

# The Romanesque carved stones

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### 1. The assemblage

The fieldwork was undertaken between 8th – 11th June 2010, with a repeat visit on 7th December, and in the course of the work 91 stones were examined that had either been previously labelled Romanesque or were so identified by the author. The criteria here were slightly unusual, in that the *terminus ante quem* for the style was taken to be the fire of 1184 rather than the more usual 1200 date. The most obvious consequence of this was the exclusion of anything carved with stiff-leaf or related foliage carving, which would usually be at least considered. A total of eight stones were rejected, so that what remained were 83 Romanesque (or possibly Romanesque) carved stones.

The loose stones were photographed, measured and examined visually to identify the stone type. Only three types of stone were discovered in the group. There were 51 pieces of blue lias, 31 of Doulling stone and one of Dundry. Blue lias is a late Triassic or early (Lower) Jurassic formation – a fine limestone or mudstone. It outcrops in a belt running south from Glastonbury and Shepton Mallet to Ilminster and Whitchurch. Physically it is hard, wear resistant and very small-grained, and its attractive colour and fine texture make it one of the most attractive of all the English stones for sculpture, but its beds are rarely more than 0.3m thick. Its layered formation also makes it suitable for the production of gravestones and paving slabs, but it also makes it susceptible to splitting, so that it is much used for rubble building and as a source of lime for cement.<sup>1</sup> Doulling stone is a Jurassic Inferior Oolite limestone, quarried at Doulling, near Shepton Mallet, some ten miles to the west.<sup>2</sup> It was fairly widely used locally; in parish churches and at Wells Cathedral as well as Glastonbury, where it forms most of the ashlar facing of the abbey church. For sculpture it is useful, being hard and fairly uniform with a medium grain size and a sugary texture, although it cannot take fine detail. Dundry stone is another Jurassic limestone from Dundry Hill south of Bristol.<sup>3</sup> It is yellowish with a fine, even grain, apparently finer and softer than Doulling but is susceptible to weathering and industrial smoke. It was widely used in medieval Wales and the west of England, notably at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol; St John's, Cardiff; and Llandaff Cathedral.

In this report the Romanesque blue lias stones will be considered first; describing the history of their discovery, their style and date, and the types of architectural components represented by the assemblage. There next follows a similar treatment of the Romanesque oolitic limestone sculpture. Finally, an extended discussion will concentrate chiefly on the more artistically significant blue lias sculpture; addressing the sometimes misguided interpretations attached to it by generations of art historians, examining the evidence for the form of the cloister from which it came, and placing it in a workshop milieu associated with its patron, Henry of Blois. The scanty remains of oolitic sculpture offer no such opportunity for analysis, but a brief analysis of the reasons for the shortage of this class of material is offered.

### **Blue lias sculpture**

Fifty-one of the carved or moulded blue lias stones at Glastonbury were identified as certainly or possibly Romanesque (see appendix 1). Of these, three are parts of waterleaf capitals – a design typical of the 1170s;<sup>4</sup> four more are pieces of plain roll necking with no decorative carving;<sup>5</sup> and three are fragments of an uncertain form that cannot be attributed to the Romanesque group with any confidence.<sup>6</sup> This leaves the main group of forty stones, normally associated with the mid-12<sup>th</sup> century cloister built by Abbot Henry of Blois, and the so-called fragment of Abbot Herlewin's tomb, which might not be that at all, and is more fully discussed below.<sup>7</sup>

### **Provenance of the blue lias stones**

The earliest mention of this group of stones is found in Richard Warner's *History of the Abbey of Glaston* published in 1826, which illustrates two carved stones that had been dug up 'some years ago, in the area of the great church; and are now in the collection of Mr Reeves,'<sup>8</sup> (see fig 1). One is now in the Glastonbury Abbey museum, accessioned as S519 (fig 2), while the other, distinguished by what appears to be the body of a horse tangled in foliage, has not been identified. A search for the latter in and around Abbey House by Dr Green and the author failed to yield positive results.<sup>9</sup> It is worth quoting from the description of the plate at some length,

It is not within the compass of human art to produce a more exquisite piece of *stone engraving*, (for it cannot be called *chiselling*) than the originals are from which this plate was executed. The grace of the design, the richness and complexity of the pattern, the accuracy and sharpness of the lines, on these stones, are all equally surprising; nor is our wonder lessened, when we recollect that this marvellous tracery is worked upon a substance of uncommon hardness, and most difficult polish, -- the *blue lias*. The fragments are about eight inches in height, and appear to have formed part of a splendid *frieze*. There can be no doubt, that such a costly and elaborate piece of workmanship must originally have been intended as the decoration of that member of the cathedral, which was most sacred and honourable in the estimation of the inmates of Glaston Abbey. This would, of course, be the *high altar of the Blessed Virgin*, to whose honour the whole pile was dedicated.

The rest of the caption is an account of what such a high altar must have looked like, based on Davies's description of the high altar of Durham cathedral,<sup>10</sup> and is therefore irrelevant here. Neither should the misidentification of the two stones as belonging to a frieze be dwelt upon, but Warner made a few important points. His appreciation of the workmanship includes the observation that it is more like engraving than chiselling, i.e. the style is linear and very precisely done. He also correctly identified the stone as blue lias, and described its properties from the sculptor's viewpoint.

The next discovery was a capital now in the Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum (fig 3), to which it was presented by James Brown, a local antiquarian, before 1870 but apparently after 1864.<sup>11</sup> Brown, who died in 1895 aged 69, was described in an obituary notice as,

much respected in Salisbury and regretted by many throughout the County of Wilts, as a keen and competent archaeologist of singularly modest and unassuming character. He had formed a considerable collection of flint implements, many of which he gave to the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury; and also of the weapons of existing savage races.<sup>12</sup>

It is not known where Brown found the capital, and it now appears likely that he simply gave his discovery to the Salisbury museum because he had connections there, and it was reasonably local. In any event it was generally assumed to be from Old Sarum until the bulk of the Glastonbury cloister material had been excavated. It is unfortunate that this capital, far and away the most complete and best preserved of all the stones, should have misled art historians into a false attribution for so long. It is the surviving half of a free-standing double capital, of full height and including large parts of two faces. These are carved with similar designs, with lion masks at the upper angles from whose mouths issue pairs of stems carved with zigzag and beading. The stems form large heart-shaped loops on each face; held by a zigzag and beaded clasp high on the central axis of each face. The lowest point of each loop is covered by a trilobed leaf form rising from the plain roll necking, and a tapered stem with zigzag decoration rises vertically from this to the central clasp. Furred leaves also descend from the clasp, and the lower spandrels of the bell are carved with leaves and berries.<sup>13</sup>

Frederick Bligh Bond, who excavated the Glastonbury site between 1908 and 1921, published photographs of 'two pieces of carved blue lias' in 1913,<sup>14</sup> describing them as in private hands and probably relics of Herlewin's church, built around 1100 AD. He further reported that a large number of similar stones had been turned up in the course of excavations under the crossing of the abbey church, and in the surrounding area, and that these were in the custody of the abbey trustees. He recognised that the two stones illustrated by Richard Warner were of the same order, and noted that the larger stone (now S519) was built into the stable wall of Abbey House 'whence it should be recovered as it is perishing from exposure', while the smaller, showing a horse, was lost. He took the view that

all this series of lias-stones are from a presbytery wall-arcade in the earlier church, whose eastern limit probably came under the central tower of the later church.<sup>15</sup>

More fragments of blue lias sculpture were recorded in 1927, when Theodore Fyfe was digging at the west end of the church, and where finds included,

some fragments of blue lias shafting and carved work which correspond with the fragments now in the abbey museum (ascribed to Herlewin's church).<sup>16</sup>

Between 1951 and 1964 the excavations were carried out by C A Raleigh Radford under the direction of a committee appointed by the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London. During this time Radford published no full reports at all, but when the British Archaeological Association held their annual conference at Wells and Glastonbury in 1978 he produced an interim report on the entire sequence of investigations from 1908 to 1964.<sup>17</sup> This, for the historian of sculpture, is rather disappointing, since it is structured as a history of the abbey and is strongly biased towards the pre-Romanesque period. All that is said about the Romanesque sculpture is that there is much fragmentary material in Dundry stone that may be attributed to the Romanesque church, that is coarse in detail but would have been effective at the height of the capitals for which it was designed.<sup>18</sup> The blue lias sculpture from the cloister he described as finer in detail and dating from the later years of Henry of Blois' abbacy, illustrating it with a photograph of S519, the stone described by Richard Warner and dug up before 1826, rather than in the course of the excavations described here.<sup>19</sup>

It is clear from the archaeological record that carved fragments from Henry of Blois' cloister were being excavated in various parts of the site from 1908 onwards, and that many of them were excavated around 1952-57 by Radford, who was digging in the cloister area at that time.

Unfortunately detailed records of find spots are not available for every stone. Of the 51 blue lias stones under consideration only five have a specific archaeological context, and just one of these belongs with Henry of Blois' cloister group.

This is S635, part of a capital including its necking and intersecting stems decorated with the typical beading and zigzag ornament, found in the cloister in 1957, although no more precise context is supplied (fig 4). The other contextualized stones are S936, a fragment of a waterleaf capital, and S941, a section of plain roll necking from a capital, both found in the abbot's hall cross trench or its eastern extension in 1962-63; S931, a tiny and undateable fragment, discovered in the west cloister walk trench in 1954; and S962, another stone, perhaps from a monument, that has no carving diagnostic of date and was found in a north transept trench in 1956. Two other stones are known to have been excavated by Radford in 1957, but no excavation spot was recorded. These are S521 and S522. Both belong to the Henry of Blois' cloister group, and indeed are striking enough to be included in the small group on display in the Visitors' Centre.<sup>20</sup> Other stones photographed by Radford in 1952 and therefore assumed to have been excavated by him in that year were S506 and S784, S779 and S629.<sup>21</sup> There are also undated photographs of stones S781, S627, S783 and the right-hand part of the broken capital S521.<sup>22</sup>

### **Characteristics of the blue lias stones**

Of the forty one stones in this group (forty at Glastonbury and the last at Salisbury), one is the so-called Herlewin tomb fragment,<sup>23</sup> eight are of parts of decorated shafts;<sup>24</sup> three are fragments of bases, identifiable by the presence of a heavy cuboidal plinth;<sup>25</sup> and 22 are certainly parts of capitals, confirmed by the presence of sections of necking or abacus.<sup>26</sup> The remaining seven fragments could be from either capitals or bases, but they have usually been assumed to come from capitals. The sculpture is characterised by a crisp, precise style of carving and a polished surface. Foliage stems are fleshy and decorated with surface patterns of beading, nailhead or zigzag, and there is a liberal use of beaded clasps. Leaves and flowers are either furled or multi-lobed, and have a similar repertoire of decoration. A common and attractive feature is the berry cluster, found on the Salisbury capital (fig 3) and on S520, S521 (fig 5), S624, S627 and S630. The Salisbury capital has lion masks on the angles, similar to the head on the base S522 (fig 6). A few fragments include parts of human figures: a head (S523 – fig 7), a hand (S636 – fig 8) and a lower leg (S524 – fig 9). The head at least belonged to a figural capital, as part of the distinctive abacus remains on the same fragment. Unfortunately none of these *disjecta membra* contain features associated with a specific iconography. A detailed examination of the dating issue must wait for the discussion section of this report, but for the present it is worth recording an almost universally agreed date around or shortly before the middle of the twelfth-century.<sup>27</sup>

### **Oolitic limestone sculpture**

#### **Description and provenance**

Thirty-one of the surviving stones either certainly or possibly identified as Romanesque are of Doulting stone and one is of Dundry (see appendix 2). Of the Doulting pieces, only one is questionable. This is S963, a tiny fragment with two concave faces, one of which bears traces of bright red paint. It may not be Romanesque and can be ignored. Another carved stone, S769, is certainly Romanesque but its precise function is unclear: it has foliage carving on the rectangular main face, but a short face that meets this at an acute angle is apparently carved with parallel shallow rolls (fig 10). Voussoirs (ten stones) and capitals (seven stones) make up the bulk of the remaining material. There are also four grave-markers; two jambstones and one each of corbels, grotesque heads, imposts, shafts, double label stones and arch spandrels. The Dundry piece, S672, is a centripetal chevron voussoir (fig 11). There are two carved

Romanesque stones known from Radford photographs but not found in the museum and known at present only by their photograph numbers. One is 18501, a Radford photograph apparently depicting a limestone voussoir or jambstone carved on three faces with beaded strapwork interlacing with half-rolls on each carved face (fig 12). The other is 18519, a 1954 Radford photograph, which shows carving on one face of a stone, consisting of diverging stems, one with beading, and a leaf with a nebuly edge and double-wedge veins (fig 13). This ornament is related to S769.

Once again, detailed provenances are available for few of the stones. A record for the scallop capital S720 (fig 14) describes it as having been excavated in the Silver Street trench in 1978; i.e. a section of the precinct wall to the north of the church. As this is a thirteenth-century wall the capital must have been reused as building material. S1278, a chevron voussoir, was found among a pile of stones that was heaped up against the north wall of the precinct, but no excavation site is known.

### **The stones: function and design**

#### **Daisy labels**

Two of the voussoirs (S622 and S757) and the double label (S1235) are from similar arches with a hollow chamfer carved with a row of six-petalled daisies in relief, and outside this a face carved with a row of beading (fig 15). The voussoirs must therefore be assumed to come from labels too, and the geometry of the stones suggests blind arcading or double window openings rather than a main arcade or a gallery.

#### **Chevron voussoirs and jambstones**

Voussoirs S1213 and S1239 are from similar, though not identical arches, with a design of point-to-point chevron on two faces of an order that meet at a right angle (figs 16 and 17). Where they meet there is a row of lozenges. The two stones differ in the number of rows of chevron on each face; S1213 has one and S1239 has two. Apart from this pair there is little in the way of comparable chevron designs, but a wide range of various degrees of sophistication, indicating some experimentation with chevron forms but not necessarily a wide date-range. S1216 and S1240 (fig 18) both have frontal chevron; i.e. carved with points at right angles to the plane of the arch, but do not come from the same size or design of arch. S1278 and the Dundry stone S672 (fig 11) both have centripetal chevron, with the chevrons pointing inwards towards the arch centre, but they could not be from the same design of arch. The most complex chevron is found on S1221, unfortunately in a very poor condition, but clearly carved with free-standing chevrons carved over a roll; a type known as directional (fig 19). A similar design may be seen in the 1180s at Worksop Priory church (Notts) on the west doorway, or in the infirmary arcade at Ely (c 1170-90 (fig 20).

The well-preserved jamb-stone in the Visitors' Display Centre (S761 – fig 21) is carved with three units of centripetal chevron with rows of heavy beading surrounding half-medallions outside the chevrons. This boldly carved and substantial stone must be from a large arched opening, presumably a doorway.

#### **Other voussoirs**

Voussoir S896, decorated with billet, shows another common Romanesque decoration not really diagnostic of date beyond the first half of the twelfth-century.

#### **Capitals**

Six of the seven Douling capitals are variants of the scallop capital, and the seventh a related multi-fluted form. Typologically S720 is the earliest, of c 1100 (fig 22). It is a narrow double-

scallop capital, carved on all four faces and including a heavy roll necking and a section of the cylindrical shaft below it. The abacus is plain and damaged, and the scallop shields are barely defined. Its size suggests that it may have capped the central shaft of a small double opening, such as a window or a gallery. S724 is a nook-shaft capital, probably from a multi-order doorway or window (fig 23). The sheathed cones are accurately carved, and the heavy roll necking points to a date in the first quarter of the century. S704 is another heavy capital, carved on three faces at the end of a long block intended for insertion into masonry, as in blind arcading (fig 24). The scallops are single on the side faces and double on the central face, with shields outlined by grooves. The central face might have a third shield overlapping the two that cap the cones, but a major loss in this area makes it impossible to be certain. S857 is another scallop capital carved on three faces, but it is lower in aspect and has an integral impost block (fig 25). The triple capital, S730, was made for a wide shaft flanked by two thinner ones, typical of gallery openings or complex blind arcades (fig 26). Its integral imposts are tall and have been cut back on all but one face, which has a hollow chamfer below an upright face with a pronounced quirk between the two elements. The multi-fluted capital S699 is badly eroded and was originally carved on all four faces to cap a slender shaft. Typologically it belongs in the second half of the century. Stylistically later is the beautifully carved trumpet scallop capital, S698 (fig 27). It is carved on two adjacent faces to cap a nook-shaft, and the trumpets are sheathed in their lower parts in a way that resembles fabric stretched over the stone. This must date from c 1170-90.

### **Heads and corbels**

In the museum is a comical grotesque head, S695, with bulging, drilled eyes surrounded by circular ridges; a bulbous, fleshy nose; and a wide mouth drilled at either end so that the tongue is left in the centre (fig 28). In form it is wide at the bottom, with prominent cheeks, and narrower at the top. It has been described as a corbel head, as such things generally are, but there is no sign of the part of the corbel that went into the wall, or of the kind of backing normally found on corbel motifs. It seems likelier that it was an apex head over an arch, or the terminal of a label, or simply a random relief. The lion stone, S655, is problematic in a different way (fig 29). It has lost its head, but the mane identifies it as a lion, and the way it is treated, with short tufts ending in drilled spirals, identifies it as twelfth-century work, as does the beading found elsewhere on the block. It is hollow, and this is what suggests a gargoyle; it looks as if it was designed to channel water. But this would be revolutionary at this date, and we must reluctantly conclude that the square hole was simply there to locate the lost head.

### **Grave markers**

There are four Douling stone grave markers in the collection; three originally with cross patée heads and two of these recut for use as corbels after the 1184 fire. One of these, S659 (fig 30), has decoration remaining in the form of a six-petalled daisy surrounded by a beaded ring in the central boss; the other, S660, has been shaved back for its reuse, so that any ornament is gone. The most interesting is S688 (figs 31 and 32), carved on one face with an Agnus Dei surrounded by beading, and on the other with a crouching beast holding a severed human head between its front paws: a visual reminder of the alternative fates awaiting the occupant of the grave. This stone has also been reused, but as a gravestone for someone whose initials, J.A.D. are carved on the front face below the Agnus Dei.

### **Arch spandrels**

Only one of these survives (S843 – fig 33); a simple quadrant with a fat soffit roll, surrounded by a flattened roll forming an arc of larger diameter, tangential to the inner roll and decorated on its intrados with a row of heavy beading.

## Discussion

### Historiography of the blue lias sculpture

By the mid-1950s, as we have seen, a large number of blue lias stones, finely decorated with distinctive beaded and zigzag ornamented foliage forms had been excavated and placed in the abbey stone store, but at this stage they had not been associated with Henry of Blois or his cloister. It was at precisely this time that two important and influential books on English Romanesque art appeared, and from their authors' point of view the timing could not have been much worse.<sup>28</sup> The capital in Salisbury Museum was well-established, it seemed, as high-grade work from Old Sarum; while the collection of stones building up at Glastonbury had not been around for long enough to be the subject of serious study. T S R Boase's long discussion of the Salisbury capital associated it with Bishop Roger's (1107-39) rebuilding of the church as described in eulogistic terms by William of Malmesbury,<sup>29</sup> assuming it had come from the Old Sarum site and identifying the stone as blue marble; an ambiguous term commonly used to describe blue-hued Purbeck marble but equally applicable to Tournai marble.<sup>30</sup> Boase perhaps clarified his position by describing the capital as,

admirably carved with an elaboration of cutting unknown in English work of the period and probably an import from abroad.<sup>31</sup>

George Zarnecki made the same assumptions; that it was from Old Sarum, and that it was a Flemish import of Tournai marble.<sup>32</sup> He dated it 1150-75, however, divorcing it from Bishop Roger's work and linking it instead to the time of Joscelin de Bohun. Unlike Boase, Zarnecki was familiar with Reeves's discovery, and Buckler's drawing of it, and he had also seen

fragments of marble capitals in the Abbey museum at Glastonbury, all exhibiting a style very close to that of the Old Sarum capital.<sup>33</sup>

Unwilling to abandon the Old Sarum attribution, however, he concluded that

it seems certain that all these capitals were brought to England ready-made from Flanders and used in places widely separated.<sup>34</sup>

For the sake of completeness mention must also be made of Lawrence Stone's survey of British medieval sculpture that appeared in the *Pelican History of Art* series, two years after the works by Zarnecki and Boase, both of which are cited in his bibliography. Despite including a long discussion of the Tournai marble trade, Stone made no mention of the Henry of Blois cloister sculpture, either at Glastonbury or Old Sarum.<sup>35</sup>

The next episode in the story comes with the MA report on the sculptural patronage of Henry of Blois completed by Josephine Turquet, a student of George Zarnecki at the Courtauld Institute, in 1974,<sup>36</sup> the paper that served to introduce the Glastonbury discoveries into the art historical literature. She first used the conclusions of Bond and Peers *et al* to establish that the stone was not imported but local blue lias,<sup>37</sup> and concluded from this that the sculpture was by local sculptors, rather than a foreign import.<sup>38</sup> The Salisbury capital was now described as a Glastonbury capital, taken to Salisbury by its discoverer, James Brown. This is a double capital, of course, found more usually in cloisters than elsewhere, and Turquet concluded from this that all of the material came from the documented cloister of Henry of Blois. The arcaded blue lias stone S759, previously identified speculatively as part of the tomb of Abbot Herlewin, was proposed to be part of a lavatory basin by comparison with a similar fragment from Lewes Priory, and this added weight to the cloister interpretation (fig 34).<sup>39</sup> This



enigmatic stone is not easy to place. Certainly the furled leaf forms and nailhead ornamented stems above the fictive capitals and in the arch spandrels are comparable with fragments from the Henry of Blois cloister group (fig 35), but the fictive capitals themselves are comparable with stylistically later flat leaf or waterleaf forms, normally dated in the 1160s or '70s. It is well known, however, that it is unsafe to compare fictive and real forms; objects like tombs and lavatories gave an opportunity for experimental micro-architecture and is often avant-garde.

While it might be tempting to downplay Turquet's role in the re-evaluation of this group of stones, giving much of the credit to her supervisor, Zarnecki, this would surely be a mistake. An MA report is not a PhD, and the amount of input that the supervisor may, or would wish to exercise is very limited. It should also be noted that Zarnecki himself gave full credit to Turquet in his subsequent writings on the subject. Despite this, it is certainly the case that there would have been no major re-evaluation of the importance of this sculpture to the history of the English Romanesque without Zarnecki's intervention. This took place in the blockbuster exhibition of English Romanesque art held at the Hayward Gallery in 1984. Zarnecki was the driving force behind the exhibition, and he selected seven of the blue lias cloister fragments for display.<sup>40</sup> The sheer volume of Glastonbury material and its prominence in the exhibition and the catalogue marked an important watershed; the Glastonbury material at last took its rightful place alongside the sculptures from Reading, Hyde Abbey and Norwich as a paradigm of English Romanesque cloister sculpture of the highest quality.

Visual analyses have largely been directed towards establishing a style associated with Henry of Blois; not difficult as he had his fingers in so many pies for the entire central half of the twelfth-century. His two chief positions were the abbacy of Glastonbury from 1126 and the bishopric of Winchester from 1129, and he held both offices until his death in 1171.<sup>41</sup> At Winchester he began the enlargement of Wolvesey Palace, his official residence alongside the cathedral, in 1138,<sup>42</sup> and the site was excavated under the direction of Martin Biddle between 1961 and 1971.<sup>43</sup> In 1965 Biddle unearthed a section of door jamb that matched other colonnettes in Winchester City Museum,<sup>44</sup> and these are carved in deep relief with designs of beaded stems, and a great variety of leaf forms including multilobed leaves, furled leaves and pods and berries, so similar to the Glastonbury stones as to suggest that the same sculptor was at work (fig 36). The major difference is in the choice of stone: the Winchester shafts are in Caen limestone rather than a hard, fine-grained pseudo marble like blue lias, Tournai or Purbeck. Turquet and Zarnecki have also made comparisons with works in other media associated with Henry of Blois, such as the Winchester Psalter (London BL Cotton Nero C.IV),<sup>45</sup> two pierced ivory panels from book-covers now in the V&A museum, and the walrus ivory arm of a stool in the Museo Nazionale in Florence, attributed by John Beckwith to Winchester and certainly dateable to Henry's time there. While comparisons are very close, especially with the psalter, there cannot possibly be any connection at the level of production between such works and stone carvings. Indeed it is difficult to see under what circumstances the stone carvers would have seen manuscripts and ivory book covers at all, and therefore any similarity must represent copying of the masonry capitals by the miniature painters and ivory carvers.<sup>46</sup>

The object most commonly associated with the Glastonbury cloister capitals is the tomb of Gundrada; a Tournai marble slab carved with two rows of palmette-like foliage forms with furled leaves, beaded stems, berries and cat-masks (fig 37). Gundrada was the wife of William de Warenne, Earl of Surrey, and died in childbirth in 1085. Together William and Gundrada founded the Cluniac priory of St Pancras in Lewes (Sussex) in the 1070s, but her present tomb slab dates from the rebuilding of the priory church in the years 1142-47.<sup>47</sup>

The repertoire of motifs on the Gundrada tombstone is close enough to that of the Glastonbury capitals to have convinced Zarnecki that the two are the products of the same workshop. He maintained this association even when it had been established beyond any doubt that the Gundrada tombstone was of Tournai while the Glastonbury capitals were of blue lias; moving from a position in the 1950s when both were imports to one in the 1980s when both were English work.<sup>48</sup> This caused him no difficulties since he considered blue lias to be a cheaper local substitute for Tournai marble;<sup>49</sup> indeed there is an element of indignation in his statement that 'the Salisbury capital has masqueraded for many years as Tournai stone.'<sup>50</sup> Turquet was also convinced that the Gundrada tombstone was the work of the artists who carved the Glastonbury cloister capitals, even putting forward the suggestion, not entertained by anyone else, that the tombstone might be of blue lias and not Tournai at all.<sup>51</sup>

The links between Henry of Blois and Lewes priory are less direct than those he had with Glastonbury and Winchester. He was, of course, a monk of Cluny before his appointment to Glastonbury, and throughout his life he was a generous donor to the Cluniac order.<sup>52</sup> When he was appointed to the see of Winchester, it was to Lewes priory that he turned for a deputy to oversee his work at Glastonbury. This was a monk called Robert, who himself was appointed to the see of Bath in 1136.<sup>53</sup> Both Henry and Robert officiated at the rededication of Lewes priory in 1147, and this occasion might well have offered the first opportunity to see Gundrada's new tombstone.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to these comparisons, Zarnecki was insistent in his later writings on the similarities between the Wolvesey and Glastonbury material and sculpture from the abbey of Saint-Denis on the outskirts of Paris, most significantly from our point of view the colonnettes on Abbot Suger's west doorways, carved with foliage forms that he juxtaposed with the Wolvesey Palace jamb fragments (fig 38).<sup>55</sup> This Saint-Denis comparison was not generally accepted, receiving somewhat guarded criticism from Willibald Sauerländer in his review of the *English Romanesque Art* exhibition,<sup>56</sup> but the comparison was important to Zarnecki who wished to date the English material later than Turquet or Biddle and used the Saint-Denis consecration date of July 14th 1140 to do so:

both Turquet and Biddle have dated these jamb fragments to c 1135 and c 1140 respectively. My own belief is that they are a little later and date to between 1140 and 1150.<sup>57</sup>

Although there are general similarities between the Henry of Blois group and the sculpture at Saint-Denis, these are not sufficient to imply any kind of connection at the level of production, or even, as Zarnecki seems to suggest, that the English work would not have been possible without the French models. Turquet placed the Glastonbury and Wolvesey work in a broad line of development through the Canterbury crypt capitals and the Reading Abbey cloister capitals, and there are sufficient parallels there and in the capitals from Hyde Abbey, Winchester to render any reliance on Saint-Denis unnecessary.<sup>58</sup>

The overriding importance of this sculpture is as a coherent group of high-quality carvings, associated with a figure of international importance in Henry of Blois, King Stephen's brother. Its artistic connections are not with local, South West English workshops, but with work produced at sites he controlled. Although the direct connection between the Glastonbury capitals and Abbot Suger's west front at Saint-Denis has been rejected here, it is important to remember that it was once considered reasonable, and further that throughout their known history these pieces have often been attributed to continental workshops, precisely because they demonstrated no local stylistic affiliations. It was not until they were put together with

other works produced under Henry's patronage; the Gundrada tomb slab and Biddle's discoveries at Winchester that their true position and significance began to emerge. Turquet's suggestion that they were descendants of the Reading Abbey style is an interesting one since that magnificent assemblage of cloister sculpture was similarly produced under royal patronage, that of Henry I, and its stylistic antecedents are not local but related to other sculpture produced under his patronage, originally in his Norman abbeys of Lonlay, Domfront and Goult, and later at Westminster and Norwich castle.<sup>59</sup> In examining the issue of the national and international significance of the Glastonbury blue lias sculpture, therefore, it is probably helpful to see it as akin to a court style, transcending local links and expressing a visual ideology personal to Henry of Blois.

### **The Design of Henry of Blois' cloister arcade**

Of the forty-one stones in this group (forty at Glastonbury and the last at Salisbury), eight are of parts of decorated shafts;<sup>60</sup> three are fragments of bases, identifiable by the presence of a heavy cuboidal plinth;<sup>61</sup> and 22 are certainly parts of capitals, confirmed by the presence of sections of necking or abacus.<sup>62</sup> The remaining seven fragments could be from either capitals or bases, but they have usually been assumed to come from capitals.

Both the Salisbury capital and stone S783 (fig 3 and 39) were double capitals, as shown by the preservation of the adjoining neckings and parts of the bells in both cases. In contrast, there is no stone that can be incontrovertibly shown to come from a single capital. It has therefore usually been assumed that the entire cloister arcade was carried on paired shafts, as at Norwich cathedral or Bridlington priory, rather than single ones, as at Reading abbey,<sup>63</sup> but while the evidence in these cases is unimpeachable, at Glastonbury it is not. The capitals and bases here are in a fragmentary state, and while a small piece of a double capital can be identified by the junction of two bells and their neckings, a similarly small part of a single capital could have no such diagnostic feature. In short there is no fragment that comprises enough of the capital to identify it certainly as single. It is thus entirely possible that Glastonbury had a system of alternating single and twin shafts, as in the contemporary infirmary cloister at Christ Church Canterbury.<sup>64</sup> At Canterbury the fat single shafts with a diameter of 0.20-0.23m were of imported onyx marble while the slimmer paired shafts (diameter 0.12m) were of Purbeck.<sup>65</sup> At Glastonbury fragments of eight shafts survive, but in only four cases is there enough to estimate the diameter. Three of these have diameters between 0.140m and 0.142m, while the fourth is significantly fatter at 0.180m.<sup>66</sup> This evidence is by no means conclusive; the fatter shaft may have come from a doorway or other feature, but it does keep alive the possibility that the cloister arcades had alternating single and double supports.

The shafts are not plain but decorated with spiral or chevron ornament; two different spiral designs and three designs of chevron. The commonest design, found on four of the eight shafts including the fatter shaft, S517, is a double cable design in which broad hollows and triple wedges alternate – best preserved on S766 (fig 40).<sup>67</sup> The other spiral design, found only on S760, is identical except that there are double wedges rather than triple ones alternating with the broad hollows (fig 41). The directional chevron designs, found on the other three shafts, are all similar but not identical. In S502, the chevrons are alternate concavely and convex sections with triple-wedge mouldings separating; S784 has broad, shallow rolls alternating with the triple wedges, and S785 has broad hollows, again alternating with triple wedges (fig 42).

An examination of the three surviving base fragments will complete the analysis of the blue lias cloister sculpture. All three, S34, S522 and S625 (fig 43-45), are identifiable as base

fragments by the presence of a tall, cuboid plinth or socle integral with the carved work above it. The lion base, S522 is justly among the most celebrated of all the cloister stones.<sup>68</sup> Both S34 and S625 are carved with beaded foliage forms in bold relief, and each shows an angle of the base, but the designs differ and they are assumed to be from different bases.

The blue lias capitals, shafts and bases from the cloister described above supported arcades, in the original arrangement, and it might seem surprising that no richly carved blue lias voussoirs or springers have been found. Of course the arches could have been carved from Doulling stone, but in view of the pattern of discoveries it seems certain that they were either plain or simply moulded. To expand, each arch of the cloister arcade would contain two double springers and five or seven voussoirs, and if these were carved it would be reasonable to expect to find as many double springers as capitals, and at least five times as many voussoirs. As a comparison, the museum in Reading holds 20 Romanesque cloister capitals and approximately 60 voussoirs at the last count. That cloister was demolished at the Dissolution and sold off to several purchasers, so the situation there is rather different but the main point – that many times more voussoirs than capitals have survived – is still relevant.<sup>69</sup> Of course, we do not know for sure just how many capitals we have at Glastonbury, but we certainly do not possess the kind of large collection of similar voussoirs that would make up the arches they carried.

### **The Oolitic limestone sculpture**

The Doulling and Dundry stone sculpture has not aroused the same kind of interest as the blue lias, and for two very good reasons. First it does not form a coherent group, in terms of either style or function, and second it does not display anything like the same kind of virtuosity. In brief, it seems to be a small and incoherent collection of pieces of common types. Apart from the daisy label sections, and the grave-markers that form a separate group, no two of the oolitic carved stones can be associated together. This is strikingly different from the group of blue lias stones, almost all of which belong together. This must be related to the dispersal and reuse of carved stones after the fire of 1184, and the discovery of the scallop capital S720 reused in a thirteenth-century context supports this hypothesis.

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<sup>1</sup> Prudden 2002, 32-33. For a useful survey of quarrying in this part of the country, see Ellis 2006, 135-42

<sup>2</sup> Prudden 2002,34.

<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>4</sup> S.514, S.516, S.936

<sup>5</sup> S.507, S.510, S512, S.941.

<sup>6</sup> S.931, S.962, S.513

<sup>7</sup> S.759

<sup>8</sup> Warner 1826, lxxv. Reeves was described in 1825 as the recent purchaser of the abbey domain (*New Monthly Mag. 1825*, 15, 287). John Buckler (1770-1851) built Abbey House for him at the eastern end of the site in 1829-30. It is now a retreat house belonging to the diocese.

<sup>9</sup> *VCH Somerset* 2006, IX, 11-16 notes that fragments of medieval carvings are to be found in the cellars, and these were examined carefully but no Romanesque carvings were found.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* lxxv-lxxvi.

<sup>11</sup> It is recorded in the 1870 edition of Stevens 1864, but not the first edition. For oral testimony, see Stalley 1971, 75 note 1.

<sup>12</sup> *Wilts Archaeol and Nat Hist Mag*, 28 1896, 266-67.

<sup>13</sup> The capital was exhibited in 1984 (see Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984,184) by which time Zarnecki had recognized that it was a blue lias capital from Glastonbury and redated it to c.1150.

<sup>14</sup> Bond 1913, 63-64 and plates III E, III F.

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- <sup>15</sup> Ibid, 64.
- <sup>16</sup> Fyfe 1927, 324-25.
- <sup>17</sup> Radford 1981.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid, 131. Later workers have established that most of this material is in Doulling stone rather than Dundry, including the example illustrated at plate XXIV E.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid, plate XXIV F.
- <sup>20</sup> S.521 a capital fragment and S.522 the lion's head base.
- <sup>21</sup> Photographs 18495, 18503 and 18506. He also photographed the Reeves capital, S.519 in 1952 (18499) therefore it may have entered the collection in that year.
- <sup>22</sup> Photographs 18507, 18523 and 18561.
- <sup>23</sup> S.759
- <sup>24</sup> S.502, S.506, S.511, S.517, S.760, S.766, S.784, S.785.
- <sup>25</sup> S.34, S.522, S.625
- <sup>26</sup> S.501, S.505, S.515, S.519, S.520, S.521, S.523, S.624, S.627, S.628, S.630, S.631, S.632, S.633, S.634, S.635, S.779, S.780, S.781, S.783, S.786 and the Salisbury capital.
- <sup>27</sup> Zarnecki (1986, 161) suggested 1140-50, Turquet (1974, 20) c.1135, and Biddle (1966, 327) c.1140.
- <sup>28</sup> Boase 1953; Zarnecki 1953.
- <sup>29</sup> Boase 1953, 118 pl. 43b.
- <sup>30</sup> Neither of which, as is well known, is a true marble.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>32</sup> Zarnecki 1953, 17-18.
- <sup>33</sup> Ibid, 17-18.
- <sup>34</sup> Ibid, 18.
- <sup>35</sup> Stone 1955, 88-89.
- <sup>36</sup> Turquet 1974.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid, 8; Bond 1913; Peers et al 1931.
- <sup>38</sup> Ibid, 13.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid, 9.
- <sup>40</sup> Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984, 184-85.
- <sup>41</sup> On Henry of Blois, see Riall 1994.
- <sup>42</sup> *Annales Wintonia*, 51.
- <sup>43</sup> Biddle 1966. For a full list of excavation reports see Pastscape (English Heritage) monument number 230954
- <sup>44</sup> Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984, 183; Zarnecki 1986, 160-61, pl XLIVa, XLVIIa; Turquet 1974, pl.30-31.
- <sup>45</sup> Kauffmann 1975, 105-06.
- <sup>46</sup> A similar conclusion was reached in the case of the capitals in archbishop Anselm's crypt at Canterbury cathedral and the visually related manuscripts. See Gameson 1992.
- <sup>47</sup> Anderson 1988, 4.
- <sup>48</sup> Zarnecki 1953, 17-18. See also Boase 1953, 56.
- <sup>49</sup> Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984, 185.
- <sup>50</sup> Zarnecki 1986, 162.
- <sup>51</sup> Turquet 1974, 10.
- <sup>52</sup> Voss 1932, 118.
- <sup>53</sup> See Davis 1962, 224; Stacy 1999, 18-19.
- <sup>54</sup> Details are given in a charter of William, 3rd Earl of Warenne, most conveniently found in Hope 1884, 33.
- <sup>55</sup> Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984, 185; Zarnecki 1986, 160-62, pl XLIV a and b.
- <sup>56</sup> Sauerländer 1984, 515.
- <sup>57</sup> Zarnecki 1986, 161.
- <sup>58</sup> Turquet 1974, 10. For Hyde Abbey, see Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984, 172-73.
- <sup>59</sup> Baxter 2001, *passim*.
- <sup>60</sup> S.502, S.506, S.511, S.517, S.760, S.766, S.784, S.785.
- <sup>61</sup> S.34, S.522, S.625
- <sup>62</sup> S.501, S.505, S.515, S.519, S.520, S.521, S.523, S.624, S.627, S.628, S.630, S.631, S.632, S.633, S.634, S.635, S.779, S.780, S.781, S.783, S.786 and the Salisbury capital.
- <sup>63</sup> For Norwich, see Franklin 1983, 56-70; for Bridlington see Harrison 2006, 111-16; and for Reading see Baxter & Harrison 2002, 302-12.
- <sup>64</sup> Tatton-Brown 2006, 93-102.

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<sup>65</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>66</sup> S.760 0.142m; S.766 0.142m; S.785 0.140m; S.517 0.180m

<sup>67</sup> S.506, S.511, S.517, S.766.

<sup>68</sup> Zarnecki, Holt & Holland 1984, 182; Negus 2003, 250; Zarnecki 1986, 167.

<sup>69</sup> Baxter & Harrison 2002.

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*VCH Victoria County History*

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## **Appendices: Romanesque carved stones by stone type**

### **Appendix 1. Romanesque blue lias stones**

S.34

Fragment of a base consisting of an angle of the cuboidal plinth and the remains of foliage forms on the two adjacent faces above the angle. On the right face is a horizontal spatulate leaf with a beaded spine, and on the left face a similar leaf overlapped by a pair of vertical flat leaves with rounded tips and nailhead decoration along their spines. Max. height of block 0.095m; Max. width 0.116m; max depth 0.110m.

S.500



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Fragment of blue lias, badly split and flaked, probably from a capital. Fine sculpture survives in a fanned leaf form with longitudinal grooving and rounded terminals, and a spiral volute form. Max. length 0.165m; width 0.132m; height 0.050m.

S.501

Fragment of a blue lias capital consisting of one angle of the lower bell, above the necking (clearly once present but now chipped away). The lower surface is typically tooled to key the mortar joining it to a circular shaft. The bell is of concave form and in relief are sections of heavy semicircular stems or straps; the L decorated with zigzag and the R with nailhead, as if to define shields on the faces of the capital. Overlapping the L stem is a section of a similar stem decorated with zigzag. This should be compared with S 635. Max. width 0.123m; height 0.106m; thickness 0.060m.

S.502

Fragment of a cylindrical shaft carved with a directional chevron design consisting of alternate concave and convex sections with triple-wedge mouldings separating them. Height of block 0.13m; width 0.13m; thickness 0.065m. Insufficient thickness survives to allow an accurate estimate of the shaft diameter.

S.503

Fragment of blue lias, probably from the bell of a capital similar to S501. The only ornament surviving is a length of curved stem decorated with beading, clasped by a short section of a similar stem decorated with zigzag. Max. width 0.16m; max. height 0.12m; max thickness 0.11m.

S.504

Fragment of blue lias, probably from a capital, with most of the carved surface lost. All that survives is a fanned pair of tapering leaves carved along their spines with a row of beading. Both the tips of the leaves and their stems are lost. Max. width 0.15m; max. depth 0.11m; max. height 0.05m.

S.505

Fragment of a blue lias capital consisting of part of the plain roll necking with the tooled lower bearing surface surviving and, above the necking, part of the bell. This is decorated with a heavy, beaded vertical stem overlapped by a multilobed leaf that descends towards the necking and terminates in a scalloped edge. Three lobes survive, each with a different spinal decoration. On the left, beaded; in the centre zigzag; and on the right simply ribbed. below the scalloped lower edge of the leaf, the bell is carved with curving grooves above the necking. Max. height 0.105m; max. width 0.105m; max. depth 0.060m.

S.506

Fragment of a cylindrical shaft similar to S 511 and S.766, i.e. carved with a spiral design consisting of alternate concave and triple wedge forms. Max. length 0.165m; max. width 0.10m; max. depth 0.075m.

S.507

Part of the plain necking of a capital. Max. length 0.140m; max. width 0.050m; max. thickness 0.036m

S.509

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Fragment of blue lias, probably from a capital, whose main surviving carved decoration consists of a pair of confronted stems in relief with beaded decoration along their spines and volute tips. The recessed field between the stems is filled with incised cross-hatching. Max. length 0.085m; max. width 0.086m; max. height 0.040m.

S.510

Length of the plain roll necking of a blue lias capital, badly chipped. Max. length 0.064m; max. height 0.032m; max. thickness 0.025m.

S.511

Small section of a blue lias shaft as S.506 and S.766, i.e. a spiral design of triple wedges alternating with concave mouldings. Only a length of the triple wedge ornament survives. Max. length 0.095m; max. width 0.050m; max. thickness 0.020m.

S.512

Part of the plain roll necking of a capital or base with a chipped section surviving alongside the roll. Part of the tooled bearing surface also survives. Max. width 0.102m; max. height 0.046m; max. depth 0.033m.

S.513

A worked stone fragment of indeterminate function, consisting of a conical knob with, on one lower edge, a row of what appears to be heavy nailhead edged with sawtooth. Height 0.046m; width 0.060m; depth 0.050m.

S.514

The upper part of one face of a blue lias capital, consisting of a bifurcated flat leaf with a pellet between the leaf tips. The leaf is edged with a quirked roll, but neither of the leaf tips survive. The upper edge of the block survives, with a narrow, square abacus. This ornament is typical of a waterleaf or flat leaf capital. Max. width 0.055m; max. height 0.045m; max. thickness 0.020m.

S.515

A thin section of the bell of a blue lias capital, including a short length of the chamfered abacus. The chief decoration is a length of heavy, beaded strap. Max. width 0.084m; max. depth 0.085m, max. thickness 0.026m.

S.516

Part of a capital including a section of its plain chamfered necking and the carved face of the bell above it. The lower bearing face is dished to house a cylindrical shaft. The bell is carved with a fanned pair of deep ridges that rise from the necking to the irregular upper edge of the block, typical of a waterleaf or flat leaf capital. Max. height 0.120m; max. width 0.132m; max. thickness 0.026m.

S.517

Section of a shaft similar to S.766, i.e. a spiral design of triple wedges alternating with concave mouldings, but with a larger diameter. This fragment has facing surfaces surviving, allowing the diameter to be measured. Diameter 0.180m; max. height 0.047m; minor width 0.071m.

S.519

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The design is practically identical to that of the better-preserved double capital in Salisbury Museum (see Zarnecki et al (1984), 184-85, (149a)). This has been presumed to be another double capital, although there is no surviving evidence to confirm this. Carving survives on only two faces. The best-preserved has a central, vertical stem decorated with zigzag, rising to a zigzag decorated clasp from the top of which emerge a pair of stems that run to left and right. These are decorated on two of their faces with beading and zigzag. In the Salisbury capital similar stems terminate in lion masks on the angles, and emerge from the lions' mouths to descend in curves that meet at the bottom centre. All these features except the masks survive on this capital too. A triple leaf at bottom centre of the face covers the joint where the two stems meet. Also emerging from the central clasp are two short furled leaves with zigzag ornament that curve downwards, and in the lower corners of the face are beaded vegetal motifs representing fruit (but not the berries found on the Salisbury capital). The face to the right has scant remains of what must be a similar design. The roll necking survives in a badly chipped state, as does the upper bearing surface. Height of capital 0.230m; width of best face 0.160m; width of right face 0.210m.

In 1826 this capital was the property of J.F.Reeves of Abbey House, Glastonbury, when it was drawn by L.C.Buckler for Richard Warner's history of Glastonbury (Warner 1826).

#### S.520

Fragment of a capital consisting of the upper part of one face with its plain abacus and short sections of the faces to either side. There is a major loss to the upper left angle. Decoration takes the form of pairs of heavy, upright leaves rising from the (lost) necking, and terminating, where terminals survive, in furled, scalloped tips ornamented with clusters of berries. The flaring bodies of these leaves are decorated with either zigzag or nailhead. Only on the R of the main face does a complete pair of leaves survive, and here their tips are symmetrically addossed. Max. height of block 0.178m; width at top 0.300m; thickness at top 0.072m.

#### S.521

Fragment of a capital consisting of the entire upper part of one face, with its abacus, and slender remains of the two flanking faces. The capital has been broken vertically towards the right of the front face, and photograph 18523 shows just the smaller right hand section. In its assembled form, the front face design is symmetrical and consists of a single, inverted palmette with the downward-pointing tip lost. This broad, central lobe is flanked by a mirror pair with furled tips and a short mirror pair in the form of spiral leaves emerging from a nailhead-ornamented clasp at the top of the inverted palmette. All of these lobes have spines decorated with a row of beading. Above the clasp, the leaf is seen to grow from a mirror-pair of stems that curve outwards from the top centre of the face and down behind the furled side-lobes of the main palmette. Each angle of the front face is carved with a projecting furled leaf volute that encloses a cluster of berries. On the side faces are beaded stems mirroring those on the front face, to which they are joined by beaded clasps on the angles below the volutes. Max. height of block 0.170m; width at top 0.292m; thickness at top 0.080m.

#### S.522

Fragment of a base with integral cuboidal plinth. One angle is all that survives, carved with a lion's head in full relief. The eyes look human and are deep set, with well-rendered eyelids and brows. Above them and at the sides of the head, rows of tufty locks serve as a mane. The nose is fleshy and flattened but essentially humanoid, with flaring nostrils. A moustache curves to left and right, its hair indicated by reeding. The slightly open mouth has rows of upper teeth at left and right, and a pair of canines in the centre, above the protruding tongue. Issuing from the mouth, a pair of beaded stems curve to left and right, terminating on the right in a great volute (its counterpart on the left is lost. Above the head is another pair of

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curved, beaded stems. Max. height of block 0.140m; max. width of L face 0.090m; max. width of R face 0.095m.

S.523

The beardless head of a youth carved in the round, below the chamfered abacus of a capital. His hair is depicted as parallel striations running around the crown of his head in a series of gentle waves. His eyes are large and open wide, set under a brow and with upper and lower lids well defined. He has a large straight nose and a long upper lip above a short, closed mouth and a long pointed chin. His right ear is concealed by a large leaf. Height of block 0.065m; width of block 0.058m; depth of block at top 0.041m.

S.524

The draped knee of a seated figure, with a single break below the kneecap and parallel nested vee draperies to either side. There is nothing to indicate what kind of object this figure adorned, but a capital seems likeliest. Height of block 0.067m; width of block 0.065m; depth of block 0.05m.

S.624

A fragment of a blue lias capital including part of the plain roll necking and decoration on the bell consisting of two mirror symmetrical spiral foliage forms with rows of nailhead ornament and, on the right one, a cluster of berries. Height of block 0.092m; width 0.115m; thickness 0.097m.

S.625

Fragment of a base with integral cuboidal plinth, broken into two pieces vertically. One angle is all that survives, carved with a foliate spur with a beaded spine and terminating in a pair of symmetrical spiral leaves. To the left of the angle is the curved tip of a trefoil leaf in bold relief. Height of block 0.087m; width (left face) 0.090m; width (right face) 0.050m.

S.626

Fragment of blue lias, probably from a capital, carved with two furled leaves with beaded spines and scalloped tips. Height of block 0.086m; width 0.112m; thickness 0.180m.

S.627

Fragment of a blue lias capital including part of the abacus on one face and the foliage carving below it. This includes a heavy, diagonal curved stem decorated with zigzag, and above it to the right a fruit with berries, beading and zigzag, with a spiral tipped leaf under it. To the left of the diagonal stem is another similar which it crosses. Height of block 0.100m; width 0.050m; thickness 0.075m.

S.628

Fragment of a blue lias capital including part of its plain roll necking. The face is carved with a section of a curved zigzag decorated stem, and below it to the left is part of a spirital form decorated with a row of beading. Height of block 0.115m; width 0.055m; thickness 0.100m.

S.629

Blue lias fragment, probably from the face of a blue lias capital, carved with a section of zigzag ornamented stem looping underneath a fragment of palmette with a multiple-reeded stem clasped by a plain clasp, and spiral lobes above it. Part of the face is flaked away. Height of block 0.100m; width 0.080m; thickness 0.0150m.

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S.630

Fragment of a blue lias capital including part of the abacus above a spiral volute formed of a foliate form decorated with rows of beading and zigzag. This encloses a fruit of berries. A second volute is broken away to the right. Height of block 0.089m; width 0.046m; thickness 0.062m.

S.631

Fragment of a blue lias capital including part of its plain roll necking. The face is carved with a section of a curved zigzag decorated stem. Height of block 0.092m; width 0.095m; thickness 0.065m.

S.632

Fragment of a blue lias capital including part of its plain roll necking. The face is carved with a section of a curved zigzag decorated stem, as on S.631. Height of block 0.057m; width 0.094m; thickness 0.034m.

S.633

Fragment of a blue lias capital including part of its abacus and part of the face below it. This is carved with a section of a curved zigzag decorated stem. Height of block 0.085m; width 0.120m; thickness 0.038m.

S.634

Fragment of a blue lias capital carved with most of an upright lily with a furled left lobe surviving and the whole of the lanceolate central lobe, both decorated with grooving. This descends from the abacus of the capital. Height of block 0.145m; width 0.060m; thickness 0.115m.

S.635

Fragment of a blue lias capital with its plain roll necking, broken into two pieces approximately vertically. On the bell are two intersecting stems, curving tangentially to the necking. The right one is decorated with zigzag and is clasped with a short zigzag clasp at its right end. The left is beaded. This should be compared with S.501. Height of block 0.110m; width 0.100m; thickness 0.130m.

S.636

Fragment of blue lias carved with a left hand grasping the pleated edge of drapery. Other drapery alongside the wrist is decorated with a row of nailhead. Assumed to be from a capital, but no evidence for this. Height of block 0.050m; width 0.045m; thickness 0.025m.

S.759

An approximately rectangular fragment, complete at the top edge which is roll moulded, but broken at the other three. The front face is carved with a blind arcade in relief, consisting of one entire round-headed bay carried on fictive waterleaf or flat leaf capitals on badly chipped shafts, incomplete at the bottom. To the left is a similar half-arch and to the right most of a third arch. The capitals carry heavy two-stage impost. The spandrel above the left capital is decorated with a foliage design of vertical grooved leaves with scalloped upper edges and a pair of affronted furled leaves at top centre. Above the right impost is a beaded clasp from which emerges a pair of furled leaves clasping the soffits of the two flanking arches. In the spandrel is a heart-shaped beaded stem enclosing a pair of furled leaves. The back face of the block is flat. Max. width 0.532m; height 0.374m; thickness 0.150m. The capital forms point to a date around 1170. Reputedly part of the tomb of Abbot Herlewin.

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S.760

Length of a blue lias shaft carved with a spiral design alternating roll and hollow mouldings, each separated by a double wedge moulding. Length of shaft section 0.342m; diameter of shaft 0.142m.

S.766

Section of a cylindrical shaft carved with a spiral design of triple wedges alternating with concave mouldings, similar to S.506 and S.511. Length of block 0.352m; diameter 0.142m.

S.779

Angle fragment of a capital showing parts of two carved faces with the abacus and upper bearing surface. The carving consists of heavy beaded stems on each face curving to meet at a pair of spiral volutes on the angle. Part of a similar design on one face shows that this had mirror symmetry on each face. At the top centre of each face are remains of a double furled leaf on a vertical stem. Height of block 0.105m; width R face 0.155m; width L face 0.106m.

S.780

Fragment of a capital showing part of one carved face, and including a length of the roll necking and foliage forms above it. These consist of branching beaded stems with spiral leaf terminals. Height of block 0.145m; max. width of block 0.095m; thickness of block 0.165m.

S.781

Narrow fragment of a blue lias capital with a short length of the abacus at the top, and below it part of the breast or wing of a bird, convex and decorated with overlapping feathers. The curved left edge is bounded by a row of beading, which continues at the lower end of the carved face, below the bird. Max. height 0.155m; max. width 0.102m; max. thickness 0.049m.

S.783

Fragment of a double capital including parts of the plain roll neckings and parts of the lower bells of one face of both capitals. The surviving decoration is symmetrical across the two capitals suggesting that each capital's face had a symmetrical design. What survives is a spiral furled leaf at the lower angle, a curved zigzag stem and, on the left capital, an intersecting nailhead stem. Height of block 0.133m; width of front face 0.100m; max. depth of block 0.180m.

S.784

Fragment of a blue lias shaft carved with a directional chevron design of broad rolls alternating with triple wedges. Not enough of the circumference survives to allow an estimate of the diameter. Height of block 0.080m; width 0.20m; thickness 0.085m.

S.785

Fragment of a blue lias shaft, broken longitudinally into two approximately equal parts and repaired. It is carved with a directional chevron design of broad hollows alternating with triple wedges. Enough of the shaft remains to measure its diameter. Diameter of shaft 0.140m; height of block 0.172m; thickness normal to surviving diameter 0.096m.

S.786

Fragment of a capital consisting of part of the abacus and the top of the face decoration of one face only. The decoration consists of a pair of vertical beaded stems that terminate in an

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affronted pair of multilobed furled leaves with two rows of fine beading on their spines. Height of block 0.120m; width of block 0.090m; thickness 0.170m.

S.931

Small fragment of blue lias, too small to make out subject, and impossible to date. Probably not Romanesque. It was excavated by Raleigh Radford in 1954, in the west cloister walk trench, second bore hole from N end of trench under Saxon floor level. Dimensions 0.020m x 0.018m x 0.008m.

S.936

A fragment of a blue lias capital whose elements indicate a waterleaf design. It was excavated by Raleigh Radford in 1962, in the Abbot's Hall Cross Trench, 6ft from the south end at a depth of 1ft. Max. height 0.080m; max. width 0.075m; max. thickness 0.032m.

S.941

Section of the plain roll necking and a small part of the bell of a blue lias capital. It was excavated by Raleigh Radford in 1963, in the Abbot's Hall Cross Trench, E. extension III, S. cut I. Length 0.11m; max. height 0.050m; thickness 0.026m.

S.962

A fragment of blue lias moulding consisting of the right angled corner of a roll moulded framing element and part of the flat field that it framed. It has been suggested that this came from a monument, but it could equally belong to an altar or a screen. It may be Romanesque, or indeed of almost any date. It was excavated by Raleigh Radford on Aug 15th 1956, in the north transept, south trench 89ft from the altar wall., at a depth of 2ft 6ins, mixed with tufa and mortar. Max. length 0.071m; max. width 0.031m; thickness 0.035m.

## **Appendix 2. Romanesque Doultling & Dundry stones**

### **1. Doultling stone**

#### **Voussoirs**

S.622.

Doultling voussoir. A fragment of a hollow-chamfered voussoir similar to S.757 and the label stone S.1235, carved on the chamfer with a six-petalled daisy in relief, and on the face with a row of beading along the outer edge. Max. width 0.110m; max. radial length 0.130m; max. thickness 0.045m.

S.757.

Doultling voussoir. A hollow-chamfered voussoir carved on the chamfer with a six-petalled daisy in relief, and on the face with a row of beading along the outer edge. Width of extradados 0.210m; width of intrados 0.186m; radial length 0.135m.

S.896.

Billet voussoir. A hollow-chamfered Doultling stone voussoir carved on the chamfer with two rows of alternating billet. Width of extradados 0.320m; width of intrados 0.280m; radial length 0.203m; thickness of block 0.270m.

S.982.

Doultling stone chevron voussoir. Part of a chevron voussoir carved with a fat nook-roll. Height of block 0.080m; width of block 0.230m x 0.230m.

S.1213.

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Chevron voussoir. A chamfered Doulling stone voussoir carved with angled row of lozenges on the chamfer and point-to-point chevron on the face and soffit. Max. length of block 0.380m; max. thickness of block 0.170m; max. height of block 0.160m.

S.1216.

Chevron voussoir. An eroded voussoir in Doulling stone carved with a unit of frontal chevron. Max width 0.165m; max. length 0.230m; max. depth 0.150m.

S.1221.

Chevron voussoir. A badly damaged and worn Doulling stone voussoir carved with a unit of free-standing directional chevron over a roll. Max. width 0.210m; length 0.150m; thickness 0.170m.

S.1239.

Chevron voussoir. A Doulling stone voussoir of L-shaped section carved with lozenges in the centre flanked by a row of centripetal chevron angled in to either side. Max. width 0.410m; max. height 0.180m; max. depth into wall 0.280m.

S.1240.

Chevron voussoir. Doulling stone chevron voussoir carved with a lozenge on the soffit flanked by two pairs of chevron rolls, and frontal chevron on the faces. Max. length (soffit) 0.410m; max. width (soffit) 0.190m; max. thickness 0.270m.

S.1278.

Chevron voussoir. A chevron voussoir in Doulling stone carved with a single triangular unit of lateral centripetal chevron. It was formerly in the stack that was once piled up against the North wall of the precinct. Width of extradados 0.150m; width of intrados 0.140m; radial length 0.210m; thickness 0.230m.

### **Capitals**

S.698.

Trumpet scallop capital. An attached double trumpet scallop capital in Doulling stone, carved on two adjacent faces to cap a nook-shaft. The angle scallops form a pair smaller than those on the faces, and the trumpets are sheathed with swagged sheathing. Wear is advanced at the top but not so severe on the bell. There is no necking. Height of block 0.240m; width (right face) 0.180m; width (left face) 0.320m.

S.699.

Multi-fluted capital. A badly eroded multi-fluted capital in Doulling stone, having a concave bell and carving surviving on three of its faces in the form of vertical fluting with a scalloped upper edge. The main face has five flutes, the left face has three surviving and the right face two; the fourth face is broken off. There are slight remains of eroded necking of indeterminate form. Height of block 0.210m; width of main face at top 0.275m; width of left face at top 0.200m; width of right face at top 0.130m.

S.704.

Scallop capital. A scallop capital in Doulling stone, carved on three faces with the fourth engaged to a block for insertion into masonry. The front face has a double scallop and the side faces single scallops. All shields are plain and outlined by a groove below. On the front



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face are traces of a central overlapping shield, like fishscale ornament, but the erosion on this face makes this interpretation uncertain. The cones are plain and the eroded necking apparently a plain roll. Height of block 0.260m; width of capital (front face) 0.265m; width of capital (side faces) 0.20m; depth of block 0.370m.

S.720

Scallop capital. A badly eroded double scallop capital with a plain roll necking and a section of integral cylindrical shaft below it. Three faces of the capital are carved and the fourth has been cut back but may originally have been carved. The shields are worn away and the cones taper only slightly. The erosion is so severe that it is impossible to estimate the date. It has previously been described as Saxo-Norman and dated to the later eleventh century, but this kind of integral shaft section was unknown at that date, but fairly common a century later, and the tall, narrow aspect of the capital is also typical of a later twelfth-century date. Total height of block 0.295m; height of capital and necking 0.196m; diameter of shaft 0.125m; width of block at top 0.17m x 0.15m.

S.724.

Douling stone capital. A double scallop capital with angle tuck carved on two faces to crown a nook-shaft, typical of a doorway or window order. The shields are plain and the cones sheathed, and there is a plain roll necking. Height of block 0.18m; width of block (left face) 0.345m; width of capital (left face) 0.19m; width of capital (right face) 0.20m.

S.730.

Scalloped triple capital. An engaged triple capital of Douling stone made to cap three shafts. Each capital is of scallop form with wedges between the cones. The neckings are plain rolls and the capitals have tall integral impost blocks, one of which retains its hollow-chamfered profile. Height of block 0.230m; width of block across front 0.330m; depth (front to back) 0.300m.

S.857.

Scallop capital. A Douling stone attached scallop capital carved on three faces with three scallops on the central face and two on each side face. The capital has plain shields and cones and an integral chamfered impost but has lost its lower part along with any necking. Length of block 0.460m; height of block 0.170m; width of block (front face) 0.260m; width of side faces of capital 0.170m.

### **Double label stone**

S.1235.

A label stone from a pair of adjacent arches carved from Douling stone. The profile is hollow chamfered with six-petalled daisies on the chamfer and a row of heavy beading on the face, as voussoirs S.622 and S.757. Length of left inner face 0.250m; length of right inner face 0.270m; max. width at front 0.340m; max. height 0.280m; thickness of block 0.200m.

### **Grave markers**

S.659.

Cross head (recut). Douling stone grave marker recut as a corbel after the 1184 fire. The gravestone was originally in the form of a cross patée, or a Maltese cross with its arms radiating from a central medallion decorated with a six-petalled daisy with pellets between the petals, surrounded by a beaded ring. The arms had raised borders, but both side arms

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were removed and the top arm and shaft shortened when the gravestone was recut as a corbel. Max. length 0.58m; max. width 0.24m; thickness 0.18m; diameter of central medallion 0.204m.

S.660.

Cross head (recut). Doulling stone grave marker recut as a corbel after the 1184 fire as S.659. Its original form was similar to S.659, but surface ornament has been erased and the cross cut back slightly differently, so that one of the side arms (now on the upper face of the corbel) is not entirely lost. Max. length 0.58m; max. width 0.24m; thickness 0.185m

S.688.

Agnus Dei grave marker. A Doulling stone grave marker in the form of a cuboidal block with above it a medallion form, broken at the top. On the front face of the cuboid base is the later inscription J.A.D. The medallion contains an Agnus Dei of the normal type, the body facing right and the head turned back. The frame surrounding it has two rows of beading. The reverse is carved with a smaller disc, and above it is a crochong quadruped that holds a severed human head between its front paws. Height 0.590m; max. width 0.430m; max. thickness 0.250m.

S.859.

Grave marker. Cross head of Doulling stone with three patée arms emerging from a large disc. No surface ornament. Max. height 0.305m; max. width (two arms) 0.365m; thickness 0.132m.

### **Imposts**

S.758.

Doulling impost block. A chamfered impost block, carved on the chamfer with two circular discs side by side. The left is plain and the right chip-carved as an eight-spoked wheel. Height of block 0.16m; width (front face) 0.245m; depth 0.29m.

### **Corbels / heads**

S.655.

Lion corbel. Most of a lion's shoulders, missing the head, with a square central hole in which it would have been located, carved in Doulling stone. It is approximately trapezoidal in form, narrowing towards one end, where the head of the lion it seems to depict is lost. The side faces have long, spiral-tipped strands descending from the upper edge, and the top face - a concave trapezium is decorated overall with a pattern of similar strands, combining to produce the impression of a lion's mane. Height of block 0.270m; max. width 0.360m; depth 0.260m.

S.695.

Doulling stone head. A grotesque human head carved in the round, severely eroded but deeply carved so that the features remain visible. In form it is wider than it is high, with the prominent cheeks the widest point. The forehead is very low and there is a pronounced brow ridge, below which are bulging, oval eyes drilled to indicate pupils. A ridge under the eyes mirrors the brow ridge above. The nose is bulbous and drilled at the bottom for nostrils. The open mouth has a projecting tongue; the drilled ends of the mouth are the widest open. There is no sign that this was ever a corbel (although it could have been deliberately detached from one). It may have been the apical head above a doorway. Height 0.22m; max. width 0.30m; depth 0.15m.

### **Shafts**

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S.696.

Douling shaft. An eroded shaft section in Douling stone carved with an overall design of nested chevron, consisting of a pair of narrow rolls alternating with three narrow hollows flanked above and below by broad, low rolls or half-lozenges. It will be seen that if the section here is one of a series of identical ones, a nested lozenge pattern would be produced. Length of section 0.190m; diameter 0.150m.

### **Jambstones**

S.761.

Chevron jambstone. A jambstone carved from Douling stone, with three units of centripetal (i.e. triangular) chevron on the front face. Each unit has a roll moulded inner edge and outside this a row of beading that follows the curve of a raised semicircular half disc. This row of three shieldlike motifs led earlier investigators to misidentify this as a scallop capital. Height of block 0.155m; width of block 0.397m; depth of block 0.330m (approx).

S.1219.

Lozenge jambstone. A moulding, possibly a jambstone, carved from Douling stone with a design of blind lozenges of double-chamfered profile. Max. width 0.140m; max. length 0.220m; max. depth 0.130m.

### **Arch spandrels**

S.843.

Arch spandrel. A section of a round arch of Douling stone, with an inner soffit roll and a row of heavy beading on the face. Max. height of block 0.540m; max. width 0.550m; max. thickness 0.300m.

### **Other**

S.769.

Douling stone photo 18511. Carved on the front face with a pair of worn intersecting stems, and two diverging stems with nailhead ornament. An adjacent face meets the main face at an acute angle and is carved with a shallow roll, probably one of a series. Max. length 0.195m; width of main face 0.135m; height 0.110m.

S.963.

Douling stone worked fragment. Fragment of Douling stone with two concave worked faces, one of which bears bright red paint traces. Dimensions 0.030m x 0.025m x 0.017m.

### **Lost stones**

Photo 18501.

Vousoir or jambstone with beaded strapwork interlacing with half-rolls on three adjacent faces.

Photo 18519.

Raleigh Radford photograph of a stone showing carving on one face consisting of diverging stems, one with beading, and a leaf with a nebuly edge and double-wedge veins. Ornament is related to S.769. A scale included in the photograph indicates dimensions of main face are approx. 0.20m x 0.20m.

## **2. Dundry stone**

### **Vousoirs**

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S.672.

Dundry stone voussoir. A voussoir consisting of a single unit of centripetal chevron with a roll moulded edge and a plain triangular field. The tip of the chevron rests on a roll at the intrados. The roll moulded edge of the chevron unit has major losses, and there are considerable traces of red paint. Width of extrados 0.220m; width of intrados 0.21m; radial length 0.19m; thickness 0.135m.