

The Romanesque church of St Andrew, Stogursey

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Extracted from the Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society for 2020.

Volume 164, 150-172

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Produced in Great Britain by Short Run Press, Exeter.

ISSN 0081-2056

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INTRODUCTION

The Benedictine alien priory of St Andrew, Stogursey (Somerset), originally Stoke Courcey, was founded between 1100 and 1107 by William de Falaise II and his wife Geva as a daughter house of the Norman abbey of Lonlay l'Abbaye (Orne).¹ It provided the ecclesiastical counterpart to the castle at Stogursey mentioned by Ordericus Vitalis in 1090.² Of the early Norman fabric of the church there remains the rectangular crossing with richly carved capitals surmounted by a tower, the aisleless nave and restored west doorway. The original eastern arm was remodelled in the late 12th century with two-bay north and south arcades and accompanying aisles. The east bay was created in 1863-65 by John Norton (1823-1904) an architect based in Bristol.³

Maylis Baylé suggested that construction of the church took place in the last decade of the 11th century or the early years of the 12th century.⁴ Julian Orbach observed that the implication of the gift to Lonlay l'Abbaye is that a church was already built.⁵

This paper investigates the architectural context of the Norman fabric of Stogursey church in connection with regional and Anglo-Saxon elements, and the application of decoration in accordance with Norman, Anglo-Norman and/or pre-Conquest principles. We then examine the west doorway to determine whether it is 12th century or the product of 19th-century restoration. Our focus then turns to the late 12th-century rebuilding of the chancel to which little attention has been paid and which deserves to be far better known. A careful analysis of the motifs in the eastern arm will enhance our understanding of the date and sources for the work, and its place in English architecture.

THE EARLY NORMAN CHURCH

Of the original church the long aisleless nave, crossing and aisleless transepts remain. The early Norman eastern arm has been revealed in excavation and is marked out in the floor of the church. The chancel had a single square bay with an apsidal east end and the aisleless transepts each had an apsidal chapel to the east. Pevsner and Orbach paralleled the plan with St Michael and St

Mary, Melbourne (Derbyshire) and St Nicholas, Old Shoreham (Sussex), and Orbach adds Muchelney priory in Somerset.⁶ There are further parallels at Notre-Dame-sur-l'Eau, Domfront (Orne),⁷ Lastingham priory (North Yorkshire),⁸ and Lindisfarne priory (Northumberland).⁹ Lastingham is firmly dated 1078 to 1083 and, like Domfront, it had a groin vault over the square bay of the chancel and a semi-dome in the apse. It is possible that this was also true of Stogursey although had that been the case it would be expected that the late 12th-century chancel would have been vaulted. There is no evidence for vaulting at Old Shoreham.

The Crossing

The crossing in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman churches has been investigated by Eric Fernie, especially with regard to various ways of emphasizing the importance of the east-west axis.¹⁰ Such emphasis is achieved so well at Stogursey as we see in Figure 1 where, from our position in the nave, the arches to the transepts are outside our field of view. The Stogursey crossing is rectangular in plan and is longer north to south than from east to west (Figs 1-3). This difference is reflected in the arches with those on the east and west being semicircular while the narrower north and south arches are stilted so as to rise to the same height as the east and west arches. An analogous arrangement was favoured in the West Country and south-west Midlands as in the great Romanesque Benedictine abbey churches at Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Pershore, Malvern priory, Sherborne and Malmesbury (Fig. 4),¹¹ and at St John, Devizes (Wiltshire) and Wimborne Minster (Dorset) (Fig. 5).¹² At St Peter and St Paul, Dorchester (Oxfordshire), the arches to the former north and south transepts survive and are significantly narrower than putative east and west arches of the former crossing.¹³ They were probably constructed after the Conquest when the centre of the see was moved to Lincoln. Unlike the Romanesque square crossings in Normandy, like Jumièges abbey or Saint-Etienne, Caen, the rectangular crossing has an Anglo-Saxon tradition. At St Peter, Wootton Wawen (Warwickshire) the openings from the crossing are of different sizes.¹⁴



Fig. 1 Stogursey, St Andrew, crossing from W (All images in this article: by the author)



Fig. 2 Stogursey, St Andrew, crossing from S



Fig. 3 Stogursey, St Andrew, crossing from NW

An extreme example is in the former crossing at All Saints, Netheravon (Wiltshire) where the tall and broad east and west arches contrast sharply with the low and narrow arches to the north and south porticus.¹⁵ At Domesday it is recorded that Netheravon was held by Nigel the Physician and that the church was in very poor condition and on the verge of collapse. It follows that the church was constructed after 1086. At Holy Trinity, Great Paxton (Cambridgeshire), the round-headed arch to the north transept survives from the church constructed immediately before or after the Conquest but according to Anglo-Saxon traditions (Fig. 6).¹⁶ The contemporary responds of the chancel arch are also extant and indicate that the 11th-century predecessor of the present Gothic arch would have been wider than the arch to the north porticus.

The rectangular crossing is also found at the priory church of St Nicholas, Bramber (Sussex) founded in 1073,¹⁷ although with different proportions from Stogursey. There is a smaller rectangular crossing at St Michael, Stoke Charity (Hampshire).¹⁸ At St John, Devizes there are broad, round-headed east and west crossing arches while the north and south crossing arches are pointed. Of the various parallels for the rectangular crossing at Stogursey, Wimborne Minster is the closest. As it stands Wimborne is considerable later than Stogursey, probably c. 1170-80, but it seems likely that the present crossing at Wimborne reflects the arrangement of the Anglo-Saxon church, as indicated by the Royal Commission.¹⁹



Fig. 4 Malmesbury Abbey, crossing from SE

The Stogursey crossing arches are of two orders in which the inner order is carried on half shafts on moulded bases and carved capitals, while the outer order is continuous except for the west side of the west



Fig. 5 Wimborne Minster, interior to E from nave



*Fig. 6 Great Paxton (Huntingdonshire),
Holy Trinity, interior to ENE*



Fig. 7 Dover (Kent), St Mary in Castro, chancel arch

crossing arch where there are simple impost blocks (Figs 1-3). The articulation follows Norman precedent like Domfront but the continuous outer order reflects a pre-Conquest tradition as at Dover, St Mary-in-Castro (Kent) (Fig. 7). Continuous orders, usually alternating with non-continuous orders, are popular in West Country as in the chancel arch of St Andrew at Coln Rogers (Gloucestershire).²⁰ There is a continuous outer in the multi-ordered arch to the east chapel of the south transept in Worcester cathedral (1084-89),²¹ on the north nave doorway at Shrewsbury abbey, the chancel arch at St Mary Magdalene, Quatford (Shropshire) (Fig. 8), and the inner order of the ambulatory responds at St Peter's abbey (now cathedral), Gloucester. Of these churches, the east arm of St Peter, Gloucester, dates from 1089 to 1100, while Quatford was founded by Roger, Earl of Shrewsbury, as a college close to one of his residences.²² The church was dedicated apparently on 14 November 1086.²³ The college moved to Bridgenorth by 1102. In the last third of the 12th century, the alternation of continuous and non-continuous orders became a feature in Sir Harold Brakspear's West Country School.²⁴

It is significant that the north and south crossing arches at Stogursey are plain on both sides while on the

east and west arches mouldings are confined to the west faces. Pevsner suggested that the 'complex moulding' of the east crossing arch 'was probably refined into its present shape when the chancel aisles were built' (Fig. 9).²⁵ This view is modified by Maylis Baylé who opined that the ornament of the west face of both the east and west crossing arches may be the product of an 1175-80 reworking (Figs 9, 10).²⁶ This idea is taken up by Julian Orbach who suggested that the multiple roll moulding of the west faces of the east and west crossing arches were 'possibly altered when the chancel aisles were built'.²⁷ He added, 'Their outer arches, a kind of ridge-and-furrow under a billet hood-moulding to the nave and an incised zigzag to the chancel arch', which hardly accord with c. 1090. These observations and opinions about the east and west crossing raise questions about the work done in the 1863-65 restoration which should be addressed in connection with antiquarian illustrations and documentation of the restoration.²⁸ Buckler's 1836 drawing of the nave interior to the east depicts the details of the west crossing arch quite clearly.²⁹ The details are the same as we see them today with the exception of a projecting head above the apex of the arch which has not survived. Looking through the crossing in the



Fig. 8 Quatford (Shropshire), chancel arch from W



Fig. 9 Stogursey, St Andrew, E crossing arch.
N respond detail



Fig. 10 Stogursey, St Andrew,
W crossing arch N respond detail

drawing, the eastern crossing arch is seen in shadow. The chevron ornament now on the second order of the arch is not there and it also appears that the inner order of the arch is plain. An 1829 painting by Prebendary W. H. Turner that depicts the interior of Stogursey church from the north transept looking south-east to include the presbytery arcades and the east crossing arch. The last does not include the chevron ornament but, in contrast to Buckler, shows mouldings on the inner order of the arch.³⁰ There is not sufficient detail to be sure that Turner has recorded the mouldings as we see them today, but it is probably safer to say that he was accurate and that Buckler simply omitted the detail in his rendition.

The use of chevron on the west face of the west crossing arch but not on the east crossing arch is perhaps surprising in that the greater ornamentation is not used on the arch leading into the eastern arm. It suggests that the crossing formed part of the liturgically more important part of the church and that either the liturgical choir was located under the tower or that an altar was located there. The last may be seen in relation to the altar of St

Peter located in the east arm of the Carolingian abbey church of Saint-Riquier, Centula where the altar of Saint Riquier (Richarius) stood on the chord of the apse. In Anglo-Saxon Canterbury cathedral there was a more complicated arrangement with the altar of St Wilfrid against the east wall of the apse, the altar of Christ just to the east of the chord of the apse and the altar to the west of that in front of a flight of steps up to the raised floor of the apse.³¹ It seems most likely that the arrangement of altars at Stogursey was related to the *Decreta Lanfranci* created by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070-89). This would have resulted in the location of the high altar in the apse, on the chord of the apse or just to the west, and the matutinal altar in the western bay to the east of the east crossing arch.³² Of the parallels for the plan of Stogursey, Lindisfarne priory is close and this has a liturgical plan reconstructed by Arnold Klukas with the liturgical choir under the crossing and single altars in each of the transept chapels.³³

One further detail of the east and west crossing arches at Stogursey concurs with the iconographic reading of

rectangular plan of the crossing and the use of chevron on the west face of the west arch.³⁴ The abaci of the capitals of the east and west arches are richly decorated in contrast to their moulded counterparts on the north and south arches thereby stressing the importance of the east-west axis in the liturgical use of the space.³⁵

Chevron and Other Ornament

Chevron ornament is traditionally associated with the second phase of construction in the nave of Durham cathedral around 1110 and 1115.³⁶ Eric Fernie has cited the eastern crossing arch of the abbey church of Cerisy-la-Forêt which he dates around 1080.³⁷ We may add the

crypt, nave triforium and clerestory of St Peter's abbey, Gloucester. The reinforcements in the crypt vaults include some chevron which was probably introduced soon after the start of construction in 1089, and chevron is used in the main arcades, triforium and clerestory of the nave before 1100. At Malvern priory, started c. 1085, chevron adorns the west face of the arch from the south nave aisle to the south transept. The chevron of the Stogursey west crossing arch is unusual and appears like accordion pleats (Figs 1 and 10). I do not know of a parallel in sculpture but there is a close analogue in paint in the mandorla around the Christ in Majesty above the chancel arch of St John the Baptist, Clayton (Sussex) which is usually dated to the late 11th or early 12th century (Figs 1, 10 and 11).³⁸



Fig. 11 Clayton (Sussex), St John the Baptist, Christ in Majesty above chancel arch from W

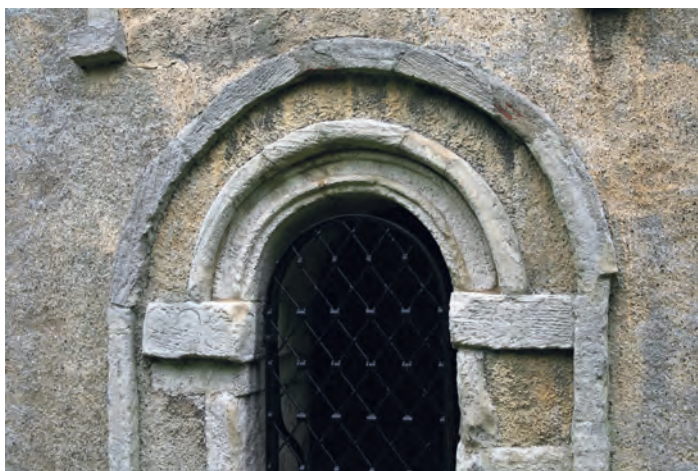


Fig. 12 Earls Barton (Northamptonshire), All Saints, W doorway



Fig. 13 Lincoln Cathedral, W front, S niche detail

The single billet on the hood of the west crossing arch speaks of connections with Normandy as on the windows of the apse at Cerisy-la-Forêt. In post-Conquest England it occurs on the west crossing arch and south nave doorway at Bramber after 1073.

The mouldings of the inner order of the west and east crossing arches at Stogursey follow the same design principles but with a different arrangement of the details. On the west arch the inner order has an angle roll with two angle fillets, a hollow roll and a quirk (Fig. 10). The east arch has an angle roll, a quirked hollow, two angle fillets and a hollow roll (Fig. 9). Roll mouldings on the face of the inner order occur in Anglo-Saxon architecture as on the west doorway at All Saints, Earls Barton (Northamptonshire) (Fig. 12) where we also see a complexity in the juxtaposition of elements. Yet, there is an important difference between Earls Barton and Stogursey in that the Stogursey arches have angle roll mouldings which, as Eric Fernie has pointed out, indicate Norman association.³⁹ Angle roll mouldings are used on the arches to the transept chapels and the windows of these chapels in the abbey church of Le Mont Saint Michel, probably after 1058. Hollow rolls appear on the exterior dado arcade and windows of the apse at Saint Nicholas, Caen (Calvados) which was in construction in 1083.⁴⁰ Angle fillets between roll mouldings feature on the interior windows of the apse at Cerisy-la-Forêt. In Anglo-Norman England great cathedral and abbey churches of the 1070s and 1080s tend to eschew arch mouldings, although there is an exception in the niches of the westblock of Lincoln cathedral (1072/5-92) where an angle roll is accompanied by a hollow roll on the face of the arch (Fig. 13). A similar treatment is found in

smaller churches such as the north doorway of St Peter, Southrop (Gloucestershire) (Fig. 14) and in secular architecture as on the main entrance portal of Colchester castle.⁴¹ In each of these comparative examples we find volute capitals as in the crossing at Stogursey (Fig. 10) which, as Maylis Baylé has demonstrated, depend on sources in Normandy.⁴² In addition to the pure volute types, the inhabited capital appears with a lion and the head, trunk and elongated neck of an elephant(?) above pairs of affronted volutes on the east capital of the north transept arch (Fig. 15). The arrangement is quite different from Anglo-Saxon precedent like St Bene't, Cambridge, where the animal sits on the abacus rather than being integrated with the capital (Fig. 16).⁴³ This concept of architectural sculpture depends once again on Norman Romanesque precedent cited by Maylis Baylé. Similarly, the moulded abaci of the Stogursey capitals of the north and south crossing arches with their hollow chamfers, thin rolls and quirks, depend on Norman sources.⁴⁴ Likewise, the bases of the half shafts in the crossing piers with the thin top roll, shallow cavetto and deep roll on a rectangular plinth, belong to a Norman tradition probably through English examples like St Peter's abbey, Gloucester (Figs 17 and 18). What is perhaps surprising is the consistency of the Stogursey bases which is in contrast to the variety in base profiles at St Peter, Gloucester, and earlier in the crypt of Worcester cathedral, 1084-89.⁴⁵ Yet, there is one exception at Stogursey on the south base of the respond of the east crossing arch on which there is a small spur (Fig. 19) for which bolder parallels are found at Hereford cathedral, commenced between 1107 and 1115, and at Exeter cathedral, commenced 1112-14.⁴⁶



Fig. 14 Southrop (Gloucestershire), St Peter, N doorway



Fig. 17 Stogursey, St Andrew, W crossing arch, N base



Fig. 15 Stogursey, St Andrew, N crossing arch, E capital



*Fig. 18 Gloucester, St Peter's abbey,
N nave aisle, detail base*



*Fig. 16 Cambridge, St Bene't,
arch from nave to W tower, N capital*



*Fig. 19 Stogursey, St Andrew, E crossing arch, S
respond base*

Tufa and Herringbone Masonry

Two aspects of the masonry may factor into the dating of the Norman fabric at Stogursey. Tufa is used sparingly on the outer order of the south and west crossing arches towards the crossing, and extensively on the outer order of the east face of the west arch (Fig. 20). Other than for vault webbing, tufa was most frequently used for construction in the late 11th and early 12th centuries.⁴⁷ Good examples are found in Edvin Loach Old Church (Herefordshire), St Mary Magdalene, Quatford (Shropshire) (Fig. 8), All Saints, West Farleigh (Kent), and St Michael, Moccas (Herefordshire).⁴⁸



Fig. 20 Stogursey, St Andrew, crossing to SW detail

Herringbone masonry (*opus spicatum*) in the Stogursey crossing tower was revealed when rendering was removed on the exterior in 1954.⁴⁹ Herringbone is not the most accurate dating tool but at least it can be said that at Stogursey it does not detract from a late 11th-century date for the Norman fabric. Herringbone masonry was used in Roman times, and it features in the 9th-century fabric of Deerhurst priory.⁵⁰ Maylis Baylé cited a number of late 11th- and early 12th-century examples in Normandy and England.⁵¹ Following the Norman Conquest herringbone masonry is used in Archbishop Thomas's York Minster commenced about 1080, in the curtain wall of Tamworth castle and in late 11th-century churches in the vicinity of York.⁵² Geographically closer to Stogursey, good examples of herringbone are found in the nave of St James, Wigmore (Herefordshire), in the north nave wall at St Andrew and St Bartholmew, Ashleworth (Gloucestershire) and, perhaps most interestingly given the association mentioned above, with Southrop.

Crossing Capitals

Maylis Baylé has cited a number of convincing parallels for the Stogursey crossing capitals in Normandy including Rouen cathedral, Saint-Etienne, Caen, La Trinité, Caen, and La Trinité, Fécamp.⁵³ In addition, she referred to numerous English analogues to which may be added Lincoln cathedral westblock and smaller churches in late 11th-century Lincolnshire as at All Saints, Harmston, arch to the west tower, capitals reused at Gatewick House immediately north of St Andrew, Steyning (Sussex), the main entrance portal of Colchester castle, and the great tower and Scolland's Hall at Richmond castle (Yorkshire), and the former west crossing arch at All Saints, Netheravon (Wiltshire). Baylé also observed that the chancel arch capitals at Stogursey are different from the other six crossing capitals in being of Ham stone and may date from the 1864-65, a possibility also reported by Orbach.⁵⁴ Other than this, a date around 1100 for the early Romanesque work at Stogursey is most likely.

The West Doorway

The heavily restored round-headed west doorway of Stogursey has a broadly chamfered continuous inner order and two moulded orders in the arch carried on plain cushion capitals (Fig. 21). For Pevsner the doorway is Neo-Norman but one motif, the gorged roll on the inner order, makes it unlikely that it is the invention of the 19th century.⁵⁵ The gorged roll is northern French in origin and was introduced to the north of England in Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Eveque's eastern arm of York Minster shortly after his arrival at York in 1154. It became popular in the north, as at Ripon Minster, St Andrew's cathedral and, reflecting York

Minster, in the Chapel of the Holy Blood at Trondheim (Nidaros) cathedral.⁵⁶ Also, in the mid-1150s, gorged rolls appear in the nave arcades of the Temple Church, London,⁵⁷ and a little later in the nave arcades of St Mary, Hemel Hempstead (Hertfordshire), and the north arcade of the presbytery at the Augustinian priory of Little Dunmow (Essex). The motif did not enjoy great popularity in the West Country but it does occur in the Augustinian abbey at Keynsham commenced 1166/67 and the west windows of the Cistercian abbey church of Margam (Glamorgan).⁵⁸ Excavation of Keynsham abbey only commenced in 1961, and therefore the details of the mouldings there would not have been known to a 19th-century restorer.

THE LATE 12TH-CENTURY EASTERN ARM

The rebuilding of the eastern arm of some great cathedral and abbey churches followed the reconstruction of the eastern arm of Canterbury cathedral priory between 1175 and 1184, after the devastating fire of 1174. The new eastern arm provided a magnificent setting for the shrine of Thomas Becket, and such architectural grandeur was soon followed at Chichester cathedral. Chichester did not have a major saint's shrine but by the end of the 12th century at Tynemouth priory, a new Gothic setting was created for St Oswin and by the early years of the 13th century for St Swithin at Winchester cathedral, and on smaller scale at Coldingham priory for St Ebba. No



Fig. 21 Stogursey, St Andrew, W doorway, detail L



Fig. 22 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, interior to NE



Fig. 23 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, N arcade from SE



Fig. 24 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, interior to WSW



Fig. 25 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, S arcade from NE

major relic is recorded at Stogursey so the new eastern arm seems to have been intended to provide more space for increased elaboration of the liturgy, as at Chichester cathedral or the Augustinian priory at Little Dunmow (Essex). The same phenomenon is also met in grand parish churches like St Mary le Haura, New Shoreham (Sussex). The Stogursey eastern arm comprises two bays with round-headed arches to the west of a single aisleless, square-ended bay to the east, the last being the work of the 1863-65 restoration. The late 12th-century fabric is dated by Baylé between 1175 and 1180 and of 1180 with reference to Glastonbury and Wells; and 1180-85 by Pevsner and followed by Julian Orbach.⁵⁹



*Fig. 26 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery,
S arcade, E respond, detail*



*Fig. 27 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery,
S arcade, E respond, detail*



*Fig. 28 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery,
S arcade, W respond, detail*



*Fig. 29 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, S arcade,
head and label moulding between bays 1 and 2*

The arcades are of two bays with round-headed arches, square multi-scalloped capitals with spears between the cones on cylindrical shafts and moulded bases atop tall square pedestals (Figs 22-25). The inner order of the arches is carved with chevron of a different pattern on the north and south arcades – point-to-point chevron over an angle roll is on the south (Figs 26-28); hyphenated over an angle roll on the north (Figs 29 and 30). There are traces of polychrome in the arches which is most distinct in the paired dark lines on the face of the lowest chevron of the first order of the east bay of the south arcade (Fig. 27). The outer order of the south arcade has 45-degree single chevrons with nibs between two thin rolls, while on the north arcade there are single 45-degree hyphenated chevrons with nibs (Figs 26-28, 32 and 33). The labels on the south have crocus flowers which grow from right to left on both arches in each bay (Figs 26-29).⁶⁰ The labels terminate on female heads wearing hats above the responds and a beast head between bays 1 and 2 (Figs 26-29). A male head with glum expression is at the apex of the east bay, while at the apex of the west arch a mask bites the adjacent flowers (Figs 30 and 31). On the north arcade the label is ornamented with a variant on nailhead with folded sides that almost approach dogtooth ornament which alternate with similarly scaled hollow chamfers (Figs 32-34). In the east bay the label terminates on a female head but there is no head above the west respond. Between the bays the label rests on a mask (Fig. 34).



Fig. 30 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery,
S arcade, head at apex of E bay



Fig. 31 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery,
S arcade, head at apex of W bay



Fig. 32 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery,
N arcade, E respond, detail



Fig. 33 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, N arcade, W respond, detail



Fig. 34 Stogursey, St Andrew, presbytery, N arcade, label stop between bays 1 and 2

ASSOCIATIONS FOR THE LATE 12TH-CENTURY WORK

The use of pedestals in the presbytery arcades is not common (Figs 22-25). It indicates that choir stalls were part of the original design and that the moulded bases of the columns would have been visible above the backs of the stalls and screen. A forerunner of this arrangement occurs in the ground floor of the central axial tower of Holy Cross, Avening (Gloucestershire) where the moulded bases of the corner vault shafts are raised on pedestals.⁶¹ For an example of a pedestal supporting a column with scalloped capital the closest parallel know to me is in the choir arcades at St Michael and All Angels, Ledbury (Herefordshire) (Fig. 35).⁶²

The choice of round-headed, as opposed to pointed, arches for the presbytery arcades calls for comment. Near-contemporary work at the Great Church of Glastonbury abbey, after the fire of 1184, and Wells cathedral, commenced in the mid-1170s soon after the arrival of Bishop Reginald from Canterbury in December

1174, have pointed main arcade arches. At St David's cathedral, commenced in 1182, there are pointed arches in the presbytery and transepts but round-headed arches in the nave. Pointed arches appear early in the West Country in the altar niches in the east wall of the transepts at Exeter cathedral and, in allied work in the crossing at Holy Cross, Crediton (Devon), and the arches of the axial tower at St Winifred, Branscombe (Devon).⁶³ The pointed nave arcades at Malmesbury abbey possibly reflect Sarum cathedral, as remodelled by Bishop Roger between 1102 and 1139.⁶⁴ The round-headed arches in the Stogursey presbytery provide aesthetic harmony with the earlier fabric especially the crossing arches, an aspect of unity encountered elsewhere when round-headed arches may otherwise be considered out of date. Good examples are found in the nave of Selby abbey,⁶⁵ St Andrew, Steyning, St Mary, Hemel Hempstead, and Peterborough abbey (now cathedral), where a large part of the nave was constructed by Abbot Benedict after his arrival from Christ Church, Canterbury in 1177, where construction of the new Gothic eastern arm had started in

1175. Benedict's work at Peterborough conformed with the Romanesque design of the nave bays built before his arrival and provides uniformity to the overall appearance of the Norman abbey church.⁶⁶ The round-headed arcades also facilitated wider bays than would have been possible with pointed arches, as at St John the Baptist, Hawkchurch (Devon) (Fig. 36), where the round-headed south nave arcade features capitals with sculptural details that reveal an intimate knowledge of Wells cathedral sculpture of the last quarter of the 12th century.

Variety in the arcade arches of the Stogursey presbytery was a concept that was highly regarded in the Middle Ages.⁶⁷ As Roger Stalley has pointed out, the word *varietas* was so frequently used in contemporary and near-contemporary accounts of buildings and other works of art as a positive element.⁶⁸ The concept applies to the nave of Constantinian Old St Peter's, Rome, where great variety in colour was encountered in the shafts of the nave arcades, something that was emulated in the nave of Sant' Agnese fuori le Mura, Rome (625-38). The same is seen in the architectural settings of Canon Tables in the gospel books of the Court School of Charlemagne, such as the early 9th-century Lorsch Gospels in which we see different colours in the marble shafts, capitals and bases along with different

base types. In England, the key monument for variety in detail seems to have been in the remodelling of Sarum cathedral by Bishop Roger (1102-39), in which 18 different types of chevron were used.⁶⁹ This was followed in Bishop Henry of Blois' Hospital Church of St Cross at Winchester, probably commenced soon after the patron's return from Cluny in 1158, in which different chevron patterns are used in arches and ribs.⁷⁰ Indeed, in a single bay of rib vaulting there are even different patterns according to the direction of the diagonals. The same principle is followed in the nave of St Andrew, Steyning, which was probably the work of Henry de Sully, Bishop of Fécamp, cousin of Henry of Blois.⁷¹ In the West, analogous variety is witnessed in the ribs of St Augustine's priory (now cathedral), Bristol, the windows of the Lady Chapel (1184-86/9) and the Great Church of Glastonbury abbey (commenced 1185) and the main arcades and triforium/clerestory enclosing arches of the nave of St David's cathedral.⁷²

Hyphenated chevron is usually associated with a date late in the 12th century, and parallels with Glastonbury abbey and St David's cathedral have been suggested for Stogursey.⁷³ The earliest occurrence known to me is in the crossing arches of Hereford Cathedral, commenced between 1107 and 1115 with an absolute date around



Fig. 35 Ledbury (Herefordshire), St Michael, presbytery, interior to WSW

1120, and the motif appears in the north portal of Cormac's Chapel at Cashel (Tipperary) between 1127 and 1134. Later examples occur in the north clerestory windows of the west bays of the nave at Worcester cathedral, built after the fall of the 'new' tower in 1175, and in Worcestershire in the nave south doorway at St Giles, Bredon, the west doorway at Holy Trinity, Eckington; the north doorway of the ruined chapel at Netherton, and the south doorway at St Mary, Shrawley. Elsewhere, the motif is found on the south doorway of St Mary, Shrewsbury (Shropshire), and the south window of the vestibule of Hereford cathedral Lady Chapel (1186-98).

Dated examples of point-to-point chevron over a recessed angle roll occur on the second order of the arch from the south presbytery aisle to the south transept chapel of Glastonbury Abbey Great Church, the inner order of the north nave doorway of Llandaff cathedral (Fig. 39) which probably dates to the time of Bishop William Saltmarsh (1185-91), after moving from St Augustine's, Bristol, where he was prior.⁷⁴

Apex masks were popular in the West Country and seem to have been used first in the 12th century at Sarum Cathedral under the patronage of Bishop Roger,⁷⁵ and in the western Romanesque bay of St Peter's abbey (now

Cathedral), Gloucester, around 1120.⁷⁶ Perhaps most significantly for Stogursey is the use of a human head at the apex of the round-headed north nave doorway of Llandaff Cathedral where dog tooth is used on the label and point-to-point chevron to either side of a thin angle roll is used on the continuous inner order (Fig. 39).

The beast-head label stop is introduced in the early 9th century in the priory church of St Mary, Deerhurst commenced in 804, on both the interior and exterior. Human heads become popular in the late 12th century and excellent examples are found in the western arcades of the transepts and the nave of Wells cathedral after 1184, and the Lady Chapel of Glastonbury abbey between 1184 and 1186/89.⁷⁷ The earliest datable example of the motif is from Bishop Roger's Sarum cathedral 1102-39.⁷⁸

The crocus flowers on the labels of the south presbytery arcade at Stogursey occur most frequently in Shropshire as at St Mary, Edstaston, on the north doorway and chancel south doorway (Figs 37 and 38).⁷⁹ At Haughmond abbey it is used on the right arch of the chapter house facade, where there is a human-head stop at the junction with the label of the central arch.⁸⁰ The motif also occurs in two churches which belonged to Haughmond abbey: the south doorway at St Mary,



Fig. 36 Hawkchurch (Devon), St John the Baptist, interior to E



Fig. 37 Edstaston (Shropshire), St Mary, N nave doorway



Fig. 38 Edstaston, St Mary, chancel, S doorway



Fig. 39 Llandaff Cathedral, N nave doorway

Shawbury,⁸¹ seven miles north of Haughmond, and the chancel south doorway at St Andrew, Wroxeter, seven miles south of Haughmond.⁸² There are two fragments are reused in a wall built on the foundation of the former nave south wall at St Lawrence, Burwarton (Shropshire),⁸³ and elsewhere in Shropshire on the south doorway at St Thomas, Halford, St Michael, Munslow where there are human-head label stops,⁸⁴ on the south chancel doorway at St Mary, Neen Savage,⁸⁵ and the south doorway at St Mary, Shrewsbury. In Worcestershire it appears on the south doorway of St Mary, Elmbridge.⁸⁶ In Wales there are crocus-flower labels at St Bride's-super-Ely (Glamorgan) on the arch to south porch which came from Margam Abbey,⁸⁷ and on the north nave doorway of St David's Cathedral; and in Ireland at Christ Church, Dublin.⁸⁸ Roger Stalley has associated the motif with examples in the arches of the canon tables in the Winchcombe Gospels (Dublin, Trinity College, MS 53) of about 1140,⁸⁹ and it may be traced back to the borders of the David and the musicians illumination in the Winchcombe Psalter (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff. 1. 23, fol. 10v) of the second quarter of the 11th

century.⁹⁰ Of these examples the most interesting are those which occur with parallels for other motifs used at Stogursey. The chapter house entrance doorway at Haughmond abbey has nailhead/dogtooth on the jambs and arch of the inner order spaced in the very same way as the Stogursey label of the north arcade (Figs 33 and 34). The motif is also found on the jambs of the chancel south doorway at Edstaston (Fig. 38) where the hyphenated chevron is remarkably like that on the north arcade at Stogursey (Figs 33 and 38). At Burwarton one of the fragments is carved with an apex mask biting on two crocus flowers as in the east bay of the south arcade of the Stogursey presbytery. Such close similarities between these unusual motifs suggests a link between the sites. The Haughmond link with the precise parallel with the Stogursey hyphenated chevron and the biting apex mask suggests the work of the same mason. The link would have been facilitated through the River Severn and the Bristol Channel and, for Christ Church, Dublin, the Irish Sea. Further research may reveal the exact nature of the relationships. As it stands, the capitals and arch mouldings at Haughmond and Edstaston are different

from Stogursey which makes it difficult to comprehend the precise nature of the connection between the two sites. The multi-scalloped capitals of the Stogursey arcades are quite different from the various acanthus types at Edstaston and Haughmond. Typologically speaking the scalloped capitals are earlier but it may well be that they were preferred at Stogursey for their conservative appearance rather than the French Gothic-inspired acanthus.

CONCLUSION

The early and late Romanesque work of the priory church of St Andrew at Stogursey is important, on the one hand, for continuity with pre-Conquest planning of the rectangular crossing and, on the other hand, the capitals which are of Norman derivation. The rebuilding of the presbytery retains round-headed arches and expands on variety in the decoration of the arches as in Roger of Salisbury's Sarum cathedral, Henry of Blois's Hospital Church of St Cross, Glastonbury Abbey Lady Chapel and Great Church, and the nave of St David's cathedral. The crocus-flower motif on the label of the presbytery south arcade finds close parallels in late 12th-century examples in Shropshire. At Haughmond abbey chapter house and Burwarton is even accompanied with biting apex heads, while analogous label stops and hyphenated chevron are found at Edstaston, and alternating nailhead/dogtooth at Haughmond and Edstaston. As to the date of the construction of the Stogursey presbytery, it is worth noting that Holford (Somerset) church was given in 1175 by Robert son of Alfred to Stogursey priory.⁹¹ It is tempting to suggest that this gift provided money that facilitated building the new work.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to Eric Fernie, Richard Halsey, Julian Orbach, Matthew Reeve, David Robinson and Roger Stalley for their help with aspects of this paper.

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