

The Architecture
and Sculpture of
Deerhurst Priory:
the later 11th-,
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13th-century work

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Introduction

This paper develops from the Deerhurst Lecture of September 12, 2009, in which I discussed 110 images of St Mary's, Deerhurst, and comparative material with the view to understanding the later 11th-, 12th- and early 13th-century work at Deerhurst in its historical context. For the lecture I had a slide list and notes rather than a written text. What is presented here takes up the main themes of the lecture and adds much detail on the historiography and the comparative material so as to provide references and ideas which, I hope, will contribute to our comprehension of the work and encourage further research on this under-investigated period in the history of the priory. We explore four aspects of the architecture of Deerhurst Priory, a fragment of Romanesque sculpture reused in the west tower of the church, a damaged loose stone carved with stiff-leaf foliage, and a tomb slab carved with foliage ornament in the north aisle of the choir. First, we consider modifications to the fabric from which are preserved the arch to the former south-east chapel and a column reset in the kitchen of Priory Farm. It will be argued that this work should be associated either with the gift of Deerhurst to Westminster Abbey by Edward the Confessor or with William I's grant to Saint-Denis, dated 13 April 1069, of the church of Deerhurst formerly held by Baldwin, monk of Saint-Denis, by the gift of King Edward. Second, we examine the large plain arch between the south porticus and what is now the south aisle of the nave, and the doorway with a plain lintel in the south wall of the chancel that leads to the south porticus. Third, we look at a little-known fragment of early 12th-century sculpture. Fourth, we investigate the richly chevroned arch and capitals and bases rebuilt as the north doorway of Wightfield Manor, Apperley, along with other 12th-century carved stones at Wightfield Manor, at 'The Minstrels', Deerhurst, and a capital discovered on October 8, 2009, during the rebuilding of part of the churchyard wall at Deerhurst, all of which, it will be contended, originate from the cloister of Deerhurst Priory. Fifth, we check out the insertion of responds for transverse arches in the south nave aisle, the pointed north and south arcades in the nave, and the creation of an 'ambulatory' at the west end of the nave in the late 12th to early 13th century. Finally, we discuss the form and possible function of a fragmentary stone carved with stiff-leaf foliage, and the foliage decoration on a tomb slab in association with tomb slabs at Tewkesbury Abbey, Didbrook and Eweny Priory. In each case the place of the work in relation to near-contemporary architecture and sculpture will be assessed.

Documentation

While there is no documentation that pertains directly to the works under consideration, some historical background for the third quarter of the 11th century helps to provide

a context for building work undertaken at that time. Towards the end of his reign, Edward the Confessor issued a writ to 'my bishops and my earls and all my thegns in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire' to certify that he had granted Pershore and Deerhurst to Westminster Abbey; this writ is likely to have been issued not long before King Edward's death on 4 or 5 January 1066.¹ A writ confirming the gift was issued by William I between 1066 and 1069.² Subsequently, on 13 April 1069, William I and Mathilda granted to Saint-Denis the church of Deerhurst, as King Edward had given it to Baldwin, monk of Saint-Denis before he became abbot of Bury St Edmunds.³ Baldwin was made abbot of Bury St Edmunds in 1065. He was Edward the Confessor's physician and continued in that role for William the Conqueror.⁴ George Butterworth, vicar of Deerhurst from 1856 to 1893, was of the opinion that 'it is no improbable assumption that in the days of that monarch [Edward the Confessor] the church may have been renovated, or even, in greater or less measure, rebuilt'.⁵ The archaeology of the church does not support the idea of major rebuilding, but it is plausible to associate some building activity at Deerhurst Priory with these gifts in the 1060s, details of which are discussed below. Whether work started in the time of Edward the Confessor or with the 1069 gift to Saint-Denis is a moot point.

The Arch to the South-East Chapel

There is general agreement amongst archaeologists and architectural historians that the arch from the south porticus to the former south-east chapel is an insertion into earlier fabric (pls 1–3).⁶ It is quite different in scale and form from the entrance leading from the north porticus to the north-east chapel which implies that the two are not contemporary. Various dates have been suggested for the insertion of the south-east arch. Most commentators have opted for a date somewhere in the 11th century.⁷ Knowles considered it to be post-Conquest.⁸ Gilbert thought that it was contemporary with the chancel arch at Deerhurst, the jambs of which had a 'vast Norman looking roll' and was 'obviously coeval' with the arch to the south-east chapel.⁹ Richard Gem did not agree with Gilbert's assessment. On the arch to the south-east chapel, he observed that 'both the jambs and arch show decidedly Romanesque characteristics, the former having a part-column formed integrally with a dosseret, the arch having a bold roll-moulding which continues the language of the jamb'.¹⁰ Gem saw this as quite different from the jambs of the chancel arch with their three-quarter columns against the flat rubble wall which he paralleled with the responds of the arches to the side porticus at Repton (Derbyshire), perhaps shortly before 873.¹¹ He considered that the east arch of the south porticus 'may point to the St-Denis phase before or after the Conquest'.¹² Fisher opined that it is 'perhaps of post-Conquest date'.¹³ Brooks labelled the arch to the south-east chapel 'Early Norman?' and considered that it was built 'probably at the same time as its W wall was opened beneath a wide rounded arch'.¹⁴ Rahtz observed that '[t]he burning evidence may be post c. 1050, as one of the most extensively burnt areas is the heavy roll-moulding formerly the head of a doorway leading out of the S porticus'.¹⁵

Rahtz and Watts pointed out that the arch is not placed centrally in the wall, 'and that it appears to be of two phases, based on differences between the north jamb and the roll above'. 'The roll is assumed to be a rebuild, itself probably a widening of the opening, attributed stylistically by H.M. T[aylor] to the eleventh century'.¹⁶ Rahtz believed that

the north jamb was part of an earlier doorway but asked ‘[w]hy was the first doorway so far north of centre, even in a “narrow” porticus’.¹⁷ Harold Taylor also thought that the north jamb was earlier and wondered why ‘the later builders (did not make) a new north jamb’.¹⁸ It seems to me that the very opposite relationship between the north



Pl. 1 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, arch to former SE chapel from W



Pl. 2 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, arch to former SE chapel from W, detail



Pl. 3 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, arch to former SE chapel from E

jamb and the arch is the correct one. The arch overhangs the north jamb which indicates that the stonework below the arch is later and was built after, rather than before, the fire, the marks of which are so distinct on the arch. This fire probably damaged the former north respond so severely that it was partially replaced and the arch blocked. The untidy appearance of the modified whole probably would have been disguised after the repair with a generous application of plaster.

Buckler did not offer a date for the arch but wrote that it has a 'massive semicircular member in the soffit, rising from the plinth, and carried overhead without the intervention of an impost, or any kind of distinction at the springing line, in exception to the arches in every other part of the Saxon structure'.¹⁹ Buckler is quite correct that the arch is unique at Deerhurst but, as Butterworth suggested, close examination shows that the arch and jamb are not conceived as a continuous order.²⁰ As viewed from within the vestry, the squared dosseret of the south respond is set to the left of the corresponding squared section in the arch which indicates that the order was not continuous and, concomitantly, that the arch was carried on a capital (pl. 2). The capital is badly damaged and therefore it is not possible to tell whether it was rectangular, like the chancel arch at Wittering (Northamptonshire), or circular like the east arch of the central axial tower at Langford (Oxfordshire), or the main arcades at St Peter's Abbey (now cathedral), Gloucester, and St Mary's Abbey, Tewkesbury.²¹ It is possible that the capitals were executed in plaster like those of the north and south crossing arches at Milborne Port (Somerset) (pl. 4).²²

A close analogue for the Deerhurst arch is in the blind arches on the south and north



Pl. 4 Milborne Port, St John the Evangelist (Somerset), S crossing arch

walls of the north transept chapel at St Peter's, Gloucester, which are articulated with a bold roll moulding on large voussoirs, albeit not with the full semi-circular profile of the Deerhurst arch. The work at Gloucester was executed between the laying of the foundation stone in 1089 of the abbey church and the consecration in 1100.²³ Is the Deerhurst arch earlier or later than Gloucester?

The Deerhurst soffit roll is a more massive version of early 11th-century examples in France in the main arcade and crossing arches of Bernay Abbey (Eure) founded between 1008 and 1013;²⁴ the crypt at Auxerre Cathedral (1023–35);²⁵ the western crypt of Nevers Cathedral, founded in 1028; and the transverse arches of the ambulatory vault of the abbey church of Saint-Denis at Nogent-le-Rotrou (Eure-et-Loire), founded in 1031 and consecrated in 1078. Comparable soffit rolls are found in the crossing arches of the collegiate church of Saint-Vincent at Soignies (Belgium) which have been dated to 1050–60.²⁶ In England, there are parallels in the chancel arch at Clayton (Sussex), the belfry arches and the east arch of the central axial tower at Langford (Oxfordshire), the north and south crossing arches at Milborne Port (Somerset) (pl. 4), the chancel arch at Wittering (Northamptonshire), and the east arch of the former crossing tower at Netheravon (Wiltshire).²⁷ None of the English examples is dated by documentary evidence but at least there are some approximations.

For Langford, Baldwin Brown dated the tower to period C3 (1050–1100) and also referred to it as post-Conquest.²⁸ The Taylors opted for period C3 and also included the capitals and the panel carved with dancing figures on the south wall of the tower in their catalogue of pre-Conquest sculpture.²⁹ Zarnecki considered that Langford was 'built about the time of the Conquest', while Gem opted for a date around 1090.³⁰ Blair argued that the patron is Ælfsige of Faringdon, an Englishman who in the time of King Edward owned two hides at Littleworth in Great Faringdon (Berkshire).³¹ He prospered after the Conquest and amongst extensive new holdings he had 15 hides at Langford by 1086.³² Tweddle did not comment on Blair's dating – which may not have been published at the time he was writing – and observed that the 'architectural features of the belfry stage suggest a date for the tower no earlier than the middle of the eleventh century'.³³

In 1086 Milborne Port was held by Regenbald, chancellor to Edward the Confessor who continued in royal service under William I.³⁴ Blair and Gem both associated the church with Regenbald, and there can be little doubt that he was the patron.³⁵ Gem observed that the building welded together pre- and post-Conquest forms 'into an articulate and satisfying whole', while for Fernie the church 'is not a misunderstood Anglo-Saxon version of Norman forms, but a combination of the best of both traditions'.³⁶ They both date the building to the late 11th century. Yet, as J.T. Micklethwaite observed in his discussion of the Saxo-Norman overlap, 'the overlapping took place before 1066. We must not be deceived by the architectural use of the word *Norman* which is only conventional. The Confessor's church at Westminster, completed all but the nave before his death, was a purely "Norman" building, and there may be others as early which for lack of written evidence we are not able to distinguish'.³⁷ Given Regenbald's association with Edward the Confessor it is possible that he was keen to have Norman motifs incorporated at Milborne Port before 1066.

The chancel arch at Wittering is built of Barnack stone and does not incorporate any Norman motifs. From 1083 stone was quarried at Barnack for the construction of Ely Cathedral in which Norman motifs abound. Norman technology would have been

known at the quarry and, concomitantly, it would be expected that at least one or two Norman features would appear at Wittering had it been commenced in the mid 1080s or later.³⁸

Domesday Book records that the wife of William de Vatteville held Clayton of William (of Warenne) and that Azur had held it of King Edward.³⁹ A church is also recorded but whether it is the present church is a moot point. The Taylors attributed the chancel arch to period C (950–1100).⁴⁰ Gem observed ‘some resemblance’ between the half columns on the wall face at Clayton and the mid 11th-century work at Stow (Lincolnshire), yet he concluded that association with Lewes Priory in the 1080s or even as late as 1106–18, when Clayton church was given to Lewes Priory, may be a ‘more accurate interpretation’.⁴¹ Domesday records the value of Clayton before 1066 as £10 but later and now £8 which is not favourable for building after the Conquest. It follows that Clayton should be either pre-Conquest or, as Gem suggests, early 12th century.⁴²

Netheravon must have been built after 1086 because the Domesday survey recorded that ‘Nigel the physician holds the church of this manor with 1 hide. This with all its appendages is worth £32. [The church] itself, however, is waste, and the roof so damaged that it is almost tumbling down’.⁴³

A further comparison may be cited in the soffit rolls in the blind arcades of the eastern slype at Worcester Cathedral, erected between 1084 and 1089.⁴⁴ The scale of the Worcester arches is much smaller than at Deerhurst but proportionally they are similar. Philip Barker suggested that these Worcester arcades are composed of reused material from the Anglo-Saxon fabric.⁴⁵

The above comparisons for the arch to the south-east chapel at Deerhurst indicate that the broadest date range is between the 1020s to the early 12th century. It is possible to refine this date by trying to determine why this elaborate arch was constructed. Knowles suggested that it provided ‘added importance and accommodation for an altar, unless it afforded access to the twelfth-century claustral buildings of which period there is a capital in the adjoining cellar’.⁴⁶ For Rahtz it ‘presumably led to some covered claustral area’ but he added that; ‘it is difficult to see how this was possible in view of the proximity of the polyapse’.⁴⁷ It is difficult indeed to associate the arch with access to a claustral area but Knowles’s idea of ‘added importance and accommodation of an altar’ is appealing. With this in mind, we must examine a column reused in Priory Farm which is presumably the one that Knowles considered to be 12th-century.⁴⁸

The column reused in Priory Farm

Priory Farm is built on the site of the east range of Deerhurst priory. In the ground floor of the north room is a column with a volute capital on a shaft with a triple-roll base on a roughly squared plinth; the base and plinth are part of the same stone (pls 5 and 6; also back cover). Archaeologists and architectural historians have offered various interpretations and dates for the column. Butterworth believed it to be of Norman date, although in his description he confused the volute capital with a cushion capital.⁴⁹ Buckler thought that it came from one of the domestic buildings ‘which were either altered or re-erected at the same time that the Saxon church was remodelled, that is, towards the close of the 12th century’.⁵⁰ Pope also reckoned that the column is Norman and considered it most probable that it ‘originally formed one of the supports of the cloister roof’.⁵¹ The account of Deerhurst in the *Victoria County History* suggested that

the 'pillar' is 12th century and was from one of the conventual buildings of the priory.⁵² Knowles illustrates the 'Norman capital in farm cellar' i.e. the volute capital.⁵³ Brooks opted for a different reading and suggested that the shaft and base are 10th century while the volute capital is Norman.⁵⁴ The base finds general analogues in the capitals in the wall arcades of the slype of Worcester Cathedral. A more widely splayed base with multiple rolls is used on the left respond of the north nave doorway at Worcester Cathedral.

Another base, ST13, which was excavated by Rahtz to the south-east of the main apse, is relevant to our investigation (pl. 7).⁵⁵ It is regarded by Rahtz as a capital or less



Pl. 5 Deerhurst, Priory Farm, reused column, detail of volute capital



Pl. 6 Deerhurst, Priory Farm, reused column, detail of base



Pl. 7 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, base ST13

probably base with triple roll mouldings similar to the Priory Farm base.⁵⁶ He pointed out that the Priory Farm capital and base 'may be derived from different places, and may be of different dates. ST13 therefore might be post-Conquest but there is no reason why it must be. ... Parallels could be drawn from both pre- and post-Conquest contexts'. Rahtz suggested that ST13 could have been part of the superstructure of the apse, 'or may as Dr Taylor suggests, be part of the original chancel arch linking the semi-circular apse to the period 3 church'.⁵⁷ Rahtz continued: 'The pieces include a capital or base with a crude triple ring moulding and broken off column stub; and a roughly squared base plinth, heavily burnt. The ring-moulding piece is similar to that used as the base of a column in the nearby farm cellar. This last is surmounted by a Norman capital, but is part of the same structure as the piece found in the excavation, and both are Saxon'. Rahtz added: 'They should predate the polygonal apse, usually ascribed to the tenth century'.

The volute capital is ubiquitous in Romanesque Normandy and there are close analogues for the Priory Farm capital at the abbey church of Cerisy-la-Forêt (Manche) usually dated to about 1080 but possibly begun somewhat earlier.⁵⁸ It is generally believed that the volute capital was introduced into England after the Conquest. Indeed, with reference to the volute capitals in the central part of the crypt of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, John Bilson, the celebrated early 20th-century architectural historian, stated that volute capitals are 'the normal type of capital in use in Normandy in the second half of the eleventh century, and *are not found in England before the Conquest*' (emphasis mine).⁵⁹ Yet a close parallel for the Deerhurst capital appears in the representation of the Destruction of Sodom in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius, B. IV, f. 32) which is usually dated to the second quarter of the 11th century.⁶⁰ Given Edward the Confessor's patronage of Norman architecture at Westminster Abbey before the Conquest, and the record of his connection with Deerhurst, it is possible that the volute capital and base date from his time. Be that as it may, very close parallels for the execution of the volute and the complex profile of the abacus are found in the crypt capitals of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, commenced by Abbot Serlo in 1089. The eastern arm of Serlo's church was consecrated in 1100, and in the superstructure of the church volute capitals and complex abaci are not used. Instead, cushion and scalloped capitals are accompanied by simply chamfered abaci. Chamfered abaci are favoured in Normandy whereas more complex profiles find precedent in the Holy Roman Empire, as in the westwork of the abbey church of Corvey (873–85).⁶¹ Complex profiles were already established in pre-Conquest Deerhurst, as on the imposts of the openings to the first storeys of the porticus in the north and south walls of the choir. Thus it would seem that the Deerhurst capital was executed between c. 1060 and 1095.

On the leaf below the south-west volute of the Priory Farm capital there are fragments of red paint. Such polychrome is in keeping with late 11th- and 12th-century practice in England as on a fragment of a volute capital at Shaftesbury Abbey, and one from St Nicholas's Priory, Exeter.⁶²

On the original use of the Priory Farm column, Buckler's suggestion of one of the domestic buildings and Pope's idea of a cloister arcade are possibilities but, given the excavation of a comparable base close to the site of the south-east chapel, it makes sense to investigate the likelihood that the column was used there. Reference to the west front of the Bishop's Chapel at Hereford, erected by Robert of Lotharingia,

Bishop of Hereford (1079–95), suggests an analogue.⁶³ Here four columns are used, one each at the outer and inner angles of the multiple-ordered arch. The columns are free-standing. Analogous detached columns were also used in the western room of the upper storey of the Hereford chapel where they may have been associated with the location of the bishop's throne. Is it possible that our Deerhurst column was an element of free-standing articulation in the south-east chapel, perhaps one of a pair from which base ST13 survives, to mark an altar or shrine? The blocking of the arch to this chapel and the disuse of this space would mean that our column would have become available for reuse in a conventual building or the cloister.

Before leaving the matter of the original use of the column in Priory Farm, the setting of the arch to the south-east chapel to the north of centre may assist in our interpretation of the space. Off-set entrances are not common but two parallels may be significant. The arch from the nave to the west tower at Sompting (Sussex) is offset to the south. On the east wall of the ground floor of the tower there is a rectangular recess at a height suitable for a reredos which implies that there was an altar below. In the north wall of the tower an original window is set close to the north-east corner of the tower so as to provide a direct source of light for the putative altar. In the south-east chapel at Deerhurst it is unlikely that an altar would have been placed against the west wall to the south of the entrance arch but at least the analogue with Sompting suggests that something would have occupied this corner of the chapel. Here, reference to the eastern apse at Pennant Melangell (Montgomeryshire) is instructive. Like the arch to the south-east chapel at Deerhurst, the arch to the eastern apse at Pennant Melangell is offset to the north.⁶⁴ On the east side of the wall in the south-west corner of the apse there is a grave which may mark the burial of St Melangell or someone important for the church. There has been debate as to whether the shrine of St Melangell was located in the apse or, as now reconstructed, in the sanctuary of the church to the west of the arch to the apse.⁶⁵ Be that as it may, the location of a shrine or grave of an important person in the south-west corner of the south-east chapel at Deerhurst would accord well with the elaborate entrance arch and the articulation of the chapel with columns including the one reused in Priory Farm.

Subsequent remodelling of the south porticus assists our interpretation of the relative chronology of the 11th- and 12th-century work at Deerhurst.

Early 12th-century modifications in the south porticus

The arch from the south porticus to what is now the south nave aisle, and the flat-headed opening from the chancel to the south porticus have received little attention from archaeologists and architectural historians (pls 8 and 9). Butterworth noted that the arch is 'ill-designed and segmental. It is difficult to believe that it is coeval with the admirable work which characterizes the new aisle; and yet it cannot be assigned to an earlier period. It differs in certain respects from the Saxon arches, the general form of which, however, it seems desirous of following. For instance, two stones united traverse, for the most part, the width of the soffit (not a series of single stones as in the Saxon arches), and then we may notice in the same the sparing employment of green sandstone, which never seems to have been used in the Saxon work'.⁶⁶ Massé grouped the segmental arch with the addition of the south aisle of the nave.⁶⁷ Knowles made passing reference to the 'square-edged Norman arch' in the west wall of the south



Pl. 8 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, arch between S porticus and S nave aisle from W

chapel,⁶⁸ while in a note to Buckler's text, Butterworth suggested a 12th-century date for the arch, comparing use of green sandstone with 12th-century work in the church but not in the Anglo-Saxon fabric.⁶⁹

The arch from the south porticus to the south nave aisle has a plain, single order and a segmental trajectory (pl. 8). It rests on plain squared imposts and has a square hood mould on the east face but not on the west. In contrast to the pre-Conquest arches in the church, which are constructed predominantly with through stones, this arch has just two through stones. The diagonal axe tooling on the voussoirs is characteristic of Norman workmanship. The segmental trajectory of the arch is paralleled in the crypt of St Peter's, Gloucester, and in the former Bishop's Chapel at Hereford.⁷⁰ One of the voussoirs and the southern impost are of green Highley sandstone which is also used for the jambs of the doorway from the chancel to the south porticus. The earliest attested use of Highley sandstone is in the Romanesque fabric of Worcester Cathedral, begun in 1084.⁷¹ In Gloucestershire, there are good examples of its use, probably *circa* 1120–1150, in the south portal at Bulley, and the east window and south doorway at Rudford.⁷² On the Deerhurst arch, two of the voussoirs on the east face and one on the west are inscribed with fictive mortar joints (pl. 9), a feature used on the chancel arch of Odda's Chapel, Deerhurst (1053–6). Subsequently, such mimetic joints are fairly common in Romanesque arches in the region, as on the western arch of the north presbytery gallery at Worcester Cathedral (1084–9), the SE arch of the main arcade of the crypt of St Peter's, Gloucester (1089–1100), and on the second order of the arch of the north portal at Moreton Valence where there are incisions on three of the voussoirs. Further examples



Pl. 9 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, arch between S porticus and S nave aisle, detail of incised voussoir

include the south nave window at Daglingworth, a blocked north nave window at Kings Stanley, the ground-floor south window of the west tower at Churcham, in the arch around the tympanum of the doorway to the former axial tower vice at Dymock, on the apse window at Kilpeck (Herefordshire), on the inner order of the arch surrounding a loose tympanum at Newnham, and around the tympanum of the north doorways at Preston-by-Dymock, Upleadon and Hinton-on-the Green.⁷³ On the latter, the tympanum is also incised with a lozenge pattern and similarly incised lozenges occur on Romanesque tympana in Gloucestershire at Churcham (N), Farmington (S), Saintbury (N and S), Southrop (N) and Winstone (S).⁷⁴ These tympana are not exactly dated but the details of the portals indicate a range between the late 11th century and 1120. These incisions may have been used as guidelines for painters as on the hood mould of the chancel arch at St Mary's, Deerhurst, in two fragments of Romanesque painted plaster from St Mary's Abbey, York, preserved in the Yorkshire Museum, or in the arches of the painted dado arcade on the north wall of the chancel at Duntisbourne Rouse.⁷⁵ It is worth pointing out that fictive mortar joints are painted in red on the ribs of the vault above the high altar at Ewenny Priory, a daughter house of St Peter's, Gloucester.⁷⁶

A hood mould frames the east side of the Deerhurst arch but this feature is not used to the west. It has a simple squared profile like the arch from the tower to the nave at Deerhurst. The selective use of a hood mould is most frequently associated with the entry into a space deemed to be more significant, as with the chancel arch at Deerhurst. Be that as it may, it is difficult to account for a greater significance being attached to the room to the west of the south porticus. Rather, after the fire that seriously damaged the arch to the south-east chapel and presumably the south-east chapel itself, it seems that the former two-storeyed south porticus was opened up to create a more monumental space.

The doorway from the chancel to the south porticus

The lintel above the doorway from the chancel to the south porticus rests on plain ashlar jambs of Highley sandstone (pl. 10). The individual stones of the jambs have diagonal axe tooling characteristic of Norman workmanship exactly as on the voussoirs of the arch between the south porticus and the south nave aisle. The jambs are distinctly different from those of the lower doorways further west in the north and south walls of the chancel in which the larger individual stones are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. Butterworth observed these differences and considered that the east doorway may replace an earlier doorway ruined by fire.⁷⁷ The tooling of the lintel is rough and random as if to prepare the surface for a plaster finish. The upper edge is irregular, in keeping with early Norman plain lintels in Gloucestershire as in the south doorway at Syde and the north doorway at Southam, and with carving in the south doorways at Great Washbourne and Harnhill.⁷⁸



Pl. 10 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, doorway from choir to S porticus, from N

The details of the doorway from the chancel to the south porticus and the arch between the south porticus and the south nave aisle are in keeping with a date in the late 11th or early 12th century. The absence of any fire damage to these features indicates that they post-date the arch to the south-east porticus and, concomitantly, that they were part of the remodelling of the south porticus executed after the fire. Just how long before the fire the arch to the south-east chapel was constructed is an open question. On the one hand, the parallel of the soffit roll with St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, may suggest that influence passed from Gloucester to Deerhurst after 1089. On the other hand, the bold monumentality of the arch to the south-east chapel is quite different from the simplicity of the arch from the south porticus to the south nave aisle and the doorway from the choir to the south porticus. Add to this the sloppy rebuilding of the north respond of the arch to the south-east chapel and a picture emerges of a significant change in building practice, a change that implies the passing of more than a year or two. With this in mind, the gift of half of Deerhurst to Westminster and the other half (including the church) to Saint-Denis in the 1060s, and concomitant royal association, may have provided the impetus for a significant addition to the earlier church. In light of the use of numerous pre-Conquest motifs in the Norman fabric of St Peter's, Gloucester, my preference would be to see the arch to the south-east chapel at Deerhurst earlier than Gloucester, and planned, if not completed in the 1060s or early 1070s.

Romanesque Sculpture reused in the West Tower

Built into the belfry, probably in the 14th century, is a fragmentary carved oolite slab 10cm thick and 1.15m at the longest (pl. 11).⁷⁹ In his analysis of the sculpture, David Walsh stated that '[p]arts of two figures, a frond of a split palmette, and a section of its stalk remain from the original composition'. He continued: 'A frontal robed figure stands on the upper surface of the palmette. Below, to the right of the stalk, another robed figure faces the left, praying or presenting an object'.⁸⁰ I am less than convinced with Walsh's reading of the upper figure – it might just as easily be interpreted as a foliage pattern. Yet the reading of the palmette and the lower figure is more straightforward. Walsh compared the lower figure with those on the early 12th-century fonts at Wansford and West Haddon (Northamptonshire). There are general resemblances with these works but little more than that. More interesting is his reference to the capitals from the east arch of the presbytery at Hereford Cathedral, which would have been executed soon after the start of the work there between 1107 and 1115.⁸¹ The cap-like hair, huge hands, simply incised drapery folds and summary representation of the eyes are related to the figures on two of the capitals from the Hereford arch.⁸²

A particularly close parallel for the central leaf with a long thin incised central lobe and adjacent volute is found on capitals on the entrance arch from the south transept to an east chapel at Worcester Cathedral, executed between 1084 and 1089.⁸³ Something similar is found on the tympanum of the north doorway at Moreton Valence (Gloucestershire) on which the dragon speared by St Michael is closely related to the dragon on the Worcester Cathedral capital.⁸⁴ The foliage on the right of the Moreton Valence tympanum may suggest an interpretation for the carving above the central leaf on the Deerhurst slab.

As to the original setting of the Deerhurst relief, Walsh suggested that it might have



Pl. 11 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, Romanesque sculpture reused in belfry of W tower (Photo: Philip Rahtz)

been a tomb slab or have been set into a wall. For the former, the only parallel that comes to mind is in St Peter's, Northampton, which is rather more accomplished and later than the Deerhurst relief, and probably dates from the mid-12th century.⁸⁵ Had the relief been attached to a wall then we have to consider where in the church this might have been located and why the slab became available for reuse in the 14th century. I cannot think of an answer for either question and therefore use as a tomb slab is the better solution. Alternatively, we may think in terms of a screen. Given the parallels

with the north doorway at Moreton Valence for both the foliage on the slab and the incised voussoirs on the arch between the south porticus and the south nave aisle, it is possible that the carved panel was part of a screen at the entrance to the chapel. The present south nave aisle was rebuilt and late-12th-century transverse arches between the aisle bays were removed. Had the Romanesque carved panel been part of a screen in the arch to the south porticus it might have fallen victim to the remodelling of the aisle, and thereby have been available for reuse.

Carved Stones from Deerhurst Priory Cloister and Chapter House at Wightfield Manor, The Minstrels, and the churchyard wall of St Mary's, Deerhurst

Wightfield Manor was rebuilt in the 1540s and the account in the *Victoria County History* records that '[i]n the mid 20th century a porch was added at the back (N) of the house with a doorway incorporating fragments of 12th-century masonry found near the site' (pl. 12 and front cover).⁸⁶ The semi-circular arch of the doorway comprises three orders of frontal chevron each with the same profile of two rolls flanked and separated by single fillets. The arch is carried on multi-scalloped capitals carved on all four sides with different details on each capital. Each capital measures 310mm square at the top and 210mm in height. The outer left capital has four plain scallops on each face and tapered fillets between the cones (pl. 13). The next capital also has tapered fillets between the cones but here the four scallops have incised outlines to the shields (pl. 13). The inner capital has four scallops with shields subdivided by indented semi-circles and tapered fillets between sheathed cones (pl. 13). All three capitals of the left jamb have round necking. The four scallops of the inner right capital are adorned with beads arranged in the form of a daisy-like flower while projecting cones are set between recessed cones beneath the scallops atop round necking (pl. 14). The middle right capital has five scallops to each side – those at the angles larger than the others – with sheathed cones punctuated by tapering fillets and octagonal necking (pl. 14). The outer right capital has three plain scallops with tapering fillets between the cones and octagonal necking (pl. 14). The outer capitals on each side sit on plain ashlar jambs while the middle and inner capitals are carried on detached shafts and bases. The left base of the left jamb and the inner base of the right jamb both have a roll and tall, shallow scotia with octagonal necking (pls. 15 and 16). The inner left base also has octagonal necking but the eight plain, symmetrically disposed leaves indicate that this stone was originally a capital (pl. 15). The right base of the right jamb has a large splayed roll topped by a thin, shallow roll, a fillet and damaged necking which seems to be for a round rather than an octagonal shaft (pl. 16).

The same chevron as on the doorways is found on two voussoirs that support flower pots across from the north-west corner of the house and a further three voussoirs beneath a flower trough in front of the south porch. Three voussoirs with the same type of chevron are preserved in the garden of 'The Minstrels', although four voussoirs were recorded by Rahtz.⁸⁷ The occurrence of the same type of chevron in two houses close to Deerhurst Priory suggests that the stones came from the priory rather than elsewhere. Had they been purchased from another source for building work at Wightfield then it would be hard to explain how stones of the same pattern also turned up in a house just down the road.



Pl. 12 Apperley, Wightfield Manor; N doorway



Pl. 13 Apperley, Wightfield Manor, N doorway, detail of left capitals



Pl. 14 Apperley, Wightfield Manor, N doorway, detail of right capitals



Pl. 15 Apperley, Wightfield Manor, N doorway, detail of left bases



Pl. 16 Apperley, Wightfield Manor, N doorway, detail of right bases

Returning to Wightfield Manor, there is a scalloped capital under the bench on both the east and west sides of the south porch each with two full scallops on each side plus half scallops at the angles.

On the bridge over the moat to the south of the house and the adjacent wall on the northern side of the moat to the east of the bridge there are other 12th-century capitals and bases of the same dimensions as those on the north doorway. A base for an octagonal shaft has the same profile as the left base of the left jamb of the doorway. A capital (pl. 17) has laurel leaves with pronounced central veins set towards the angles and worn plain upright leaves on the sides. The necking of this capital is broken. Two badly weathered capitals which topped round shafts each have five plain scallops to each side. At the west end of the moat north wall is a single capital with octagonal necking and regularly spaced upright stalks (pl. 18). Only the south face of the capital is scalloped. In addition there is a base (380mm × 320mm) for a quatrefoil shaft (pl. 19) and a capital with five scallops with serrated sheathed cones, partly damaged at one end (380mm × 320mm) (pl. 20).

A scalloped capital of the same size (310mm × 210mm) as those at Wightfield was discovered on October 8, 2009 during the demolition of the part of the churchyard wall immediately to the right on entering the churchyard.⁸⁸ There are four plain scallops on each face with thin spears between the cones similar to the outer left capital of the Wightfield Manor north doorway (pls 13 and 21). The necking of the capital is damaged but there appear to be two straight sides to indicate that the capital topped an octagonal shaft. The reuse of this capital in the churchyard wall makes a Deerhurst provenance for this group of stones virtually certain.

Rahtz also recorded a 'Transitional' capital and a 'Norman' or 'Transitional' jamb at 'The Minstrels'.⁸⁹ The capital survives and the angular patterns created with raised bands may be compared with a paired cloister capital from Ivychurch Priory (Wiltshire).⁹⁰ The Norman/Transitional jamb has not been located. 'The Minstrels' capital has a bell-shaped core which is quite different from the Wightfield and Deerhurst St Mary's churchyard wall capital, and probably reflects northern French early Gothic work.

The Wightfield capitals are carved on all four sides, an indication that they origin-



Pl. 17 Apperley, Wightfield Manor; moat wall, capital



Pl. 18 Apperley, Wightfield Manor; capital at W end of moat wall



Pl. 19 Apperley, Wightfield Manor, base



Pl. 20 Apperley, Wightfield Manor, capital



Pl. 21 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, capital found in churchyard wall, October 8, 2009 (Photo: Michael Hare)

ally topped free-standing columns. This detail along with the wide splay and relatively shallow form of the capitals would suit a cloister arcade. Cloister arcades are frequently carried on paired columns, as at Norwich Cathedral, Ivychurch Priory, and St Augustine's, Bristol, to name just three English 12th-century examples.⁹¹ Yet there is considerable evidence for single-columned cloister arcades as at Reading Abbey, Westminster Abbey, Winchester Cathedral, and possibly Hyde Abbey, Winchester.⁹² The Reading Abbey and Westminster Abbey cloisters probably had alternating round and octagonal shafts, and it is likely that this was the arrangement at Deerhurst. Both Reading and Westminster may be seen as appropriate models for the Deerhurst cloister, the former as a royal foundation of 1121, the latter holding land in Deerhurst. Location

in a corner of the cloister, or the middle of one of the arcades, would suit the quatrefoil shaft and capital.

Scalloped capitals appear in English architecture by the late 11th century and examples with two or four plain scallops to each face, and tapering fillets between cones occur in the crypt of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, between 1089 and 1100. Scalloped capitals were used almost exclusively throughout the nave of St Peter's, Gloucester, where three-, four-, and five-scallop groups are found and sheathed cones are introduced. Scalloped capitals are used exclusively in the nave arcades of St James's Priory, Bristol, a daughter house of Tewkesbury Abbey founded in 1144, where the capitals have a plain frieze-like strip above the scallops as on many of those at Wightfield, a detail I have not encountered in earlier scalloped capitals. In the nave of Malmesbury Abbey, ornaments are carved on the shields of some of the scalloped capitals. The variety of the Wightfield scalloped capitals is analogous to the chapter house and gatehouse of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol (pl. 22). St Augustine's, Bristol was founded in 1140 or 1142 and canons from Wigmore moved there in 1148.⁹³ Documented dates for construction of the church and the monastic buildings are lacking, although the burial of the founder, Robert Fitzharding, in the choir in 1170 indicates that at least the eastern arm of the church was finished by that date. Parallels between motifs on the Bristol gatehouse and the nave doorways of Llandaff Cathedral have been associated with the move of William Saltmarsh, chamberlain at St Augustine's to become Bishop of Llandaff (1186–91).⁹⁴ By the 1180s trumpet-scallop capitals were more fashionable, as we shall see below, and an interesting example of



Pl. 22 Bristol, St Augustine's abbey (now cathedral), chapter house, blind arcade

their relatively early use is at Little Malvern Priory – founded in 1171 – where on the east respond of the north nave arcade the right capital has a trumpet form while the other two capitals have regular scallops with tapered fillets between the cones as do some of the Wightfield capitals.

Scalloped capitals are used in the infirmary cloister at Rievaulx Abbey, in the infirmary cloister and in other buildings constructed at Christ Church Cathedral Priory at Canterbury for Prior Wibert between 1153 and 1167, and at Coggeshall Abbey (Essex).⁹⁵

The octagonal base is closely paralleled in the cloister arcade of Bridlington Priory and the cloister and infirmary cloister of Rievaulx Abbey both probably of the third quarter of the 12th century.⁹⁶ The plain-leaf capital reused as a base in the Wightfield doorway speaks ultimately of northern French associations as in the Premonstratensian abbey of Dommartin (Pas-de-Calais), founded in 1153.⁹⁷ Examples are soon found in English architecture as in the nave arcade and nave clerestory capitals of the Temple Church in London before 1161.⁹⁸ This capital type along with the waterleaf, in which the leaf terminates in an inward-curling volute, enjoyed great popularity in the north of England from the mid 1150s until 1190 not least because of its use along with many other progressive North French motifs in the eastern arm of York Minster as rebuilt by Roger of Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York (1154–81), and in allied Cistercian abbeys in northern England.⁹⁹ Patrons and masons in the South, south-west Midlands and West Country did not share this enthusiasm for these French-inspired capital types. Waterleaf capitals, and allied examples with outward-turning volutes, were used at Wolvesey Palace,¹⁰⁰ in the lavatorium at St Nicholas's Priory, Exeter,¹⁰¹ the cloister at Shaftesbury Abbey, the chapter house and crossing of Buildwas Abbey (Shropshire), and in the east bay of the south nave arcade at Abbey Dore (Herefordshire). Of these it is perhaps Buildwas that is the most instructive analogue for Deerhurst in that multi-scalloped capitals were the most popular capital type there. And in Bishop Henry of Blois's Wolvesey Castle, plain leaf, waterleaf and scalloped capitals in Purbeck marble are found, the latter possibly in the 1140s but the leaf capitals probably after 1158.

The chevroned voussoirs of the Wightfield doorway may have come from the entrance to the chapter house at Deerhurst Priory, for which a parallel for the use of chevron is found on the chapter house entrance at St Peter's, Gloucester (pl. 23) and the Cluniac Priory of Much Wenlock (Shropshire). Be that as it may, the existing east range at Deerhurst is of 14th-century date, so presumably the 12th-century chapter house would have been demolished at that time. It is possible that the chevron ornament from its doorway was reused in some way and then became available again at the dissolution, but it might be more plausible to suggest that the chevron came from the arches of the cloister arcades, as at Reading and Westminster.¹⁰²

Chevron ornament takes on many different forms, as Rachel Moss has demonstrated in her important investigation of the motif.¹⁰³ For example, the chevron in the nave of Durham Cathedral (c. 1110–33) is quite different from the version of the motif we encounter at Wightfield Manor.¹⁰⁴ One of the myths associated with the dating of chevron is that the 90-degree or frontal version of the motif is typologically late in the sequence. While there are 'late' examples of frontal chevron, as at the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey (1184–9), the motif is used in the nave of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, in the early 12th century and possibly before the 1100 consecration.¹⁰⁵ The profile of the Wightfield chevron is paralleled on the inner order of the chapter house doorway at St Peter's, Gloucester (pl. 23). There are many parallels for this



Pl. 23 Gloucester, St Peter's Abbey (now cathedral), chapter house doorway

form of the motif in Gloucestershire, as on the chancel arch at Great Witcombe, the chancel arch and south doorway at Postlip, the doorway to the keep at Berkeley Castle, the north doorway at Upleadon, and elsewhere.¹⁰⁶ Of these, the Gloucester chapter house doorway probably dates after the fire of 1122, and parallels of the capitals with the crossing of Leonard Stanley and Malmesbury Abbey nave triforium may suggest a date in the third quarter of the 12th century. St James, Postlip, was built in King Stephen's reign, by William de Solers to provide refuge for his tenants from robbers, malignants and the terrible ravages in the wars of Stephen.¹⁰⁷ Berkeley Castle dates from 1153 when Henry fitz Empress granted Robert fitz Harding the manor of Bitton and £100 of land in Berkeley with an undertaking to build a castle there.¹⁰⁸ The manor of Upleadon belonged to St Peter's, Gloucester and the church was consecrated by Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford (1148–63), so a date in the 1150s for the doorway seems likely.¹⁰⁹ While the detail of the chevron ornament does not provide close dating for Wightfield, the parallels with work in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire make it clear that the sculptors were recruited locally. When considered as a whole, the chevron ornament, scalloped and foliage capitals at Wightfield are most likely to have been produced around 1160.

Wightfield is located one mile south of Deerhurst and one hide of land at Wightfield formed part of the manor of Deerhurst at Domesday.¹¹⁰ In 1547 the churchwardens and petitioners of Deerhurst presented 'that theire chauncell is in decaye throughe the sale of a chapel which Mr Cassye bought'.¹¹¹ Lawrence Butler informs us that this was Robert Cassy of Wightfield (d. 22 October 1547) whose widow, Elizabeth, gave

in her will (11 November 1550), ‘all my freestone, slates and timbers that now lyeth at Wightfelde’.¹¹² Butler suggested that the sale was of ‘the north-east chapel where previous generations of Cassys had been buried or, alternatively, the polygonal apse, which would have become redundant when the priory was dissolved’.¹¹³ To equate these references with the carved Norman stones at Wightfield Manor is problematical, but it is tempting to think that the sale also included stones from the cloister at Deerhurst, albeit possibly involving purchases from different parties.

12th/13th-century modifications to the nave and porticus

The modifications to the pre-Conquest nave comprise the construction of the three-bay, pointed north and south arcades, the responds on the aisle side of the south arcade piers for arches across the aisle, the pointed arches cut through the north and south walls of the tower and the arch at the former south-west angle of the pre-Conquest nave to create a west aisle to link the north and south aisles, and the former doorway to the vice in the north wall of the west bay of the south aisle (pls 24–26).

The nave arcades are cut through the north and south walls of the Anglo-Saxon nave and have flat sections of wall between each bay (pl. 24). The arches have two orders carried on circular abaci on various scalloped and foliage capitals atop detached shafts on circular moulded bases all set against a semi-circular ashlar respond. The inner order of the arches has a soffit roll flanked by a hollow and a roll moulding, and an angle-roll moulding on the outer order towards the nave in the south arcade, while the



Pl. 24 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, nave, interior to W



Pl. 25 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave aisle, interior to W

outer order of the north arcade towards the nave is chamfered. The outer order of both arcades facing the aisle is also chamfered (pl. 25). The hood mouldings towards the nave rest on foliage stops except between the middle and west bay of the south arcade where the hood mould is joined with a string course at the level of the arch springers. On the aisle side of the south arcade piers there are rectangular projections which served as responds for single-order chamfered arches across the aisle of which just the springers remain (pls 25 and 26). There are no responds on the aisle side of the north nave arcade piers. In the south arcade green Highley stone is interspersed with the limestone to give a polychrome effect to the core of the piers, the aisle responds and the outer order of the arches, but limestone alone is used in the north arcade.

The three pointed, single-order, chamfered arches of the west aisle are carried on corbels (pl. 26). The arches are constructed in Highley stone. Moulded chamfer stops are used on the north and central arches, and the east springer of the south chamfer of the south arch. Like the capitals and label stops of the north and south arcades, the corbels of the arches of the west aisle vary considerably in detail.

Historiography of the modifications to the nave

The historiography of the modifications to the nave and porticus is incredibly complex and symptomatic of an overly rigid application of style labels and/or categorization of perceived differences between 'Transitional' and 'First Pointed' or 'Early English' Gothic. In his 1862 account of the church, Butterworth dated the start of the remodelling



Pl. 26 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, W aisle and S nave aisle interior from SW

of the nave to the mid-12th century.¹¹⁴ He observed that the nave arcades are of the First Pointed style, 'but in the south aisle the First Pointed work is mixed up with work of a Transitional character; and we may perhaps assume that the former grew out of the latter whilst the alterations were in progress'.¹¹⁵ On the chronology, he suggested that 'the pointed arches in the tower were first made, that next the work was completed in the south aisle, and that not till afterwards were the arcades formed, or at least, if these were begun at precisely the same time, that they were not finished till a little later – but the whole, so to speak, was a continuous work'.¹¹⁶

Buckler dated the work to 'about the middle of the 12th century' and 'towards the close of the 12th century'.¹¹⁷ He observed: 'The change was made for the use and admiration of the agricultural villagers; of those who were who were employed by the community and dwelt hard by the precinct walls; and of strangers brought thither by secular engagements, or religious obligations'.¹¹⁸ He suggested that work commenced with the addition of the south nave aisle which he thought may have been left unfinished.¹¹⁹ This work is now represented by the responds and arch springers behind the south nave arcade piers, but Buckler believed that it originally included a nave arcade that was subsequently replaced with the one that still stands. Buckler opined that the mason who built the aisle responds also cut the north and south walls of the tower to create a passage from north to south 'thus proving that his plan included a north aisle. But the work in this direction halted, and when resumed early in the 13th century, under another builder, he carried on the scheme of his predecessor, but in the new style of his own period'.¹²⁰ Buckler then attributed the construction of the

south arcade to the mason who built the north arcade. This chronology was essentially followed in the account of the visit of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society in 1902 in which it was suggested that the work included the plain arch from the south porticus to the south nave aisle about 1160, and that the north and modified south arcades dated around 1220.¹²¹

In George Butterworth's monograph on Deerhurst published in 1887, he revised his chronology of the modifications to the nave. To quote him at length:

There is clear evidence that the work was begun on the S. side. The S. wall of the choir-aisle [i.e. south porticus MT] was now prolonged westward. A great portion of its W. wall was removed, and an arch with a span from wall to wall was constructed under the part which was suffered to remain. Then the S. wall of the nave was pierced with three arches, a small length of Saxon wall, which henceforward would do service as a pier and divide arch from arch, being left standing on its original foundation.

...Next the solid flank walls of the tower, or of the inner porch, had lofty archways made in them respectively.

So far the work was suffered to proceed; then, from some unknown cause, apparently it was suspended for many years, until, indeed, a new style of architecture had sprung up and arrived at maturity.¹²²

Butterworth then turned his attention to the detail of the round-headed arch between the south porticus and the south nave aisle, as we have reported above. He adopted Buckler's chronology but added important observations regarding the western part of the south nave aisle. He recorded that 'an elegant addition had been given to the S. aisle, by running a wall in line with the divisional wall of the tower southward till it met the aisle (and possibly crossed it) and, at the point of junction, constructing an arch made to correspond with the two arches already formed in the tower, and spanning the interval between the new wall and the S.W. angle of the nave. Thus there are now in line three archways, of the pointed form, but displaying mouldings of Norman type – the arrangement constituting virtually a W. aisle'.¹²³ Butterworth continued:

Another structural work taken now in hand was the forming of a turret within the angle made by the tower and the wall recently run out, by which entrance might be afforded to the former. Hitherto ladders had been the sole means of communication. The turret with its winding staircase was not, however, run up very high, and the contrivance, as carried out, was a clumsy one. For the innovators formed a way to one of the oblong windows in the third stage, and by lengthening this in a rude fashion, made an entrance through it to the chamber on that floor. It seems likely, on the evidence of foundations, that at first the turret was made to stand outside the aisle, this latter member ending in line with the mid wall of the tower. But if this plan was adopted in reality, it was soon modified, and the aisle was lengthened a few feet, with the result of presenting one continuous wall of termination, as made by aisle, turret, and tower.¹²⁴

Butterworth believed that the north nave aisle was constructed with the north nave arcade and subsequently the south nave arcade was remodelled and 'brought into general harmony of detail with the N'.¹²⁵ Butterworth's earlier views were modified with reference to Buckler which he fully acknowledges.¹²⁶ Butterworth's sequence of construction was adopted by Massé.¹²⁷

Harold Taylor's 'Detailed study of the S aisle' agreed with Butterworth that the north nave arcade is a work of the early 13th century but, in contrast to Butterworth, he regarded 'the S arcade as a work of a single date close after that of the N arcade'.¹²⁸

Taylor continued: 'The 13th century piers of the S arcade each carry on the south a 12th-century respond for an arch spanning the S aisle; and a third such respond rests against the SW angle of the nave'. He recorded A.J. Taylor's observation that the traces of decorative painting on the springer of the east respond proved that the arches were completed and were 'only later destroyed, probably in conjunction with the making of the large 4-light windows of the 15th-century'. Taylor suggested that the pointed arches across the aisles were cut through the 'west walls of three successive side chapels in order to open them into a continuous aisle. Since the pointed arches were not opened through to the nave until the 13th century, it must be assumed that, in the intervening period, the new aisle opened to the nave, through the earlier Saxon doorways that had led into the porticus'.

On the three arches connecting the north and south aisles under the tower, Taylor observed:

The S aisle was linked to the W porch by piercing a pointed Transitional arch through the S wall of the tower, and a similar arch was built beside the SW angle of the nave. These arches are later in style than the responds in para (a) [the south nave aisle] but earlier than the N and S arcades of the nave. A problem still remains to be solved: namely why the arch cut through the N wall of the tower is identical in form whereas the N aisle to which it opens would appear to be about a century later.

Rahtz dated the nave arcades to the late 12th century when the N-S division walls were also removed to give a more open aspect.¹²⁹ 'Any upper floors were removed throughout the nave and aisles. ... The opening up of the arches under the tower to north and south may, as H.M.T[aylor] has suggested above, have had a liturgical or processional purpose, but generally the treatment of the nave seems to have been catering for the increased population of the townships in Deerhurst parish'.¹³⁰

David Verey dated the nave arcades *c.* 1200 and thought that the south arcade was a little later than the north.¹³¹ He considered that the 'arches from the Saxon porch to the W bays of the aisles are of the same time'.¹³² Most recently, in the revised version of Verey's account of Deerhurst, Alan Brooks added that 'the chamfered responds attached to the S side of the S arcade seem distinctly Late Norman. They must mark the position of the porticus' dividing walls; are they in fact remnants of arches cut through these cross-walls at an earlier date?'¹³³

Other commentators settled on more general statements. Sir Stephen Glynne designated the nave arcades Early English.¹³⁴ Prior dated the nave arcade capitals to the late 12th century.¹³⁵ Knowles called the nave arcades early 13th century while Samuel Gardner gave both *circa* 1200 and 13th century.¹³⁶ Bird refers to the Early English nave arcades, 'the S aisle showing signs of being somewhat the earlier'.¹³⁷

The evidence of the fabric

In spite of the complex historiography of the remodelling of the Deerhurst nave, the putative problems are solved by an integrated reading of the work. Instead of separating the remodelling into a number of different phases – 12th century, 13th century, Transitional, First Pointed and Early English Gothic – the evidence speaks of continuous work, just as Butterworth originally proposed in 1862.

To commence with the responds on the south side of the piers of the south nave arcade which formerly carried transverse arches over the south aisle. The ashlar of the



Pl. 27 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier S1 from SE

south respond of the easternmost pier of the south nave arcade (S1) does not course regularly with either the east or west responds of the pier (pl. 27). The disjunction is particularly evident between the moulded impost of the aisle respond and the adjacent south-west capital of the pier. There is an analogous disjunction in the coursing of the ashlar and the capitals of aisle respond and the east respond of pier S2 (pl. 33). Yet



Pl. 28 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier S2 from SW

to the west, the ashlar of the south respond on pier S2 courses consistently with that of the west respond of the pier (pl. 28). It follows that the south and west responds of pier S2 were built together while the east respond of pier S2 and both east and west responds of pier S1 were constructed separately from the south respond. Typologically, the moulded profile of the impost atop the south respond of S1 is earlier than the abaci



Pl. 29 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier S1, detail from SE

of the arcade capitals. Likewise, the multi-scalloped capital of the south respond of S2 is typologically earlier than the stiff-leaf and other capitals of the nave arcades. While typological sequences are not an absolute guide to chronology, there can be little doubt that these observations indicate that remodelling of the nave commenced with the construction of wide arches between the porticus on the south side of the Anglo-Saxon nave of which the responds next the arcade piers remain. The position of the transverse arches is in all likelihood determined by the pre-existing walls into which the arches were inserted. The survival of some red paint on the soffit of the arch that springs from the respond S1 indicates that the arch was completed, as suggested by A.J. Taylor and reported by Harold Taylor.¹³⁸ Before the completion of the south respond of pier S2, it was decided to build the three bays of the south nave arcade and thereby open up the former porticus to the nave. Similarities between the foliage of the capitals of the south and north nave arcades and the west impost of the south arch to the west aisle suggest that this work was taken in hand at once. To cite just two specific types, the foliage scroll on the eastern capitals of pier S1 is elongated on the west corbel of the south arch to the west 'ambulatory' (pls 29 and 30). On the capitals of the east respond of the north nave arcade we find a variant of the foliage scroll combined with a foliated rounded-heart shape, the very form used on the west capital of pier S2 (pls 31 and 32). Further similarities are evident in details of the south and west aisles. The moulded chamfer stops in the arches of the west aisle have the same profile as on the springer of the arch on the south side of pier S2 (pl. 33). The small trumpet-scallop capital at the top of the south-west chamfer of pier S3 beneath the corbel of the south arch of the west aisle is a foliated version of the trumpet scallops at the top of the chamfered angles of piers S1 and S2.



Pl. 30 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, W respond, arch from S nave aisle to W aisle



Pl. 31 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, N nave arcade, E respond, detail of capitals



Pl. 32 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier S2, detail W capitals from SW



Pl. 33 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier S2, detail from SE

Details of the multi-scalloped capital south respond of pier S2 are instructive in determining a starting date for the remodelling (pl. 33). The scallops have a trumpet form, and the recessed shields are filled with discs and there is a continuous horizontal hollow at the top. While the details are not precisely paralleled elsewhere, the pronounced trumpets and the discs on the recessed shields are related to the capitals of the second and third orders of the chancel arch, and to the lateral capitals on the east respond of the former south nave arcade at Ledbury (Herefordshire). The work at Ledbury is not documented but it is significant that the nook shafts of the second and third orders, and the central shaft of the triple-respond of the inner order of the chancel arch, have an ogee keel or nib, a motif that first appears in the West Country School of Masons at Keynsham Abbey (1166/7).¹³⁹ Other near-contemporary examples are at Little Malvern priory, founded in 1171,¹⁴⁰ the priory of Llanthony Prima in the Black Mountains, where the first campaign of construction was between 1171 and 1186,¹⁴¹ and in the transepts and two west bays of the nave of Worcester Cathedral, traditionally dated after the fall of the 'new tower', in 1175.¹⁴² A starting date around 1170–80 for the Deerhurst nave remodelling seems entirely plausible.

Chamfer stops on arches are only used in the arch towards the aisle behind pier S2 of the south nave arcade and on the arches through the north and south walls of the tower. The earliest chamfer stops on arches known to me are on the transverse arch of the vault of the eastern radiating chapel in the crypt of St Peter, Gloucester, where the foundation stone was laid on June 29, 1089.¹⁴³ Other Gloucestershire examples are probably from the last third of the 12th century, in the nave arcades at Aldsworth (N), Bibury (N nave arcade, bay 4), English Bicknor (S), Farmington (N), Little Barrington (N), Lower Slaughter (N), Mickleton (N and S), and the crossing at Stowell.¹⁴⁴

The foliage capitals of the nave arcades are unlikely to date before about 1180. Ultimately derived from classical Corinthian capitals, the acanthus foliage and inverted-bell are introduced in the West Country School in the vault capitals of the west bays of the nave and the transepts at Worcester Cathedral after 1175, and in the west bays of the choir and the transepts at Wells Cathedral, commenced in or soon after 1175.¹⁴⁵ The immediate inspiration probably came from early Gothic work in the north of France, as at Laon and Noyon cathedrals, but at Wells in particular there is a rapid evolution from the French acanthus and crocket forms to the characteristic English stiff leaf. Formal relationships between the characteristic trefoil leaves in the stiff-leaf convention and late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts indicate that the sculptors of the late 12th-century stiff-leaf foliage referred to pre-Conquest sources just as they did for the heads of Duduc and Giso in the retrospective effigies of Anglo-Saxon bishops at Wells.¹⁴⁶ With this in mind, it should be recalled that Samuel Gardner suggested that the foliage scroll with berries on the west respond of the south arcade are 'evidently copied' from the 'graceful sprays with leaves and flowers' on the upper and lower borders of the Deerhurst font.¹⁴⁷

The polychrome masonry in the core of the piers and the arches of the south arcade follows a well-established Romanesque practice in the south-west Midlands and West Country, as at Worcester Cathedral and St Nicholas's Priory, Exeter. At Worcester Cathedral the best-preserved polychrome masonry is in the chapter house in which the polychrome (similarly of green Highley stone and white limestone) is far more symmetrically arranged than at Deerhurst. Be that as it may, in the Romanesque work in the nave of Worcester, in the second pier from the west end of the south arcade, there is a more random polychrome.¹⁴⁸ Geographically closer to Deerhurst, the south doorway

at Bulley, probably of the second quarter of the 12th century, provides a good parallel for the Deerhurst arcade masonry. Alternating green and white voussoirs are used in the arch from the north nave aisle to the north transept at Ripple (Worcestershire). Ripple belonged to the bishop of Worcester, and details in the crossing there are so close to the west bays of the nave at Worcester Cathedral that the same masons surely worked in both places.¹⁴⁹ After 1182, random polychrome ashlar is used at St David's Cathedral in the east arch of the presbytery south aisle, the south transept east arcade, the interior of the crossing tower, and the lancet windows in the east wall of the presbytery.¹⁵⁰ There is also some polychrome masonry in the early Gothic crossing arches at Llantwit Major (Glamorgan).¹⁵¹

The plan of the east and west responds of the Deerhurst nave piers with a semi-circular core and shafts on the cardinal axes has regional antecedents in the presbytery galleries of St Peter's, Gloucester, and the nave arcades of St James's Priory, Bristol, a daughter house of Tewkesbury Abbey.¹⁵² Near-contemporary analogues for the Deerhurst piers are in the nave arcade piers of St David's Cathedral, commenced in 1182.¹⁵³ The Deerhurst piers differ from these examples in the use of detached shafts rather than coursed shafts, except in the west responds of the nave arcades at St David's Cathedral.¹⁵⁴ In his classic article on the West Country school of masons, Sir Harold Brakspear observed that detached shafts were a rare feature in the school, and listed examples in the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury, the north porch of Wells Cathedral and the south porch of Bishop's Cleeve (Gloucestershire) as exceptions which he attributed to one master.¹⁵⁵ Be that as it may, detached shafts are also used throughout the north porch, for the processional doorways and on the west front at Wells Cathedral. Master 'L' of Wells Cathedral is also documented for the Elder Lady Chapel of St Augustine's, Bristol (1218–22), in which detached shafts are used exclusively.¹⁵⁶ Detached shafts are also used in the north porch of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, and in the chancel at Almondsbury, a church that belonged to St Augustine's, Bristol.¹⁵⁷ Outside the West Country, piers with detached shafts on the cardinal axes are used in Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Évêque's crypt at York Minster, shortly after 1154, and in the presbytery arcades of the hospital church of St Cross, Winchester, after 1158.¹⁵⁸

Brakspear listed square or semi-octagonal abaci as the norm in the West Country School although he noted an exception at Lichfield Cathedral.¹⁵⁹ However, there are many other examples of round abaci in early Gothic West Country churches, as in the chancel at Childswickham (Worcestershire), Abbey Dore presbytery,¹⁶⁰ the chancel at Almondsbury, the Elder Lady Chapel and refectory doorway at St Augustine's, Bristol,¹⁶¹ the west front of Llandaff Cathedral,¹⁶² the south doorway and chancel arch at Marshfield (Gwent), the nave arcades at Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin,¹⁶³ the north-east chapel off the north transept at Tewkesbury Abbey,¹⁶⁴ and elsewhere.

The inventiveness of the sculptors of the nave arcade capitals is both impressive and symptomatic of much foliage carving on late 12th- and early 13th-century capitals in the West of England and Wales. There can be no doubt that variety was the spice of life for these artists and their patrons. Be that as it may, careful attention to specific details of the capitals allows us to locate comparative forms elsewhere and, concomitantly, to draw some conclusions about the date of the Deerhurst capitals, the training of the sculptors, and to locate other places they worked. The foliage scroll on the east capitals of pier S1 is closely paralleled on a capital in the chapter house of Margam Abbey and another from Margam Abbey reused on the south porch of St Bride's-super-Ely (Glamorgan).¹⁶⁵

The Margam chapter house has been convincingly dated by David Robinson to 1203–13.¹⁶⁶ It should also be noted that the profile of the abacus of the Deerhurst and Margam Abbey chapter house capitals is similar, and that there is a chamfer stop at the top of the Margam chapter house window jamb with the same cushion form as on the jambs of the south aisle responds at Deerhurst.¹⁶⁷ The foliage-filled rounded-heart shapes on the west capitals of pier S2 and the east respond of the north nave arcade (pls 31 and 32) find an analogue on a loose trumpet-scallop capital from Keynsham Abbey, an Augustinian house founded in 1166 or 1167.¹⁶⁸ Also closely related is the capital of the inner order of the east respond of the north nave arcade at Llanthony Priory.¹⁶⁹ Variants on this theme appear on the north central capital of the west crossing arch of St David's Cathedral on which the top of the heart-shaped frame bursts into foliage as on the south-west capital of pier S2 at Deerhurst. St David's was commenced in 1182.¹⁷⁰ Something similar occurs on the north capital of the second order of the sanctuary arch at Hampnett (Gloucestershire). The adjacent capitals at Hampnett have a pronounced splay of the trumpets and the deeply hollowed shields below the channel at the top of the capitals similar to the west capitals of pier N2 at Deerhurst.¹⁷¹ The Hampnett capitals are not dated by documentary evidence but the relatively heavy soffit roll of the vault rib in the sanctuary would be most unlikely after the 1180s. By 1176 the manor of Hampnett had passed to Bernard of St Valery (d. 1191) and it seems likely that he was the patron.¹⁷²

The north-west capital of pier S2 at Deerhurst has a classic stiff-leaf trefoil with a gouged central lobe exactly as on St David's north nave capital N2W on which we also find a large upright leaf with a hollowed central lobe that grows from the bottom of the capital just as on the core of the pier between the north-west and west capitals of Deerhurst pier S2 (pl. 34).¹⁷³



Pl. 34 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier S2, capitals from NW



Pl. 35 Llantwit Major (Glamorgan), St Illtyd, Tree of Jesse niche, detail

At St Illtyd, Llantwit Major (Glamorgan), the central east capital of the north crossing arch has a foliate scroll like those at Deerhurst and this motif is also used on a capital reset in the east wall of the nave at Llantwit Major. Moreover, the Tree of Jesse niche at the east end of the south aisle at Llantwit Major provides some more specific parallels for the capitals of the west respond of the Deerhurst south nave arcade. On these Deerhurst capitals there is a foliate scroll with both elongated and spiral leaves, berry clusters, and a human head between the east and north-east capital, all features closely paralleled in the Llantwit Major Tree of Jesse (pls 35 and 36).¹⁷⁴

The very unusual symmetrically arranged and highly stylized foliate with ribbed bulbous lobes set back-to-back below coupled C-shaped stems on the west face of pier S1 is not paralleled exactly elsewhere, but analogous foliate clusters occur on a respond capital in the north presbytery aisle at Abbey Dore (c. 1175–80) (pls 37 and 38).¹⁷⁵ I should not make so much of the comparison were it not for the fact that on the adjacent capitals at Dore upright leaves with long stalks are separated by vertical rows of beads. The latter feature is most unusual in the context of early Gothic sculpture, yet it appears on the central east capital of pier N1 at Deerhurst alongside upright leaves on long stalks (pls 38 and 39). The comparisons between the Deerhurst and Dore capitals are not sufficiently close to suggest the same hands at work or even execution by the same workshop. Rather, they indicate similar training for the sculptors, probably at a major centre, after which the sculptors evolved their own idiosyncratic traits. This raises the question of where the sculptor(s) of the Deerhurst nave arcade capitals was or were trained. The large upright stiff-leaf foliate with multiple stems on the east



Pl. 36 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, W respond, detail of capitals from SE



Pl. 37 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, S nave arcade, pier SI, capitals from NW



Pl. 38 Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), N presbytery aisle, detail of capitals



Pl. 39 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, N nave arcade, pier N1, E capitals



Pl. 40 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, N nave arcade, pier N2, E capitals

capitals of N2 in which the central lobe of each trefoil is hollowed and penetrated by a pronounced central vein (pl. 40), is closely paralleled on the one remaining early Gothic high vault capital in the nave of St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol.¹⁷⁶ The inclusion of a high vault in the nave of a parish church in the late 12th century is unique in England and suggests that the church was a remarkably ambitious edifice. The near-contemporary inner north porch of St Mary Redcliffe does not provide any analogues for Deerhurst. Be that as it may, at St Philip and St Jacob, Bristol, the use of continuous and non-continuous orders on the west arch from the south tower to the church reminds us of a similar juxtaposition in the arch to the Becket Chapel in the north transept and the west crossing arch at St David's Cathedral, a building that has supplied parallels for other Deerhurst capitals. It is therefore tempting to suggest that given the wealth of Bristol in the 12th century, plus its proximity to the quarry at Dundry, Bristol may have been a centre for the training of masons who worked at both St David's and Deerhurst.

Geographically closer to Deerhurst, some remarkable parallels for the nave arcade capitals are found in the former Abbot's Lodging, now Church House, at the south end of the west range of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, much restored in their present form. The interior jambs of the first-floor windows of the Abbot's Lodging are articulated with richly carved foliage capitals with round abaci resting on detached shafts as in the Deerhurst nave arcades. To cite just one example, the south capital of the south window jamb of the Abbot's Lodging combines flared upright leaves with foliated rounded-heart shapes as on Deerhurst pier S2W and with upright berries as on Deerhurst pier S2SE (pls 32, 33 and 41). Parallels for the Deerhurst nave arcade capitals may be



Pl. 41 Gloucester, St Peter's Abbey (now cathedral), Abbot's Lodging (Church House), W hall, first floor, S capital of S window



Pl. 42 Gloucester, St Peter's Abbey (now cathedral), Abbot's Lodging (Church House), W façade, detail of first floor S window, S capital

extended to the façade of the Abbot's Lodging. The south capital of the south window of the façade is remarkably close to the lateral capitals of Deerhurst north nave arcade, east respond, especially for the serpentine leaves that fall between the cones of the trumpets (pls 31 and 42). Initially, this may not seem that remarkable, but the early 1860s restoration of the façade and the interior was undertaken by separate firms: F. S. Waller for the exterior; Blake and Waring of London for the interior.¹⁷⁷ Both firms must have copied the original work for it would be too great a coincidence for both restorers to 'invent' capitals that reflected Deerhurst so closely. A general description of the Abbot's Lodging published in 1863 reads: 'Above are two large windows with semi-circular arches, mouldings, detached shafts, and foliated capitals of Early English character'.¹⁷⁸ Earlier in the account of work in reference to the west window of the abbot's chapel – 'The whole of this window, which had been modernized, has just been faithfully restored by the help of a few fragments that remained'.¹⁷⁹

Gloucester associations for the Deerhurst nave arcade capitals include the capitals of the east arch of the axial tower of St Mary-de-Lode.¹⁸⁰ The hood mould on the west face of the tower east arch is carried on two small corbels in the form of cushion capitals like those on the responds of the south aisle transverse arch responds at Deerhurst. The north capitals of the tower east arch have trumpet scallops with recessed shields and leaves on the cusps of the scallops and upright foliage on the lobes. The comparisons are not sufficiently close to suggest that the same sculptors worked at Deerhurst and St Mary-de-Lode but the vocabulary is indicative of a workshop connection. A fire is recorded at Gloucester on May 11, 1190, in which monastic offices were burnt and also the church of St Mary outside the west gate, i.e. St Mary-de-Lode.¹⁸¹ The chancel of St Mary-de-Lode would have been rebuilt after this fire, and it is likely that the Abbot's Lodging and the west gate were constructed at the same time.¹⁸²

The three east bays of the north nave arcade and the two east bays of the south nave arcade at St Nicholas, Gloucester, also provide parallels for the Deerhurst nave label stops and details of the stiff-leaf capitals. The boss below the corbelled west respond of the south nave arcade at St Nicholas has a grape cluster in front of an upright leaf as on the south-east capital of south nave arcade pier S2 at Deerhurst (pls 33 and 43).



*Pl. 43 Gloucester, St Nicholas,
S nave arcade, W respond,
corbel (Photo: Michael Hare)*

Berry clusters accompany foliage on some of the label stops at St Nicholas as on Deerhurst south nave arcade west respond capital. The stiff leaf on the east label of the north nave arcade at St Nicholas with a gouged central lobe and button-like side lobes relates to Deerhurst capital N2E, and in turn the striated stems of the latter are comparable to those on capital N1 at St Nicholas.

The bases of the Deerhurst nave arcade shafts vary in profile yet all conform to a water-holding profile. The profiles are of little help in precise dating in that water-holding bases are found in the responds of the eastern chapels at Wells Cathedral, in the Lady Chapel and Great Church of Glastonbury Abbey commenced in 1184 and 1185 respectively. Water-holding bases are used extensively in the Elder Lady Chapel of St Augustine's, Bristol (1218–22), in the eastern arm of Worcester Cathedral (1224–32), and the eastern arm of Pershore Abbey in the 1220s and 30s.¹⁸³

The Architectural Context and Liturgical Considerations

Nave aisles are a standard feature of Anglo-Norman cathedrals and great abbey churches, and are also used in smaller Benedictine priory churches with two-storey elevations at Boxgrove (Sussex), St James, Bristol, Deeping St James (Lincolnshire), Denny (Cambridgeshire), Freiston (Lincolnshire), Lastingham (Yorkshire), Monmouth, St Leonard's Priory, Stamford (Lincolnshire), and Tutbury (Staffordshire). There are pre-Conquest examples of aisled naves at Great Paxton (Huntingdonshire) and Wing (Buckinghamshire), and on a diminutive scale at Lydd (Kent), but they are exceptional in smaller churches before the second half of the 12th century. Pre-1150 examples are limited to Ickleton (Cambridgeshire),¹⁸⁴ Kirkby Lonsdale (Westmorland),¹⁸⁵ Melbourne (Derbyshire),¹⁸⁶ Newport St Woollos,¹⁸⁷ Northampton St Peter,¹⁸⁸ and St Chad at Stafford.¹⁸⁹

Late 12th-century nave aisles are constructed in the former minster churches at Bishop's Cleeve and Ripple (Worcestershire), both of which belonged to the bishop of Worcester.¹⁹⁰ Comparisons are with churches of considerably high standing. Crediton (Devon) belonged to the bishop of Exeter and was the site of the former Anglo-Saxon cathedral.¹⁹¹ Bakewell (Derbyshire), Shrewsbury, St Mary, and Steyning (Sussex) were important collegiate churches, and it is likely that Hemel Hempstead (Hertfordshire) was also collegiate.¹⁹²

The addition of an aisle or aisles to a Norman nave in the late 12th century is a common practice; there is evidence for 25 such cases in Gloucestershire.¹⁹³ Peter Draper has suggested that this may be to facilitate burials, something analogous to burials in the porticus of Anglo-Saxon churches.¹⁹⁴ Further, 'they were intended primarily to provide a distinct and discreet place for an altar'.¹⁹⁵ The latter idea is supported by the aumbry in the east wall of the north aisle at Stanton (Gloucestershire). Outside Gloucestershire, at Compton Martin (Somerset) there is a round-headed altar niche in the east wall of the north nave aisle. The north nave aisle at Lambourn (Berkshire) has a pillar piscina against the aisle wall opposite the first column of the nave arcade.¹⁹⁶ The idea of providing space for burials must be seen against the evidence at Deerhurst Priory where the former porticus that flanked the nave were modified into north and south nave aisles in the late 12th century. In this case the facility for burial would have remained essentially unchanged. We do not know whether or not the provision of altars changed with the architectural remodelling but at least there was a major change



Pl. 44 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, piscina at E end of S nave aisle

to create more open spaces. It may be argued that such a change is in keeping with a Gothic, rather than a Romanesque, aesthetic. Yet it seems more likely that liturgical considerations were the primary concern. Each aisle provided a discrete space for an altar and for processional space. The piscina close to the east end of the south wall of the south aisle was probably introduced with the late 12th-century remodelling of the aisle (pl. 44). The diagonal axe marks on the jambs of the piscina may be compared with those of the voussoirs of the arch from the south porticus to the south nave aisle but virtually identical marks are also evident on the aisle responds. The earliest piscina set in a recess in a wall known to me is in the south wall of the presbytery of Ewenny Priory (1116–26), but they remain rare until later in the 12th century.

The use of label stops in the Deerhurst main arcades may be seen as a reflection of



Pl. 45 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, fragment of label stop

the 9th-century beast-head label stops on the chancel arch of the church. The motif is used in the nave arcades of Malmesbury Abbey but it is not until the last quarter of the 12th century that human heads or foliage are used as label stops in internal arcades. Good examples of both are introduced in the early Gothic fabric of Wells Cathedral in or soon after 1175, and foliage stops are later used in the chapter house of Margam Abbey, and the chancel of St Mary, Almondsbury, a church that belonged to St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol.

A fragmentary stone preserved in the tower at Deerhurst is carved with tightly spiralled stiff-leaf foliage and there are indications of a hollow on the 'top' of the stone (pl. 45). It may have been a label stop although there is no obvious place for its inclusion in the present fabric, in which case the hollowed section of the stone may suggest that it originally served as a bowl of a piscina. A close parallel for the pronounced stem and the varied sizes of individual lobes of the leaf is found in the dado arcade of the chancel of the chapel to the north of the north transept at Tewkesbury Abbey. The Tewkesbury chapel is not documented but it probably dates from the early 13th century.¹⁹⁷

The coffin lid on the floor of the north aisle of the choir at Deerhurst is carved with symmetrical stiff-leaf foliage with multi-strand stems and gouged lobes into which a stem sinks as on Deerhurst north nave arcade capital N2E (pls 39 and 46). Butterworth records a provenance for the stone: 'A stone coffin was discovered in 1861 under the pavement in the nave; the cover was broken, the upper portion of a fine foliated cross is worked in the part that remains'.¹⁹⁸ Similar coffin lids are located at Tewkesbury Abbey and Didbrook, and a more elaborate example from the tomb of Maurice de Londres in the south transept at Ewenny Priory.¹⁹⁹ Maurice de Londres died in 1141,



Pl. 46 Deerhurst, St Mary's Priory Church, tomb slab in the N aisle of the choir

but it is universally agreed that his tomb slab dates from the early 13th century and is the product of the same workshop that produced the tomb slab of William de Londres and a fragmentary example, both in the south transept at Ewenny. Raleigh Radford suggested that the William de Londres slab is from the tomb of William de Londres II who died in 1205, while the fragmentary slab came from the tomb of William de Londres III 'who held the lordship for a few years after the death of his father'.²⁰⁰

Conclusion

The attribution of the arch to the south-east chapel and the column with volute capital re-erected in Priory Farm to the 1060s and possibly before the Conquest, places this work in the context of the introduction of Norman motifs into England along with Edward the Confessor's Westminster Abbey. As such it raises questions about the possibility of dating of English buildings with Norman motifs before 1066.²⁰¹ The doorway between the choir and the south porticus and the arch between the south porticus and the present south nave aisle belong to an early 12th-century remodelling of the south porticus which was precipitated by a fire the marks of which are so distinct on the arch to the former south-east chapel. The Romanesque sculpture reused in the west tower belonged to this phase. Around 1160 the cloister and possibly the chapter house were elaborately rebuilt, the former with an arcade with single columns with multi-scalloped and plain-leaf capitals and chevroned arches. The remodelling of the nave arcades and aisles opened up the pre-Conquest porticus into longitudinal spaces with altars at the east end. Many parallels for the introduction of nave aisles in late 12th-century churches indicate the desire for processional space in connection with side altars, probably for lay rather than monastic use. Work on remodelling the nave was commenced in the 1170s and was an ongoing programme which was completed c. 1200. The masons responsible for the late-12th-century work are most likely to have been trained in Bristol, and their contemporary associates were involved at St David's Cathedral, Llantwit Major and Abbey Dore. Remarkably close parallels for the Deerhurst capitals in the Abbot's Lodging at St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, indicate that the same masons executed both works. The chancel of St Mary-de-Lode, Gloucester, and the east bays of the nave arcades at St Nicholas, Gloucester, were probably produced by the same workshop as Deerhurst, and certain details of foliage sculpture relate to the spandrels in the chancel of the north-east chapel off the north transept at Tewkesbury Abbey.

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NOTES

Abbreviations

ANS	<i>Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference</i>
BAACT	British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions
TBGAS	<i>Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society</i> (NB all volumes up to 2002 are available online at http://www.bgas.org.uk/publications/transactions.html)
VCH	Victoria County History

- 1 *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, ed. F.E. Harmer (Manchester, 1952), no. 99 (pp. 363–4); for discussion, see *ibid.*, 330–2.
- 2 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I (1066–87)*, ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998), no. 295 (pp. 888–9).
- 3 *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I*, ed. Bates, no. 254 (pp. 767–9).
- 4 *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. D.C. Douglas, British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, 8 (London, 1932), lxi; A. Gransden, ‘Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds, 1065–1097’, *ANS* 4 (1982), 65–76, 187–95, at 66; L. Grant, ‘Suger and the Anglo-Norman World’, *ANS* 19 (1997), 51–68, at 51–2.
- 5 G. Butterworth, ‘The Saxon Chapel at Deerhurst’, *TBGAS* 11 (1886–7), 105–16, at 109.
- 6 W.H. Knowles, ‘Deerhurst Priory Church, including the result of the excavations conducted during 1926’, *TBGAS* 49 (1927), 221–58, at 241; E. Gilbert, ‘Deerhurst Priory Church Revisited’, *TBGAS* 73 (1954), 73–114, at 77, 97; E.A. Fisher, *The Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches* (London, 1962), 179; H.M. Taylor and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols (Cambridge, 1965), 205; P. Rahtz and L. Watts, *St. Mary’s Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: fieldwork, excavations and structural analysis, 1971–1984* (Woodbridge, 1997), 37; D. Verey and A. Brooks, *The Buildings of England, Gloucestershire 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, 3rd ed. (New Haven and London, 2002), 331.
- 7 S. Bagshaw in S. Bagshaw, R. Bryant and M. Hare, ‘The Discovery of an Anglo-Saxon Painted Figure at St Mary’s Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire’, *Antiquaries Journal* 86 (2006), 66–109, at 87, 91.
- 8 Knowles, ‘Deerhurst Priory Church’, 252.
- 9 Gilbert, ‘Deerhurst Priory Church Revisited’, 77.
- 10 R. Gem in R. Cramp, T. Tatton-Brown, R. Gem and D. Parsons, ‘St Mary’s, Deerhurst – a retrospective’, *Church Archaeology* 2 (1998), 19–28, at 24.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 23–4.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 24.
- 13 Fisher, *Greater Anglo-Saxon Churches*, 79.
- 14 Verey and Brooks, *Buildings of England, Gloucestershire 2*, 331.
- 15 Society of Antiquaries of London MS 952/3.2, 2, #12.
- 16 Rahtz and Watts, *St. Mary’s Church, Deerhurst*, 37.
- 17 Society of Antiquaries of London MS 952/3.2, 2–3, #3.
- 18 Society of Antiquaries of London MS 952/4.1, 6 #7.
- 19 J.C. Buckler, ‘Notes on Saxon Architecture, with a Description of Deerhurst Priory, Gloucestershire’, *TBGAS* 11 (1886–7), 6–81, at 47.
- 20 G. Butterworth, *Deerhurst: A Parish of the Vale of Gloucester* (Tewkesbury and London, 1887), 59; G. Butterworth, *Deerhurst: A Parish of the Vale of Gloucester*, 2nd ed. (Tewkesbury and London, 1890), 101.
- 21 For Wittering chancel arch and Langford axial tower E arch, see Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, II, figs 625 and 512 respectively; on Romanesque Gloucester, see D. Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud, 1991), fig. on 38; for Tewkesbury, see M. Thurlby, ‘The Norman Church’, in *Tewkesbury Abbey: History, Art and Architecture*, ed. R.K. Morris and R. Shoemith (Logaston, 2003), 89–108.
- 22 G. Zarnecki, ‘1066 and Architectural Sculpture’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 52 (1966), 87–104, at 99 (reprinted in his *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London, 1979)), stated that of the 30 crossing capitals 16 are original while the remainder are 19th-century stucco, but this was

questioned by S. Foster, 'A Gazetteer of the Anglo-Saxon Sculpture in Historic Somerset', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 131 (1987), 49–80, at 66. Eight carved roundels on the north and south walls of the chancel use three designs, one of which is repeated twice, while another is repeated three times. Each repetition is identical – except for the damaged frames – which suggests that they are plaster casts. The roundels appear to be Romanesque and find parallel in Sarum Cathedral, the north portal at Lullington (Somerset), and elsewhere. I should like to thank Robin Downes for bringing the Milborne Port roundels to my attention.

- 23 *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, 3 vols, ed. W.H. Hart, Rolls Series (London, 1863–7), I, 11, 12.
- 24 M. Baylé, 'Bernay: abbataie Notre-Dame', in *L'architecture normande au moyen-âge*, ed. M. Baylé, 2 vols (Caen, 1997), II, 27–31.
- 25 E. Vergnolle, *L'art roman en France* (Paris, 1994), 78–9.
- 26 J.-C. Ghislain, 'La Collégiale Saint-Vincent de Soignies au XIIe siècle', *Annales du cercle royal d'histoire et d'archéologie du canton de Soignies* 36 (1998), 113–89, at 165; L. Deléhouzée et al., *Architecture romane en Belgique* (Brussels, 2000), 96.
- 27 On soffit rolls, see E. Fernie, 'Saxons, Normans and their buildings', *ANS* 21 (1999), 1–9, at 3–5; E. Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford, 2000), 213.
- 28 G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, II, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London, 1925), 346, 463.
- 29 Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 367–72; J. Taylor and H.M. Taylor, 'Architectural Sculpture in Pre-Norman England', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 29 (1966), 3–51, at 20–1, 37.
- 30 Zarnecki, '1066 and Architectural Sculpture', 91; R. Gem, 'L'architecture pré-romane et romane en Angleterre: problèmes d'origine et de chronologie', *Bulletin Monumental* 142 (1984), 233–72, at 266.
- 31 J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994), 175.
- 32 *Domesday Book, Oxfordshire*, ed. J. Morris (Chichester, 1978), 1.8.9.
- 33 D. Tweddle, M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, IV, *South-East England* (Oxford, 1995), 215.
- 34 *Domesday Book, Somerset*, ed. C. Thorn and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1980), 1.10; S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the chancellor (*sic*)', *ANS* 10 (1988), 185–222.
- 35 J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer (London 1985), 104–42, at 135; R. Gem, 'The English Parish Church in the 11th and early 12th Centuries: a Great Rebuilding?', in *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, ed. J. Blair (Oxford, 1988), 21–30, at 27.
- 36 Gem, 'The English Parish Church', 27; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, 214.
- 37 J.T. Micklethwaite, 'Something about Saxon Church Building', *Archaeological Journal* 53 (1896), 293–351, at 293. On Edward the Confessor's Westminster, see R. Gem, 'The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey', *ANS* 3 (1981), 33–60.
- 38 On Norman motifs and technology, see Gem, 'The English Parish Church', 25. A royal writ dateable 1078 × 1095 commands Thorold, Abbot of Peterborough, to allow the abbot of Bury St Edmunds to quarry stone at Barnack for the building of his church (*Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, ed. Douglas, no. 11 (p. 57); *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I*, ed. Bates, no. 44 (p. 214); Gransden, 'Baldwin, Abbot of Bury St Edmunds', 74).
- 39 *Domesday Book, Sussex*, ed. J. Morris (Chichester, 1976), 12.17.
- 40 Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 159–60.
- 41 R. Gem, 'The "Lewes Group" of Wall Paintings: Architectural Considerations', *ANS* 6 (1984), 236–7, at 236.
- 42 On the continuity of Anglo-Saxon motifs in architecture to the 1130s and even the 1140s, see Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, 208–19; M. Thurlby, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium: Its Continuity in Norman Building', in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art Around the Millennium*, ed. N. Hiscock (Turnhout, 2003), 119–37; M. Thurlby, 'The Romanesque Churches of St Mary Magdalen at Tixover and St Mary at Morcott', *Ecclesiology Today* 35 (September 2005), 23–41 (available at <http://www.ecclsoc.org/ET.35.pdf>).
- 43 *Domesday Book, Wiltshire*, ed. C. and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1979), 1.18.

- 44 P. Barker, *A Short Architectural History of Worcester Cathedral* (Worcester, 1994), fig. 36.
- 45 Ibid., 40–1.
- 46 Knowles, 'Deerhurst Priory Church', 252.
- 47 Society of Antiquaries of London MS 952/3.2, 10.
- 48 Knowles, 'Deerhurst Priory Church', 252.
- 49 G. Butterworth, 'Notes on the Church and Priory of Deerhurst', *TBGAS* 1 (1876), 96–104, at 104.
- 50 Buckler, 'Notes on Saxon Architecture', 80.
- 51 T.S. Pope, 'Notes on the Conventual Buildings' appended to Buckler, 'Notes on Saxon Architecture', 81–3, at 81.
- 52 *VCH Gloucestershire*, VIII, ed. C.R. Elrington (London, 1968), 37.
- 53 Knowles, 'Deerhurst Priory Church', fig. 22.
- 54 Verey and Brooks, *Buildings of England, Gloucestershire* 2, 334.
- 55 P. Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, 1971–73*, CBA Research Report, 15 (London, 1976), 29, pl. XIII A.
- 56 There is a difference between the two pieces in that the stone in the farm has an integral square plinth, whereas the excavated piece does not. However, the diameter of the two pieces, though not identical, is certainly very similar. My thanks to Michael Hare for this observation.
- 57 P. Rahtz, 'Deerhurst Church: interim note on 1971 excavation', *TBGAS* 90 (1971), 129–35, at 133.
- 58 The abbey of Cerisy-la-Forêt was founded on November 12, 1032, by Robert the Magnificent (also known as Robert the Devil), Duke of Normandy, father of William the Conqueror, and the possibility that he was the patron of the present church deserves further exploration. While such an investigation is outside the scope of this study, it is worth noting that Cerisy-la-Forêt was generously endowed by Duke Robert, and that by 1032 the tradition of monumental church building in Normandy was already established at the abbey churches of Bernay (begun between 1008 and 1013) and Mont-Saint-Michel (begun 1023) and at Coutances Cathedral (begun 1024). So, perhaps William's Saint-Étienne at Caen emulates his father's church at Cerisy-la-Forêt rather than Cerisy-la-Forêt being a 'copy' of Saint-Étienne.
- 59 John Bilson, reported by H. Gee, 'Presidential Address', *TBGAS* 43 (1921), 37–56, at 54.
- 60 E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066*, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, II (London, 1976), cat. 86, pl. 267; C.R. Dodwell and P. Clemoes, *The Old English illustrated Hexateuch: British Museum Cotton Claudius B. IV*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, 18 (Copenhagen, 1974).
- 61 A Corvey impost is illustrated in M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Logaston, 2006), pl. 3.
- 62 The St Nicholas's Priory capital, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is illustrated in colour in Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, pl. IV.
- 63 On the Hereford chapel, see R. Gem, 'The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford: The Roles of Patron and Craftsmen', in *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed. S. Macready and F.H. Thompson (London, 1986), 87–96; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, 233–6.
- 64 R.B. Heaton and W.J. Britnell, 'A Structural History of Pennant Melangell Church', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 103–26, at 106, 109–10.
- 65 Ibid., 109–10; C.A.R. Radford and W.J. Hemp, 'Pennant Melangell: The Church and the Shrine', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 108 (1959), 81–113, at 90–8; W.J. Britnell and K. Watson, 'Saint Melangell's Shrine, Pennant Melangell', *Montgomeryshire Collections* 82 (1994), 147–66, at 165; Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, 275–80, figs 413, 414.
- 66 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 65; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 108.
- 67 H.J.L.J. Massé, *The Abbey Church of Tewkesbury with some account of the Priory Church of Deerhurst, Gloucestershire* (London, 1906), 111–12.
- 68 Knowles, 'Deerhurst Priory Church', 240.
- 69 Buckler, 'Notes on Saxon Architecture', 46 n. 1.
- 70 F.S. Waller, 'The Crypt of Gloucester Cathedral', *TBGAS* 1 (1876), 147–52; Gem, 'The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford'.
- 71 R.D.H. Gem, 'Bishop Wulfstan II and the Romanesque Cathedral Church of Worcester,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral*, BAACT, I, ed. G. Popper (Leeds, 1978), 15–37; U. Engel, *Worcester Cathedral: An Architectural History* (Chichester, 2007), 27, 57–82.

- 72 The chapel of Bulley belonged to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester: *Historia et Cartularium*, ed. Hart, I, 250–2. The manor of Rudford belonged to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, which it probably acquired either under William II (1087–1100) or under Henry I (1100–35): see the discussion in *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum. The Acta of William I*, ed. Bates, no. 155 (pp. 511–12).
- 73 For the Dymock, Preston-by-Dymock and Upleadon tympana, see E. Gethyn-Jones, *The Dymock School of Sculpture* (Chichester, 1977), pls 23a, 24a, 48a.
- 74 For the Churcham tympanum, see Gethyn-Jones, *Dymock School*, pl. 9d; for Winstone, see Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 21.
- 75 R. Gem and E. Howe with R. Bryant, 'The Ninth-Century Polychrome Decoration at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire', *Antiquaries Journal* 88 (2008), 109–64, at 126. For the York St Mary's plaster with painted incised lozenges, see Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 22. See also D. Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux: Excavations at York Minster*, II (London, 1985), 99–101.
- 76 For Ewenny, see Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, 92–104; D. Park and S. Stewart, 'The Painted Decoration of Ewenny Priory and the Development of Romanesque Altar Imagery', in *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology in the Medieval Diocese of Llandaff*, BAACT, XXIX, ed. J. Kenyon and D. Williams (Leeds, 2006), 42–59.
- 77 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 55; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 93.
- 78 C. E. Keyser, *A List of Norman Tympana and Lintels*, 2nd ed. (London, 1927), figs 13, 139a.
- 79 D. Walsh in Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst*, 29–30, pl. XII, fig. 15.
- 80 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 81 M. Thurlby, 'Hereford Cathedral: The Romanesque Fabric', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology in Hereford*, BAACT, XV, ed. D. Whitehead (Leeds, 1995), 15–28.
- 82 G. Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066–1140* (London, 1951), ill. 27, 28; S. Nichols and M. Thurlby, 'Notes on the Romanesque Capitals from the East Arch of the Presbytery of Hereford Cathedral', *The Friends of Hereford Cathedral Fifty-First Annual Report* (1985), 14–26.
- 83 G. Zarnecki, 'The Romanesque Capitals in the South Transept of Worcester Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral*, ed. Popper, 38–42, pls IVA, IVE.
- 84 Zarnecki, *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066–1140*, 30, ill. 31; Zarnecki, 'The Romanesque Capitals in the South Transept of Worcester Cathedral', pl. IVA.
- 85 G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140–1210* (London, 1953), 19, 54, fig. 18; R. Baxter, 'St Peter, Northampton, Northamptonshire', <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/248/>.
- 86 *VCH Gloucestershire*, VIII, ed. Elrington, 40.
- 87 Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst*, 25, pl. VIIIB. Michael Hare kindly adds the following re the provenance of the stones at 'The Minstrels': The stones in the garden of 'The Minstrels' were formerly built into a display at Odda's Chapel. When the Ministry of Public Building and Works took over responsibility for Odda's Chapel in the 1960s, the display was dismantled, and the stones were consigned to use as roadstone; fortunately many of them were rescued by Brian and Jeannie Leeke, who were then moving into 'The Minstrels'. Rev'd A. C. Stephens, *A Handbook and Guide to St Mary's Priory Church, Deerhurst, and Odda's Chapel* (1927), 40, mentioned these stones, remarking that, 'The remaining stones are placed here for convenience and are in no way connected with the Chapel, having been excavated at various times near the Church and Priory'.
- 88 I am grateful to Michael Hare for information about this discovery. The capital is now stored in the church tower.
- 89 Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst*, 25, pls VIIIA, IXA.
- 90 The Ivychurch capital is illustrated in D.R. Warry, 'Ivy-Church, Co. Wilts.', *Wiltshire Notes and Queries* 1 (1893–5), 24–8, at 27; also available at <http://history.wiltshire.gov.uk/community/gettextimage.php?id=8847>.
- 91 For the Norwich Cathedral cloister capitals, see J. Franklin in A. Borg *et al.*, *Medieval Sculpture from Norwich Cathedral* (Norwich, 1980), 5–18; J. Franklin, 'The Romanesque Cloister Sculpture at Norwich Cathedral Priory', in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. F.H. Thompson, The Society of Antiquaries of London Occasional Paper (New Series), III (1983), 56–70. For the Ivychurch capitals, see previous note. For the Bristol capitals, see J. McNeill, 'The Romanesque Fabric', in *The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: An Enigma Explored*, ed. J. Cannon and B. Williamson (Woodbridge, 2011), 32–60, at 41–3, fig. 2.7.

- 92 R. Baxter and S. Harrison, 'The Decoration of the Cloister at Reading Abbey', in *Windsor: Medieval Archaeology, Art and Architecture of the Thames Valley*, BAACT, XXV, ed. L. Keen and E. Scarfe (Leeds, 2002), 302–12; W.R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey Re-examined* (London, 1925), 31–5; J. Hardacre, *Winchester Cathedral Triforium Gallery: Sculpture, Woodwork and Metalwork from Eleven Centuries* (Winchester, n.d.), cat. 8–11; S. Harrison, 'Benedictine and Augustinian Cloister Arcades of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries in England, Wales and Scotland', in *The Medieval Cloister in England and Wales*, ed. M. Henig and J. McNeill, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 159 (2006), 105–30, at 105–7. 12th-century single-column arcades also existed in Rievaulx Abbey infirmary cloister, Fountains Abbey west range cloister, and Jervaulx Abbey west range cloister: D. Robinson and S. Harrison, 'Cistercian Cloisters in England and Wales', in *The Medieval Cloister*, ed. Henig and McNeill, 131–207. My thanks to Stuart Harrison for his advice on cloister design.
- 93 J.H. Jeayes, 'Abbot Newland's Roll of the Abbots of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol', *TBGAS* 14 (1889–90), 117–30, at 125–6; T.D. Fosbrooke, *Berkeley Manuscripts: Abstracts and Extracts of Smyth's Lives of the Berkeleys* (London, 1821), 71; S. Rudder, *A New History of Gloucestershire* (Cirencester, 1779; reprinted Stroud, 2006), 272; J. Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Abbey and Cathedral Church of Bristol* (London, 1836), 5, 57; *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. D. Walker, Gloucestershire Record Series, 10 (Gloucester, 1998), xiv–xv; McNeill, 'The Romanesque Fabric', 32–3.
- 94 M. Thurlby, 'The Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral and its Place in the West Country School of Masons', in *Cardiff: Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. Kenyon and Williams, 60–85, at 64–5.
- 95 P. Fergusson and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture, Memory* (New Haven and London, 1999), 117, fig. 81; T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Two Mid-Twelfth-Century Cloister Arcades at Canterbury Cathedral Priory', in *The Medieval Cloister*, ed. Henig and McNeill, 91–104; P. Fergusson, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory in the Age of Becket* (New Haven and London, 2011); J.S. Gardner, 'Coggeshall Abbey and its early brickwork', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., 18 (1955), 19–32, at 24, pl. VI (2).
- 96 M. Thurlby, 'Observations on the Twelfth-Century Sculpture from Bridlington Priory', *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, BAACT, IX, ed. C. Wilson (Leeds, 1989), 33–43; Fergusson and Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey*, figs 81, 100.
- 97 C. Enlart, *Monuments religieux de l'architecture romane et de transition dans la région picarde. Anciens diocèses d'Amiens et de Boulogne* (Amiens and Paris, 1895), 103, figs 80, 82, 83.
- 98 R.W. Billings, *Architectural Illustrations and Account of the Temple Church* (London, 1838); C. Wilson, 'Gothic Architecture Transplanted: the Nave of the Temple Church in London', in *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, ed. R. Griffith-Jones and D. Park (Woodbridge, 2010), 19–43.
- 99 C. Wilson, 'The Cistercians as "Missionaries of Gothic" in Northern England', in *Cistercian art and architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge, 1986), 86–116; M. Thurlby, 'Roger of Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York (1154–81), and French Sources for the beginning of Gothic in Northern Britain', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*, ed. J. Mitchell and M. Moran (Stamford, 2000), 35–47.
- 100 Y. Kusaba, 'Henry of Blois, Winchester, and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance', in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093–1993*, ed. J. Crook (Chichester, 1993), 69–79, fig. 7.3, 7.5, 7.6.
- 101 H. Brakspear, 'Purbeck marble capitals and bases from St Nicholas priory, Exeter', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd ser., 28 (1915–16), 245–50.
- 102 Baxter and Harrison, 'The Decoration of the Cloister at Reading Abbey', figs 6, 8.
- 103 R. Moss, *Romanesque Chevron Ornament: The Language of British, Norman and Irish sculpture in the twelfth century* (Oxford, 2009). See also, *The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland: The Chevron Guide*, <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/the-chevron-guide/>.
- 104 Moss, *Romanesque Chevron Ornament*, pl. 2.12.
- 105 M. Thurlby, 'The Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey', *Antiquaries Journal* 75 (1995), 107–70; Welander, *History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral*, figs on 64, 65, 78.
- 106 Further examples of this type of chevron are discussed in M. Thurlby, *Romanesque Gloucestershire: Architecture, Painting and Sculpture* (Logaston, forthcoming).
- 107 T.D. Fosbrooke, *Abstracts of Records and Manuscripts Respecting the County of Gloucester, Formed into a History*, 2 vols (Gloucester, 1807), II, 347; *Landboc, sive registrum monasterii Beatae Mariae Virginis et Sancti Cénhelmi de Winchelcumba*, 2 vols, ed. D. Royce (Exeter, 1892–1903), I, 81; *VCH Gloucestershire*, II, ed. W. Page (London, 1907), 6.

- 108 *Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. Walker, xiii; *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066–1154*, III, 1135–1154, ed. H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis (Oxford, 1958), nos 309, 310 (pp. 117–18).
- 109 *Historia et Cartularium*, ed. Hart, I, 92, 374–5; *Domesday Book, Gloucestershire*, ed. J.S. Moore (Chichester, 1982), 10.10; W. Bazeley, [Church of Upleadon] in 'Transactions at Newent', *TBGAS* 10 (1885–6), 238–49, at 242.
- 110 *Domesday Book, Gloucestershire*, ed. Moore, 19.2.
- 111 Rahtz and Watts, *St. Mary's Church, Deerhurst*, 186.
- 112 *Ibid.*, 186.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 186; L.A.S. Butler, P.A. Rahtz and H.M. Taylor, 'Deerhurst 1971–1974: the Society's research project on the archaeology of the English church', *Antiquaries Journal* 55 (1975), 346–65, at 350.
- 114 G. Butterworth, 'The History of Deerhurst Church, Gloucestershire', *The Ecclesiologist* 23 (1862), 89–101, at 90–1, 98–100.
- 115 *Ibid.*, 91.
- 116 *Ibid.*, 100.
- 117 Buckler, 'Notes on Saxon Architecture', 10, 66.
- 118 *Ibid.*, 8.
- 119 *Ibid.*, 10–11, 25, 66–7.
- 120 *Ibid.*, 11, 66–7.
- 121 'Proceedings of the Annual Summer Meeting at Tewkesbury', *TBGAS* 25 (1902), 26–76, at 73.
- 122 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 64–5; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 107–8.
- 123 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 67; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 110.
- 124 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 67; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 110–11.
- 125 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 68; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 112.
- 126 Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1887 edn), 68 n. 1; Butterworth, *Deerhurst* (1890 edn), 112 n. 1.
- 127 Massé, *Abbey Church of Tewkesbury with some account of the Priory Church of Deerhurst*, 111–12.
- 128 Society of Antiquaries of London MS 952/4.1, 4, #5.
- 129 Rahtz and Watts, *St. Mary's Church, Deerhurst*, 185.
- 130 *Ibid.*, 185.
- 131 D. Verrey, *Buildings of England, Gloucestershire 2: The Vale and the Forest of Dean*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1976), 168.
- 132 *Ibid.*, 168.
- 133 Verrey and Brooks, *Buildings of England, Gloucestershire 2*, 332.
- 134 Sir Stephen Glynne, *Gloucestershire Church Notes*, ed. W.P.W. Phillimore and J. Melland Hall (London, 1902), 45.
- 135 E.S. Prior, *A History of Gothic Art in England* (London, 1900), 146, 454.
- 136 Knowles, 'Deerhurst Priory Church', 235 n. 12; S. Gardner, *English Gothic Foliage Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1927), 17, pl. 11.
- 137 W.H. Bird, *Old Gloucestershire churches: a concise guide* (London, 1928), 81.
- 138 See above, n. 128.
- 139 On Keynsham, see B.J. Lowe, S.A. Harrison and M. Thurlby, 'Keynsham Abbey Excavations 1961–1985: Final Report, Part 1: The Architecture of Keynsham Abbey', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*, 148 (2004), 53–102.
- 140 *Annales Monastici*, 5 vols, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series (London, 1864–9), IV, 382.
- 141 Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, 148–56.
- 142 C. Wilson, 'The Sources of the Late Twelfth-Century Work at Worcester Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral*, ed. Popper, 80–90; Engel, *Worcester Cathedral*, 82–90.
- 143 *Historia et Cartularium*, ed. Hart, I, 11.
- 144 The cushion-capital terminations to the chamfers of the Deerhurst S aisle responds are not a particularly helpful detail for dating: they occur on the inner order of the N doorway at Leonard Stanley (Gloucestershire), c. 1160–80; on the crossing arches and the arches from nave aisles to transepts at Lambourn (Berkshire), c. 1180; and on the chancel arch at Chipping Sodbury (Gloucestershire), c. 1220.
- 145 On the starting date of Wells Cathedral, see M. Thurlby, 'The Elder Lady Chapel at St Augustine's, Bristol, and Wells Cathedral', in *'Almost the Richest City': Bristol in the Middle Ages*, BAACT, XIX, ed. L. Keen (Leeds, 1997), 31–40, at 31–2.

- 146 P. Wynn-Reeves, 'English Stiff Leaf Sculpture', unpublished PhD thesis, University of London (1952); M.M. Reeve, 'The Retrospective Effigies of Anglo-Saxon Bishops at Wells Cathedral: a reassessment', *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 142 (1998), 235–59.
- 147 Gardner, *English Gothic Foliage Sculpture*, 17.
- 148 Engel, *Worcester Cathedral*, pl. 42.
- 149 The vault shafts in the crossing at Ripple are of white stone like the nook shafts of the piers in the western bays at Worcester Cathedral, and the trumpet-scallop and crocket capitals are also similar.
- 150 Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, pl. 16, figs 435, 476, 482, 490.
- 151 The ultimate source for polychrome masonry is in Roman antiquity where it is used with a more regular pattern than at Deerhurst, as in the Constantinian baths at Trier. German imperial architecture of the tenth and eleventh centuries may also be relevant in the alternation of coloured masonry in voussoirs and wall construction, as in the western block of St Pantaleon, Cologne, the west doorway and adjacent wall at Speyer Cathedral, and the west front of Trier Cathedral. At St Albans Abbey the painted alternation of red and white voussoirs of the Romanesque arches is probably based on a Roman model (M. Thurlby, 'L'abbatiale romane de St. Albans', in *L'architecture normande au moyen-âge*, ed. Baylé, I, 79–90, fig. 2).
- 152 For St James, Bristol, see Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 462.
- 153 *Ibid.*, figs 436, 437.
- 154 *Ibid.*, fig. 438.
- 155 H. Brakspear, 'A West Country School of Masons', *Archaeologia* 81 (1931), 1–18, at 7. On the regional Romanesque background to Brakspear's West Country School, see M. Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral'; M. Thurlby, 'Sarum Cathedral as rebuilt by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102–1139: the state of research and open questions', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 101 (2008), 130–40.
- 156 Thurlby, 'The Elder Lady Chapel at St Augustine's, Bristol, and Wells Cathedral'.
- 157 Other examples of detached shafts in the West Country in the late 12th and early 13th century are at Abbey Dore (Herefordshire), presbytery; Chipping Sodbury (Gloucestershire), chancel; Eastleach, St Andrew (Gloucestershire), chancel E windows; Llandaff Cathedral, W front; Marshfield (Gwent), S doorway and chancel arch; Ozleworth (Gloucestershire), chancel arch; St Bride's-super-Ely (Glamorgan), S porch; Tewkesbury Abbey, N transept, NE chapel.
- 158 Y. Kusaba, *The Architectural History of the Church of the Hospital of St. Cross in Winchester* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1983).
- 159 Brakspear, 'West Country School of Masons', 8, 9.
- 160 S. Harrison and M. Thurlby, 'An Architectural History', in *A Definitive History of Dore Abbey*, ed. R. Shoesmith and R. Richardson (Logaston, 1997), 45–62.
- 161 Thurlby, 'The Elder Lady Chapel at St Augustine's, Bristol, and Wells Cathedral'.
- 162 Thurlby, 'Early Gothic Fabric of Llandaff Cathedral'.
- 163 R. Stalley, 'The construction of the medieval cathedral, c. 1030–1250', in *Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin: A History*, ed. K. Milne (Dublin, 2000), 53–74.
- 164 R.K. Morris with a contribution by M. Thurlby, 'The Gothic Church: Architectural History', in *Tewkesbury Abbey*, ed. Morris and Shoesmith, 109–130, at 109–12.
- 165 For the St Bride's-super-Ely capital, see Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 168.
- 166 D.M. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130–1540* (London, 2006), 185–92.
- 167 Cushion chamfer stops atop jambs also occur on the inner order of the north and west doorways at Leonard Stanley Priory (Gloucestershire) (c. 1150–80); on the W crossing arch at Lambourn (Berkshire) (c. 1170–90); the E arcade of the S transept at Abbey Dore (Herefordshire) (c. 1175–90); and the chancel arches at Almondsbury and Chipping Sodbury (both Gloucestershire) (c. 1220). For other chamfer stops on piers, see Christ Church, Dublin; Llandaff Cathedral; the priory of Llanthony Prima (east bay of the nave); Glastonbury (choir); and the Elder Lady Chapel at Bristol (R. Stalley, 'The Medieval Sculpture of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin', *Archaeologia* 106 (1979), 107–22, at 115); and Bibury, N nave arcade, bay 4; Chedworth, tower arch inner order; and Down Ampney (all Gloucestershire).
- 168 Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 463.

- 169 Allied trumpet-scallop capitals with foliage in the shields (Gloucestershire unless otherwise stated): Berkeley, S doorway; Beverstone, S nave arcade; Bitton, N doorway; Burmington Manor (Warwickshire) (see A.M. Brodie, 'The Sculpture of Burmington Manor, Warwickshire', in *Medieval Architecture and its Intellectual Context: Studies in Honour of Peter Kidson*, ed. E. Fernie and P. Crossley (London and Ronceverte, WV, 1990), 91–101); Down Ampney, N nave arcade; Eastleach, St Andrew, N chancel doorway, inner E capital; Great Bedwyn (Wiltshire), nave arcades; Compton Bassett (Wiltshire), N nave arcade; Hampnett, sanctuary; Hilmarton (Wiltshire), N nave arcade; Lambourn (Berkshire), crossing; Ripple (Worcestershire), crossing NW 'vault' capital; Old Sodbury; Stoke-sub-Hamdon (Somerset), north tower, vault capitals.
- 170 Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, figs 429, 430. Similar capitals are found in the south nave arcade at Beverstone (Gloucestershire); the north nave arcade at Compton Bassett (Wiltshire); the nave arcades at Great Bedwyn (Wiltshire); the north nave arcade at Hilmarton (Wiltshire); and in the north tower at Stoke-sub-Hamdon (Somerset). Of these, Compton Bassett church was given to Bicester Priory between 1182 and 1185, and it is likely that the north nave aisle may be associated with this gift (*VCH Wiltshire*, XVII, ed. D.A. Crowley (London, 2002), 153).
- 171 Plain trumpet scallops with recessed shields also occur at (Gloucestershire unless otherwise stated): Amberley (Herefordshire), reset corbel capital (see <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/517/>); Duntisbourne Abbots, S nave arcade; Berkeley, font; Bredon (Worcestershire), W chancel arch; Compton Bassett (Wiltshire); Down Ampney, N nave arcade; Lambourn (Berkshire); Old Sodbury, nave arcades; Ripple (Worcestershire), W crossing arch S capital; Shrewsbury, St Mary (Shropshire); Slimbridge.
- 172 *VCH Gloucestershire*, IX, ed. N.M. Herbert (London, 2001), 83.
- 173 The St David's capital is illustrated in Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 447 (left capital).
- 174 Human heads in stiff-leaf capitals occur in the following West Country churches: Cleobury Mortimer (Shropshire); Great Bedwyn (Wiltshire); Droitwich, St Andrew and Droitwich, St Peter (Worcestershire); Dublin, Christ Church Cathedral (see Stalley, 'Medieval Sculpture of Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin'); Haverfordwest (Pembrokeshire); Kinlet (Shropshire); Lichfield Cathedral, N transept; Mickleton (Gloucestershire), N nave arcade W respond; Overbury (Worcestershire); Queen Charlton (Somerset); Shrewsbury, St Mary, N nave arcade; Wells Cathedral (see A. Gardner, *Wells Capitals* (Wells, 1956); M.M. Reeve, 'The Capital Sculpture of Wells Cathedral: Masons, Patrons and the Margins of English Gothic Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 163 (2010), 72–109).
- 175 On the early Gothic fabric of Abbey Dore, see Harrison and Thurlby, 'An Architectural History'.
- 176 Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, fig. 471.
- 177 H. Haines, 'The Deanery, Gloucester', *Gentleman's Magazine*, new ser., 14 (1863), 767–9, at 769. My thanks to Carolyn Heighway for this reference.
- 178 *Ibid.*, 769.
- 179 *Ibid.*, 768.
- 180 J. Clarke, *The Architectural History of Gloucester from the earliest period to the close of the Eighteenth Century* (Gloucester, c. 1848), plates between 44 and 45.
- 181 *Historia et Cartularium*, ed. Hart, I, 22.
- 182 The complex undercut chevron on the transverse arch between the two rib-vaulted bays of the west gate is paralleled exactly in the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury Abbey, 1184–1186/9.
- 183 Thurlby, 'The Elder Lady Chapel at St Augustine's, Bristol, and Wells Cathedral'; Engel, *Worcester Cathedral*, 112–67; M. Thurlby, 'The Abbey Church, Pershore: An Architectural History', *Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser., 15 (1996), 147–210, at 164–81.
- 184 D. Park, 'Romanesque Wall Paintings at Ickleton', in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, ed. N. Stratford (Woodbridge, 1987), 159–69; R. Baxter, 'St Mary Magdalene, Ickleton, Cambridgeshire', <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/1226/>.
- 185 M. Thurlby, 'Romanesque Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Diocese of Carlisle', in *Carlisle and Cumbria: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, BAACT, XXVII, ed. M. McCarthy and D. Weston (Leeds, 2004), 269–90, at 277–80.
- 186 R. Gem, 'Melbourne, Church of St Michael and St Mary', *Archaeological Journal* 146 (1989), supplement for Summer Meeting, 24–30; Fernie, *Architecture of Norman England*, 239–42.
- 187 Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales*, 159–62.

- 188 Baxter, 'St Peter, Northampton'.
- 189 M. Thurlby, 'Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England and Wales', *ANS* 24 (2002), 239–76, at 248; R. Baxter, 'St Chad, Stafford, Staffordshire', <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/661/>. The aisled naves at Ledbury (Herefordshire), Polstead (Suffolk), and St Margaret-at-Cliffe (Kent) are possibly before 1150, but are more likely to date from the third quarter of the 12th century.
- 190 *Domesday Book, Gloucestershire*, ed. Moore, 3.7; *Domesday Book, Worcestershire*, ed. F. Thorn and C. Thorn (Chichester, 1982), 2.31; Thurlby, 'Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England', 247–8.
- 191 *Domesday Book, Devon*, ed. C. Thorn and F. Thorn (Chichester, 1985), 2.2.
- 192 J. Blair, 'Clerical Communities and Parochial Space: The Planning of Urban Mother Churches in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. T.R. Slater and G. Rosser (Aldershot, 1998), 272–94; Thurlby, 'Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England', 252.
- 193 Late 12th-century nave aisles in Gloucestershire will be discussed in Thurlby, *Romanesque Gloucestershire*.
- 194 P. Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven and London, 2006), 185.
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 R. Baxter, 'St Michael, Lambourn, Berkshire', <http://www.crsbi.ac.uk/site/419/>.
- 197 Morris with Thurlby, 'The Gothic Church: Architectural History'.
- 198 Butterworth, 'History of Deerhurst Church', 101.
- 199 Morris with Thurlby, 'The Gothic Church: Architectural History', 112; C.A. Ralegh Radford, *Ewenny Priory, Glamorgan*, 6th ed. (London, 1976), 24–7.
- 200 Ibid., 27.
- 201 J.P. Harrison, 'Anglo-Norman ornament compared with designs in Anglo-Saxon MSS', *Archaeological Journal* 47 (1890), 143–53; J.P. Harrison, 'Note on English Romanesque Architecture', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, new ser., 2 (1896), 268–72. For further discussion, see M. Thurlby, 'Continuity and Revival of Anglo-Saxon forms in twelfth-century architecture and sculpture', in *The long twelfth-century view of the Anglo-Saxon past*, ed. M. Brett and D.A. Woodman (Aldershot, forthcoming).

THE ANNUAL DEERHURST LECTURE

The Annual Deerhurst Lecture was established by the late Arnold Porter in 1984 on the model of the annual Jarrow Lecture. The lecture takes place in St Mary's Church, Deerhurst and is managed by the Committee of The Friends of Deerhurst Church in cooperation with the Parochial Church Council of Deerhurst with Apperley.

The lecture is normally given on a topic relating to recent research into the history and archaeology of the early medieval period, though occasional lectures concern later periods. The principal focus of the lecture is often, though not invariably, Deerhurst itself with its two early churches: the parish church of St Mary, probably built in the early 9th century, and the chapel of the Holy Trinity (known as Odda's Chapel), dedicated in 1056.

The lecture is usually given on the middle Saturday of September. Details of the next lecture to be given are normally available on the website of the Friends of Deerhurst Church at <http://deerhurstfriends.co.uk/lectures-events/>.

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Malcolm Thurlby



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Upper image: The head of the arch built of reused Romanesque stonework over the north door of Wightfield Manor, Apperley

Lower image: Twelfth-century capitals from the south nave arcade at St Mary's Priory Church, Deerhurst

Back cover illustration

Column with volute capital and triple-roll base, reused at the north end of the former monastic east range, now Priory Farm, Deerhurst

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