

Anglo-Saxon or Norman? The Church of St John the Evangelist, Milborne Port

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ANGLO-SAXON OR NORMAN? THE CHURCH OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, MILBORNE PORT

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Few dates have received more attention from architectural historians than the year 1066, when the Normans, under the leadership of Duke William I of Normandy (c. 1028–87), crossed the English Channel and were victorious at the Battle of Hastings. Rarely is the importance of 1066 underemphasized in any historical capacity, least of all by scholars who are keen to stress the seismic rupture of Anglo-Saxon style and production in the buildings under the new Norman administration in England.¹ Nevertheless, when it comes to stylistic and technical transmission between Normandy and England, the grip of 1066 on architectural interpretation and dating should be loosened to account not only for the various Norman patrons

and ideas that arrived in England pre-Conquest, but also for the continuity of Anglo-Saxon style in post-Conquest Norman England.² Unfortunately, the documentary evidence that survives does little to assist in the dating of English buildings around the time of the Conquest.³ What little does survive, however, is of great value to the architectural historian. One chronicler in particular William of Malmesbury (c. 1095–c. 1142), born of English and Norman parentage, went to great measures to record his views of style and architecture amidst his history of England. For instance, he describes King Edward's church at Westminster, consecrated 28 December 1065, as a 'pre-Conquest' Norman building – built in a new style, the first of its kind

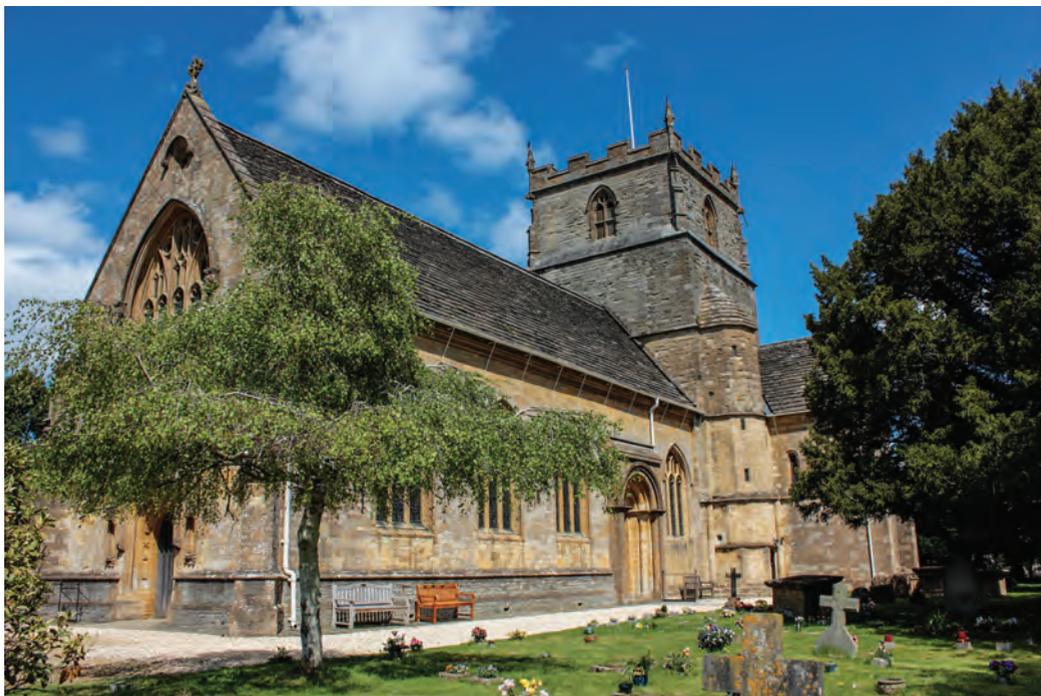


Fig. 1 General view, exterior southwest

in England.⁴ As R. Allen Brown notes, William of Malmesbury echoes this passage when he mentions the rapid construction of churches in every town and village ‘built after a style unknown before.’⁵ However, not all patrons immediately adopted the ‘new style’. William of Malmesbury records that the first Norman bishop of Exeter, Osbern fitz Osbern (1032–1103, appointed 1072), brother of earl William fitz Osbern (1020–71), was in England for some time before the Conquest and grew rather fond of Anglo-Saxon architecture, reflecting his adoption of English habits and attitudes.⁶ The Norman bishop’s taste for Anglo-Saxon buildings is particularly valuable to our understanding of churches that display a juxtaposition of Anglo-Saxon and Norman elements. It would seem that the Anglo-Saxon style of building did not unanimously fall out of favour in England after 1066 and in certain cases Anglo-Saxon elements were incorporated in the architectural programmes of new Norman patrons. The debated church of St John the Evangelist, Milborne Port (Somerset) (Fig. 1), stands as a significant example of Anglo-Saxon continuity in post-Conquest England. Unfortunately, due to a number of reconstructions, much of Milborne Port’s original fabric has been destroyed – leaving us to speculate between original design and subsequent modifications. Nevertheless, a detailed study of the extant fabric reveals Milborne Port’s likely patron, Regenbald the Chancellor, envisioned the church as a combination of traditional Anglo-Saxon elements and fashionable Norman styles and techniques toward the end of the 11th century in post-Conquest England. In combination with available primary documentation, this paper applies a ‘forensic reading’ of the architecture at Milborne Port church, whereby the extant fabric is carefully examined for the purpose of revealing the original plan and designs of its patron and master mason/architect. Such a reading builds upon what Eric Fernie has referred to as a ‘synthetic approach’ to the study of buildings, which “assumes that everything in a structure is as it was intended to be by the original designer unless there is evidence to the contrary, as opposed to the analytical method which tends to assume that changes in form imply changes of intention.”⁷

In light of its juxtaposition of Anglo-Saxon and Norman styles and building techniques, and in conjunction with the scant availability of original documentation, Milborne Port has been variously dated within the so-called “Saxo-Norman” or “Overlap” period (1050–1100),⁸ or

C3 under the categories proposed by G. Baldwin Brown and Harold and Joan Taylor. While some scholars are happy to provide a *terminus post* or *ante quem*, others are convinced the church was built in separate campaigns with isolated dates for different sections of the Romanesque fabric. H. P. R. Finberg suggests there was a church in Milborne Port by c. 950.⁹ Sir Stephen Glynne, during his visit to Milborne Port in 1842, described the whole church as early Norman in origin where “much of the work is of a rude and curious character.”¹⁰ Robert Dunning proposes that the church retains its original pre-Conquest chancel, crossing and part of the south transept; however, the middle stage of the tower and the external stair turret are 12th-century additions.¹¹ Harold and Joan Taylor dated Milborne Port to “about the time of the Conquest” as an originally Anglo-Saxon cruciform church with salient angles, whereby the corners of the crossing are built wider in plan than the nave, transepts and chancel so as to lend more support to the added downward force of an intended superstructure, and that the building was later appropriated by the Normans who retained original features such as the west front, yet modified the nave, installed a south portal, a stair turret, and an upper crossing tower.¹² Baldwin Brown regarded it as a Norman building with influences from Saxon masons visible in the pilaster strips on the south wall of the chancel.¹³ Nikolaus Pevsner, on the other hand, understood the building as a more cohesive monument, one that saw the implementation of Norman motifs built by masons acquainted with Saxon techniques.¹⁴ Eric Fernie regarded the building as belonging to a Saxo-Norman context around 1090 – no earlier than 1066.¹⁵ George Zarnecki argued the building was Norman and built post-Conquest c. 1090, albeit in Anglo-Saxon style.¹⁶ Richard Gem understood the church as achieving true Anglo-Norman fusion. He agreed with Zarnecki’s date but sided with Pevsner’s understanding that Milborne Port positioned pre- and post-Conquest motifs “into an articulate and satisfying whole.”¹⁷ Rosemary Cramp acknowledged the appearance of post-Conquest forms with strong influence from pre-Conquest art.¹⁸

Today, the church exhibits a cruciform plan – with a nave, north aisle, south porch, north and south transept, a large crossing tower with salient angles, a stair turret in the angle where the south transept and nave meet, an aisleless presbytery to the east and a vestry in the north east corner of the chancel. The north nave aisle was a ‘modern’ addition

(according to Glynne) prior to the rebuilding of the nave in 1867-1869 to designs by Henry Hall, architect, with Alfred Reynolds, builder.¹⁹ Hall lengthened the nave by 28 feet, losing the west front. This had, as illustrated by John Buckler and noted by Glynne, Saxo-Norman features on each side of a large lancet window.²⁰ The original nave south portal was undisturbed, however.²¹ A south porch, possibly 14th-century, had been removed in 1843. Both Glynne and Reynolds believed the portal and its decoration are Norman (Fig 2).

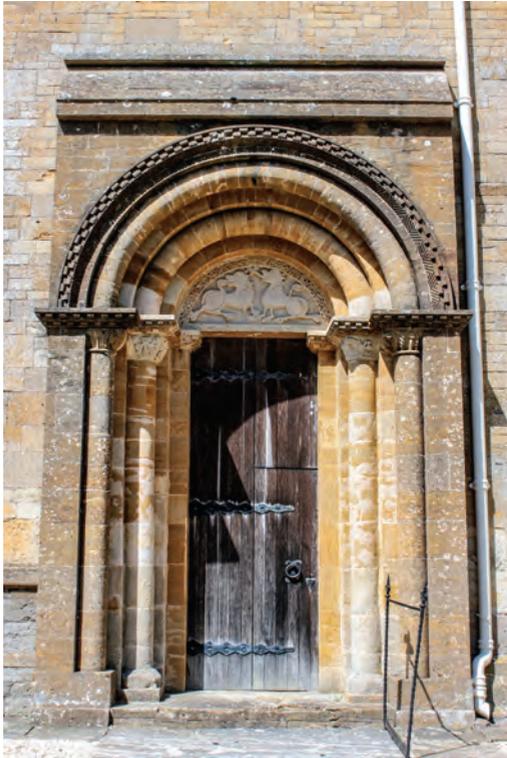


Fig. 2 South nave portal

Reynolds related its tympanum and “bold, well-proportioned columns and Norman arch” to Ely Cathedral.²² Reynolds cites further Norman design in the north and south crossing arches, their capitals, the cube upon which the later tower was built, and the arcading of the north side of the tower.²³ G. Baldwin Brown referred to the church at Milborne Port and its chancel as ‘distinctly Norman.’²⁴ Contrary to the above, Reynolds recognized the arcading on the exterior south wall of the chancel as

evidence of Saxon workmanship, a feature of which Glynne makes note yet resists identifying as Saxon since it did not fit with his Norman dating of the church.²⁵ Baldwin Brown supported the identity of the pilaster strips as a Saxon feature on a Norman chancel, noting, “There seems to be no sense of fitness in the arrangement and it must be regarded as in the nature of a freak.”²⁶

Milborne Port’s pre-restoration west front consisted of a shallow gable above a pointed window and portal on the west façade, all surmounted by the crenellations that once framed the flat roof. The certainty of the façade’s Saxon origins is rarely questioned, which prior to the 1867 restoration exhibited triangular blind arcading similar in character to the first storey of the west tower of St Peter’s Barton-upon-Humber (Lincolnshire) and the nave blind arcading at Geddington (Northamptonshire).²⁷ Milborne Port’s original roofline, on the other hand, is rarely discussed. In J. Buckler’s 1839 drawing of the church, fragmentary masonry is visible in a view of the west face of the tower. In another of Buckler’s drawings, similar

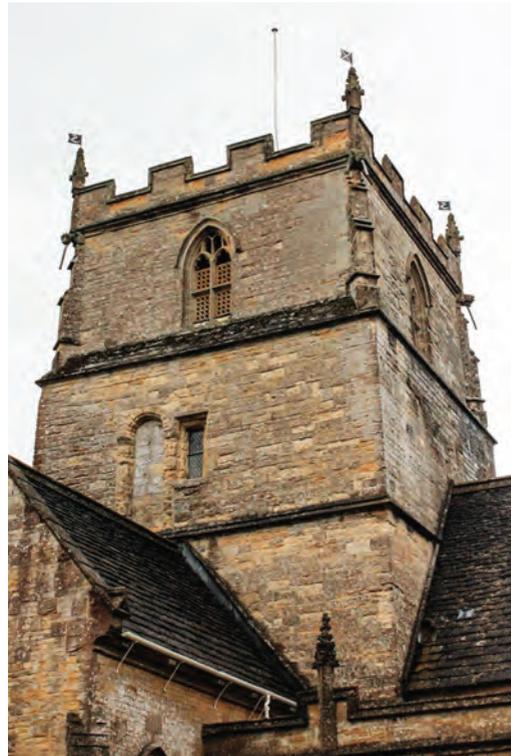


Fig. 3 Exterior north tower face



Fig. 4 Detail, exterior north tower window

masonry is depicted on the south transept in the outline of a gable that once rose to meet the first string course of the crossing tower. It should be noted that fragmented masonry in the outline of a gable is seen on the south porticus of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon (Wiltshire) (early 11th century), a building with which Milborne Port shares strong stylistic and documented associations. By installing a gabled-roof above the nave and elevating the south transept gable, it would appear Hall was keen to approximate the roofing at Milborne Port to what may have been there prior to the flat structure drawn by Buckler in the 19th century.²⁸

The crossing tower consists of three stages. The upper one is probably from the 14th or 15th century.²⁹ Adjacent to the rectangular window in the north face of the tower is a round-headed opening with fragmented arch springers on either side of it (Fig. 3). While the rectangular window is certainly a later addition, the segmental arch and springer fragments are original. Now blocked, the difference in masonry under the arch suggests this portion was originally a window that offered light into the tower. Though heavily weathered, the north side of the tower had at least three arches, each of which had three distinct orders with radial voussoirs (Fig. 4). The angle-set soffit and middle orders exhibit roll mouldings related, and contemporaneous in date, to the north and south crossing arches. Each capital takes on a trapezoidal shape, similar to those that cap the pilasters on the south wall of the chancel.

Several aspects are worthy of note here. Not only is the arrangement of angled-roll mouldings, capitals and shafts on the tower akin to the capitals and supports in the crossing, their organization – whereby each member of the arch has its own capital and respond – demonstrates a quintessentially Norman approach to wall and arch articulation.³⁰ However, single-stone clustered capitals are used on both sides of the arch on the tower and confirm the continuity of Anglo-Saxon building techniques in post-Conquest England. Though it is unclear if the arcading continued around to the other sides of the tower's middle register it is entirely possible given the decorative programme of the rest of the church. Two of Buckler's 1839 drawings show blind arcading on the south face of the tower – yet this may be an instance of artistic liberty to depict the north side of the tower in the context of the older parts of the building.³¹

In the southwest corner of the crossing is the external stair turret that grants access to the upper sections of the tower (Fig. 5). Milborne Port's turret is constructed in four stages that rotate an eighth of a turn each level up – aside from the uppermost stage that lines up with the one directly beneath it. General associations can be made to the turrets on the north and south ends of the westblock at St. Cyriacus, Gernrode (961), and St. Pantaleon, Cologne (consecrated in 980, the turrets on the north and south terminations on the narthex and transept at St. Michael's Hildesheim (c. 1001–33),



Fig. 5 Exterior SW angle of the crossing and its stair turret



Fig. 6 Detail, SW angle of the crossing and its stair turret

and the excavated western hexagonal turrets in the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Canterbury that were built as early as the first half of the 10th century.³² The lower three stages of the stair turret at Milborne Port are decorated with *opus reticulatum* (square stones arranged diagonally) and are separated by stringcourses, the lowest of which is decorated with billet ornament (Fig. 6). Both billet and *opus reticulatum* are generally considered to be Norman imports and can ultimately be traced back to classical Roman examples.³³ Billet is considered by Fernie to be a post-Conquest motif, one that appears in bell-openings at the flint built church of St. Mary's Haddiscoe, (c. 1050–1130).³⁴ *Opus reticulatum* appears on the façade of Edward the Confessor's Palace at Winchester (c. 1065), as shown in the Bayeux Tapestry,³⁵ on a round turret at the north-east angle of the north transept at Christchurch Priory (c. 1087), on the east wall of the reredorter and west wall of the refectory at Westminster Abbey (c. 1070's–80's),³⁶ and on the tympanum of the east doorway to the tower

of Chepstow Castle (1068–71) where multiple blocks of saltire crosses are set at an angle in the form of reticulated masonry.³⁷ The Lorsch Abbey Gatehouse (c. 780) should also be mentioned here since the use of both *opus reticulatum* and triangular arches on its façade provide an interesting point of comparison for Milborne Port.³⁸ The appearance of inverted cushion bases in the crossing at Milborne Port (Fig. 9) furthers the possibility of stylistic transmission from Germany to the British Isles.³⁹ George Zarnecki suggested the cushion capital arrived in England via Germany, where it was a common feature in buildings since 1000.⁴⁰ Richard Gem, on the other hand, has argued that the cushion capital was introduced into England in 1070 with Archbishop Lanfranc's rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral.⁴¹ Eric Cambridge put forward the capitals in the northern doorway in the west range at Jarrow, St Paul (Co. Durham), as datable to the second half of the 1070's.⁴² John Bilson marked the substitution of the cushion capital for the volute variety after the Conquest, but noted that the cushion form was certainly in use in England before the Conquest.⁴³ Eric Fernie records the cushion capital's appearance in buildings shortly after the conquest, such as at the gatehouse at Exeter Castle.⁴⁴ However, Fernie is wary of a Norman provenance for the cushion, suggesting instead that it may be



Fig. 7 Detail, inverted cushion bases, east responds of south crossing arch

a pre-Conquest motif ultimately based on Imperial designs.⁴⁵ Indeed, as Malcolm Thurlby observes, “The use of the cushion capital in the gatehouse at Exeter Castle, as early as 1068, raises the question of whether this type of capital was used before the Conquest.”⁴⁶ Similarly, billet ornament, may have arrived in England pre-Conquest. Thurlby provides two examples of billet ornament at Southwell Minster and Holy Trinity, Great Paxton (c. 1050).⁴⁷ In the former, billet is found in a fragment “from the core of a crossing pier in the foundation of the south wall of the nave”; in the latter, billet is reused in the north respond of the chancel arch, which probably dates from Edward the Confessor’s building.⁴⁸ Moreover, billet is reused in the north respond of the crossing arch at the pre-Conquest church of Great Paxton.

F. J. Allen and G. W. Saunders believed the stair turret was a later addition, since its masonry was not continuous with that of the transept.⁴⁹ Similarly, the Taylors argued:

The interesting Norman stair-turret, which is built into the angle between the nave and the south transept, also points to a pre-Conquest date for the main structure of the crossing, for the Normans were well able to provide a spiral stairway within the fabric of a tower, and it seems likely that the reason for their providing a separate turret here was that they took over an existing tower without a stair, added their own



Fig. 8 South crossing arch showing the wider western wall at the location of the external stair turret



Fig. 9 Original exterior northwest salient angle (presently the interior north aisle)

upper storey to it, and at the same time added the stair turret as a means of access.⁵⁰

Architectural evidence demands a reconsideration of the Taylors' reading and the tower's date. The western walls abutting the north and south crossing arches are asymmetrically wider than their eastern counterparts (Fig. 8).⁵¹ The displacement demonstrates the fact that the masons anticipated the inclusion of an exterior block of masonry from the very beginning, taking into account the required salient angles and dimensions of the stair turret to access the upper parts of the tower. While Allen is correct in noting non-continuous masonry between the exterior of the turret and the transept, the masonry on the interior southwest angle of the crossing runs in continuous courses from the western responds of the southern crossing arch to the southern responds of the western crossing arch.

Thus the physical evidence suggests that the external staircase was built in the same phase as the crossing and was an integrated feature of the

original design, rather than an afterthought from a subsequent building phase. While the simultaneous appearance of the typically Saxon salient angles and the supposedly Norman external turret at Milborne Port is not common amongst contemporaneous buildings, it is not evidence for two separate building phases. Instead, it should be understood as an instance of Saxon and Norman masons working collaboratively alongside one another under Regenbald's particularly ambitious patronage.

As mentioned, the Taylors attributed an Anglo-Saxon heritage to Milborne Port's salient angles (Fig. 9). Salient angles do not appear in Romanesque crossing towers in Normandy yet found popularity in other Anglo-Saxon examples such as Sherborne (c.1000–1050), Stow (Lincolnshire) (c. 950), and Norton (County Durham) (c.1000–1050).⁵² At the very least the salient angles at Milborne Port suggest a central tower was anticipated and it can logically be assumed that they chose to include a protruding stair turret as a means of access to its upper parts. The case for the turret's original



Fig. 10 Stair turret portal with original internal entrance, now blocked



Fig. 11 South chancel wall



Fig 12 Detail of the engaged column positioned adjacent to a pilaster on the south chancel wall



Fig. 13 South wall of vestry (originally the exterior north wall of chancel)

design is furthered given the fact that it was entered through an internal round-headed arch set into the west wall of the south transept, now blocked (Fig. 10).

A similar arrangement for a salient-angled crossing with a tower and protruding stair turret can be found at the nearby post-Conquest church of Wimborne Minster.⁵³ Rounded turrets with upper stories also appear at the Norman churches of Hemel Hempstead (Hertfordshire), Usk Priory, and Quillebouef (Eure [Normandy]). However, these buildings lack Milborne Port's decisively Saxon salient angles.

The remains of the articulation on the upper section of the exterior south wall of Milborne Port's chancel are commonly regarded as quintessential Anglo-Saxon features (Fig. 11). Three-light, two-light, and single lancet windows, as well as an arched-doorway towards the west, are later additions. An engaged column with an inverted cushion base marks the eastern jamb of the original southern window, now lost (Fig. 12).⁵⁴ The upper half of the wall originally included two stringcourses, the remains of which are still visible today. The lower stringcourse, about halfway up, is moulded.⁵⁵ It originally wrapped around the entire church in a continuous band of horizontal ornamentation. It adorned the north wall of the chancel (part of which is now the interior south wall of the vestry) (Fig. 13-14), the east, south and west



Fig. 14 Exterior northeast corner of chancel



Fig. 15 Bulbous bases with spurs, north responds of western crossing arch

walls of the south transept – where it eventually meets the second stringcourse of the stair turret – and the easternmost section of the south wall of the nave. On the south wall of the chancel, pilasters rise from the lower stringcourse and



Fig. 16 Inverted cushion bases, west responds of north crossing arch

ascend beyond the upper, chamfered stringcourse where they continue to meet the carved, trapezoidal capitals directly beneath the cornice of the roof. A separate set of shorter pilasters rise from the upper stringcourse, presenting an alternating A-B-A pattern in the articulation. The north wall of the chancel at Milborne Port retains an original pilaster strip and base (now whitewashed) (Fig. 13) akin



Fig. 17 Bulbous bases, north responds of eastern crossing arch (chancel)

to those on the south face. This, in conjunction with the stringcourse fragment on the northeast corner of the chancel, suggests the arrangement and ornament carried over onto all sides of the chancel. As such, the design is analogous to the Anglo-Saxon church of St. Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon,⁵⁶ where pilasters ascend from the ground and continue past an intermediate stringcourse to meet plain, trapezoidal capitals, albeit here terminating in round-headed arches.⁵⁷ Without any physical



Fig. 18 Bulbous base with spurs, south nave portal

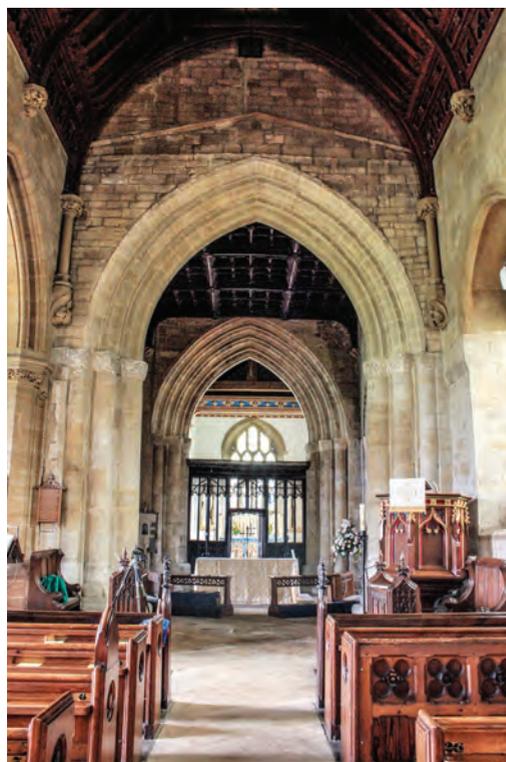


Fig. 19 Nave and crossing

evidence to suggest that Milborne Port's exterior chancel decorations were later additions, it seems likely that they signal the continuity of Anglo-Saxon motifs post-Conquest. Milborne Port is not unique in this regard. A similar arrangement appears on the upper wall arcading on the south wall of the polygonal apse at St. Mary, Dymock (Gloucestershire) – sometimes thought to be pre-Conquest but more likely to be part of a church built for Miles of Gloucester in the late 1120's.⁵⁸

A comparable juxtaposition of Norman and Saxon features can be observed in Milborne Port's crossing. We must of course disregard the east and west pointed arches, which were installed in the 14th or 15th century along with the upper section of the tower (Fig. 19).⁵⁹ On the other hand, the north and south arches, which include quarter-rolls on the face, three-quarter-rolls on the soffits and angled quarter-rolls in between, are original

and reflect Norman designs. These arches are heavily depressed and noticeably warped. While the warping is possibly due to the weight of the crossing tower, the depression of the arches may not be altogether different from how they originally existed. Since the circumferences of the arch mouldings are nearly identical to those of the responds, it can be said with some certainty that the former anticipated the latter in their design and construction. If we accept the originality of the north and south crossing supports and bases, we can apply the same date to their respective arches. Segmental arches appear in the Bishop's Chapel at Hereford Cathedral (1079–95) and in the crypt of the former Abbey (now cathedral) of St Peter's, Gloucester, commenced 1089.⁶⁰ Similar representations of depressed round-headed arches are found in Aelfric's Anglo-Saxon translation of the Hexateuch, M.S. Cotton Claudius B. IV, now in the British Library (c. 1000). Thomas Wright interprets the illumination as the representation of a dome.⁶¹ However, the radial voussoirs, multiplication of orders, depressed curves and

thick roll-mouldings are comparable to Milborne Port's arches and may reflect physical designs.⁶² Similar to billet ornament, the soffit roll moulding has often been understood as evidence of Norman transmission, if not craftsmanship. Analogues can be drawn to French examples at Bernay Abbey (Eure) (c. 1008–13); the crypt at Auxerre Cathedral (c. 1023–35); the western crypt of Nevers Cathedral (c. 1028); the transverse arches of the ambulatory vault of the abbey church of Saint-Denis at Nogent-le-Rotrou (Eure-et-Loire) (c. 1031–1078); and the crossing arches at St. Étienne in Caen (c.1063–65), albeit in the latter they are relatively thin.⁶³ Equally Norman are the designs of the capitals and bases (Fig. 7, 15-18), which include inverted cushions and bulbous varieties with and without spurs, and the approach to wall articulation, whereby each order of the arch descends to meet a corresponding capital and respond (Fig. 21, 24-9). There is, however, a possibility that the soffit roll-moulding was used in the British Isles pre-Conquest. Indeed, the Cotton Claudius illuminations exist alongside the physical examples in the former south porticus at

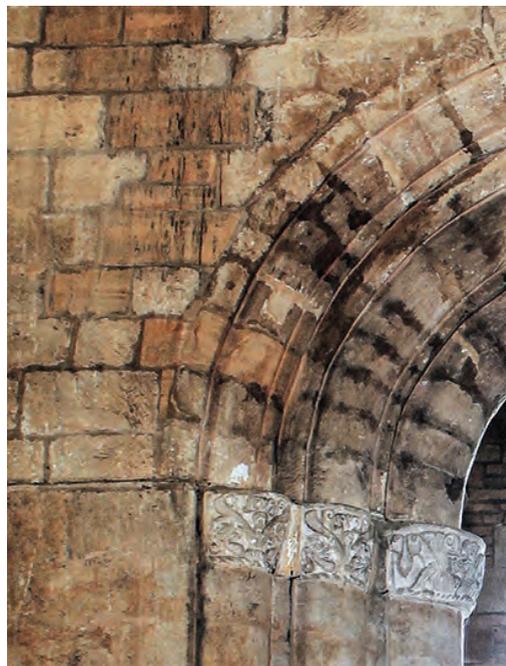


Fig. 21 Detail of arch voussoirs, north crossing arch

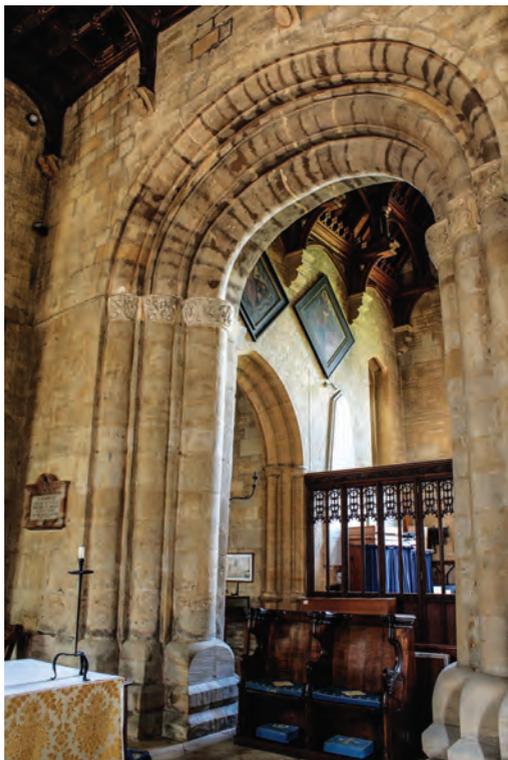


Fig. 20 North crossing arch

Deerhurst Priory (c. 1059) and on the arch faces at Stow and Sherborne (c. 1035–50).⁶⁴ There are also the notable Anglo-Saxon examples of the half-roll at Wittering (Northamptonshire), Bosham (Sussex), and Langford (Oxfordshire).⁶⁵ As Eric Fernie states, “since we know that the half-shaft and face roll were being used by Anglo-Saxon masons in the 1040s and 1050s, it is difficult to deny the possibility that they were placing rolls on the soffit as well.”⁶⁶ Since the earliest extant use of three orders in an English building occurs at St Albans Abbey (1077–88) it is doubtful that Milborne Port's mouldings are as early as Stow or Sherborne.⁶⁷ Previously, Anglo-Saxon and French continental versions tended to limit the half-roll to one or two orders and normally did not exceed the half-roll in size. At Milborne Port the roll is applied to each order and the soffit moulding is enlarged to a three-quarter roll, a complexity and range in designs that suggest a date towards the end of the 11th century. This appreciation for variety and multiplication, however, is particularly English in character and comparable to Holy Trinity, Great Paxton (Cambridgeshire) and the windows in the west tower at All Saints, Hough-on-the-Hill (Lincolnshire).⁶⁸ Interestingly, one of Milborne



Fig. 22 Northwest angle of the chancel with original arch reset into the upper north wall



Fig. 23 Arch and respond remains, south chancel wall

Port's north-crossing arch voussoirs is formed from an adjoining walling-stone (Fig. 24). The technique is an Anglo-Saxon one, as seen on a pilaster base on the exterior south wall of the chancel at the church of St Laurence, Bradford-on-Avon. It thus seems that Norman designs were used alongside Anglo-Saxon techniques.

Rather than the stone used for the east and west crossing capitals, those of the north and south are plaster (Fig. 24-7).⁶⁹ Though Zarnecki dates them to the 19th century, it seems highly unlikely that original stone capitals were shaved off and replaced by stucco.⁷⁰ If the stucco capitals were indeed 19th-century restorations they would presumably be more carefully executed than the crudely finished versions that survive. Instead, it is possible that they were originally made of plaster and painted over. Two pragmatic reasons come to mind, the first to do with cost. Stone was more expensive than plaster and the cost of the undertaking may



Fig. 24 Southeast crossing capital range



Fig. 25 Northeast crossing capital range



Fig. 26 Southwest crossing capital range



Fig. 27 Northwest crossing capital range



Fig. 28 Internal south crossing arch



Fig. 29 Internal north capitals of chancel arch

have grown to be more than had been expected, resulting in necessary cutbacks in cost for material. However, Milborne Port's patron, Regenbald the Chancellor, was wealthy and most likely unaffected by the cost of his commission. More appropriate to Milborne Port was the issue of time. The church may have been lagging behind in schedule and there was a need to finish the building promptly. The practical solution would be to apply plaster in place of the unfinished capitals and paint them over in imitation of stone. Indeed, remnants of paint still appear on the arch and its respond in the south wall of the chancel (Fig. 23), suggesting other parts of the interior were painted as well. That time was of the essence is confirmed by the fact that not all portions of the north and south crossing arches and chancel are treated with an equal level of ornamentation. When viewed from within the transepts themselves, the arches, abaci and responds are squared-off in a plain, unornamented two-step arrangement (Fig. 28). A similar neglect is paid to the chancel arch where the eastern-most abaci are left unfinished (Fig. 29). Not only was there no urgent need to apply the same level of ornament to these spaces, which remained hidden

from the majority of visitors, but also by restricting this sort of superfluous ornamentation the church could be completed sooner.

While pragmatism surely played a part in the construction of Milborne Port, iconographic considerations should be equally considered. By using a carved stone for the east and west crossing capitals, and moulded plaster for those of the north and south, a hierarchy of space is established. To borrow from John Onians, the capitals become "bearers of meaning" via their differentiation in materiality.⁷¹ They subtly indicate different degrees of sanctified space in the church with the west and east holding primacy over the north and south, as has been the case since Early Christianity. The question remains: if all of the capitals were painted, thus leaving stone indistinguishable from stucco, how did they function iconographically? Iconography does not operate as an immediate and identifiable meaning. Nor does it disappear if an audience is incapable of deciphering it. Lay visitors to the church would not have understood that anything east of the western crossing arch was reserved for the clergy based solely on the fact that the western capitals were made of a carved stone – a feature that



Fig. 30 Rosette and Dove with Tree-of-Life patterae, south chancel wall

was likely impossible to detect at first glance due to its painted surface. On the contrary, the specific decision to use carved stone in the most visible area of the church reinforced the *already* established division of space between lay and sacred. A similar reading applies to above-mentioned lack of ornament on the internal faces of the crossing arches. Carved abaci are reserved for the chancel arch capitals alone and signal a transition into the most sacred area of the church, the location of the high altar, thus serving as decoration to those who were fortunate enough to see their sculpture.

Though the discussion of iconography and material seems tangential, it is particularly important to our understanding of Milborne Port. As mentioned, the juxtaposition of stone and plaster ornament has led some scholars, such as Zarnecki, to propose various dates where it may be unnecessary. The same is true of the eight medallions that appear high on the north and south chancel walls (four per side). Often referred to as *paterae*, they consist of three sets of designs: those with doves and a Tree-of-Life, those with crosses, and those with stars or rosettes (Fig. 30).⁷² Dunning credits the *paterae* to the work of Sir Walter Tapper, who is said to have set the plaster medallions into the sanctuary walls during his restoration in 1908.⁷³ The church guide to Milborne Port distinguishes them as evidence of ‘parget’ work, whereby plaster is cast in shallow moulds and applied to the wall while the surface is still wet and adhesive.⁷⁴ This seems doubtful since such a technique would have produced a more uniform finish than what appears. If on the other hand they were stone, it would account for the subtle differences in their execution and would relate them to the nearby analogue at Lullington church (Somerset),⁷⁵ as well as later Irish examples, such as the north portal of Cormac’s Chapel at Cashel (1127–34), the Romanesque church of St Cronan, Roscrea, (c. 12th century)⁷⁶ and Clonfert Cathedral (County Galway) (c. 1180). Similar to Lullington, Brian and Moira Gittos propose that Milborne port’s gable was decorated with *paterae* and a centralized figure of Christ in Majesty. Iconographically, His appearance would have completed the presence of the Holy Trinity since the affronted lions in the tympanum below represent both God the Father and the Holy Spirit.⁷⁷ The Gittos’ believe the gable was added to the existing doorway c. 1130–40, that this phase of construction was part of an addition that included the outer order of the south portal, and that the *paterae* were later set in the chancel.⁷⁸ It is important to clarify that the heavy coat of render

applied to the *paterae* makes it difficult to know their material and date. If the Gittos’ are correct then the *paterae* are undoubtedly stone since stucco would not have been used for exterior decoration. Nevertheless, their material does not explain their appearance in the chancel.

At Milborne Port, the division of labour between Anglo-Saxon and Norman masons, if there was one, is difficult to account for. It appears that the building process was far more nuanced than scholars such as the Taylors believed. At Milborne Port, Normans and Saxons worked alongside one another and respectively imparted their expertise and training. That more Saxon building techniques appear than Norman ones is likely an indication of the greater number of Saxon masons working on the building. Indeed, there were not enough Norman craftsmen to go around in England the years closely following the Conquest, since most were brought across the channel in an effort to build new Norman cathedrals in the British Isles.⁷⁹ Moreover, their skills were seldom sought-after in parishes that could more readily employ Saxon masons.⁸⁰ Milborne Port’s Saxon and Norman duality not only signals the involvement of both Saxons and Normans, it also reveals a patron that wanted to combine elements from both sides of the Channel by continuing to employ Anglo-Saxon masons in post-Conquest England.

According to the Domesday Survey, Milborne Port’s likely patron, Regenbald the Chancellor, who sometimes appears as Rainbald of Cirencester, held the church at Milborne Port with one hide and one plough with a value of 30s.⁸¹ Regenbald appears in a writ as one of the royal priests attesting to charters during the reign of Edward the Confessor in 1050.⁸² Simon Keynes suggests, “like other priests, [Regenbald] continued to serve in the royal chapel of William the Conqueror”⁸³ post-Conquest. Regenbald not only held the title of chancellor to King Edward pre-Conquest, he was also granted the equivalent of full Episcopal status, to which “the *wite*, or fine payable to him, is to be as much as that of a diocesan bishop in all respects.”⁸⁴ Post-Conquest, he is listed in a writ issued in William the Conqueror’s name as “my priest” and has his title confirmed to all of the lands and privileges that he held pre-Conquest during the reign of King Edward.⁸⁵ In another writ, William grants Regenbald two more estates in Wiltshire, which had previously belonged to King Harold.⁸⁶ According to the charter of Henry I, along with Milborne Port, Regenbald owned property at Cheltenham in

Gloucestershire, Cookham, Bray and Silvernham in Berkshire, Boveney in Buckinghamshire, Pewsey and Avebury in Wiltshire, Frome in Somerset, and at Passenham, Rothwell, and Brigstock in Northamptonshire.⁸⁷ Regenbald obviously fared very well after the Conquest. That the design and ornament at Milborne Port are the type normally reserved for a large minster is a direct reflection of his success and ambition as architectural patron. It should also be noted that the name Regenbald reflects neither English nor Norman origin. Instead, it is likely Germanic, which may explain the appearance of the traditionally Germanic cushion capital and base, polygonal turret and reticulated masonry at Milborne Port.

Precisely why Regenbald aspired to build a church that featured both Anglo-Saxon and Norman styles seems to lie in his political agenda. It is important to consider the difference between smaller parish churches and cathedrals at the time of the Conquest. One distinction lies in the intended audience of each building type. Whereas cathedrals were visited by Bishops and Kings and functioned in the context of a trans-European milieu, smaller parish churches had a more local impact and set of concerns. As such, there was the possibility of experimentation with hybridity in building styles and techniques in Parish churches. Indeed, smaller buildings, such as Milborne Port, saw more pronounced implementation of so-called Saxon motifs that were common to resident or local masons, as opposed to the post-conquest cathedrals and abbeys that did away with anything 'Saxon'.⁸⁸ While this may reflect a disliking of Norman design in the lower echelons of society,⁸⁹ it more likely reflects the fact that Regenbald still collected taxes from the lands he held post-Conquest. Regenbald's political affiliations secured him one or more Norman masons that brought with them the latest trends considered to be fashionable by the ruling class. Thus, he employed local Saxon masons to ensure a sense of continuity in the community, all the while incorporating Norman motifs to demonstrate allegiance to the new King and Country. Regenbald may have been following a trend set by Lanfranc who, as Thurlby notes, employed the English mason Blithere at his rebuilding of Canterbury.⁹⁰ Regenbald was likely aware of the trend being set by Lanfranc and sought to similarly combine Anglo-Saxon and Norman designs as the new administration had. The end result was a church that served as a deliberate and simultaneous declaration of Regenbald's allegiance

to both the indigenous Anglo-Saxon community and the new Norman administration.⁹¹

Only through the process of challenging conventionally believed categorizations can we rupture simplistic categories and create the possibility for new understandings of buildings and societies. At Milborne Port, the integrated design of the church brings together features that were in use and admired on both sides of the channel post-Conquest. Milborne Port not only exemplifies Saxo-Norman Overlap architecture, in which an artistic interchange was permitted to exist in Somerset because of a very specific patron with a very specific agenda, but also the reality of Saxons and Normans working alongside one another in relative harmony. Given the lack of documentary evidence and the state of its architectural fabric, Milborne Port evades a *terminus post quem*. Nevertheless, the combination of fashionable Norman designs and fully developed Anglo-Saxon techniques positions Milborne Port in a post-Conquest milieu towards end of the 11th century (c.1090-1100).

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- ⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, I, 280. See also, G. Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England I*, vol. 2 (London: J. Murray, 1903), 313. For an interpretation of William of Malmesbury's description see, R. Allen Brown, "William of Malmesbury as an Architectural Historian," in *Castles, Conquests and Charters* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), 232.
- ⁵ *Ibid*, 231.
- ⁶ *Ibid*, 232.
- ⁷ Fernie, "The Romanesque Piers of Norwich Cathedral," *Norfolk Archaeology* 36 (1977), 383-6; idem, "St. Anselm's Crypt," in *Canterbury before 1220*, ed. Nicola Coldstream and Peter Draper, *British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions* 5 (1982): 27-38; idem, *Norman England*, 310-12; idem, "Stonehenge as Architecture," *Art History* 17 (1994), 147-59; idem, *Art History and its Method: A Critical Anthology* (London, 1995), 323; idem, "Contrasts in the Methodology and Interpretation of Medieval Ecclesiastical Architecture," *Archaeological Journal* 145 (1988), 344-64; idem, "Archaeology and Iconography: Recent Developments in the Study of English Medieval Architecture," *Architectural History* 32 (1989), 18-29; Thurlby, "The Integration of Architecture, Imagery, and Ornament in English West Country English Gothic Architecture 1170-1250", in *Reading Gothic Architecture*, ed. Matthew M. Reeve (Turnhout [Belgium]: Brepols, 2008), 90;

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- ¹⁰ Sir Stephen Glynne, *Church Notes for Somerset* (Somerset: Somerset Record Society, 1994), 229.
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- ¹³ Brown, *The Arts in Early England II*, vol. 2, 470.
- ¹⁴ Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, 20.
- ¹⁵ Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, 149; *idem*, *Norman England*, 274, believes the mouldings on the tower arch at Milborne Port date from the 1080's.
- ¹⁶ George Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London: Dorian Press, 1979), 98.
- ¹⁷ Richard 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. John Blair (Oxford, 1988), 27.
- ¹⁸ Rosemary Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: South-West England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 191-92. See also, Malcolm Thurlby, "Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition," 96-98. Brian and Moira Gittos have detected various phases of construction in Milborne Port's architectural fabric, see note 80 below.
- ¹⁹ Alfred Reynolds, "Milborne Port Church," 229.
- ²⁰ Glynne, *Church Notes*, 229, "single stone ribs ... and straight sided arches upon impost mouldings".
- ²¹ Dunning, *A History of the County of Somerset*, 152, suggests that the south portal and its carved tympanum were added to the nave in the twelfth century. The south porch, however, is dated to the fourteenth century – the same time suggested for the south transept to have been remodelled. Reynolds, "Milborne Port Church," 71, notes that he felt "sure of the Saxon origin" of the nave. The similarities between the capitals, bases and arch mouldings of the south portal and crossing suggest they are contemporaneous. See Zarnecki, *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture*, 98.
- ²² Reynolds, "Milborne Port Church," 71, does not specifically state whether or not he believes the tympanum to be Norman, only that it is "quaintly carved and worthy of notice."
- ²³ Reynolds, "Milborne Port Church," 70.
- ²⁴ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. 2, 428.
- ²⁵ Glynne, *Church Notes*, 230.
- ²⁶ Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vol. 2, 428. See also, Julian Orbach and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Somerset: South and West*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 439, where the author notes Jerry Sampson who identifies the use of bathstone, probably from Bradford-on-Avon, for the external arcading at the chancel as an indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship.
- ²⁷ Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 2, fig. 468; Glynne, *Church Notes*, 229.
- ²⁸ Buckler's 'pre-Hall' drawing shows a portion of fragmented masonry that rises at an angle similar to the masonry fragments drawn on the south transept. Both of which were later restored according to this previous, gabled design. Due to the fragments shown in Buckler's drawing, I believe Hall's gabled-roof approximated what was there prior to the flat, crenelated roof drawn by Buckler.
- ²⁹ The upper tower has been variously dated. See, Allen and Saunders, "The Problematic Early Work," 29, who ascribe the top of the tower to a perpendicular date; Dunning, *A History of the County of Somerset*, 152, states the tower was heightened by a stage in C15; Glynne, *Church Notes*, 230, compares Milborne Port's upper tower to Sherborne; Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol 1, 426, date the upper tower to the fifteenth century. Orbach and Pevsner, *The Buildings*

- of England, 440, state, “the broad tower is Norman in all but its top stage.”
- ³⁰ This has been referred to as the “logical relation” between arches and vaults and their supports in Bilson, “The Beginnings of Gothic Architecture,” 289-290.
- ³¹ The incorrect placement of the tower window on the south face may also be the result of the artist working in the studio, rather than *en-plein-air* – an observation I owe to Malcolm Thurlby.
- ³² For a plan of St. Cyriacus, Gernrode, see Kevin Blockley, Margaret Sparks and Tim Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury Cathedral Nave: Archaeology, History and Architecture* (Canterbury, 1997), 108, fig. 41; for discussion of date and plan of Canterbury’s west end and stair turrets see *ibid.*, 106-111; see also, John Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 77.
- ³³ Sections of billet, possibly reused, appear in the bench on the inner face of the wall at the abbey-church of Sainte-Foy, Conques – an observation I owe to Malcolm Thurlby.
- ³⁴ Fernie, *Norman England*, 214; Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture After the Conquest*, 125.
- ³⁵ Thurlby, “The Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture and Sculpture,” 317.
- ³⁶ For an image of the east wall of the rere-dorter see *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London Vol. 1: Westminster Abbey* (London: The Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments in England, 1924), pl. 176. See also, Orbach and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, 440.
- ³⁷ Malcolm Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Herefordshire: Logaston, 2006), 7, fig. 6 and 7.
- ³⁸ Eric Fernie, *Romanesque Architecture: The First Style of the European Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 38, suggests that the Lorsch gatehouse, or Torhalle, may be contemporary with the monastery’s foundation as early as around 770.
- ³⁹ Kidson, Murray and Thompson, *A History of English Architecture*, 48, attribute the use of cushion capitals and crypts in England to Rhenish origin, possibly via Abbot Baldwin who was in charge of the Alsatian priory of Leberau before arriving in England. For a general discussion of German influence in the British Isles and reference to the cushion capital, see Brown, *The Arts in Early England II*, 33-69. For a discussion on the transference of the cushion capital into the British Isles via Germany and its impact around the time of the Conquest see Malcolm Thurlby, “Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium,” 119-138; *Idem.*, “The Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture and Sculpture,” 315; Kidson, Murray and Thompson, *A History of English Architecture*, 48.
- ⁴⁰ Zarnecki, *Art of the Medieval World* (New York: Harry Abrams, 1975), 311.
- ⁴¹ Gem, “Canterbury and the Cushion Capital: A Commentary on Passages from Goscelin’s *De Miraculis Sancti Augustini*,” in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), 95-6.
- ⁴² Eric Cambridge, “Early Romanesque Architecture in North-East England: A Style and its Patrons,” in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, eds. David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 150.
- ⁴³ John Bilson, “Beginnings of Gothic,” 290.
- ⁴⁴ Fernie, *Norman England*, 278.
- ⁴⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶ Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture*, 43.
- ⁴⁷ Thurlby “Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium,” 134. For discussion of Great Paxton see, Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1, 484-88; Fernie, *Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons*, 129-34; Courtney Arthur Raleigh Radford, “Pre-Conquest Minster Churches,” *Archaeological Journal* (1974): 133; and John Blair, “Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book,” in *Domesday Book: a Reassessment*, ed. Peter Sawyer (London, 1985), 113.
- ⁴⁸ Thurlby “Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium,” 134.
- ⁴⁹ Allen and Saunders, “The Problematic Early Work,” 29.
- ⁵⁰ Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1, 426; Dunning, *A History of the County of Somerset*, 154, suggests the stair turret was built in the same time as the middle stage of the tower in the twelfth century.
- ⁵¹ I owe this observation to Malcolm Thurlby.
- ⁵² For a list of possible post-Conquest salient-angled crossings see Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, 163.
- ⁵³ Malcolm Thurlby, “Aspects of Romanesque Ecclesiastical Architecture in Dorset: Wimborne Minster, Sherborne Abbey, Forde Abbey chapter house, and St Mary’s, Maiden Newton,” *Proceedings of the Dorset Archaeological and Natural History Society* 122 (2000): 1-19.
- ⁵⁴ For a reconstruction see, Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1, 426-429.
- ⁵⁵ Allen and Saunders, “The Problematic Early Work,” 27, relate the lower moulding of the stringcourse on the south wall of the chancel at Milborne port to the cornice at the nearby church of Sts. Peter and Paul, Shepton Mallet, Somerset.
- ⁵⁶ Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, 149; Jeremy Haslam, “The Unfinished Chapel at Bradford-on-Avon, Wiltshire and Ecclesiastical Politics in the Early Eleventh Century,” *Archaeological Journal* 170 (2013): 272-301.
- ⁵⁷ Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, 149; Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-*

- Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1, 428. Important to note is that, “in 1001 King Ethelred gave the manor and monastery at Bradford-on-Avon to Shaftesbury Abbey,” whose nuns held property at Milborne Port.
- ⁵⁸ An observation I owe to Malcolm Thurlby.
- ⁵⁹ Allen and Saunders, “The Problematic Early Work,” 28; Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1, 426; Dunning, *A History of the County of Somerset*, 154; Orbach and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, 440.
- ⁶⁰ For discussion see Richard Gem, “ABC: How Should We Periodize Anglo-Saxon Architecture?” in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on history, architecture and archaeology in honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor*, eds. L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris (London: Council for British Archaeological Research Report 60, 1986), 83-105; Fernie, *Norman England*.
- ⁶¹ Thomas Wright, *Essays on Archaeological Subjects, and on Various Questions Connected to the History of Art, Science, and Literature in the Middle Ages* (London: John Russel Smith, 1861), 198.
- ⁶² For a discussion of architectural representation in Anglo-Saxon manuscript illuminations see Thurlby, “The Anglo-Saxon Tradition in Post-Conquest Architecture and Sculpture,” 310-17.
- ⁶³ Thurlby, *Deerhurst Priory*, 7.
- ⁶⁴ Thurlby, *Deerhurst Priory*, 6-8, makes a case for the soffit roll at Deerhurst as early as the 1020s.
- ⁶⁵ Webb, *Architecture in Britain*, 38. Taylor and Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, vol. 1, 426, attribute Milborne Port’s “half-round soffit roll and the quarter-rolls of the outer orders on all the jambs and the surviving arches,” to Anglo-Saxon workmanship as at Langford, Oxfordshire. See also, Thurlby, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 368.
- ⁶⁶ Fernie, *Norman England*, 213.
- ⁶⁷ Fernie, *Anglo-Saxons*, 151; Thurlby, *Deerhurst Priory*, 6-7.
- ⁶⁸ Malcolm Thurlby, “Aspects of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition,” 61.
- ⁶⁹ Allen and Saunders, “The Problematic Early Work,” 28; Thurlby, *Deerhurst Priory*, 6.
- ⁷⁰ George Zarnecki, “1066 and Architectural Sculpture,” in *Studies in Romanesque Sculpture* (London: Dorian Press, 1979), 99, 199, suggests that all plaster capitals are 19th-century restorations. At the same time, he relates the foliage of the crossing capitals to one in the south portal, which furthers the possibility that both sections were built in the same period. Disappointingly, the study of 19th century plaster restorations referred to by Zarnecki’s lacks a citation. See also, S. Foster, “A Gazetteer of the Anglo-Saxon Sculpture in Historic Somerset,” *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History* 131 (1987): 66.
- ⁷¹ John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1988).
- ⁷² My thanks to Robin Downes for introducing me to the medallions.
- ⁷³ Dunning, *A History of the County of Somerset*, 152.
- ⁷⁴ S. G. McKay, *Saint John the Evangelist Milborne Port: A Guide to the Parish Church* 3rd ed, (Milborne Port: Remous, 2003), 7, “High up on the sanctuary walls are some curious plaster medallions of a type usually called ‘parget’ work, which were made by casting plaster in shallow moulds and applying the cast to the wall while the surface was still wet and adhesive.”
- ⁷⁵ Roger Stalley, “A Twelfth-Century Patron of Architecture: a Study of the Buildings erected by Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, 1102–1139,” *JBAA* 34 (1971): 62-83; Orbach and Pevsner, *The Buildings of England*, 440.
- ⁷⁶ For Cormac’s Chapel and Roscrea, see Roger Stalley, “Three Irish Buildings with West Country Origins,” in *Medieval Art and Architecture At Wells and Glastonbury: The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions*, IV, ed. Nicola Coldstream and Peter Draper (Leeds: Maney, 1981), 62-65; Malcolm 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): 130-140.
- ⁷⁷ Brian and Moira Gittos’ observations have come about through conversation and remain unpublished for the moment. I eagerly anticipate the publication of their most interesting and important research.
- ⁷⁸ Buckler’s drawing records fragmented nook-shafts on either side of the portal.
- ⁷⁹ Fernie, *Norman England*, 209.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ Domesday 1, 8, see John Morris, *Domesday Book* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), for text and translation. For discussion of Reinbald as patron of Milborne Port see, Thurlby, “*Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England and Wales*,” in *Anglo-Norman Studies: XXIV Proceedings of the Battle Conference*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), 249; *idem*, *Deerhurst Priory*, 7; Radford, “Pre-Conquest Minster Churches”, 135-6; Blair, “Secular Minster Churches”, 134; Simon Keynes, “Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*),” *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1987): 185-222; Gem, “The English Parish Church”, 27; Fernie, *Norman England*, 214.
- ⁸² Keynes, “Regenbald,” 195. Dunning, *A History of the County of Somerset*, 145 states Rainbald of Cirencester held a hide of land with the church in 1086 and the estate passed from him to the Crown and formed part of the endowment of Cirencester abbey by Henry I.
- ⁸³ Keynes, “Regenbald,” 195.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 197.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 211.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁷ For a full list of property owned by Regenbald and in which he held them, see, *ibid*, where Keynes records, “he held the church (with land attached) at Cheltenham, which was a royal estate. In Berkshire, he held the church (with land attached) at Cookham, which was a royal estate, and the church (with land attached) at Bray, another royal estate; he also held land at Boveney in Buckinghamshire, which is said to have belonged to the church of Cookham. In Wiltshire, he held the churches (with land attached) at Pewsey and Avebury, both apparently in his capacity as royal priest. And in Somerset, he held the [church] (with land attached) at Frome, which was a royal estate ... [as well as] other churches and lands at Silvernham in Berkshire and at Passenham, Rothwell and Brigstock in Northamptonshire: all four places were royal estates.”

⁸⁸ Fernie, *Norman England*, 208.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 209.

⁹⁰ Thurlby, *Romanesque Architecture*, 43, Blithere is described in 1091 as “the very distinguished master of the craftsmen and director of the beautiful church’ of St Augustine’s, Canterbury.” See also, Jean Bony, “Durham et la tradition saxonne,” in *Études d’art médiéval offertes a Louis Grodecki*, ed. Sumner McKnight Crosby (Paris: Ophrys, 1981), 83.

⁹¹ Thurlby, “Minor Cruciform Churches,” 258.

*All images are the author’s, unless mentioned otherwise.

†All images are of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Milborne Port (Somerset).