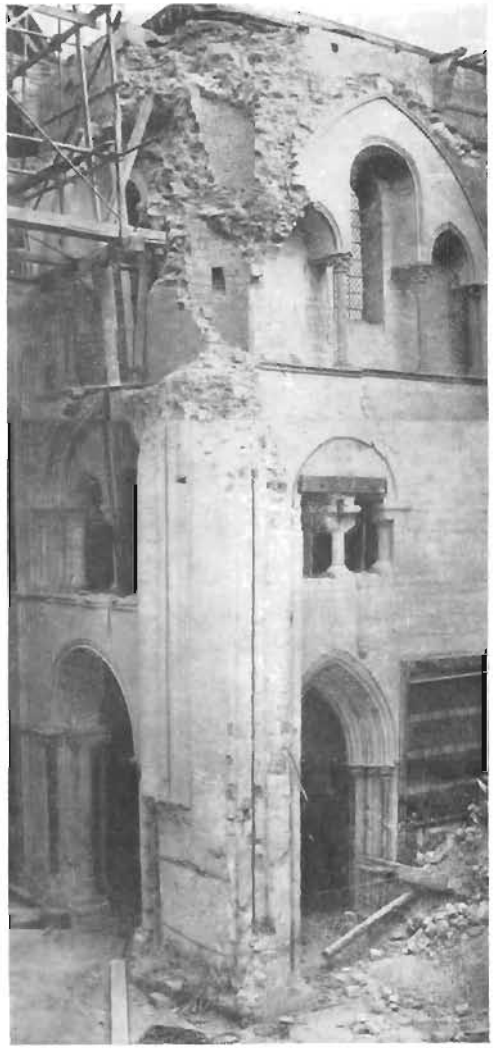
I wish to express my grateful thanks to the Dean of Chichester for his kind help in providing me with every facility on my visits to Chichester; to Mr. F. W. Anderson, the Chief Palaeontologist of the Geological Survey and Museum for identification of the stone from which the reliefs are carved; to Mr. Christopher Hohler for many valuable and stimulating suggestions; to Miss V. M. Dallas and Mr. A. R. Dufty for their very kind help in editing this paper, and to Mr. Dufty also for making the diagram illustrated below.; to the Warburg Institute for permission to reproduce their photographs (Pls. XXI, XXII, XXV A, C, D, XXVI A, C, and XXVII A, B.); to the Photographic Department of the Courtauld Institute for making the best of my, not always satisfactory, photographs. Above all, I have a great debt of gratitude to Dr. Hanns Swarzenski and Dr. C. R. Dodwell for many discussions on the problems involved, and to the latter for help in archives and libraries as well as on many journeys to the monuments discussed in this paper.

[2] T. D. Kendrick, *Late Saxon and Viking Art* (London, 1949); A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1951); D. T. Rice, *English Art, 871–1100* (Oxford, 1952).

[3] Gardner, *op. cit.*, 49–50.



A. N.E. pier of crossing



B. S.E. pier of crossing

Chichester Cathedral, after the fall of the tower in 1861, showing the original position of the reliefs

Chichester Cathedral. *Christ at Bethany*

Chichester Cathedral. *The Raising of Lazarus*

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A. Chichester Cathedral. Capital in triforium of Choir

B. Barking (Essex), Chapel in Curfew Tower. St. John ; detail from *Crucifixion* relief

C. Chichester Cathedral. Fragment of relief showing part of building

D. Chichester Cathedral. Reverse of C showing hind-quarters of an animal. Bottom edge corresponds with vertical edge of C

Clayton, which he dates to about 1080.[1] The wall paintings in question have been linked by Miss A. Baker with the so-called Channel school.[2] Professor Rice further believes that certain stylistic analogies between the Chichester reliefs and some Northern French MSS. indicate that the style of the reliefs was influenced by the Channel school, although it is still essentially Anglo-Saxon. He dates the reliefs, therefore, to about 1080, a date which allows for the fusion of the Anglo-Saxon style with that of Northern France and which is before the decline in the quality of sculpture, which he believes took place at the end of the 11th century under the impact of the Norman Conquest.

According to Sir Thomas Kendrick the origin of the style of the Chichester reliefs is to be sought not in the pre-Conquest art of the Winchester school, but in the late 11th-century art of Germany.[3] A parallel development to that embodied in the reliefs is found in the Barking Rood and the St. Albans Psalter. Thus the reliefs must date from the first half of the 12th century.

These are only summaries of the arguments of the three scholars. Some of their views were hinted at by earlier writers, but they were never before expressed with greater conviction.[4]

The reliefs were discovered in 1829, but real interest in them dates from the middle of the last century when a plaster cast of one of the reliefs was shown in the Crystal Palace during the Great Exhibition. Wyatt and Waring in their catalogue of the *Byzantine and Romanesque Court* gave the first stylistic analysis of the reliefs.[5] They said that ' The whole style evinces an artist acquainted with antique sculpture, and influenced by the spirit of Byzantine art'. They offered two suggestions on the origin and date of the reliefs. They are either foreign and were brought from Cluny, or possibly they may have been brought from the ancient church at Selsey on the translation of the see from there to Chichester.

In 1853 an annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute was held at Chichester. In the proceedings of the meeting the reliefs are described as very early Norman work.[6]

Thus already in these two publications, both of which appeared in 1854, the division of learned opinion had begun. Incidentally, two statements made then were to be repeated by many subsequent writers. The first is the possibility that the reliefs were transferred from Selsey to Chichester. Professor Prior and Mr. Gardner in their book of 1912[7] rejected this suggestion, but Professor Rice, for instance, although dating

[1] Rice, *op. cit.*, 110–112.

[2] A. Baker, Lewes Priory and the Early Group of Wall Paintings in Sussex, *Walpole Society*, xxxi (1946), 1–44.

[3] Kendrick, *op. cit.*, 52–54.

[4] Since this paper was written Mr. T. S. R. Boase has published his book on *English Art, 1100–1216* (Oxford, 1953), in which the Chichester reliefs are dated between 1090 and 1140.

[5] M. D. Wyatt and J. B. Waring, *The Byzantine and Romanesque Court in the Crystal Palace* (London, 1854), 68.

[6] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vii (1854), 44.

[7] E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cambridge, 1912), 139.

the reliefs to about 1080, says that this suggestion cannot be completely disregarded, and he asserts that certain treasures and other works of art were moved from Selsey to Chichester. This information rests, however, on 19th-century sources and cannot be accepted.[1] The second statement which appeared in these publications of 1854 concerns the material from which the reliefs are made. In the proceedings of the meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Chichester the material is described as Caen stone,[2] and that was probably the reason why the reliefs were attributed to an early Norman period. Mr. Gardner also tells us that the reliefs are made of Caen stone,[3] without, however, explaining how it was possible for an Anglo-Saxon sculptor to use a material introduced into England by the Normans. In point of fact, the material is not Caen but Purbeck stone.

Since the two publications of 1854 comparatively few writers have claimed an Anglo-Saxon date for the reliefs. Sir Alfred Clapham believed at first in their late Anglo-Saxon date, but admitted that the reliefs have some points of contact with post-Conquest sculpture.[4] Later in his life he abandoned his earlier view, and in an article written shortly before his death on *Some Disputed Examples of pre-Conquest Sculpture* he did not include the Chichester reliefs amongst those disputed works.[5]

The post-Conquest date for the Chichester reliefs was claimed, amongst others, by A. K. Porter (late 11th century), Miss Saunders (early 12th century), Sir Eric Maclagan (also early 12th century), Professor Saxl (mid-12th century), and Rivoira (last decade of the 12th century).[6] A curious exception to the rule that scholars are strongly divided in their views as to the pre- or post-Conquest date of the reliefs is the writer of the *Victoria County History of Sussex*,[7] who believes that one relief is Anglo-Saxon and the other Norman ; a most remarkable attempt at a compromise.

Of course our main difficulty in the study of the reliefs is a total absence of early documentary sources. As far as I have been able to discover there is no mention of the reliefs in written sources before 1829.

It is generally believed that the reliefs were found behind the stalls of the cathedral. Birch, writing in 1886, stated : ' There is no record, as far as I know, of the state—whether broken up or united—of these relics . . . at the time of their discovery behind the stalls of the choir

[1] W. R. W. Stephens, *Memorials of the South Saxon See and the Cathedral Church of Chichester* (London, 1876), 31. ' Relics, treasures, and works of art were no doubt for the most part removed to Chichester.'

[2] *Sussex Archaeological Collections, loc. cit.*

[3] Gardner, *op. cit.*, 49.

[4] A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture Before the Conquest* (Oxford, 1930), 138.

[5] *Antiquity*, No. 100 (December, 1950), 191-195.

[6] A. K. Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, i (Boston, 1923), 55 ; O. E. Saunders, *A History of English Art in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1932), 86 ; E. Maclagan, A Twelfth-century Ivory in the Dorset County Museum, Dorchester, *Antiquaries Journal*, iv (1924), 211 ; Saxl Memorial Exhibition, organised by the Warburg Institute in 1948 ; G. T. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, ii (London, 1910), 249. In my *English Romanesque Sculpture*, 1066–1140 (London, 1951), 24 and 39, I suggested *c.* 1140 as the probable date for the reliefs.

[7] *Victoria History of the Counties of England.* Sussex, iii (1935), 124.

in 1829 '.[1] Stephens in his *Memorials* suggested that ' they had been concealed there to escape the soldiers of Waller '.[2] This is a reference to the attack of the Parliamentarians on Chichester Cathedral in 1642. We have a contemporary description of this attack written by the Dean of Chichester, Dr. Ryves, published in 1647. He describes how the soldiers, under Sir William Waller, entered the cathedral, seized vestments and plate, broke down the organs and the communion table, tore up all books and defaced pictures with their hands and swords ' as high as they could reach '.[3]

The reliefs were not hidden behind the stalls on that occasion. This is made quite clear by an unsigned letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1829, which has so far escaped attention. The letter states : ' On the piers of the great tower, just *above* the stalls of the choir, are some exceedingly ancient sculptures, one of which represents the *Raising of Lazarus*. I beg leave to call Mr. Britton's attention to these interesting specimens of ancient art '.[4] Unfortunately for us there was no response from Britton.

A confirmation of this valuable information about the position of the reliefs is found in the proceedings of the meeting of the Archaeological Institute held at Chichester in 1853.[5] We learn from them that in 1829 the reliefs were on ' the piers of the central tower in the choir '. but while the letter in the *Gentleman's Magazine* informs us that they were *just above the stalls*, here we are told that they were concealed until 1829 by the woodwork of the stalls. Unfortunately there are no records from that year preserved in Chichester Cathedral. A careful search through the national and Sussex press for that year brought no information, except that between the middle of May and the end of November the choir of the cathedral was closed for repairs and improvements.[6] It was obviously then that some woodwork was removed from above the stalls, revealing the reliefs. At that stage they were seen and described by the correspondent of the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Soon afterwards, probably still before the end of November, they were removed from the piers and placed in the south wall of the south aisle of the choir, where they are still. The stones of one of the reliefs after their removal were set up in the wrong order and remained so until sometime after 1886, when they were rearranged. I have been unable to find any record of this operation.[7]

[1] W. de Gray Birch, The Ancient Sculptures in the South Aisle of the Choir of Chichester Cathedral, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, xlii (1886), 259.

[2] Stephens, *op. cit.*, 32.

[3] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, xxxi (1881), 206–207.

[4] *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1829), 117.

[5] *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vii (1854), 44.

[6] ' In consequence of the interior of our Cathedral undergoing repairs and improvements, the choir service is to be suspended till they are finished ' (*Brighton Gazette*, 14th May, 1829). ' The Choir will be opened on Sunday next ' (*Sussex Advertiser*, 23rd November, 1829).

[7] I say sometime after 1886, because in that year Birch (*op. cit.*, 259) still wrote about the bad resetting of the reliefs. One of the plates illustrating his paper shows the wrong arrangement of the *Raising of Lazarus* very clearly.

We do not know why the reliefs were removed, but it was a fortunate step, as subsequent events show. In 1861 a great disaster occurred in the history of Chichester Cathedral—its central tower collapsed and had to be rebuilt from its foundations. The Courtauld Institute is in possession of two important photographs taken soon after the rubble was cleared away but before the demolition of the lower parts of the piers which survived the fall of the tower. These photographs (Pl. XX) show the eastern piers of the central tower. In both photographs patches of comparatively fresh stone filling the holes left after the removal of the reliefs are clearly visible. On the south pier there are ten courses of stones, and below them the surface of the pier is cut away in order to make room for the 14th-century stalls. It was at that time also that the shafts of the chancel arch were cut away to a height of about 13 ft. from the ground. The width of the pier from the shaft to its angle, as reconstructed by Sir Gilbert Scott after the measured drawings of the original tower, is 3 ft. 10 ins. The width of one of the reliefs is 3 ft. 8 ins. and of the other 3 ft. 7 ins. These measurements suggest that the reliefs were made for this particular position. On the north pier there are fifteen courses of stones, five more than on the previous one, indicating that in 1829 more than one complete relief was removed from here. And in fact we know that besides the two reliefs now in the aisle, fragments of another relief or reliefs were found, thirteen of which still survive. Thus it is very probable that there were originally two complete reliefs on either side, but the lower reliefs were partly destroyed when, in the 14th century, the stalls were put against the piers.

The eastern piers of the central tower can be dated fairly accurately. They are an integral part of the choir built between 1091 and 1108. Thanks to the kind help of the Geological Survey and Museum, it was possible to identify the stone used for the structure of the choir. The outside facing is made of a calcareous sandstone probably from Merstham in Surrey. The inside of the choir demanded a finer material and here Caen stone was used. A similar method was later employed in building the Lady Chapel where Caen stone was used inside the structure and fine Binsted stone outside.[1]

We know that soon after the consecration of the choir of Chichester Cathedral a fire damaged the building. This was in 1114.[2] When the damage was repaired the work proceeded westwards, and in 1184 the building was almost finished and the second consecration took place. Two years later a disastrous fire damaged the entire church and the subsequent rebuilding was carried out in the Gothic style.

Can any conclusions be drawn from the history of the building to help us in dating the reliefs? One seems to me almost certain. The

[1] E. S. Prior, Chichester Cathedral. A Table of the Styles of Masoncraft used from 1090 to *c.* 1450, *Proceedings of the Harrow Architectural Club* (1904), 26.

[2] When the work started is not certain, but it must have been fairly soon after 1091, when Ralph de Luffa became bishop. The choir was dedicated in 1108, see *Annales Monastici*, ii (London, 1865), 43 (Rolls Series).

reliefs could not have formed an integral part of the piers as built between 1091 and 1108. We have a great number of buildings constructed at the same time, and in none of these are the piers in any way decorated. Such decoration as exists from that time is confined to capitals and arches and bears no relation to the sophisticated style of the Chichester reliefs. At Chichester itself, in that part of the building which was finished in 1108, there are two series of carvings, the corbel-table and the capitals of the triforium arcade. The first is of a grotesque character and very similar to the corbel-table of the south transept of Winchester Cathedral, reconstructed after the fall of the tower in 1107. The majority of the capitals are carved with the simple acanthus motive. This acanthus (Pl. XXIIIA) is undoubtedly reminiscent of that carved as a border above one of the reliefs. The similarity suggests that their dates cannot be greatly separated. We must remember, however, that similar borders were used between 1141 and 1148 to decorate three reliefs of the west front of Lincoln Cathedral. There, too, they run along the upper edges of the reliefs as at Chichester. The use of the acanthus for the decoration of numerous capitals at Chichester argues against Mr. Gardner's and Professor Rice's belief that the acanthus border of the Chichester relief is proof of its Anglo-Saxon connections.

The consecration of the Chichester choir meant that from 1108 it was used for services, and it is obvious that to make this possible the choir had to be separated from that part of the building, which was still under construction, by a temporary partition wall to keep out the noise and the weather. Such a partition wall would have been erected at the west end of the choir, the crossing and the transepts being still under construction. Thus it would have been pointless to place the reliefs on the piers which were covered or at least partly concealed by a partition wall. On the architectural evidence it can be said that the first bays of the nave were ready by about 1140. By then the partition wall would have been removed and probably placed across the east part of the nave. It was at about this time that the erection of a screen probably took place, though it must be admitted that there is no evidence of the existence of a screen at Chichester earlier than that which was built in the third quarter of the 15th century by Bishop John Arundel.

Sir William St. John Hope in his study of English screens[1] pointed out that there can be no doubt that Chichester Cathedral had a Norman screen, as the church contained altars for the use of parishioners, who had an earlier right there connected with the pre-Norman church of St. Peter, and it was a common practice to separate the nave containing such altars from the choir kept for the exclusive use of the monastic community or, as in the case of Chichester, the secular canons. He claimed that the shortness of the choir at Chichester indicates that it was planned to be extended by the screen to the first bay of the nave, and thus we can

[1] W. St. J. Hope, Quire Screens in English Churches, *Archaeologia*, lxviii (1917), 51–54.

gather that the plan of the 15th-century screen followed the plan of the Norman one. If the original screen was placed between the western piers of the crossing, the crossing would have been separated from the transepts by enclosures of about the same height as the screen. (See diagram fig. 1.) The well-known description of the screen at Durham in *Rites of Durham* tells of the wonderful series of reliefs with the life and Passion of Our Lord carved on the screen from one pier to another.[1] Sir Alfred Clapham suggested that the reliefs preserved in the Chapter House of Durham Cathedral belonged to that series.[2] It should be noted that the

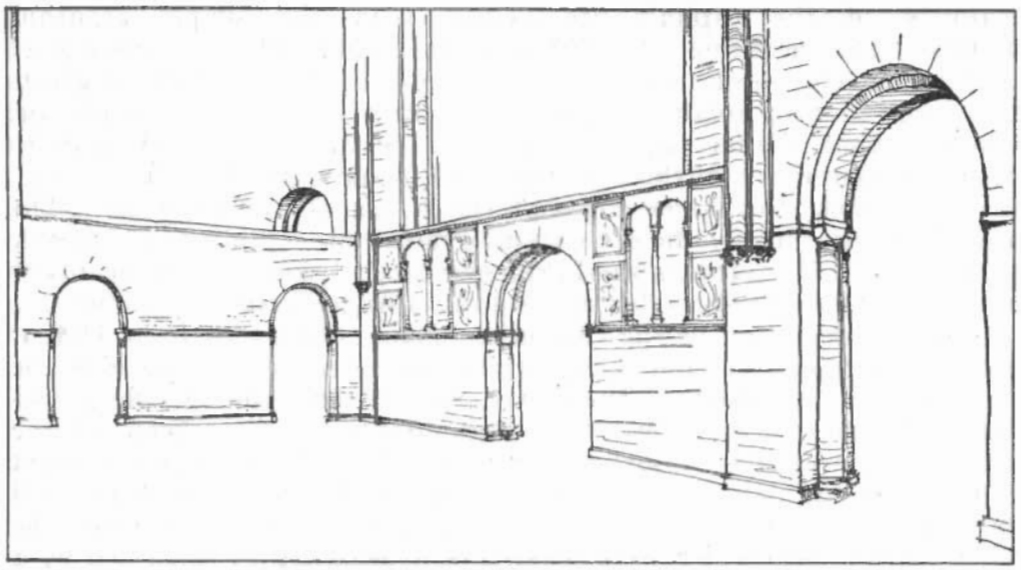


Fig. 1. Position of the reliefs on the screen in Chichester Cathedral. The form of the screen is entirely conjectural and only the position of the two reliefs on the extreme right is certain. The diagram shows the section of the screen between the crossing and the north transept, as seen from the choir. The original responds of the piers were carried down to the ground. On the diagram they are shown partly cut away, as they were since the 14th century

Durham reliefs are carved with two subjects each, the arrangement being similar to that at Chichester where two reliefs were placed, one above the other, on the piers of the crossing. There is another significant fact. The only Norman screen known to us from measured drawings is that demolished in 1770 in Ely Cathedral. Its height, together with is balustrade, was 14 ft. 6 ins., which was almost exactly the height of the upper edge of the Chichester reliefs, when still in position (15 ft.). It therefore seems probable, but only probable, that the Chichester reliefs were connected with the screen.

[1] Rites of Durham, *Surtees Society*, cxcvii, 32–34.

[2] Clapham, *op. cit.*, 149.

This is not a new idea. Professor Prior and Mr. Gardner had already suggested it in 1912, though, of course, they thought that the screen or the enclosure was removed from an Anglo-Saxon church, probably that of St. Peter.[1] We know practically nothing about Anglo-Saxon stone screens. The only example of an Anglo-Saxon screen that is mentioned in documents is that at Beverley, made of bronze, gold and silver, between 1060 and 1069.[2] The reason for Professor Prior and Mr. Gardner's belief that the reliefs came from a screen is that the loose fragments of the reliefs at Chichester are carved on both sides, a method indicating that the reliefs were free-standing. However, of the thirteen fragments preserved to this day, only three are carved on two sides. In all these cases one side is carved with figures and architectural details similar to those on the complete reliefs (Pl. XXIIIc), while on the other the treatment is very different. In one instance we find an animal carved in high relief (Pl. XXIIId), in the other a flat, grotesque head. What, however, proves beyond any doubt that the carvings on the reverse side of the stones have nothing to do with the sculpture on the front, is the fact that the carving representing the animal is placed sideways to the carving on the front of the same stone. It seems possible that the stones with sculpture on the reverse side were rejected from some other work and kept in the sculptor's workshop until they could be reused.

Professor Rice also suggested that the Chichester reliefs may have formed part of a screen. He says, however, that the panels had been cut up at some time before being set in their present position.[3] The examination of the loose fragments of the reliefs shows that the thickness of the stones varies so considerably that they could never have belonged to one slab. On the contrary, it is clear that the reliefs were carved from comparatively small pieces of stone and were arranged in six courses each. The height of each individual course varies from $5\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to 10 ins., while the width of individual stones depends on the form carved on it. There is an obvious tendency to carve on one stone as complete a form as possible so that the joins of the stones never cut across the heads of the figures, and the only instance of this is the result of a broken stone, and dates probably from the time of the removal of the reliefs in 1829.

This technique of carving reliefs on several courses of small stones joined together in itself supports the argument of their 12th-century date. Not a single Anglo-Saxon relief was carved in this way. The technique was, however, common from about 1100. Several tympana were carved on separate pieces of stone fitted together, for example, an early 12th-century tympanum at Barton Seagrave in Northamptonshire, a county with an abundance of good carving stone. The same technique was later employed at Ely and Malmesbury. At Lincoln the reliefs

[1] Prior and Gardner, *op. cit.*, 139.
[2] Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis. *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, ii, 353–354 (Rolls Series).
[3] Rice, *op. cit.*, 110.

forming the frieze are carved on large slabs, except that representing the Deluge, which is formed of several stones. The most important example of this technique in the 12th century is, however, the relief of the *Crucifixion* at Barking, carved originally on twelve stones, only nine of which still survive. This sculpture is undoubtedly of a 12th-century date which can be proved by its diapered background, common in England in the first half of the 12th century.[1]

The Barking *Crucifixion* shows not only a technique of carving similar to that of the Chichester reliefs but has, as convincingly pointed out by Sir Thomas Kendrick,[2] stylistic links with them. The figure of St. John at Barking (Pl. XXIIIB) especially shows a very close relation in its draperies to the apostles on the Chichester reliefs. It is perhaps not without significance that at Barking there are several pieces of carving reused in the parish church and in the Curfew Tower, which was the entrance to the Abbey, showing the same diaper pattern as that on the background of the *Crucifixion*. They probably formed part of some further reliefs destroyed at the time of the Dissolution. Perhaps the Barking reliefs were part of a screen too.

But let us return to the Chichester reliefs, to their subjects and style. The reliefs are illustrations of the story of Lazarus. Chronologically, the first is the relief with Christ and the apostles approaching Bethany and being greeted by Mary Magdalen kneeling and Martha standing (Pl. XXI). The attention of the spectator moves rapidly from the suppliant figures of the sisters, directed by their gestures to the dominating figure of Christ, in which the expression of concentration and gravity is echoed by the smaller figures of the apostles, who follow Him closely behind. The other relief shows the scene that followed soon afterwards. It is the *Raising of Lazarus* (Pl. XXII). Here Christ and Lazarus, the two principal figures in the drama, attract our main attention. On the previous relief Christ is shown bent forward in a quick walk. Here He stands erect, column-like and supernatural. Lazarus is seen emerging from the sarcophagus, helped by two apostles. The two attendants, who removed the lid from the sarcophagus, are still bent over it. The apostles look on with expressions of horror and astonishment. The sisters of Lazarus, who witness the miracle, are weeping.

Professor Rice claims that this is not 12th-century iconography.[3] Undoubtedly, the Chichester reliefs do not follow closely the text of the Gospel of St. John as does, for instance, the Gospel of Rossano in the 7th century, or the Bury Gospels in the 12th. There the miracle is witnessed not only by the apostles but also by a group of Jews, and Lazarus emerges from a cave while his sisters kneel in front of Christ. The man who helps Lazarus from his grave covers his nose because of

[1] The finest example of it is found on the tower of Castor Church in Northamptonshire, *c.* 1124.

[2] Kendrick, *op. cit.*, 53–54.

[3] Rice, *op. cit.*, 111.

the odour. The scene in the Bury Gospels, dating from the second quarter of the 12th century, is conceived in the traditional spirit. M. Émile Mâle, in his latest iconographical study of the scene of the *Raising of Lazarus*, expresses the view that the sarcophagus replaced the traditional cave in this scene in the 13th-century art of France.[1] In fact, this change occurred earlier as is shown by the relief on the bronze column, the so-called Bernward's Column at Hildesheim (Pl. XXIVA), dating from the first half of the 11th century, or, to use an English example, by an illumination in the Winchester Psalter (Pl. XXIVB), which Professor Wormald dates to about 1150.[2] The scene in this manuscript shows one especially striking similarity to the Chichester relief. One of the Jews removing the lid of the sarcophagus wears a pointed cap like those of the attendants on the relief. The iconography of the Chichester reliefs shows a departure from the traditional canons, and in this respect points to a late rather than an early date.

The Winchester Psalter has not only an iconographical similarity with the reliefs but also a stylistic one. This is particularly apparent in the faces, with their raised eyebrows and often prominent sharply falling moustaches, while the beards and hair are arranged in small curls which are strongly reminiscent of the reliefs. The weeping Mary Magdalen and Martha with their grimaces similar to antique tragic masks (Pl. XXVA) find a parallel in the head of Mary Magdalen in the *Crucifixion* scene of the Psalter (Pl. XXVB). The treatment of the draperies is different in the two works, but the dramatic spirit that underlies each of them obviously springs from similar artistic tendencies and aims.

Much more important however, is, the relationship that exists between the Chichester reliefs and the manuscript, to which Sir Thomas Kendrick first drew attention in this connection, the St. Albans Psalter.

Looking through the illuminations of this magnificent book we notice in almost every one of them something that reminds us of the Chichester figures. The St. Albans Psalter figures are heavy and their draperies fall in straight folds, their hems forming zig-zag patterns. The figures often support the weight of the cloak with the left hands, which at the same time carry books. This device was employed in the figure of St. John on the Barking relief; it is found in four figures at Chichester, and also, over and over again, in the St. Albans Psalter. The heads in the Psalter are of the same character as those on the reliefs. Compare, for instance, the head of Christ on page 176 of the MS. (Pl. XXVIIA) to the head of Christ in the scene of the *Raising of Lazarus* at Chichester (Pl. XXVIIB); their resemblance is undeniable. Moreover, there are many details in the MS. and on the reliefs that must strike even the most prejudiced as closely related.

[1] É. Mâle, La Resurrection de Lazare dans l'Art, *La Revue des Arts*, i (1951), 49.

[2] F. Wormald, The Development of English Illumination in the Twelfth Century, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Third Series, viii (1943), 41.

Let us take the architectural details. Mr. Gardner stated that the architecture of the town of Bethany, and particularly the capitals of its gate, suggest those of a late Anglo-Saxon date at Sompting.[1] But in the St. Albans Psalter we have numerous representations of towns with walls surmounted by battlements and enclosing circular buildings decorated by continuous arcades, which have much more in common with the Bethany on the relief than anything of pre-Conquest date. The spiral column of the gate of Bethany and the door with its ironwork can also be matched by similar details in the MS. Sometimes the similarity of small, but unusual details in two works of art is more revealing than their general resemblance. In our case one can point to the peculiar shape below the feet of the kneeling figure of Mary Magdalen (Pl. XXVc). It looks like a reversed acanthus motive and is a purely decorative treatment of the base of the column which is seen above the kneeling figure. In the St. Albans Psalter the columns often rest on such bases (Pl XXVd).

The St. Albans Psalter was decorated between 1119 and 1146. Dr. Dodwell, who is engaged at the moment on the study of this MS., kindly informs me that the initials of this MS., which supply most of the similarities with the Chichester reliefs, must have been decorated in the early twenties of the century.

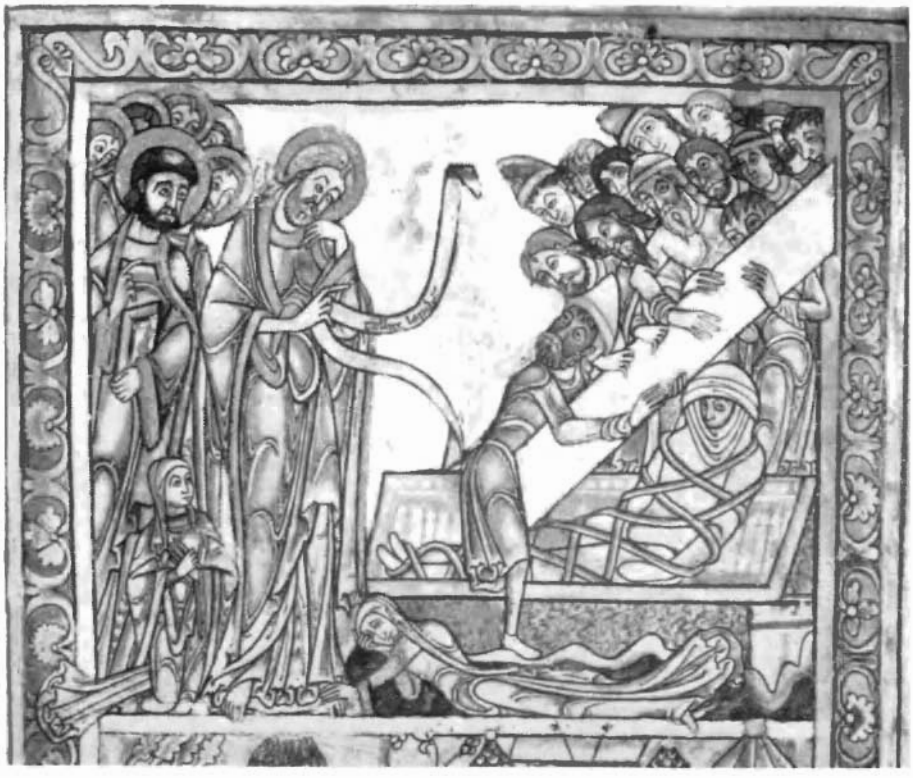
A number of illuminated books of the first half of the century, mainly connected with Bury St. Edmunds, show a close link with the St. Albans Psalter. The style of the St. Albans Psalter was also adopted in a modified form in other centres such as Hereford, and Shaftesbury in Dorset.

This last fact is interesting, for it is in a small church in Dorset, at Toller Fratrum, that a small fragment of a relief is preserved, which shows the most striking analogy to the Chichester reliefs. Professor Prior and Mr. Gardner were, in this as in so many other cases, the first to discover the fragment, and they were the first to connect it with Chichester.[2] Not only is the style of the carving related to our reliefs, but also its subject, that of *Mary Magdalen wiping the feet of Christ* (Pl. XXVIc). The Toller Fratrum relief lacks that fine quality which is so pre-eminent in the Chichester reliefs. But the similar style, combined with a subject connected with the life of St. Mary Magdalen, strongly suggests that all these sculptures came from one workshop, though each is the work of a different sculptor. There is another sculpture in Dorset which shows a stylistic affinity to the Chichester reliefs. It is *Christ in Majesty* at Buckland Newton. Originally it must have been a very fine relief but is now only a weathered fragment.[3]

The St. Albans Psalter style in its modified form, such as is represented by the Shaftesbury Psalter, was proved by Sir Eric Maclagan

[1] Gardner, *op. cit.*, 49.
[2] Prior and Gardner, *loc. cit.*
[3] I am greatly indebted to Mr. A. R. Dufty for having drawn my attention to this sculpture.

A. Hildesheim Cathedral. *The Raising of Lazarus* on so-called Bernward's Column



B. British Museum. *The Raising of Lazarus* from the Winchester Psalter (MS. Cotton Nero C. IV, upper half of folio 19r.)

A. Chichester Cathedral. St. Mary Magdalen and Martha from *The Raising of Lazarus* relief

B. British Museum. St. Mary Magdalen; detail from the *Crucifixion* scene in the Winchester Psalter (folio 22r.).

C. Chichester Cathedral. Detail from *Christ at Bethany* showing the base of the column in the form of a leaf.

D. The St. Albans Psalter, now in St. Godehard's Church, Hildesheim. Initial (p. 317) showing a similar base to that on C.

A. Stanley St. Leonard (Gloucestershire). Capital with *St. Mary Magdalen Wiping the Feet of Christ*

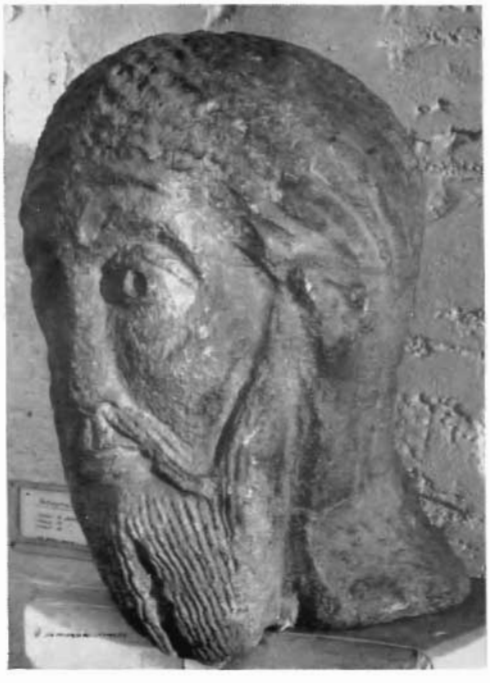
B. South Cerney (Gloucestershire). Head of Christ, originally part of a Crucifix

C. Toller Fratrum (Dorset). *St. Mary Magdalen Wiping the Feet of Christ*

To face page 117

A. Head of Christ from the St. Albans Psalter (p. 176)

B. Head of Christ from *The Raising of Lazarus* relief in Chichester Cathedral



C. Cologne. Diocesan Museum. Head from St. Pantaleon's Church, Cologne

D. Externsteine, near Horn (Westphalia). Head of God the Father from the *Deposition* relief

to have influenced ivory carving. A small figure of a king in the Dorset County Museum at Dorchester is a case in point.[1] Allowing for the differences of the materials used, of the sizes and of the subjects, this figure shows a family likeness to the figures of our reliefs. It certainly has one detail in common with them, the inlaid eyes. The deeply drilled pupils of the eyes on the Chichester reliefs are now empty, but some traces of metal were found in one of them.[2]

A further work that shows traces of the style of the Shaftesbury Psalter, and thus is distantly related to the Chichester reliefs, is the head of Christ, carved in wood (Pl. XXVIB), found in South Cerney in Gloucestershire.[3] Mention must also be made of a mutilated head of Christ, part of a large stone relief, preserved in Salisbury Museum. It was found in the North Canonry, but is said to have come originally from Old Sarum. This work has a dramatic expression which in its intensity approaches that of the Lazarus relief at Chichester. The drilled eyes, the fine modelling of the ears and the sharp fall of the moustache add to that similarity.

But it is a capital at Stanley St. Leonard in Gloucestershire that is of vital importance for our purposes. The subject of this capital is precisely the same as at Toller Fratrum — the *Wiping of Christ's feet* (Pl. XXVIA). There is, moreover, some stylistic relationship as for example, in the pathetic expression on the face of St. Mary Magdalen, in her wig-like hair and in the treatment of Christ's feet. The head of Christ, although not unlike some heads at Chichester, bears a particularly strong resemblance to that of the ivory king at Dorchester and the wooden head at South Cerney. The 12th-century date of the Stanley capital cannot be doubted. From the architectural evidence it must be placed about the middle of the century. Showing, as it does, striking evidence of being influenced by the Chichester–Toller Fratrum style, it is an important indication that these works must precede it, but only by a short period of time.

Of all the similarities between the Chichester reliefs, the fragment at Toller Fratrum, and the capital at Stanley St. Leonard, the most striking is the dramatic element. By this I mean that in all these works the figures look, move and behave like actors. Their hair and beards look artificial, their gestures are exaggerated and their expressions pathetic. Sir Thomas Kendrick rightly talks of the *tableau vivant* style. Can it be then that we have here in sculpture a reflection of the contemporary theatre, the mystery play? This cannot be proved, of course, and must remain a tentative suggestion. However, perhaps it is not without significance that one of the few surviving scriptural dramas of the 12th century is that written by Hilarius, probably an Englishman, who was

[1] Maclagan, *op. cit.*, 209–215.
[2] Birch, *op. cit.*, 258.
[3] *Proceedings of the Society of the Antiquaries of London*, Second Series, xxviii (1915–1916), 17.

a pupil of the famous Abelard about 1125. The subject of this miracle play is the *Raising of Lazarus*.[1]

The artistic contact between Chichester and Dorset dated from at least the beginning of the 12th century, for amongst many capitals from Shaftesbury Abbey, now scattered in the town, some show such a striking similarity to those in the choir of Chichester Cathedral that I do not hesitate to attribute them all to the same workshop.

A further even more remarkable link between Chichester and Dorset is found in the fact that the stone from which the reliefs are carved came in all probability from Dorset. Mr. F. W. Anderson, the Chief Palaeontologist of the Geographical Survey and Museum identified the stone, which is a tufaceous shell-brash, as being of the Lower Purbeck Formation of England. He states that the stone is very similar, if not identical, to the stone which is being quarried at Worth Matravers near Swanage. The transport of the stone would have presented no difficulty, for the stone was cut to a comparatively small size and the distance from Swanage to Chichester by sea is only about fifty miles.

In no other part of Chichester Cathedral has this type of stone been employed, a significant fact, which suggests perhaps that the sculptors who executed the reliefs were called for this particular work from Dorset, and they used stone with which they were familiar.

From what has been said so far it appears that the Chichester reliefs are not only works of the 12th century but are also not an isolated phenomenon. Indeed, they are related to a number of other works. Their date can with safety be placed in the second quarter of the 12th century.

The style represented by the Chichester reliefs has its analogies on the Continent. Professor Porter pointed out their similarity to the reliefs at Silos, which he believed were influenced by English MSS.[2] Dr. Hanns Swarzenski, with whom I had the privilege of examining and discussing the reliefs, drew my attention to the remarkable relief representing the *Deposition*, carved in a rock at Externsteine near Horn in Westphalia (Pl. XXVIIᴅ). The date of the latter can be put at about 1115. Admittedly, there are great differences of style between our reliefs and this group, but the facial types of the Externsteine relief are so reminiscent of those at Chichester that it is difficult to imagine that this is accidental. Moreover, the treatment of the figure of St. John on the rock-carving shows an undoubted link with the St. John on the Barking relief, as has been pointed out by Beenken.[3]

It has already been suggested by Sir Thomas Kendrick and Sir Eric Maclagan that the style of the Chichester reliefs has analogies with German art of the 11th and the 12th centuries. As instances of these analogies, they quoted the reliefs of the bronze column at Hildesheim

[1] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage* ii (Oxford, 1903), 58.
[2] Porter, *loc. cit.*
[3] H. Beenken, *Romanische Skulptur in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1924), 96.

and the relief of Christ and St. Mary Magdalen at Gernrode.[1] To these can also be added three fragments from St. Pantaleon at Cologne (Pl. XXVIIc), preserved in the Diocesan Museum of that city. They are thought to date from about 1170–80, but their similarity to the Externsteine relief makes such a late dating very doubtful.[2]

It is generally accepted that the style of the St. Albans Psalter has its roots in Ottonian art. It is not surprising to find a similar source for the Chichester reliefs and for the group of sculptures stylistically related to them. It would have been tempting to associate the German parentage of the Chichester reliefs with the person of the Bishop of Chichester, Ralph de Luffa, who was probably a German.[3] Ralph died in 1123, and this seems to exclude the possibility of his personal patronage over the reliefs. He could, however, have established contacts with Germany and German art which resulted in a choice of sculptors trained on German models. It is certainly a curious fact that one of the chapels of Chichester Cathedral was consecrated by Bishop Ralph to St. Pantaleon, whose cult was closely associated with Cologne, and that the fragments from St. Pantaleon at Cologne show resemblance to the Chichester reliefs. However, we do not need to look only to Bishop Ralph for the explanation of German elements in the Chichester reliefs. The artistic bonds between England and Germany in the 11th and the first half of the 12th century were many, and are as evident in the field of sculpture as in architecture, illumination and metalwork.

All these remarks agree in every detail with the analysis of the Chichester reliefs made by Sir Thomas Kendrick. It can be said, of course, that my arguments are in most cases only tentative suggestions, and I am only too well aware of it. What I do hope to have established with some degree of certainty is the date of the Chichester reliefs in the second quarter of the 12th century.

[1] Kendrick, *op. cit.*, 53.

[2] Beenken, *op. cit.*, 180.

[3] Ordericus Vitalis calls him "Radulfus cognomento Luffa Cicestrense", *Historiae Ecclesiasticae*, ed. August A. Le Prevost, IV (Paris, 1852), 12. M. E. C. Walcott, The Early Statutes of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity, Chichester, *Archaeologia*, xlv (1877), 195, suggests that Luffa can be identified as Lauffen near Heilbronn.

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