

THE TWO LIONS AT MILBORNE PORT

by RITA WOOD

This paper explores the twelfth-century sculpture at Milborne Port from several directions, combining close consideration of the work itself with a variety of contemporary evidence. Tentative suggestions are made as to the meaning of the tympanum and the nature of the original scheme for the building

HISTORY OF THE BUILDING

The church at Milborne Port is an impressive building retaining much of its original character despite successive alterations. John Buckler made drawings in the late 1830s which recorded the church before the work on the south transept in 1842 and, even more fortunately, before the drastic changes of 1867–9. This second restoration involved the rebuilding and enlargement of the nave, the rebuilding of the north transept and the addition of a north aisle. Because of the extension of the nave, the west front is entirely lost to us apart from Buckler's drawings and a snapshot. However, this was a facade already much altered in the fifteenth century, and of which only traces had survived. The early medieval building seems to have had a late Anglo-Saxon plan, cruciform with a central tower that was wider than its nave, chancel and transepts. The original elevation was tall, with strip-work arcading on west front and chancel, and probably elsewhere. Details are more securely Norman and datable to about 1090 – billet moulding and a tympanum for the south doorway. These various elements of architecture and sculpture seem to represent one episode of building in the early post-Conquest period.¹

THE GENERAL APPEARANCE OF THE TWELFTH-CENTURY SCULPTURE AT MILBORNE PORT

The tympanum contains two animals with an arc of foliate decoration above them (Fig. 1). That the animals are lions is shown by the typical curls of their manes. The treatment is very flat but competent, and it is in many ways like that of the tympanum at Knook, (Wiltshire) some 20 miles away to the north-east (Fig. 2). It has been demonstrated that the foliage reproduced at Knook is closely allied to forms used in manuscripts illuminated in Normandy at an abbey such as Avranches or Fécamp.² There is perhaps an additional touch of the English Winchester manner at Milborne Port in the left capital of the doorway and in some of the capitals of the crossing (Fig. 3). Such cross-fertilisation was commonplace both before and after the Conquest, and is exhibited by sculpture of the chapel in the Tower



1. Milborne Port: tympanum of south doorway. The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art



2. Knook (Wiltshire): tympanum of south doorway. Diagram from photograph

of London and initials of Normandy manuscripts. The detail of the lions' heads, for example, shares this artistic world, but their poses were not new to England, for these occur in the border of an eighth-century manuscript attributed to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The Vespasian Psalter shows mirror pairs of just such lions in an illustration of King David and his musicians.³ That is to say, the pose of the lions recurs at Milborne Port: their functions in the design are different. In the manuscript, the lions are a minor feature, placed to comment on the main picture or perhaps to 'decorate' the corners of the frame, whereas at Milborne Port the lions are the focal point of the south entrance to the church. While medieval paintwork still clarified the details of their flat surface, and before restorers added the third order with its heavy roll moulding and capitals in the style of Stoke-sub-Hamdon, the two lions would have appeared even more important than they do now.



3. Milborne Port: capitals of crossing with foliage. Photographs, the author

A pair of lions were often used at an entrance to a Romanesque church in Italy, typically as the support of pillars. Examples could once be seen at Ely, under Italian influence, on the Prior's doorway.⁴ Such lions might have been intended as something like guard dogs, with no major theological implications, for similar animals at Santiago de Compostella are described in a contemporary document as 'two large fierce lions on the walls outside, always watching the doors'.⁵ Occasionally, lions have a threatening or evil character, as evidenced by the font at Stafford, where four prowling lions around the base illustrate the accompanying inscription: *Discretus non es si non fugis ecce leones*.⁶ Far more frequently, however, lions are positive symbols, signifying God or Christ. The association derives from some biblical references to the lion, and from the bestiary, and should hardly need pointing out.

Neither a peripheral nor an evil significance is likely to have been intended at Milborne Port. On the contrary, the lions must have set the agenda for the decorative scheme not only of the south entrance, but of the whole church. For, apart from small motifs on the two original capitals of this doorway and on two capitals of the crossing (all to be discussed near the end of this paper), the lions seem to have been the only creatures carved anywhere in the church. All other surviving sculpture is of foliage. Admittedly, the building in its original form is incomplete, but there is not likely to be an extensive area of sculpture lost, unless it were on a west doorway. It was suggested by Reynolds that this might be represented by the archway now at the Guildhall, but that cannot belong to the early post-conquest period. The west doorway, assuming there was one in a nave only 12 metres long, was in a wall with Anglo-Saxon arcading. It must have been of the same date as the rest of the building, and would have shared the characteristic roll moulding: there may have been a tympanum here also. Inside the church, the pillars and all the capitals of the crossing survive, though the east and west arches have been replaced; within the chancel those capitals that remain are of plain cushion form or have foliage. It is probably safe to assume that no subject has been lost that would have radically changed the theme of the decoration from what we see now, and that the two lions on the tympanum of the south doorway had as distinctive a place in the meaning of the complete scheme as they do in the range of its motifs and their arrangement.

In post-Conquest England, the subject of a tympanum cannot have been left to chance. Though patrons might not have had much choice of sculptor – they could not often entertain the refined aesthetic sensibilities by which their legacy tends to be measured today – the Church authorities would have wanted a visual aid with a strong orthodox message in this position. If funds allowed and status demanded, then sculpture might be extensive and elaborate, but the Church, in the fervour of the reform that followed the Norman Conquest,

demanding basic teaching material at all churches, even the poorest and smallest.⁷ The church at Milborne Port was certainly not among the poorest, and the provision of a unified theological scheme is likely.

That all this labour was purposeful and directed is surely a reasonable assumption: the difficulty comes with accurately defining any particular teaching scheme at this distance of time. Many and various are the suggestions made: little is the comparative evidence to support any of them. Not only is discussion hampered by the loss of sources and context over the centuries, but there are hindrances which scholars impose upon themselves, particularly that some routinely-used terms obstruct rational thought. For example, to describe the conventional pair of lions as 'confronted' or 'affronted' seems to suggest that they might fight.⁸ However careful the reader may be, the seeds of ridicule and error have been subconsciously planted. Similarly, it is a peculiarly modern assumption, but accepted by the best of authorities, that a man is being eaten by a grotesque mask when the motif is really all about emission and resurrection.⁹ Added to these impediments is the fact that, as John Harvey found in the case of architecture, in modern times there has developed a wide gulf between craftsmen and critics. This means that few academics have enjoyed the practical experience of making art, and some are therefore at a disadvantage in reading it.¹⁰ But 'reading' is precisely what was intended. Rather than being enjoyed like a picture in a frame, a twelfth-century tympanum would have functioned more like a web-site or an advertisement hoarding.

LIONS, SERPENTS AND FOLIAGE

That these well-matched lions will fight is, of course, not likely. This tympanum was not designed to advertise a fatalistic religion expressed in terms of equal forces and unending battles, but to proclaim one in which good is eternally victorious.¹¹ Consequently, within any example of early medieval art, 'good' is usually as clearly differentiated in appearance from 'evil' as stars are from beakheads: there are at Milborne Port only slight differences between the lions, not enough to distinguish good from evil. As George Zarnecki has shown, they are like the lions in another work which was influenced by both Normandy and England, the Bayeux Tapestry. No creature in the border of the tapestry is shown as if standing still. Animals in the more exaggerated poses are clearly meant to be crying out, chasing, fighting, and so forth; some have attributes or peculiarities which show them to have extra significance, perhaps as characters in a fable. None of them are elements in a true pattern, but all are individuals that have to be looked at, checked out, for a possible comment on the narrative. The two lions on the tympanum at Milborne Port are like this. Their differences may be due to the restless creativity of hand-work, or they may have been chosen to suggest individuality, and hence meaning, in the lions. In contrast, the animals on the tympanum at Knook (Fig. 2) are held within a symmetrical pattern of foliage strands arising from two roots at the lower edge. The animals function as on several other tympana in which animals stand either side of, or eat from, the Tree of Life (Revelation 2:7; 22:2). In these tympana the heavenly Tree, rather than the animals, dominates the composition and determines the interpretation. Nikolaus Pevsner has commented 'Affronted animals without the Tree of Life occur at Milborne Port. Why are they in a tympanum then? Did the carver in this case know?'.¹² The remark shows some appreciation of the fundamental difficulty posed by the composition, which is its uncomfortable duality. This paper will suggest constructive solutions to this problem.

The animals either side of the Tree of Life at Knook are a sort of serpent and a lion, and since a serpent may seem a strange creature to be pictured in heaven and other serpents will be mentioned later, their significance will be considered next. The wyvern (a serpent or

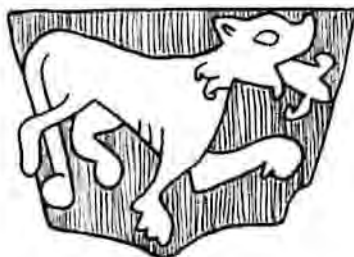
dragon with two legs and wings) and the cross are both blazoned on Norman shields in the Bayeux Tapestry. At this date both motifs are probably being used as a declaration of invincibility rather than as a truly heraldic device. Its use in the same way as the cross suggests that the wyvern was thought of in a favourable light as a symbol of strength and power. Further, in a recent paper J. Holli Wheatcroft points out that the Romans had made a positive association of snakes with the spirits of the dead and the renewal of life, and that this interpretation of snakes was carried over into medieval bestiaries, where it appears alongside other, more negative, applications. Strange as it may seem, the winged wyvern is used to illustrate 'Snake' in the Cambridge bestiary and in the Bern *Physiologus*.¹³ Both animals at Knook are thus appropriate attendants on the Tree of Life, they represent the blessed in heaven, one creature having shed its old body to reveal a new one (1 Cor. 15:52, 53), and the other is a young lion, made like Christ (1 John 3:2).

Foliage is a major ingredient of the decoration at Milborne Port. However, foliage in early medieval art is more than merely decorative: it is likely to be highly significant. This is because, almost from the first, it represented Paradise and resurrection life, and sometimes Christ the Vine.¹⁴ The late twelfth-century writer, Pictor, after listing three biblical scenes as types of the general resurrection of the dead, suggests a fourth illustration, the *argumentum resurrectionis a natura rerum quod de semine prodeant herbe et arbusta*.¹⁵ In this way, the foliage patterns at both Knook and Milborne Port allude to eternal life. The beautiful ring of original carving and restored plasterwork round the crossing has stylistic echoes in the foliage carved on the doorway, that is, in the two faces of the west capital, in the border arching over the lions, certainly also in the tongue at the centre, and perhaps even in the forms used for the lions' tail tufts. Are we to understand the lions themselves as somehow foliate, or is it merely a question of the craftsman's handling? The lions' manes are treated somewhat differently from the tail tufts and tongue, they seem a little more rounded in profile.

It has recently been suggested that the animal on the left of the tympanum at Milborne Port might be a panther, a bestiary figure for Christ.¹⁶ The animal has been misconstrued as exhaling 'a cone' of sweet breath. It should be noted that the other lion flourishes over its back a tail of exactly the same size and form as the supposed 'panther', that is, one having a tear-shape tuft made up from a circle and a triangle. The animal on the left is sucking the tuft on the end of its tail, a conventional pose seen in the Vespasian Psalter and the Bayeux Tapestry. Perhaps sensing the disturbing duality of the composition, and wishing to find a complete Trinity in it, Tisdall goes on to suggest that the right hand lion represents the Father, and its trefoil tongue, the Holy Spirit. However, the Spirit is not shown by a solid trefoil form in any other example known to the present writer. Again, the tongue is hardly large and distinct enough to represent one of the Trinity. On the other hand, this tongue does have a degree of prominence at the apex of the design which a lion's natural tongue might not merit, and it is an attribute that distinguishes one lion from the other. It is time to consider the tongue as a symbol in the teaching scheme.

Apart from those lions which suck their tails, other lions in the Bayeux Tapestry are shown with naturally-curling tongues, but none has a trefoil tongue. Some dragons in the border have three-forked tongues, but these are sharply-pointed, accompanied by dashes of linework, and must be intended as fiery breath.¹⁷ The form of the trefoil tongue occurs once only, in association with a pair of birds. At first sight it looks as though the birds each have a tongue like the lion on the tympanum, but they actually hold between them in their beaks one branch with leaves at both ends.¹⁸ Once again, the trefoil is related to foliage.

Quadrupeds have a trefoil tongue on two carvings in Yorkshire.¹⁹ One example is at Alne, among the celebrated series reproduced from a bestiary, where the animal was named in an inscription as Hiena. Since it is not likely that the tympanum being discussed would feature a Hiena so prominently, the example at Alne is not relevant to this enquiry. The second



4. Stillingfleet (Yorkshire): voussoir on south doorway, with lion having foliate tongue.

example of an animal with trefoil tongue is at Stillingfleet (Fig. 4). This animal has the neatly curling mane of a lion. Where there is more space than on a voussoir, as at Barton-le-Street (also in Yorkshire) (Fig. 5), a lion may have a quantity of foliage emitted from its mouth. This clearly cannot be the literal tongue of an animal, but is a definitely symbolic form: in this case there is a definite association of the lion with foliage, a symbol of God as the source of resurrection, intertwined with the Tree of Life. From their contexts, which there is not space to expand on here, it is possible, but not certain, that the lions in Figs. 4 and 5 represent Christ, and that the foliage emitted is an indication of his Resurrection. To return to the tympanum at Milborne Port, it can be suggested that the tongue is likely to be an attribute representing resurrection life, and that the right hand lion in some sense represents God.

FURTHER COMPOSITIONS WITH TWO LIONS

In an attempt to further clarify the nature of the animals, it will be helpful to look at other examples of the use of two lions in a sculptural composition and see how they compare with or differ from that at Milborne Port. It seems to be rare to find two lions as the sole subject of an architectural unit in England, though of course there are likely to be further examples not known to the present writer. Hence, the search for comparisons has been extended to other design formats and, geographically, into the Empire.²⁰

Two lions are arranged on the three faces of a large capital in Selby Abbey, Yorkshire



5. Barton-le-Street (Yorkshire): capital of former north doorway, lion emitting foliage. Both from tracings by the author



6. Selby Abbey (Yorkshire): capital with lions and two different men, Photographs, John McElheran for the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*

(Fig. 6). Though the lions are identical, they have in their power human figures who are strongly differentiated. These can be interpreted as a man who clings to God and is saved and one who rebels and is damned. There are thus two different scenes on this one capital, showing God twice, with the believer and with the unbeliever.²¹ This contrasts with the composition at Milborne Port, where the two lions are not the identical lion symmetrically repeated in two scenes. Confined by the border pattern, alone, similar and yet individualised, they exist together.

There is a reset tympanum at Covington (Hunts.) which contains a bird-headed quadruped and a lion with a roll moulding arching over them. No more of the original doorway survives (Fig. 7).²² The animals face each other but are not symmetrical, and they thus present the same problem of duality as at Milborne Port. There are two lions at the springing of the



7. Covington (Hunts): tympanum of north doorway. The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art.
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8. Brayton (Yorkshire): chancel arch, south side capital. Photograph, John McElheran for the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture*

Anglo-Saxon tower arch in St. Benet's, Cambridge, and here again the lions are individualised. There is an interesting and possibly relevant combination of motifs at Brayton (Yorkshire). On the main capital of the north side of the chancel arch is a pair of wyverns of which one sucks its tail and the other has a trefoil tongue,²³ while the opposite capital has two lions, addorsed but both looking eastwards to the altar (Fig. 8). The flat soffit of the arch includes the unusual detail of an equal-armed cross carved at the highest point.

Two lions are sometimes shown flanking a central Agnus Dei on a tympanum. There are examples in England at Penselwood and Upleadon (Figs. 9, 10). On the continent, there are two lions on a doorway at Sankt Lambrecht (Karnten, Austria).²⁴ The two lions are unusually boldly carved across the capitals and imposts, one with its face turned outwards towards the spectator, the other looking up at the Lamb in the tympanum. Over a doorway at Hamersleben (Sachsen Anhalt, Germany) two lions again flank Christ, here represented not by the Lamb but by a column.²⁵ In all four examples one lion is slightly differentiated from



9. Penselwood (Somerset): tympanum. Diagram from photograph



10. Upleadon (Gloucestershire): tympanum, Diagram from photograph

the other: there is a distinction of size between the lions at Penselwood and Hamersleben, there is the turn of regard at Penselwood and Sankt Lambrecht. The tail tufts of the lions at Upleadon differ – the lion with the trefoil-tufted tail holds a human head in its paws, perhaps to suggest the possibility of human resurrection into heaven. The differences between the pairs of lions in all these cases are not conspicuous. They are simple variations such as would keep the attention of the viewer or would be used to differentiate individuals. It seems that the two lions in these tympana are not being used merely as conventional supporters to flank the symbol of Christ,²⁶ but they are shown as individuals: they are perhaps the First and Third Persons of the Trinity, that is, the Father and the Holy Spirit. This is clearly the case in the tympanum at Sankt Veit an der Glan (Kärnten, Austria), where the Father, as a lion, and the Spirit, as a haloed bird, salute the triumphant Lamb (Fig. 11).

The widespread, though relatively rare, use of a pair of varied lions to accompany a central symbol of Christ suggests this was a recognised formula to depict the Trinity. It seems useful to examine the possibility that the same interpretation can be applied to the two subtly differentiated lions at Milborne Port. Firstly, it is suggested that the right hand lion represents the Father. A precise definition of the lion with trefoil tongue is offered by another German example. A complex tomb at Gernrode (Thüringen, Germany) includes a row of five medallions which show the Trinity as a lion with trefoil tongue, a bird with cross-halo and the Lamb with cross-staff. The lion and the bird are repeated on either side



11. Sankt Veit an der Glan (Austria): tympanum, Diagram from photograph



12. Milborne Port, left capital of doorway. Photographs, the author

of the Lamb. The symbolism of the foliate tongue arises from the fact that it is the Father who is said to give the new life, who raised Christ and will raise the believer (Acts 2:24; Romans 6:4). The tongue pictures the 'breath' of resurrection life, inspiring a new creation on the lines of that in Eden (Genesis 2:7; 1 Cor. 15:42-49). This imagery is reflected in the bestiary tale of the father lion breathing on the newborn cub and bringing it to life. It is further suggested that the left hand lion at Milborne Port represents the Holy Spirit. This is because the animal is slightly shorter than the right hand lion, has less curls on its mane and a less deep chest. The distinction of size would illustrate that the Spirit is not a physical power, not 'all-mighty' as the Father is sometimes titled. This interpretation of the two lions might also apply to the animals at Covington, where one 'lion' is bird-headed. The dove of the Holy Spirit is often shown in Anglo-Saxon art with the beak of an eagle.²⁷

If the two lions at Milborne Port do represent the Father and the Spirit, the design would, of course, require an image of Christ somewhere for it to be theologically complete. The capitals to the second order of the doorway might perhaps be the place for this. They have, on their four faces from left to right, a mask emitting foliage, a symmetrical foliage design, an armed man and a griffin. The foliage on the two faces of the left-hand capital (Fig. 12) will again have the connotation of resurrection life, but the mask should not be seen a third lion: from the many other examples of this motif found throughout Romanesque sculpture, it can be seen that the mask is a menacing and evil character, and a few of these examples show that it was intended to picture Death. For example, on a capital in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral, two symmetrical wyverns, or snakes, pass through a mask, which thus depicts the crack in the rocks by which the snakes rub off their old skins or, figuratively, the gates of death (Psalm 9:13,14) by which men rise to eternal life.²⁸ Similarly, foliage emitted from with such a mask illustrates eternal life arising out of death. The right-hand capital (Fig. 13) has a man armed with sword and shield facing a griffin. The armed man was a sympathetic character, no doubt similar to some of those who had funded the sculpture or entered the doorway. In a spiritual sense, he might be St. George, St. Michael or Christ himself. Facing the armed man is a griffin with beak, pricked ears, wings and clawed feet.²⁹ However, although this confrontation might be a figure of the Crucifixion, with the foliage capital opposite demonstrating the Resurrection, it is doubtful whether it would supply a sufficiently triumphal image of Christ to satisfy the theological problem. The man's figure is small and peripheral, rather like the lions on the page in the *Vespasian Psalter*. Furthermore, in England the capitals of the doorway are often thought of as outside the zone in which heavenly things were shown: these things belonged in the tympanum.³⁰ The idea that



13. Milborne Port, right capital of doorway. Photographs, the author

Christ is defined as the Second Person of the eternal Trinity by this capital does not seem viable.

POSSIBLE ORIGINAL SCHEMES AT MILBORNE PORT

If Christ is missing from the south entrance, one asks, where then is he? The postulated west doorway would probably have had a tympanum, and that would seem the obvious place to look. To form some idea of the possible images, one more comparison from the Empire might be considered. This is the church at Wechselburg (Sachsen, Germany), where a porch extending over two bays contains two entrances side by side. These have tympana which, together, can be seen to depict the Trinity.³¹ The tympanum on the right has an 'affronted' lion and wyvern, of which the lion looks out at the spectator and the wyvern looks at the lion. Because of their heightened aspect, alone and filling the field, those same animals which represented the blessed at Knook can represent the Father and the Spirit at Wechselburg. The tympanum on the left of the porch contains the Agnus Dei, with two small geometrical motifs filling the corners. However, it does not seem likely in practice that the Agnus Dei would have been used on a west tympanum at Milborne Port with the intention of completing the depiction of the Trinity. This is because the two entrances are physically separate and the unity of the three Persons would not be at all obvious. There is yet another doorway at Wechselburg, which has a tympanum with tree motifs, and it is perhaps more likely that a foliage design would have been used on a west entrance at Milborne Port. Unfortunately, no sculpture of any sort is reported as having been found in the nineteenth century demolitions of the nave and west front.

If Christ was not represented at the west doorway, there may have been a relatively small carving somewhere inside the church, perhaps at the apex of the east or west arch of the crossing. There is an example at a chapel at Steetley (Derbyshire), where the chancel has a vaulted apse, and on the top of its arch is carved an Agnus Dei; the same was painted on the soffit of the eastern tower arch at Duxford (Cambs). The cross in the flat soffit of the chancel arch at Brayton has already been mentioned.³² Something like these examples might have been provided at Milborne Port. However, the lost arches almost certainly had the same heavy roll moulding in the soffit as the surviving ones, and such a profile does not usually support sculpture. The detail of man and wyverns on the capital at the nave side of



14. Milborne Port, capital of crossing with wyverns. The Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art

the north west crossing pier, (Fig. 14), is not likely to refer to Christ, but to one of the blessed. The carving is peripheral, and it is not very noticeable among the foliage.³³ Its imagery is, once again, of resurrection, as indicated by the foliate breath of the man and the presence of the wyverns or snakes. The only remaining site for sculpture would have been on any capitals that existed at the east end of the chancel – hardly significant in the general scheme, and so unable to satisfy the question raised by the tympanum at the south doorway.

There is one final possibility, that there was no carved representation of Christ anywhere, and that the depiction of only two Persons of the Trinity at the south entrance was intended to suggest a spiritual presence within the church. Christ's presence, either as generally inhabiting 'God's house' or particularly located in the sacrament on the altar, was explicit in contemporary consecration services³⁴ and is suggested by the use of Odo's *Occupatio* for the scheme of the mid-twelfth-century south porch at Malmesbury Abbey.³⁵ The interior of a church was commonly understood to represent paradise, a place full of God's power and glory. This is stated by Theophilus regarding the purpose of an artist's labour, and is portrayed by the patterns commonly used to decorate the churches.³⁶ The cross-shaped church plan was used for its symbolism at Anglo-Saxon and German sites, while the ring of foliage at the crossing at Milborne Port suggests the altar was in that space.³⁷ The crossing seems to have been the focus of the interior at Stow (Lincs) also.³⁸ Elsewhere in England, there is evidence for nave altars either in front of the chancel arch or in front of the tower arch, a position suggested by the two lions at St Benet's, Cambridge.³⁹

Similar evocative imagery to what is being suggested for Milborne Port has already been identified by Patrik Reuterswärd in a French church.⁴⁰ He first illustrates the widespread use on the continent of a large rosette flanked by two smaller rosettes to symbolise Christ as the Light greater than sun and moon. He then gives one instance where the sacramental presence of Christ within an apse is suggested by using only the two smaller symbols on capitals either side of the chancel arch. It is worth quoting his description of this arrangement, which occurs in the Cistercian church at Senanque, Provence:

'The shallow chancel with its apse is framed by an arch resting on pillars with decorated capitals – in fact, the only pillars in the church that were considered in need of carved ornaments. On one of the capitals has been carved a circular sun-emblem, on the other something more star-like. This pair of emblems is, in principle, the same as those that so often flank the cross and the images of God. As points of connection on either side of the apse, they make the semi-cupola contain, as it were, an invisible image of God.'

Far from the carving at Milborne Port being by the ignorant and for the foolish, it appears that a highly-wrought theological design was chosen from a widely-current language of motifs. It must have been expected that some local people at least would have been able to comprehend it and enter into its imaginative concepts.

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6. F. Bond, *Fonts and Font Covers*, 1908, reprinted 1985, pp. 110, 113, 'You are not wise who do not flee. Look! There are lions here!'
7. R. Wood 'Geometric Patterns in English Romanesque Sculpture', *JBAA*, (154) 2001.
8. N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: South and West Somerset*, 1958, p. 238.
9. As, for example, on the door-pull at Adel, see *English Romanesque Sculpture 1066–1200* catalogue p. 256 and back cover; but compare *Hortus Deliciarum* fol. 251r and Revelation 20:13b.
10. J. Harvey, *Medieval Architect*, p. 25 etc.
11. Sometimes, indeed, creatures seem to fight, but these are usually dragons, and certainly not lions. Examples of equal combat include tympana at Everton (Notts); Ipstones (Staffs) and Wynford Eagle (Dorset, 15 miles south-west of Milborne Port.) Perhaps these depict chaotic forces outside the church, or below heaven.
12. Pevsner, *South and West Somerset*, pp. 20–21.

13. J. Holli Wheatcroft, 'Classical Ideology in the Medieval Bestiary' in D. Hassig, ed., *The Mark of the Beast*, New York 1999, pp. 141-159. That the Snake with this 'good' significance may yet be pictured as a dragon explains the dragon on the tympanum over the north doorway at Lullington.
14. R. Wood, 'Before the Green Man', *Medieval Life* (14), discusses the significant use of foliage.
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16. M. Tisdall, *God's Beasts*, Plymouth 1998, p. 183, pl. 365.
17. F. Stenton, *The Bayeux Tapestry*, London 1957, nos. 19, 20.
18. The entire branch and leaves are filled in reddish-brown and outlined in dark green, see Stenton, colour plate 1; no.28, and detail; at the castle of Bayeux. Birds are commonly shown with foliage in their mouths. There are examples at Canterbury cathedral in the vestiarium, which is work linked by Deborah Kahn to craftsmen from Normandy. The reference is an ancient one, to birds feeding on grapes in a vine scroll, and hence to the life of the blessed in paradise, where they eat from the Tree of Life (Rev. 2,7). Or the birds in the Bayeux Tapestry holding a branch between them could be intended as natural birds tussling over nesting material - perhaps they picture William and Harold already competing for England.
19. Yorkshire examples are quoted, not because an immediate connection is to be inferred - they are later in date than the work at Milborne Port - but because they are plentiful and the author is familiar with them.
20. The mention of five sites in southern Germany and Austria in the latter part of this paper indicates the extent of the author's search for comparisons, and does not necessarily imply a direct connection with that area. However, shared sources seem to be more likely in this case than in that of Yorkshire. The wyvern, for example, is used there as has been described and not as a dragon representing evil. The cushion capital is usually traced back to German examples. See also Zarnecki, '1066' pp. 87-89.
21. The two aspects of Christ at the Judgment are recognised by, for example, Gregory the Great in Homily 29, and Honorius Augustodunensis.
22. See F. Mann, 'Romanesque Sculpture' in *Cambridgeshire Churches*, ed. C. Hicks, Stamford 1997, p. 237.
23. G. Zarnecki, *Later English Romanesque Sculpture*, London 1953, pl. 74.
24. For illustration, see G. Biedermann, *Romanik in Österreich*, Würzburg 1990, p. 103.
25. See E. Neubauer, *Die Romanischen Skulpturen Bogenfelder in Sachsen und Thüringen*, Berlin 1972, pl. 64. For Christ as a column, compare H. Swarzencki, *Monuments of Romanesque Art*, London 1967, fig.210.
26. The composition can be traced back to the classical laurel wreath carried by winged victories.
27. See R. Budde, *Deutsche Romanische Skulptur 1050-1250*, Munich 1979, pls. 46, 47 etc.; A. Heimann, 'Three Illustrations from the Bury St. Edmund's Psalter and their Prototypes', *J.W.C.J.*, (29) 1966, p. 46.
28. D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture*, London 1991, fig. 77.
29. For griffins in the Bayeux Tapestry, see Stenton Nos. 65, 69. For the thin and angular legs of the griffin on the capital, compare a Viking tapestry, illustrated in R N Bailey, *Viking Age Sculpture*, London 1980, pl. 34.
30. See Wood, 'Geometric Patterns'.
31. See Neubauer, *Sachsen und Thüringen*, pls. 185, 187, 186; also Budde, *Deutsche Romanische Skulptur*, p. 58.
32. The Lamb as a focal point of the interior decoration has grand precedent. It is, for instance, at the highest point of the ceiling of the choir of St. Vitale, Ravenna (6th century).
33. The author has to admit to not noticing these carvings on her visit to the church, but only seeing them in the collection of excellent photographs in the Conway Library.
34. S. A. J. Bradley, 'Quem aspicientes viverent: Symbolism in the early medieval church door and its ironwork', *Antiq. J.* (68/2) 1988, especially p. 226.
35. See R. Wood, 'Malmesbury Abbey: the Sculpture of the South Entrance', *Wilts. Archaeol. & Nat. Hist. Magazine*, (91) 1998, p.53. For the Eucharist illustrated at village churches, see R. Wood, 'Real People in English Romanesque Sculpture', *Medieval Life*, (11) 1999, 8-15.

36. See Wood, 'Geometric Patterns', especially passages on grid and chevron patterns. Foliage patterns are also involved.
37. For cross plans, see R. Gem, "'Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, (16) 1983 and R. Krautheimer, 'Introduction to an "Iconography of Medieval Architecture"', *J.W.C.I.*, (5) 1942, p.8.
38. H. M. & J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, Cambridge 1965, II, plan, fig. 289, p.584.
39. H. M. Taylor, 'The Position of the Altar in early Anglo-Saxon Churches', *Antiq. J.*, 53 (1973), 52-58; C. F. Davidson, 'Written in Stone: Architecture, Liturgy and the Laity in English Parish Churches c. 1125-1250', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1998.
40. P. Reuterswärd, *The Forgotten Symbols of God*, Uppsala 1986, Essay III, p.101. See also M.-A. Dimier, *L'Art Cistercien*, vol. 1, plates 31, 32.