

THE AISLELESS CRUCIFORM CHURCH:
ITS OCCURRENCE AND MEANINGS IN ROMANESQUE EUROPE

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ABSTRACT

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THE AISLELESS CRUCIFORM CHURCH: ITS OCCURRENCE AND MEANINGS IN ROMANESQUE EUROPE.

Professor T. A. Heslop.

This study aims to establish the foundation for the theory that the aisleless cruciform church was a building type exclusive to the priesthood until the late eleventh century, pointing to the distinctive identity of the intended occupants of such buildings in the eleventh and twelfth centuries—canons, rather than monks—and focusing on the hitherto undetected phenomena of the frequent appropriation of these churches by monks, as well as their replacement by aisled structures. A paradigm is proposed in the shape of the *Basilica Apostolorum*, an aisleless cruciform late-fourth-century church established in Milan by Bishop Ambrose, enduringly identified with the Cross. Acknowledged to have been the inspiration for similar examples into the following century, the plan of the Milanese building is said for the first time here to have been revived with the Carolingian Renaissance.

The plan of Ambrose's building was retained, even though its superstructure was refurbished after 1075. Its ancient associations still acknowledged, the plan type appears to have been relaunched then, coincident with major papal reforms, its crucial symbolism doubtless also resonating among proponents of the crusades. It is argued that the plan type was used systematically in England in the twelfth century by newly regularised communities of priests observing the Rule of St Augustine, promoted by the Milanese pope Alexander II, the importance of whose contribution has been underestimated. The adoption of the building type for the canons at post-Conquest York Cathedral, always seen as surprising in the context of major Anglo-Norman church architecture, is shown to have been consistent with this revived tradition, especially given the city's association with Constantine, known for his attachment to the sign of the Cross.

It is suggested that selection of the plan by reformed Benedictines in the twelfth century constituted its first use by monks, and that Stephen Harding's circle was responsible for its deployment by early Cistercians, its Ambrosian connotations reflecting both the ethos of the reform movement and the new congregation's desire for authenticity.

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LIST OF ACCOMPANYING ARTICLES

1. 'Bridlington Priory: An Augustinian Church and Cloister in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson. BAACT 9 (1989), 44-61.
2. 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century: The Context for Carlisle Cathedral', in *Carlisle and Cumbria. Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, eds M. McCarthy and D. Weston. BAACT 27 (2004), 73-88.
3. 'The Eastern Arm of Norwich Cathedral and the Augustinian Priory of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in London', *Antiquaries Journal* 86 (2006), 110-30.
4. 'Augustinian and other Canons' Churches in Romanesque Europe: The Significance of the Aisleless Cruciform Plan', in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, eds J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (Woodbridge 2012), 78-98.
5. 'Iconic Architecture and the Medieval Reformation: Ambrose of Milan, Peter Damian, Stephen Harding and the aisleless cruciform church', in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, eds J. McNeill & R. Plant (Leeds 2013), 77-94.

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My thesis, comprising five published articles and an analytical essay composed of four chapters, has had a protracted gestation, extending over some twenty-five years. A body of associated ideas relating to the aisleless cruciform church began to take shape during my research on the Augustinian Priory of Bridlington, the subject of the first article. I developed these themes in the succeeding four papers. Presenting them as lectures enabled me to construct my arguments over time, reflecting on the comments of my peers. Essential to my thesis are the propositions that unaisled cruciform churches were, from at least the eleventh century, proper to priests until the early twelfth century, and that the plan type was almost invariably used by the first generation of English Augustinians, under Henry I (1100-1135). As most surviving Romanesque Augustinian churches are aisled, traditionally designated their community's first building, and dated by style or documentation, my theory would considerably modify the established chronology. Its relevance to Carlisle Cathedral, the subject of the second article, has recently been dramatically corroborated by GPR archaeology.

The first chapter of my essay provides an overview of my topic and its exploration in the five articles. In the first part of chapter two, I investigate iconographical method in relation to medieval architecture, with particular reference to the innovative contribution of Richard Krautheimer. Having established the basis for my proposition that the Ambrosian *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan—the oldest surviving aisleless cruciform church in the West—is the model for all subsequent examples, in the second part of chapter two I suggest that the Early Christian Latin-cross plan was revived as an aspect of the Carolingian Renaissance. The importance of the Cross—as a sign, a symbol, a relic and a badge—is traced from the early Church to twelfth century. The forces, institutional and individual, that could have contributed to the promotion of the paradigmatic Ambrosian church plan, and its transmission to late eleventh century York, are also explored in this second part.

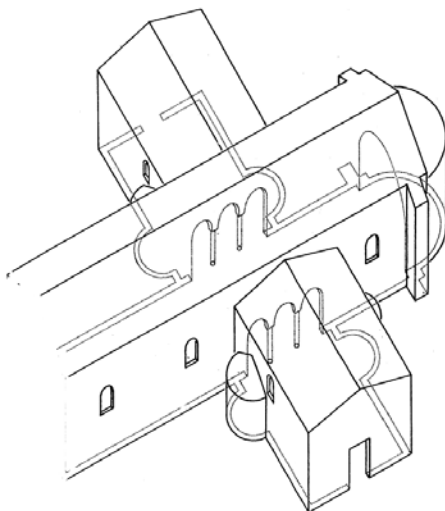
Chapter three considers the implications of my observation that the first Augustinian churches were almost invariably remodelled, apparently obliterating the original building in the process. Various indicators of overwritten forms are discussed, as is the impact on subsequent design of the retention or reuse of earlier fabric.

The final chapter addresses the possible selection of standard building types in two monastic congregations. In the case of Cluny, the claim that a particular design was disseminated from the mother house is reassessed. Use of the aisleless cruciform plan by early Cistercians is viewed in the light of the plan's Ambrosian associations and the crusades.

CHAPTER 1

THE AISLELESS CRUCIFORM CHURCH: ITS OCCURRENCE AND MEANINGS IN ROMANESQUE EUROPE: AN OVERVIEW OF THE FIVE PUBLISHED ARTICLES.

In the five articles that constitute this study, the incidence of a particular kind of building is traced across medieval Europe with a view to examining the implications of its use. The type of building in question is an unaisled church with a simple cross-shaped plan. It emerges that the aisleless cruciform plan, having acquired symbolic associations, was selectively deployed in specific circumstances during the European Middle Ages. At the heart of this discussion is a church founded in Milan by the bishop, Ambrose (c. 340-397), whose writings form one of the corner stones of medieval Christianity.¹ Still standing in the city, this Ambrosian building was originally referred to as the *Basilica Apostolorum* (Church of the Holy Apostles). Since the eighth century, it has also been called the church of S. Nazaro.²



1. Milan, *Basilca Apostolorum*/S. Nazaro: reconstructed as in the late-4th century (after Enrico Villa)

¹ McLynn, N. B., *Ambrose of Milan. Church and Court in a Christian Capital* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1994).

² Franklin, J. A., 'Iconic Architecture and the Medieval Reformation: Ambrose of Milan, Peter Damian, Stephen Harding and the aisleless cruciform church', in *Romanesque and the Past*, eds J. McNeill and R. Plant (Leeds 2013), 77-94 (at 81 and n. 33).

A series of archaeological and historical phenomena is examined in the five articles, from which a set of related premises is drawn. A theory about this type of religious building is developed and tested in the sequence of papers, each of which gives rise to issues that are explored in the next. This culminates in a new interpretation of several aspects of European culture in the central Middle Ages. The germ of the central theory—the distinctiveness of the aisleless cruciform church—first occurred to me in the course of the investigation I made of the Romanesque cloister of the Augustinian priory at Bridlington (East Yorks).

Taken together, the parts of the study suggest that the aisleless cruciform church plan was adopted by canons and other communities of priests—whether secular and living independently, or regular and living communally according to a conventual code or rule—across Romanesque Europe. In the last decades of the eleventh century and the early twelfth, in response to directives issuing from the papacy aimed at purging the Church of corrupt practices, the plan appears to have been consciously adopted by reinvigorated communities of canons, members of the reformed priesthood under episcopal supervision. This can be deduced from my observation that, from c.1100, the plan was used consistently for several decades by canons in Britain observing the so-called Rule of St Augustine.³ In the first half of the twelfth century it was also deployed, for the first time, in a monastic context and was adopted for several decades by various congregations of newly reformed Benedictine monks, such as the Cistercians.

Among the more tentative proposals that I put forward is the suggestion that, after the first appearance of the plan in Milan in the late fourth century and its continued adoption in northern Italy into the fifth, its use declined in the West until, perhaps, the late eighth or ninth century, notwithstanding the existence of early Anglo-Saxon examples of the form.⁴ I suggest that it was deployed by the Christian priesthood as a matter of unspoken tradition, up until the last quarter of the eleventh century. After that point, the plan type appears to have been systematically adopted for the churches of priests in communities of newly regulated canons—arguably as a propaganda measure incorporating an element of revivalism—notably by those

³ Franklin, J. A., 'Augustinian and other Canons' Churches in Romanesque Europe: The Significance of the Aisleless Cruciform Plan', in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, eds J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (Woodbridge 2012), 78-98 (78 and n. 1).

⁴ As at Reculver (Kent), the Old Minster at Winchester (Hants) and Bradwell-on-Sea (Essex), all datable to the seventh century; Fernie, E., *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London 1983), 35-36, 38, 39, figs. 13 and 20.

adhering to the so-called Rule of St Augustine. From the first decades of the twelfth century, it also appears to have been consciously selected by newly reformed monastic communities for their churches, probably because of the authority conferred by its antiquity and authenticity, as well as for its symbolic associations. As this essay suggests, the exploration of this previously unacknowledged phenomenon has considerable implications for our understanding of medieval life and thought.

The theory has inevitably met with some scepticism, partly because it challenges established beliefs, but also perhaps because it is seen as essentially reductive.⁵ In response to that, it should be emphasised that, for all its apparent determinism, the narrative of my idea describes but a single historical phenomenon, one aspect of which—the concerted use of the plan by Augustinian canons—was, moreover, fairly short-lived and rapidly subsumed by the tide of events. The core propositions of the theory entail new ideas, including that a particular building type was associated with specific religious groups across medieval western Europe, and that use of the aisleless cruciform plan was iconographically motivated and ultimately looked back to a prestigious, late-fourth-century prototype in Milan. With further evidence, it may eventually be possible to state that occurrence of the aisleless cruciform plan is always diagnostic, indicating—up to c.1100-1125, and regardless of other factors—a building that was intended for priests, not monks.

In a useful and carefully-observed architectural survey of small British cruciform churches of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Malcolm Thurlby focused on the cross-shaped plan of these buildings, regardless of whether their nave was aisled, although, as he stated, the majority of his examples are, or were, aisleless.⁶ As a number of the aisleless cruciform churches Thurlby discussed are associated with documented Benedictine foundations, his study might be taken to demonstrate the institutional diversity of the plan type, and thus to contradict my proposition that it was proper to priests rather than to monks until the early twelfth century. As I have pointed out, however, in cases where an aisleless cruciform Romanesque church was occupied by Benedictine monks or nuns, it can be shown, or reasonably argued, to have been the colonised building of a former clerical community.⁷ This certainly

⁵ Franklin (2012), 81-89.

⁶ Thurlby, M., 'Minor Cruciform Churches in Norman England and Wales', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 24 (2002), 239-59.

⁷ Franklin (2013), 92 n. 68.

applies to Thurlby's examples at Cholsey (Berks.) and Stogursey (Somerset), and probably also to the nuns' churches he cites at West Malling (Kent) and Usk (Mon.).⁸ With further analysis, Thurlby's survey could probably be invoked in support of my thesis, rather than in opposition to it.

My thesis stresses that canons (priests living in a community) had a particular character and various roles which distinguished them categorically from monks. While it cannot be argued at present that this distinction consistently obtains before the eleventh century, differentiation along these lines, across Europe, can be asserted with confidence with regard to the first half of the twelfth, despite the complexity of the fabric of religious life at that time. The author of the *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia*, himself a regular canon, was very clear that these differences existed in his own day, the 1130s-40s, and resolved to clarify the understandable confusion surrounding them.⁹ Moreover, he emphasised, as do I, the further distinction between mainstream Augustinian regular canons—who constituted the majority in Britain, at least—whose role entailed an element of mission and parochial involvement, and those more austere independent Augustinian

⁸ Thurlby (2002), 243 (Cholsey), 249 (Stogursey), 250 (West Malling) and 250 (Usk). Cholsey had reverted to clerical minster status by the Conquest; Blair (2005), 355. Bishop Gundulf established a house for nuns at West Malling c.1100 but is not recorded as having built a new church. There was a church in 1086 at Malling, an episcopal manor; Williams, A., and G. H. Martin, *Domesday Book. A Complete Translation* (London 1992/2002): Kent, 13 (fol. 5v). The late-eleventh-century church was retained when Stogursey was refounded as an alien priory in 1100 x1107; Baylé, M., 'Les Chapiteaux de Stogursey (Somerset) Ancien Prieuré de Lonlay L'Abbaye', *Bulletin Monumental* 138 (1980), 405-16; Dunning, R. W., C. R. Elrington, A. P. Baggs, M. C. Siraut, eds, *Victoria County History: Somerset*, VI (1992), 155. The style of the capitals and mouldings on the surviving fragment of the undocumented Romanesque church at Usk are too early by half a century or more for the date bracket of c. 1154-c. 1176 assigned to that building by association with the establishment of the borough, and seem likely to pertain to a previous foundation; Thurlby, M., *Romanesque Architecture and Sculpture in Wales* (Little Logaston 2006), 140-46, figs 197 and 198.

⁹ Ibid., 87-88; Constable, G. and B. Smith, ed and trans., *Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia* (Oxford 1972). The confusion, then and now, derives partly from the inconsistent use of terms. For example, the modern editors of the *Libellus* state that a monk can confidently be designated as such because he was referred to as such and known to live under the rule of an abbot; Constable and Smith (1972), xv. Yet, the twelfth-century author himself speaks of canons living under an abbot; Constable and Smith (1972), 68, 80. Quoting Possidius, Augustine's biographer, he also refers to Augustine as a priest establishing a monastery of clerics ('*factus presbyter monasterium' clericorum mox 'instituit, et coepit vivere secundum regulam sub sanctis apostolis constitutam'*); Constable and Smith (1972), 72.

congregations such as the Premonstratensians, Victorines and Arrouasians.¹⁰ Having described the characteristics of the various types of monk, he goes on to speak specifically of canons, and says: ‘One must first understand that this order has three parts now,’ each unlike the other two.¹¹ He describes the respective characteristics of this ‘three-part order’, beginning with those ‘such as the Premonstratensians who establish themselves far from men’ and who are ‘...separated from the multitudes entirely by their way of life and habit and dwelling-place as much as possible.’¹² Secondly, he speaks of those canons ‘placed in the middle...who have their houses near the activities of men...in cities, towns and villages,’ and who ‘take care of men in the world.’¹³ Finally, he mentions those ‘who live among men of the world and are thus called seculars.’ It is the second of these categories of canon who are the focus of this thesis, regular canons who, as the author of the *Libellus* says, are ‘like the apostles in the world.’¹⁴ The author states unequivocally that the canons’ task is to ‘teach the people, take tithes, collect offerings in church, remonstrate with delinquents (and) reconcile the corrected and penitent to the church...’¹⁵ Acknowledging that this pastoral role was scarcely achievable by the first of his categories—Premonstratensians and their like, who withdrew from the world—he explains that such canons sought equally to emulate Christ, but by following a different path toward priesthood, entailing asceticism, humility, and devotion to the sanctuary.¹⁶

By demonstrating, as far as evidence allows, that church design among English Augustinian canons was conformist rather than varied in the first half of the twelfth century, and that Augustinian communities deployed the aisleless cruciform plan for their churches with some consistency during that period, the thesis breaks new ground. As has been widely acknowledged, the plan was also adopted by newly-formed Benedictine brotherhoods in the early part of the twelfth century, notably by

¹⁰ Franklin (2012), 87-89.

¹¹ The author of the *Libellus* distinguishes between those monks ‘who live close to men, such as the Cluniacs...’ yet carrying out ‘only the work of contemplation...’, and others ‘who remove themselves far from men, such as the Cistercians..’; Constable and Smith (1972), 18, 44. For his comments on the three types of canon and their distinctiveness, see *ibid.*, 56, 72.

¹² Constable and Smith (1972), 58.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 72, 78, 80.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 92.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 64, 65 and n. 6.

the Cistercians, arguably because of the authority conferred by its antiquity and authenticity. The earliest certain use of the plan by the Cistercians was in the British Isles. My study attributes this to the leader of their congregation, Abbot Stephen Harding, an expatriate Englishman. Furthermore, I argue that the adoption of the plan by the Cistercians under Stephen indicates their continued adherence to the spirit of the radical papal reforms of the mid-eleventh century, rather than an entirely new initiative in the pursuit of the religious life. I also suggest that the writings of Peter Damian and the monastic practices he prescribed were instrumental in the formulation of early Cistercian custom.

While each of the articles offers new observations on the subject, the fifth and final paper in the sequence sets out the universality of the thesis, up to the point in the mid-twelfth century at which concerted use of the plan seems to subside. Thereafter, the potency of the plan's iconography apparently diminishes, doubtless for a combination of political, aesthetic, ideological and economic reasons. Although churches were built to the plan into the thirteenth century and beyond, use of it was localised and sporadic.¹⁷ From the middle decades of the twelfth century, existing aisleless cruciform buildings were remodelled or replaced by aisled structures—notably among Augustinians—contributing to the picture we have of the diverse but predominantly 'basilican' character of medieval church architecture.¹⁸ The architectural pluralism which resulted from this loss of distinction, whereby a particular building type no longer served to signify occupation by a specific religious group, inevitably obscured what was once the consistent use of the aisleless cruciform plan.

Although the thesis submitted here challenges certain assumptions, it profits from, and acknowledges unreservedly, the contributions of other scholars in the field. It also sheds light on several phenomena that have defied explanation hitherto. For example, it offers both a source and a reason for the choice of the aisleless cruciform plan on a massive scale for the new post-Conquest cathedral at York. The search for

¹⁷ Franklin (2013), 88 and notes 103-104, 91 and n. 136. Examples in Sardinia, not securely dated but no earlier than the twelfth century, include S. Pietro at Bulzi, (Delogu, R., *L'Architettura del Medioevo in Sardegna* (Rome 1953), 112, 160-61) and S. Nicola d'Ottana (Serra, R., and R. Coroneo, *Sardegna Romane* (1989), 285-93, figs 108-12)

¹⁸ Franklin, J. A., 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century: The Context for Carlisle Cathedral', in *Carlisle and Cumbria. Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, eds M. McCarthy and D. Weston. *British Archaeological Association Conf. Trans* 27 (2004), 73—88 (at 77-78); Franklin (2102), 81; Stalley, R., *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford 1999), 213-32.

York's prototype has yielded no plausible candidates until now. Occurring at a time when every other Anglo-Norman cathedral church was provided with an aisled nave and a complex eastern arm, the selection of the aisleless cruciform plan for York has always been seen as puzzling. The thesis also addresses the deployment of unaisled cross-plan churches by the early Cistercians, likewise perceived as problematic in the context of contemporary monastic architecture.¹⁹ Use of such a simple building type by the white monks has largely been seen until now as expedient rather than purposive, especially when set against the grandeur of the complexes that replaced them from the mid-twelfth-century onwards, as at Rievaulx and Fountains in North Yorkshire.²⁰

The proposition that deployment of the unaisled cross-plan church in the central Middle Ages was exclusive to the priesthood has not been explored hitherto. Evidence of the phenomenon has perhaps been obscured by the sheer success of the medieval European economy; in flourishing communities, churches built to this simple and undeniably constricting plan tended to be replaced after the mid-twelfth century by bigger, more impressive structures that incorporated a larger degree of articulation in their designs and afforded greater flexibility of use. The physical evidence for the widespread adoption of the plan is therefore partial at best and sometimes unrecoverable, buried beneath later structures. Added to that, no contemporary written testimony regarding the deliberate use of the plan has survived. The fact that there is no documentary evidence, even of an incidental nature, to support the theory presented here is challenging, but also makes this, in methodological terms, paradigmatic as an art-historical study, based as it is on visual, empirical and contextual evidence, rather than on the written testimony of contemporary witnesses.

In this series of articles, I aim to show that the plan was widely used by specific groups because of its symbolic associations. The oldest aisleless cruciform church in western Europe is S. Nazaro in Milan, founded by Bishop Ambrose in the late fourth century and also known in the middle ages by its original title of *Basilica Apostolorum*. In the mid-twentieth century, Richard Krautheimer, brilliantly consolidating the views of several other scholars, traced the iconographic impact of this monumental apostolic reliquary church on religious architecture across northern

¹⁹ Franklin (2013), 77-94 (at 86-91).

²⁰ *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain*, ed. D. M. Robinson (London 1998/2002), 111-15 and 160-64.

Italy and into the next century, but no further.²¹ In the five articles forming this study, I argue that the associations embodied by the cross-shaped plan exerted significant, if sometimes inexplicit, influence in the central Middle Ages and beyond. In the second chapter of the present essay, I tentatively suggest that conscious use of the plan, having subsided in the West after the fifth century, was revived in the eighth century as an aspect of the Carolingian renaissance.

While its connotations seem never to have evaporated entirely, programmatic use of the plan dwindled after the middle of the twelfth century. This is only partly attributable to economic or aesthetic factors. The galvanising momentum of the papal reforms had evidently begun to subside by that point. The will of the order of canons to distinguish itself in the landscape through the design of its churches had apparently also diminished. Perhaps the associations of the plan no longer compensated for its practical limitations. Moreover, a church for mainstream regular canons also accommodated a lay congregation in its nave at times. The combined liturgical requirements of clerical and lay worship had always called for the contrivance of discrete spaces within a single building. The awkwardness of the aisleless cruciform church from an operational point of view engendered minor modifications that effectively compromised the iconographic integrity of the plan, as with the single north aisle bay at Lanercost Priory (Cumbria), for example, presumably introduced in order to facilitate access between the nave and the choir without the need to encroach on the crossing.²² Dissatisfaction with the plan's limitations may also have contributed to the relative decline in its occurrence after the mid-twelfth century. All in all, its practical shortcomings were no longer outweighed by its iconographic value; presumably the potency of the iconography diminished as the reform movement lost momentum and papal authority declined.

Together, the five articles constitute a body of ideas that affects our perception of eleventh- and twelfth-century European culture in a number of areas, including architectural patronage, the character of specific religious communities and the authority to which they deferred, the conscious use of symbolism in architecture, the reuse of existing buildings and the durability—and ultimate fragility—of the Romanesque reformation.

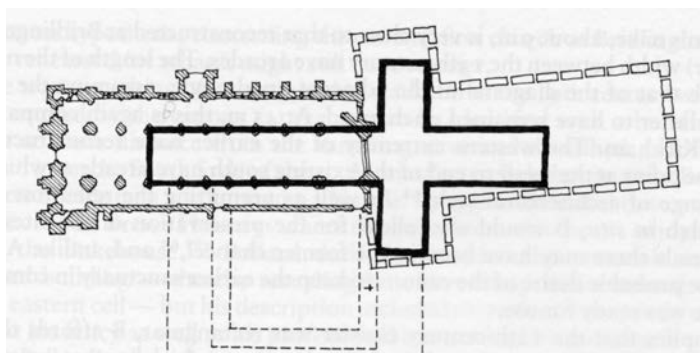
²¹ Krautheimer, R., *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*, rev. with S. Ćurčić (New Haven and London 1986), 81-82 n. 36.

²² Summerson, H., and S. Harrison, *Lanercost Priory, Cumbria: a Survey and Documentary History* (Kendal 2000).

The Five Published Articles:

1. 'Bridlington Priory: An Augustinian Church and Cloister in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson, BAACT 9 (1989), 44-61.

The first of the articles establishes the basis for the thesis. It grew out of a conference paper that I presented for the British Archaeological Association (BAA) at Beverley (E. Yorks) at the suggestion of a colleague at UEA, Dr Veronica Sekules, who pointed out that researching the sculpture of the free-standing twelfth-century arcades assumed to have come from the cloister at Bridlington Priory would enable me to develop the theme of my MA dissertation on the Romanesque sculpture fragments at Norwich Cathedral, also thought to have belonged to the original cloister.²³ As another speaker had already agreed to discuss the Bridlington sculpture at the conference, I offered a paper on the context of the arcade fragments, the cloister itself. I reconstructed the recoverable plan of the twelfth-century quadrangle at Bridlington, which in turn led me to arrive at the notional plan of the lost church that had stood alongside it. Investigation of other contemporary Augustinian houses—whose erstwhile presence in the religious landscape of the British Isles dates only from the beginning of the twelfth century—revealed a preference among them for aisleless cruciform churches.



2. **Bridlington Priory: reconstructed plan of the 12th-century church and cloister (J. A. Franklin)**

²³ Franklin, J. A., *Medieval Sculpture from Norwich Cathedral*, eds, A. Borg et al (Norwich 1980), 5-27;

Franklin, J. A., 'The Romanesque Cloister Sculpture at Norwich Cathedral Priory', in *Studies in Medieval Sculpture*, ed. F. H. Thompson Society of Antiquaries of London Occasional Paper III (London 1983), 56-70;

Franklin, J. A., 'The Romanesque Sculpture' in *Norwich Cathedral, Church, City and Diocese, 1096-1996*, eds I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill and H. Smith (London and Rio Grande 1996), 116-35.

My reconstruction of the twelfth-century priory church at Bridlington in this article is unprecedented.²⁴ This lost building was always said to have been a substantial aisled structure, similar in size to the Gothic church which replaced it. Comparison of the dimensions of the recoverable plan of the dismantled cloister quadrangle and the flanking Gothic nave reveals, however, that the priory church of Bridlington in the twelfth-century was probably a small, unaisled cruciform building, much like that of the contemporary and comparable priory in the same locality whose remains survive at Kirkham (N. Yorks). The crucial indicator here is the correspondence between the diagonal measurement of the quadrangle and the length of its adjacent, contemporary nave, a diagnostic tool first formulated by Professor Eric Fernie, supervisor of my MA at UEA (1978-80). This deduction is supported at Bridlington by architectural evidence within the surviving Gothic nave.

Examination of the cloister quadrangle at a number of Augustinian sites reveals that the more successful and affluent of these communities, especially those in urban locations, tended to rebuild their first church on a larger scale and to extend their conventual buildings. A study of the cloister complexes in the region confirms that an irregular cloister quadrangle is likely to represent an enlargement of the initial claustral layout, where no physical limitations constrained the original design.

2. 'Augustinian Architecture in the Twelfth Century: The Context for Carlisle Cathedral', in *Carlisle and Cumbria. Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, eds M. McCarthy and D. Weston, BAACT 27 (2004), 73—88.

An opportunity to extend my research into Augustinian church design in the twelfth century came in the course of preparing the second article, also based on a paper presented at a BAA conference. It was written at the request of the conference organiser, Anna Eavis, who asked me to provide the architectural backdrop of the Romanesque Augustinian Cathedral at Carlisle. I did so by placing Carlisle in the broader context of the other Augustinian foundations across the British Isles in the reign of Henry I. The historical geography of the first generation of Augustinian canons in England and Wales has been explored by Dr David Robinson, but my article constitutes the most comprehensive survey of the architecture of their early

²⁴ My reconstruction of a former aisleless and cruciform church at Bridlington has so far been publicly endorsed only by Professor Malcolm Thurlby; Thurlby (2002), 251 and n. 84.

churches.²⁵ The findings of my previous paper on Bridlington Priory indicated that an Augustinian church of this period at Carlisle would probably have been aisleless and cruciform in character. I suggested, therefore, that the remnant of the aisled Romanesque nave surviving at Carlisle dates from the Augustinian priory's elevation to cathedral status in 1133, and that it was indeed preceded by an unaisled, cruciform church datable to the priory's foundation c.1122, now indicated only by several metres of exposed masonry supporting the Romanesque nave arcade hitherto identified as a 'sleeper wall'. My new observation was recently corroborated independently by a Ground-Penetrating Radar survey conducted for the cathedral archaeologist, Mike McCarthy, co-editor of the transactions in which my article appears. Dr McCarthy, whose latest findings will be published in 2014, informs me the survey revealed that this masonry wall continues eastwards, with north-south extensions for the transepts, and that he now concurs with my suggestion that the wall pertains to a previous aisleless cruciform church on the site.²⁶

The case for unaisled cross-plan churches being in the majority among the first generation of English Augustinian houses—founded during the reign of King Henry I (1100—35)—is supported in this article by statistical information derived from the available archaeological evidence. This assessment runs counter to the traditional view of Augustinian architecture in the Romanesque period, which is that, while it included aisleless cruciform churches, it was essentially varied and eclectic in character. With the aid of a distribution map created for the purpose, I considered whether use of the plan might have been related to patronage or region. Another customised map illustrates the importance of Augustinian Nostell Priory with its network of thirty dependent churches, and considers the impact that such clusters of, presumably, aisleless cruciform buildings would have had in the landscape. The location of Augustinian houses in Henry I's reign on critical frontiers and in newly planted towns, often in conjunction with a castle, as at Nostell, or a hospital, suggests that these recently regularised communities of canons were used strategically, both in urban centres and on remote borders, as part of the Norman effort to pacify and control the English. The large number of early Augustinian houses established in

²⁵ Robinson, D. M., 'The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales', *British Archaeological Reports* 80, 2 vols (Oxford 1980).

²⁶ Dr McCarthy acknowledges my observation in his report on the post-Roman archaeological sequence at Carlisle Cathedral, which will be published in *Archaeological Journal* 171 (2014). I am most grateful to Dr McCarthy for informing me that his findings support my interpretation.

Yorkshire, following the fierce suppression by Norman forces of the English uprising in the region, is consistent with that interpretation.

The article also pointed out that the aisleless cruciform plan was proper to communities of canons in general, even before the turn of the eleventh/twelfth century. As such, its adoption for the Anglo-Norman cathedral served by canons at York is seen as appropriate, rather than problematic as has previously been said. Moreover, the York archiepiscopate, perennially vying for primacy with metropolitan Canterbury, may well have wished to mark itself out from its Benedictine counterpart in the south-east by adopting the distinctive plan for its new cathedral. Whereas a prototype for this gigantic Anglo-Norman cathedral at York has not been identified hitherto, the article proposes a prestigious model that is simultaneously ancient and contemporary, in the form of the late fourth-century *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan, known now as the church of S. Nazaro. This venerable aisleless cruciform building served by canons was being refurbished in the last quarter of the eleventh century, retaining its original plan, just as the new cathedral at York was under construction.

3. 'The Eastern Arm of Norwich Cathedral and the Augustinian Priory of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, in London', *Antiquaries Journal* 86 (2006), 110—30.

The third article was written following an invitation from Professor Malcolm Thurlby to participate in a three-day symposium on Romanesque architecture convened at Gonville & Caius College, Cambridge, to celebrate the publication in 2000 of *The Architecture of Norman England* by Eric Fernie. At liberty to select my own topic within the overarching theme, I took the opportunity to present a paper on St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, the church of an Augustinian priory founded in 1123 in London that I knew well, having conducted many study visits there as a lecturer for the University of Notre Dame, Indiana, USA, London Programme (1991-2000). The article takes the aisleless and cruciform homogeneity of the first generation of English Augustinian churches as a given. Seen in this context, Smithfield's distinctive character is thrown into sharp relief; despite being an Augustinian priory founded in the reign of Henry I, Smithfield was aisled in both nave and presbytery and was thus highly unusual by comparison with other Augustinians churches of its period.

The similarity between the design of Smithfield's eastern arm and that of Norwich Cathedral, begun almost thirty years earlier, is a well-established theme in the study of English medieval architecture, but one for which no explanation had previously been put forward. It is suggested in the article that institutional connections between Norwich and London account for the perceived parallels in the design of the two buildings, and thus for Smithfield's departure from the prevailing pattern for Augustinian church design. Smithfield's failure to conform marked its allegiance to a separate and more powerful authority, rather than the onset of the decline in the plan's importance for canons, given the continued use of the plan by Augustinians thereafter, until around the mid-twelfth century.²⁷

The paper also demonstrates that the eastern arm at Smithfield, including the crossing, was the product of a single campaign, rather than more than one phase, as has been argued.²⁸ It also proposes for the first time that the crossing was circumscribed by four low towers with timber superstructures, now lost. Based on indications within the building, this notional reconstruction has since gained some acceptance.²⁹ In addition, it is suggested in the paper that this unusual configuration at the crossing might have inspired a contemporary observation on the 'novelty' of the rising building, a comment that had not been remarked upon before.³⁰

4. 'Augustinian and other Canons' Churches in Romanesque Europe: The Significance of the Aisleless Cruciform Plan', in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, eds Jill A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and Christine Stevenson (Woodbridge 2012), 78-98.

The lecture that was the basis for the fourth article was given for the BAA at the invitation of its Honorary Director, Dr Jennifer Alexander, as one of an annual series presented by the Association at the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House in London. In the lecture, which was later published in the celebratory volume of essays

²⁷ Portchester (Hants), the only surviving example of an Augustinian aisleless cruciform priory church, was begun for the community founded before 1129 and completed by c.1148x1150, probably after Smithfield Priory; Hanna, K. A., ed. *The Cartularies of Southwick Priory I* (1988-89), xii.

²⁸ Franklin (2006), 120-21.

²⁹ Plant, R., 'Innovation and Traditionalism in Writings on English Romanesque', in *Architecture and Interpretation. Essays for Eric Fernie*, eds J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (Woodbridge 2012), 266-83, at 271 n. 18.

³⁰ Plant (2012), 271 n. 17.

for Professor Eric Fernie that I co-edited, I pursued a number of themes that had arisen in the course of my research into the architecture of Augustinian canons thus far. Some of the findings in the previous three articles are condensed in the fourth in an attempt to convey the essence of the theory and to explore the idea that use of the aisleless cruciform church plan was iconographic. My awareness of the systematic use of the plan by early Augustinian canons, combined with the obvious Christian symbolism of its form, had led me to surmise that it probably was.

Having summarised the case for the consistent use of the plan by early Augustinians, the article then looks more closely at the reasons why the core propositions of the theory have not been acknowledged before. These include the failure to distinguish between primary and later building phases when considering Augustinian churches. The tendency to see little appreciable difference between canons and monks in the twelfth century, or the determination to see the behaviour of one type of canon as typical of all, also contributed to the muddying of the analytical waters. The paper explores the origins, functions and roles of various types of canons in the first half of the twelfth century, as well as the ways in which they differed from or compared with monks. The contrasting analyses of the medieval reformation by two mid-twentieth-century scholars, Charles Dereine and John Dickinson, are compared and the impact of their opinions on the formation of the current consensus is assessed.³¹ According to Dereine, the emergence of the Cistercians and other ascetic congregations in France at the end of the eleventh century represents a rupture with the radical papal initiatives of the previous five decades, thereby firmly displacing Italy as the fulcrum of twelfth-century reformed monasticism. Although Dereine's analysis prevails to this day, the article finds in favour of Dickinson's interpretation, stressing as it does the enduring importance of the papal reforms emanating from mid-eleventh century Italy.

The reforms launched by the papacy were aimed primarily at the priesthood who, unlike most monks at that time, had responsibilities entailing contact with the laity. The dissemination of the Rule of St Augustine, and possibly even its creation, as well as its widespread adoption by communities of priests, coincides with this period of reform, as apparently does programmatic use of the aisleless cruciform church plan. The paper notes the importance of the episcopate in the rapid and successful diffusion of the first Augustinian communities in England, whose pastoral involvement with the lay community in the twelfth century existed, doubts

³¹ Franklin (2012), 88-89.

notwithstanding.³² This accords with the description of their role in the *Libellum* (Little Book) written by an anonymous regular canon of Liège, c.1140.³³ In discussing the various types of regular canon, this text makes it clear that those living in but not of the world, ‘in communities, close to people but separate from them,’ were palpably different from their colleagues in more ascetic Augustinian foundations, such as the Premonstratensians who, indeed, led an existence all but indistinguishable from that of newly reformed Benedictine monks. The fact that Premonstratensians, first established in 1121, used the aisleless cruciform church plan can thus be seen as both an expression of their membership of the order of canons, and of their affinity with the asceticism of reformed monasticism as exemplified by contemporary Cistercianism.

The diocese of York, a centre of religious reform even before the Conquest, had received firm guidance from the radical papacy in the second half of the eleventh century. The importance of Pope Alexander II (1061-73) in preparing the ground for the introduction of the papal reforms at York is argued for in this paper, as is the possible significance of Ambrose’s *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan.

The arrival from France of Augustinian regulation for canons soon after 1100, heralding the introduction of the papal reforms from continental Europe, has always been seen as puzzlingly delayed.³⁴ It is suggested for the first time in my thesis that the reforms might have been launched in England at York before the end of the eleventh century, were it not for the diversion of resources caused by the crushing of local rebellion by William the Conqueror’s Norman forces, an episode referred to as the harrying of the North of 1069-70. In the event, the first English Augustinian communities were established just after the turn of the century in the diocese of London and in the city’s suburbs.³⁵

5. ‘Iconic Architecture and the Medieval Reformation: Ambrose of Milan, Peter Damian, Stephen Harding and the aisleless cruciform church’, in *Romanesque and the Past: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of Romanesque Europe*, eds J. McNeill & R. Plant (Leeds 2013), 77-94.

³² Dickinson, J., *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London 1950), 58, 214-41.

³³ Franklin, (2012), 87-88.

³⁴ Franklin (2012), 90 and n. 65.

³⁵ Franklin (2012), 98.

The fifth and final article was written in response to an invitation from John McNeill, Honorary Secretary of the BAA, to give a paper at the first of the Association's international biennial series of conferences, inaugurated in 2010 in London at the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Courtauld Institute of Art. The theme of this conference, 'Romanesque and the Past', provided me with an opportunity to focus on the transmission and reception of the form and meanings of the ancient *Basilica Apostolorum* in the twelfth century. The article draws some conclusions from themes outlined in the previous four. It widens the scope of the study to look in greater depth at events on the Italian peninsula, especially in Milan. The Church's predicament under Ambrose in the late fourth century is seen to parallel the turbulent situation in the city when it became a crucible of the papal reforms in the second half of the eleventh century. The genesis of the aisleless cruciform plan of Ambrose's *Basilica Apostolorum*/S. Nazaro is discussed, together with the way that it evolved into a reliquary church with ever-increasing apostolic connections.

The paper describes the process by which the superstructure of the *Basilica Apostolorum* was modernised in the last quarter of the eleventh century, emerging as an articulated Romanesque building. The ancient and iconic plan of the church was tenaciously conserved, nevertheless, despite other alterations to the building, and survives to this day. The Early Christian symbolism of the aisleless cruciform church plan is seen to have been acknowledged in Carolingian Europe and to have persisted into the twelfth century, as testified by the Milanese chronicler, Landolfo the Elder, writing c.1100.

The part played by radical figures such as Peter Damian and Pope Alexander II in the eleventh-century reform movement is looked at in more detail. It is suggested that Alexander (1061—73), who appears to have been instrumental in the dissemination of the Rule of St Augustine for canons across Europe, provides the link between the huge new aisleless cruciform church at York, begun by Archbishop Thomas after 1075, and the *Basilica Apostolorum*, the ancient example of the plan in Milan, Alexander's birthplace. Thomas went to Rome to receive his pallium in person from Alexander. The Ambrosian *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan was being refurbished just as York was in building.

Taking its cue from the observation of other scholars that occurrence of the aisleless cruciform plan can be associated with communities of priests in pre-Conquest England, the paper brings together for the first time a diverse body of unaisled cross-plan churches from the ninth to the twelfth centuries drawn from

different parts of Europe.³⁶ This assembly of buildings encompasses churches differing widely in scale and character, ranging from cathedrals to castle chapels. It is suggested that the one factor common to them all—be they wood-roofed, vaulted or domed, and regardless of size, wealth, political affiliation, status or location—is that they were built for canons or other communities of priests, and not monks.

The second part of the article addresses a question that has occasionally been put to me since I first pointed out and offered an explanation for the concerted use of the aisleless cruciform plan by English Augustinians, namely, how to account for the choice of the plan during the same period by the Cistercians in Britain, given that they were not canons. One of the more significant observations to emerge from this is that use of the plan by the early Cistercians can be linked to Stephen Harding. As abbot of Cîteaux, Stephen was at the head of this newly-formed Benedictine congregation between 1108 and 1133. The development in the late eleventh century of the rigorous communities which eventually constituted the Cistercian Order is usually considered a new departure, marking a rupture with the papal reforms of the earlier part of the century and the threshold of a more ascetic religious life. This paper seeks to demonstrate that early Cistercianism, essentially conservative and fundamentalist in outlook, represented far less of a hiatus with past patterns, being more closely related to the spirit of the earlier reform movement and to the Roman papacy than has generally been acknowledged. For all that they were scrutinised and purged of inauthentic practices, Cistercian customs were still rooted in the dominant, Cluniac, conventual milieu of twelfth-century Burgundy. The paper emphasises that the writings of the theologian and cardinal bishop, Peter Damian, played an important role in the early development of Cistercianism, underscoring this notion of continuity.³⁷

The article concludes with the proposition that, although their motive for adopting the aisleless church plan is unrecorded, its deployment by the first Cistercians was consistent with their documented desire to authenticate their practices. The plan's origin in the Early Christian Church, and thus its irrefutable authenticity, was corroborated by the *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan, its ancient apostolic and Ambrosian pedigree still intact in the late eleventh century. It is argued

³⁶ Franklin (2013), 82-86, fig. 7.

³⁷ The importance of Peter Damian in the context of the eleventh-century religious reforms is discussed in Leyser, H., *Hermits and the New Monasticism. A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (London 1984).

that the decision of the early Cistercians to adopt the plan of Ambrose's building matches their documented determination to use only the hymns sung by his choirs in the late fourth century.³⁸ In so doing, they were investing their newly-formed congregation with authority by demonstrating that their practices were founded on unassailable tradition.

³⁸ Franklin (2013), 88, 90, notes 92 and 93.

CHAPTER 2

ARCHITECTURAL ICONOGRAPHY: HOW MODERN SCHOLARSHIP HAS IDENTIFIED MEANING IN MEDIEVAL BUILDINGS AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS FOR MY THESIS.

If iconography has become one of the instruments for which architectural historians automatically reach during the course of their research, this is largely due to the impact of the work on the interpretation of medieval buildings of the German-American archaeologist and architectural historian, Richard Krautheimer (1897-1994).¹ In the first part of this chapter, having summarised Krautheimer's scholarly background, I discuss the early development of the modern discipline of iconography, examining some of its associated concepts and terminology—meaning, form, symbolism, intention, interpretation and iconology—exploring their application by various scholars. I then look at the study of iconography in relation to medieval architecture and at the place of my thesis within it. Lastly, I investigate the distinctive contribution to the field made by Krautheimer, notably through the idea of the architectural paradigm, analysing the ways in which his approach is reflected in my own thinking. The second part of the chapter looks more specifically at cruciferous iconography in the context of my thesis. I consider the transmission of the idea of the aisleless cross-plan church—from its oldest exemplar in the West, the Ambrosian Apostolic church in Milan—and its reception in northern Europe, identifying a possible incidence in the Carolingian era and another in Anglo-Norman York, on a grand scale, at the new post-Conquest cathedral, examining the role Pope Alexander II (1061-73) might have played in facilitating the latter.

Part 1:

Richard Krautheimer had been a pupil of the architectural historian Paul Frankl (1878-1962) in Halle in eastern Germany. Frankl adhered to the principles of *Kunstwissenschaft*, a systematic approach to art history—fostered in Munich in the

¹ Watkin, D., *The Rise of Architectural History* (London 1980), 39-40; R. Stalley, *Early Medieval Architecture* (Oxford 1999), 249.

early twentieth century—that successfully bolstered the academic credentials of the young discipline. Frankl saw the transformation of architectural forms through time as an internally driven phenomenon attributable to ‘immanence,’ a conceptual mechanism akin to the notion of *Kunstwollen* propounded earlier by the Viennese art historian, Alois Riegl (1858-1905).² Focusing on the purely formal qualities of Gothic architecture, without regard to its cultural context, Frankl could speak, for example, of ‘the immanent development of the Gothic style,’ indicating that stylistic development was an autonomous process, governed by inherent (*innewohnend*) forces for which the architect is simply the conduit.³ Frankl had studied under the influential Swiss scholar Heinrich Wölfflin (1864-1945) whose approach to the prevailing, highly structured and metaphysical art-historical methodology was perhaps tempered by the empiricism of his own teacher, the influential Swiss cultural historian, Jakob Burkhardt (1818-97).⁴

The rigorous and still-evolving scholarly discipline that Richard Krautheimer inherited entailed the acquisition of an enormous and detailed body of knowledge—both of specific buildings and of the wider history of architectural elements and styles—combined with an emphasis on visual analysis, a methodological approach of which Paul Frankl was a gifted exponent. Krautheimer’s greatest contribution to the history of architecture was in the development of architectural iconography, effectively taking the subject in a new direction. While he eventually came to see his work on meaning in architecture as innovatory, in his first essay on the theme he claimed to be revisiting an earlier tradition that had been superseded by a purely ‘formalistic approach’ during the preceding half century.⁵ With that revealing statement—as close as Krautheimer perhaps ever came to declaring a theoretical position—the émigré scholar effectively distanced himself from the systematic methodology subscribed to by many of his immediate predecessors—including Frankl, for whom he nevertheless had the highest regard—which was ultimately

² Podro, M., *The Critical Historians of Art* (New Haven and London 1982), 71-97.

³ Frankl, P., *Gothic Architecture*, trans. D. Pevsner (Harmondsworth 1962), 222. I am most grateful to Professor Paul Crossley for clarifying Frankl’s use of this concept.

⁴ Podro (1982), 64, 115-16.

⁵ Krautheimer, R., ‘Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture’ (1942a), reprinted in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (London & New York, 1969/1971), 115-50 (at 149); *ibid.*, 116 n. 2, citing for example J. Ciampini, *Vetera monimenta* (Rome 1690-99) and J. Bingham, *The Antiquities of the Christian Church* (London 1708-22).

derived from the ontological principles of the Prussian philosopher G. W. F. Hegel (1770-1831).

Iconography: The study of meaning in the visual arts is judged to be one of the oldest fields of art-historical enquiry, but iconography emerged as a systematic method only in the late nineteenth century, initially with regard to painting and sculpture, rather than architecture.⁶ The pioneers of the modern discipline set out to devise methodologies by which to identify meaning in art. In Hamburg, Aby Warburg (1866-1929) embarked on a project to catalogue cross-cultural affinities between artefacts and images worldwide.⁷ In Paris, Émile Mâle (1862-1954) sought to demonstrate that meaning in much medieval European visual imagery was inextricably related to Christian theology, primarily aiming to establish its textual derivation.⁸

Mâle sought to reclaim ‘the true meaning’ of medieval art which for him resided entirely in its Christian essence.⁹ He asserted that, having become distorted and secularised from the second half of the sixteenth century, ‘the soul of Gothic art’ had expired, its religious significance no longer understood.¹⁰ According to Mâle, medieval Christian art was a densely symbolic and didactic language that could be learned, understood and articulated by the artist.¹¹ Mâle speaks of the representation of sacred subjects as ‘a science, governed by fixed laws’ and mathematical rules.¹² In his view, the thirteenth century was the period when medieval thought found its fullest expression in art. It could thus be regarded as ‘a finished system’ and ‘a living whole.’¹³ Moreover, as the art of the thirteenth century was seen at its finest in

⁶ Crossley, P., ‘Medieval Architecture and Meaning: The Limits of Iconography’, *The Burlington Magazine*, Vol. 130, No. 1019, Special Issue on English Gothic Art (Feb., 1988), 116-121 (at 1).

⁷ Gombrich, E. H., *Aby Warburg: an intellectual biography*, 2nd edn (Oxford 1986)

⁸ For Mâle, the origins of the academic discipline of iconography lay in nineteenth-century France with writers such as Adolphe Didron (1806-67) and Charles Cahier (1807-82); Mâle, E. *The Gothic Image. Religious Art in France of the Thirteenth Century*, trans. from the 3rd edn by D. Nussey (London 1961), xi; [First published as Mâle, E., *L’Art religieux de XIII^e siècle en France: étude sur l’iconographie de moyen âge et sur ses sources d’inspiration* (Paris 1910). Also published in English as *Religious Art in France: Thirteenth Century. A Study in Medieval Iconography and its Sources of Inspiration* (London and Glasgow 1913)]

⁹ Mâle (1961), viii.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, vii.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, vii, 1.

¹² *Ibid.*, 1, 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, ix.

France, according to Mâle there was little to be learned, apart from that fact, from the study of the foreign monuments of the age.¹⁴

Mâle's method of associating monuments with inspirational medieval texts was taken up in Princeton by the German émigré, Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968). Panofsky developed a theory of iconography, defining it as 'that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meanings of art, as opposed to their forms.'¹⁵ Panofsky subdivided meaning into three types, the first two of which—'natural' and 'conventional'—can readily be accommodated in a thesis such as mine.¹⁶ The third—'intrinsic meaning'—in which Panofsky includes his definition of symbolic meaning, is harder to reconcile with the position I have adopted, as I shall attempt to clarify below.

Meaning and Form. Meaning in a work of art resides in its form.¹⁷ For Mâle, form cannot be divorced from the idea which creates and animates it.¹⁸ Forms may be separated out for the purposes of examination during an art-historical investigation, but they must always be reintegrated with other aspects of the artefact, rather as a vital organ, temporarily singled out for inspection during surgery, has to be reinserted if the body is to regain full function. Attempts to segregate meaning and form have been ridiculed as futile.¹⁹ Panofsky distinguished between subject matter or meaning on the one hand and form on the other, but since content and form presuppose each other in art, and as such are inseparable, he was presumably proposing to isolate them notionally for the purposes of analysis.²⁰ Paul Frankl declared that form can be meaningless but can take on meaning through our own aesthetic attitude towards it.²¹ For Frankl, however, to a degree that is almost aggressively anti-intellectual, form also speaks for itself and needs no mediation.²²

¹⁴ Ibid., x.

¹⁵ Panofsky, E., *Studies in Iconology. Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance* (Oxford 1939), 1.

¹⁶ Panofsky (1939), 3-8.

¹⁷ Fernie, E., *Art History and its Methods. A Critical Anthology* (London 1995), 346.

¹⁸ Mâle (1961), viii.

¹⁹ Sontag, S., *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (London 1987), 3-14, reprinted in Fernie (1995), 216-22 (at 221).

²⁰ Panofsky (1939), 3.

²¹ Frankl (1962), 237.

²² 'Architecture is autonomous. The development of the Gothic style out of the rib is an historical fact, and the process can be understood, step by step, without a knowledge of scholasticism or poetry. More than this, the common factor in the whole civilization of the 'Gothic Age' can be understood from architecture alone. Because the Gothic style is a 'form symbol' for the institution of the Church, the spiritual and ecclesiastical tendencies of

He mused unexceptionably that architects might have ‘hit on the idea’ of creating the ogee-shaped arch while toying with the section of a pear-shaped pier.²³ Yet, despite stating that such a connection could not be thought of as ‘a rigid rule,’ he concluded gnomically that it should be ‘considered within that series of principles which embraces the secret of conformity,’ thereby invoking his own concept of ‘immanence.’²⁴

The notion that forms evolve independently through time, rather like living organisms, was deeply ingrained in the German-language art-historical tradition. Even the humanist Burckhardt could say: ‘...Greek art discovered, after a long search, that beautiful intermediate position between profile and frontal view...’²⁵ Such thinking appears entirely absent from Richard Krautheimer’s work, where conscious human agency—unaccompanied by any underlying spiritual vector—is always assumed to be the prime creative force, be it at the level of the individual, as with Abbot Ratger at Fulda, or an institution, such as the Carolingian imperial curia.²⁶ Krautheimer’s most important idea—the expression of the Carolingian renaissance of Early Christian Rome through the medium of architecture—might be seen as a manifestation of the prevailing spirit of the time and thus to have originated in some unbidden element of Hegelianism in Krautheimer’s thinking. It can always be shown, however, that the phenomenon of cultural renaissance was an ideological construct, rather than the product of some providential determining force.²⁷

Symbolism: The very notion that buildings might incorporate meanings—other than those relating to their utilitarian function—derives from Krautheimer’s approach. Not that he discovered these layers of meaning, rather, he presented them anew to the modern world; after all, for medieval observers—such as William Durandus (1230-

the style can be understood even without a detailed knowledge of the history of contemporary civilization;’ Frankl (1962), 266.

²³ Ibid., 150 and fig. 40.

²⁴ Ibid., 150.

²⁵ Burckhardt, J., *Der Cicerone: Eine Anleitung zum Genuss der Kunstwerke Italiens* (Basle 1855), 538, cited in translation in Podro (1982), 112 and n. 14.

²⁶ Krautheimer, R., ‘The Carolingian Revival of Early Christian Architecture’ (1942b), reprinted in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval, and Renaissance Art* (London & New York 1969/1971), 209-11, 213-14, 234-37.

²⁷ The self-consciousness of the concept is effectively acknowledged by Panofsky’s chapter heading: ‘Renaissance—Self-Definition or Self-Deception?’ in Panofsky, E., *Renaissance and Renaissances in Western Art* (Stockholm 1960, repr. New York 1972), 1-41.

96)—it was a building’s symbolic content, rather than its design or construction, that constituted the whole of its importance.²⁸

Roger Stalley sees the ‘symbolic meaning’ of a building manifested in its form and functions, as do I.²⁹ I have used the word ‘symbolic’ in the context of my thesis with some caution, lest it be thought to convey something innate or subliminal.³⁰ A symbol—a thing that stands for, or represents, another—may be understood by onlookers, consciously or otherwise, or it may pass unrecognised.³¹ In proposing that aisleless cruciform churches had been invested with particular significance and had, at times, a readily recognisable identity, I am claiming that such buildings were freighted with meaning for the onlooker by virtue of their cross-shaped form. The Cross may be described as a symbol since it stands, almost universally, for things Christian, or, to the initiated, for Christ’s triumph over death. I prefer to think of aisleless cruciform buildings, however, as identifying ‘emblems’, rather than as symbols, much as the cross sported by crusaders betokened membership of Christ’s righteous army.³²

Intention, Iconology, Interpretation: Underpinning the iconographic investigation of a medieval artefact may be the rarely satisfied desire to identify the intention of those who commissioned and designed it, and to comprehend what it connoted in its day.³³ Divining an artist’s or patron’s intentions is the most intractable of art-historical exercises, one which an autonomous, metaphysical or post-structural analysis aims to circumvent.³⁴

²⁸ Thibodeau, T. M., *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York 2007).

²⁹ Stalley (1999), 59-81.

³⁰ Panofsky (1939), 7.

³¹ Jung, C. G., ‘Approaching the Unconscious’, in *Man and his Symbols* ed. C. G. Jung (London 1964), 3-94.

³² Validated by the apparently war-like spirit of Matthew, 10:34; ‘Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword’. (Vulgate: ‘*Nolite arbitrari quia pacem venerim mittere in terram: non veni pacem mittere, sed gladium.*’)

³³ Should the relevance of this kind of art-historical enquiry to the twenty-first century be questioned, one could invoke Professor Richard Evans’ argument that our purpose in studying the past is not to gain insight into ourselves and our own times, but to increase our understanding of cultures far removed and very different from our own; *The Guardian*, Friday 26 August 2011; <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/aug/26/history-compulsory-right-reasons>. cf Michael Podro’s discussion of Panofsky’s strategy for studying the art of the past, especially: ‘... the understanding of historically distant art is not simply a matter of confronting it; it involves a process of assimilation and re-interpretation which extends outwards from what is familiar;’ Podro (1982), 185-86.

³⁴ Wolff, J., *The Social Production of Art* (London 1981), 136.

If iconography is concerned with identifying meaning, the analysis of that meaning constitutes a separate operation. Erwin Panofsky argued, indeed, for the need for a discrete field, iconology, concerned with the interpretation of content.³⁵ Panofsky strove to anatomise exactly what it is that we do when we try to interpret meaning in art. He described the final stage of this process as *iconographical synthesis*, the act of penetrating *intrinsic* meaning, the third of his three categories, as mentioned earlier. Panofsky appears to use the word ‘intrinsic’ in a rather particular sense. He includes in this third category the ‘symbolical values’ of the work of art which he says are ‘generally unknown to the artist himself.’³⁶ The purpose of Panofsky’s final forensic stage is to ascertain the ‘underlying principles which reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion’ that artists ‘unconsciously’ modify and condense into their work.³⁷ Here, Panofsky’s thinking displays an affinity with Riegl’s theory of *Kunstwollen* and with the *Zeitgeist*, a concept conventionally thought of as Hegelian.

According to Panofsky’s usage, therefore, the *intrinsic* meaning of the aisleless cruciform church, for example, might be said to have deeper, less obvious connotations of which the designer of the building would not have been aware. This concept of *unconscious* symbolism is one with which I have not engaged in my thesis. Symbolic meaning, as I understand it, is not intrinsic or inherent in a work of art, but is always invested. I do not consider the concepts with which I deal in my thesis to be archetypal, or see them as functions of the unconscious mind.³⁸ On the contrary, I have concluded that the aisleless cruciform church plan developed gradually from the liturgical and practical needs of communities of priests—combining congregational ministry with the service of altars endowed with relics—and was exploited for its emblematic value in the late fourth century for politico-religious reasons, at a time when Christian architecture had still to establish a distinctive identity. It was one of several building types employed for churches, but instead of seeing it simply as one among a range of options available to designers, I suggest that use of it was purposive, rather than eclectic, and eventually habitual.

Interpretation follows on from analysis and, as an activity, necessarily elevates the role of the individual onlooker. Thus, for some it can appear

³⁵ Panofsky proposed three divisions of meaning; Panofsky (1939), 3-17.

³⁶ Panofsky attributes the creation of both term and concept to Ernst Cassirer (1874-1945); Panofsky (1939), 8.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

³⁸ Jung (1964), 56-82.

presumptuous, even arrogant.³⁹ For others, granted that it is even deemed feasible, interpretation remains problematic. Panofsky, for example, reviving a Hegelian theme, felt the need to establish an absolute viewpoint from which to elucidate the art of the past.⁴⁰ Interpretation was fundamental to Mâle's method, but it was always firmly located within a framework. Profoundly critical of attempts to interpret medieval art from a secularist standpoint, Mâle's reading of it was utterly circumscribed by a metaphysical system of meaning, thus: 'the artistic representation of sacred subjects was a science governed by fixed laws which could not be broken at the dictates of individual imagination.'⁴¹ Mâle's repudiation of individual agency implies a corresponding lack of credence in intention, a faculty that is an essential aspect of what I would dub 'inductive' iconography.

Architectural iconography: Richard Krautheimer, whose approach was essentially inductive and archaeological, adopted—some would say appropriated—the interpretative aspect of Mâle's approach and applied it to an analysis of meaning in architecture. Krautheimer's first essays on the theme, published in 1942, are the bench mark against which subsequent investigations are judged.⁴² They represented the earliest concerted incursion into new territory, certainly in English, being the first to apply iconographic method specifically to architecture. With hindsight, Krautheimer himself acknowledged his pioneer status, stating with justification that his work had 'staked out the outlines of a new field.'⁴³ Mâle's deep awareness of the Christian spirituality of Gothic art was matched in Krautheimer by an acute sense of political history and by the informed archaeological understanding and imagination that he brought to the corpus of medieval architecture. As we shall see, Krautheimer was certainly at one with Mâle's notion of classification, a phenomenon so fundamental to the discipline that it might be considered its Aristotelian bedrock. Krautheimer's thinking was, however, unfettered by the religiosity and romantic nationalism that characterised Mâle's approach, and was unconstrained by systematic dogma of any kind. Although Krautheimer might now be accused of approaching his

³⁹ Susan Sontag characterised interpretation as 'the revenge of the intellect upon art'; Sontag, 'Against Interpretation', 218.

⁴⁰ Podro (1982), 178-85.

⁴¹ Mâle (1961), 1.

⁴² Krautheimer (1942a); Krautheimer (1942b).

⁴³ Krautheimer (1942a), 149.

material without due self-consciousness, his imagination was, equally, unconstrained by the need to demonstrate a theoretical position.⁴⁴

As for whether meaning has to be defined in a particular way in relation to buildings, the only significant category discernible in art that, because of its narrative element, is not easily transferable to architecture, is allegory. Architectural sculpture, on the other hand, when it is representational, may contribute to a profoundly poetical and allegorical effect in a building, as is demonstrated by T. A. Heslop's reading of the carving in St Hugh's late-twelfth-century choir at Lincoln Cathedral.⁴⁵

Krautheimer's two germinal essays on medieval architectural iconography, both published in 1942, have had a profound impact on scholarship.⁴⁶ For Paul Frankl, however, the concept of architectural iconography remained, literally, a contradiction in terms. He persisted in the view that iconography refers to portrayal or representation and thus pertains only to the literary sphere of the study of the fine arts.⁴⁷ Frankl's comment on Krautheimer's ground-breaking work in the realm of iconography is consigned to a footnote in which the senior scholar merely objects to his brilliant pupil's use of the term in the context of architecture: a building, Frankl explains, 'is not and never can be an icon.'⁴⁸

In 1988, Paul Crossley offered a skilful digest of the discipline of architectural iconography up to that time.⁴⁹ Crossley recounts the ways in which scholars, beginning with Isidore of Seville in the seventh century, have struggled to comprehend the impenetrable processes underlying artistic creation, and the often nebulous nature of meaning and intention in art. The medieval proclivity for using symbol and allegory to convey meaning invested artefacts with talismanic properties which modern writers have sought to elucidate. As Crossley says, 'Medieval

⁴⁴ Krautheimer himself was unequivocal about this: 'All my life I have shunned art theory, basic principles, and methodologies'; Krautheimer, R., 'And Gladly Did He Learn and Gladly Teach', in Krautheimer, R., and L. E. Boyle, *Rome. Tradition, Innovation and Renewal*. A Canadian International Art History Conference 8-13th June 1987, Rome, in honour of Richard Krautheimer on the occasion of his 90th birthday and Leonard Boyle O. P., Prefect of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Univ. of Victoria 1991), 93-126 (at 123).

⁴⁵ Heslop, T. A., 'Art, Nature and St Hugh's Choir at Lincoln', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*, ed. J. Mitchell, Proceedings of the 1996 Harlaxton Symposium (Stamford 2000), 60-74.

⁴⁶ Krautheimer (1942a); Krautheimer (1942b)

⁴⁷ Frankl (1962), 235.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 293 n. 18. Frankl traced the beginnings of the study of medieval symbolism to the work of the collector Sulpiz Boisserée (1783-1854) of Cologne, and of the French architectural historian, Daniel Ramée (1806-87); Frankl (1962), 219.

⁴⁹ Crossley (1988), 116-121

churches and their components have been encoded and decoded with a bewildering variety of analogies and references.’⁵⁰

Those involved in the developing discipline of architectural iconography in the 1940s and 50s were captivated by the notion of buildings as bearers of meaning. Crossley examined the approaches of Richard Krautheimer and three other scholars at that time—Günter Bandmann, Hans Sedlmayr and Erwin Panofsky—tracing their intellectual hinterland and respective theoretical positions. While Sedlmayr used Gothic architecture to illuminate the Middle Ages, seeing French Gothic cathedrals primarily as ‘manifestations of French history and culture’, Panofsky claimed to have identified a causal link between contemporary theology and the invention of Gothic, an idea whose path had been prepared by Émile Mâle and which, ironically, Panofsky himself appeared to have dismissed two decades earlier.⁵¹ Günter Bandmann sought to impose order on the apparent chaos of medieval architecture by systematising it, much as a nineteenth-century anthropologist might constrain a spoken language within a formal grammatical structure.⁵² Central to Bandmann’s understanding of meaning are the intentions of architectural patrons. They allegedly choose from ‘a stock of inherited forms’ to which Bandmann ascribes intrinsic meanings that could degenerate through misuse.⁵³ Forms can certainly be borrowed from other architectural vocabularies and may mutate in the process, not least when transferred from one material to another, for example from timber architecture to masonry.⁵⁴ However, Bandmann’s equation of such change with formal degeneracy would be viewed with some suspicion today. Crossley barely conceals his disbelief at what he sees as the overwrought theories propounded by Bandmann and Sedlmayr, and is simply dismissive of Panofsky’s fundamental premise, not least because it ‘gives no firm evidence for the percolation of theory into the masons’ yard.’⁵⁵ All

⁵⁰ Ibid., 116.

⁵¹ Mâle (1961), 170-72; ‘When we wish to get hold of those basic principles which underlie the choice and presentation of motifs...we cannot hope to find an individual text which would fit those basic principles...’; Panofsky (1939),14.

⁵² Meeuwis, M., *Lingala* (Munich 1998), 7.

⁵³ Bandmann, G., *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungsträger* (Berlin 1951), 9; Crossley (1988), 117. For example, the classicising half-shaft associated with vaulted architecture which, according to this view, literally became meaningless with its introduction into the indigenous, wood-roofed tradition of Normandy; *ibid.*, 117.

⁵⁴ As with the ‘skeuomorphic’ faux wooden strip-work on the stone tower of the Anglo-Saxon church at Earls Barton and at Barton-on-Humber; Rodwell, W., ‘Appearances can be Deceptive: Building and Decorating Anglo-Saxon Churches’, *JBAA*, 165 (2012), 22-60 (at 24-25).

⁵⁵ Crossley (1988), 120 and n. 52.

three scholars failed to embed their respective theories in English-speaking scholarly thinking as wholeheartedly as Krautheimer, whose methodology, by contrast, now operates within it at an almost subconscious level.⁵⁶

More recently, Paul Binski has expressed his wariness of ‘conscripting texts to the service of answering questions they were not designed to answer,’ as with Panofsky’s over-inflected reading of Abbot Suger’s account of the rebuilding of the abbey of Saint-Denis.⁵⁷ But Binski warns against what he sees as the opposite extreme, offering as an example Christopher Wilson’s negative assessment of the value to architectural historians of the description in the *Metrical Life* of St Hugh, written c.1220, of the new choir begun at Lincoln Cathedral under Bishop Hugh after 1192. Binski is as intrigued by what this text tells us ‘about (its) conventions and its audience...as about the building,’⁵⁸ whereas Wilson declares that it contains ‘nothing to indicate that the writer realized or cared that he was in the presence of one of the strangest and most innovatory churches of his time.’⁵⁹

Wilson’s focus on the designer’s contribution to the process of architectural innovation is symptomatic of what Binski condemns as arid formalism. Wilson’s expertise is in the history of architecture, a ‘media-based specialization’ to which Binski, with his expressed preference for ‘generic expansiveness’, is opposed on principle.⁶⁰ That Binski should take Wilson to task for what he sees as a narrow adherence to ‘positivistic, empiricist enquiry’, to *Kunstgeschichte*—a term which Binski defines, surprisingly, as ‘the science of art history’—is less predictable, however.⁶¹ Wilson, whose scholarship in a predominantly secular milieu testifies to his historical imagination in respect of medieval Christianity, tackles the issue of religious symbolism more explicitly than many of his peers.⁶² Ultimately, Wilson,

⁵⁶ Roger Stalley records the considerable influence of Bandmann’s work in Germany; Stalley (1999), 249-50.

⁵⁷ Binski, P., ‘Medieval history and generic expansiveness: some thoughts from near Stratford-on-Avon’, in *European Religious Cultures. Essays offered to Christopher Brooke on the occasion of his eightieth birthday*, ed. M. Rubin (London 2008), 17—33 (at 23).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid., citing C. Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral* (London 1990), 10.

⁶⁰ Binski (2008), 21.

⁶¹ Ibid., 19. *Kunstwissenschaft* is the more usual German term for this concept; Crossley (1988), 118.

⁶² He says, for example: ‘Every medieval church was an evocation of the heavenly Jerusalem, the abode of the saved to be established after the completion of the Last Judgement (Revelations: 21). That this was the primary meaning of church buildings is clear from the service for their consecration, where frequent allusions are made to St John’s vision.’ Wilson goes on to say that churches of course embodied other meanings, citing number symbolism or the impact of a prestigious model, adding that the fact that these meanings overlapped or even appeared incompatible with the primary meaning was a merit rather than otherwise, ‘for no one symbol could

like Eric Fernie—whose contribution to our understanding of the iconography of medieval architecture has been outstanding—sees architectural creation as a dialogue between patron and designer.⁶³ Wilson attributes all significant decisions about the design of a building to the mason in charge, however, be it the anonymous masters of Laon and York, or Henry Yevele of London. Such men borrowed, adapted and improved on features adopted from other buildings, but they were also responsible for technical and aesthetic invention, as in the vaults of St Hugh's choir at Lincoln. Architects' and masons' procedures were 'enshrined in current practice', which included technical aids such as scale drawings.⁶⁴ For Wilson, architectural symbolism is a given and is enormously influential in terms of overall concept and ground plan. Deeper metaphysical glosses, however, are *post factum* conceits rather than determinants of detail and, in his view, were the province of the poet or the patron.

In truth, Binski and Wilson occupy separate intellectual territories and are interested in different aspects of architecture: on the one hand, the manner in which it reflected the artistic and intellectual concerns of its time as a topic of rhetorical discourse, and on the other, the complex nexus of factors—workshop tradition, architectural symbolism, liturgical practice, the use of conceptual models, patronal preference, the inventiveness of the designer—that affect the way it comes to be made. The account of Hugh's choir at Lincoln in the *Metrical Life* and the various modern responses to it provide an intriguing instance of the value of *post festum* commentaries on a monument. Inevitably reflective, they nevertheless contribute greatly to our understanding of the aesthetic and intellectual climate in which the design was engendered, as Richard Gem conceded.⁶⁵ In T. A. Heslop's captivating reading, for instance, the description of the choir in the text becomes a remarkable

yield more than a partial and imperfect glimpse of that ultimate, transcendental reality which mankind sees only as if distorted in a mirror (1 Corinthians 13: 12).’ ‘The cruciform plan, the most important of the symbolic features which did not arise from the heavenly city metaphor, was easily reconciled to this meaning’, since the cross was understood to be the sign of Christ's triumph which he himself predicted would appear in heaven at the end of the world (Matthew 24:30)'; Wilson (1990) 8, 65, 220, 262-63.

⁶³ ‘The architect and the patron would have cooperated closely over the meaning the building was intended to convey’; Fernie (2000), 284.

⁶⁴ Wilson (1990), 141.

⁶⁵ Gem, R., ‘Towards an Iconography of Anglo-Saxon Architecture’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 46, (1983), 1.

example of medieval *ekphrasis*, corresponding to the playfully mimetic ‘arboreal’ character of architecture itself.⁶⁶

Classification: the idea of the model and the copy in architecture: The identification of building types was essential to Krautheimer’s method. Transferring from the study of painting to architecture the notion of ‘genres’ as determined by function or dedication, he noted, for example, that centralised churches were usually consecrated to the Virgin, and that the centralised plan was normally selected for mausolea and baptisteries.⁶⁷ Krautheimer manages to convey the essence of the unfathomable world of medieval art and thought, especially the myriad variations that a prototypical building might generate and yet remain recognisable, apparently, as copies. Unlike Günter Bandmann who seems to have sought to constrain the elusive medieval world view, Krautheimer responded to it empathetically, boldly identifying slippery phenomena that defy facile taxonomy, such as the ‘disintegration of the prototype’ into its single elements, and the ‘selective transfer’ of forms and measurements from model to copy.⁶⁸ Observing generic architectural types, he attempted to elicit the significance they conveyed in their day, rather than to impose his own framework of meaning on them. Returning to his early work on architectural iconography after two decades, Krautheimer said that he ‘would stress even more strongly...the medieval pattern of double-think or better multi-think...What counts in medieval thought...is the multitude of its connotations, fleetingly, only dimly visible, and therefore interchangeable.’⁶⁹

Krautheimer’s focus on classification and his ground-breaking theory of the architectural copy are, therefore, closely interconnected. He observed that ‘numerous architectural copies...were erected throughout the Middle Ages,’ although when two buildings are compared by medieval writers, it may be ‘hard for a modern beholder to see anything comparable in them.’⁷⁰ Summarising Krautheimer, Paul Crossley says ‘certain ancient and venerable structures were frequently copied in early medieval architecture, not accurately...but approximately.’⁷¹ Crossley has been accused of misunderstanding Krautheimer’s theory of the medieval copy, and of

⁶⁶ Heslop (2000), 68.

⁶⁷ Krautheimer (1942a), 131.

⁶⁸ Krautheimer (1942a), 124-26.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁷⁰ Krautheimer (1942a), 116.

⁷¹ Crossley (1988), 116-17.

failing to appreciate that the iconography of buildings cannot be revealed merely by formal analysis.⁷² The concept of architectural approximation which Crossley ascribes to Krautheimer chimes resoundingly, however, with what the latter saw as the nebulous and many-layered quality of medieval thought. For Krautheimer, the inexactness of the relationship between the original and the copy was a reflection of this very vagueness. He says that the modern reader may wonder at the comparison made between the church at Germigny-des-Près and Charlemagne's palatine chapel at Aachen in the tenth-century *Miracula S. Maximini* and, two hundred years later, between Aachen and the late-eleventh-century chapel of Bishop Robert of Lorraine of Hereford by William of Malmesbury.⁷³ If Krautheimer's assumption does not hold good, in that present-day observers are not bewildered by such comparisons, it is an indication that the discipline of architectural history has now embraced his concept of the inexact copy with equanimity.

Medieval commentators are especially imprecise where the design of buildings is concerned, their comments vague and rhetorical, rather than informative. Émile Mâle had at his disposal a vast corpus of medieval theological texts that could be mined to reveal the keys and codes to the mysteries of Gothic art. Thus he could assert, for example, that the *Celestial Hierarchy*—composed c.500 by Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite—mediated through the writings of twelfth-century scholars such as Hugh of St Victor (c.1096-1141), had been the inspiration for the nine choirs of angels carved on the south porch of Chartres Cathedral.⁷⁴ Krautheimer had almost nothing comparable to which he could refer when confronted with the non-figurative art form of early medieval architecture. Nor did he find the little available medieval writing on architecture of any practical or analytical use. Mâle's approach—ontological, idealised and systematic—was essentially cast in the Hegelian tradition. Whereas Mâle insisted that the medieval world view was ordered, Krautheimer saw it as complex and kaleidoscopic; not without pattern, but quite unpredictable.⁷⁵

⁷² Charles A. Stewart feels that Crossley misunderstood Krautheimer's argument on the use of copies, having been misled by a 'positivist Marxist viewpoint,' which 'fails to incorporate theology and ritual practice and is therefore unable to grasp architectural iconography.' Stewart claims that approximate copies were not 'engineered' but came about because 'the essential qualities [of the original buildings] were timeless and boundless truths understood by the medieval architects, patron, church-goer,' a comment which, however, fails to explain why the 'copies' are now seen as approximations; Stewart, C. A., 'Domes of Heaven: The Domed Basilicas of Cyprus', PhD. Dissertation, (Indiana University 2008), 206-207 n. 18.

⁷³ Krautheimer (1942a), 116.

⁷⁴ Mâle (1961), 8.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 1.

Notwithstanding the vagaries of medieval thought, Krautheimer sorted and identified his architectural specimens with conviction. In reality, of course, he was selecting from the immense reserves of his own scholarship. In lesser hands, this empirical, catch-all approach can so easily side-track researchers, causing us to become bogged down by minutiae, unable to draw conclusions or to perceive connections. My own body of knowledge is a mere fragment of Krautheimer's but in reaching the conclusion that the unaisled Latin-cross church plan appears to have been a non-monastic form until the end of the eleventh century, I have followed this empirical path and have endeavoured to provide examples that substantiate my assertions. While I cannot claim to have considered every medieval aisleless cruciform church in Europe, I have yet to find, or be presented with, one that was occupied by monks which cannot be demonstrated, or reasonably argued, to have been intended for groups of priests.

Krautheimer's method, therefore, was to identify his topic—as it might be the recurrence of a building type with particular characteristics—and to look to its context for an explanation. This was also the process I adhered to in my articles on the churches of the first Augustinian canons in Britain, as well as in my paper on the connections between Norwich Cathedral and St Bartholomew's, Smithfield. Krautheimer identifies and isolates his key building before emptying the field of extraneous structures. As if to forestall the suggestion that he is manipulating the evidence, he parades a dazzling conspectus of examples, dispelling any notion that he is merely 'cherry picking' examples to illustrate his point, oblivious to the architectural diversity of the time. Similarly, I attempt to demonstrate the wider architectural context of Romanesque canons' churches in the fourth chapter of this essay.

As Krautheimer constructs his historical narrative, sorting buildings encountered along the way with Linnaean acuity, various types are put into their appropriate category before being eliminated from the discussion. In this way, Krautheimer allows himself to simplify by selection, excluding whatever he deems irrelevant in order 'to deal with one limited and definite problem.'⁷⁶ With remarkable certitude, he states: 'in not one single instance can the Roman type of the Early Christian basilica be traced anywhere in Europe from the middle of the fifth through the first half of the eighth century, either in Rome or outside.'⁷⁷ The few possible

⁷⁶ Krautheimer (1942b), 205.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

exceptions are convincingly despatched in a lengthy scholarly footnote.⁷⁸ The conclusion he reaches is that wherever this fourth-century basilican building type, with its aisled nave and continuous transept, reappears subsequently, ‘it represents not a survival but a revival of some kind.’⁷⁹ In the early Middle Ages, only one such revival can be pinpointed, in conjunction with the Carolingian renaissance at the end of the eighth century.

Krautheimer’s admittedly magisterial process of winnowing, of weeding out buildings and categories of buildings that do not belong in his picture, thus enables him to isolate the prototype that he is seeking, as with the fourth-century T-shaped Roman aisled basilica. He then goes on to identify typological sub-sets, demonstrating that these aisled basilicas can be further broken down into those whose nave colonnades are trabeated, as at Old St Peter’s, and those where they are arcuated, as with St Paul’s outside-the-walls. In this way, the pedigree of their Carolingian successors can theoretically be traced back to its respective fourth-century source. The lineage of Sta Prassede in Rome, for example, built in the time of Pope Paschal II (817-24) and only explicable as a revival of the architecture of ‘the great Christian century’ in Krautheimer’s view, is, with its trabeated arcades, seen to be traceable to Constantinian St Peter’s, rather than St Paul’s.⁸⁰

Krautheimer’s observations represent the essential reference points for anyone investigating the conscious redeployment of architectural paradigms in medieval European architecture. Above all, it is this notion of the architectural copy that Krautheimer brought to the fore, establishing it ineradicably in the minds of historians thereafter. In one of the five published papers that I am presenting with this essay, the Augustinian priory church of St Bartholomew, Smithfield in London, founded in 1123, is compared with the earlier Benedictine priory church of Norwich Cathedral, begun in 1096.⁸¹ I offer an explanation for the similarities between the design of the eastern arm of Smithfield and that of Norwich, having, as Krautheimer advised, itemised the features that the two buildings hold in common, the *tertia*

⁷⁸ Citing instances of the many unaisled, centrally-planned, non-basilican building types occurring in western Europe during that period, he traces their sources to the eastern and southern Mediterranean, from Dalmatia to North Africa, concluding reassuringly that ‘it may be possible one day to distinguish between the different stages within this ‘Near-Eastern Architecture in the West’, covering the whole of Europe from the 4th/5th centuries through the eighth;’ Krautheimer (1942b), 208.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 205

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Franklin (2006).

comparationis.⁸² In seeing the east end of Norwich Cathedral—or the model on which it was based—as the prototype for Smithfield, my conclusion chimes with Krautheimer’s fundamental premise, and was doubtless inspired by it. Likewise, in suggesting that all examples of the aisleless cruciform church ultimately depend from the oldest building with this form in the West—the late-fourth-century *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan, long known as S. Nazaro—I follow broadly in Krautheimer’s path.

For Roger Stalley, again in accordance with Krautheimer’s mode of thought, the iconographic meaning of a building derives in part from any model it emulates or from any numerological significance attributed to it.⁸³ In Eric Fernie’s view, ‘Meaning in medieval buildings was conveyed most clearly by the copying of specific monuments,’ an observation that illustrates his own affinity with Krautheimer’s approach.⁸⁴ Fernie, following Krautheimer, asserts that only two buildings—the centrally planned Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem and St Peter’s in Rome—‘were used as models with a widely understood meaning.’⁸⁵ I have added a third example, in the form of the *Basilica Apostolorum*/St Nazaro in Milan. Although I am unaware of any replicas—precise, if scaled-down, copies—of this late-fourth-century building, I argue that its plan was the model for countless Krautheimer-type approximations in western Europe, and suspect that it was revived in the eighth century amid the redeployment of Early Christian formulae across a range of cultural practices that constituted the Carolingian renaissance.

The many-layered, fugitive nature of medieval thinking to which Krautheimer alludes is matched by the often insubstantial character of the evidence on which our findings as medieval art historians are based. Our practice of reconstructing the appearance of buildings that are not only lost without material trace but for which no direct written evidence exists, is the epitome of conceptual enquiry, as in the case of the Romanesque church of Bridlington Priory in East Yorkshire.⁸⁶ Apart from our nagging suspicion, there may be no indication of our supposed building, other than an ‘echo’ reverberating hypothetically against the structures that replaced it, as exemplified by my notional reconstruction at

⁸² Krautheimer (1942a), 116.

⁸³ Stalley (1999), 59-81.

⁸⁴ Fernie (2000), 284.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ Franklin, J. A., ‘Bridlington Priory: An Augustinian Church and Cloister in the Twelfth Century’, in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson. BAACT 9 (1989), 44–61.

Bridlington. Our ‘evidence’, at best contextual, peripheral or circumstantial, would barely qualify as such in other disciplines, yet our conclusions, however fragile and challengeable, drive constructive thinking forward. The very permeability of such propositions is their strength and should be recognised as such.

Do architectural historians still venture onto the shifting sands of medieval thought with equanimity, as Krautheimer did, or do we prefer the firmer ground of systematic analysis, like Günter Bandmann? Do we recognise that a theoretical position, though useful as a starting point, may have to be set aside in the face of compelling circumstantial information? Should we now accept that many different types of information must inform our recreation of the past? It is important to acknowledge the countless factors that, quite apart from a designer’s personal endowment, contribute to architectural creation, including innumerable elusive forces pertaining to his or her training, skill, awareness, imagination, traditions and taste, as well as to the social, political and economic context in which she or he operates, and to the materials, function and location of a building, its connotations and formal sources.⁸⁷

My own theoretical position could be summed up as empiricist, humanist, observational and experiential, and my methodology as ‘object-based.’ I have identified and observed phenomena—in this case, a particular type of church and its incidence—extrapolated theories as to the source of its design, meanings and usage, and attempted to underpin my conclusions. My approach could thus be described as heuristic, in that it deploys phenomenology and inductive reasoning to reach probable conclusions, supported by circumstantial information.

Is it the somewhat uncomfortable truth that art history must ultimately be regarded as a very inexact science, involving scholarly rule-breaking and the application of unquantifiable skills such as estimation and speculation? As Eric Fernie reminds us, if something cannot be measured, it should not simply be disregarded.⁸⁸ Panofsky himself conceded that the ultimate weapon in the struggle to elicit meaning is a kind of educated guesswork which he called ‘*synthetic intuition*’, a faculty he described as ‘rather discredited’ and ‘better developed in a talented layman than in an erudite scholar.’⁸⁹ While I have had to disagree with Panofsky’s

⁸⁷ I was heartened to discover recently that Richard Krautheimer was also obliged to offer a similar list, rather than a succinct explanation, to account for this; Krautheimer (1991), 124.

⁸⁸ Fernie (1989), 20.

⁸⁹ Panofsky (1939), 14-15.

final analysis, I welcome the element of speculation that he was prepared to introduce into the analytical process and I celebrate his effort to understand the development of artistic creation, a phenomenon that continues to defy adequate description—we have, after all, no vocabulary with which to articulate the ineffable.⁹⁰

Finally, from the point of view of my thesis, I recognise that Richard Krautheimer's work on architectural iconography, especially his refinement of the concepts of the building type and the copy, has been, quite literally, of crucial significance. In singling out the aisleless cruciform church—identifying it mainly in terms of its ground plan, rather than its elevation or the organisation of its internal spaces—and exploring its meanings, I have attempted, to establish it as a distinctive building type, one whose existence as such has not been recognised before. The meanings it embodied can be described as: 'symbolic' (Christ's triumphal Cross), 'allusive' or 'associative' (Apostolic and Ambrosian), and at times 'customary' or 'identifying' (denoting a church of priests).⁹¹ These meanings overlap, in that as a building type customarily used by priests, the aisleless cruciform church also had hieratic and episcopal associations.⁹²

Part 2: Cruciferous architecture:

One of Krautheimer's best known achievements, his brilliant evocation of the Carolingian renaissance, has struck a resounding chord in my thesis. Just as he established a hiatus in the incidence of the Early Christian T-shaped basilica north of the Alps from the fifth century until its revival under Charlemagne, Krautheimer also appears to have detected a cut-off point for the occurrence of the aisleless cruciform plan. Plotting its dissemination from Ambrosian Milan, he traced its influence no further than northern Italy and no later than the following century.⁹³ Unlike the case of the T-shaped basilica, Krautheimer did not identify a renaissance of the unaisled Latin-cross plan thereafter. My findings point to there having been a renewal of interest in the form in the late eighth century within the Carolingian empire, however, rather as with the T-shaped basilica, and likewise harking back to an Early

⁹⁰ Compare Clement Greenberg's claim that he had simply described the phenomenon of Modernist painting rather than argued for or against it, for example in a talk on 'Taste' at Western Michigan University (1983); <http://www.sharecom.ca/greenberg/taste.html>, accessed 23/07/13.

⁹¹ 'Historic' might be substituted for associative here.

⁹² From the Latin *hieraticus* (Greek: *hieratikos*), meaning 'priestly'.

⁹³ Krautheimer (1986), 81-82 n. 36.

Christian model. At present, this can only be aired as a proposition, since the conclusive archaeological evidence is lacking. Moreover, it cannot be argued that use of the aisleless cruciform plan ceased completely for three centuries, as Krautheimer was able to claim for the T-shaped basilica, given the surviving examples said to date to the seventh century.⁹⁴

My reconstruction of this hypothetical episode in the Carolingian revival revolves around the inscription partially recorded on two marble fragments which came to light following the bombardment of Milan in World War II, having been reused as building material inside S. Nazaro.⁹⁵ The handful of letters on the fragments was identified with a documented verse text, suggesting that the text had once been inscribed on a marble panel inside the ancient church. The complete verse text, which has been attributed to Bishop Ambrose, records that he founded the church, built in the form of the cross of Christ's victory, placing the remains of the martyr Nazarius within it. Before the panel's destruction, the inscription is considered to have been transcribed in situ after 778 by Carolingian pilgrims.⁹⁶ It was later copied with a collection of other ancient north-Italian texts compiled in a scriptorium in north-east France and taken to the abbey at Lorsch, near Worms, probably between 821 and 835.⁹⁷ In 765, thanks to the efforts of Archbishop Chrodegang of Metz, Lorsch had received martyrs' relics, including those of Nazarius, from Pope Paul I.⁹⁸ A new abbey church at Lorsch was duly rededicated to

⁹⁴ See chapter 1, n. 4.

⁹⁵ The fragments were reused in two different contexts in the building, the earlier of which dates to the tenth century, suggesting the *terminus ante quem* for the destruction of the marble inscription; Franklin (2013), 91 n. 29. This raises a question about the source of the text recorded in Landolfo's chronicle of c1100; *ibid.*, 82 n. 55. However, see n. 90 below.

⁹⁶ Picard, J-C., *Le souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et cultes des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome 1988), 52-58 (at 53 and n. 115). For the date at which this inscription was recorded, in situ, see Virgilio Franklin, C., 'The Epigraphic Syllogae of BAV, Palatinus Latinus 833', in *Roma, Magistra Mundi: Itineraria Culturae Medievalis*. Mélanges offerts au Père L. E. Boyle à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire', ed J. Hamesse (Louvain-la-Neuve 1998), (at 977, 984, 990). It is deduced that the inscriptions in Sylloggy III had been transcribed in the ninth century from a late-eighth-century libellus and that they had been in circulation for a while; Landolfo presumably had access to another copy when he included the 'Ambrosian' verses in his chronicle, c.1100. Virgilio Franklin (1998), 984-85.

⁹⁷ The collection in question is entitled *Sylloggy III*; Virgilio Franklin (1998), 987-88. The manuscript containing Lorsch Sylloggy III is Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. MS Pal. Lat. 833, fols 41r-54v.

⁹⁸ Claussen, M. A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge 2004), 260, citing Pertz, G., ed., *Annales Laureshamensis*, sa 765, MGH-SS I.28 (Hanover 1826).

Nazarius in 774, in the presence of Charlemagne.⁹⁹ Scholars have not linked these events at Lorsch with the visit of the Carolingian pilgrim-epigraphers to the *Basilica Apostolorum* in Milan, having assumed that the relics came from Rome, but Nazarius' remains, or a portion of them, were certainly still in Milan in 777.¹⁰⁰ If, as I believe, Milan rather than Rome was the source of the relics translated to Lorsch, it would be remarkable if there were no connection at all between the re-consecration of the Carolingian abbey church at Lorsch and the pilgrims' visit to Milan.¹⁰¹ Added to which, it is notable that the *Basilica* in Milan came to be known as S. Nazarius only from the eighth century, as if by agreement with—or in defiance of—the Carolingian monastery: 774 was also the year of Charlemagne's conquest of Lombardy.¹⁰² The character of the lost Carolingian church at Lorsch is unrecoverable and there is no material evidence that the building dedicated in 774 was aisleless and cruciform.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, it may have been largely due to those Frankish epigraphers in Milan that the crucial symbolism of the Ambrosian building was transmitted to medieval Europe, and conceivable, therefore, that interest in the aisleless cruciform plan in the West was revived in the eighth/ninth century, as an aspect of the Carolingian renaissance. The form of the excavated church of St

⁹⁹ McKitterick, R., *Charlemagne* (Cambridge 2008), 321 and n. 97.

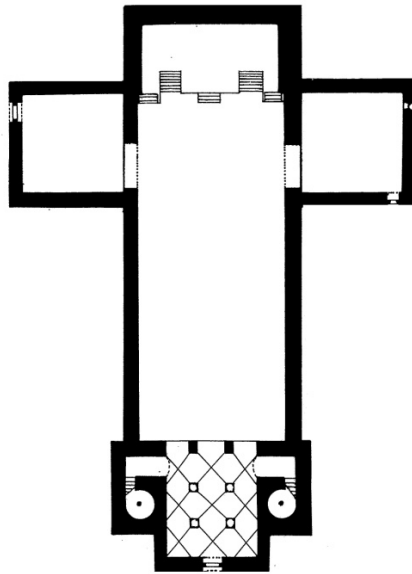
¹⁰⁰ Scholars have expressed uncertainty about the identity of the Nazarius whose remains were taken to Lorsch in 767; Claussen (2004), 260 n. 56. It has been assumed that Rome was the source of these relics, presumably because the donation was papal, although it is noted that such a gift would have been highly unusual; Claussen (2004), 258 and n. 49. Ambrose's biographer records the discovery of Nazarius' incorrupt body in a garden outside Milan; Paulinus, *Vita Ambrosii* ed. A. A. R. Bastiaensen in *Vita dei Sancti* 3, ed C. Mohrmann (Milan 1975), ch. 32.2. His remains were said to have been found in 395; *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* in *Acta Sanctorum*, November 2/ii, ed. G. B. de Rossi and L. Duchesne (Brussels 1894), 400-401. Ambrose installed them soon after in the *Basilica Apostolorum*; Paulinus (1975), ch. 32.2. An inscription records that Nazarius' remains were venerated in a cemetery outside Rome in 404; McClendon, C. B., *The Origins of Medieval Architecture: Building in Europe AD 600-900* (New Haven and London 2005), 91. N. 27. However, the remains, or a portion of them, were still in Milan in 777; Franklin (2013), 91 n. 33.

¹⁰¹ My suggestion that the relics of Nazarius taken to Lorsch were extracted from those held in the *Basilica Apostolorum* is supported by the fact that Chrodegang had simultaneously requested and received relics of the martyr Nabor; Claussen (2004), 249. Nabor was martyred in Milan, which is where his relics remained; Ambrose, Letter XXII; <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/ambrose-letter22.asp>. Scholars dispute the Milanese origin of the relics acquired by Chrodegang; Claussen (2004), 260 n. 56.

¹⁰² Franklin (2013), 91 n. 33; Charlemagne's daughter Gisela was baptised in Milan in 781; McKitterick (2008), 95.

¹⁰³ Platz, T., 'Archäologische Forschungen und ihre Ergebnisse im ehemaligen Reichskloster Lorsch,' in *Kloster Lorsch* (Petersberg 2011), 144-78. I am most grateful to Dr Joyce Wittur, formerly of the Visualization and Numerical Geometry Group at the Interdisciplinary Center for Scientific Computing (IWR), University of Heidelberg, for corresponding with me about recent site investigations at Lorsch Abbey.

Pantaleon at Cologne in the ninth-century testifies to the use of the plan in the Carolingian era.¹⁰⁴



3. Cologne, St Pantaleon: plan of Carolingian church

This was certainly a period when the symbolism the Cross was being exploited to the full in art, including manuscript illumination, notably in acrostic images and *carmina figurata*.¹⁰⁵ As with the Carolingian revival in architecture, the ninth-century interest in illustrated texts featuring the Cross represented a borrowing from Early Christian sources.¹⁰⁶ The importance of endowing an altar with relics decreed in canon seven of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 likewise echoed the imperative of the early Church under which Ambrose himself had laboured in the late fourth century when establishing his new foundations in Milan.¹⁰⁷

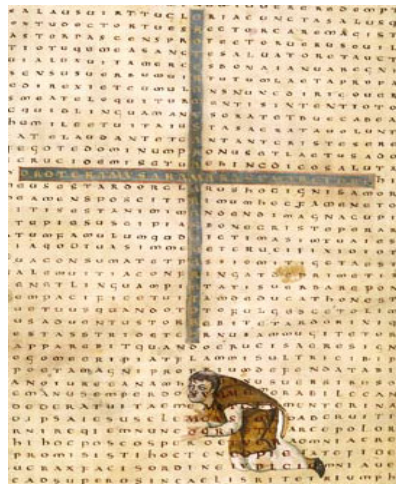
¹⁰⁴ Mühlberg, F., *Köln: St Pantaleon und sein Ort in der karolingischen und Ottonischen Baukunst* (Cologne 1989), 101, pl. IV; Franklin (2013), fig. 7 ix.

¹⁰⁵ Sears, E., 'Word and Image in Carolingian 'carmina figurate,' in *World Art. Themes of Unity in Diversity*. Acts of the 26th International Congress of the History of Art, ed. I. Lavin (University Park and London 1989), 341-43; Chazelle, C., *The Crucified God in the Carolingian Era: Theology and Art of Christ's Passion* (Cambridge 2001).

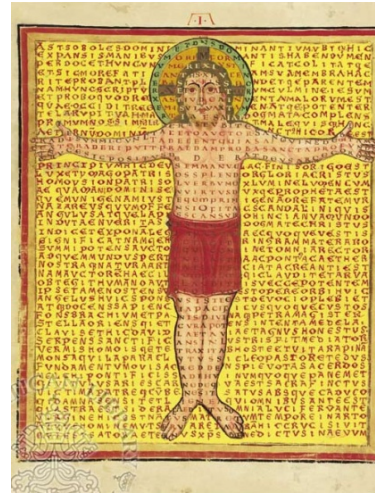
¹⁰⁶ Garrison, M., 'The emergence of Carolingian Latin literature at the court of Charlemagne (780-814)' in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. R. McKitterick (Cambridge 1994), 111-140 (at 122).

¹⁰⁷ Tanner, N. P., ed. *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*. 2 vols (London and Washington 1990), 131-156 (at 144-44). For the importance to Ambrose and his contemporaries of relics, see his Letter XXII; <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/source/ambrose-letter22.asp>.

4. Liber de laudibus Sanctae Crucis by Hrabanus Maurus, c.810



Paris, Bibl. Nat. Ms Lat. 2423, fol. 29v. (left)



Vienna, Österr. Nationalbibl. Cod. Vind., 652, Bk.I. (right)

Some forty years after Richard Krautheimer's seminal works on architectural iconography, Richard Gem took up Krautheimer's central theme with the object of applying it to the body of buildings erected in England between the late-seventh century and the mid-eleventh.¹⁰⁸ Gem applied Krautheimer's typological approach to the corpus of documented Anglo-Saxon churches. He, however, distinguishes between buildings that represent the form and thus the meaning of other structures, such as the chapel at Aachen, and those 'where the representation is of significant geometrical and mathematical forms', including in this latter category buildings which have the shape of the cross. Gem cites the vision of a cruciform church described by Æthelwulf in the first quarter of the ninth century in his poem *De abbatibus*: '*paruerunt septa sacelli, que crucis in speciem pulchre fabricate manebant.*'¹⁰⁹ If this is the earliest explicit reference to the architectural form in England, it would lend support to my suggestion that the aisleless Latin-cross plan was revived in conjunction with the Carolingian renaissance in the late eighth and ninth century.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Gem (1983), 1-18.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-13; Campbell, A., ed., *Æthelwulf: 'De abbatibus'*, Oxford 1967, 57, 59.

¹¹⁰ In terms of the transmission of ideas from continental Europe to the English Church at that time, it may be borne in mind that Archbishop Wulfred (d. 832) introduced the rule of Chrodegang of Metz to Christ Church Canterbury; Gittos, H., *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford 2013), 219 and n. 37. It has been observed, however, that Carolingian rules for canons, notably the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, may not have been 'widely read in England before the 1050s'; Blair (2005), 361 and n. 331, 362-63.

Early in its formation, Christianity was furnished with the Cross as its most powerful and enduring emblem; in the Gospels, where it was also invested with theological meaning.¹¹¹ Theologians such as Bishop Gregory Nazianzen of Constantinople (c.329-c.390) alluded to the Cross as a symbol, but it appears to have been Bishop Ambrose of Milan, founder of the Basilica Apostolorum/S. Nazaro, who successfully re-materialised it as an object for relic-seekers, speaking publicly in 395 of its recovery by Constantine's mother (c.248-c.328).¹¹² The reference to this episode by the Northumbrian historian Bede in the early eighth century doubtless reverberated far beyond Britain, but the symbol of the Cross may well have had particular significance for the city of York, where Constantine, the first Christian emperor, was proclaimed Augustus in 306.¹¹³ Constantine's crucial victory at the Milvian Bridge in 312 was said to have been prefigured in a vision of the sign of Christ's triumph, adding resonance to the selection of the aisleless cross-shaped plan for the cathedral at York, begun by Archbishop Thomas after 1075.¹¹⁴

The cruciform Basilica Apostolorum/S. Nazaro in Milan, consecrated by Ambrose by 386, is the oldest example of this building type in the West, its plan essentially intact after more than sixteen centuries of continuous use.¹¹⁵ This building was, I suggest, much emulated in medieval Europe, rather as was St Peter's in Rome and the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Hemmed in by modern structures in a busy quarter of the city, its cruciform shape has been somewhat compromised on the outside by the later chapels attaching to its perimeter. Standing inside it, however, one has a very clear sense of its unadulterated volumes and it may well be that cruciform churches were always appreciated most forcefully from within.

¹¹¹ Matthew 24 v. 30: 'And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven.' (Vulgate: *et tunc parebit signum Filii hominis in caelo*); John 3:14; 12:32 and 1 Cor 1: 17-18; 23-24; 2:2.

¹¹² See, for example, instances in Gregory's *Orations*; no. 6 v. 17, no. 11 v. 7, no. 14 v. 18; Vinson, M. P. (trans) *St Gregory of Nazianzus: Select Orations*. The Fathers of the Church, vol. 107 (Washington DC 2004), 16, 35, 52; Franklin (2013), 80 n. 27.

¹¹³ *HE* V. 16; For Anglo-Saxon York's Constantinian heritage, see Hawkes, J., 'The Legacy of Constantine in Anglo-Saxon England,' in *Constantine the Great. York's Roman Emperor*, eds E. Hartley, J. Hawkes, M. Henig and F. Mee (York 2006), 104-114 (at 106-110).

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 15; Norton, C., *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the Norman Cathedral of York*, Borthwick Paper 100 (York 2001).

¹¹⁵ Franklin (2013).



5. Milan, S. Nazaro: nave, looking east (A. Jemolo)

My proposition that a formal and iconographic connection exists between Ambrose's fourth-century building in Milan and the incidence of significant numbers of aisleless cruciform churches in Britain—notably at York in the later eleventh-century and among Augustinians from the early twelfth—calls for some explanation: firstly, how do I account for the fact that this phenomenon has not been identified before? And secondly, how and why might the plan have made this supposed journey? The first of these issues does not directly pertain to iconography and will be addressed in the next chapter, but the second will be explored here.

I see the apparent revival of interest in the plan in the later eleventh century as related to the papal reforms emanating from Italy in one of the most powerful political currents of the age. As set out below, Anglo-papal relations during the period of the reforms seem to have been significant, culminating with Archbishop Anselm's independent stand in favour of Pope Urban II in 1099. The key figures in terms of England appear to have been Archbishop Thomas, who began a vast new aisleless cruciform cathedral at York after 1075, and Pope Alexander II. York doubtless enjoyed a particular place in the papal view of the world, not least because of its association with Constantine, whom the papal reformers lionised as a model secular ruler.¹¹⁶ England's Constantinian heritage would have registered with the papacy as its attention focused increasingly on the reconquest of the Holy Land; the sacred sites refurbished by Constantine lay within the Christian Empire that he had created and would have been regarded by the eleventh-century Church as part of its rightful patrimony.¹¹⁷ Thanks not least to the widely consulted testimony of Bede,

¹¹⁶ Heslop, T. A., 'Constantine and Helena: The Roman in English Romanesque', in *Architecture and Interpretation: Essays for Eric Fernie*, eds J. A. Franklin, T. A. Heslop and C. Stevenson (Woodbridge 2012), 163-75 (at 172 and n. 27).

¹¹⁷ Krautheimer, (1986), 59-65, 73-75.

medieval Europe associated Constantine with these sites in Jerusalem, and with England.¹¹⁸

The diocese of York had felt the impact of the radical papacy in the second half of the eleventh century at first hand.¹¹⁹ Pope Alexander II, pivotal to the reform movement, actively sought to restore papal influence in England. Our understanding of Alexander's papacy is incomplete, as is our knowledge of Anglo-papal relations in general in the decade or so before 1066, but his interest in the English Church is well-attested.¹²⁰ He certainly subscribed to the view that the kingdom itself was subordinate to the Apostolic See.¹²¹ The late pre-Conquest Church in England has been regarded by some scholars as lax and corrupt.¹²² That was certainly the stance of Duke William of Normandy, who used it to legitimise his invasion in 1066, complete with papal blessing. While such a comprehensively negative view is open to question, lay exploitation and clerical absenteeism were far from unknown in the English Church in the mid-eleventh century, likewise episcopal pluralism, as testified by the enduring career of Bishop Stigand, holder of multiple sees.¹²³ It was Pope Alexander—whose legates successfully pressed York's Archbishop Eldred to relinquish his supernumerary sees in 1062 and to regularise the life of his canons—who again sent legates to England again in 1070 to oversee Stigand's dismissal.¹²⁴

Alexander was directly implicated in the introduction of the so-called Rule of St Augustine and its widespread acceptance among canons—both vital agents of the reforms—even instituting the regular life at the ancient Roman cathedral of St John Lateran.¹²⁵ Historians rightly attribute the initial dynamism of the reforms to the Emperor Henry III and 'a succession of German popes'—Alexander's precursors—inadvertently obscuring the importance of this denizen of suburban Milan.¹²⁶ In a letter ghost-written for him by Peter Damian, Pope Alexander refers to himself as 'a

¹¹⁸ *HE* I, 8; V, 16.

¹¹⁹ Franklin (2012), 97-98; Franklin (2013), 86.

¹²⁰ No register of Alexander II's letters exists; Peter. Damian, *Letters*, trans O. J. Blum, vol. 1 (Washington DC 1989), Introduction, 12; Barlow, F., *The English Church 1000-1066* 2nd edn (London and New York 1979), 306.

¹²¹ Householders were uniquely liable to the annual papal tribute known as Romescot or Peter's Pence; Barlow (1979), 289, n. 2. After the Conquest, Alexander complained to King William that these payments had ceased; *ibid.*, 297, n. 5.

¹²² Harper Bill, C., *The Anglo-Norman Church* (Bangor 1992), 6-8.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, 8-9; Blair (2005), 363-65.

¹²⁴ Franklin (2012), 97-98; Barlow, (1979), 303-304.

¹²⁵ Franklin (2013), 86; *Italia Pontificia*, ed. P. F. Kerr, I (Berlin 1906), 22-26.

¹²⁶ Harper-Bill (1992), 1; Glass, D., *The Sculpture of Reform in North Italy, ca 1095-1130* (Farnham and Burlington, VT 2010), 9.

son of the Church of Milan, nourished since childhood at Ambrosian sources.’¹²⁷

Alexander’s involvement in the reform movement in Milan preceded his papacy, dating at the latest from when, while still bishop of Lucca, he went to the strife-torn city in 1059 as a papal mediator with Peter Damian. In my view, the Milanese Alexander might well have been involved in the promotion of the Ambrosian *Basilica Apostolorum/S. Nazaro*, identified in my thesis as the paradigmatic aisleless cruciform church in the context of the papal reforms.

Pope Alexander, whose blessing on the Norman invasion of England enabled William to sail under the cruciform banner of St Peter, was associated with the growing emphasis on the symbolic use of the Cross in the build-up to the crusades, just as it seems the cruciform church plan was also being systematically deployed. Having presented a papal banner to Norman knights fighting in Sicily in 1062-63, Alexander also gave the standard of St Peter decorated with a cross to Erlembaldo, one of the Milanese reformist ‘Patarini’, after the latter’s return from Jerusalem.¹²⁸ Erlembaldo was later canonised in Milan by Pope Urban II, shortly before the launch of the First Crusade in 1095.¹²⁹

Alexander’s motive for supporting the Conquest of 1066 is unclear, but the Norman invasion of England—located on one of Christendom’s vulnerable frontiers—may well have been seen as a form of holy war, deserving of papal support. After the brutal Barbastro expedition in Muslim Spain in 1064, Alexander issued a plenary indulgence to Christians involved, much as Pope Urban II subsequently did to participants in the First Crusade of 1095.¹³⁰ Alexander’s actions appear to adumbrate his successor’s and some historians regard the Spanish expedition as a crusade in all but name, serving as the model for Urban II’s official

¹²⁷ Peter Damian (1989), vol. 3 (letters 61-90), Letter 84, page 247. Presumably a reference to Alexander’s exposure from an early age to the Ambrosian or Milanese Rite, the traditional liturgy of Lombardy. Challenges to its authority throughout its history—not least in the mid-eleventh century by the radical *Patarini*—were chronicled by Landolfo the Elder c.1100, who thereby testifies again for us to the vitality of ancient custom; Landolfo Seniore (1928), books II and III; Alzati, C., ‘Parlare con la voce dei Padri. L’Apologetica Ambrosiana di fronte ai riformatori del secolo XI’, in *Leggere i Padri tra Passato e Presente*, ed. M. Cortesi (Florence 2010), 21-22.

¹²⁸ Douglas, D. C., *William the Conqueror* (London 1969), 260; Landolfo Seniore, *La Cronaca Milanese*, trans. and ed. A. Visconti (Milan 1928), 129-30.

¹²⁹ Richard, J., *The Crusades c. 1071-c.1291* (Cambridge 1999), 24.

¹³⁰ Lock, P., *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades* (Abingdon and New York 2006), 14. It is possible that the so-called Barbastro indulgence was issued for an expedition in 1073; *ibid.*, 14 n. 2.

campaign of 1095.¹³¹ In 1099, Pope Urban was championed by the head of the English Church—though emphatically not by its hierarchy—when Anselm of Canterbury, who favoured the reform movement and had himself been drawn to the eremitical life, supported Urban's condemnation of lay investiture, doubtless on the advice of their mutual friend, Archbishop Hugh of Lyon.¹³²

Having concluded this investigation of the genesis of the aisleless cruciform church, the meanings it may have embodied, and the instances and methods of the transmission of its plan north of the Alps, I explore in the following chapter the factors accounting for our failure, as I perceive it, to have identified it as a building type in Romanesque Europe until now.

¹³¹ Papal interest in and sponsorship of the Spanish enterprise was unprecedented; *ibid.*, 14 n. 2; Little, L. K., *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (London 1978), 48; Erdmann, C., *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens* (Stuttgart 1935), trans by M. Baldwin and W. Goffart, *The Origin of the Idea of the Crusade* (Princeton 1977), 174. Some are clear, however, that such sorties in the 1060s should not be seen as proto Crusades: although it was regarded as a holy war, the Spanish campaign was not a true crusade on the 1095 model; there was no sense of pilgrimage, the participants had taken no vow and no formal papal authorisation had been given; Riley-Smith, J., *What were the Crusades?* (London 1977/2nd edn 2000), 74-75.

¹³² Graham, R., *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London 1929), 182-83; Leyser (1984), 5; Hollister, C. W., *Henry I* (New Haven and London 2001/2003), 119-20; Franklin (2004), 74.

CHAPTER 3

GROUND PLANS VERSUS STANDING STRUCTURES: THE REUSE OF EARLIER BUILDINGS IN ROMANESQUE EUROPE AND ITS INDICATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS, WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE CHURCHES OF AUGUSTINIAN CANONS

This chapter examines the singularity of the aisleless cruciform church from an archaeological perspective. I argue that communities of newly regulated English Augustinian canons, having adopted the aisleless cruciform plan for their churches in the first four or five decades of the twelfth century, in many cases—I suspect almost always—rebuilt them after the mid twelfth century. They either replaced them with a larger structure, or extended them by the addition of one or more aisles, the new arcades in some cases aligning with the walls of the first aisleless church beneath. This process of rebuilding, which was not exclusive to Augustinian canons, has, in my view, not always been detected. This has meant that the incidence of churches built to the plan has sometimes been overlooked. In this chapter, I suggest that this process of enlargement often tells in the existing building and offer a number of diagnostic indicators observable in the form and fabric of a church which may alert us to the ghost of its unaisled Latin-cross predecessor.

Given my argument that this first generation of English Augustinian aisleless cruciform churches has largely been replaced, in exploring their incidence and significance, my thesis has inevitably concentrated almost exclusively on ground plans, on the footprint of these buildings.¹ The archaeological record has thus been of crucial importance in the case of these canons' churches. Combined with such documentation as exists, it permits a reassessment of the nature and number of Augustinian first churches. The most that can usually be ascertained, however, is a general outline of their plans; there is little that enables us to reconstruct the elevations of these early structures.

¹ Of the standing twelfth-century aisled churches of that first wave of English Augustinian houses, I argue that only St Bartholomew's, Smithfield, certainly represents the building constructed following the foundation of the house in 1123; Franklin (2006).



6. Portchester, St Mary: i. from the north-west ii. interior: nave, looking east

The exception to this—the only unaisled, cross-plan Augustinian church of this generation in England that has substantially survived—is at Portchester Priory in Hampshire, founded before 1129, in the south-east corner of a third-century Roman fort, colonised first by a Saxon burgh and then by a Norman castle.² Uniquely, within the context of early Augustinian foundations, not only can the church be closely dated but it has also retained virtually its original form, largely because the community that it was built to serve transferred between 1148 and 1150 to a new site some two miles to the north at Southwick, leaving their first church preserved within the outer bailey of the castle.³ At its foundation, Portchester priory took on the possessions and the role of the existing parish church, another factor contributing to its survival.

The church built for the canons at Portchester can be considered the representative exemplar of the type consistently used by English Augustinians during the reign of King Henry I (1100-1135). Despite its simplicity—it had a square-ended, vaulted chancel, a crossing with a low tower, an unaisled, wood-roofed nave of five bays and north and south transepts whose walls all rise to the same height—there is nothing about its construction and ornament to suggest that it was ever seen as temporary or provisional, regardless of the community's subsequent move to a new site.⁴

² This is a slightly earlier date than usually given. See Hanna (1988-89), I, xii.

³ *Ibid.*, I, xiii; II, nos III.968, 397-98. The church of the influential house at Southwick is lost and its character unknown; *The Buildings of England: Hampshire*, ed. N. Pevsner and D. Lloyd (Harmondsworth 1967, reprinted 1990), 604, 607.

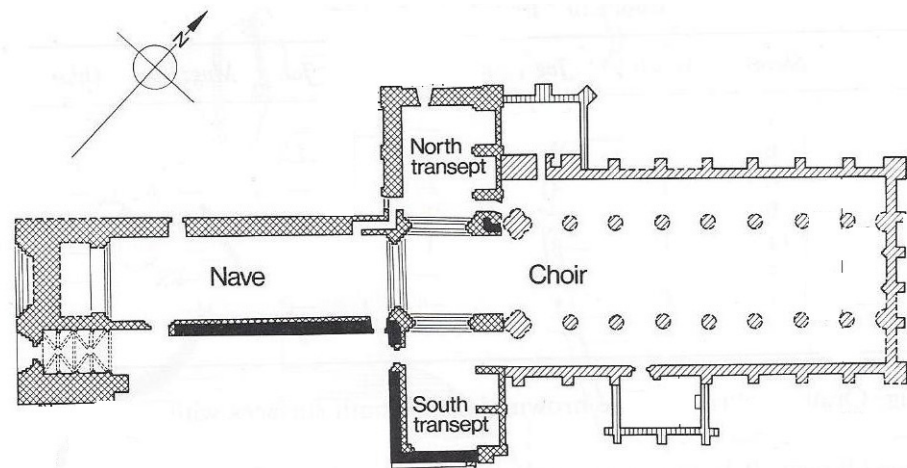
⁴ For a plan of Portchester, see Franklin (2004), fig. 1a, and Franklin (2012), fig. 1a.



7. Portchester, St Mary: west front

The church at Portchester was faced with costly, high-quality ashlar, both inside and out.⁵ The west facade has a portal with a central window above, elegantly flanked by a pair of slightly lower blank arches, all with elaborate, low-relief carving on the orders, shafts and capitals, including some distinctive motifs also used inside the church. The interior has or had carved capitals, windows with stepped sills and, most notably, arcading on free-standing shafts with decorated capitals along all of the walls of the chancel, and probably also of both transept arms. The simplicity of its plan belies the high quality of this fine building; no time or expense was spared on its construction and ornamentation. There can have been no thought in the minds of those involved in its production that it was a temporary structure, destined to be replaced or remodelled unrecognisably, as many Augustinian churches later were. The case of Portchester counters the teleological view that churches of this type were conceived as simple, stop-gap measures, serving their purpose and marking time until the arrival of more sophisticated architectural solutions in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Because of its particular history, Augustinian Portchester fortuitously escaped the wave of rebuilding that swept away its unsuspecting contemporaries.

⁵ Borg, A., in B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle*, 23/iii (London 1977), 105-106.



8. Kirkham Priory church: plan, showing the 12th-century nave and transepts and 13th-century choir [Coppack, Harrison and Hayfield (1995)]

Excavation has revealed that, from the second half of the twelfth century, religious communities in the British Isles, notably Augustinian canons and Cistercian monks, tended to replace their simple early church with bigger and more elaborate buildings. In some cases, it has been established that a much larger new building overlies its predecessor on the same site, as at Augustinian Guisborough (Cleveland) and Cistercian Fountains (N. Yorks.).⁶ In others, the solid walls of a small, demolished aisleless building actually support, or once supported, the main arcades of its aisled successor. This was the case in the choir at Augustinian Kirkham (N. Yorks) and Cirencester (Glos.), where the arcades of a new aisled structure were carried on the solid walls of an earlier choir.⁷ Though now replaced in its turn, an example of this practice in a major institution occurred at York, where the new nave arcades constructed in the thirteenth century were aligned with the dismantled nave walls of the huge aisleless and cruciform Anglo-Norman cathedral begun for canons after 1075.⁸ Another example, drawn from outside the context of the reformed orders of canons and monks, occurred at Dunfermline Abbey (Fife), an ancient foundation which became a Benedictine house in 1128 and where the arcades of the new aisled

⁶ Heslop, D. H., 'Excavation within the church of the Augustinian priory of Gisborough, Cleveland 1985—6', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 67 (1995), 51-126 and 71 (1999), 89-128; *The Cistercian Abbeys of Britain: Far from the Concourse of Men*, ed. D. Robinson (London 1998/2002), 111-15.

⁷ Coppack, G., S. Harrison and C. Hayfield, 'Kirkham Priory: The Architecture and Archaeology of an Augustinian House', *JBAA* 148 (1995), 55-136, 63-65; Wilkinson, D. J., and A. D. McWhirr, *Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey* (Cirencester 1998), 43 with plan (fig. 33) and section (fig. 35).

⁸ Phillips, D., *Excavations at York Minster, II. The Cathedral of Thomas of Bayeux at York* (London 1985), fig. 46.

nave built at that time by King David I of Scotland stand on the walls of the previous church built by Margaret, his mother.⁹

The scale of the reconstruction that took place around the middle of the twelfth century—especially where it entailed building on top of earlier structures—underscores the need for greater vigilance with regard to identifying the retention and reuse of standing masonry during our investigation of medieval buildings. This has been notable in the work of some archaeologists and architectural historians, although less evidently so in connection with the Romanesque period than with the Anglo-Saxon.¹⁰ It is suggested in this chapter that certain commonly encountered architectural features may actually be skilfully resolved anomalies, indicative of extensive rebuilding.¹¹ These include a somewhat inharmonious or *ad hoc* quality to the nave elevation, the absence of a tribune gallery in an aisled nave, the presence of a blank, dark or dummy tribune in the middle storey, the lack of masonry vaulting in the nave aisles, and a sudden change in pier forms in a nave arcade that, for reasons of date or location, cannot be attributed to their being liturgical markers emphasising an area of particular significance. Armed with these precepts—and granted that the walls of an aisleless conventual church might be dismantled or knocked through during refurbishment, the foundations reused to carry a nave arcade and its upper portions either retained or remodelled—we may approach the visual analysis of some aisled Romanesque buildings with a fresh eye.

The practice of extending an unaisled building by the addition of one or more aisles became common among Augustinian canons from the 1140s. In some cases, this may have arisen from a desire to enlarge the western arm of the building by increasing its floor area. From the liturgical point of view, aisles might provide processional routes, improve circulation around the perimeter of the interior and facilitate movement between the eastern and western arms of the building without intruding on the sanctuary.¹² In terms of structural improvements, the addition of aisles to a nave also buttressed the nave walls, which could duly be heightened, and would also help to counteract the thrust exerted by a heavy wooden roof over the

⁹ Fernie, E., ‘The Romanesque Churches of Dunfermline Abbey’, in *Medieval Architecture in the Diocese of St Andrew*, ed. J. Higgin, BAACT 14 (1994), 25-37, 30, fig. 5.

¹⁰ Malcolm Thurlby expressly adopted this approach himself in his study of lesser Romanesque cruciform churches; Thurlby (2002), 245, 246, 254, 255, 256. He also points to it in the work of Dr Richard Gem; *ibid.*, 255.

¹¹ Several diagnostic indices of this kind are also noted in Thurlby (2002), 249, 259.

¹² The liturgical processions mentioned in the sole surviving Augustinian customary of English origin—that dating to 1295-96 of Barnwell Priory (Cambs)—take place in the cloister or the cemetery, rather than in the nave of the church; Clark, J. W., ed., *The Observances of Barnwell Priory* (Cambridge 1897), 151.

central vessel. In addition, it would increase the amount of light entering at low level via the aisle windows, and facilitate the creation of a middle storey to the nave elevation. There may also have been pressure to add aisles for reasons of prestige, identity, or from a desire to modernise. Adding aisles to an older unaisled building, as opposed to rebuilding throughout on a larger scale, preserved the core of a venerable church and may also have been seen as a cheaper option than starting afresh from new foundations.

Whatever the reasons in any given case, however, the addition of aisles was evidently not always a straightforward task, especially if the intention was to reuse existing masonry in the process. The opportunity to add galleries over the new aisles was not always taken, perhaps because of the complications this entailed. A new gallery floor, for example, would normally require the insertion of masonry groin- or rib-vaulting to support it. Constructing a series of new nave piers would be a feat of engineering in itself. Designing the mouldings needed for the cladding of these piers, so as to equip them to receive new arches or ribs for a vaulted aisle, would have added another layer of difficulty.



9. Brigstock, St Andrew: north nave arcade, in two views

The addition of one or more aisles to a previously unaisled nave would have entailed a decision about what, if any, of the old structure to retain. The reuse of the upper walls of an earlier nave in a small parish church to which aisles were added is a well-established procedure for which the evidence is often still visible. The juxtaposition is apparent at pre-Conquest Brigstock and Geddington (Northants), at Leicester, St Nicholas, at Ledsham (W. Yorks), and also at Hoggeston (Bucks).¹³ It might be supposed that, commissioned to add aisles to an existing unaisled nave, a

¹³ I am grateful to Richard Halsey for pointing out the first three examples, which are illustrated and discussed in Taylor, H. M., and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 2 vols (Cambridge 1965/1980). For Brigstock, see vol. 1, 101-105, vol. 2, 409; for Geddington, see vol. 1, 248-50, vol. 2, fig. 468; for Leicester, see vol. 1, 384-86, vol. 2 fig. 519 and 520; for Ledsham, see vol. 1, 15, 378-84, figs 170 and 172.

mason created openings in the wall and encased the remaining masonry in new stone to form the piers. It might be more effective, however, to make the openings smaller and to build the new piers within them, demolishing the remainder of the old wall once the new arcade is constructed. Either of these methods would have made it possible to retain and reface or render the masonry of the upper level, and equally



10. Geddington, St Mary Magdalene: north nave arcade

expediently, to maintain the existing roof for shelter throughout the renovation, preserving it, with its costly timbers, in the refurbished building.¹⁴ A similar procedure could well have been followed in major buildings, given that significant dimensions, such as the width of a nave, did not always vary greatly between lesser and larger churches.¹⁵

The examples in the small churches cited conserve visible indications that the upper level of their nave wall was retained in the process of enlargement. With this observation in mind, it would be prudent to look for signs of similarly retained fabric in several Romanesque churches where arcades are known to sit upon earlier walls, for example at the Augustinian cathedral of Carlisle (Cumbria), the Benedictine abbey of Dunfermline, St Pantaleon in Cologne and Romsey Abbey (Hants). In the same vein, the investigation will be extended to include churches where the reuse of earlier walls has been suggested but has yet to be confirmed, as at Augustinian St Frideswide's, Oxford, Bridlington (East Yorks.) and Dunstable (Beds). Lastly, a group of churches will be examined where reuse has not been suggested hitherto but

¹⁴ The notional procedures described above were arrived at following discussions with the architect Bob Allies and the engineer Mark Whitby. However, the second method is also described in Taylor and Taylor (1965/1980), I, 14-15.

¹⁵ Norwich Cathedral Priory and Southwell Minster: 9m; Leominster, Binham and Bridlington Priors: 10m

where various features in the elevation and the plan indicate that earlier structure was retained, as at Rochester Cathedral (Kent), St Albans Abbey (Herts) and at St-Etienne, Vignory (Haute-Marne).

At Carlisle, the surviving bays of the aisled nave of the Romanesque cathedral have always been considered part of the first church on the site, associated with the founding of the Augustinian community c.1122.¹⁶ The length of massive masonry—over 2m wide and at least 2m deep—partly exposed beneath the Romanesque north nave arcade was accordingly interpreted at its discovery as the purpose-built ‘sleeper wall’ of the present columnar piers. Given its context in a first-generation Augustinian house, however, according to my general proposition, this masonry ought to represent the stump of the aisleless nave of Carlisle’s first priory church.



11. Carlisle Cathedral: from the south aisle, looking across the nave

Another striking aspect of Carlisle Cathedral is the lack of homogeneity in the design of its internal nave elevation. The range of capitals and arch mouldings used in the Romanesque building is unusually varied, especially as only a fragment of the twelfth-century church remains. The nave elevation has a layered horizontality which, while certainly occurring elsewhere, at Worksop Priory, for example, can

¹⁶ Probably founded c.1122; Greenaway, D., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300: Monastic Cathedrals* (northern and southern provinces) (London 1971), II, 21 and n. 2; Plant, R., ‘The Romanesque Fabric of Carlisle Cathedral’, in *Carlisle and Cumbria. Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, eds M. McCarthy and D. Weston, BAACT 27 (2004), 89-105.

hardly be considered a standard arrangement.¹⁷ Moreover at Carlisle, it is combined, rather surprisingly, with a half-hearted attempt at vertical articulation: the openings in each bay are centred one above the other, but the mysterious shaft rising from the main arcade capitals stops short at the base of the tribune. If it were allowed to continue upwards through the middle storey, however, this wall shaft would be wildly off-centre, since the piers of the middle storey are not aligned with those of the arcade below. These aspects of Carlisle's wayward elevation may be indications that, rather than being all of a piece, the present nave had to negotiate or incorporate an earlier structure while it was in building. My tentative suggestion that the impressive piece of masonry supporting the nave arcade—the so-called 'sleeper wall'—actually represents the reused nave wall of a preceding aisleless church on the site, has now been corroborated by independent geophysical survey.¹⁸ A comparable reassessment has taken place at Augustinian Cirencester Abbey where archaeologists have now established that the walls of the presbytery—as opposed to its aisle walls—were originally 'load bearing and external', indicating that what was to become the sleeper wall of the south arcade had originally been the wall of an aisleless predecessor.¹⁹

There are few excavated examples to illustrate how common the practice of extending an existing church was. The tell-tale features at Carlisle may, however, help us to detect similar signs in other buildings. The awkward, *ad hoc* quality of Carlisle's nave may, in my view, be diagnostic of the reuse of earlier structure. Another telling detail might be the presence of an unlit or dummy middle storey, particularly when, as at Carlisle, it occurs in combination with unvaulted aisles and when its arches are unusually plain and without moulded orders. At Dunfermline, for example, whose arcades rest on the walls of an earlier unaisled church served by canons, the gallery now sits above a groin vaulted aisle, but its fenestration is not unequivocally contemporary and its openings to the nave are utterly plain, by contrast with the elaborately decorated nave piers beneath.²⁰

While the reuse of earlier walls as the foundation for new nave arcades has occasionally been identified by archaeological methods, the redeployment of

¹⁷ *Buildings of England: Nottinghamshire*, ed. N. Pevsner, rev. E. Williamson, 2nd edn (1979), 386.

¹⁸ My observation on Carlisle is acknowledged by the cathedral archaeologist, Dr Mike McCarthy, in his report on the post-Roman archaeological sequence at Carlisle Cathedral, to be published in *Archaeological Journal* 171 (2014).

¹⁹ Wilkinson and McWhirr (1998), 43 with plan, (fig. 33) and section (fig. 35); Franklin (2004), 78 and n. 41.

²⁰ Fernie (1994), 25-37, 30, fig. 5.

standing masonry in major buildings has not been mapped to the same extent, although it certainly took place. It has been confirmed, for example, at S. Nazaro in Milan, mentioned above, where in addition to the late fourth-century plan, much of the Ambrosian superstructure of the original *Basilica Apostolorum* was also retained in the refurbishment of c.1075.²¹ In the twelfth century, aisles were added to the single nave of the Benedictine abbey church of St Pantaleon in Cologne, a refurbished Carolingian chapel formerly served by canons. The upper walls of the early nave at St Pantaleon were conserved when aisles were added, as is evident from the way that the surviving tenth-century blank arcading marches out of step with



12. Cologne, St Pantaleon: nave, looking east

the knocked-through bays below.²² St Pantaleon's status as an architectural palimpsest is well attested. In its refurbished condition, it confirms that newly-added aisles were not usually furnished with galleries, even when they were groin-vaulted.

²¹ Franklin (2013), 82 n. 52.

²² Fussbroich, H., *Die Ausgrabungen in St Pantaleon zu Köln* (Mainz am Rhein, 1983), 27-32; Mühlberg, F., *Köln: St Pantaleon und sein Ort in der karolingischen und ottonischen Baukunst* (Cologne, 1989).



13. Cologne, St Pantaleon: view of the nave from the south aisle

Some of the features occurring together at Carlisle, where an arcade is now known to have been built on an earlier nave wall, are found elsewhere but have not been fully investigated. For example, at Augustinian St Frideswide's, Oxford, where it has long been argued that the existing Romanesque building artfully conceals the former presence of an earlier and smaller aisleless nave.²³ The most striking feature of the nave elevation at Oxford is the 'giant order,' in which monolithic supports rise without interruption through two or more storeys, an architectural device that was used by Vitruvius in the first century CE at his basilica at Fanum, north of Ancona on Italy's Adriatic coast, to carry wooden galleries.²⁴ At Oxford, the middle storey lacks a tribune gallery and is occupied instead by a blind arcade or 'pseudo triforium.'²⁵

²³ Sturdy, D., 'Excavations in the Latin Chapel and outside the east end of Oxford Cathedral, 1962/3', *Oxoniensia* 53 (1988), 75-102, fig. 43A; Halsey, R., 'The 12th-Century Church of St. Frideswide's Priory', *Oxoniensia* 53 (1988), 115-67;

²⁴ Kidson, P., 'The Abbey Church of St Mary at Tewkesbury in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, eds T. A. Heslop and V. Sekules, BAACT 7 (1985), 6-15 (at 13-14).

²⁵ Halsey (1988), 125.



14. Oxford, St Frideswide's Cathedral: nave, looking south-west

The use of a giant order at Oxford effectively compressed the triforium into the main arcade.²⁶ The example at Oxford of c.1160 has been described as the 'last in a long line of giant order elevations in Romanesque England' which have largely disappeared.²⁷ Several reasons, including aesthetic considerations, status and patronage, have been proposed for the adoption of this striking feature, possibly selected 'for its association with local great houses of the previous generation.'²⁸ I suggest that the giant order might have been selected because it offered a visually coherent and elegant solution to the problem of incorporating reused masonry from an earlier building on the site. In addition, from a structural perspective, it effectively reduces the slenderness ratio of the piers, thereby increasing the stability of the lofty new arcade.

Other examples of the giant order elevation survive at Romsey (Hants), refounded as a Benedictine nunnery in 967, where the present Romanesque nave arcades of c.1140 sit on the aisleless walls of an undated Anglo-Saxon predecessor, and at Jedburgh (Scottish Borders), refounded as an Augustinian house in 1138, probably likewise on an ancient site.²⁹ Romsey also has a dark tribune gallery, as at

²⁶ Ibid., 158.

²⁷ Ibid., 160.

²⁸ Its presence has been linked in the past with a putative earlier church on the site although not in the sense of its form having been determined by that structure; *ibid.*, 122 n.19.

²⁹ There is no documentary information for any of the building campaigns at Romsey. The earliest reliable evidence is institutional and relates to its refoundation as a nunnery in 967; *Heads of Religious Houses: England*

Carlisle, associated in the context of this essay with the rebuilding of an unaisled nave.

At Augustinian Bridlington, I have argued that three features indicate that the arcades of the Gothic nave are supported on the walls of a previously unacknowledged aisleless church: the size and disposition of the (reconstructed) cloister relative to the present nave, the abrupt change of design in the last bays of the Gothic south arcade where an aisleless nave would have terminated, and the comparative narrowness of the existing south nave aisle, presumably determined by the width of the former north cloister walk.³⁰ At Dunstable, another Augustinian house, founded before 1125, the existing aisled nave is generally dated on stylistic grounds to the second quarter of the twelfth century.³¹ But there is no clear evidence that its (unvaulted) aisles were in place at that date.³² At Rochester Cathedral (Kent), an ancient house of canons was refounded as a Benedictine monastery by Bishop Gundulf in 1080, although everything that survives above ground is the work of his successors, including the twelfth-century aisled nave.³³ This has unvaulted aisles and lacks a tribune gallery. Instead, its middle-story is occupied by a (blocked) narrow passage contrived within the thickness of the wall above the main arcade. Combined with the highly unusual and varied pier forms selected for the nave, and the fact that the original community were canons, these details might again indicate the reuse of an aisleless predecessor. The lost choir of Gundulf's church, or perhaps that of the building he inherited, had solid walls, a point which reinforces this suggestion.

and Wales, 940-1216, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London (Cambridge 1972), 218. For the Romanesque church, see Fernie (2000), 172-76 and n. 107. A conjectural plan showing the Anglo-Saxon church as aisleless and cruciform is in Taylor and Taylor (1965/1980) II, 521 fig. 253; Lewis, J. H., G. Ewart, R. Fawcett and D. Gallagher, *Jeburgh Abbey: The Archaeology and Architecture of a Border Abbey* (Edinburgh 1995).

³⁰ Franklin (1989), 44—61 (at 53—54), fig. 4.

³¹ *Heads of Religious Houses* (1972), I, 162 and n. 5; Fernie (2000), 260.

³² Franklin (2012), 81. The doorway in the north aisle wall is datable to the late twelfth century and the south aisle wall was substantially rebuilt in the mid-nineteenth; Halsey, R., 'Dunstable Priory', *Archaeological Journal* 139 (1982), 46-47.

³³ Fernie (2000), 115-17.



15. Vignory, St-Etienne: the nave, seen from the north aisle

At the church of St-Etienne at Vignory, usually dated to c.1050, the aisled nave has a three-storey elevation but the aisles themselves are wood-roofed, rise through two storeys and contain no tribune galleries. As a result, the central vessel is effectively flanked by tall pierced screens with openings on two levels. Hans Kubach felt that this unorthodox arrangement was deliberately contrived in order to flood the central vessel with light by maximising the number of unimpeded openings in the nave walls.³⁴ While this is undoubtedly the effect achieved, it is equally possible that the arrangement was simply the consequence of adding aisles without galleries to a formerly unaisled nave. The church may well have been aisleless initially, according to my theory, as it was originally built in 1032 for a college of canons. The nave arcades and aisles might have been added during the documented building campaign relating to the introduction of monks in 1051 with the transfer of the church to the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Bénigne.³⁵

One last diagnostic indicator of an unaisled nave lying beneath a later aisled structure is evident in an elevation where a marked change of style occurs in the forms of the piers and mouldings of a nave arcade, provided that it is clearly attributable to a difference of date rather than to a desire for iconographic

³⁴ Kubach, H. E., *Romanesque Architecture* (New York 1975), 80.

³⁵ Collin, H., et al, *Champagne romane* (La Pierre-qui-Vire 1981), 299-348.

demarcation. This change occurs in the last three bays of the south arcade of the Gothic nave at Augustinian Bridlington where, I have suggested, it marks the westernmost extent of a putative twelfth-century aisleless nave.³⁶ Something similar can also be seen in the nave of Romsey where the first four nave bays are Romanesque and the last three date to the thirteenth century.³⁷ The point of change perhaps coincides with the termination of the earlier aisleless nave whose presence is known from excavation.

The solutions arrived at for the design of the nave elevations at Carlisle, Oxford, Romsey, Dunstable, Dunfermline and Rochester—the dark or dummy tribune, the absence of aisle vaults, the avoidance or absence of arch mouldings, an uncoordinated elevation—could all be seen as the consequence of having to adapt an existing scheme. The last, and most controversial, example proposed here is St Albans, where construction of the post-Conquest abbey was begun in 1077 by Paul of Caen, nephew of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.³⁸ Much of the plan and superstructure of the church of the Anglo-Norman abbey has survived. St Alban's was refounded as a Benedictine monastery c.970.³⁹ Excavation has revealed that the existing church, with its dramatically long, aisled choir and nave, was built on top of an earlier structure, taken to be late-tenth-century in date, the location and character of which remain unclear.⁴⁰ The sculpted, somewhat rough-hewn appearance of the masonry of the nave interior—only partly attributable to the use of brick—and the dark tribune with a wooden floor unsupported by vaults, are among the tell-tale features of a converted structure, as outlined above. The solid walls of the choir, albeit usually seen here as provision for a masonry vault, lend support to this interpretation, as at Rochester, reinforcing the impression that Paul's building made use of the standing structure of an earlier aisleless cruciform church, knocking through its nave walls to achieve an aisled arcade. It is important to consider such a possibility because, if correct, it would affect the way that Anglo-Norman architecture is characterised. If those aspects of St Albans abbey church currently

³⁶ Franklin (1989), 54.

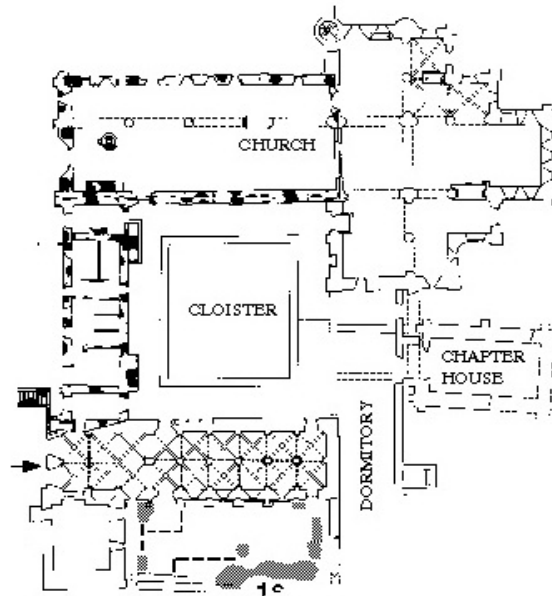
³⁷ Fernie (2000), fig. 136 and 138.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 111-15.

³⁹ *Heads of Religious Houses* (1972), I, 64 and n. 4.

⁴⁰ The plan, orientation and precise location of this church remain to be clarified, although the west walk of the cloister with which it connected appears to have been identified beneath that of the lost Romanesque cloister; Biddle M., and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The origins of St Albans Abbey: Romano-British Cemetery and Anglo-Saxon Monastery,' in *Alban and St Albans: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, ed. M. Henig and P. Lindley, *BAACT* 24 (2001), 45-77, at 45, 68, 69, 73 and fig. 15.

seen as idiosyncratic—the long choir with solid walls, the absence of a tribune gallery—are in fact attributable to its having been based on an earlier structure, as I suspect, such features should no longer be classified as slightly unorthodox elements of a conventional architectural vocabulary as they currently are.



16. Lanercost Priory, plan

Given the practical limitations of the aisleless cruciform church, with its circulatory, liturgical and processional limitations, it is astonishing that the building type continued to be used for so long, even after the wave of rebuilding after the mid twelfth century. This testifies to the plan's enduring significance, regardless of its lack of commodity. Among Augustinian houses, it was evidently deemed preferable to modify the plan on occasion in order to make it workable, rather than abandon it altogether. At Lanercost (Cumbria), for example, the design of the priory church founded c.1166 deviated from the aisleless cruciform model by including just one north aisle bay, presumably to facilitate access between the nave, transept and presbytery without intruding on the altar in the crossing, thereby overcoming one of the shortcomings of the standard plan. This single north-aisle bay was subsequently extended into a full north aisle, according to Stuart Harrison's analysis.⁴¹ At Norton (Cheshire), founded in 1134, an expanding community led to successive rebuilding campaigns from the late twelfth century onwards, almost doubling the area of the

⁴¹ Summerson and Harrison (2000).

cloister quadrangle and provoking a cluster of new chapels at the church's eastern end, yet preserving the aisleless plan of the nave until the fifteenth century.⁴²

The systematic reuse of second-hand fabric in the Middle Ages is not a practice that is supported by contemporary written evidence. The conversion of existing buildings is a topic that medieval commentators seem to avoid, preferring instead to record the more glorious importation of expensively procured ashlar at the start of a new building campaign, or the heroic devotion of the local populace, carrying fieldstone or flint pebbles gathered by hand to a building site.⁴³ In the absence also of archaeological investigation—not always obtainable, or clear in its import—we are reliant on visual analysis and informed deduction to establish that conversion has taken place. In some cases, documentary sources tell us that a monument was constructed where no other church had stood, as with the cathedral at Salisbury (Wilts) begun in 1220.⁴⁴ But the designer of a major medieval building was not invariably presented with a *tabula rasa* in this way, as we have seen.

The consequences for the design of a building of the decision to reuse existing masonry are of considerable importance. Where some or all of the features alleged to be diagnostic of reuse are present in an aisled building known or thought to have been originally constructed for canons, it seems reasonable to bear in mind the possibility when analysing its design, that it might be a refurbished aisleless and cruciform church, rather than bespoke in its present form. The unorthodox architectural solutions outlined above betray a willingness among twelfth-century designers and patrons to deviate where necessary from an established set of aesthetic principles, analogous to that discernible among Mannerist architects in sixteenth-century Italy.⁴⁵ Presumably arising from a need for thrift, or from reluctance to disregard ancient structure, these strategies imply a degree of pragmatism not normally associated with Romanesque architecture—traditionally characterised as

⁴² Greene, P., *Norton Priory: The Archaeology of a Medieval Religious House* (Cambridge 1989).

⁴³ Porter, A. K., *Medieval Architecture, its Origins and Development* (New York 1909) II, 150-60; *The Book of the Foundation of St Bartholomew's Smithfield*, trans and ed. E. A. Webb (Oxford 1923), 14.

⁴⁴ Giles, J. A., trans, *Matthew Paris's English History from the Year 1235 to 1273* (London 1852, repr. New York 1968), I, 52.

⁴⁵ Some of Michelangelo's architectural commissions in Rome, for example, involved incorporating existing structure, as with his scheme for the Capitol; Krautheimer, R., *Rome: Profile of a City*, 312—1308 (Princeton NJ 1980), 206—207, 285. Also, his breath-taking adaptation of parts of the late-third-century baths of Diocletian for the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli; Ackerman, J. S., *The Architecture of Michelangelo* (Harmondsworth 1986), 260-68. The creation of Palazzo Te, outside Mantua designed for Federico II Gonzaga by Giulio Romano also entailed the conversion of earlier, more modest, buildings; Allies, B., 'Order, Orthodoxy and the Orders', *The Architectural Review* 173 (1983), 59-65.

systematic, articulated and visually rational—and suggest that their impact on the design process might have been considerable.⁴⁶

⁴⁶ Romanesque was characterised along these lines by Heinrich Wölfflin in *Principles of Art History* (1915), excerpted in Fernie (1995), 135-51 (at 150).

CHAPTER 4

STANDARD CHURCH PLANS IN TWELFTH-CENTURY CHURCH DESIGN:
CLAIMS AND COUNTERCLAIMS FOR THE ADOPTION OF PARTICULAR
BUILDING TYPES BY SPECIFIC RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS IN
ROMANESQUE EUROPE*The case of Cluny and of Cîteaux:*

In this chapter, I aim to widen the architectural scope of my thesis by discussing the Romanesque churches of two Benedictine monastic congregations—as opposed to those of canons—in order to contextualise my ideas and to demonstrate that, despite arising from a highly selective methodology, they are grounded in a broad knowledge of the architecture of the period.

Given that my claim that the churches of English Augustinians in the first half of the twelfth century were almost invariably built to the aisleless cruciform plan challenges the accepted view, it seemed expedient to explore the polemical issue of the use of standardised plans in medieval architecture in general. This theme is pursued here through two case studies, both involving Burgundian monasteries. The first investigates the far-flung congregation centred on Cluny, whose use of a common architectural paradigm was a matter of scholarly debate in the twentieth century. The second examines the Cistercian foundations descended from Cîteaux, also widely dispersed, whose buildings did, unquestionably, conform to predetermined patterns.

The architectural and spiritual focus at both Cluny and Cîteaux was an abbey church, or a succession of churches, including Romanesque examples. Neither of these major monastic sites has survived in its original form. Political and religious powerhouses of enormous importance, both were substantially destroyed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Each of them, by different means, established a highly influential network across western Europe with the related aims of safeguarding Christian monastic integrity and of buttressing the papal Church in the face of the secular authorities with which it necessarily engaged.

Cluny, the older of the two, began its existence as an ordinary, if generously endowed and well-protected, Benedictine monastery. Its foundation in the early tenth century was marked by a ceremony attended by its ducal patrons and by senior members of the Church hierarchy.¹ Protected by statute from lay intervention at its

¹ Paris, BnF, Mss, collection de Bourgogne, vol. 76, nos 2-5, 7-32; Atsma, H., J. Vezin and S. Barret, *Les Plus Anciens Documents originaux de l'abbaye de Cluny*, I, nos 1-30, *Monumenta palaeographica Medii Aevi*, Series gallica, doc. no. 2 (Turnhout 1997), 26-29.

foundation and exempt from episcopal control from 998, the abbey was under the direct jurisdiction of the papacy.² During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Cluny transmitted its own set of reformed customs to hundreds of lesser monasteries throughout France and much of Europe.³ Our understanding of the monastic site is largely derived from the excavations conducted there by Kenneth J. Conant between 1928 and 1950.⁴

By contrast, the monastery at Cîteaux initially struggled to sustain itself. It was founded, almost two centuries later than Cluny, after a group of Benedictine monks left the abbey at Molesme, where Cluniac customs were observed, to establish a more ascetic regime at a new site south of Dijon, subsequently known as Cîteaux. The community, whose earliest institutional texts survive only in later versions, eventually received papal endorsement in 1119.⁵ By the end of the twelfth century, however, the new congregation had established an astonishing 327 further foundations—all formally linked to a system of mother houses answerable to Cîteaux—and had fashioned itself into the first fully constituted European monastic order.⁶ Apart from Pontigny, the congregation's earliest sites in France have never been systematically excavated.⁷

Another reason for introducing the Cistercians in this chapter relates to one of the core proposals of my thesis, namely that the aisleless cruciform church was a form used exclusively by groups of priests. Although this can only be asserted with confidence from the eleventh century, it was so, I argue, up until about the first quarter of the twelfth century. Thereafter, the evidence in Britain indicates that the plan type was also adopted for a time by Cistercian communities, who were not priests but monks. This was an issue that my thesis had to address; my response is outlined below and fully explored in the latest of my five submitted articles.⁸

² Stratford, N., 'Cluny III' in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010b), 96-115 at 103.

³The total number of European congregations affiliated in some way to Cluny can only be estimated, tellingly, and has been assessed at between 1000 and 2000; Little (1978), 62.

⁴ Conant, K. J., *Cluny. Les églises et la maison du chef d'ordre* (Mâcon 1968).

⁵ *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, ed. C. Waddell (Cîteaux 1999); Lekai, L. J., *The Cistercians. Ideals and Reality* (Kent State UP 1977), 19-20.

⁶ Bolton, B., *The Medieval Reformation* (London 1983), 47.

⁷ Kinder, T., 'The original chevet of Pontigny's church' in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, ed. M. P. Lillich, vol. 2 (Kalamazoo 1984), 30—38. Investigations carried out at Cîteaux between 1959 and 1964 have yet to be fully published; Robinson, D. M., *The Cistercians in Wales: Architecture and Archaeology 1130-1540* (London 2006), 61 n. 3.

⁸ Franklin (2013), 77-94.

Cluny: 'Light of the World':

In a book devoted to the Romanesque architecture of Cluny and its affiliated monasteries, Dame Joan Evans (1893-1977) declared in 1938 that the issue she wanted to address was whether 'the constitution of the Order of Cluny' would have been likely 'to produce a characteristic architecture.'⁹ Observing that 'it is commonly admitted that there is a Cistercian and a Jesuit architecture', she had wondered whether Cluny's 'impact on religion and society was matched in the sphere of architecture.'¹⁰

The Benedictine monastery at Cluny was founded in 910 by William III, duke of Aquitaine, count of Poitiers, Auvergne and Mâcon, and his wife Ingelberge, daughter of the king of Provence and Burgundy and sister of the emperor Louis III, on their own domain in the easternmost part of their territory.¹¹ The foundation charter placed the monastery under papal protection and guaranteed its freedom from aggression.¹² The generality of houses observing the Benedictine Rule at that time were effectively autonomous units. In the tenth century, various individual monasteries formed confraternities and links between each other, but the concept of a related body of monastic communities owing allegiance to and governed by a single abbey under papal jurisdiction emerged most coherently at Cluny under its abbots Odo (927-42) and Maiolus (948-94). The first house to be entrusted to the new abbey was the ancient monastery at Romainmôtier (Jura-Nord Vaudois), granted to Abbot Odo in 928/9.¹³

The system initiated at Cluny spread to the rest of France, as well as to England, Spain and Lombardy. Under Abbot Odilo (994-1049), a network of dependencies developed—the *ecclesia Cluniacensis*—linked more closely to the mother house, but there remained various levels of association and the relationship could also be less formal.¹⁴

Colonisation by Cluny entailed an element of reform and was accompanied by codified customs for its associated monasteries to follow, including some houses that

⁹ Evans, J., *The Romanesque Architecture of the Order of Cluny* (Cambridge 1938), 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ The foundation is recorded in a dated charter issued in the presence of the duke and his wife, the archbishop of Bourges, the bishops of Nevers and Clermont, and numerous other grandees; Atsma, H., and Vezin, J., 'La charte de fondation' in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010), 18-21.

¹² Boynton, S., *Shaping a Monastic Identity: Liturgy and History at the Imperial Abbey of Farfa 1000-1125* (Cornell UP 2006), 106.

¹³ Vergnolle, E., 'Romainmôtier et Cluny II' in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010), 76-91.

¹⁴ Boynton (2006), 107.

were not its subjects.¹⁵ A community reformed under Cluny did not automatically adopt the Cluniac liturgy in its entirety, perhaps adapting certain aspects of it.¹⁶ Numerous monasteries observed Cluny's customs but were never formally attached to it. Cluniac customs were sometimes introduced to an independent monastery by its founder, thereby achieving transmission by indirect means.¹⁷ Furthermore, Cluny's influence was also spread indirectly by prominent individual churchmen.¹⁸

The congregation encompassed abbeys that were subject to Cluny as their mother house, such as La Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre), and which might themselves acquire dependent monasteries, as with the daughter houses of La Charité at Wenlock (Shropshire) and Bermondsey (Surrey).¹⁹ Yet, there was much variation. The first English Cluniac monastery, at Lewes (Sussex), founded between 1077 and 1081, a daughter house of Cluny itself, had more dependencies than any other in the country, including over sixty parish churches.²⁰ However, among Lewes' own daughters was the important monastery at Castle Acre (Norfolk), founded c1089, which had four dependencies but was never itself affiliated to a French mother.²¹ There were, therefore, different kinds of association, entailing varying degrees of autonomy,

¹⁵ The earliest surviving detailed Cluniac customary, the *Liber tramitis*, was compiled between 1056 and 1060 at the central Italian abbey of Farfa, a house that was never directly under Cluny; Boynton (2006), 117-18. The development of the Cluniac congregation in England and Wales has been especially comprehensively traced; Knowles, D., and R. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (New York 1994); Golding, B., 'The Coming of the Cluniacs,' *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980) 65-77. Of some thirty-six Cluniac foundations established in Wales by the mid-twelfth century, twelve were certainly priories with a complement of monks, rather than agricultural granges; McNeill, J., and E. Fernie, 'Cluny en Angleterre' in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010), 370-79 at 370.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 113.

¹⁷ As with William of Volpiano, a Benedictine monk who left Cluny to establish Saint-Bénigne at Dijon in 989. The impact of the Cluniac observances disseminated by William, who established a congregation of his own and whose reform of the Norman priory at Fécamp was the model for a group of monasteries in the region including Jumièges and Bernay, reverberated beyond the duchy and his own lifetime. Never formally attached to Cluny, these houses supplied the abbots for several of England's major post-Conquest monasteries, including St Augustine's Canterbury and Westminster; McNeill and Fernie (2010), 370.

¹⁸ Prior Vivian of Cluny went on to become abbot of Saint-Denis c.1008; Evans (1938), 150 n. 1; Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester (1129—71), began his religious career at Cluny; Stratford, N., 'Un grand clunisien, Henri de Blois', in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010c), 238-45. Likewise, Pope Urban II, driving force behind the First Crusade of 1096; Evans (1938), 108.

¹⁹ McNeill and Fernie (2010), 370-79 (at 372).

²⁰ Fernie (2000), 186; McNeill and Fernie (2010), 374.

²¹ McNeill and Fernie (2010), 374.

sometimes quite extreme, as with the Castilian monastery of Oño, Hirsau in Swabia and Gorze in Lorraine.²²

Cluniac affiliation in the Romanesque era is, therefore, multifarious and hard to characterise, for there was no typical Cluniac relationship. The term ‘Order’ used by Dame Joan and her contemporaries to refer to the network of institutions connected to Cluny in the eleventh and earlier twelfth century is no longer considered an apt description of the Cluniac system, in all its diversity.²³ The task that Joan Evans set herself of identifying the architectural qualities of the congregation was not, therefore, a straightforward exercise. The implications of such complex affiliations for the architectural profile of the Cluniac congregation are, of course, considerable. Some of the hundreds of monasteries attached to Cluny, moreover, retained their existing church, as apparently at Bermondsey, just south of London.²⁴ At others, an ancient church was eventually rebuilt, as with Romainmôtier in the second quarter of the eleventh century.²⁵

Systematisation of the congregation increased under Abbot Hugh (1049-1109), although less formal relationships continued to coexist alongside those that were more regulated. Hugh, moreover, secured official recognition of his congregation from the Cluniac pope, Urban II, who pronounced it ‘Light of the World’ in 1097.²⁶ In the course of the eleventh century, Cluny flourished as a financial institution and powerful landlord, its success attracting further donations from Europe’s aristocracy, as well as gifts yielded by triumphant Christian campaigns in Islamic Spain and North Africa.²⁷ Money flowed into Cluny’s coffers from Leon after King Alfonso VI’s victory against

²² The monastery of Oño, established on the model of Cluny in 1033, did not maintain any official connection with the abbey, becoming instead the master house to over seventy of its own dependencies; Cowdrey, H. E. J., *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford 1970), 214-19. Hirsau requested and received a copy of the customs of Cluny in the late eleventh century, taking a reform programme based on them to over sixty other German monasteries within decades; Little (1978), 62 n. 5, citing Jakobs, H., *Die Hirsauer. Ihre Ausbreitung Rechtstellung im Zeitalter des Investiturstreites. Kölner historische Abhandlungen IV* (Köln-Graz 1961). The monastery of Gorze created a pattern of reform that was entirely independent of Cluny but which was followed at some 160 houses in the Low Countries and north-west Germany; Little 1978, 62 n. 6, citing Hallinger, K., *Gorze-Cluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (Rome 1950-1951), 49-316.

²³ The term ‘Order’, was formerly more generally applied; see, for example Clapham, A., *English Romanesque Architecture After the Conquest* (Oxford 1934), chapter 4; Graham, R., Review of Evans (1950) in *English Historical Review* 66 (1951), 400-402.

²⁴ McNeill and Fernie (2010), 374.

²⁵ Vergnolle (2010), 79.

²⁶ Little, (1978), 218; Marrier, M., and A. Duchesne, eds, *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis* (Paris 1614), col. 520.

²⁷ Little (1978), 64-65.

Moslem forces at Toledo in 1085, and again in 1088 and 1090.²⁸ Much of this wealth was consumed by the cost of constructing the enormous new abbey church, begun at Cluny in 1088, replacing the late-tenth-century building on the site referred to as Cluny II. Irretrievably lost, the plan of Cluny II has been reconstructed, on slender evidence, as having an eastern arm with seven apses in stepped formation, an aisled nave of seven bays, projecting transepts that were narrower and thus lower than the central vessel—as seen later at Romainmôtier—and a wide western porch.²⁹ Nothing is known of its elevation, but it is assumed to have had a wood-roofed nave originally, judging from the thinness of its walls and the absence of articulating elements.³⁰ In the past, the plan of Cluny II has been seen as enormously influential and widely emulated, a claim that is now regarded by some as exaggerated.³¹

In the time of Hugh's great-nephew Abbot Peter, 'the Venerable' (1122-1156), in the wake of the enormously costly building programme, Cluny's influence and wealth began to decline. Some significant new foundations during this period, such as the royal abbeys at Reading (1121/1123) and Faversham (1147), elected to follow Cluniac customs without formally entering the congregation. By this point, Cluny itself was in need of reform; too many of its affiliated monasteries had broken away and were operating independently, from each other and from the mother house. Under Abbot Peter, new statutes were introduced with the aim of bringing Cluniac customs into line with the more ascetic spirituality of the age—typified by Cistercian observances—and to simplify Cluny's elaborate liturgy, thereby gaining the approval of the normally censorious Cistercian Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux.³²

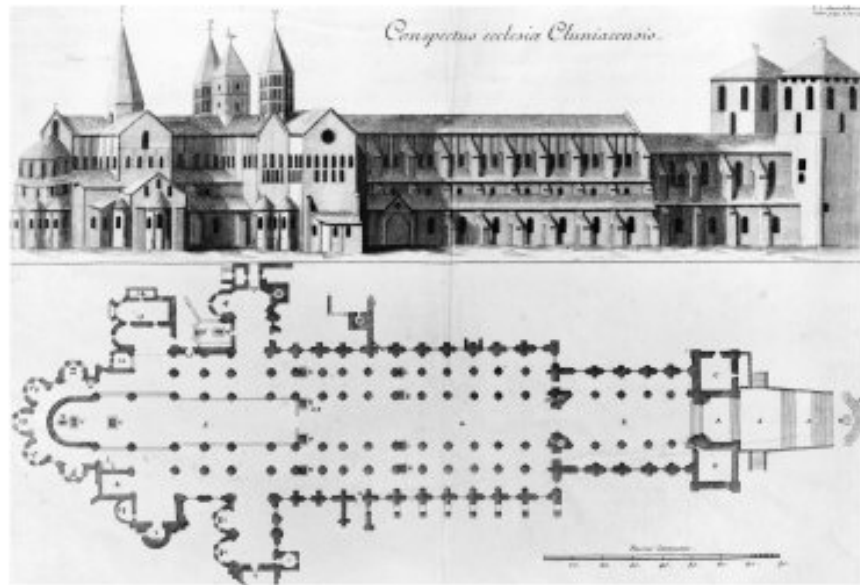
²⁸ *Ibid.*, 65 n. 30; Bernard, A., and A. Bruel, *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, 6 vols (Paris 1876-1903), IV: no 3638, 809-10; R. Stalley (1999), 169.

²⁹ Vergnolle, (2010), 76-91.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Stratford (2010b), 96.

³² In the explanatory *causa* attached to Statute 53 concerning individual asceticism at the monastery, Peter says that since the old church, the building known to us as Cluny II, was inadequate for the enactment of 'certain sacred and secret practices suited to holy men', part of the new church had been reserved for the monks so that they might pray and mortify themselves there with privacy, as in a hermitage; Bolton (1983), 41-42.



17. Cluny III

The church known now as Cluny III, built between 1088 and 1130, was, at over 172m, the longest building in Christendom in its day.³³ Built to the north of its predecessor, and surviving only as a magnificent ruin, Cluny III had a complex east end with an ambulatory and double transepts incorporating fifteen radiating and transeptal chapels containing altars for the ordained brethren among the abbey's complement of 460 monks under Abbot Peter.³⁴ Other astonishing or innovative features included its double-aisled nave—evoking fourth-century St Peter's in Rome—two pairs of eastern transepts rather than one as was the convention, the use of pointed barrel vaults over all main spaces, a narrow middle storey without a wall passage, and the pointed form of its exceptionally tall nave arcade and other structural arches, deployed here for the first time comprehensively in northern Europe.³⁵ There were also other aspects which were, or became part of, the Burgundian architectural vocabulary, such as the strikingly low lighting of the nave—despite three levels of glazing and the height of its arcades—and the undifferentiated piers at the crossing. Cluny III was equally remarkable for the quality and classicising character of its architectural sculpture—its fluted shafts supporting exquisitely carved Corinthianesque capitals—and for the distinctive cusping on the arches of its false triforium. The sculptural

³³ Stratford, (2010b), 96-115. Of its contemporaries, only the Anglo-Norman Cathedral at Winchester (157m) approached it in length; Fernie (2000), 304 (Appendix I).

³⁴ Stalley (1999), 169.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 170.

decoration of Cluny III may have inspired the taste for lavish carving exemplified by the elaborate interlaced arcading surviving at English Cluniac priories.³⁶



18. Paray-le-Monial, on the Bourbince



19. Paray-le-Monial: interior, looking east

³⁶ On the façade of Castle Acre Priory church (Norfolk) and the interior of the chapter house at Much Wenlock (Shropshire); Stalley (1999), figs 115 and 130.

The impact of Cluny III is discernible at several major buildings within the congregation or more loosely associated with it, both in the surrounding area and further afield. The Cluniac priory of Paray-le-Monial (Saône-et-Loire) nearby, though smaller in scale than Cluny III and with a shorter nave, is generally considered the best testament of what it was like, certainly in terms of its nave elevation and its typically Burgundian ‘unstressed’ crossing.³⁷ However, Cluny III was not invariably the model for churches in the abbey’s congregation. When Sainte-Madeleine at Vézelay (Yonne) was rebuilt c.1120-32, sculptors from Cluny III executed its carved ornament, but the architecture of the new church did not reflect the radical monumentality of the mother house.³⁸

The influence of the design of the new abbey church is most striking in England outside the congregation. The second transept that Archbishop Anselm’s extension introduced into the plan of Canterbury Cathedral after 1096 has no precedent other than at Cluny III, where this dual feature was deployed for the first time.³⁹ Elsewhere, the architecture of England’s Cluniac houses follows French and Anglo-Norman models without reference to Burgundian Cluny. One of the earliest English Cluniac foundations was established in 1089 at Bermondsey, then in Surrey whose earl at the time was William of Warenne, founder of the congregation’s first English house at Lewes.⁴⁰ Bermondsey stands out because its aisleless cruciform plan seems to relate it to collegiate churches such as the cathedral begun at York after 1075, a parallel which is seen as puzzling.⁴¹ The explanation that I offer, in the light of my thesis, is that although this probably was ‘the new and most beautiful church’ at Bermondsey mentioned in Domesday Book in 1086, it had not been custom-built for the Cluniac

³⁷ Stalley (1999), 172; Autun (Saône-et-Loire) and Saulieu (Côte-d’Or), both built by a Cluniac bishop, reflect the influence of the elevation of Cluny III; Evans, J., *Cluniac Art of the Romanesque Period* (Cambridge 1950), 121. This is also the case at Beaune (Côte-d’Or) and Langres (Haute-Marne); Stratford (2010b), 103. Further afield, Cluny III inspired the tall arcades, pointed arches and pointed barrel vaults of its principle daughter house at La-Charité-sur-Loire (Nièvre); Stalley (1999), 172. The eastern arm of Cluny’s monumental plan was effectively recreated on a reduced scale at Lewes (Sussex), the first of its English houses, when a new church, consecrated in 1147, was constructed there; McNeill and Fernie (2010), 374.

³⁸ Stalley (1999), 172, 174-75.

³⁹ Lefèvre-Pontalis, E., ‘Essai sur quelques Particularités des Églises Romanes Bénédictines’ in *Millénaire de Cluny. Congrès d’Histoire et d’Archéologie tenu à Cluny* (Macon 1910), I, 220-30 (at 222); Clapham (1934), 74; Fernie (2000), 143.

⁴⁰ Knowles, Brooke and London (1972), I, 114.

⁴¹ McNeill and Fernie (2010), 374 and fig 4.

abbey as has been suggested, but erected for an earlier community of canons and appropriated in 1089.⁴²

The determination to see Cluny's affiliated churches as stylistically linked probably originated in the mid-nineteenth century with Viollet-le-Duc's assertion that it was the abbey's practice to send its 'builder-monks' (*'moines cimenteurs'*) to construct priories far from the mother church, reproducing more or less the same forms everywhere.⁴³ This theory, probably extrapolated from the documented involvement of monks in the design and construction of Cluny III, was rejected by scholars in France who held that a characteristically Cluniac architecture did not exist.⁴⁴ Robert de Lasteyrie stressed that Benedictine churches of the Romanesque period, especially those under Cluny, were extremely varied in form.⁴⁵ Eugène Lefèvre-Pontalis stated the consensual view in declaring that Benedictine churches, including Cluniac examples, were built in the tradition of the region in which they were located.⁴⁶ These comments chime with the conventional opinion that the Romanesque churches of English Augustinian canons were architecturally varied and sometimes followed local design practices—a judgement that I have now challenged—and may indeed represent the source of that idea. The theory holds good for the churches discussed by the French scholars, however, and recent opinion has confirmed that Cluny's affiliated monasteries recruited their masons and artists locally, rather than drawing upon a pool lodged at the mother house.⁴⁷

Despite the weight of opinion against any notion of Cluny as a centralised generator of architectural ideas, Dame Joan Evans persisted with her exploration. Concurring with her peers in their dismissal of Viollet-le-Duc's theory of a Cluniac masonic mission, Evans nevertheless disagreed with the concept of localism propounded by Lefèvre-Pontalis and others, arguing that in England, while the style of

⁴² *Domesday Book*: Surrey, fol. 30v; Williams and Martin (London 1992/2002), 72.

⁴³ Viollet-le-Duc, E., *Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIe siècle*, I (Paris 1856), 130. The theory is contested in de Lasteyrie, R., *L'Architecture Religieuse en France à l'Époque Romane* (Paris 1912), 236-38.

⁴⁴ Virey, J., *L'architecture romane dans l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon* (Paris 1892); Saint-Paul, A., *Histoire monumentale de la France* (Paris 1983; new edn 1911). The monks Gunzo and Hézelon were both cited in connection with the construction of Cluny III; Lemeunier, A., 'Priérés clunisiens dans l'ancien diocèse de Liège: le cas de Saint-Séverin-en-Condroz' in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010), 312-21 (at 314 and n. 10).

⁴⁵ De Lasteyrie (1912), 236-38.

⁴⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis (1910), 220, 230.

⁴⁷ Stratford, N., 'Existe-t-il un art clunisien?' in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris 2010a), VI-XI; Stalley (1999), 172.

architecture is local, ‘the traditional (Cluniac) ground plan is followed’, offering Castle Acre Priory as an example.⁴⁸ Evans claimed to have set out to establish the ‘nucleus of Cluny’s influence within the Order itself.’⁴⁹ She certainly took into account the institutional complexity of her subject. Stating that she had confined her survey ‘to the buildings that actually belonged to the Order’, she acknowledges that Cluniac influence extended over a much wider field than that.⁵⁰ She was aware that many great monasteries were reformed and occasionally colonised from Cluny without ever being formally subject to it.⁵¹

Joan Evans concluded that, while it was reasonable to state that ‘certain ground plans are characteristic of the order’, none that she had described in her volume could be considered ‘the characteristic creation of the Order of Cluny, unless it be that of Abbot Hugh’s basilica’, Cluny III.⁵² Nevertheless, invoking Émile Mâle’s dictum by way of support: ‘sur tout plane l’ombre de Cluny’, Evans evidently felt compelled to add that her survey revealed ‘a remarkable consistency of adherence to certain types of plan, as remarkable as the Cistercian adherence to plans of another kind.’⁵³

The conclusions that Evans reached in her volume of 1938 are more carefully expressed than scholarly reaction to them might suggest. Just over a decade later, however, Dame Joan revisited her theory and, in the interval, appears to have hardened her position. In her introduction to a book on the Romanesque art of Cluny published in 1950, she concedes that the evidence for the existence of a decorative art that is Cluniac in manufacture is ‘trifling’, with the important exception of illuminated manuscripts. That manuscripts produced at different houses related to Cluny should have a recognisable character, whatever the case for architecture, is understandable. As the earliest international body of congregated Benedictine monasteries, the extended Cluniac network facilitated the transmission of manuscripts across Europe. Texts prescribed by the customs were copiously copied from models in Cluniac scriptoria

⁴⁸ ‘Few would now assume as Viollet-le-Duc did that monks themselves built and carved the great monasteries in Romanesque style...Viollet thought that Cluny provided western Europe with architects as it did monastic reformers, scholars and statesmen. Anthyme Saint Paul disproved this in 1867, since when it is accepted that while there may be a Cistercian style in early Gothic, there is not a Cluniac style in Romanesque’; Evans (1938), 3. Evans says of Castle Acre that ‘outside the plan there is no trace of French influence’; Evans (1938), 9, n. 2.

⁴⁹ Evans (1938), 150.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 149.

⁵¹ Evans cites institutions as far from each other, and with origins as different, as Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire and San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, both reformed under Abbot Odo ((926-42); Evans (1938), 149-52.

⁵² Evans (1938), 9.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 3, 80.

and circulated to houses within the congregation.⁵⁴ Artists and craftsmen, as itinerant as manuscripts and seal matrices were portable, tended to follow wealthy patronage regardless of religious affiliation.⁵⁵ This is demonstrated in a Cluniac context by the related early-twelfth-century wall-paintings in the so-called ‘Lewes Group’ of five parish churches in Sussex, only some of which were linked to the eponymous Cluniac priory.⁵⁶

Turning briefly to the theme of architecture in her book on Cluniac art, Evans refers to her earlier study of ‘the characteristic Cluniac plans’, claiming uncompromisingly that the ‘tradition of the Order imposed certain plans and proportions which produced a characteristic type of church,’ insisting that ‘Cluniac architecture...has characteristics of its own.’⁵⁷ This return to her earlier theory, with even greater determination, inevitably called for a response. Reviewing Evans’ volume of 1950, Rose Graham reminded readers of the position Dame Joan had taken in her earlier book and of her previous attempt to challenge the conclusion reached by Lefèvre-Pontalis and De Lasteyrie, and subsequently reinforced by Marcel Aubert, that there was ‘no homogeneity in Cluniac priories.’⁵⁸

Evans had a sympathetic ally in Kenneth Conant, doyen of Cluniac archaeologists, who accused the French writers of obscuring the fact, by their constant denial of an *école clunisienne*, that ‘unified groups do exist among the buildings ...constructed by the Cluniacs during the two Romanesque centuries’, citing the

⁵⁴ The earliest extant version of a collection of Ambrosian texts from Milan was made c.998—1030/1040 at Saint-Bénigne, founded by William of Volpiano who left Cluny to establish the Dijonnais abbey in 989. As mentioned above, William carried the Cluniac monastic spirit to his own congregation of houses throughout Europe, returning to Dijon from a visit to Italy in 996-7 with newly-recruited monks including one Godfredus, archdeacon of Milan Cathedral and likely courier of the Ambrosian texts copied at Saint-Bénigne. William may have been responsible for supplying some of Cluny’s twenty-two volumes of Ambrosian texts, an astonishingly large collection; Ferrari, M., ‘From Milan to Europe. The transmission and diffusion of the works of St Ambrose’, John Cotton Memorial Annual Palaeography Lecture, Institute of Advanced Studies, London, 2nd May 2013; <http://www.sas.ac.uk/videos-and-podcasts/culture-language-literature/milan-europe-transmission-and-diffusion-works-st-amb>.

⁵⁵ Sandy Heslop suggests that English Cluniac seals also possessed qualities that distinguish them from those of other houses; Heslop, T. A., ‘Les monastères clunisiens anglais et leurs sceaux: vers 1090-1220’ in *Cluny. Onze Siècles de Rayonnement*, ed. N. Stratford (Paris), 380-86.

⁵⁶ Baker, A. M., ‘Lewes Priory and the Early Group of Wall Paintings in Sussex’, *Walpole Society* 31 (1942-43), 1-44. They find a parallel in a group of Romanesque stone fonts by a single sculptor, all bearing similar carving, in the Norfolk parish churches of Sculthorpe, Shernborne and Toftrees. The first alone paid tithes to Lewes Priory, established by William Warenne, founder of the influential Norfolk dynasty, whereas the others belonged to Binham Priory; Franklin, J. A. ‘Preface to Norfolk’, *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture in Britain and Ireland*; www.crsbi.ac.uk.

⁵⁷ Evans (1950), 1-5.

⁵⁸ Graham (1951).

dimensional description of the monastery at Cluny given in the Farfa Consuetudinary of 1043.⁵⁹ Conant identified five separate building types deployed by Cluniac monasteries, ‘both subject and associated.’⁶⁰ None of this amounted to a systematic architectural code of practice, of course, and indeed Conant qualified his comment by adding diplomatically that ‘the Cluniacs were more zealous for uniformity in customs...than in architecture.’⁶¹

To some extent, Joan Evans was contending with a twentieth-century art historical fraternity more at ease with random behaviour and inconsistency than with anything faintly deterministic and schematic, and mistrustful of theories reconstructing a conformist approach, except in the realm of Cistercian architecture where the material evidence was unequivocal. Alfred Clapham’s assertion that the twelfth-century churches of English Augustinian canons did not conform to a particular type, for example, betrays a nervousness of a similar kind. In Clapham’s view, equally sweeping in its way, Augustinians adhered to ‘no standard plan’ for their churches; in fact, their buildings ‘present a greater variety than those of any other body.’⁶² Clapham’s judgement prevails but as my studies have shown, it was based on a comparison of churches erected at various points throughout the twelfth century, representing different building phases.⁶³ Yet Clapham was closer to Evans in outlook when he declared that: ‘The earliest church-building in England after the Conquest was largely in the hands of the Benedictine Order..,’ albeit referring to an institutional entity whose existence in the twelfth century would not be recognised today.⁶⁴ His view chimes with Joan Evans’ statement that: ‘Romanesque architecture was created and developed in the service of Benedictine monasticism.’⁶⁵ Evans went as far as to acknowledge the existence of a specifically ‘Benedictine’ church plan, as defined by Lefèvre-Pontalis, one that included a triple apse, the central one wider, and an apsed transept.⁶⁶ However, she was clear that the occurrence of the plan at Cluny II, consecrated in 981 and probably begun 50 years earlier, was ‘much the earliest’

⁵⁹ Conant, K. J., *Carolingian and Romanesque Architecture 800-1200*, 2nd revd edn (Harmondsworth 1978), 186-87.

⁶⁰ They included one based on Cluny II, another usually featuring ambulatories and barrel-vaulted naves, a third connected to Sainte-Madeleine at Vézelay, a fourth type related to the chapel near the infirmary at Cluny, and a fifth to Cluny III; *ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² Clapham (1934), 84.

⁶³ Franklin (2004), 73—88 (at 85 n.1); Franklin (2012), 78-98 (at 84).

⁶⁴ Clapham (1934), 70; Little (1978), 62.

⁶⁵ Evans (1938), 3.

⁶⁶ Lefèvre-Pontalis, E., ‘Les plans des églises romanes bénédictines,’ *Bulletin Monumental* 76 (1912), 439—85 (at 440).

manifestation of it, implying that Cluny should be seen as its source. Pointing out that, as each Benedictine monastery was autonomous, it was built in the local style, she could agree with Lefèvre-Pontalis that the (non-Cluniac) Benedictine abbeys of Jumièges and Saint-Etienne at Caen are typically Norman, adding moreover that Sainte-Foy-de-Conques is, equally characteristically, Auvergnat.⁶⁷ What set Evans apart from Lefèvre-Pontalis and others in this discussion, however, and led her to reach the conclusion she did, was the distinction she consistently made between Benedictine and Cluniac monasticism, which they did not.

Evans' proposition that a Romanesque architecture existed that was characteristic of the Cluniac 'Order' is not borne out by material evidence. This is only partly because a homogeneous, hierarchical Cluniac institution of that kind cannot be said to have existed before the end of the twelfth century; the conformity of early Cistercian architectural practice in Britain, a quarter of a century before their Order was formally constituted—around the middle of the twelfth century—suggests that institutional coherence is not an absolute prerequisite for a concerted building programme. Ultimately, however, there was never a period in Cluny's history to compare with that of Cîteaux in the decades after the year 1100, or even with that of Augustinian canons at around the same time, where its influence would have been exerted in such a corporate way as to have been reflected in the wide-scale adoption of distinctive building forms within its congregation.

Current thinking is that the stepped-apse formation—adopted, with variations, for numerous churches in the first half of the eleventh century and at one time referred to as the 'Benedictine' plan—was indeed inspired by the plan of Cluny II.⁶⁸ In a sense, Joan Evans is vindicated by this, but the abiding problem seems to be that the plan was widely used for monastic churches in general, not exclusively by those of the congregation of Cluny, and thus is not seen as distinctively Cluniac. Ironically, the very popularity of plan has obscured our understanding of its use.

Once I was aware of it, the debate that Dame Joan sustained over many years struck a chord with me, in that my own proposal about the adoption by a religious community of a particular architectural plan also met with resistance. As with the doubts greeting Evans' theory, scepticism regarding the claim for consistency among the canons' churches derived partly from the view that they were more accurately

⁶⁷ Lefèvre-Pontalis (1910), 220; Evans (1938), 4.

⁶⁸ Vergnolle (2010), 79.

characterised as architecturally varied than unified, and that this variety was borne of adherence to localised architectural traditions.

On the face of it, there might indeed appear to be common ground between the monastic congregations associating themselves with Cluny and the new communities of Augustinian canons. For example, both often had a previous institutional identity—and thus an existing church—before adopting Cluniac customs or the Augustinian Rule respectively. Also, neither was joining a tightly centralised, homogeneous organisation. Yet, as I argue, the recently regulated canons in Britain in the first decades of the twelfth century favoured a particular form of church, whereas the monasteries long associated with Cluny by that time did not.

In the last analysis, the two groups had relatively little in common, partly because of their different traditions—Benedictine monasticism on the one hand and the priesthood on the other—but also because the moment at which the new foundations for regular canons emerged was an era of thoroughgoing religious reform, aimed particularly at the order of priests.

Cîteaux and Stephen Harding: 'Pride and glory of our times':

It has long been established that the generation of monumental churches erected at Cistercian monasteries between the mid 1130s and 1150s share enough common features for it to be clear that the white monks had an approach to architecture that was particular to themselves. At that period, the plans of their buildings consistently manifest a distinctive set of features, now known generically as 'Bernardine', a reference to the most prominent Cistercian abbot at that period, Bernard of Clairvaux.⁶⁹ It has now been shown at some of the English sites that these impressive aisled structures replaced an older and much smaller stone building datable to the period 1128 to 1136. These, the earliest Cistercian churches in Europe whose form has reliably been established, were aisleless and cruciform in plan.

Despite the phenomenon of the so-called 'Bernadine' plan, the notion that religious groups adopted a uniform building type in the Middle Ages meets with some resistance. This perhaps stems from a suspicion that such systematic behaviour is at odds with the sheer variety of forms encountered in medieval church architecture, as

⁶⁹ Halsey, R., 'The earliest architecture of the Cistercians in England,' in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, eds C. Norton and D. Park (Cambridge 1986/2011), 65-85 (at 68). By 1160, fifty-one Cistercian abbeys were established on permanent sites in England, Wales and Scotland, including eleven originally Savignac foundations; *ibid.*, 65.

well as with the apparently polymorphous nature of medieval thought. The architectural conformity evident among the Cistercians in the mid-twelfth century is doubtless seen as unique or at least atypical, a reflection of what is perceived to be the unusually regulated and centralised character of their particular congregation, whose vigorous brand of Benedictine monasticism, initiated in Burgundy under Robert, Abbot of Molesme, after 1098, spread rapidly across Europe and became the most successful medieval religious order in Western Christendom.

Among the monks who left Molesme with Abbot Robert was the Englishman Stephen Harding who, with his associates, established the new monastery later known as Cîteaux, and laid the constitutional foundation of the Cistercian congregation, characterised by its close adherence to the sixth-century monastic rule of St Benedict and by a determination to authenticate its conduct.⁷⁰ In 1099, Stephen became prior of Cîteaux and was, as its abbot from 1108 until 1133, at the helm of what became Europe's first formally constituted monastic order. The earliest Cistercian communities in Burgundy rapidly generated a family of daughter houses across Europe.⁷¹

Scholars have questioned whether a homogeneous Cistercian brotherhood can have taken shape as early as the end of the eleventh century.⁷² Arguing against the emergence of a fully constituted Cistercian Order much before the last quarter of the twelfth century, historians now see the congregation as more loosely affiliated until then, incorporating existing communities as well as new foundations on virgin sites.⁷³ As early as c.1124, however, probably before the Cistercians were even established in England, the Anglo-Norman historian William of Malmesbury was able to report that the Cistercian way of life (*'religio Cistellensis'*) was deemed the most reliable route to heaven.⁷⁴ Regardless of the level of development of their institution at that stage, the Cistercians had clearly acquired a coherent identity and a high reputation by William's day, as had their presiding abbot, Stephen Harding, whom William lionises as 'a sounding trumpet of the Lord' and 'the pride and glory of our times.'⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Franklin (2013), 77-94 (at 88).

⁷¹ Cîteaux's first colony at La Ferté (Saône-et-Loire), founded by 1113, was followed by Pontigny (Yonne) in 1114, then by Morimond (Haute Marne) and Clairvaux (Aube) in 1115; King, A. A., *Cîteaux and her Elder Daughters* (London 1954), (La Ferté) 106-47, (Pontigny) 148-206, (Clairvaux) 207-328. (Morimond) 329-87.

⁷² Berman, C. H., *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-century Europe* (Philadelphia 2000).

⁷³ Berman, (2000), 101-10; Halsey (1986/2011), 65-66.

⁷⁴ William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thompson and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford 1998-1999) I, iv. 334, 1.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, I, iv. 337. 1.

Stephen Harding's reputation was soon overshadowed by that of his younger contemporary Bernard of Fontaines, who joined the Cistercian brethren and became abbot of a newly established monastery at Clairvaux in 1115. While Stephen's seminal contribution to the development of the embryonic congregation is acknowledged, his achievements in the last decade of his life have always been masked by Bernard's.⁷⁶ That Abbot Bernard is seen as such a major figure is not surprising, given his prominence in the public realm, his legacy of letters and texts, and his association with the great period of expansion of Cistercianism during the middle decades of the twelfth century. Bernard was closely involved with the foundation of two of the earliest Cistercian abbeys in England, at Rievaulx and Fountains in North Yorkshire, in 1132.⁷⁷ It is important to note, however, that the very first Cistercian monasteries in Britain—those at Waverley (Surrey) and Tintern (Mon.) in 1128 and 1131 respectively—were established while Stephen Harding, expatriate Englishman, was presiding abbot of the congregation's principal house at Cîteaux, and that it was from Cîteaux, rather than Clairvaux, that the filiation of these first members of the English congregation was descended.⁷⁸

There is uncertainty about the form of the first stone churches of the early Cistercian houses in Burgundy, but there is sufficient evidence to show that, by the 1130s, the white monks were pursuing architectural ideas in common. Shortly after the first Cistercian stone churches were begun in Britain, at least three of the important mother houses in France—Cîteaux, Clairvaux and Pontigny—began new building campaigns.⁷⁹ Under construction during the second quarter of the twelfth century, these new monastic complexes are indicators of the success of the burgeoning congregation. They possessed all of the main features of what was to become the standard Cistercian monastic format.

At Cîteaux, a small church of uncertain character consecrated in 1106 was replaced by a building generally dated to c.1140-50.⁸⁰ Referred to as Cîteaux II, it was demolished in the 1790s and is known only from 17th- and 18th-century drawings.⁸¹

⁷⁶ Franklin (2013), 88.

⁷⁷ Robinson (1998/2002), 160-64, 111-15; Robinson (2006), 65-66.

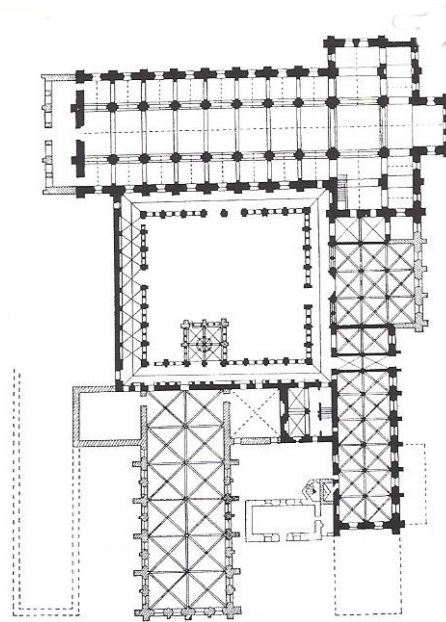
⁷⁸ The connection with Cîteaux is not shown in 'Tables of Cistercian affiliations', Norton, C, and D. Park, eds, *Cistercian Art and Architecture* (Cambridge 1986/2011), 393-401 (at 395).

⁷⁹ Bilson, J., 'The architecture of the Cistercians, with special reference to some of their earlier churches in England', *Archaeological Journal* 66 (1909), 210-17; Fergusson, P., *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-century England* (Princeton 1984), 38, 52-53; Robinson (2006), 61.

⁸⁰ Robinson (2006), 55, 61.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 61.

The plan of the second church at Cîteaux is usually considered to have included a notably small square-ended presbytery, partially aisled four-bay transepts, a nine-bay aisled nave and a western porch. It may have been wood-roofed, though groin vaults have convincingly been suggested.⁸² An early eighteenth-century drawing of Clairvaux II by Nicolas Milley, showing an impressive church with an eleven-bay aisled nave, fully aisled transepts and full-width western porch, may record the documented building begun c.1135 and consecrated in or by 1145, but might well show a later structure.⁸³ Much of the form of the Romanesque church of Pontigny, unlike Cîteaux and Clairvaux, survives intact or is recoverable and has been variously dated by scholars to between the 1130s and the 1150s.⁸⁴ It also had a square-ended, unaisled presbytery, fully aisled transepts, an aisled nave of eight bays and a wide western porch.



20. Fontenay Abbey: plan

The distinctive features shared by these buildings constitute the characteristics of the design formula known as the 'Bernadine' plan, a term coined by Karl-Heinz

⁸² Dimier, A., *Recueil de plans d'églises cisterciennes*, 2 vols; supp., 2 vols (Paris 1949-67), I, plan 79. Frankl, P., *Gothic Architecture*, rev edn by P. Crossley (New Haven and London 2000), 93.

⁸³ The ambulatory shown in Milley's drawings of Clairvaux is thought to have replaced a small, unaisled square-ended presbytery of 1135-45; Robinson (2006), 61; Kennedy (Gajewski), A. K. M., 'Gothic architecture in northern Burgundy in the 12th and early 13th centuries', unpubl. PhD thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art (London, 1996), 131-65.

⁸⁴ Robinson (2006), 61-62.

Esser in the 1950s.⁸⁵ The earliest surviving example of the plan is generally held to be the church datable to the 1130s at Fontenay (Côte-d'Or), founded in 1118 as a daughter house of Clairvaux.⁸⁶ Fontenay possesses all of the plan's identifying features, including the short, square-ended presbytery, transepts with square eastern chapels, a long aisled nave and a western porch. Notable aspects of Fontenay's elevation and interior—including the absence of a clerestory, the penumbrate nave and luminous east end, emphatic bay divisions, a main arcade with relatively plain pointed arches, pointed barrel vaults throughout and simple foliate capitals—are found elsewhere in twelfth-century Cistercian architecture.⁸⁷ Fontenay's profile is marked by the lack of an architecturally defined crossing and tower where the nave and transepts interconnect, and by its low transept arms, a feature of earlier Burgundian buildings, such as Cluny II, as we have seen. Its uninterrupted nave terminates in a high gable wall, dwarfing the low presbytery that directly abuts it to the east. This striking arrangement—accommodating the Cistercian prohibition of belfries by means of the essentially Burgundian 'unstressed crossing'—recurred in many other Cistercian churches of the 1140s and 1150s, such as Clairmont (Mayenne), Tre Fontane in Rome and Pontigny, although it may have been lacking at Clairvaux II, Fontenay's mother house.⁸⁸



21. Fontenay Abbey: nave, looking east

⁸⁵ Robinson (2006), 62; Esser, K-H., 'Les fouilles à Himmerod et le plan bernardin', in *Association bourgignonne des sociétés savants* (1954), 311-15.

⁸⁶ Robinson (2006), 65.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., n. 33

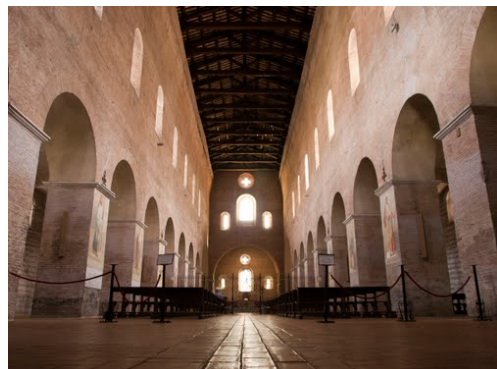
The theory that the systematic application of a set of architectural ideas was in place at Cistercian houses, developed further by Hanno Hahn and François Bucher, has become firmly accepted, although the idea that it was instituted directly by St Bernard himself has been questioned, as has the proposition that Clairvaux II provided the immediate model.⁸⁹ However, despite uncertainty about aspects of Clairvaux's design, as David Robinson says: 'For at least two decades from the later 1140s, this highly distinctive church plan was almost universally employed at Cistercian abbeys across Europe...there cannot really be much doubt that the genesis of the plan itself can be traced back to the new church built at Clairvaux c.1135-45,' notwithstanding widely-held doubts that Milley's illustrations of 1708 actually shows the lost building as it was at that point in the twelfth century.⁹⁰



22. Fontenay Abbey: presbytery and south transept chapels, from the south east.



**23. Three Cistercian abbeys
i. Clairmont**



ii. Tre Fontane: looking east

⁸⁹ Hahn, H., *Die frühe Kirchenbaukunst der Zisterzienser: Untersuchungen zur Baugeschichte von Kloster Eberbach im Rheingau und ihren europäischen Analogien im 12. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1957); F. Bucher, *Notre-Dame de Bonmont und die ersten Zisterzienserabteien der Schweiz* (Berne 1957); Robinson, (2006), 63, 309 n. 20.

⁹⁰ Robinson (2006), 64-65 and n. 27.



iii. Pontigny

Not long after its emergence in Burgundy, the ‘Bernardine’ plan is thought to have been transmitted to Britain where it was long held to have been used first c.1132 at Rievaulx, now a majestic ruin whose structure preserves the remains of successive building phases up to c.1220-30.⁹¹ Until relatively recently, the generally accepted architectural sequence of known Cistercian churches in Britain ran thus: Waverley (c.1128), Tintern (c.1131), Rievaulx (c.1132), Fountains II (c.1135-6) and Kirkstall (after 1152-c.1170).⁹² This chronology, achieved by attaching such documentary dates as we have to whatever appropriate structures appear to have survived, was disrupted first of all by the discovery of evidence for an earlier aisleless cross-plan church beneath the standing south transept at Fountains, and more recently by indications of a further example at Rievaulx.⁹³

As a consequence, the monumental aisled Romanesque building at Rievaulx, whose fragmentary nave and transepts were formerly associated with the foundation of the house c.1132, is now variously judged to have been built around 1140 to 1150.⁹⁴ The following equally well-informed accounts of its architecture, separated by some forty years, demonstrate the way in which our understanding of the building has shifted in response to new findings, adumbrating the comparable phenomenon that my thesis explores in the context of Augustinian churches.

⁹¹ Fergusson, P., and S. Harrison, *Rievaulx Abbey: Community, Architecture, Memory* (New Haven and London 1999), 37-38.

⁹² Halsey (1986/2011), 69.

⁹³ Fergusson and Harrison (1999), 46-47.

⁹⁴ Robinson (1998/2002), 160-64.

In Richard Halsey's opinion, informed by the earlier findings of John Bilson, the continuous nave, one of the hallmarks of the 'Bernadine' plan, was not a feature of the first aisled Cistercian churches in England, being absent from both Rievaulx and Fountains III.⁹⁵ Halsey emphasises aspects of the design and decoration of these Yorkshire abbeys that locate them firmly in the Anglo-Norman mainstream, rather than in a Burgundian tradition. For example, the wooden roof at Rievaulx and the equal height of transept and nave walls at both churches.⁹⁶ Halsey also stresses the lack of evidence at Rievaulx itself for the use in the nave of pointed arches, another Burgundian feature. He suggests a date for the aisled church at Rievaulx of c.1140 and sums the building up as 'an English mason's interpretation of an oral description of a Cistercian church with a supplied ground-plan...built without first-hand knowledge of specifically Burgundian architectural practice.'⁹⁷

David Robinson reports a more recent view, on the other hand, which proposes a second stone church at Rievaulx with a 'Bernadine' plan, datable to the mid-1130s, reconstructed partly on the basis of evidence surviving at Rievaulx's daughter house at Melrose, founded in 1136.⁹⁸ This building at Rievaulx appears to have been partly demolished and rebuilt c.1150, and again had a short, square-ended presbytery, transepts with eastern chapels, a nine-bay aisled nave with pointed arcades and a full-width western porch.⁹⁹ According to Robinson, the aisled structure at Rievaulx also had an unstressed crossing, distinctive feature of the Burgundian 'Bernadine' plan, and a two-storey elevation.¹⁰⁰

The continuous nave and unstressed crossing also appear to have been features of the very earliest Cistercian churches in stone in the British Isles, as excavated aisleless and cruciform Waverley and Tintern suggest.¹⁰¹ Richard Halsey points out that the presence of a continuous nave and the absence of a crossing tower would have affected the massing of these structures.¹⁰² The profile of these early Cistercian buildings would thus have differed somewhat from that of aisleless cruciform churches in the landscape served by canons, such as Stowe (Lincs.) or Augustinian Portchester, where a low tower at the crossing was the norm. In most other respects, however, aisleless

⁹⁵ Halsey (1986/2011), 80; *Ibid.*, 81.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 79, 80, 81.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 85.

⁹⁸ Robinson (2006), 66.

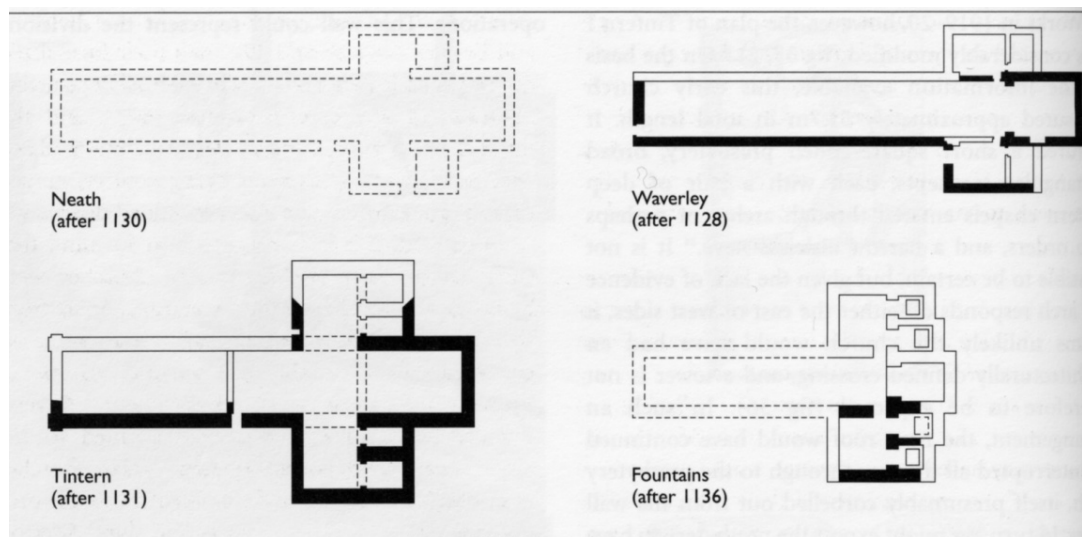
⁹⁹ Robinson (1998/2002), 161-62; Robinson (2006), 66 and figs 41 and 43.

¹⁰⁰ Robinson (1998/2002), 161-62.

¹⁰¹ Halsey (1986/2011), 70; Robinson, D. M., *Tintern Abbey*, fifth revd. edn (Cardiff 2011), 28-29.

¹⁰² Halsey (1986/2011), 70.

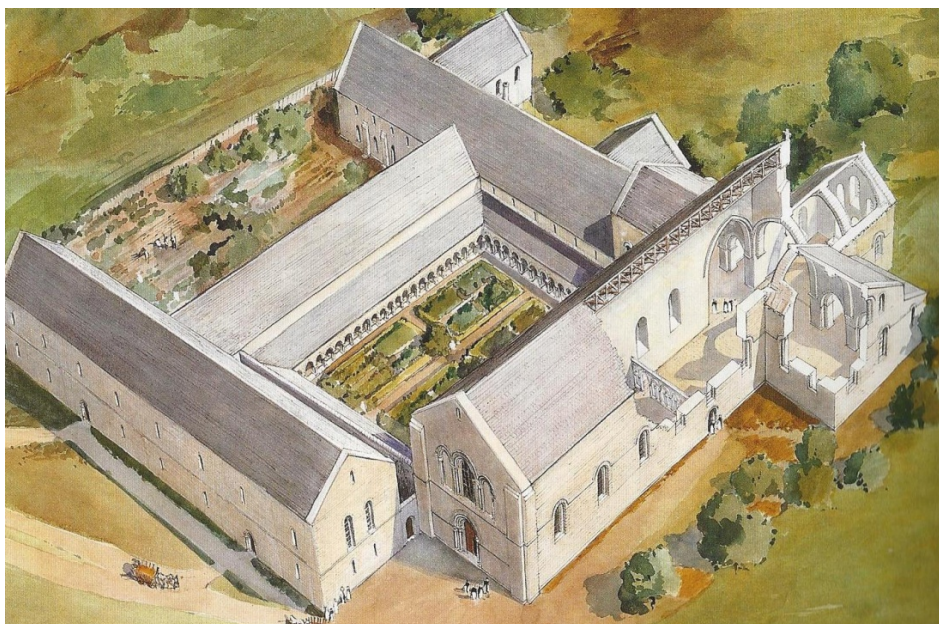
cruciform Cistercian churches did not differ appreciably from those of other congregations, in terms of scale, for example.¹⁰³ The length of the choir of an Augustinian unaisled church might be somewhat longer than a Cistercian example, as at St Leonard Stanley (Glos.) or at Norton (Cheshire).¹⁰⁴ Rather than representing a conceptual or iconographical difference, however, this presumably relates to the canons' need to accommodate a lay congregation in part of the nave on occasion, unlike Cistercian monks, and therefore building a commensurately longer eastern arm for themselves.



24. Early Cistercian aisleless and cruciform church plans from Robinson (2006)(© Cadw, Welsh Government; Crown Copyright)

¹⁰³ Although the over-all length of Waverley, at almost 54m, was greater than that of Augustinian Portchester at just over 39m, it also exceeded that of its Cistercian contemporaries at Tintern (approx. 50m) and Fountains (approx. 35m). It was, moreover, more comparable in length with Augustinian Norton (46m) or Kirkham (43m). Wall thicknesses at 1.07m are similar at Waverley and Portchester, while both naves are about 7.32m wide; Halsey (1986/2011), 70; Robinson (1998/2002), 40.

¹⁰⁴ Franklin (2012), 80, fig. 1b; *Ibid.*, fig. 1c.



25. Tintern Abbey: posited reconstruction, as at the end of the 12th century, from Robinson (2011) [T. Ball, 2002. © Cadw. Welsh Government; Crown Copyright]

The earliest Cistercian churches in Britain—at Waverley (Surrey), Tintern (Mon.), Rievaulx and Fountains (North Yorks), datable to the period 1128-1132—were, thus, aisleless and cruciform in plan.¹⁰⁵ Among the suggestions I propose in the last of the five accompanying articles is that these churches were built according to a predetermined concept, as were the great aisled buildings that replaced them. These small cross-plan structures should not be seen as short-term solutions, seized upon as an expedient solution for a newly-established community, however. Neither of the examples at the first British Cistercian monasteries, founded from Cîteaux's daughter house during the abbacy of Stephen Harding, was replaced by an aisled building for more than a century; Waverley was not rebuilt until 1231 and Tintern between 1270 and 1288.¹⁰⁶

Adherence to particular building forms appears to have been a Cistercian trait, throughout the twelfth century and into the Gothic period.¹⁰⁷ It is particularly relevant for my thesis that, as with the more complex case of Cluny II, in Cistercian architecture the most consistently recurring element—and the most readily transmissible, as Richard Halsey implies—is the ground plan, be it the so-called

¹⁰⁵ Halsey (1986/2011), 70, 71, 72, 73, 77; Fergusson and Harrison (1999), 46-48.

¹⁰⁶ Halsey (1986/2011), 70 n. 33; *Ibid.*, 72 n. 36. By contrast, the next two aisleless and cruciform churches in the British sequence, Fountains and Rievaulx, founded from Bernadine Clairvaux, seem to have lasted less than two decades; *ibid.*, 75 n. 47.

¹⁰⁷ Coldstream, N., 'Cistercian Architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution' in Norton and Park (1986/2011), 139-59 (at 140).

‘Bernardine’ scheme of the 1130s and ’40s, or the aisleless cruciform type used for the congregation’s early churches.

Although the Cistercians did not introduce the aisleless cruciform plan into the British Isles—English Augustinian canons had already adopted it, and it had long been used by communities of priests—they were among the first to deploy it there in a monastic context.¹⁰⁸ In selecting the unaisled cross-plan configuration for their churches, the early Cistercians were following some unrecorded dictum. Neither the Benedictine Rule nor their own texts contain directives about the form that a church should take. Other than a single reference to the prohibition of bell towers, the latter offer no guidance as to the appropriate architecture for a monastic complex.¹⁰⁹ By the end of the eleventh century, the sign of the Cross had become firmly identified with the crusade. Notwithstanding Bernard of Clairvaux’s treatise *In Praise of the New Warfare*, and his personal commitment to the Second Crusade of 1147, Cistercians were not encouraged to participate in the early military campaigns.¹¹⁰ An unauthorised attempt by a group of Cistercian brethren to establish a house in the Holy Land in 1124 had come to nothing.¹¹¹ The adoption of the emblematic aisleless cruciform plan for their first stone churches might have consoled those early Cistercians who, denied the opportunity of wearing the cross abroad as warriors of Jesus Christ, were obliged instead to bear its burden on home ground.¹¹²

I argue that the Cistercians had chosen the form because of its Early Christian pedigree, dating back to the *Basilica Apostolorum*/S. Nazaro in Milan, still firmly associated with St Ambrose in the twelfth century. Cistercian adherence to Early Christian precedent in other spheres is well attested.¹¹³ I suggest that the selection of the aisleless cruciform plan for their first stone churches arose from a desire to deploy

¹⁰⁸ Another of the reformed Benedictine congregations that emerged in France in the late eleventh century, the Savignacs, were established in the British Isles before the Cistercians but were absorbed by them in 1147. The form of the earliest Savignac church in England, at the congregation’s first permanent foundation at Furness (Cumbria) of 1124, is unclear, but if it is reflected in the recovered plan of the aisleless cruciform church of c1130 at their house at Neath (Llandaff), this might indicate that they, rather than the Cistercians, were the first reformed Benedictine monks to use the plan in Britain. The only twelfth-century aisleless Augustinian church to survive is the dated example at Portchester (1129x1148/1150) but there is no reason to see that as the canons’ first use of the plan; Franklin (1989), 44-61 (at 58-59 n. 41).

¹⁰⁹ Holdsworth, C., ‘The chronology and character of early Cistercian legislation on art and architecture’, in Norton and Park (1986/2011), 55.

¹¹⁰ Lekai, (1977), 52-64 (at 52).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² II Timothy 2: 3-4.

¹¹³ Franklin (2013), 88.

an ancient ‘Ambrosian’ model from Milan, just as they are known to have done for some of their liturgical music.¹¹⁴ This observation not only brings Stephen Harding and his circle to the fore as the most likely instigators of the adoption of the plan for their early communities.¹¹⁵ It also locates the emergence of the Cistercian ethos firmly in the last quarter of the eleventh century, and sees the forging of the nascent congregation in the embers of the papal reform movement in Rome, rather than in the intellectual white heat of early twelfth-century Paris, as is usually suggested.¹¹⁶

The historical source of the aisleless cruciform plan was, as I argue, the assiduously preserved church established by St Ambrose in Milan, enduringly redolent of apostolic authority. As my thesis has attempted to show, the cruciferous iconography of this Ambrosian building was reinvoked with particular force in Europe at certain moments during the Middle Ages, notably in the late-eighth century and in the later-eleventh. I have suggested that its connotations pertained exclusively to priests, from the eleventh century if not before, until it was also deployed for a time by newly reformed Benedictine congregations, such as those led by Robert of Arbrissel and Stephen Harding in the early twelfth century.¹¹⁷ In my view, the dedicated use of the aisleless cruciform plan by both the priesthood until c1100, and by communities of reformed Benedictine monks thereafter, is best explained in iconographic terms.

My reconstruction of this pattern of events emerged with the gradual realisation that scholars had failed to discern the pattern of concerted use of aisleless cruciform churches by early English Augustinian canons. This lacuna was largely the result, I argue, of their having missed the indications of a previous, lost twelfth-century building, or of the incorporation of existing structure, at Augustinian sites.¹¹⁸ That observation was in turn prompted while I was wrestling with the notional reconstruction of the twelfth-century church and cloister at Augustinian Bridlington Priory. Around that time, at a lecture by Richard Halsey in London, c. 1983, I saw a projected image of the recently excavated aisleless and cruciform church in the ruined

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 88, 90.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 89-90. Some commentators say categorically that Stephen visited Paris while en route for Rome, implying that he studied there. See, for example, L. J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent State U. P 1977), 17. The suggestion is that this would have been a formative experience for the young man. One writer even alleges that Stephen had contact with ‘the most renowned schools of the age—Paris, Rheims, Laon, Bec, Chartres’; Stercal, C., *Stephen Harding*, trans M. F. Krieg (Collegeville MN 2008), 16. All that William of Malmesbury tells us, however, is that Stephen went to France, and that is all that we know; William of Malmesbury (1998-1999), I, 334, 2.

¹¹⁷ Franklin (2013), 90-91 and n. 135.

¹¹⁸ Franklin (2012), 84-89.

Cistercian precinct of Fountains Abbey. This diminutive stone building appears to have been the second in a series of three churches on the site.¹¹⁹ It dawned on me then that, had a sequence of a similar kind occurred at Bridlington, it would help to explain the discrepancy in scale between church and cloister quadrangle there, and it was effectively at that point that the ideas underpinning my thesis began to take shape.

¹¹⁹ Halsey (1986/2011), 73-75.

CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to show that unaisled Latin-cross churches, even of modest size, were neither provisional buildings, nor stepping stones along a typological path towards a more sophisticated architectural form, and that, despite its simplicity, the aisleless cruciform plan was endowed with significance.

I hope that my observations help to indicate that the aisleless cruciform church should be thought of not simply as a type of building—an institutional structure for which no particular architectural formula has ever prevailed, as, for example, with schools, or libraries. Instead, because, in my view, its purpose was identified with its form, I suggest that it should be classified as a building type, much like a lighthouse, a castle, a stadium or a windmill. While it is not possible to claim with confidence that the plan was deployed exclusively before c.1000, I have attempted to demonstrate that by the eleventh century at least, until c.1100/1125, it was proper to the priesthood. As communities of priests were the bishop's men, answerable, unlike Benedictine monks, to their diocesan, I argue further that the aisleless cruciform church might also be seen as an 'episcopal' building type.

My hope is that my findings will be tested and applied diagnostically in order to show, for example, that aisleless cruciform churches in monastic hands were originally intended for priests, with all that this implies in terms of dating, liturgical function, ownership and status. My research underscores the value of investigating the various medieval religious congregations in relation to their buildings, and of weighing carefully the casual use, in the Middle Ages as now, of generic terms such as 'monastery.'

The critical eye with which we examine the fabric of a Romanesque church should be attuned to the indices of unrecorded medieval restoration so as to determine whether the building was based, literally, on an earlier structure. We must always bear in mind that new institutions might re-use and modify existing structures, rather than inevitably starting afresh. This may entail our questioning the traditional interpretation of any associated documentary or archaeological evidence.

Art historical research often progresses by dint of informed speculation. Our conclusions must, therefore, be rigorously interrogated and frequently reassessed, so as to avoid the construction of false chronologies and flawed generalisations. There is, it seems, an abiding need for the various methodologies and bodies of knowledge associated with archaeology, architectural and ecclesiastical history to question and inform each other more closely and without prejudice.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

BAA	British Archaeological Association.
BAACT	British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions.
<i>HE</i>	<i>Bede: Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</i> , eds B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford 1969).
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association.
MGH – SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica – Scriptores.

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