

St Gwynllyw's Cathedral, Newport: the Romanesque archway

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From east to west, St Gwynllyw's cathedral (now Anglicised to 'St Woolos') comprises four architectural elements—a modern chancel of 1960–64, designed for the liturgical needs of the newly-elevated cathedral of the diocese of Monmouth; a Romanesque nave with enlarged aisles and a large south porch added by the Stafford Dukes of Buckingham between 1424 and 1483; a western chapel of thirteenth-century date communicating with the nave through a Romanesque arch, and a west tower attributed to Jasper Tudor, lord of Newport from 1485 to 1495.¹ This paper is concerned with the arch between the nave and the western chapel and with the carvings on the capitals above the two reused Roman columns incorporated in it.

The historical sources

The ancient pre-Norman *clas* or minster church of St Gwynllyw at Newport was granted to St Peter's Abbey in Gloucester (now Gloucester cathedral) by Robert de la Haya sometime between 1093 and 1104.² Our knowledge of its pre-Norman and early Norman history, and of its community of canons under a dean (*decanus*) derives from a twelfth-century Life, the *Vita Gundleii*, in London, British Library Ms Cotton Vespasian A XIV³ and from documents relating to a prolonged dispute over the validity of Robert de la Haya's grant which took place between 1123 and 1156 between St Peter's Abbey and the lords of Newport, the earls of Gloucester. The collection of saint's Lives containing the *Vita Gundleii* was made c. 1200 at Monmouth Priory, using earlier material, much of it from St Peter's Abbey. The *Vita Gundleii* is by the author of the Life of St Tatheus of Caerwent in the same manuscript and it has been suggested recently that this could have been Caradog of Llancarfan, a friend and contemporary of Geoffrey of Monmouth and the author of Lives of Cadog, Gildas and probably Cyngar of Congresbury.⁴

The *Vita Gundleii*,⁵ probably written between 1120 and 1160, falls into two parts. The first (chapters 1–10) is the Life proper, telling how Gwynllyw, eponymous king of the cantref of Gwynlliog, and Gwladys his queen became hermits at the insistence of their son Cadog, abbot of Llancarfan. Following instructions given in a vision, Gwynllyw settled on the site of the present hilltop cathedral, and finding the place dry, he pierced the ground with his stick so that water sprang up. Gwynllyw built an oratory and a dwelling house and laid out a cemetery there. When he died, the saint was buried in the floor of his church (*in pavimento ecclesie*). On this point, the Life of Cadog in the same collection is more specific: Gwynllyw 'was buried by the wall on the south side' of the church, 'in his own monastery, which is called . . . Eglwys Wynllyw'.⁶ The second half of the *Vita Gundleii* (chapters 11–16) comprises a series of posthumous miracles set in the eleventh century, telling how a succession of rulers, including Harold II, William the Conqueror and William Rufus, interfered with the property and rights of St Gwynllyw's and were divinely punished. Though the fault often lay with an underling, the temporal ruler usually showed respect to the saint and hastened to make restitution. This latter section is closely paralleled by the dispute between Gloucester Abbey and the lord of Newport. It can be read as a *roman a clef* or almost as the speech of a defending barrister, setting out the case for St Peter's Abbey.

The Norman castle of Novo Burgo, caput of the lordship of Gwynlliog, had been sited next to the existing church of St Gwynllyw, now the possession of an important abbey, and this almost inevitably led to friction. For example, in 1186–89 the dean of Gloucester, an official of the abbey, claimed that, from

its foundation, the castle chapel had owed service to the mother church (St Gwynllyw's), which had provided a priest to serve it, and that William de Bendengis, constable of the castle, had ignored this and had evidently appointed a separate chaplain.⁷ In 1122 Henry I took away the lordship of Glamorgan from Robert fitz Hamo, who had approved the gift to Gloucester Abbey, and gave it to his own illegitimate son Robert, creating him earl of Gloucester. Some time after this, Earl Robert seized St Gundlei's from the monks of Gloucester and installed his priest Picot, who later claimed to hold it as successor of the pre-Norman canons.

One posthumous miracle (*Vita Gundleii* chapter 14) concerns Ednywain of Gwynedd 'an intimate friend of Caradog, king of Glamorgan' (predecessor in title of the earl of Gloucester). Ednywain broke into St Gwynllyw's church and assumed the vestments and chalice. At matins, when they entered the church, the startled clergy found there 'an incongruous figure vested not as it ought to be vested . . . a stranger . . . clothed in ecclesiastical attire'. Ednywain, surely coded speech for Picot, was punished with feeble-mindedness. The final chapter tells how the saint extended his protection to a cleric travelling to a court hearing in respect of a property of the church 'which afterwards was subject and ought to be subject to the church of St Gwynllyw', perhaps an oblique reference to the actual series of court hearings of the case before successive archbishops of Canterbury and perhaps to the chapel in the castle which was not subject to St Gwynllyw's even in the 1180s.

What had become of the pre-Norman canons in the meantime is uncertain. It was a fairly frequent occurrence that the Normans replaced a college of secular priests with a monastic house. In some cases, unable to accept the new dispensation, canons migrated to another nearby church. At Durham in 1083, when William of St Calais replaced the canons with Benedictine monks, the canons were given the choice of joining the new community or being assigned prebends elsewhere. In other cases, the rights of existing portionary canons were respected. Robert de Boullers founded a house of Augustinian canons at Snead in Shropshire. About 1198 he sought to transfer them to the minster of Chirbury, a portionary church with four prebends. However, only one of the four pre-existing prebends could be made vacant and as late as 1227 one of the earlier canons was still in possession.⁸ At another Gloucester possession, Llancarfan, the pre-existing clerical dynasty continued for several generations, as tenants and vicars of the abbot of Gloucester. One of them, Caradog of Llancarfan, as noted above, may have been the author of the *Vita Gundleii*. The Newport canons might also have continued in existence in some form into the twelfth century.⁹

The dispute between the abbey and the earl was several times brought before Archbishop William of Corbeil (1123–36) but not resolved.¹⁰ After the death of Archbishop William the see of Canterbury remained vacant for three years, and during the anarchy of Stephen's reign there would have been little point in disputing the rights of the all-powerful earl of Gloucester. In 1146 Picot (from his name a Frenchman), appears as 'Chaplain of St Gunlei', in a boundary dispute over rights of burial and of tithe with his neighbours the monks of Bassaleg. Sometime between 1139 and 1146 Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury issued an indulgence 'for those who assist the church of St Gundlei of Newport', which might suggest that building was in hand.¹¹ As we shall see, the period would agree reasonably well with the architectural character of the existing church. However, the evidence is complicated by a second indulgence of 1156–61, to be mentioned shortly, though this could represent continuing work on a church begun a decade earlier.

After the death of Robert, earl of Gloucester in 1147 and the accession of Henry II in 1154, Gloucester Abbey reopened its claim. In 1156 Archbishop Theobald heard the case. Picot claimed to hold St Gwynllyw's by 'monastic right' (*monachatu*). His claim was evidently that with the grant to St Peter's Abbey null and void, he represented the rights of the pre-Norman canons. Whether any of the latter were involved, we cannot tell. Archbishop Theobald examined the original charter giving the church to



Fig. 1. The archway seen from the western chapel, with nave south arcade beyond.

Gloucester and heard evidence from three elderly priests. These witnesses had heard and seen Robert de Haya, with the assent of Robert fitz Hamo, lord of Glamorgan, grant St Gwynllyw's church to Gloucester Abbey, and had witnessed Herewald, bishop of Llandaff, then institute Abbot Serlo of Gloucester to the church. Two laymen and a priest testified that they had seen the monks of Gloucester in possession of the church, and receiving revenue from it.¹² Theobald duly informed Bishop Nicholas of Llandaff that he had examined lawful witnesses in the rival claims and had adjudged in the abbot of Gloucester's favour. Bishop Nicholas then summoned a synod in Cardiff which ruled in Gloucester Abbey's favour.¹³ Picot's response was to hide the key of the church. Theobald wrote to Bishop Nicholas instructing him to go in person to Newport and if the key was not returned, to have a new one cut and to open the church and perform the institution of the abbot of Gloucester.¹⁴ With the dispute over ownership finally settled, sometime between 1156 and 1161, Archbishop Theobald issued an indulgence of 15 days to those visiting the church of St Gundlei of Newport.¹⁵

The twelfth-century sculpture

The nave of St Gwynllyw's church is good-quality Romanesque work of about 1125–50, the arcades, with clerestory above, having neatly-carved multi-scallop capitals.¹⁶ The Romanesque archway between the

western chapel and the nave is of two orders and a label, of which the first order is shafted with elaborate capitals and the second is plain below the impost (Fig. 1). The first order does not return as for a door, but the soffit and reveal continue plain through the depth of the nave wall: there is nothing to show a door was ever fitted. The western chapel, now dedicated to St Mary, is early thirteenth-century in its present form, though heavily restored, with the creasing of an earlier roof line visible in the wall-face above the Romanesque arch. Also above the arch is a small round-headed window, consistent with the level of the clerestory of the nave. The western chapel now functions as a baptistery, it contains a sculptured Romanesque font of high quality. This had evidently been broken up and buried in the floor of the chapel in Cromwellian times, but was restored from a fragment rediscovered in 1855. Because of an early form of stiff-leaf foliage on the font, it is dated by Malcolm Thurlby to about 1180.¹⁷

A western church of this type can be found at a number of early Welsh churches believed to have once contained the grave and/or shrine of their patron. At Llanilltyd Fawr (Llantwit Major) in Glamorgan the long unaisled twelfth-century nave was retained as a western narthex when a new east end was built, the two being separated by a tower. The tower's crossing piers, in the same relative position as the St Gwynllyw arch, have capitals with fine stiff-leaf carving. Though there is no surviving evidence for the location of any shrine of St Illtyd, the western church suggests an *eglwys y bedd* containing his tomb.¹⁸ Partrishow (Breconshire) has a western chapel with no access from the body of the church. Its surviving medieval altar is offset to the south, presumably being set over the grave of the patron, St Issau, buried in the position of honour to the right of the altar.¹⁹ Further afield, the siting of the western church or *vetusta ecclesia* of St Mary, west of the main church at Glastonbury, is a parallel to the arrangements at St Gwynllyw's. These sites illustrate one variant of the *eglwys y bedd* housing the grave of a patron saint. Elsewhere, it may have had a detached position south of the nave, as at Clynnog Fawr near Caernarfon and at Caergybi near Holyhead, or at Bassaleg, an early foundation three miles from St Gwynllyw's and associated with Gwladys, the wife of Gwynllyw.²⁰

The two columns of the first order are the most unusual elements of the archway's fabric. These are clearly Roman work reused because of their refined entasis and the fact that both ring and base are integral with the shaft. They were no doubt brought from the former legionary fortress of Caerleon four miles away, where fragments of columns very similar in scale, and base mouldings, are to be found in the reserve collections of the Roman Legionary Museum, though these are usually of Triassic sandstone (Sudbrook stone), whereas the St Gwynllyw columns are of a harder reddish gritstone or sandstone, probably of Devonian age. The soffits of the arch, where original, are of tufa. The columns, each 1.4m in height and resting on plain plinths 420mm high, have capitals of Composite type, combining Corinthian leaves with Ionic volutes. The capitals are 300mm in height with a 130mm impost above and probably of a Devonian sandstone, buff in colour. They have figure sculpture on the four exposed faces. The other four faces of the capitals are mostly free of the flanking walls, but are too close to them to be able to determine with certainty how much they have been worked. They seem merely to have been roughed out, perhaps to suggest the continuation of the projecting leaves all round, as on Roman originals. It is unlikely these are Roman capitals recut, as has sometimes been suggested.

The simplified Corinthian capital is common in Norman work, in Normandy and in England. The early medieval development of the classical Corinthian capital in the West had been continuous. It involved the simplification of the acanthus foliage and the more frequent addition of human heads and, later, complete figures. As architectural forms, the capitals at Newport follow the Roman model unusually closely because they are free, or almost free, of the adjacent wall. This is due to the practicalities of their being combined with the antique columns, and was no doubt modelled on examples of genuine Corinthian or Composite capitals then to be seen at Caerleon. The capitals mimic the Roman form so completely out



Fig. 2. Face 1.

of necessity since they had to fit columns which narrow towards the top. The usual Romanesque free-standing column is a perfect cylinder which stands quite close to the wall, thus a Romanesque capital normally has only two faces with sculpture and the other two are keyed directly into the wall. On the archway, the north face of the right capital extends eastwards into the wall in something like the Romanesque manner, but it has to bridge the gap made by the tapering column.

The archway has the only sculpture surviving from the earliest phases of the post-Conquest building since the nave arcades have only multi-scallop capitals and any chancel arch is lost. Modern value judgements on the quality of the figure sculpture on the capitals are not appropriate: proportion and realism were not of concern to the craftsman or patron. Patterns were by their nature practised frequently and well-carved, figures were individual and, in the first half of the twelfth century, usually needed a model if they were to be other than naïve. The truth of this generalisation can be observed here for, while it would have needed considerable skill to make the rows of projecting leaves, they are a common feature of capitals made under Norman influence²¹ and there was probably a stonemason's routine for cutting them: the figures are unique to this site and had to be specially contrived.

There follows a brief description of the individual carvings, and then a review of antiquarian and modern assessments of their appearance and significance. A new examination of the iconography will suggest local references for the unique figures along with a universal interpretation for this popular type of foliage capital. For convenience, the four faces with sculpture (Figs 2–5), are numbered from left to right as they are seen from the western chapel (Fig. 1). Faces 1 and 4 (the west faces of the northern and southern capitals respectively) are thus seen from the main space of the chapel, whereas Faces 2 and 3



Fig. 3. Face 2.



Fig. 4. Face 3.

(respectively the south face of the northern capital and the north face of the southern capital) are only seen from close up, when passing through the archway and into the nave.

On Face 1 (Fig. 2), there is a central orant, only the shoulders, arms and head of the figure are shown. The head is clean-shaven and has the short combed hair seen throughout, a lightly-modelled nose and incised mouth. To the right is a second figure, his left arm raised, the other perhaps clutching the top of one of the leaves. There are various rod-like features around these figures, one of which suggests a tau-shaped crozier of the kind associated with early insular ecclesiastics. Above the main figure are four drilled holes and there is another to the right of the smaller figure.

On Face 2 (Fig. 3), a smaller orant, in classical drapery indicated by incised lines, is central, his right arm raised. To the left is a large flying bird seeming to peck a small boss or dome. There is a similar larger dome below which could be taken at first glance for an unfinished cutting-back of the surface, though its circularity and resemblance to similar features on other faces show that it is an intended feature. Against the right volute is a vertical lenticular shape with three different firmly-incised patterns running lengthwise.

Face 3 (Figs 4, 6) has suffered damage, one of the leaves has at some stage been broken off, the drilled repair itself now being lost. There never was a volute on the left because on this side the capital is bonded into the jamb in the normal way. On the upper left of the face is an outstretched hand, no doubt the motif known as the *Dextera Dei*—the right hand of God the Father. Below this is a small human head, comparable to the one on Face 1 beside the larger figure. Face 3 is dominated by a large bird with outspread wings, flying upwards. The suggestion of a frontal mask or face, formed by two pellets and a curving band below the bird is probably fortuitous. Bottom right is a large dome, and below the wings of the bird are two smaller ones. Between the bird and the volute on the right is another narrow lenticular



Fig. 5. Face 4.

shape as on Face 2. This sinuous form has markings something like fishbones, also two bored eyes but no fins or tail.

On Face 4 (Fig. 5) a full-length figure stands centrally with arms raised, the right hand holding a short staff. The legs are indicated, but tiny. The figure is flanked by diagonal hatching and there are four or five drilled holes around arm and stick. To the right is a second, smaller, figure with arms raised. Above are two more circular bosses and an incised figure of eight motif.

Antiquarian sources and modern comments

Throughout the eighteenth century, the western chapel was used extensively for burials. An engraving by Sir Richard Colt Hoare of 1798 shows its condition at the end of the century, though allowances have to be made for artistic licence and the fact that the engraving was worked up from a drawing by a different artist. The chapel is unevenly paved with grave-slabs and the floor level has apparently risen around the bases of the archway due to repeated burials—about 1804, Edward Donovan was disgusted by the ‘mouldering relics of Mortality’ in this area of the church.²² The arch is shown complete with the columns and capitals, ruling out the possibility that either were reset during a later restoration. The drawing also shows a tympanum in which is a niche for an image, but the structure supporting it is very unclear, though there could be a door hung on the right side—the whole thing is dark enough to suggest it is made of wood. William Coxe in 1801 described the ‘semi-circular arch, richly ornamented with hatched mouldings [the chevron ornament] and reposing on low columns, with rude capitals of foliage’.²³

According to Octavius Morgan, recording in the 1850s, burials continued until 1818, though dates on surviving grave-slabs suggest that they still took place intermittently, at least in established graves, until at least the 1830s. In 1818 the chapel was restored.

With the increased interest in ecclesiology from the 1840s onwards, the arch and its enigmatic carvings were the subject of debate by a series of architectural historians. In 1851 E. A. Freeman remarked on the ‘great size and width’ of the arch. The columns, which were ‘its great point of singularity’ were ‘utterly unlike anything I have seen or heard of in England’ and with their entasis and composite capitals with ‘grotesque figures’; they produced ‘something altogether different from our familiar Norman’. Like a number of later scholars, he suggested a strong French influence.

However, he also noted the proximity of Caerleon, which he knew had still retained substantial Roman remains in the time of Giraldus Cambrensis, and suggested that even if the columns were not actually reused ‘may not we suppose that their classical character may be traced to a retention of classical feeling?’²⁴ Some years later he compared the ‘St Woolos Galilee’ to the west church at Llantwit Major, but then dismissed it as ‘a huge porch built over the original western doorway’. He reiterated the similarity to work in Aquitaine or Languedoc and attributed this to ‘close imitation, perhaps to what the French call “utilisation” of Roman remains’. As before, his ambiguous phrase hinted at the possibility that the pillars themselves were reused Roman *spolia*.²⁵

The antiquary Octavius Morgan, who wrote an account of the church shortly before a restoration in 1855 (though it was not published until 1885) had the advantage of having known the church over many years, and his house, The Friars, was only a short distance from it.²⁶ Octavius Morgan was told that the windows of the western chapel, previously ‘very small and narrow’, had been ‘considerably enlarged’ in 1818, and the walls repaired, but he could get no details of their earlier character.²⁷ He considered the western chapel to be the site of the original church of St Gwynllyw, at first of planks and wattle, as described in the Life, later in stone. He supposed it ‘had ever been venerated and preserved’ as ‘a very ancient church of peculiar sanctity’ which he compared to the chapel of Joseph of Arimathea at Glastonbury. According to him, when the Norman nave was added, the two were joined by inserting the Norman arch in the position of the former

apse or chancel arch. He noted that the arch had no hinge holes or drawbar and thought it had never been an external doorway. The columns were Roman 'copied, if not actually brought, from Caerleon'. He also attempted to identify the figure sculptures, which he thought might have been secondary to the volutes, the latter having been cut away to introduce them. On the right-hand capital, Face 3 represented the Holy Trinity, with the Hand of God, Christ represented by a human mask and the Holy Ghost by a dove over 'an orb to represent the spirit of God on the face of the waters'. The adjacent Face 4 showed the Expulsion from Paradise, with 'a rude figure of a person with a sword driving away a man'. The object held up by the full-length figure has subsequently often been seen as a sword, but it shows no signs of ever having had a hilt. The other capital (Face 1) he thought represented figures in torment with raised arms—Morgan seems not to have been familiar with orant figures in early Christian contexts. On Face 2, he described a figure holding a palm branch being conducted upwards by a dove.

The architect W. D. Caroe, writing in 1933,²⁸ thought, echoing Freeman, that the columns and capitals had a distinctly Roman flavour 'using the word as the French use it' and might even be the work of a craftsman from central France. He mentioned previous interpretations of the figured capitals, as the Trinity, the Fall and expulsion from Paradise, adding the Flood as a plausible alternative. However, he thought the interest of the capitals lay mainly in their 'mid-French origin'. Caroe notes how useful the early accounts of Freeman and Morgan are, since they recorded the state before the 'disastrous over-restoration in 1852–54'. As seen by Caroe himself, the archway is 'pristine, saving the eastern part of its jambs, which are of modern stones somewhat ignorantly replacing whatever was there before. The archway had originally an inner order, but this is lost.' This authoritative statement in itself solves several problems, such as the nature of the murky tympanum, jambs and door in the Colt Hoare engraving, and the present state of the opening in which the decorative pillars and capitals are subject to damage from any passing traffic—witness the lost repair to the protruding leaf on Face 3. A tympanum was a popular feature of doorways in the first half of the twelfth century, as demonstrated by numerous examples in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, though few survive in Wales (Penmon, Anglesey; Llanbadarn Fawr, Radnorshire; perhaps the early one in Chepstow Castle might be named here too). In Romanesque work it is normal for a plain inner order to be provided against an entrance and for shafts only to be used for the second order and outwards, as in Figure 10, a church in Gloucestershire. It is clear that the original inner order and the tympanum supported by it must have been removed between the date of the engraving and Morgan's description of the archway as having 'no hinge holes or drawbar'. Although Morgan does not seem to have been told of the existence of an inner order or a tympanum, Freeman in 1851 remarked on the 'great size and width' of the doorway. The removal of the tympanum and inner order must have been done during the works in 1818–19 when the western chapel was restored and windows were enlarged. The lost tympanum and its possible decoration will be discussed again later in this paper.

Malcolm Thurlby calls St Woolo's one of 'the more ambitious churches in the county', with a five-bay aisled nave and features of the arcades rating as 'great-church architecture'.²⁹ He gives precise architectural comparisons to connect the Newport church to the Gloucester ambit, in accord with the historical sources. The arcades and archway are taken without question as coeval, and his opinion is that the form of 'the chevron to either side of the thin angle roll on the inner order of the . . . doorway is unlikely before the second quarter of the twelfth century' and could be even later, though the nature of the sculpture on the capitals brings him to suggest the 1130s as appropriate (Fig. 6). This latter date is based on the facts that both Kilpeck and Newport churches had been given to Gloucester Abbey, Newport before Kilpeck, and that 'accomplished figure sculptors were available in the region by the early 1130s'.³⁰ The comparison with Kilpeck is made due to the lack of sculpture in Gloucester Abbey itself but, as recounted above, the possession of St Gundlei's was in dispute in the 1130s and the church was in the hands of the earl. The dating of the sculpture will be reviewed at the end of this paper.



Fig. 6. The lower right side of the arches, with Faces 3 and 4. Lit from below, left.

As to the subjects of the sculpture on the two capitals, Thurlby follows Morgan in considering the hand, human face and bird on Face 3 as a representation of the Trinity. Certainly the hand can hardly be other than the *Dextera Dei*, the right hand of God the Father, but the small head lacks anything identifying it as Christ, and the bird is flying upwards, not descending as the Holy Spirit typically does. Further, as the late eighteenth-century engraving shows, the capitals have remained in their intended places in the archway and it would be surprising for the Trinity to be put on a side face in a relatively insignificant position. Thurlby further suggests that beneath the wings of the bird (the supposed dove of the Holy Spirit) there are two ampoules or flasks of holy oil.³¹ However, these domes on Face 3 are no different from the numerous other domes and pellets elsewhere on the capitals, and a more general explanation for them is probably required.

The capitals discussed anew

As was said earlier, capitals with human heads or figures prominent among leaves were a medieval development of the Corinthian capital and there is a long sequence of examples. These range from Roman capitals with a small head on the die (the small block at the top centre of each face) and Merovingian examples with larger heads, to the use of the full standing human figure on capitals of the twelfth century (Fig. 7).³² It is here suggested that the classical form was so continuously developed because it was able to picture the general resurrection of mankind into paradise. This had been an understandably popular theme from the first: doves among vines represented life after death even in the catacombs. Foliage patterns such as the rows of leaves on these capitals are often considered merely decorative, but this not how they would have been seen historically. Leaves accompanied by bunches of grapes can refer to Christ's death and resurrection or to the Eucharist. Foliage not of the vine, as here, is still lively and lush enough to suggest new life, and evokes the greenness of Paradise.³³ The springing lines of the classical capital had been seen as suited to express the Christian message of the resurrection of believers. The larger and more prominent human heads and figures introduced are anonymous men or women, they are without attributes or individuality and thus suited to represent any believer in Paradise.³⁴ The secondary positions in which such capitals are used, below the arch on doorways, at the side in arcades, accord with the humble anonymity of believers. Usually, faces are tranquil and the foliage symmetrical, indicating the peace and order that exists in heaven.³⁵ However, the Newport carvings are unusual in that the motifs are neither as regular nor as simple as the standard Corinthian types just described, and Faces 1 and 4 attract the eye with their gesticulating figures. The motifs are seemingly randomly placed, with a variety that suggests a logical or narrative content. Apart from six human heads or figures, there are at least eight domes, two birds, two lenticular shapes and an isolated human hand.

Plain domes are scattered among other motifs, filling spaces in the way often labelled as *horror vacui*. Domes accompany birds or are above the figures on Face 4. Although on Face 2 one dome touches the beak, and thus appears to be pecked or carried by the bird, other domes fill the spaces between motifs without being touched by them. Similar domes are common as pattern elements in English Romanesque sculpture and occasionally it can be shown that they represent stars. For example, a tympanum at Leckhampstead (Bucks.) is made up of two slabs, the background in one of which is carved into many domes, as here, whilst the other stone is flat and filled with painted stars, of the form with a central disc and a ring of dots.³⁶ Sometimes raised domes are carved into radial or concentric patterns, when they resemble verifiable stars in narrative compositions or enamels. The dome against the beak on Face 2, two domes on Face 3 and one on Face 4 have a small central depression, as domes and other star patterns in other Romanesque sculpture frequently have.³⁷

There are a number of unidentified features: rod-like forms around the figures on Face 1 and the lenticular objects on Faces 2 and 3. The incised figure of eight at the upper right face of Face 4 is without parallel and could be later. As to the rod-like forms around the figures on Face 1, foliage is proper to a Corinthian capital, and leaves certainly seem intended in this position on Face 4, where background areas adjacent to the standing figure are ribbed in a similar manner to the lower leaves. In the crypt of Canterbury Cathedral is another Corinthian-derived capital, made under Norman influence (Fig. 8). Whilst foliage types on the angle of the capital (to the left) include short upright leaves and other standard forms, a passage at the right is developed in a more exploratory manner with a medley of different leaves which should be compared with the unidentified forms on Face 1 (Fig. 2). The craftsman at Canterbury was more skilled, but there is a similarity. If the rod-like forms at Newport are meant for foliage, this probably includes everything on the face above the projecting leaves except for the large head and the two raised arms of the main figure, and the head only of a second person. The suggestion of a tau-crosier, or of arms and hands associated with the small head, is likely to be illusory.



Fig. 7. A capital in the crypt of Modena cathedral. *Photograph: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.*

While the lenticular object on Face 3 could very well be a modern observation of a swimming fish seen from above, it is unlike any Romanesque fish, which are almost always seen from the side, come in pairs, and are joined as Pisces—even the few single fish, and the two upward-facing fish at Kilpeck, have fins. The lenticular shape on Face 2 has no fins either and no detectable eyes but there is perhaps a mouth at the upper end. It has a type of patterning which occurs on a capital in the crypt of St Bénigne, Dijon (Fig. 9).³⁸ The circular crypt of the former abbey of St Bénigne is dated to the early eleventh century and is

the surviving stage of a once famous and impressive rotunda of three storeys, the rest of which has been demolished. The crypt is on the same level as the chamber containing the tomb of Saint Bénigne and immediately to the east of it. This level of the rotunda was dedicated to John the Baptist and other martyrs; the next level above, to the Virgin and the apostles, and the top stage to the Holy Trinity—whatever the detail of the lost iconography there was certainly an ascending order of sanctity explicit in the dedications, from the martyr's tomb to the Godhead. In the rotunda the senses as well as the intellect would have been aware of the upward direction, for it was originally open to the sky by a central oculus.³⁹ The few sculpted capitals in the crypt and its adjacent spaces include bearded men who are ecstatic orants with arms flung upwards, a man grasping and emitting foliage, and other capitals with foliage and with plain, strap-like snakes.⁴⁰ Figure 9 shows one well-preserved face of an important pair of free-standing Corinthian-type capitals which mark the junction of the rotunda with the tomb chamber. The creatures with the 'Newport' patterns form, or formed, the volutes on all eight angles of these capitals. Central on four of the eight faces, as in the face illustrated, is a monster with elaborated open mouth: the caption given to this view by Raymond Oursel is 'Figure being swallowed by a monster'. Alternatively, Maylis Baylé suggests that the four living creatures of Ezekiel and Revelation are represented because some central creatures seem to have eyes all over; she also asserts that men are being eaten by the volute-creatures.⁴¹ These interpretations do not satisfy a close inspection of the carvings or the distinctive iconology of the building. It is therefore suggested that the creatures with the patterns are snakes of a form featured in bestiaries, that is, snakes with animal heads and a pair of fore-legs: there is a related meaning for the snake as a figure of resurrection (because it sheds its skin and appears a new creature).⁴² In at least three cases in Dijon these creatures arched over solemn upright figures who wear long robes and shoes, one man holds a book. Such men would represent the faithful, they are not candidates for being eaten by the volute-creatures, which should rather be seen as sheltering them, and perhaps rising with them, for, as at Newport, there are frequent indications of upward movement. The caption should perhaps read 'The general resurrection'. The rotunda was built by the abbot William of Volpiano, who was widely influential in his lifetime and, significantly for the present study, he reformed abbeys in Normandy. Sculpture at Bernay, for example, includes orants in the foliage of classically-derived capitals, snakes, volute-creatures, and firmly-incised patterns.⁴³ The same combination of motifs occurs at Dijon and at Newport: orants, foliage and, most probably, in the two patterned lenticular shapes, snakes. The building activity and monastic reform begun under William of Volpiano provides a credible impulse by which some of the motifs used in the Burgundian crypt eventually reached Wales.

The birds on Faces 2 and 3 are flying upwards and near both of them are domes, suggested above to be stars. The birds could represent souls flying through the stars to heaven. A minor feature of Face 2 which has not been mentioned is a lightly incised irregular zigzag line near the top of the face (Fig. 3). Zigzagging patterns were used to represent the dazzle and power of either actual or spiritual light, and the zigzags were deliberately made irregular to increase the optical effect.⁴⁴ The pattern would have its physical meaning here and represent the sunlit sky, that is, the firmament, the visible boundary of heaven, supporting the suggestion that the bird or soul is rising heavenwards.

Sculpture at North Cerney (Gloucestershire) is less ambitious than the carving at Newport, but also depicts the ascent of the believer into heaven (Figs 10, 11). Along the bottom of the lintel is a zigzag pattern (the firmament). Above that, at each end of the star pattern on the lintel is a pair of small heads very similar to the single head on Face 3. The four detached, floating heads seem about to rise into an unbroken field of star pattern (heaven) that fills the tympanum. Geometric patterns were most-used early in the twelfth century when sculptors were not experienced enough to carve foliage and so, despite its superficial differences, the North Cerney tympanum conveys much the same message as is being suggested for the capitals at Newport. Perhaps somewhere in Gloucestershire the nice detail of the



Fig. 8. Detail of a capital in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral.



Fig. 9. A capital in the crypt of the rotunda in Dijon cathedral. *Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art. Photograph: James Austin.*

termination of the chevron rolls on the face of the outer order of the arch could also be matched (Fig. 6). The lost tympanum at St Woolo's is likely to have had a simple geometric pattern, either carved or painted: the niche shown in the Colt Hoare engraving would have been cut in it later.

Despite the scarcity of figure sculpture in Wales before the arrival of the Normans, several examples of orants are known from Glamorgan and Breconshire. Two are on ninth- or tenth-century slabs from Gelli-Onen and Cefn Hirfynydd in the parish of Llangyfelach in west Glamorgan.⁴⁵ One of us (JKK) has argued elsewhere that both represent Christ, in one case clad in a loincloth, on the other in a decorated mass vestment, representing the sacerdotal nature of Christ and his presence in the Eucharist. Tenth- or eleventh-century carvings in Breconshire also have orants: the Llanfrynach cross-slab has an orant above an area of interlace and below a small cross, and even Mary and John standing beside a large cross are shown as orants on the Llanhamlach slab, again with geometric patterns underlining the spiritual context of the depiction.⁴⁶

The Romanesque capitals at Newport are unusual in that the rising or resurrected human figures in the foliage are individualised. The figures are at different scales and in different postures. At first glance, the mens' hands are all raised in the standard gesture used by artists to signify assent or amazement, or in the orant position used for prayer in the early Church. They recall the gesticulating crowd on the seventh-century sarcophagus of Bishop Agilbert at Jouarre (Seine et Marne), who raise their arms as they hail their Redeemer. In the crypt at Jouarre, reused Roman columns are topped with seventh-century capitals and Romanesque vaulting. St Gwynllyw's and Jouarre have in common that their builders consciously maintained a close link with their classical inheritance, and were able to do so with original material.⁴⁷ However, not all the hands at St Gwynllyw's show the open palm of the orant. Two of the men (Faces 1 and 2) raise their hands with the thumbs outside thus showing the backs of the hands. It is hard to find a parallel for this gesture. Confusion in the mind of the sculptor is possible, but since both backs and palms of hands are shown there may be a reason for the variation. The gesture showing the back of the hand could represent a deep bow with the body bent over the arms, which are held out palm uppermost but with the backs of the hands presented to the venerated person. This posture can be seen for example on the ciborium in San Ambrogio, Milan, where Ottonian kings reverence St Ambrose, and in a Byzantine mosaic in which the Emperor Leo VI performs a *proskynesis* or prostrates himself before Christ.⁴⁸ Both those examples picture the gesture in a side view, but they could explain what was intended in the carvings. The men on the capitals are seen from the front and they acknowledge God above them, to whom it is assumed they are looking up as they rise.

On Face 3, the right hand of God is also seen from the back. This is because it necessarily comes from the eastern upper corner of the capital, that is, from nearest the main altar and from pictorial heaven. The hand is not giving a blessing, but is held out straight, it could be greeting or empowering the ascending souls represented by the small head, the bird and the snake. The hand of God the Father is held out from heaven towards Christ in some Ascension scenes in exactly the same way. Speaking of earlier Christian art, Peter Brown says 'the hand of God that had rested with unshakeable constancy above Christ rested also above his elect'. He quotes H. J. W. Drijvers, who stated that 'the martyr himself, and later the holy man, is often shown in the pose of the crucified'.⁴⁹ The doctrine of deification lies behind these and the many other apparently audacious compositions in which the believer is very closely identified with Christ, and it was certainly alive in twelfth-century art. The man on the Modena capital (Fig. 7) is a man remade in Christ's pattern. The pedestal on which he stands resembles the *supedaneum* of a crucifix, and he stands with arms extended, supported by living foliage, taking up the stance of Christ on the cross: the meaning is that the man's endurance of suffering and his trust in Christ brings him to Paradise. Similarly, the complete figure on Face 4 stands on a minute pillar and must be a sanctified person on the model of Christ. In this place, the plain stick he holds recalls the miracle-working *bachall* (Latin *baculus*) of St

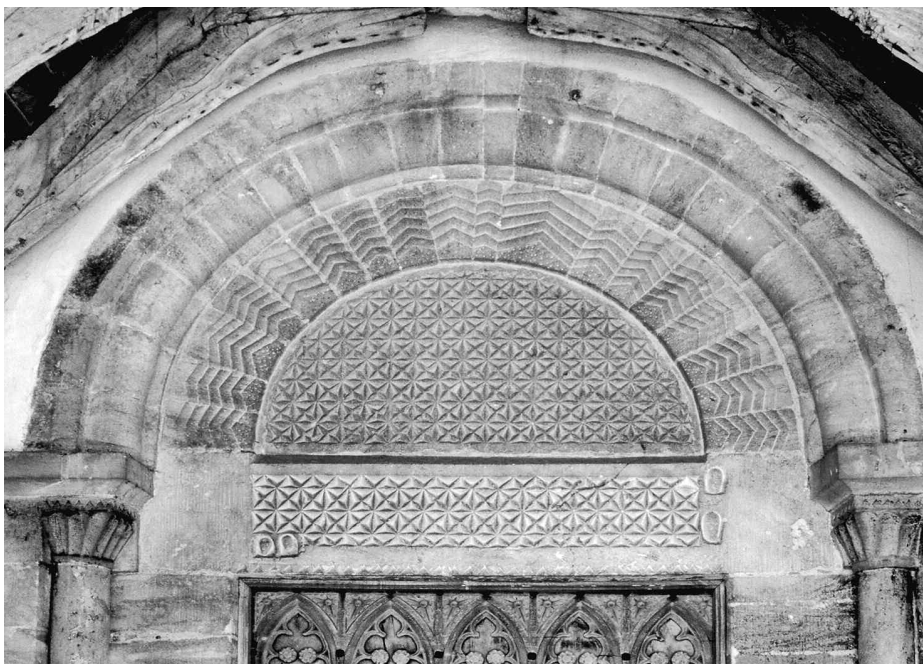


Fig. 10. Doorway with tympanum at North Cerney, Gloucestershire.



Fig. 11. Detail of the lower left corner of the tympanum at North Cerney.
Photograph: Michael Tisdall.

Gwynllyw, and suggests that the figure might represent the saint himself. The identity of the second figure is less certain; there is nothing distinctive about it except that it is a complete figure and not just a head. It is possible that this is Gwladys, the wife of Gwynllyw, who also became a hermit. If so, the figure very prominent on the other main face, Face 1, is likely to represent St Cadog, who had encouraged his parents to seek higher things than an earthly kingdom. Cadog surpassed his father in sanctity and miracle-working, and would by convention be shown larger. Both Cadog and Gwladys were commemorated at other churches, Llancarfan and Bassaleg respectively, but to picture them here perhaps would have extended the appeal of St Gundlei's to more pilgrims.

On a wider note, comparisons for the motifs of foliage, snakes and rising men have been chosen, unintentionally but perhaps significantly, from the crypts of three major European churches, that is, Canterbury, Dijon and Modena cathedrals. The carvings illustrated in Figures 7 to 9 are in areas associated with the burial-place of local saints and visited by pilgrims hoping for the help of those saints, now in heaven. The more general use of the same motifs in lesser early medieval churches throughout the West was a way of teaching any believer about the resurrection. The text of the Lives of both Gwynllyw and Cadog suggest the lessons which might have been based on this type of capital. The words of St Cadog to his parents in the *Vita Gundleii* repeatedly stress the passing nature of this present world and of their earthly kingdom, he advises them to persevere in seeking the eternal joys above. Cadog's metaphorical language is of rising to high places, ascending leaving devious ways, it is of triumph and of his parents being risen as vanquishers and receiving the heavenly kingdom. Cadog himself, as told by his *Vita*, 'shines in heaven in unfading and inestimable and everlasting glory.' The language describes the believer in the pattern of Christ while, as imagery, the emphasis is on vertical movement. This effect is achieved by adopting the springing lines of the classical capital, along with the evocation of the heavenly Paradise by lush foliage. In the capitals at St Woolo's, additional aerial features are the birds and the stars, which echo such passages in the *Vita* as the ascent of the soul of Gwynllyw, 'shining with angelic brightness, wherewith he was accompanied through the air to rest in eternal rest'. In short, these two capitals are a special case of a very widespread form in early medieval and Romanesque sculpture, and their specific interpretation should enable those many other examples to be seen in a new light—not as decoration or fantasy but as a medium through which the simplest onlookers could imagine themselves going to heaven.

Gwynllyw as Moses; Gwynllyw as Elijah?

Earlier interpretations of the carvings on the capitals attempted to relate them to various Biblical narratives, for example, the Expulsion from Paradise or the Flood: the writers saw no particular connection with St Gwynllyw or with his burial-place. The *Vita Gundleii* describes how the saint was buried in the floor of his church, the related *Vita Cadoci* adding the detail that his grave was in the position of honour on the south side. The archway would presumably have stood within a few feet of this grave, with that still marked by some means at the time of building. It may be worth exploring further the possibility of links between the sculptured decoration of the archway, the adjacent grave of Gwynllyw and his written Life.

Some of the commonest hagiographical *topoi* are episodes equating, by implication, the saint with some biblical figure. The saint is thus depicted as a second Moses, Elijah or similar Old Testament prophet. This parallelism can already be seen around AD 400 in Sulpicius Severus's Life of Martin of Tours and is thereafter ubiquitous in hagiographical texts. The figure holding a staff on Face 4 of the capitals could suggest Moses, flanked by Aaron, striking the rock and bringing forth water (Exodus 17: 1–6). A specific parallel may be intended with the episode in the *Vita Gundleii* chapter 9 already mentioned. Gwynllyw complained (as did the Israelites in the Desert) because there was no water by his

hermitage and, piercing the dry ground with the point of his *bachall*, he caused a spring, known as *Fons Gundleii*, Gwynllyw's spring, to appear. A similar figure of Moses striking the rock with a short wand-like staff, accompanied by ancillary figures, occurs on the Cross of Muiredach at Monasterboice (Co. Louth, Ireland), with an iconography prefiguring the death of Christ and the general resurrection.⁵⁰ The attributes of a senior Insular ecclesiastic were his *bachall* and his handbell. The croziers of saints like Cadog and Illtud were sometimes preserved in Insular monasteries as treasured relics of the founder, and in a few cases survived until the Reformation. When the monastery at Dol in Brittany caught fire, long after St Sampson's death, his crozier was fetched to put out the fire.⁵¹ The crozier or staff has remained the symbol of the bishop's or abbot's authority to the present day. The stock miracle comparing Gwynllyw with Moses is matched in chapter 28 of Lifris's Life of Cadog when, needing urgently to reach the death-bed of his father, Cadog uses his staff to part the waters of the river Taff—a clear allusion to Exodus 14:16. The Exodus from Egypt was a type of Christ's Harrowing of Hell, and the host of followers of Moses are a type of those led to eternal life by Christ. Here, it is suggested, the local saints Cadog, Gwynllyw and Gwladys lead others heavenwards—those followers being represented by the small human figures, snakes and birds on Faces 2 and 3, and the small head on Face 1.⁵²

As an alternative to the interpretation suggested in the previous paragraph, the scene on Face 2, with an orant accompanied by a bird with a disc, possibly representing a loaf, in its beak could be an iconographic reference to Elijah fed by ravens in the wilderness (I Kings 17: 3–6). Birds carrying loaves are found in scenes of Saints Paul and Anthony being similarly fed by ravens in the desert, with the saints depicted seated and facing each other. If the figure does represent Elijah, a connection with the *Vita Gundleii* is possible, since this describes his life as a hermit on the site of the present church, Elijah being the Old Testament type of the hermit.

***In pavimento ecclesie*—the commemoration of St Gwynllyw**

The *Vita Cadoci* tells how the body of Gwynllyw lay *in pavimento ecclesie* in his church, beside the south wall. Nancy Edwards has shown how it was not customary for Welsh saints to be translated to above-ground shrines before Anglo-Norman times.⁵³ This is in contrast to the practice in Anglo-Saxon England where, as early as 698, the body of St Cuthbert (died 687), was translated from a grave on the right-hand side of the altar to an above-ground shrine where his body was laid in a wooden chest above a stone sarcophagus or cist.⁵⁴ While there is no evidence that the body of Gwynllyw was ever translated, accounts of other translations in the late eleventh and twelfth century in Wales may help to set his grave, and features associated with it, in context.

At St Barruc's Chapel, Glamorgan, by 1188 the saint had been translated, presumably from an open air shrine, and lay in a *feretrum* in a little chapel covered in ivy. Excavation showed that the chapel consisted of a rectangular nave and apsidal chancel. In the south side of this chancel was a deep disturbance whose backfill contained blocks of high-quality southern English ashlar with traces of mortar, probably from a masonry shrine or *feretrum*. The apse and shrine were demolished in the fourteenth century when a new square-ended chancel was built. St Barruc's bones were probably transferred to a reliquary.⁵⁵ At Pennant Melangell (Montgomeryshire), a pre-existing short-cist grave, presumably that of St Melangell, was sited on the south side of an apsidal chancel, as at St Barruc's. Later the bones were transferred to an elaborate Romanesque shrine, which has recently been reconstructed from fragments. The original cist then functioned as a cenotaph grave, like that of St Cuthbert, or of St Philibert at Noirmoutier in western France, where the empty grave of Philibert exists in the crypt of the eleventh-century abbey, even though his body left Noirmoutier in 836 when his monks fled from the Vikings. As at St Barruc's, the apse at Pennant Melangell was later sealed off and in the mid eighteenth century replaced by a square schoolroom.⁵⁶ Other redundant grave chapels, as for example at Bassaleg, were reused as schoolrooms

at this time, but in the present case the memory of its original purpose survived locally and it was known as the *eglwys y bedd*.

Though speculation, it is not impossible that the bones of St Gwynllyw were similarly translated in the late eleventh or early twelfth century from his grave in the floor of the church to an above-ground shrine, possibly erected over the site of his burial (as seems to have been the case with the altar at Partrishow). It is not impossible that the surprising reuse of the Roman columns in an otherwise conventional Romanesque building was due to their association with an earlier grave-shrine over Gwynllyw's actual grave. The implication would be that the columns originally stood in some other context and were reset in the arch in the mid twelfth century. The shrine and its columns, the latter originally Roman *spolia*, may have acquired a reputation for sanctity, or even for miracle working.

Gwynllyw's sanctity was proved by the miracle of bringing water out of the ground, and posthumous miracles at his burial place are mentioned in the Life. 'A frequent visitation of angels was seen about the place of his burial and sick people with divers disorders were made well from every ill'.⁵⁷ One feature of the capitals not so far discussed is the scatter of deep round holes among the figures—five on Face 1, one on Face 2, and four around the stick on Face 4. They are not accidental or deliberate damage and are too large for drill holes left over from the process of sculpture. They recall the holes bored in the Hedda stone at Peterborough, an eighth-century solid stone shrine-cover or skeuomorph shaped like a casket.⁵⁸ Five holes are bored along the bands representing the meeting of lid and chest, and one beside the figure of St Peter. David Rollason cites late traditions that these holes were made for the collection of miracle-working dust, but they might also have taken a scrap of cloth or the like that could absorb the presence of the saint.⁵⁹ Whatever the precise use, the *baculus* on Face 4, representing the local saint's authority and miracle working powers, would have been the most effective place to obtain such contact relics. The half-figure on Face 1, suggested as St Cadog, also has a cluster of bored holes near it.

One final point to consider is how the chronology of the Picot dispute, the two indulgences and other factors mentioned above might affect our understanding of the early history of the building. The indulgence of 1139–46 refers to those who *assist* (subscribe to building at?) the church, whereas that of 1156–61 speaks of those *visiting* the (finished? dedicated?) church of St Gundlei of Newport. On architectural grounds construction is unlikely to have followed Gloucester Abbey's recovery of the church in 1156. With the date estimated from architectural comparisons to be between 1125 and 1150, and the slender evidence of the indulgences, a building date of around 1140 seems possible. Picot appears as 'chaplain of St Gundlei' in 1146. We do not know when Earl Robert seized the church and installed his own priest, but it could well have been immediately he received his title in 1122 and reviewed his new domain. Coincidentally, this was also the year of a serious fire at the abbey and, with the monks distracted from distant concerns, a good time for him to act.⁶⁰ Thus we see that the church is likely to have been built not by St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, but by Picot chaplain of St Gundlei's and his patron Earl Robert. The theme of general resurrection is ubiquitous in Romanesque art, but the church at North Cerney, with its four little heads so like the one at Newport, also belonged to Earl Robert.⁶¹ That Gloucester Abbey probably did not build the church might seem surprising on several grounds, but history is written by the victors, and in practice there would probably have been little difference between a major church built under the patronage of the earl of Gloucester and one built by the abbey. With the monks gone from St Gundlei's, the *clas* clergy might have come back and urged the old tales of their saint with more persistence than the monks, but both communities would have wanted to promote pilgrimage to St Gundlei's.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

1. Octavius Morgan, 'St Woolos Church, Newport', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 5th ser., 2 (1885), 279–91; W. D. Caroe, 'St Gwynllyw's Church', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 88 (1933), 388–92; J. K. Knight, 'Newport, St Gwynllyw's (St Woolos) Cathedral', *The Cardiff Area* (Roy. Arch. Inst. Summer Meeting Proceedings 1993), 60–2; M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), 159–64.
2. W. H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, Rolls Series, 3 vols (1863–67), vol. 2, no. DIX, 51; Bruce Copleston-Crow, 'The foundation of the priories of Bassaleg and Malpas in the twelfth century', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 14 (1998), 1–13; C. N. L. Brooke, 'St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadog of Llancarfan', in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), *Celt and Saxon: Studies in the Early British Border*, (Cambridge, 1963), 258–322 reprinted D. N. Dunville and C. N. L. Brooke (eds), *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1986), 50–94. The history of St Peter's Abbey by Abbot Walter Frocester (1382–1412) attributes the grant to William Rufus, probably in 1093. Brooke (op. cit., 260–262) considers this as credible, but shows that virtually all the relevant entry can be derived from earlier charters. When Robert de la Haye's charter was produced for formal inspection by Archbishop Theodore in 1156 there was no mention of any earlier royal grant. Perhaps Abbot Walter or his source were misled by some phrase like 'in the reign of William junior' (i.e. Rufus).
3. British Library *Cotton Ms Vespasian A XIV*, ff. 13–16. For the full contents of the manuscript see: Robin Flower in A. W. Wade-Evans *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), viii–xiii; Kathleen Hughes, 'British Museum MS. Cotton Vespasian A XIV; its purpose and provenance', in N. K. Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church* (Cambridge, 1958), 183–200; Silas Harris 'The Kalendar of the Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium', *J. Hist. Soc. Church in Wales* 3 (1953), 3–34.
4. John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaff and the Norman Church in Wales*, Studies in Celtic History XXI (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003); J. K. Knight, 'St Tatheus of Caerwent: an analysis of the Vespasian Life', *Monmouthshire Antiquary* 3,1 (1970–71), 29–36.
5. *Vita Gundleii* (text and translation), in A.W. Wade-Evans, *Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogiae* (Cardiff, 1944), 172–93.
6. *Vita Cadoci* c. 8, Wade-Evans *Vitae Sanctorum*, 90–1.
7. *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, vol. 2, no. DIII, 48–9; J. Conway Davies (ed.), *Episcopal Acts and Cognate Documents relating to Welsh Dioceses, 1066–1272*, 2 vols (Cardiff: Hist. Soc. Church in Wales, 1946, 1948), vol. 2, L207, 669–70.
8. Simeon of Durham, *History of the Church of Durham*, trans. J Stevenson (London, 1855), c. 62; M. M. Chibnall in R. B. Pugh (ed.), *County History of Shropshire. Volume 2*, Victoria County History (Oxford, 1973), 59–62.
9. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, vol. 2, 506–37.
10. Hart, *Historia sancti Petri Gloucestriae* vol. 2, no. DXVI, 55; Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, vol. 2, L 100, p. 637.

11. Hart, *Historia sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, vol. 2, no. DXXVI, 62. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, vol. 2, L97, 636.
12. Hart, *Historia sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, vol. 2, no. DXVIII, 56–7. Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, vol. 2, L 133, 647–8.
13. Hart, *Historia sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, vol. 2, no. DXIV, 54; Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, vol. 2, L 134–5, 138, 648–9.
14. Hart (ed.), *Historia sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, vol. 2, no. DXII, 53; Conway Davies, *Episcopal Acts*, vol. 2, L 136, 648–9.
15. British Library, *Cotton Charter XVI*, 38; G. T. Clark (ed.), *Cartae et alia munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, 6 vols (Cardiff, 1891), vol. 3, no. DXL, 77.
16. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture*, 159–64.
17. *Ibid.*, 163–4.
18. G. E. Halliday, 'Llantwit Major Church, Glamorgan', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 60 (1905), 242–50; Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture*, 71–2.
19. S. Glynne, 'Notes on the older churches in the four Welsh dioceses', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 57 (1902), 98–102; (written May 1864) with plan and interior view of western church.
20. N. Edwards, 'Celtic saints and early medieval archaeology', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), 234–5.
21. M. Baylé, *La Trinité du Caen* (Geneva, 1979), figs 68–73.
22. For illustration, see *St Woolos Cathedral Newport Illustrated Guide Book* (3rd edn, 2002), 16 (see also following note). For Donovan, see *ibid.*, 21.
23. William Coxe, *An Historical Tour in Monmouthshire* (London, 1801), 53 and plate opposite (by Colt Hoare).
24. E. A. Freeman, 'On architectural antiquities in Monmouthshire', Part II, *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 2nd ser., 2 (1851), 192–5.
25. E. A. Freeman 'Architectural antiquities in Glamorganshire', Part III, *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 3rd ser., 4 (1858), 31–47.
26. Morgan *op. cit.* (note 1), 279–291.
27. *Ibid.*, 280; J. A. Bradney, *A History of Monmouthshire 5, Hundred of Newport*, ed. Madeleine Gray, South Wales Record Society (Cardiff, 1993), 60.
28. W. D. Caroe, *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 88 (1933), 388–92.
29. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture*, 159, 162.
30. *Ibid.*, 163.
31. *Ibid.*, 162.
32. B. W. Cunliffe and M. G. Fulford, *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani, Great Britain, Volume 1, Fasc. 2: Bath and the rest of Wessex*, fig. 191 (Fishbourne); V. I. Atroshenko and J. Collins, *The Origins of the Romanesque* (London, 1985), illus. 98, 99 (Syria, Burgundy); L. Musset, *Normandie Romane 2: la Haute Normandie* (La Pierre qui Vire, 1974), pl. 8 (Bernay).
33. R. Wood, 'Before the Green Man', *Medieval Life* 14 (2000), 8–13.
34. For human heads in foliage at the creation of man, see R. Green *et al.*, (eds), *Herrad of Landsberg: Hortus Deliciarum*, vol. 2 (London, 1979), fo. 17^r, 19^r.
35. Peace, rest and orderly worship fill the heaven envisaged in the West, perhaps in pointed contrast to other ideas of heaven, as pictured for example under Islamic influence in Sicily.
36. For the Leckhampstead tympanum, see C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels with Figure or Symbolic Sculpture still or till recently existing in the Churches of Great Britain* (2nd edn, London, 1927), plate 66.

37. R. Wood, 'Geometric patterns in English Romanesque sculpture', *J. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 154 (2001), 5–8. St Augustine enthroned in heaven with clerics below being instructed by his books shows such stars (Florence Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 12. 17, fo. 3^v); also Silos Beatus (British Library, Add. MS 11695, fos 147^v–148^f).
38. R. Oursel, *Bourgogne Romane* (La Pierre qui Vire, 1979), pl. 9.
39. C. M. Malone, 'The Rotunda of Sancta Maria in Dijon as "Ostwerk"', *Speculum* 75 (April 2000), 285–317; earlier version 'L'Eglise de Guillaume de Volpiano et son lien avec la Rotonde', in M. Jannet and C. Sapin (eds), *Guillaume de Volpiano et l'Architecture de Rotondes* (Dijon, 1996), 45–58.
40. Oursel op. cit. (note 38), pls 6–8.
41. M. Baylé, 'Les Sculptures de la Rotonde de Dijon', in Jannet and Sapin 1996 op. cit. (note 39), 59–72, especially 69 to end.
42. J. H. Wheatcroft, 'Classical ideology in the medieval bestiary', in D. Hassig (ed.), *The Mark of the Beast* (New York, 1999), 141–159; T. H. White, *The Book of Beasts* (London, 1984), 187.
43. Musset op. cit. (note 32), pls 8, 10, 11; G. Zarnecki, 'Romanesque sculpture in Normandy and England in the eleventh century', *Proc. Battle Conf. on Anglo-Norman Studies* I (1978), ed. R. Allen Brown, 171–3, pls 4, 5; M. Baylé, *Les Origines et les Développements de la Sculpture Romane en Normandie* (Caen, 1992), pls 167, 180–2, 185–7, 420, 516. See also Baylé 1996 op. cit. (note 41), 73.
44. Wood op. cit. (note 37), 23–25.
45. V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (Cardiff, 1950), nos 256 (Gelli Onen), 269 (Cefn Hirfynydd).
46. *Ibid.*, nos 56 (Llanfrynach), 61 (Llanhamlach).
47. Marquise de Maillé, *Les Cryptes de Jouarre* (Paris, 1971).
48. J. Beckwith, *Early Medieval Art: Carolingian, Ottonian, Romanesque* (London, 1964, revised 1969), fig. 115, p. 132; J. Beckwith, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (2nd edn, London, 1979), fig. 158, p. 191.
49. P. Brown, *The cult of the Saints: its rise and fall in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), 72 and notes 18,19. The imagery of triumph and ascension was also applied to believers, see note 53.
50. H. Richardson, 'John Scottus Eriugena and Irish High Crosses', in M. Meek (ed.), *The Modern Traveller to Our Past: Festschrift in Honour of Ann Hamlin* (Dublin, 2006), 78–83 and fig. 6. Moses striking the rock with his rod and Aaron standing by was carved in one of the medallions on the south porch at Malmesbury Abbey (Wilts.), c. 1145. Elijah was not represented there.
51. Edwards op. cit. (note 20), 225–65, especially 252–5; P. Flobert (ed.), *Vita S. Samsonis* (Paris, 1997), book 2, chapter 16.
52. Wade-Evans op. cit. (note 3), 180–1, *Vita Gundleii* c. 9; *ibid.*, 87–91, *Vita Cadoci* c. 28. St Amand ascends to heaven followed by crowds he has converted, see A. Grabar, *Romanesque Painting from the 11th to the 13th Century* (New York, 1958), 185, 187. In one illustration he climbs a mountain, in another he is accompanied by flying virtues, both are ways in which Christ's Ascension is shown.
53. Edwards op. cit. (note 20), 238.
54. B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* (Cambridge, 1940), Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, c 42.
55. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock and G. F. Warner (eds), *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, 8 vols, Rolls Series (London 1861–91), vol. 6 (*Itinerarium Cambriae* I, vii); J. K. Knight 'Excavations at St Barruc's Chapel, Barry Island, Glamorgan', *Trans. Cardiff Naturalists Soc.* 99 (1976–78), 28–65.

56. C. A. R. Radford and W. J. Hemp, 'Pennant Melangell: the church and the shrine', *Archaeol. Cambrensis* 108 (1959), 81–113; W. J. Britnell, 'Excavations and recording at Pennant Melangell church', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 41–102.
57. *Vita Gundleii* c. 10.
58. R. N. Bailey, *The Meaning of Mercian Sculpture* (Leicester, 1990), fig. 4.
59. D. W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), 46.
60. *History of the County of Gloucester. Volume 2*, Victoria County History (1907), 54.
61. *History of the County of Gloucester. Volume 7*, Victoria County History (Oxford, 1981), 150.

