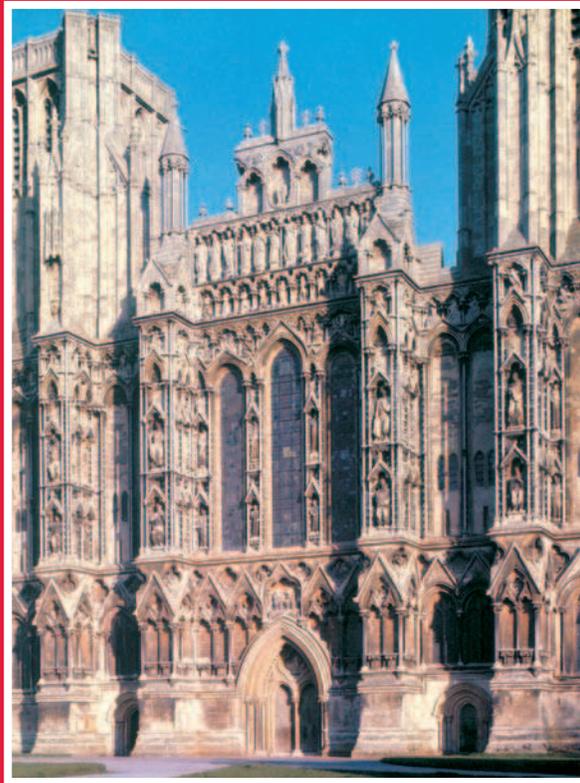# *Façade as Spectacle: Ritual and Ideology at Wells Cathedral*

Carolyn Marino Malone

FAÇADE AS SPECTACLE:
RITUAL AND IDEOLOGY AT WELLS CATHEDRAL

STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION TRADITIONS

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BY

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This book is printed on acid-free paper.

To the memory of Jean Bony, 1908–1995

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I

THE BISHOP'S HOMILY AND THE MASTER MASON'S RESPONSE

PART II

THE ENGLISH CHURCH OF THE 1220S

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The plates can be found after the Conclusion, between pages 238 and 239.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

A façade, by definition, is meant to address a viewer and to be a showpiece for an audience.[1] A façade speaks for the entire building and for its community, and it can project onto that community a striking self-image. Covered with an excess of over two hundred gabled niches for statues, no façade was so clearly designed as spectacle as was the west façade of the church of St. Andrew at Wells (Figs. 1 and 2).[2] Located in England, where façades were previously nearly bare of sculpture, this façade was an anomaly when designed in the 1220s. It would also have been highly anomalous on the Continent where the paragon was the French system of three huge portals, each with its concentration of statues and specialized theme. Although the Coronation of the Virgin, a sculptural theme common in French portals, is the focus of the façade's program at Wells, it appears in an entirely new context, paired neither with the Assumption of the Virgin nor with the Last Judgement but framed instead with an array of saints without reference to retribution.

Long before the sculptural message can be read, however, this array of saints in gabled niches creates an immediate effect of spectacle. To maximize display the façade has been made twice the width of the nave and aisles (Figs. 2 and 3). It is almost as wide as the façade of Notre-Dame in Paris, although the church of Wells itself is about half the

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[1] English medieval documents usually refer to the west front of the church as *frons ecclesiae*. See O. Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen zur Kunst in England, Wales, und Schottland vom Jahre 901 bis zum Jahre 1307* (Munchen, 1955), vol. 5, p. 183 for references to *frons*, and vol. 1, p. 445, no. 1639 for an early thirteenth-century reference at Evesham Abbey to *frons occidentalis ecclesiae*. The term façade, although not found in medieval documents, describes best the west front conceived as a screen at Wells since for architectural historians, such as S. Murray, *Notre-Dame Cathedral of Amiens* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 87, the modern term façade 'conveys the meaning of an exterior veneer, not necessarily integrated with the interior structure.'

[2] A. Andersson, *English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure sculpture in Wood, 1220–1270* (Stockholm, 1950), p. 16. The façade of Wells is the largest preserved concentration of sculpture from the Middle Ages in England. See Chapter 3, p. 94 n. 29 for the number of gabled niches.

width while the height of the façade of Wells is approximately half the height of Notre-Dame.[3] Originally the low, horizontal expanse of the façade would have had greater emphasis, as it was probably designed with low spires (Fig. 4). The present towers date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Since the statues of saints are distributed evenly across this wide front at Wells with Christ at its apex, the viewer is asked to regard the entire field of the façade, instead of focusing on the portals as in France. In stark contrast to the engulfing portals of contemporaneous French façades, the west portals at Wells are tiny openings in the foundation plinth: the lateral doorways are one-fifth and the central portal two-fifths the height of those of Notre-Dame in Paris.[4] The diminutive entrance at Wells, defined by rows of quatrefoils as in choir screens, evokes intimate access to a holy place of ritual. This unusual entrance and the façade's other architectural and sculptural anomalies are central to understanding the façade's meaning at the moment of its production. What did its anomalies and spectacular display communicate, and how was this façade part of the discourse of the 1220s?

Because the façade, in a certain sense, projects the self-image that the church shows to the world, it would have been the chapter of secular canons or their bishop at Wells who determined the program to be presented.[5] We are lucky to be able to name the patron and designer of the façade of Wells, almost certainly in the case of Bishop Jocelin and in all likelihood for his master mason, Adam Lock (Figs. 6 and 7). Jocelin was not 'bishop of Wells,' but, as a native of Wells and bishop of Bath between 1206 and 1242, he wanted the church of Wells in his diocese to

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[3] See Chapter 3, p. 87 n. 5 for the measurements of Wells. For Notre-Dame in Paris, see Bony, *French Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries* (Berkeley, 1983), pp. 239, 500–501 n. 31, p. 505 n. 23; and M. Aubert, *Notre-Dame de Paris, sa place dans l'histoire de l'architecture* (Paris, 1929), p. 122 and fold-out plan. The width of the façade in Paris is 135 feet and that of Wells 144 feet; the width of the church between the walls of the aisles of Notre-Dame in Paris is about 133 feet while that of Wells is about 70 feet. The total height of the façade of Notre-Dame is 207 feet (to the top of the upper gallery 141 feet) while the top of the central gable at Wells is only 99–100 feet, high. The height of the nave of Notre-Dame is 102 feet while that of Wells is 67 feet, which is about the height of the aisles at Amiens 62 feet 4 inches.

[4] See Chapter 3, p. 123 n. 134; and Bony, *French Gothic*, p. 239 who gives the height of the doorways of Notre-Dame in Paris as 50 feet.

[5] The canons at Wells were labeled 'secular' to distinguish them from 'regular canons,' i.e. Augustinians, since they were not monks and did not live under a common rule. Instead, they lived within their own households, usually within the cathedral close, but were not always in residence. See Chapter 1, p. 30 n. 46, p. 38 n. 91 and p. 39 n. 95.

regain the cathedral status that it had before the Conquest. As a result the secular canons at Wells were caught up in a power struggle with the monks at Bath Abbey, living about thirty miles away, in their effort to make Wells the seat of the diocese. These social pressures in relation to the program of the façade indicate clerics– whether regional, national, or international–as one of the audiences for the façade.

A look at the way in which the façade functioned, however, defines a broader audience. Although the west portals open directly into the nave and aisles, they do not seem to have served for usual access. The canons, vicars, and their families entered through a porch on the north side of the church.[6] The small doors of the façade were used during processions and funerals, not of the canons, who were buried in the cloister, but of the privileged laity whose cemetery was located directly in front of the façade; only on special feast days, such as Palm Sunday and Easter, would all those living in the vicinity have celebrated in the cathedral.[7] The façade, then, was used as a *scaenae frons* for processions and, like the bishop's sermon, addressed the popular audience of bourgeoisie, peasants, women, and children.[8]

The ideal audience that Bishop Jocelin considered for the façade might have been those anticipated for the consecration ceremony of his church. During such dedications the bishop usually explained the con-

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[6] C.M. Church, *Chapters in the Early History of the Church of Wells A.D. 1136–1333* (London, 1894), pp. 140, 154; and J. Harvey, 'The Building of Wells Cathedral, I: 1175–1307,' in *Wells Cathedral A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (Shepton Mallet, England, 1982), p. 64. For the use of side porches in England see, F. Bond, *An Introduction to English Church Architecture* (London, 1913), vol. 1 pp. 40–48. See also Chapter 1, p. 39 n. 92.

[7] For documentation of the graveyard for the laity see Chapter 1, p. 25 n. 29. The laity probably entered the nave from an elaborate doorway on the south side of the southwest tower, although it also had processional uses. See R.D. Reid, *Wells Cathedral* (Leighton Buzzard, England, 1963), p. 106. A statute of 1297, regulating the times of closing the church doors to ensure quiet, states that the '*magnum hostium ecclesie sub campanile versus claustrum*' was always to be closed, except on special occasions, as for processions. See Church, *Chapters*, p. 325; J. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral West Front: Construction, Sculpture and Conservation* (Phoenix Mill, 1998), pp. 60–72; and W. Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral Excavations and Structural Studies, 1978–1993* (London, 2001), vol. 1, pp. 256–332. The present west cloister walk was built between 1460 and 1480, but it replaces a cloister with similar dimensions of ca. 1230 and incorporates its outer wall. During the construction of the façade several changes in plan, especially in building the north walk, altered the relation of this portal to the cloister. The decision not to complete the sculpture on the south tower seems related to these changes. In fact, the thirteenth-century roof of the cloister cuts through the lower low of niches.

[8] P.B. Roberts, *Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton* (Toronto, 1968) p. 50; and A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La Chaire Francaise au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1886), p. 211. Both attempt to identify typical medieval audiences.

secration rites of the church, a custom that familiarized the faithful with liturgical practices. Unfortunately, nothing but the date is known about the consecration at Wells in 1239.[9] Nonetheless, the audience is documented for the foundation ceremony at nearby Salisbury Cathedral in 1220 and for the consecration of its choir in 1225. The participants of these ceremonies were recorded by William Wanda, the dean of the chapter at Salisbury, who gave the following eye witness account of the 1220 foundation at which Jocelin's colleague at court, Bishop Richard Poore presided:

> the bishop expected, that our lord the king would have come thither on that day with the legate and archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the nobility of England … but by reason of a treaty … at Shrewsbury … the bishop's expectation was frustrated: however, he could not put off that business to any farther time, because there had been publick notice given thereof throughout the whole bishoprick. On the day appointed for this purpose, the bishop came with great devotion, few earls or barons of the county, but a very great multitude of the common people coming in from all parts … The bishop, bare-headed and bare-footed, walked slowly, accompanied by the canons of his church, singing the litany, to the place of foundation to address the assembled people … amidst the acclamations of the multitude of the people weeping for joy.[10]

For the consecration at Wells, Jocelin probably envisioned a similar procession reciting the Litany of saints, but here in front of their images on the façade. For the consecration of the choir at Salisbury in 1225, Jocelin's attendance is documented, along with five other bishops– Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of Dublin, the cardinal Otho–and many of the king's court.[11] The day after the consecration Stephen Langton preached to the people outside and celebrated divine services in the presence of many nobles and bishops of the realm.[12] King Henry III made a belated appearance, and Bishop Richard Poore 'nobly and splendidly entertained the whole numerous

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[9] C.M. Church, 'Jocelin, bishop of Bath, 1206–1242,' *Archaeologia* 51, pt. 2(1888):294. See also Chapter 1, p. 25 n. 26.

[10] W.H. Richard Jones, ed. *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense alias dictum registrum S Osmundi Episcopi. The Register of S. Osmund* (Rolls Series London 1883–1884), vol. 2, pp. cxx, 12–13; P. Blum, 'The Salisbury Chapter House and its old testament cycle: an archaeological and iconographical study,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Yale University, 1978), pp. 10, 267; and F. Price, *A Series of particular and useful Observations Made with great Diligence and Care, upon that Admirable Structure, the Cathedral-Church of Salisbury* (London, 1753), pp. 8–9.

[11] Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. 37; and Price, *Observations*, p. 11.

[12] Church, *Chapters*, p. 209; Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, pp. cxx, 38–40; and Price,

company of nobility that came there for the whole week at his own charges.'[13] In the years between these ceremonies at Salisbury, Jocelin seems to have begun the façade at Wells. For the construction at Wells Henry III ordered, in addition to support in money, trees to be supplied from his woods, as on August 4, 1220, which was a month before the foundation at Salisbury, and, as on December 30, 1225, three months after the consecration of Salisbury's choir.[14]

Public events of liturgical pomp and display, such as the consecration of a church, can be considered spectacles, according to the medieval use of the term *spectaculum*. Likewise, an unusually impressive sculptural display on a medieval church façade, such as that of Wells, can be interpreted as a public and more permanent spectacle. In medieval texts *spectaculum* is, in fact, used to describe monumental ecclesiastical architectural arrangements meant to impress an audience.[15] The medieval word, *spectaculum* is most often used to characterize awesome fires and natural cosmic wonders.[16] It is even applied to weekly horse sales watched by many.[17] And it also describes theatrical presentations and sacred convocations, such as public gatherings at shrines that can be related to the façade's shrine-like display and to its use during liturgical

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Observations, p. 12. On September 28, 1225 the bishop dedicated three altars, and on September 29 the archbishop preached to the people outside.

[13] Blum, *Salisbury*, p. 10.

[14] For proof that these bequests were for construction of the façade consult, Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 294 and Chapter 1, p. 20 n. 12.

[15] Although I have not found the term used to describe a façade, the following large constructions attracted spectators: Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 2: p. 74, no. 2533 (*Willelmi monachi Malmesbiriensis de gestis regum Anglorum libri quinque*, p. 375): an arrangement on beams within a church 'which gave those watching from afar something to look at (Ferebanturque tigna cum trabibus per inane, spectaculo a longe visentibus)'; vol. 2, p. 559, no. 4351 (*Willelm Malmesbiriensis monachi de gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, lib. 2, p. 203): 'a huge mausoleum which attracts spectators (*spectaculoque ducitur enormitas mausolei filii eius*).'

[16] Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 1, pp. 218 no. 800 (*Chronica Gervasii monachi Cantuariensis*, pp. 3–4.): 'There was to see in this wonderous but wretched fire a spectacle (*Erat in hoc incendio mirabile, immo miserabile, videre spectaculum*)'; vol. 3, p. 200 no. 5876 (*Chronica sive flores historiarum, auct. Rogero de Wendover*, vol. 4, p. 266): 'These suns appeared to more than one thousand trustworthy men and provided them with a terrible sight … (*Hi soles plusquiam mille viris fide dignis apparentes terribile illis spectaculum praebuerunt …*).'

[17] Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 2, p. 99 no. 2630 (*Vita s. Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris, auct. Willelmo filio Stephani*, p. 5): 'a well-known spectacle involving the sale of well-bred horses (*est ibidem celebre spectaculum nobilium equorum venalium*).'

processions.[18] Many of these contemporaneous medieval texts emphasize an emotional response to the spectacle described.[19] The façade of Wells too would have evoked in the viewer emotional reactions, especially when used as a *scaenae frons* on occasions, such as Palm Sunday when singers concealed behind busts of angels sang from the heavenly framework of the façade. Because of this performative function the term spectacle, commonly used in medieval studies as a synonym for medieval plays, is appropriate for the façade's description, although the broader definition of the term also pertains.

Accordingly, characterization of the façade of Wells as spectacle in this book conforms to the medieval use of *spectaculum* to describe a specially prepared event or arrangement on a large scale that is displayed for the public's admiration. Although this is the primary sense here intended, aspects of the message carried by the façade's array of sculpture could also be interpreted as sharing similarities with Guy Debord's twentieth-century concept of the spectacle. As with Debord's spectacle, the façade is more than propaganda. The façade materialized the afterlife in the Heavenly Jerusalem as though its sculptural representation were reality, just as the modern spectacle stimulates a satisfying illusion of unlimited future consumption.[20] In fact, elaboration of the west front at Wells into an architectural spectacle may have resulted from an attempt to simulate the Heavenly Jerusalem, as well as to promote Bishop Jocelin's ambitions for making Wells the seat of his diocese. As spectacle, the façade could address multiple ends and different audiences.

If Jocelin's intended audience for the façade of Wells was as varied as that attending the foundation ceremony of the choir at Salisbury

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[18] Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 2, p. 99, no. 2631(*Vita s. Thomae Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martyris, auct. Willelmo filio Stephani*, pp. 9–10): 'theatrical shows' (pro spectaculis theatralibus); vol. 1, p. 476, no. 1732 (*Giralid Cambreniss gemma ecclesiastica, distincot*, 2, cap. 10, 1170 cap. 170, p. 327): 'in order that adequate provision for the wishes and prayers of the people might appear to have been made by the sweetness of this sight [the burial place] (*quatenus huius spectaculi dulcedine populi votis ac precibus satis factum fuisse monstraretur*).'

[19] Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 2, p. 88, no. 2598 (*Speculum historiale de gestis regum Angliae, auct. Ricardo de Cirencestria*, vol. 2, p. 323): 'a longed-for sight before an altar, (*qui in oratione ante altare remanserant et ad tam desiderabile spectaculum admissis*)'; vol.2 p. 584, no. 4453 (Tynemouth [Northumberland], *Vita Oswini Regis*, pp. 58–59): '(When) Baldwin had heard the voices of the players he ran joyously up to the spectacle (*Baldewinus voces ludentium et tumultus audisset, ad spectaculum festinanter accurrit*).'

[20] G. Debord, *Society of the Spectacle* (Detroit, 1977), paragraph 20, 25, and 47.

in 1220, a range of responses can be imagined to the display of the façade and to its leitmotifs, the gabled niche and the quatrefoil. Both motifs were unusual in architectural decoration during the 1220s but were common on shrines, tombs, and choir screens. This study posits that when Jocelin and his master mason, Adam Lock, transposed these sacred motifs from choir furnishings to the façade, the motifs would have conjured up, as signs for viewers, a cluster of associations related to these choir furnishings and to the façade's sculptural program. During the 1220s recognition of signs to evoke concepts beyond the form of the sign, itself, would have been common among the clergy and the nobility who were accustomed to symbolic codes and gestures.[21]

Throughout the Middle Ages sermons and the liturgy made the interpretation of certain signs accessible also to a larger lay audience. Still current for twelfth- and thirteenth-century clerics was Augustine's (d. 430) doctrine of signs. Augustine had proposed a 'general semiotic' that is, a general 'science' of signs in which he defined a sign as, 'a thing which causes us to think of something beyond the impression the thing itself makes upon the senses … Nor is there any other reason for signifying, or for giving signs, except for bringing forth and transferring to another mind the action of the mind in the person who makes the sign … Among the signs by means of which men express their meanings to one another, some pertain to the sense of sight …'[22] For Augustine a *signa data* stood for either a determinate meaning or range of meanings to somebody who knew the convention of its use.[23] During the twelfth century Hugh of St. Victor (d. 1141) used an Augustinian approach to decoding signs, and for him–to take an example which is particularly relevant to study of the façade at Wells–the 'sacrament was a sign, at once a similitude and a truth.'[24] According to Rubin, 'the

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[21] H. Fichtenau, *Living in the Tenth Century, Mentalities and Social Orders*, trans. P. Geary, (Chicago, 1991), pp. 32–34. Fichtenau describes gestures, in the widest sense, as words, objects, and physical actions. He stresses that hidden meaning and symbols were used not only by theologians but also by their secular contemporaries: 'in the political sphere, any detail could become a vehicle for transmitting a meaning since contemporaries controlled and expanded the symbolic language with an ease that is foreign to us.'

[22] Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (New York, 1958), pp. 34–35 translates *De Doctrina Christiana*, II. 1.1, 2.3, and 3.4.

[23] R.A. Markus, 'Augustine on Signs,' *Phronesis*, II, 1957, pp. 73, 75, 78, 86. Pierce's terminology coincides with Augustine's's definition of 'sign'.

[24] M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi, The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991), p. 23; and Hugh of St. Victor, 'De sacramentis libri duo,' in *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, (Paris, 1880), vol. 176, col. 466. (hereafter cited as *P.L.*)

culture was suffused in eucharistic symbolism as one image conjured up another …; a symbol can serve as a focus for a variety of different positions and approaches, differences which are thus inscribed and celebrated in the symbol itself: lamb, child, man, tray, chalice, host …'[25]

Likewise, a range of connotations for the gabled niche, the quatre-foil, and their combination on the façade at Wells can be sought not only in their conventional use but also within the social relations that formed the conditions of their production during the 1220s when the façade's meaning was inscribed into its historic context and into the social reality that it in turn negotiated. The world of its patron and its architectural designer can be used to frame the circumstances in which this highly unusual façade was produced; their intentions can be suggested by comparing the façade's anomalies with previous designs and related texts.[26] At the same time, as observers and interpreters, we, of course, interact with the façade, and our investigation of it and its context is accordingly selective; thus our perceptions color even a self-critical explanation of signs and intentions.[27] Yet we may speculate on both in our curiosity to better understand the façade's production and meaning.

Recorded facts about its patron, Bishop Jocelin, provides irresistible evidence for reflecting on the significance of the façade during the 1220s since, as is rarely the case in the Middle Ages, much information is known about him. He appears marginally in most English political narratives of the thirteenth century, often mentioned as one of the bishops accompanying Archbishop Stephen Langton, but closer investigation reveals that he was a more influential player nationally than previously considered. Conjecture about his intentions focuses attention on the specific cultural moment when the façade was produced and thereby helps to recover the discursive context in which it was viewed since patron, designer, audience, and façade all interacted as part of the same cultural matrix.

We will never know the reaction of the façade's audience anymore than the intention of its patron or designer, but, like reflection on intention, speculation on audience response helps, if only as a rhetorical device, to negotiate between interpretations which may have been sug-

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    [25] Rubin, *Corpus*, p. 141.
    [26] M. Baxendall, *The Patterns of Intention* (New Haven, 1985), pp. vii, 14, 67, 72, 109, 131.
    [27] U. Eco, *Limits of Interpretation* (Bloomington, 1990), pp. 214–215.

gested by the façade during the Middle Ages and those constituted in writing this book. Research has focused on medieval audiences different from the ideal, compliant audiences constructed for us in clerical descriptions, such as that of the foundation ceremony at Salisbury, and it has also revealed how medieval clerics controlled their audience.[28] In the small village of Wells, isolated from any major town, the church of St. Andrew did not have the problems associated with urban audiences. Bishop Jocelin seems to have lived in harmony with the town and with his canons, freely offering them many benefits, if only to strengthen the church of St. Andrew in its contest for power in the diocese with Bath Abbey.[29] His life at court testifies to his diplomacy, and his relations with the canons and town suggests a well-controlled local audience made up of the chapter and laity at Wells. Jocelin's conflicts were elsewhere, particularly with the Benedictine monks of Glastonbury Abbey and Bath Abbey who did constitute antagonistic audiences to be overcome and subjugated.[30] The church of St. Andrew at Wells had no major relics, as did the abbey of Glastonbury six miles away, a situation for which Jocelin may have compensated by glorifying the remains of Anglo-Saxon bishops in the choir, as well as by displaying a multitude of saints across the façade. In addition to Jocelin's diocesan politics, consideration of the façade in relation to contemporaneous discourse about Magna Carta and Lateran IV suggests the façade's greater audience.[31]

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[28] B. Abou-El-Haj, 'The Audiences for the Medieval Cult of Saints,' *Gesta* 30/1 (1991):3–16.

[29] See Chapter 1, pp. 38–40 and 38 n. 91. Church, *Chapters*, pp. 125, 386–390. Wells, located in the county of Somerset, is the smallest cathedral city in England. The boundaries of the municipal borough of Wells in 1894 were the same as those in the charter of Savaric (ca. 1201). The boundary on the south was a watercourse from the bishop's mill to Helesmead, up the stream-course to Keward bridge on the Glastonbury road and up the Wells stream from St. Andrew's well to the bridge by the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr at the entrance of the town, also on the Glastonbury road. The boundary on the west was by the cross on the road to Axbridge, at the point of divergence of the road to Wookey. On the north it was by the cross on the road to Bristol. On the east it was by the road from a quarry under Stobery to the hill towards Tidesput through the bishop's ground i.e. the Tor hill.

[30] See Chapter 6, pp. 193–199 for these conflicts which involved authority and possessions.

[31] G. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages,' *Speculum* 65(1990):77, 83, 85 discusses the methodological problems of cause and effect when considering the significance of an artifact in relation to historical conditions.

Consideration of motifs as signs on the façade of Wells and how they resonated in the discursive context of the 1220s allowed explication beyond that of an iconographic or social approach.[32] Because most of the statues in the lower zone are missing, explanation of certain aspects of the sculptural program in Part I had to await interpretation until Part II since their identification depended on investigation of the significance of motifs, such as the gable and quatrefoil. Since these motifs testify as signs to meanings otherwise lost, the architecture of the façade, itself, helps to explicate the sculptural program and speaks, in conjunction with other cultural artifacts, about early thirteenth-century England. The synecdochic complexity of the façade's meaning, typical of medieval representation, necessitated a multilayered approach to its decoding; the façade's layers of meaning, articulated in separate chapters, progressively interrelate to clarify in what ways its signifying system was part of the bishops' rhetoric of ritual and ideology of power during the 1220s.[33]

The façade of Wells offers an unusual case in the study of archi-tectural meaning in the Middle Ages (which is often concerned with continuity and revival) to examine within a specific cultural context the use of newly-coined architectural motifs as signs conveying meaning in conjunction with an unusual sculptural program. In part because the façade makes both a representational and an architectural statement, it offers the opportunity of following the collaboration of patron and architectural designer at a deeper level than is usually the case, as for instance in the case of Suger and the *chevet* of Saint-Denis.[34] At Wells the designer seems to have been asked to invent a specific architectural semiotic of meaning by a patron who, himself, was positioned to suggest certain formal solutions, such as the transfer of shrine motifs and their

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[32] Helpful in the practice of semiotic architectural history and discussion of the meaning of a sign at a particular moment in time are: R. Innis 'Introduction,' in his *Semiotics: An Introductory Anthology* (Bloomingon, 1985), pp. vii–xvi; M. Bal and N. Bryson, 'Semiotics and Art History,' *The Art Bulletin* 73(1991):173ff.; and Eco, *Limits*, pp. 38–41. To mitigate unlimited semiosis necessary for historical analysis Eco suggests 'the process of semiosis produces in the long run a socially shared notion of the thing that the community is engaged to take as if it were in itself true.'

[33] I use the term ideology in its broadest sense as the belief system of a group, either held implicitly or used to justify actions.

[34] P. Kidson, 'Panofsky, Suger and St Denis,' *Journal of the Warbourg and Courtauld Institutes* 50(1987):11–15; and P. Skubiszewski, *L'intellectual et l'artiste face à l'oeuvre à l'époque romane*, in *Le travail au Moyen Age*. Actes du Coloque international de Louvain-la-neuve 21–23 mai 1987, (Louvain-la-neuve), 1990, pp. 300–321.

meanings to architecture. Perhaps because of this unusual collaboration, the façade constitutes one of those exceptional artifacts that can testify to a historical moment of great intensity, a moment in the 1220s when a number of major events—the reissue of Magna Carta, Lateran IV, and Jocelin's ambitions for the church of Wells–coincided. It can be suggested that the façade, as an ideological construct produced as part of the Church's self-empowering ritual during this critical period in English history, marks how Bishop Jocelin and his fellow bishops, all powerful advisors to Henry III, visualized the situation of Church and State.

Although this study focuses on the cultural meaning of the façade at one significant moment, traditions and practices of longer duration should be kept in mind when interpreting the specific message formulated at Wells during the 1220s. To begin with, its sculptural program was part of a theological approach to the presentation of Christianity going back to the Church Fathers in which everything was interpreted as part of analogous systems: Old vs. New Testament; secular vs. spiritual power; earthly vs. heavenly hierarchies; this world vs. eternity. Following the Church Fathers, Hugh of St. Victor and Stephen Langton, among others, sought a model in heaven for social order based on the coherence between heaven and earth.[35] Moreover, it was believed that the earthly Church, *Ecclesia*, was a part of heaven and hence belonged to the eternal, invisible world, as well as to the present, visible world.[36]

As intercessor between earth and heaven the bishop, as priest of the highest order, sustained the faithful by delivering sermons, administering penance, and distributing the Eucharist.[37] Because the bishop anointed and advised the king, he held an important intermediary position between the secular and spiritual worlds and thus bore a special obligation to maintain harmony between them, especially in early thirteenth-century England. As advisor to the king and spokesman for the Church, the bishop was the producer of ideology, and he often looked to the Church Fathers for effective discourse, particularly to

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[35] G. Duby, *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago 1980), pp. 49, 57, 32, 110, 113, 245, 319. Duby also cites Augustine (d. 430), Dionysius the Areopagite (6th c.), and Gregory the Great (d. 604).

[36] Chapter 2, p. 75; and Chapter 5, p. 168.

[37] R.J. Deferrari, trans. *Hugh of Saint Victor on the Sacraments of the Christian Faith* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), pp. 267–269; and W. Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants* (Princeton, 1970), vol. 1, pp. 50–51.

Augustine who as a bishop, himself, had established the *ordo* to be fol-
lowed in the Church.[38] In Augustine's model for liturgical processions,
the bishop was the leader along with Christ, who as the invisible head
of the procession immediately preceded him.[39] The Church had early
established medieval ritual and architecture as forms of the glorifica-
tion of God.[40] Glorification was a truly essential function of the Church
within society, as important as the defense of the kingdom since it sup-
ported and brought prosperity to the whole social body. Belief in the
triumph of God's law further tied the social order to the Church, rep-
resented by the bishop, who had been viewed as the *Defensor Civitatis*
since the sixth century.[41] Social order rested on a sense of corporate sal-
vation: the whole city will be saved thanks to its protectors, the patron
saints. These concepts prevailed throughout the medieval world and
constituted the ground on which Jocelin built his artifice at Wells. The
façade at Wells, however, with it frozen procession of saints and dra-
matic role during the ritual drama of Palm Sunday, constitutes a new
version of triumphal glorification.

England of the 1220s was quite different from its neighbor, France,
and the triumphant tone of the façade was related to its specific situ-
ation. The English Church seems to have taken an ideological stance
different from the French Church during the 1220s and a different
response to the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council, partly because
England had no Albigensian crusade but instead a past crisis of its own,
with the lifting of the Interdict and Magna Carta as its conclusion.[42] Yet
the two Churches were different not only because of their current crises
but also because of their past relationship with the monarchy. During
the twelfth and early thirteenth century in Capetian France the two
powers, Church and State, were united, and both were seen as undis-
putable administers of justice; together they represented rightful social
order.[43] On the other hand, in England the monarchy and Church had

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[38] Duby, *Orders*, p. 16.

[39] Ibid., p. 68.

[40] Ibid., p. 351.

[41] Ibid., pp. 66, 106.

[42] Roger of Wendover, *Flowers of History*, trans. J.A. Giles, (London, 1849), vol. 2,
p. 278. Roger of Wendover (d. 1236) implicitly noted this difference in juxtaposing
the barons' revolt with the Albigensian crusade for the year 1214 in the St. Albans
Chronicle.

[43] R.W. Southern, *Mediaeval Humanism and Other Studies* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 145,
148–150, 178. Southern compares the prosperity of the Ile-de-France, the spirit of
cooperation on which government in France depended, the easy relations of the pope

been caught up in a sustained conflict.[44] The bishops preserved social justice by controlling the excesses of royal power. The English Church with its ancient relics and unchanging rites stood for continuity with the mythical golden past of the Anglo-Saxons and Henry I.[45]

As the production of one of the most powerful bishops in the English Church, the façade at Wells makes a statement in a new way about authority and ritual, ambitions and claims during the 1220s. For the discourse of the powerful, architecture is one of the most effective media at their disposal, and a façade, as frontispiece for a community, can make a particularly grand gesture, instantly transmitted and carrying a number of messages simultaneously. Then, as now, the façade of Wells interacted in a particularly dramatic way with its viewer, and its leitmotifs, which previously decorated choir furnishings, in their new architectural context aided the viewer's interpretation.[46]

Considered along with other cultural artifacts produced in the 1220s, it can be suggested that the façade, as an ideologically motivated material statement, helped to produce the historical situation, especially that of the church of Wells. The following explanation, of course, does not claim to be the only possible reading but aims at plausibility and attempts to find a new and a more explicative interpretation of this façade, and, in doing so, it recovers the façade's cultural and discursive context and thereby offers a new perspective on the strategies of the English Church and State during the early thirteenth century.

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and French king, and the adulation which the French king inspired with the opposite situation in England.

[44] Ibid., p. 150; and C.A. Newman, *The Anglo-Norman Nobility in the Reign of Henry I: the Second Generation* (Philadelphia, Penn., 1973), p. 15. Gerald of Wales, among others, in the early thirteenth century contrasts the Angevins and Capetians in this way. See R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146–1223* (Oxford, 1982), pp. 91–95.

[45] On nostalgia for the Anglo-Saxon past, see Southern, *Humanism*, pp. 147, 154–155, 161, 172; C.W. Hollister, *Monarchy, Magnates and Institutions in the Anglo-Norman World* (London, 1986), pp. 83, 303; and A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1973), pp. 256, 286, 393, and 398; and idem, 'Realistic Observation in Twelfth-Century England,' *Speculum* 47(1972):30, 33, 39. For Henry I see, Newman, *Henry I*, p. 17.

[46] Bal and Bryson, 'Semiotics,' p. 229; and Eco, *Limits*, pp. 58–61. According to Eco, 'How to prove a conjecture about the *intentio operis*? The only way is to check it against the text as a coherent whole.' He points out that this idea goes back to Augustine's *De doctrina christiana* stating that 'the internal coherence of a text must be taken as the parameter for its interpretations.'

PART I

THE BISHOP'S HOMILY AND
THE MASTER MASON'S RESPONSE

Any effort at reconstructing the process of production or any conjecture about meaning and ideology must first consider the inherent duality in the genesis of a façade. Because a façade is partly a publicity screen for an audience, the patron is more likely to be involved in its design than in the case of an interior elevation. At Wells the bishop as patron can be expected to have determined the complex sculptural program of the façade. Its staggering display of statues seems particularly calculated to startle–like a herald's call to attention. What is known about Bishop Jocelin suggests such a dramatic gesture. Once the bishop established the program as the Church Triumphant, the master mason, as a professional designer with artistic imagination, had to find formal solutions for his patron's ideas. The date of the façade coincides with the mention of Adam Lock as *caementarius*, master mason, about whom only a few facts are known. As *ordinator*, organizer, as well as *artifex magister*, master designer, the master mason had to arrange production within current building workshops and related practices. What can be surmised about Adam Lock as designer, and how did his architectural choices add to the meaning of the façade as the Heavenly Jerusalem? What were the norms for façade design at the time, and how did he depart from them? Most important, how did Jocelin and Adam Lock collaborate as the façade's producers to give the English screen façade a new meaning in their appropriation of motifs from choir furnishings as signs that complemented the sculptural program?

THE FAÇADE AND ITS PRODUCERS

Establishing the date of the façade of Wells necessarily precedes discussion of its producers and their ideology. In fact, we are only able to identify the patron and master mason because its construction can be dated fairly precisely. Both its construction and consecration were major events of ceremonial significance during the early thirteenth century, and the fabric of the façade itself participated in history, just as did its producers. Today, the date of its design constitutes an important element in suggesting its meaning. When a date and a meaning are attached to its fabric, the façade, itself, can make a statement independent of other historical documents; it indexes and signals a specific moment and can articulate attitudes of that moment. Furthermore, as part of the visual culture of its time, the façade had an impact on history. A brief documentation of the façade's date of construction is thus essential, although not a major focus of this study.

Date of Construction

The construction of this Gothic façade at Wells was the last stage in a total rebuilding begun around 1186 by Bishop Reginald (1174–1191), under whom Jocelin may have served as a canon at Wells.[1] Since the

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[1] This date of 1186 depends on documentary and stylistic evidence used to establish a relative chronology of Wells Cathedral and Glastonbury Abbey in my dissertation, C. Malone, 'West English Gothic Architecture 1175–1250,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1973), pp. 146–185, Pls. 114–117. See J.A. Robinson, 'Documentary Evidence Relating to the Building of the Cathedral Church of Wells (c. 1186–1242),' *The Archaeological Journal* 85(1928):18–19. According to his findings, Robinson dated the beginning of work no earlier than 1184 and no later than 1186. Bilson, whose article on the early architectural history of Wells appeared in the same issue, asserted on stylistic grounds that the work was begun after 1185, probably about 1190. See J. Bilson, 'Notes on the Earlier Architectural History of Wells Cathedral,' *The Archaeological Journal* 85(1928):p. 67. L.S. Colchester and J.H. Harvey, 'Wells Cathedral,' *The Archaeological Journal* 131(1974):202 suggested a date ca. 1180 for the beginning of work on the basis of their interpretation of a document unknown to Bilson, but they

status of the church was greatly diminished after the Norman Conquest when Wells ceased to be the seat of the bishopric, it is unlikely that a Romanesque church had replaced the Anglo-Saxon structures before the beginning of the Gothic church in 1186. Bishop Robert (1136–1166) is known to have constructed additions, but much of the Anglo-Saxon church seems to have been preserved until the Gothic choir, built by Bishop Reginald, was ready for use at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[2] While the Gothic church was being constructed from east to west, it was decided around 1196 during the tenure of Bishop Savaric (1192–1205) to preserve the Saxon Lady Chapel dedicated to St. Mary and to incorporate it into the east range of the new cloister.[3] When

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admitted that the new evidence still makes 1187 the *terminus ante quem*. Hence the document allows for the work to have begun at Wells as late as 1186. This would accord with my interpretation of the stylistic evidence of foliate capitals and moldings which indicate that Wells was begun soon after the beginning of construction of the abbey church of Glastonbury (ca. 1185) with which it shares certain formal and dimensional features. A date around 1186 would situate Wells chronologically in relation to earlier buildings of the Western School of masons, such as the west bays of Worcester Cathedral of ca. 1175 and Saint David's Cathedral in Wales of ca. 1180. The starting date at Wells of ca. 1180 claimed by Colchester and Harvey in 1974 does not make sense chronologically in comparison to these buildings. This date, however, has been retained in publications, such as Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 13; and Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 130. In fact, these studies propose that work began around 1176 because Doulting stone was substituted for Chilcote conglomerate during the construction of the eastern half of the transept. They posit an early starting date to allow enough time for significant work to have been done on the transept before 1184 since they believe that Doulting stone from the Glastonbury quarries would have been less available after work began on the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury in 1184. They admit, however, other circumstances may have determined the change in stone. In fact, I correlated the use of Doulting stone with Glastonbury foliage capitals in my study of the transept at Wells: Malone, 'West English,' pp. 172–173, n. 52. Bishop Savaric in 1194 acquired the title of Bath and Glastonbury as well as a fourth part of the revenue of ten manors and as a result may have had access to Glastonbury's quarries when the transept was being constructed during the 1190s. See Church, *Chapters*, 4, 92, 94–98, 108–109, 129 who also mentions Jocelin as canon at Wells.

    [2] W. Rodwell, 'The Lady Chapel by the Cloister at Wells and the site of the Anglo-Saxon Cathedral,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury*, British Archeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1978, vol. 4, (London, 1981), pp. 7, 16; idem, 'Anglo-Saxon,' pp. 12–13, 16; idem, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 87–96, 161–172. Malone, 'West English,' p. 176; and Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 75, n. 37.

    [3] W. Rodwell, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Churches at Wells,' in *Wells Cathedral A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (Shepton Mallet, England, 1982), pp. 6–7; Church *Chapters*, pp. 82, 331; and Robinson, 'Documentary,' p. 8. During the tenth century this chapel was a free-standing structure east of the main cathedral. It is referred to in documents of 1136, 1250, and 1279. Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 75, n. 37. Rodwell's excavations demonstrate that the outer wall of the east walk of the cloister had been

Jocelin became bishop in 1206, the east bays of the nave seem already to have been begun.[4] Because the Early English style of the façade appears for the first time at Wells in the north porch around 1207, it can be suggested that the architectural designer of the façade took charge at Wells soon after Jocelin's election; this master mason, however, completed the nave according to the older West English Gothic design begun by his predecessor, although he introduced up-to-date details.[5] A clear break in the nave's construction is indicated by these details in the west bays, as well as by new building techniques, such as larger stones and the use of *tas de charge* springers in the high vault. The façade seems contemporaneous with the post-break work because of similar detailing, for instance, the foliage on capitals.[6] Yet the façade is a new design probably with little relation to what had been originally planned in the 1180s.[7]

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laid out before 1196. For sculptural remains, see P. Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' in *Wells Cathedral A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (Shepton Mallet, England, 1982), pp. 124, 131 n. 74.

[4] Malone, 'West English,' pp. 175–178.

[5] Ibid., pp. 219–221, 315, n. 6; Bilson, 'Notes on,' pp. 59, 61–63 dates the north porch to around 1206 as part of the pre-break work constructed with small stones; and Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 74 n. 24 mentions that the grant by King John of a market at North Curry '*ad opus ecclesie*' on September 10, 1205 indicates a major phase of work. For this document see Robinson, 'Documentary,' p. 9. Bilson, Harvey and Malone all point out that the tower above the central crossing was built above the roof before the end of the first work, i.e. by 1209. It is also Early English and seems stylistically to post-date the north porch.

[6] Malone, 'West English,' pp. 225–228 and Pls. 101–113 discusses and illustrates the new features associated with the break in construction. C.A. Hewett, *English Cathedral Carpentry* (London, 1974), pp. 3–5 found a constructional refinement in the roof trusses corresponding to the change in masonry and similar to the new accuracy in cutting stone. Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 61 views the changes as part of a technical revolution since the larger stones would require improved hoisting-engines and tackle. Yet masons marks reveal that nearly half of the twenty-three stone cutters who worked on the western bays had also been employed on the eastern bays before the break; four of these also worked previously on the central tower, suggesting a constant local team with a new master.

[7] B. Singleton, 'Proportions in the Design of the Early Gothic Cathedral at Wells,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1978, vol. 4. (London, 1981), pp. 10–18. Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 59, referring to Barrie Singleton's study on the *ad quadratum* design of the cathedral of Wells, states: 'There is nothing to suggest that this precise dimension was not taken off the original plans.' Regardless, there is no structural evidence to support a similar design in the 1180s. On the contrary, the interior wall of the façade facing the nave as well as those of the rooms beneath the towers are not coursed with the walls of the nave and aisles, indicating different phases of construction. See

   The break during the construction of the nave seems related to a presumed work stoppage following the proclamation of the Interdict.[8] When the English bishops exiled themselves because Pope Innocent III had excommunicated King John, the Crown collected the revenues of the vacant sees; therefore, construction at Wells must have stopped during Jocelin's exile in France between 1209 and 1213.[9] While in France Jocelin and Elias of Dereham, later a canon of Wells, co-executed the will of Jocelin's brother, Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, which provided for construction of the church at Wells.[10] Although work may have resumed immediately after Jocelin returned to England following John's submission to the pope in 1213, the next donation for construction appears in 1217.[11] King Henry III's generous subsidies between 1220 and 1225 (that of 1225 to be given annually for the next eleven years) would logically correspond to the extensive construction of the façade.[12]

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Malone, 'West English,' pp. 226–227; and Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 25. Excavations of the foundations of the façade in 1987–1988 also revealed differences with the earlier foundations of the church suggesting that the design is of a later date.

   [8] Malone, 'West English,' pp. 225–228; and Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 61 concurs that the break coincides with the Interdict, which Bilson ignored.

   [9] Robinson, 'Documentary,' pp. 12–13; and Malone, 'West English,' p. 313.

   [10] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 137, 182–184, and 396; Gransden, 'The History,' p. 32; and Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 158. In exile Jocelin also planned with Hugh for a hospital at Wells for the poor and crusaders. The hospital, like the façade, was probably begun in 1220 since in 1221 ordinances were made for the 'lately built hospital.' The early draft of Hugh's will left to the fabric of Lincoln 500 marcs, to the fabric of Wells 300 marcs, to the *communa* of the chapter at Lincoln 500, at Wells 300, to the hospital at Lincoln 300, at Wells 500, and at Bath 7½, but in his last will in 1233, of which Jocelin was the executor, his bequests to Wells are chiefly to the hospital, perhaps because the church was nearly finished. See Chapter 5, p. 113 for information on Elias.

   [11] Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 320; and Harvey, 'The Building,' pp. 61–62.

   [12] Harvey, 'The Building,' pp. 29, 62, 74 n. 27, and Church, 'Jocelin,' pp. 322–329. The resumption of work may be marked by the grant of 60 oaks by Henry III to make a kiln on August 7, 1220. Harvey points out that if the trunks were used for the nave roof west of the break, this would closely correspond to the new type of jointing observed by Hewett. Resumption of work on the nave seems to have been simultaneous with construction of the façade. Still not all of the subsidies may have been for the cathedral. On June 14, 1225, a gift of 12 *furchas*, rafter couples, to Bishop Jocelin from the forest of Cheddar also is recorded. According to Harvey, these may have been for his manor-house at Wookey for which he had ten *fusta*, tree-trunks, on February 4, 1224. On August 2, 1233 the king gave Jocelin 30 oaks from the Forest of Dean, but these may have been for his palace (*ad se hospitandum*). Historical Monuments Commission, *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, Henry III.A.D. 1226–1240* (London, 1916), vol. 1, p. 190. On November 13, 1232 were released to 'J. bishop of Bath and Wells 3 marks for the current year and 3 marks for each of the three following years for the fabric of his church at Well(es), of the king's gift.' This no doubt refers to the fabric grant of 1225. Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 291

Two documents in a letter book from Bristol dating between 1218 and 1222 also suggest that the façade at Wells was designed during the 1220s. The first document refers to the Elder Lady Chapel at Bristol Cathedral and requests the loan of a mason from Wells, who is referred to as 'your servant L, to hew out the seven pillars of wisdom's house, meaning, of course, our chapel of the blessed Virgin.'[13] The second letter asks the incumbents of abbey lands to send their contribution for the completion of the Lady Chapel, which is now two years overdue. The chapel at Bristol was built in two phases, and the second phase is a simplification of the forms used on the façade at Wells.[14] Though the presence of two stages of construction in the Lady Chapel makes absolute dating impossible, the monks at Bristol were anxious to complete the project; hence the second letter should refer to the second phase since the Bristol Lady Chapel is small. The second letter indicates a date of 1220 at the latest for the first letter. If work was completed at Bristol within a few years after the second letter was sent, it would mean that at Wells the façade was designed and that templates were already available for copying during the second phase at Bristol.[15]

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suggests that a special ordinance in 1221 describing the duties of the treasurer's offices might also correspond to needs involving the rising fabric of the façade.

[13] L.S. Colchester, 'The Seven Pillars of Wisdom,' *The Friends of Wells Cathedral* (Wells, 1969), pp. 19–20.

[14] Malone, 'West English,' pp. 222–226. The first phase at Bristol, comprised of the lower arcade and the spandrels on the northeast, corresponds stylistically to the work at Wells in the north porch. The second phase at Bristol includes the arcading above the dado and the entrance to the chapel. The moldings of the upper arcading at Bristol seem based on those of the lower arcading on the interior of the façade at Wells. The moldings of the entrance to the Lady Chapel at Bristol are similar to those found on the northwest door of the façade at Wells. Also the bases in the entrance to the Lady Chapel resemble those of the façade. My drawing comparing the moldings of both phases at Bristol with those of the façade of Wells was published in Colchester and Harvey, 'Wells Cathedral,' p. 204. See also Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 49; and M. Thurlby, 'Wells Cathedral and Bristol Elder Lady Chapel Revisited,' *Friends of Wells Cathedral Autumn Journal* (1991):14–19.

[15] Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 64 dates the west façade at Wells, as does Bilson, after 1225 at the earliest and possibly near 1230. He interprets the Bristol letter as dating before the opening of the final campaign on the nave at Wells and imagines that L had access to the drawings and templates in the tracing house. He further suggests that L may have been Adam Lock and that it would be unlikely that he could go to Bristol if the west façade were started. Although Harvey had previously published my drawings comparing the moldings of the west portal of the façade at Wells with those of Bristol, he ignores this evidence in suggesting that the outside of the west front is a new style by a master other than Lock since he believes that L was Lock.

Other evidence re-enforces a date in the early 1220s for the design of the façade. In fact, the most modern architectural forms on the façade can be dated to the 1220s. The segmental arches above the doors on the interior of the façade are used also in the Bishop's Palace at Wells which was probably begun soon after Jocelin extended his park in 1221.[16] The model for these stilted segmental arches seems to be buildings, such as the Lambeth Palace built by the archbishop of Canterbury (ca. 1214–1220) or Winchester Castle Hall (1222–1236).[17] The tubular socles beneath the bases of the shafts are similar to those on the exterior of the retrochoir at Winchester (ca. 1220) (Fig. 11).[18] Moreover, the

[16] R. Dunning, 'The Bishop's Palace,' in *Wells Cathedral A History*, ed. L.S. Colchester (Shepton Mallet, England, 1982), p. 229 dates the Bishop's Palace at Wells between 1230–1250 without investigating the stylistic evidence. According to Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 74 n. 27 the 30 oaks from the Forest of Dean granted in 1233 by the king were for the construction of the palace. As early as 1207 Bishop Jocelin may have planned a bishop's palace since he, then, began a park with gifts of land from King John, but the palace seems to have been begun only after he extended the park in 1221. See Chapter 6, pp. 198–199. The undercroft of the Bishop's Palace at Wells can be dated stylistically to the 1220s and can be related to the façade for several reasons. The chamfered moldings at the springing of the west tower vaults at Wells, the profiles of the tower corbels, and the segmental arches and vertical springers used between the windows and the moldings of the vault in the north tower, which are like the arches on the interior doors of the façade, resemble those in the undercroft of the Bishop's Palace at Wells. The palace can probably be dated to the 1220s because of the similarity of its exterior buttresses to those of the chevet at Salisbury (consecrated in 1225) as well as to the Salisbury Bishop's Palace which had been finished and was in use by 1225. I want to thank V. Jansen for drawings and photographs of the Bishops' Palaces at Wells and Salisbury.

[17] H.M. Colvin, ed. *History of the Kings Works* (London, 1963), p. 125. The date of the royal hall at Winchester is documented, but Lambeth Palace Chapel is not. See Virginia Jansen, 'Lambeth Palace Chapel, the Temple Choir, and Southern English Gothic Architecture of c. 1215–1240,' in *England in the Thirteenth Century, Proceedings of the 1984 Harlaxton Symposium*, edited by W.M. Ormrod, (Grantham, 1985), pp. 95–99. See also T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Great Hall of the Archbishop's Palace,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1220*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1979, vol. 5, (London, 1982), fig. 3; and T. Tatton-Brown and J.A. Bowen, 'The Archbishop's Palace, Canterbury,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 144(1991):17. The Bishop's Palace at Wells also resembles the earlier palace style of Canterbury, which was used at the time of Stephen Langton: the over-restored windows in the palace at Wells resemble the reconstructed windows of the Archbishop's Palace at Canterbury (ca. 1214–1220) which have chamfered edges and quatrefoils above a pair of trefoil-headed lights. See T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Great Hall,' fig. 3. These windows are also found in the royal hall of Winchester Castle and in Canon Elias of Dereham's house, Leadenhall, in the Salisbury Close. The window moldings of both Wells and Salisbury palaces resemble those of the façade portals. The bishops' connections with Elias of Dereham may be responsible for these similarities.

[18] Malone, 'West English,' pp. 230–232. N. Pevsner, 'The East Wing of Winchester Cathedral,' *Winchester Cathedral Record* 29(1960):7–10 believed that the bases on the

ringed angle-shafts and head-molds on the buttresses of the façade at Wells resemble those of the west transept at Lincoln (ca. 1220).[19]

The dating of the earliest sculpture at Wells also suggests that the façade was designed during the 1220s. The drapery of the Virgin holding the Christ Child above the central door is similar to that on the first seal of Henry III, issued in 1218 (Fig. 9).[20] The standing kings on the façade seem to depend stylistically on sculpture of the Solomon portal (ca. 1220), i.e. the right doorway of the north transept at Chartres (Fig. 56: 52, 53, 54, 55, 59.).[21] Similarities can also be found between the drapery of the voussoir figures on the Solomon portal and the sculpture of the Coronation of the Virgin at Wells (Fig. 8).[22] Notre-Dame

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exterior dated from the 1220s since the retrochoir was not completed until the second third of the thirteenth century. P. Draper, 'The retrochoir of Winchester Cathedral,' *Architectural History* 21(1978):7 dated the main structure at Winchester to before 1220 and stated 'it is not unreasonable to assume that the windows of the retrochoir were in existence before 1222.' P. Draper and R.K. Morris, 'The Development of the East End of Winchester Cathedral from the 13th to the 16th Century,' ed. J. Crook, *Winchester Cathedral Nine hundred Years 1093–1993* (Chichester, 1993), pp. 178–182. The retrochoir was begun by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy shortly before his death in 1204 and was completed by his successor, Peter des Roches (1205–1238); no work was done in the thirteenth century after 1230. Although similar tubular socles may go back to Hubert Walter's tomb (d. 1205), their use in architecture helps to establish a date for Wells.

[19] For Lincoln see Chapter 3, p. 89.

[20] K. Norgate, *The Minority of Henry the Third* (London, 1912), p. 284; and D.A. Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (Berkeley, 1990), p. 52 mention that Henry III did not have a seal until October or November of 1218. M. Thurlby, 'Transitional Sculpture in England,' (Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1976); idem 'The North Transept Doorway of Lichfield Cathedral: Problems of Style,' *RACAR: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review* 13/2(1986):124 has dated the Virgin and Child at Wells between 1213 and 1220; Andersson, *English*, pp. 19, 28 also identifies the Madonna and angels as stylistically oldest on the façade.

[21] P. Kidson and P. Tudor-Craig, *Wells Cathedral: Wells North-West Tower*, in *Monastic Buildings in the British Isles*, pt. 2, (London, 1977) illustrate and identify the statues by the following Courtauld numbers (178, 182, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 194, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 214). W. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture in France 1140–1270* (London, 1972), p. 436 believes the Chartrain statues were made about 1220 by a workshop originally from Sens. See also W. Sauerlander, *Le Siècle des cathédrales 1140–1260* (Paris, 1980), pp. 94, 102, 291 for Scandinavian sculpture related to Wells that can be compared with the north porch at Chartres. In a table at the back of his book Sauerlander gives the date for the beginning of the façade of Wells as 1220, although he dates the sculpture ca. 1230–1250. P. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300* (New Haven, 1995), pp. 105, 108, and 111 dates the façade to the early 1220s and the sculpture ca. 1225–1230.

[22] P. Tudor-Craig, *One half of Our Noblest Art* (Wells, 1976), p. 11; Kidson and Tudor-Craig, *Wells Cathedral*: Part 2, p. vi; and idem, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 115. Although Tudor-Craig states that the Coronation of the Virgin at Wells is important for the meaning of the façade as the Church Triumphant, she believes that it is a later insertion. She compares it with Henry III's second seal of 1258 and seems to relate it to Christ's

in Paris, as well as Chartres, seems to have been known to Jocelin's sculptors. The heads of a hermit on the south tower and a preacher in the lower tier on the north tower of the façade of Wells resemble closely that of a prophet in the lintel of the north portal of the façade in Paris (ca. 1210–1220).[23] Furthermore, at Wells the posture of the seated kings, with one foot resting on a stool, appears to be copied from the voussoirs in the third archivolt of the central portal of Notre-Dame, which is carved in the older style of the prophets of its north portal (Fig. 10).[24] In all likelihood, Jocelin's carvers studied the sculpture of both Paris and Chartres.[25]

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drapery in the Last Judgment tympanum at Notre-Dame in Paris. On the other hand, Andersson, *English*, pp. 21, 25 classifies the Coronation at Wells in the same early group as the tympanum with the Virgin and Child and the quatrefoils. He believes the style of the Coronation differs from the late style of the façade and rejects Prior and Gardner's assignment of it to the final stage of carving, noting the same deeply-cut drapery in the quatrefoil of Christ in the Temple (Fig. 56: 29); see also W.H. Hope and W.R. Lethaby, 'The Imagery and Sculpture on the West Front of Wells Cathedral,' *Archaeologia* 59(1904):, Pl. 26. I believe the Coronation is later than the Virgin and Child and is more similar to the kings in the Coronation portal at Notre-Dame in Paris than to Christ in the adjacent Last Judgment portal; thus it is related to the Parisian style of the 1220s. The looping folds may, however, indicate a metalwork source at Wells since they are similar in this respect to the drapery of the Coronation of the Virgin at Lemoncourt (ca. 1230), a parish church near Trier which Sauerländer, *Sculpture*, p. 448, Pl. 141 relates to metalwork sources. See also Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 33–34, 45, 52, 58–60, 84. During the recent conservation Sampson found that the façade was a single campaign of homogeneous construction with the production of sculpture in step with the architecture. In particular the center section was built straight up, and the sculpture carved right after the surrounding blocks. Moreover, the Coronation of the Virgin, Solomon, and Sheba are not later insertions since they are Dundry stone and hence early in the campaign as are the adjacent statues of the lower row of the middle tier. Still he dates the sculpture, without examining the stylistic evidence, between 1235–1243 on the basis of a 1235 date for mining rights since he speculates that the iron was intended for the jointing of the figure sculture. See below, p. 25 n. 27.

[23] Andersson, *English*, pp. 20–26, 32–34, 36–37, figs. 3, 4, 5, 6, and 9. The drapery in the quatrefoils at Wells, such as that of Cain and Lamech, resembles drapery on the left door jambs of the north portal at Notre-Dame in Paris, especially that of the figure representing May (Fig. 56: 11). Still the stiff leaf in this quatrefoil testifies to an English sculptor.

[24] Ibid., pp. 25, 44, figures 7, 8, 11. Nonetheless the posture of the seated kings in the center section of the façade at Wells (with elbow stuck out and left foot supported on a footstool) may find a precedent in the seated figure of Herod in the portal of the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury. Previous to these instances, the placement of a stool beneath one foot seems to occur only in late-antique classical reliefs, such as the fourth-century sarcophagus of Junius Bassus. At Wells many of the figures, with the exception of the bishops, position their feet in a similar way but with a supporting console or rolled up leaf.

[25] See Chapter 2, pp. 44, 50, and p. 53 n. 28; and Chapter 5, p. 135 for iconograph-

Although some work on the façade at Wells, especially on the sculpture, may have continued until 1248, the cathedral was consecrated in 1239.[26] The date of consecration, however, is not proof that the church was finished, since in 1237 a general English church council held in London ordered all churches needing consecration to receive it within two years. Matthew Paris (d. 1259) named Wells, among others, as following suit in 1238 and 1239.[27] Unlike some, Wells seems to have been, at least, nearly completed since Jocelin mentioned in the preamble to an ordinance of 1242 that he could increase daily payments to the canons due to the 'church having been built up from a state of dilapidation and enlarged and furnished with all things necessary for the divine offices, and consecrated anew.'[28] Considering the number of specialists needed for the meticulous carving of the sculpture and the architectural motifs, at least twenty years seems appropriate for termination of the nave and construction of the façade. It seems probable that work was nearly finished by 1243 since a chapter meeting on July 9 then assigned graveyards around the church to particular groups.[29] Lay people were

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ical similarities. W. Sauerlander, *Le Siècle*, p. 291 feels Chartres not Paris is the more likely source. Williamson, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 111 points out similarities with the transepts of Chartres.

[26] C.M. Church, 'Reginald, bishop of Bath (1179–1191),' *Archaeologia*, 50, pt. 2(1887): 333–335; and idem, 'Jocelin,' p. 294. Although there is no contemporary historical account, Jocelin's charter of 1239 states that the church had been consecrated on the day of Saint Romanus, martyr of Antioch, in 1239. For the Latin text, see Church, *Chapters*, p. 230.

[27] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 45, 52, 54, n.65, 58, 60 concludes from a royal grant for the mining of iron and lead in 1235 that the nave was then being roofed; hence the west wall of the nave and aisles as well as the tower bases above the middle string-course should have been nearing completion. Robinson, 'Documentary,' pp. 14–17 believed that all work affecting the inside was finished for the consecration but that work might still have been in progress outside since Matthew Paris in 1248 reported that a *tholos*, probably referring to a pinnacle, fell when it was being erected. Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 66 believed the term *tholos* refered to the central boss of the nave vault, but Sampson understands it to be a pinnacle or its finial on one of the western towers.

[28] Church, *Chapters*, p. 235; and idem, 'Reginald,' p. 334. See below, p. 39 n. 95.

[29] Church, *Chapters*, p. 153 gives the Latin text; idem, 'Jocelin,' p. 296; Robinson, 'Documentary,' p. 15; and Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 56, 274 n. 68 translates the ordinance and depicts the west front in 1243 as though the lower part of the south tower and gable had not yet been completed. The sculpture may not have been finished by 1243, as it never was on the south and east faces of the south tower. Nonetheless, Jocelin's freeing up of funds in 1242 which were no longer needed for construction of the church, as well as the 1243 ordinance for landscaping the cemetery in front

to be buried in the graveyard to the west of the church with the
stipulation that no one be buried henceforward before the doors of the
church towards the west.[30] This was no doubt done in accordance with
Jocelin's prior provision since it occurred soon after his death during
the vacancy of the bishopric.[31] No doubt, Bishop Jocelin and his master
mason conceived the façade with the cemetery in mind.[32]

Adam Lock

Who was Jocelin's master mason, where was he trained, and what were
his architectural choices? Documents mention both Adam Lock and
Thomas Norreys as *caementarii*, master masons, at Wells in the first half
of the thirteenth century.[33] The term master mason in these documents
has been considered equivalent to professional designer or resident
architect.[34] The dating evidence presented above indicates that Adam
Lock designed the façade, although this point has been long debated.
Harvey believed that 'the construction of the Wells front is not likely
to have begun before c. 1215,' but he identified Thomas Norreys as
the master mason of the façade because the west façade is stylistically
different from the west bays of the nave which he assigned to Adam
Lock, who died in 1229.[35] Tudor-Craig assigned the nave to Adam

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of the west front, would seem to indicate architectural construction was further along
and probably complete, except for the interior vaulting of the towers which was never
finished.

[30] On those buried in the graveyard of the laity, see Ch. 4, p. 133 n. 7.

[31] For Jocelin's death, see below, p. 40, n. 103.

[32] For the relation of the sculptural program to burials in front of the façade, see
chapter 4, p. 141.

[33] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and
Chapter of Wells*, ed. W.H. Bird, (London, 1907), vol.1, pp. 35–36; and ed. W. Paley
Baildon, (London, 1914) vol.2, pp. 550, 552, 556. The texts are summarized by J. Harvey,
English Medieval Architects: A Biographical Dictionary down to 1550 (London, 1954), pp. 170,
195.

[34] A.H. Thompson, 'Master Elias of Dereham and the King's Works,' *The Archaeolo-
gical Journal* 98(1941):12. I refer to the architectural designer as master mason since the
medieval master mason had responsibilities and skills similar to the modern architect.
Although the patron may have been involved in the design and sometimes even in the
organization of the project, his involvement was distinct from the master mason who
alone had the skill to work out the design's coherence and structure, right down to the
precise form of the templates which would insure that the individual components fit
together, especially in complicated cases such as the façade of Wells.

[35] Harvey, 'The Building,' pp. 59, 62.

Lock, the north porch to Deodatus whom she said, 'could be irrelevant,' and the west façade to Thomas Norreys.[36] The mason Deodatus with Thomas Norreys and Elias of Dereham witnessed Lock's will in 1229. Deodatus probably was not a principal designer at Wells since he is never mentioned again, as are Lock and Norreys. Moreover, the style of the north porch is close to that of the façade, suggesting the same architect. Sampson, however, also identified Adam Lock as the master mason who designed the west front around 1220.[37]

The design stage of such a complicated structure as the façade must well precede the beginning of construction, and all scholars see work in progress by 1225–1230 at the latest. If construction of the façade was begun early in the 1220s, as the dating evidence has indicated, Adam Lock would have designed the façade long before he died in 1229. If he also designed the north porch, he would have begun as master mason at Wells around 1207. Probably, because of the constructional hiatus during the Interdict between 1209 and 1213, he was unable to finish the nave of the church or to begin its façade until around 1220, as the details common to each have suggested.[38] Thomas Norreys, documented as master mason in 1245 and still living in 1249, probably completed Lock's design for the façade between 1229 and 1248. Thomas Norreys simply respected his predecessor's design for the façade, as did Adam Lock in finishing the nave. Accordingly, Adam Lock would have been in charge for twenty-two years at Wells, and Thomas Norreys for nineteen. A head-stop on the north side of the nave triforium has traditionally been identified as Adam Lock, as this head wears the typical mason's cap and differs from the other head-stops in its portrait-like individuality (Fig. 7). Since this head-stop is located in the bay adjacent to the façade, it would have been carved while the façade was being built.

From what is known about the social status of Adam Lock, sophisticated interaction with Bishop Jocelin on the sculptural program, as

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[36] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' pp. 106, 111; Church, *Chapters*, pp. 22, 141; and N. Stratford, P. Tudor-Craig, and A.M. Muthesius, 'Archbishop Hubert Walter's Tomb and its Furnishings,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1220*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1979, (London, 1982), vol. 5, p. 79, n. 27. Tudor-Craig has also referred to the west door of the façade of Wells as 'probably laid out as part of the 1215–1229 building period.' This date does not allow her three attributions.

[37] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 49–50.

[38] See above, p. 19 n. 6.

well as on the formal design of the façade seems possible. Adam Lock's
will and his widow's confirmation of a grant of land made by his son,
Thomas Lock, indicate that Adam owned land and several houses in
Wells at his death in 1229. His affluence may also be suggested by the
deed of his house to the Bishop's chaplain at Wells who later allocated
it for use as a grammar school. The high rank of witnesses at these legal
transactions, such as Elias of Dereham, canon of Wells and Salisbury,
further suggests the importance of Adam Lock's social standing. His
association, during construction at Wells, with Elias, who was in charge
of the king's work at Winchester Castle Hall, might even account for
some aspects of the façade's design, particularly the use of motifs from
choir furnishings, to be discussed later.[39]

   Although no other documentary evidence exists concerning Lock,
his origins, training, and preferences can be inferred by establishing
the architectural sources for the façade. In his design Adam Lock
synthesized three architectural traditions, all somewhat influenced by
metalwork or choir furnishings. He also combined modern features of
the 1220s from Lincoln and from the Southeast of England with older
West Country forms. The way in which he synthesized these current
Early English styles with traditional West Country features, such as
rich patterning, suggests that he had been trained first in the Western
School of masons, as defined by Brakespear.[40] The façade moldings, for
example, are based largely on those found in the north porch at Wells
(ca. 1207), which, itself, seems to represent his earlier fusion of modern
Early English profiles and older Glastonbury perforated moldings.[41]
Perhaps because of Adam's association with Elias of Dereham, the
newest architectural forms of the façade at Wells, for example, the
stilted, segmental arches which help to date the façade, seem to derive
from the Southeast of England: they were earlier used at Lambeth
Palace (ca. 1214–1220) and then are found at Winchester Hall (1222–
1236).[42] Lock seems to have adopted streamline forms from the exterior

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[39] See above, p. 22 n. 17; and Chapter 3, p. 113 for Elias.

[40] For a more detailed treatment of the architecture, see Malone, 'West English,'
pp. 219–235.

[41] Ibid., Pl. 156. Although the façade moldings are closest to the north porch, they
are modified with newer profiles from Lincoln. The intersecting arcading is related to
that found in both the north porch at Wells and the Lady Chapel at Glastonbury, but
the Y-tracery derives from another source, such as the façade of Peterborough.

[42] Colvin, *History*, vol. 1, pp. 101, 125 and vol. 2, p. 858. Colvin has connected the
stilted segmental arch with the King's Court. See above, p. 22 n. 16.

of the retrochoir at Winchester Cathedral, such as the shaft bases that merge smoothly into the plinth of the façade; he transformed these bases into cylinders (on the interior of the façade beneath the window shafts) which taper smoothly and merge into the wall with the fluidity of metal, much as do the dying moldings of the choir at Salisbury.[43]

Even though western and southeastern architectural forms appear on the façade, the dominant features derive from Lincoln.[44] When Adam Lock copied ringed angle-shafts and head-molds from the buttresses of the west transept (ca. 1220) at Lincoln, he elaborated them with the ornate crockets of an older pier (ca. 1194) in the north-west angle of the smaller, south-east transept (Fig. 18). This pier at Lincoln was, itself, inspired by the motifs of choir furnishings and by the undercutting techniques found in the chevron moldings of the choir at Canterbury.[45] As in the pier at Lincoln, the rows of crockets on the façade at Wells create a perforated, textured interior behind the frame of shafts (Figs. 12 and 13). Lock may have been attracted to this Early English pier at Lincoln because of the Western School tradition of deeply undercut moldings. The perforated effects at Glastonbury, as at Lincoln, can be traced back to Canterbury where the chevron moldings of the *doubleaux* in the choir-aisle vaults (ca. 1175) were first deeply undercut, probably in imitation of the perforated effects of metalwork. In his synthesis of these two traditions, Adam Lock carried the spatial effects of perforation much further. In spirit Lock was clearly the heir of Geoffrey de Noiers, or whoever designed Saint Hugh's choir and the pier with crockets at Lincoln. Jocelin's associates, Elias of Dereham in the Southeast and his brother Hugh as bishop of Lincoln (1209–1235), would have facilitated Lock's contact with both of these English architectural centers. Moreover, Adam Lock may have even traveled in France with Jocelin and these same canons during the Interdict, right before designing the façade.

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[43] Malone, 'West English,' p. 231.
[44] For Lincoln, see J.P. Frankl, 'The "Crazy" Vaults of Lincoln Cathedral,' *Art Bulletin* 34(1953):95–107; and idem, 'Lincoln Cathedral,' *Art Bulletin* 44(1962):29–37.
[45] Jean Bony (personal communication).

Jocelin

Unlike the immediately preceding bishops of Bath, Jocelin lived and was buried in Wells, and he promoted throughout his career the secular canons and church of Wells in preference to the monks and abbey of St. Peter's Bath, although each was part of his diocese (Fig. 6).[46] Jocelin, himself, in 1209 seems to have explained this preference for the canons of Wells when proclaiming his affection for the church of St. Andrew 'in whose bosom he was born and educated.'[47] He was the second son in a family, whose Anglo-Saxon name seems to have been Troteman, from Launcherley (two miles from Wells), and the younger brother of Hugh of Wells, who was to be bishop of Lincoln.[48] Although we do not know the date of Jocelin's birth, it is likely that he was born around 1167.[49] His father, Edward of Wells, owned land at both Wells and Launcherley,

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[46] See Chapter 6, p. 194 for discussion of the conflicts between Bath and Wells. Traditionally these secular canons lived within their own households, usually within the cathedral close, but not always in residence. Those in residence had to attend choir at least once a day to collect their daily stipend, except for a fortnight every quarter when each was responsible for presiding at all services. The actual burden of singing the daily services was taken by the vicars choral, who were clerics appointed by the canons to sing the offices for them. The canons or vicars spent about seven hours in choir daily with an additional hour on Sundays and on feasts of which there were thirty-seven. Participation in processions was required on at least eighty days of the year. For an excellent summary of the daily life of the secular canons at Wells based on the *Liber Rubus*, a fourteenth-century collection of customs which depends not only on thirteenth-century customs from Salisbury but also on the *Statuta Antiqua* set forth by Bishop Jocelin in 1241, see A. Klukas, 'The Liber Ruber and the Rebuilding of the East End at Wells,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Wells and Glastonbury*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1978, vol. 4, (London, 1981), pp. 31 and 32. For the *Statuta Antiqua*, see A. Watkin, *Dean Cosyn and Wells Cathedral Miscellanea, Somerset Record Society* (London, 1941), p. 14.

[47] J.A. Robinson, 'Bishop Jocelin and the Interdict,' *Somerset Historical Essays* (British Academy, London, 1921), p. 157; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 127, 182. In the preamble to a charter of 1209 that revised the constitution of the cathedral, Jocelin states, '*quae nos in gremio suo genitos et uberibus consolationis suae educatos, in eum statum quem licet immerito tenemus, materna semper affectione produxit.*' A seventeenth-century canon at Wells referred to him as '*Nec Anglus solum, verum Wellensis etiam, totus Wellensis.*'

[48] Ibid., pp. 127–129; and Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 157.

[49] Robinson, 'Interdict,' pp. 141, 159. We know only the year that Jocelin died, but it is likely that he was born around 1167 since his son must have been at least twenty in 1208 when he issued a writ as a member of the royal chancery, and it is unlikely that Jocelin, himself, was much less than twenty when his son was born. On the basis of these estimates, Jocelin would have been thirty-eight when he became bishop, in his fifties when the façade was designed, and seventy-five when he died. Like Peter des Roches, he would have been in his sixties during the 1230s when he was still influential at court.

granted by Bishop Robert (1136–1166) who rebuilt parts of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral.[50] Although it is not certain that Jocelin served as a canon under Bishop Reginald (d. 1191), who began the Gothic church at Wells, or whether he was involved in the decision to retain the Anglo-Saxon Lady Chapel in 1196 under Bishop Savaric (1192–1205), he was certainly involved later in moving the remains of Wells' Anglo-Saxon bishops to the new choir.[51] During Savaric's episcopacy, Jocelin's brother, Hugh, had become archdeacon of Wells, and it may well have been Hugh who introduced Jocelin to the service of the prior of Bath.[52] Without question Jocelin was a secular canon at Wells by 1200, since he was at Glastonbury during a rebellion against Bishop Savaric. The report of this incident gives us our first glimpse of Jocelin in action among Savaric's canons from Wells:

> Jocelin, afterwards bishop, who, entering in with some lay people, made a violent assault upon five of the leaders of the rebellion, whom they dragged even from the altar, and carried them off in carts to Wells. There they were imprisoned for eight days, suffering hunger and thirst, insults and mockings, and then were dispersed among other religious houses in the country.[53]

While he was clerk of Bath and canon at Wells, Jocelin entered royal service. By 1204 both Jocelin and his brother, Hugh, were judges in the King's Court.[54] Early in 1205 Jocelin is recorded dispatching the king's letters.[55] After his election as bishop of Bath in 1206, Jocelin still attests the king's charters with Hugh and Elias of Dereham, all members of the king's *camera*.[56] Elias of Dereham, Hugh, and Jocelin

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[50] Ibid., pp. 141, 156–157; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 128–130. The land was confirmed to his father between 1186 and 1188 by Reginald, bishop of Bath (1174–1191). Hugh inherited his father's land around Wells.

[51] Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 157; and Church, *Chapters*, p. 129. Church incorrectly states that Jocelin appears in Wells' charters as chaplain to Bishop Reginald. For dating the effigies of the Anglo-Saxon bishops, see Chapter 6, p. 191, n. 9.

[52] Church, *Chapters*, p. 129; and Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 143. Two charters from prior Robert of Bath (1198–1223) relate to Jocelin of Wells; they are attested by Hugh the archdeacon. In 1204 Jocelin is referred to as Robert's clerk.

[53] J.A. Robinson, 'The First Deans of Wells,' in *Somerset Historical Essays*, British Academy, London, 1949, p. 70 dates and describes most completely the Glastonbury incident. Church, *Chapters*, p. 106 quotes the original description of the rebellion. For the most recent account see A. Gransden, 'The History of Wells Cathedral, c.1090–1547,' in *Wells Cathedral A History*, ed. L.S., Colchester (Shepton Mallet, England, 1982), p. 30.

[54] Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 143.

[55] Ibid., p. 145.

[56] Ibid., pp. 149–153. See Chapter 3, p. 113 for Elias.

were *curiales*, clerics whose careers depended on the king.[57] At the beginning of the thirteenth century clerical and royal appointments coincided since canons were necessary to the royal service.[58] Because of the king's influence in clerical appointments, the most prominent positions in Church and State were held by a small, interrelated group. Jocelin and Hugh, like the notorious Peter des Roches, had moved to the position of bishop partly through service in King John's household. In fact, Jocelin became one of the three most important of the King's administrators, the others being Richard Poore, bishop of Salisbury, and Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester; Gibbs and Lang describe him as 'more sensitive of the claims of the Church than Peter des Roches.'[59] Unlike Peter, Jocelin and Hugh were already ecclesiastics when they were drawn into royal service.[60]

With the support of the king and no doubt Hugh, who was one of the custodians for the crown of the vacant bishopric after Savaric's death, Jocelin was elected bishop of Bath on May 12, 1206 unanimously by both the canons at Wells and the monks at Bath.[61] The canons presented him to Pope Innocent III for approval as 'Master Jocelin, canon of their church and deacon, a man who has grown up in the bosom of their church from infancy,' who 'had lived in all good conscience before them all his life hitherto,' and they sought his confirmation because

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[57] F.M. Powicke, *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (Oxford, 1947), vol. 1, p. 667 defines *curiales*.

[58] Robinson, 'Interdict,' pp. 141–159; and C. Young, *Hubert Walter, Lord of Canterbury and Lord of England* (Durham, N.C., 1968), p. 151. See Chapter 6, p. 202.

[59] M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215–1272* (Oxford, 1934), p. 11.

[60] Ibid., p. 15; Powicke, *Henry III*, p. 69; Robinson, 'Interdict,' pp. 142–147; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 129, 169, n. 1, 181. Hugh received his introduction to the new king, John, in 1199, from Simon, the archdeacon of Wells who was like a vice-chancellor to the king. Hugh had taken Simon's place in the king's chancery in 1204 and was chancellor by 1208. According to Church, Hugh was made Chancellor of England by King John. Walter de Gray is listed by Beatson as Lord High Chancellor in 1205, between two turns in the office by Hugh of Wells. In 1208 Hugh is referred to as archdeacon of Wells and as 'Regis Cancellarius.' See Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Sir Frederick Madden (Rolls Series, London, 1866–1869), vol. 2, p. 120. F.M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton* (Oxford, 1928), p. 111 mentions Hugh of Wells as one of the king's envoys to King Philip in France; Hugh kept the seal in 1205.

[61] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 34; N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An alien in English politics, 1205–1238* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 76; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 131, 173. Church states that all the bishops of the southern province wrote letters to the pope for Jocelin's confirmation, and he names the following: the bishops of London, Hereford, St. Asaph, Llandaff, Bangor St. David's and ten bishops from the province of Canterbury. Peter des Roches also petitioned the pope and legate for Jocelin's election.

he was 'so singularly fitted by his character and knowledge of business affairs for the office of their bishop.'[62] The chapter of Bath identified Jocelin as 'clerk of their church and canon of Wells' describing him as 'industrious, learned, and honest.'[63] The monks of Glastonbury alone dissented pronouncing him 'a fit successor of Savaric, not only in office, but in greed and guile.'[64] A little later, an anonymous satire expressed the same opinion:

> If one should ask my lord of Bath
> How many marks the exchequer hath,
> He promptly will the sums rehearse
> He gathers for the royal purse:
> In such a dialogue he's wise;
> For canon law he has no eyes.[65]

The satire, then, pairs Jocelin with Peter des Roches of Winchester:

> The warrior of Winchester, up at the Exchequer,
> Sharp at accounting, slack at Scripture,
> Revolving the royal roll.[66]

At the exchequer Jocelin and Peter had been at the heart of the unpopular process of John's money-getting, and the satire probably was stimulated by Jocelin and Peter's allegiance to King John after the proclamation of the Interdict in March of 1208.[67] Historical hindsight has been

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[62] Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 304; idem, *Chapters*, p. 130; and Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 157.

[63] Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 304; and Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 157.

[64] Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 132.

[65] Ibid., p. 155 translates the verse about Jocelin.

[66] M.T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers 1066–1272: Foreign Lordship and National Identity* (Glasgow, 1983), p. 183 translates the verse about Peter des Roches. Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 56–59 points out Peter was closely associated with the milking of church lands.

[67] T. Wright, *Political Songs from the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (Edinburgh, 1884), vol. 1, pp. 8, 23–27 prints the entire satire and refers to *Flaccius Illyricus* as the source of the satire. The context in which Jocelin and Peter are mentioned is generally critical of the Church. Because the song complains about the delay of Stephen, it seems to date after 1207, when Stephen Langton was appointed by the pope to the see of Canterbury in opposition to the king, and probably between 1207 and 1212. The satire refers to events concerning the Interdict since it libels the bishops of Norwich, Bath, and Winchester, who adhered to the King in his quarrel with the Pope about Langton's presentation, but praises the bishops, Eustace of Ely and Maugerius of Worcester whom Innocent III chose to publish the Interdict and who, then, discretely retired to the continent. S. Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), pp. 174–175. Gilbert of Rochester, whom the satire also praises, was the pope's only reliable suffragan of Canterbury. Nonetheless, Wright attributed this satirical song to the 'weak, early reign of Henry III' and assumed anachronistically that there was a veiled reference to Pandulf, the legate (1218–1221) although the poem refers to Bishop Eustace of Ely, who

kinder to Jocelin interpreting his decision to remain at the king's side as the best hope of making peace during the dispute with Pope Innocent III over the election of Stephen Langton (1207–1228) as archbishop of Canterbury.[68] Although Jocelin was one of the bishops still trying to delay John's excommunication in 1209, he and Hugh did abandon the king when he was excommunicated in November of that year; then, only Peter des Roches remained loyal.[69] During Jocelin's subsequent exile in France he can be located at two places: at Melun, on the Seine upstream from Paris, where Stephen Langton consecrated Hugh as bishop of Lincoln on December 20, 1209 (if it can be assumed that Jocelin was at his brother's consecration) and at Saint-Martin de Garenne, near Mantes downstream from Paris, where on November 13, 1212 Hugh appointed Jocelin and Elias of Dereham executors of his will which provided for the fabric of Wells.[70] Jocelin thus can be docu-

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ceased to be bishop in 1214, as well as to Bishop Maugerius of Worcester whose last year as bishop was 1212.

[68] Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 156 describes Jocelin as one of two solid Somerset men, the other being his brother Hugh, 'whose names are not merely beyond reproach, but are an honour to the churches which they ruled.' Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Series, London, 1872; Kraus Reprint 1964), vol. 4, p. 233 refers positively to Jocelin at his death in 1242 as '*plenus dierum, vita et moribus commendabilis.*' On the other hand, Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 3, p. 306 refers to Hugh of Wells at his death in 1234 as '*manachorum persecutor, canonicorum et omnium malleus religiosorum.*' Church, *Chapters*, p. 219; and idem, 'Jocelin,' p. 333 points out that Matthew Paris denigrates Hugh's character for political reasons. According to Church, Paris describes Hugh's honorable successor, bishop Grossteste with the same words suggesting that these appraisals 'must be estimated by considerations of the party spirit between the regulars and secular clergy.'

[69] Painter, *John*, pp. 179–181; Robinson, 'Interdict,' pp. 153–154; Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 136;. Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 69, 76–79; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 108, 125 n. 2, 133 who incorrectly states that Jocelin went into exile when the Interdict was first proclaimed. Around this time King John was a frequent visitor at Wells and Glastonbury; he was at Wells and Glastonbury on June 15 and 17, 1204; September 3 and 5, 1205; September 13, 1207; and March 3 and 4, 1208. According to Robinson, 'Interdict,' pp. 152–153, Hugh and Jocelin also spent Christmas with King John at Bristol in 1208; in 1209 on May 10 the king was at Exeter, between May 11–12 and on July 6 at Bath. The bishops of Rochester and Salisbury, as well as Hugh and Jocelin, were with Geoffrey fitz Peter, and Walter de Grey, when the publication of the excommunicate king was postponed on October 7, 1209, and a reconciliation was attempted between church and king.

[70] Robinson, 'Interdict,' pp. 154, 158; Gransden, 'The History,' p. 48, n. 40; Powicke, *Stephen*, p. 77; Painter, *John*, pp. 177, 185, 186; Church, *Chapters*, pp. 182–184; and L.S. Colchester, *The Building of Wells Cathedral, A Summary and Re-Assessment*, ca. 1956 (hand-written text), p. 19. According to Colchester, Church is incorrect in mentioning Bordeaux and Spain. See above, n. 10, for Hugh's will and funding for the church of Wells.

mented near Chartres Paris, important sources for the façade sculpture at Wells, before construction of the façade had begun.

By 1213 Jocelin had returned to England and in 1215 was at the side of Stephen Langton mediating Magna Carta between the barons and King John.[71] He was also prominent in the small group who ensured stability in the kingdom after John's death in 1216 and during the French invasion of 1217. When the coronation of the nine-year-old Henry III was undertaken at Gloucester on October 28, 1216, Bishop Peter des Roches crowned Henry while Bishop Jocelin dictated the coronation oath.[72] Less than a year later in the war against Prince Louis, Jocelin participated, though not as a warrior like Peter des Roches.[73] On May 20, 1217 Jocelin and other prelates at York pronounced excommunication on the followers of Louis.[74] Matthew Paris' drawing of the sea battle off Sandwich depicts Jocelin with Peter and Richard Poore, absolving the sins of those who will die for the liberation of England on August 24, 1217.[75]

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[71] See Chapter 6, p. 203.

[72] Norgate, *Minority*, p. 4 (quotation); Church, *Chapters*, p. 195; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 13, 17. The coronation was undertaken with great haste because Prince Louis, the eldest son of the king of France, also claimed to have been elected to the English throne. According to Matthew Paris, Bishop Jocelin administered the oath. Guala may have ordered the bishop of Winchester to crown Henry in deference to the claims of the archbishop of Canterbury who was abroad at the papal court. The small coronation banquet was attended only by the Legate, the Queen-mother and the bishops of Bath, Winchester, Worcester, Chester or Coventry, Exeter, and Meath.

[73] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 28; Clanchy, *England*, p. 203; and F.A. Cazel, Jr., 'The Legates Guala and Pandulf,' in *Thirteenth Century England*, Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference for the year 1987, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988), p. 18. Innocent III had established a precedent for turning the war into a crusade against fellow Christians eight years before when he authorized the Albigensian crusades against the Cathar heretics of southern France. Louis was the eldest son of King Philip Augustus of France.

[74] Church, *Chapters*, p. 196; idem, 'Jocelin,' p. 320.

[75] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 3, p. 28 for the year 1217 sketches the battle with the beheading of the Monk Eustace. One of the three bishops holds a scroll saying, '*Absolvo pro liberatione Angliae morituros.*' An inscription next to the bishops reads, '*Hic omnes cum processione sollemni in vestimentis festivis occurrebant triumphantibus scientes quod miraculosa fuit victoria.*' According to Paris, when Hubert de Burgh, leading the English, reached England's coast, 'all the bishops who were in that quarter came out to meet him, clad in their sacred robes … singing psalms and praising God.' Although only three figures are represented, others who participated are listed nearby. Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 43 and Pl. 3 identifies the three from left to right as the bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Bath. S. Lewis, *Matthew Paris* (Berkeley, 1987), p. 61 quotes Matthew Paris' text and inscription. It is significant that Jocelin supported the English forces since, according to Wendover in 1217, negotiations for peace were delayed by the legate's refusal to include

After the English victory, the reestablishment in 1218 of the justices of the bench and the procedure of the exchequer symbolized the restoration of normality in England.[76] Significantly, Jocelin was head of the itinerant justices in the great eyres of 1218 and 1219.[77] The royal justices were distinguished men known for giving justice impartially, and these eyres, or circuits, gave the kingdom justice and order, in some cases for the first time since 1203, although they were also the principal method of enforcing the king's will.[78] Jocelin became still more important in the new government that was established in 1223 after the pope ordered the king control of his seal but did not declare him to be of age.[79] After Peter des Roches was ousted, partly because he was not trusted, Jocelin in the good company of Richard Poore and Stephen Langton joined with the justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, to form this new government. The king's letters were then no longer attested by Peter des Roches but in the presence of Hubert and the bishops of Bath and Salisbury. This new political alliance had given the king control of his seal. In a royal letter to the pope, attested by the king in the presence of

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in the terms of settlement Simon Langton and, among three others, Elias of Dereham, then a clerk of Stephen's household. See Powicke, *Stephen*, pp. 137–138. See Chapter 3, p. 113 for Elias. Hence Jocelin seems to have been more of a royalist than many of his associates.

[76] Clanchy, *England*, p. 207.

[77] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 323; Church, 'Jocelin,' pp. 319, 322; and idem, *Chapters*, pp. 195, 199. R. Turner, *The King and His Courts, the Role of John and Henry III in the Administration of Justice, 1199–1240* (Ithaca, N.Y. 1968), p. 195 states that Jocelin was, in fact, the head of the itinerant justices and that he was careful not to share responsibility in miscarriages of justice, as in 1219, when he stated that he had not been present when a false judgment was given, in a 'judgment of blood,' which was related to the Fourth Lateran Council's ban on clerical participation in ordeals.

[78] Turner, *The King*, p. 196; Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 98, 100, 335; Clanchy, *England*, p. 207; and R. Eales, 'Castles and Politics in England, 1215–1224,' in *Thirteenth Century England*, II Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne conference, 1987, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988), p. 41. The Waverley annals, usually critical of the king's government, state that, the justices went through all of England and were successful in reviving and implementing the laws: 'in this year peace returned and was stabilized in England … according to the Charter of King John.' These itinerant justices acted in the spirit of clause 18 of 1215 Magna Carta, as modified in 1217.

[79] Norgate, *Minority*, pp. 203 n. 3 and 209; F.A. Cazel Jr., 'The fifteenth of 1225', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 34(1961):67; Powicke, *Stephen*, p. 149; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 123–124, 321–322. The second stage of the minority began in 1223 since the king could issue and witness letters on his own, but the declaration of 1218 against permanent grants under the great seal still held good.

Hubert and the two bishops on December 19, 1223, the king rejoiced in the amelioration of his royal state due to the work of Langton and the bishops with Hubert.[80]

An incident occurring a week later provides a chance to catch a glimpse of Jocelin during a state crisis. The day after Christmas at Northhampton, Langton and the two bishops of Bath and Salisbury excommunicated Fawkes de Breauté, the castellan of Bedford, as a disturber of the peace.[81] During the siege of Bedford, the King swore 'by his father's soul that if Bedford castle were taken by force, he would hang everyman who was in it.'[82] Following the conquest of Bedford early in 1224, the king remitted the captured knights and men-at-arms to the bishops for absolution, and when they had received it, he kept his vow and sent them all to the gallows. Later Jocelin is cited almost as frequently as Langton in Fawkes's plea to the pope about the capture of Bedford. According to the plea, it was Langton who instigated the hanging, asking Hubert to explain it to the king who did not understand, but before the justiciar could speak, its meaning was made plain by Jocelin: 'If those captured at Bytham had been hung, those now taken would not have held the castle against the royal will'; Roger of Wendover later took a similar view of the King's prior clemency at Bytham since it 'set a very bad precedent for others to rebel against him in like manner, trusting to be similarly treated.'[83]

During the rest of the decade Jocelin and Richard Poore were the principal royal counselors, next only to the justiciar, and after Langton and Richard were dead, Jocelin remained prominent in Henry's gov-

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[80] Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 323, 400; and Powicke, *Langton*, p. 148. The bishops of Bath and Salisbury had not been active in central government since the war.

[81] Stacey, *Politics, Policy, and Finance under Henry III 1216–1245* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 31–32, 267–268, and Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 32. The ruin of Fawkes de Breauté was predetermined in the royal Council during Christmas at Northampton: the Dunstable annalist observed Langton 'and so many bishops, earls, barons, and armed knights, neither in the days of the (king's) father, nor afterwards, is such a feast known to have been celebrated in England.'

[82] Norgate, *Minority*, pp. 242 and 244.

[83] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 367, Pl. 11 reproduces Matthew Paris' drawing of the hanging at Bedford; and Norgate, *Minority*, pp. 165–167, 297–298 quotes Jocelin: '*Si suspensi fuissent qui capti fuerent apud Biham, isti qui nunc capti sunt nullatenus castrum adversus nutum regium tenuissent.*' According to Fawkes, the Primate had brought the three bishops with him into the King's presence for that very purpose. Jocelin and Roger were referring to the siege in 1221 at Bytham in Lincolnshire where Aumale had been excommunicated, but not severely prosecuted, for refusing to surrender the castle.

ernment.[84] In June of 1228, when Langton died, the king left his seal at Westminster with Jocelin acting as a sort of vice-regent.[85] Having survived Hubert de Burgh's fall from power in 1232, Jocelin sat as baron of the Exchequer in the new government of Peter des Roche in 1233, and then after Peter des Roche's final defeat in 1234, Jocelin assumed control of the wardrobe and took part in effecting peace with the Welsh.[86] The aged Jocelin was frequently at court in the anti-Poitevin atmosphere of 1235.[87] For the last time Jocelin is mentioned in Henry III's *Liberate Roll* of January 27, 1243, as 'J. of good memory, bishop of Bath.'[88] Jocelin had died of natural causes on November 19, 1242.[89]

In his will Bishop Jocelin left his family lands to the church of Wells, a house to the deanery, and nearby churches to the treasury and common fund.[90] Throughout his episcopacy he and the chapter of secular canons at Wells had worked together in harmony. He legislated with their consent, starting a trend of legislation in chapter that continued after his death, and he was particularly instrumental in strengthening their rights.[91] In 1207, around the time that the north porch of the cathedral

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[84] Cazel 'Fifteenth,' p. 67; and Stacey, *Politics*, p. 32. In the Calendar of the Liberate Rolls for the years 1226–1240 Jocelin is recorded frequently witnessing the distribution of the king's funds, especially between 1226 and 1228. See Historical Monuments Commission, *Liberate Rolls, 1226–1240*, vol. 1, pp. 5, 24, 30, 87, 99, 101, 103, 149, 190, 198.

[85] F.A. Cazel Jr., 'The Last Years of Stephen Langton,' *The English Historical Review* 79(1964):692–693. At Langton's death, the bishop of Bath and the chancellor were responsible for issuing writs under the great seal to the other sheriffs from the chancery.

[86] Vincent, *Peter*, p. 333, n.88, 436, 442.

[87] Stacey, *Politics*, p. 93; and Turner, *The King*, pp. 193, 245. On two occasions between 1235 and 1236 Henry III obliged Jocelin in legal complaints. In 1235 the king had inadvertently wronged Jocelin in forest rights of twenty-five oak trees in the bishop's wood. Between 1235 and 1236 Jocelin also brought a complaint against the heirs of a deacon of Wells.

[88] Historical Monuments Commission, *Calendar of the Liberate Rolls, Henry III.A.D. 1240–1245* (London, 1230), vol. 2, p. 168. Roll No. 19, 27 Henry III. January 27, 1243: 'To the keeper of the bishopric of Bath. *Contrabreve* to cause Geoffrey de Sancto Clemente to have 3d. daily so long as the bishopric remains in the king's hand, for the keepership of the buildings thereof in London, granted to him for life by charter of J. of good memory, bishop of Bath.'

[89] Church, *Chapters*, p. 238. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, vol. 4, p. 233 incorrectly notes Jocelin's death as December 3 and only mentions for November 20 a bad flood on the Thames.

[90] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 32; and Church, *Chapters*, p. 130.

[91] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 21, 143, 136, 194; and Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 32 and 36. Jocelin had inherited the constitution of his church from his predecessors, Robert and Reginald, but, as a canon at Wells, he was familiar with these concerns. Earlier in the twelfth century the canons at Wells had become a distinct corporation, headed by a dean, at first appointed by the bishop, soon afterwards chosen by the canons. All

was built, Jocelin confirmed a grant for houses and land for the canons which seems to have been adjacent to it: '*ante magnam portam canonicorum*' and freed this area from all secular exactions, town dues, or borough jurisdiction; in 1219 additional land was granted to the chapter in the same area for houses, with still more grants for canonical houses in 1228.[92] Jocelin was also generous with financial subsidies to the canons. In 1209 he augmented endowments to induce their residence.[93] Even though vacant benefices belonged to the bishop, Jocelin made over two parts to the chapter in 1216.[94] In 1242 he increased their daily payments when he no longer needed the funds for work on the church.[95] Unlike Richard Poore at Salisbury, Jocelin did not write a constitution, but he was the first bishop of Bath to issue a series of ordinances and statutes for the chapter at Wells; it is likely he also made the final codification of the *Statuta Antiqua* outlining the chapter's organization.[96] In 1241 he issued his statutes which treat problems, such

the canons were appointed by the bishop. Gradually the chapter became a separate body, with possessions of its own, distinct from those of the bishop–a corporate body, entitled the 'Dean and Chapter', to whom was committed the home government of the cathedral church. Each canon also possessed a prebend as his freehold. Powicke, *Stephen*, p. 152 lists the bishop of Bath as one of those busy in framing concordats with their cathedral chapters as the chapters defined their customs or compiled their liturgical uses. Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. cvii mentions that Bishop Richard would do nothing at Salisbury without the canons' concurrence when deciding to build a new cathedral at Sarum. He also points out that the Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral define the chapter as all the canons who form a corporate body with the bishop at their head for the administration of church and diocese.

[92] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 59–60, 140, 177, 199, 213. Church identifies the north porch as '*Porta magna canonicorum*' on the basis of the *Chronicon Wellense* compiled by a seventeenth-century canon at Wells. Robinson, 'Interdict,' p. 158 believes that the north porch would have been called *ostium septentrionale* and that this *portam canonicorum* refers to a gate of the close. Still the canons' area was next to the north porch; consequently, it would have served as the canons' entrance to the church. Jocelin may have been a canon under Bishop Reginald who arranged for the town of Wells to be a free borough with its franchises held as grants from the bishop: every house in the borough paid twelve pence a year to the bishop who had the right of administering justice to the town.

[93] Ibid., p. 182.

[94] Ibid., pp. 185, 193, a similar arrangement was made in 1213.

[95] Ibid., p. 235; and Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 294; and idem, 'Reginald,' p. 334. Jocelin left a permanent legacy to the church by substituting money in 1242 for the quotidian of bread to all the ministrant body of the church and by increasing the scale of payments, conditional on the fulfillment of allotted periods of residence.

[96] Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 25, 32; Church, *Chapters*, p. 182. Even while in France between 1209 and 1213, Jocelin made plans for reforming the offices of dean, precentor, and chancellor at Wells.

as requirements of resident canons: 'they need only reside two thirds of the year continuously or at intervals … thus, no simple canon is bound to residence by this decree unlest he wish it.'[97] Perhaps because this requirement was so lenient, it was reversed after his death.[98]

Throughout his episcopacy Jocelin increased the endowments to the church at Wells.[99] Settlement of a long standing controversy with Glastonbury added to these endowments since Glastonbury had to give the bishop four manors and seven churches for its independence in 1219; the canons benefited greatly from such gains.[100] Because of these endowments, the chapter office and stalls had become attractive to the pope, king, and courtiers. At the time of Jocelin's death the lately appointed dean was a nominee of the pope, John Sarracenus, a Roman from the pope's body guard.[101] Significantly, in 1256 Edward de la Cnoll was elected dean; Jocelin had originally brought him into the chapter, and his father and grandfather had been Jocelin's tenants at Wookey.[102] For thirty years he followed Jocelin's policy of making the chapter the ruling body.

But the canons were to benefit most from Bishop Jocelin's efforts to make Wells the seat of his diocese as will be later discussed. While he was building the façade, Jocelin not only lived at Wells but there constructed a bishop's palace. Finally, Jocelin was buried at Wells in front of the high altar surrounded by the tombs of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors, perhaps as we shall see because he foresaw the political benefit to Wells.[103] Nonetheless, it was the façade, as a visually prominent arti-

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[97] Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 32, 36; and Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 4. The statutes also cover the respective jurisdictions of dean and subdean. At this same time Jocelin also seems to have had the canons compile the first chapter register, a task perhaps begun earlier because of controversy with Bath about the seat of the diocese since organization of the archives facilitated the search for relevant charters.

[98] C.M. Church, 'The Rise and Growth of the Chapter of Wells from 1242 to 1333,' *Archaeologia* vol. 54, pt.1 (London, 1894) pp. 4, 10–12. Edward de la Cnoll revised the matter of residence in accordance with the stricter customs after 1250.

[99] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 31.

[100] Church, *Chapters*, p. 198. See also Chapter 6, p. 197.

[101] Church, 'The Rise,' p. 4.

[102] Ibid., pp. 10–12. When John Sarracenus died in 1253, Giles of Bridport was elected by the canons. Edward succeeded him when Giles became bishop of Salisbury in 1256. Like Jocelin, Edward was the author of two codes of statues and of the revised Ordinal requested during Jocelin's episcopacy. See Chapter 4, p. 131 n. 3.

[103] Chapter 6, p. 199, Jocelin took other precautions just before his death to make Wells the first church of the diocese. See Chapter 3, p. 117 n. 114 for a description of Jocelin's tomb.

fact, which remains the greatest testament to Jocelin and his ambitions for the church of St. Andrew at Wells. This brief sketch portrays Bishop Jocelin as a man of action, decisive and shrewd, precise and learned, and clearly supportive of his canons, church, king, and country. Such a charismatic statesman could be expected to conceive a dramatic façade program in order to give to his church a new self-image. A reading of the extant sculpture can suggest the façade's first layer of meaning, Jocelin's text for its program.

THE CHURCH TRIUMPHANT

As bishop, Jocelin, perhaps in consultation with his canons at Wells, settled on the theme of *Ecclesia triumphans* for the sculptural program of the façade around 1220. At this time in England there was no similar façade program of the Church Triumphant, and in France related programs, as at Chartres, presented a narrative of the process of salvation, ending naturally with the climax of the whole story, the Last Judgment. Jocelin was in the Chartres-Mantes region when the program of the transepts at Chartres were enlarged with this encyclopedic program of salvation through the Church. It may have been here or at Notre-Dame in Paris that he first considered featuring the sculptural theme of the Coronation of the Virgin as the Church Triumphant on the façade at Wells. But in comparison to these and other similar French programs it is significant that he rejected the theme of the Last Judgment, the usual complement of the Coronation, and thereby shifted dramatically the iconographic focus at Wells. Moreover, Jocelin and his master mason shifted radically the distribution of statues.

The French system of portal-centered iconography is primarily pedagogical in nature: it tries primarily to be informative, to teach salvation as the people enter; each door is a lesson. Rejection of the French system for the spectacle covering the totality of the façade at Wells implies that Jocelin aimed not so much at the discursive procedure of reasonably teaching salvation but at an immediate emotional response. As a forceful bishop active in the king's service and a leader trained in the rules of statesmanship, Jocelin seems to have chosen to arouse the public, instead of merely instructing like a schoolmaster. He probably wanted the façade to project a tone as emphatic as his statement to the king at Bedford. The text for his sermon can be suggested in part by describing analytically the façade's sculptural program and by comparing it to related programs and texts.

The Coronation of the Virgin

Located above the central portal, the sculptural scene of the Corona-
tion of the Virgin is the focal point of the program and the key to the
meaning of the façade as the Church Triumphant and Heavenly Jer-
usalem (Figs. 8 and 56: V). Beneath a gabled-trefoil the Virgin shares
Christ's throne and is seated in the place of honor to His right. In
contrast to most contemporaneous French sculpture Christ may have
originally crowned her with His right hand.[1] The Virgin, though turn-
ing slightly towards Christ, sits stiffly upright, a posture similar to the
Virgin at Notre-Dame at Senlis (ca. 1170); this stance has been called
'triumphant' in comparison to her bow of humility in the north tran-
sept at Notre-Dame at Chartres (ca. 1210) or her gesture of supplication
with folded hands on the façade of Notre- Dame in Paris (ca. 1210–
1220).[2] At Wells it is Christ who clearly leans towards the Virgin, as
though in homage. Continental sculpture usually locates the Virgin to
Christ's left when He crowns her, and, then, He crowns her with His
left hand (perhaps so He can bless her with His preferred right hand),
as for example, on the south transept at Strasbourg (ca. 1230) and at
Notre-Dame in Dijon (ca. 1230).[3]

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[1] P. Verdier, *Le couronnement de la Vièrge: les origines et les premiers développements d'un theme iconographic* (Paris, 1980), p. 22. Both the heads of Christ and the Virgin are missing. Although half of Christ's right arm is missing, His right elbow is at the level of the Virgin's shoulder, and He leans towards her, possibly indicating greater action than the gesture of blessing usually depicted in French portals. In fact, Christ is seated in such proximity to the Virgin that a gesture of blessing seems unlikely, although it was thus restored in 1973. The result was awkward and has been removed. See Sampson, *Wells Cathedra1*, p. 5. In His left hand Christ probably held a book, though an orb with cross was temporarily restored.

[2] P. Gold, *The Lady and the Virgin* (Chicago, 1985), pp. 52–53, 62–63.

[3] For these comparisons, see Sauerlander, *Le Siècle*, p. 94, and Verdier, *Le couron-nement*, pp. 18, 19, 147, 141, 144, 150. During the 1230s, sculptors from Chartres worked at Notre-Dame in Dijon and on the south transept at Strasbourg. The sculpture at Wells was influenced by the same workshops. Nonetheless, in a manuscript ca. 1200 from the north of France (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 258) Christ crowns the Virgin, seated to his left, with his right hand; his left hand is not shown. In an enamel medal-lion (ca. 1210) from Nicholas of Verdun's Three Kings workshop (now in the Schnutgen-Museum in Cologne) Christ also crowns the Virgin with his right hand although she is again seated to his left. A right to left movement is, of course, easier to draw than to carve in relief. For both these works, see H. Hoffmann (ed.), *The Year 1200* (New York, 1970), vol.1, pp. 192, 245, vol. 2, p. 132. The only French sculptural example earlier than Wells of the Virgin seated to Christ's right in which He may have crowned her with

At Wells the fact that the Virgin is seated to Christ's right and that He may have crowned her with His right hand emphasizes her triumph. This arrangement occurred earlier in English twelfth-century sculpture. A particularly similar placement is found in the tympanum of the south portal (ca. 1140) at Quenington (Gloucestershire).[4] At both Wells and Quenington, the Virgin's position on Christ's right corresponds to the imagery of *Sponsus* and *Sponsa* in the Canticle of Canticles that Augustine had related to Christ, as the bridegroom, and to his bride, *Virgo-Ecclesia*, in his interpretation of Psalm 44:9: 'the queen stood on thy right hand.'[5] Twelfth-century liturgy and sermons, such as those of Bernard of Clairvaux and Hugh of St. Victor, emphasized this affiliation of the Virgin, as Church, with the beloved bride of the Canticles and with the regal splendor of the queen of Psalms.[6] Such associations established a regal, ceremonial context for representations of the Heavenly Marriage, as at Wells.

The Church Fathers had early identified Mary with *Ecclesia*, and later the liturgy for the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin had established that Mary reigned triumphant as queen in heaven. In this setting Mary personified the Church's triumph and eternal reign. Consequently, in the corner of the tympanum at Quenington a small ciy signals the Heavenly Jerusalem. At neither Wells nor Quenington is the death or bodily assumption of the Virgin depicted, although these scenes accompany contemporary images of the Coronation on the

His right hand is on the west portal (ca. 1200) of the abbey church of St. Etienne at Corbie. Unfortunately, the images are badly mutilated, but the act of crowning seems likely since the remains of Christ's arm extend above the Virgin's shoulder. Near Trier at Lemoncourt (ca. 1230) Christ's pose is similar to that at Wells. In a wooden altar from Santa Maria de Luca, Catalonia (ca. 1200) He crowns the Virgin with His left hand and blesses her with His right. Significantly, in contrast to Wells the Virgin in all of these examples responds to Christ with gestures of humility. See Sauerlander, *Sculpture*, p. 443 and Pl.131 for Strasbourg, p. 444 for Dijon, pp. 424–425 for Corbie, and p. 448 and Pl. 141 for Lemoncourt.

   [4] Verdier, *Le cournnement*, Pl. 1, p. 17. A better known precedent is the Coronation at Reading (Berkshire) ca. 1130 which decorates a capital from the cloister, although the postures of the pair are less similar.

   [5] Ibid. p. 21. In a mid ninth-century Anglo-Saxon martyrology from the west of England for the feast of August 15, it is affirmed that the Virgin is seated to the right of the Father and the King. For Augustine see W. Seiferth, *Synagogue and Church in the Middle Ages: Two Symbols in Art and Literature* (New York, 1970), p. 32.

   [6] R. Fulton, '"*Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens?*": The Song of Songs as the *Historia* for the Office of the Assumption.' *Mediaeval Studies* 60(1998):55–122; M.-L. Thérel, *Le Triomphe de la Vierge-Eglise* (Paris, 1984), p. 229; and A.W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1990), pp. 75–104.

Continent. Their absence emphasizes that in these English depictions it is clearly *Ecclesia*, not Mary, who is honored.[7]

The liturgy of the Dedication of the Church related the allegory of the Coronation to the imagery of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:2: 'I saw also a New Jerusalem, the holy city, And I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.' During the office for the feast of the Dedication this association was celebrated in the hymn, *Urbs beata Ierusalem*.[8] This traditional hymn is referred to in the Sarum missal written by Jocelin's associate, Richard Poore around 1210, and the later Sarum breviary repeats in full its words based on Revelation 21:2:

> The blessed city, Jerusalem is called the vision of peace; which is built in the sky from living rocks, and crowned by the angels as one promised in marriage for the husband, the New City coming from heaven prepared for her nuptials as a bride to join with God.[9]

In the Sarum missal the Epistle for the feast of the Dedication is also Revelation 21:2, and the Sequences that follow further discuss the marriage of Christ and the Virgin, His Bride, identifying it as a symbol for the triumph of the Church, i.e. the congregation of the faithful:

> For on this day Christ for his spouse doth take our mother for his faith and justice' sake, whom he brought out of misery's deep lake, the holy Church. She in the Holy Spirit's clemency, bride in the bridegroom's grace rejoicing high, in glorious place by queens exaltingly is called blessed … Eve was but step-mother to all her seed … By divers types prefigured, this is she, in bridal vesture clad resplendently, above the heavenly hosts upraised to be with Christ conjoined.[10]

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[7] P. Brieger, *English Art, 1216–1307* (Oxford, 1957), p. 411; idem, *The Trinity College Apocalypse* (London, 1967), p. 5; and Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 179. Brieger disagreed with Lethaby's suggestion that the gathering of saints, martyrs, and confessors related to the worship of the Virgin.

[8] J. Chydenius, *The Typological Problem in Dante a Study in the History of Medieval Ideas* (Helsingfors, 1958), p. 68. This hymn dates earlier than the eighth century.

[9] Although we have no information for the dedication at Wells, '*Urbs nova ierusalem descendens spiritualem attulit ornatum lucis ab arce datum*' is one of the versicles for the consecration procession in the dedication rite of the Sarum missal written by Richard Poore. According to Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 1, pp. cxxi–cxxii, the liturgy for the actual ceremony at Salisbury is also un-documented. The Sarum breviary dates from the fifteenth century. See F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, *Breviarium Sarum. fasciculus I. in quo Continentur I. Kalendarium, II. Ordo Temporalis sive Propurim de Tempore* (Canterbury, 1882), col. 1447.

[10] F. Warren, *The Sarum Missal in English*, pt. 1, (London, 1911), pp. 414–421; W. Legg,

During the consecration of a church the sermon was normally preached outside, and Jocelin can be imagined in 1239 consecrating the church at Wells in front of the façade, bare-headed and bare-footed, as was his neighbor Richard Poore in 1225 at the dedication of Salisbury Cathedral. During a consecration, before and after the singing of the Litany of saints inside, the bishop would lead the procession around the church and striking its door with his staff would invoke heaven, repeating three times: 'Lift up your hands, O ye gates, and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and the King of Glory shall come in.'[11] According to Hugh of St. Victor, with this gesture the bishop represented Christ.[12] The significance of the image of the Heavenly Marriage for the bishop, as bridegroom in relation to his church is made clear in a letter of 1176 from the chapter of canons at Chartres to their newly elected bishop, John of Salisbury; citing the Canticles, they explained: 'the Church of Chartres asks, therefore, for the one she desires, and incessantly longs for the one she loves and has elected. Languishing in her desire for the bridegroom she asks: "Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth".'[13] Hence the words of the dedication hymn, *Urbs beata Ierusalem*, might have had special meaning for Bishop Jocelin, as he stood in front of the sculptural Litany of saints and the Coronation of the Virgin at Wells, a program that he had chosen for his church.

During the feast of the Dedication of the Church, which yearly commemorated the consecration of the physical church building as a symbol of the spiritual temple of God formed by the congregation, the bishop called down divine grace on the soul of each believer. The sermons of Aelfric (d. 1020) were still being copied in 1220, and his sermon for this day explained that 'all angels and all righteous men are his

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The Sarum Missal Edited from Three Early Manuscripts (Oxford, 1916), p. 203; and A.H. Pearson, *The Sarum Missal in English* (London, 1884), p. 263. For discussion of the mid thirteenth-century date of the Sarum missal see Chapter 4, p. 132 n. 4.

[11] J.M. Neale and B. Webb, eds. *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the Rationale Divinorum written by William Durandus Sometime Bishop of Mende* (Leeds, 1843. Reprinted New York, 1973), p. 238.

[12] Deferrari, *Hugh*, pp. 280–281.

[13] A. Katzenellenbogen, *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (New York, 1959), p. vi, n. 4; Askell, *Song*, pp. 50–51. Jurist, Huguccio of Pisa (d. 1210), argued that if the Church is Christ's Bride (Ephesians 5:21–33), 'then the Church is husbanded by Christ's representatives, the Pope ("*vir ecclesiae*"), the bishops, and priest.' The analogy provided guidelines for the election of bishops, protected church property as a bridal dowry, and led to obligatory celibacy for priests. The bishop was given an episcopal ring at his ordination by which he became the *Sponsus* of his church. See E.H. Kantorowitz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 212.

temple'; this concept was expressed also in the Sarum missal's post-communion sequence for the Dedication: 'To God the soul, in mystic union led, a shrine doth rear,' and the believer figuratively became a 'celestial offspring, a citizen of the Heavenly Jerusalem' since his soul was transformed, according to Hugh of St. Victor, 'through love into an image of that which it loves.'[14] Hugh had also explained Christ's espousal of his mother as a paradox (mother/lover) having rhetor-ical power to awaken sentiments of wonder and awe.[15] This imagery of marital union would have conveyed the closeness and intimacy of Christ's spiritual union with the faithful.[16] Marriage and coronation also expressed the festive joy with which Christ would share His glory with the faithful in the Heavenly Jerusalem. The Dedication liturgy, and particularly the sermon for the day, would have helped the faithful to understand the façade's sculptural focus, the scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, as a triumphant image of the Church, crowned in the image of Mary and reigning with Christ as his queen and bride in the palace of heaven.

At Wells the Virgin's arms, though broken off at the elbow, seem to be positioned, as at Senlis, to hold a book and a scepter, symbols of authority which commonly were her attributes as a representation of the Church.[17] To underline the triumph of the Church at Wells the Virgin's foot rests upon a dragon whereas Christ's rests upon a lion, both symbols of evil vanquished in Psalm 90:13: 'Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk: and thou shalt trample under foot the lion and the dragon.' Like the Dedication liturgy, these symbols refer to Christ as the New Adam and the Virgin as the New Eve, victorious over sin and death.[18] Medieval sermons specified that the Church of the faithful

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[14] See below, pp. 79–80, n. 148 for a discussion of Aelfric's importance at the beginning of the thirteenth century. B. Thorpe, ed., *Homilies of Aelfric: The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1844), vol. 2, p. 581; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 419; G. Podhradsky, *New Dictionary of the Liturgy* (New York, 1966), p. 69; and L. Bowen, 'The Tropology of Mediaeval Dedication Rites,' *Speculum* 16(1941):467, 479, refers to Hugh of St. Victor.

[15] Astell, *Song*, pp. 83–84. Hugh's sermon for the Assumption explicates the verses of the *Canticum* as an extended consideration of a complex of paradoxes.

[16] Ibid., pp. 90–95 cites Leclercq's research on Bernard of Clairvaux's sermons on the Canticle of Canticles and explains how Bernard used amatory imagery to awaken understanding in his audience. Although identification in a monastic audience is different, marital imagery would have been effective for all audiences at conveying the closeness of spiritual union.

[17] Gold, *The Lady*, p. 62.

[18] Verdier, *Le couronnement*, p. 22.

suffers on earth but will triumph in heaven. Accordingly, at Chartres the tympanum of the right portal of the north transept personifies the suffering Church as Job in contrast to the triumphant Church in the Coronation tympanum of the central portal.[19] Significantly, no such reference to suffering occurs at Wells.

At Wells the theme of heavenly triumph defined in the centrally located scene of the Coronation of the Virgin is elaborated for the viewer as he looks up along the vertical axis of the façade. In the niches directly above the Coronation, the theme of *Sponsus* and *Sponsa* is reiterated in the figures of Solomon and Sheba, Old Testament types for Christ and the Church prefiguring the Coronation of the Virgin (Figs. 8 and 56: 60 and 61).[20] On the Octave of the Dedication of the Church, after the gospel reading (Luke 6:47–48), the Sequence in the Sarum missal describes this typology: 'Formed from sleeping Adam's side, Eve of the approaching bride doth a sign convey … Of Sheba's utmost parts the queen in quest of wisdom here is seen, king Solomon to try. Thus things to come which types concealed, the day of grace hath now revealed … the marriage hour is come; The trumpets, as the quests go in, with echoing tones the feast begin … Ten thousand thousand voices raise with one consent the Bridegroom's praise, and Alleluya! Alleluya! cry, in everlasting joy, unceasingly.'[21]

Directly below the Coronation in the tympanum of the central doorway, the First Coming of Christ (His Incarnation) is presented in the image of the Enthroned Virgin and Child with censing angels. The placement of the Virgin's foot upon the dragon here again refers to Maria-Ecclesia and to the triumph of the Church (Figs. 9 and 56: V). In the archivolts of the doorways ten female figures beneath capopies seem

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[19] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, p. 68.

[20] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 175–177. Lethaby bases his identification of this pair on their similarity to French sculpture (Chartres, Amiens, and Reims). Identifying attributes at Wells, which hang from Sheba's belt, include a purse (presents from Ophir), an ink-bottle, and a pen-case; in her left hand she also once held a book or a tablet. Lethaby believes she has just taken her pen from its case to write down what Solomon explains; he interprets Solomon's right hand as a 'gesture of exposition,' citing St. Augustine's reference to the Church as the Queen who comes from Ethiopia to hear the wisdom of Solomon. All of this seems plausible, and the king closely resembles Solomon in the north transept at Chartres.

[21] F. Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 420. During the eleventh century Aelfric in his sermon for the Dedication of the Church refers to Sheba in the same way, adding that she is a type of true belief, of the soul's immortality, and of the glory of resurrection. See Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 587.

to personify contemplative Virtues standing alone without the usual accompanying Vices. The female figures once held crowns and globe-like objects, and an angel holding a crown surmounts the canopies at the apex. According to Sauerlander, in the archivolts surrounding the tympanum of the Adoration of the Magi in the left door of the north transept at Chartres, the cycle of Virtues victorious over Vices and the twelve crowned female figures with scepters and banderoles relate to Mary as the exemplary embodiment of all the virtues. Because no Vices are present at Wells as at Chartres, the Virtues have long triumphed as can be expected on a façade depicting the Church's heavenly triumph.[22]

At the top of the façade, on a vertical axis upward from the Coronation, in the central gable Christ in a mandorla was once flanked by two figures, perhaps angels but more probably Mary with John the Evangelist, as companions to His Second Coming (Figs. 2 and 56: I).[23]

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[22] Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 425, 435, Pls. 70, 71, 95 points out that the north door of the west façade at Notre-Dame of Laon (1195–1205) was the model for the depiction of Virtues and Vices and the Adoration of the Magi at Chartres, but Laon does not include the crowned female figures. Brieger, *English Art*, p. 41; idem, *Trinity*, p. 5 assumed Vices as well as Virtues. Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 150, 178 had, however, already pointed out that the figures were all Virtues. A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art* (New York, 1964), pp. 42–43 discusses the Vision of Saint Hildegard von Bingen (1048–1079) in which salvation takes the specific form of the City of God with the Virtues as contemplative figures. Blum, *Salisbury*, pp. 54, 339 points out that contemplative Virtues similar to Wells also decorated the archivolts of the Judgment portal a little later at Lincoln. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 34, 36, 60 and 278 n. 48 confirms that these fine-grained limestone figures, once identified as lias, are not later additions since the same stone was used elsewhere in the lower zone.

[23] In 1985 the fragmentary figure of Christ was replaced with a new carving of the Savior flanked by Seraphim; the original is now in the Wells Museum. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 40, 183 believes there was no sculpture in the gable until the fifteenth century because there are no marks of cramping to attach earlier statues, although the base of the seated Christ has the same curved profile as the moldings framing the niches. Sampson suggests it is fourteenth century, the date of the pinnacle which was located above it and is also now in the museum. W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London, 1655), vol. 1, p. 186 depicted unidentifiable statues in these niches and in all of the niches, including the lower zone of the façade. Christe, *La Vision de Matthieu* (Paris, 1973), p. 87 points out the Virgin and John can accompany Christ in scenes other than the Last Judgment particularly in supernatural theophanies. On the other hand, Hope and Lethaby, *Imagery*, p. 165 suggested censing angels due to the lowness and breadth of the niches. Angels flank a similar Christ in Majesty in the front gable of Nicholas of Verdun's Three King's shrine, which is similar in form to the central gable at Wells. The shrine of Edward the Confessor, which was made between 1241–1269 and represented in 'The Life of St Edward' (Cambridge University Library, MS Ee.3.59), did have a gabled end containing a relief of Christ in Majesty in a mandorla,

Beneath Christ, the superposed rows of twelve and nine niches indic-
ate that equivalents of the later statues of the Twelve Apostles and the
Nine Orders of Angels, now filling the niches, were probably planned
from the beginning (Fig. 56: II and III).[24] Trumpeting angels on top
of each buttress (now preserved only on the inner faces of the *aedicular*
houses flanking the central gable) herald Christ's appearance and the
Bridegroom's heavenly feast, as quoted above in the Sequence from the
Octave of the Dedication of the Church (Fig. 56: A).[25] Representation
of Christ's Second Coming on the vertical axis above the Coronation
of the Virgin identifies the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem of Rev-
elation: 21:2 as central to the meaning of façade (Fig. 56: I and V).
But it is not just the centrality of these scenes that emphasizes the tri-
umph of the Church. Even before the viewer identifies the imagery of
the vertical axis, the pervasive distribution of saints across the entire
façade has indicated the theme of *Ecclesia Triumphans* and Revelation
21:2. This multitude immediately suggests the 'ten thousand thousand
voices [who] raise with one consent the Bridegroom's praise, and Alle-
luya! Alleluya! cry, in everlasting joy, unceasingly,' as invoked on the
Octave of the Dedication.

  The composition of the façade, with Christ right up at the top,
strikingly resembles the frontispiece to a copy of St. Augustine's *De
Civitate Dei* (ca. 1120), produced at St. Augustine's Canterbury (Florence,
Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut. XII, cod. 17, fol. 2v).[26] As at

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flanked by angels in trilobed frames; the lower part depicted Edward flanked by bishops
under gables. See also N. Coldstream, 'English Decorated Shrine Bases,' *Journal of the
British Archaeological Association* 129(1976):27

  [24] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 163. On the basis of their attributes Hope
identified the representations of the Heavenly Hierarchy: Throne, Cherub, Seraph,
Power, Virtue, Domination, Principality, Archangel, and Angel. He also observed that
they are later in date than the rest of the sculpture but must have replaced similar
thirteenth-century statues which were probably damaged during construction of the
fourteenth-century tower. Stylistically the apostles in the gable seem contemporaneous
with the fifteenth-century tower. If the original statues referenced judgment, it seems to
have been as one of the final events in the world's history. See below, p. 70.

  [25] Since the extant angels at Wells hold trumpets, it is unlikely that they represent the
super muros eius angelorum custodiam who usually wear helmets and chain mail, carry lances
and swords, and guard the towers of the Heavenly Jerusalem against Antichrist as
part of the Church Militant. See Y. Christe, 'Et super muros eius angelorum custodia,'
Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale 24(1981):174.

  [26] This manuscript is reproduced in C.M. Kauffmann, *A Survey of the Manuscripts
Illuminated in the British Isles–Romanesque Manuscripts 1066–1190* (London, 1975), p. 62
catalogue number 19 and figure 50. A similar city surrounds *Ecclesia* in the *Hortus
Deliciarum*, fol. 225. She is surrounded by the apostles Peter and Paul, popes, bishops,

Wells, the focal point of this composition is *Virgo-Ecclesia*, although in the illumination she is alone, crowned, and enthroned under an arch as *Ecclesia-Imperatrix*. As at Wells, she is centered on the vertical axis beneath Christ, who is depicted in a mandorla at the gabled apex of a framing three-tiered, turreted building. Here, too, Christ is flanked by angels, and *Virgo-Ecclesia* is surrounded by the saints of the City of God. At the bottom of the page an angel brandishes a sword before the heavenly door from which flow the four rivers of Paradise. This page clearly depicts the triumph of the heavenly city since it is preceded and hence contrasted with a three-tiered depiction of the earthly city, laboring, battling, and ending with the weighing of souls at the top of the framing arch. At Wells the wide expanse of saints across the façade presents a much expanded version of St. Augustines's vision of the heavenly City of God.[27]

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abbots, clerics, and laity. Here an inscription confirms that the Virgin in the temple signifies the Church who is a figure of all those abbots and priests who each day spiritually give birth in the Church through baptism. See Thérel, *Le Triomphe*, p. 180; and J. Gardelles, 'Recherches sur les origines des façades a étages d'arcatures des églises médiévales,' *Bulletin monumental* 136(1978): fig. 20. Although there is no architectural frame, a similar twelfth-century City of God arranged in three tiers is found in a lectionary of Saint-Germain-des-Près (Paris, Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 11751, fol. 58v). The text of Saint Augustine's *City of God* was rarely illustrated before the fourteenth-century translation of Raoul de Pralles: there are four illustrated texts from before, as opposed to fifty-seven after the translation.

[27] In 1956 Brieger was the first to present a coherent presentation of the façade as the Church Triumphant, stating 'One does not find the Last Judgment over the center door; references to human life on earth in the signs of the Zodiac and the Labors of the Months are absent; only the Virtues and Vices frame the main portal below the Virgin and Child; there is no representation of the death of the Virgin.' See Brieger, *English Art*, p. 411; and idem, *The Trinity*. (For correction of his reference to Vices, see above, p. 50 n. 22.) In 1977 Pamela Tudor-Craig added that the façade represents the most important sculptural statement in England of the Church Triumphant. See Tudor-Craig, *One Half*, p. 11; and Kidson and Tudor-Craig, *Wells Cathedral*, pt. 2, p. vi. In 1990 I first published on the façade as Church Triumphant. See C. Malone, 'The Blessed on the Façade of Wells Cathedral,' *Coranto* 25(1990):11–20. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 150–153. Hence recent studies agree that the program of the façade at Wells represents the Church Triumphant; all studies before 1956 had interpreted the sculptural program as a depiction of the Church without stressing its heavenly triumph. In the nineteenth century C.R. Cockerell, *Iconography of the West Front of Wells Cathedral* (Oxford, 1851), pp. 26, 107 identified English members of the Church on the façade. In the first decade of the twenieth century Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 169 suggested that the façade represented the twofold aspect of the Church: the Church militant and the Church of the resurrection, or court of heaven. In 1951, E. Baumann, 'Die Kathedrale von Wells,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Vienna, 1951), pp. 180–181 concurred that the façade represented both the *ecclesia militans* and the

The Quatrefoils

Outwards from the central scene of the Coronation of the Virgin a double row of quatrefoils divides this greater City of God into two zones. The lower row of quatrefoils contains busts of angels in clouds carrying crowns, mitres, scrolls, books, and one, a palm (Figs. 48 and 56: a-z).[28] The angels mainly hold crowns or mitres. The crowns would seem to refer to the Coronation of the Virgin since the *Urbs beata Ierusalem* states that the descending city is 'crowned by the angels as one promised in marriage.' In the Bible a crown is often promised for heavenly glory; the mitre, its episcopal equivalent, in the context of the quatrefoils should designate similar honor. Revelation 2:10 states, 'be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.' First Peter 5:4 adds, 'And when the chief Shepherd shall appear ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away.' One angel holds a palm and a crown. Their meaning is explained in the commentary of the Trinity College Apocalypse (Ms R. 16.2) (ca. 1242 and 1260); the commentary copies the twelfth-century text of Berengaudus, a text well known in England when the façade was designed.[29] Berengaudus explains that 'By the crowns good works are meant ... Our Lord has promised His saints the Kingdom of heaven provided that they pay

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ecclesia triumphans, see below, p. 75 for the relationship of the earthly and heavenly Church.

[28] There were originally thirty or thirty-one angels; twenty-one remain. For identification and extensive discussion of the angels, see also Chapter 4, p. 143, and n. 40 which describes each angel's clothing and the object carried. In total, seventeen objects remain (three angels hold two objects): seven are crowns, six mitres, two scrolls, two books, and one a palm. Between 1210 and 1220 on the north portal of the west façade of Notre-Dame in Paris, the Coronation of the Virgin was surrounded by angels carrying candlesticks or censers in the inner order of the archivolt, with patriarchs, kings, and prophets in the outer archivolts.

[29] B. Nolans, *The Gothic Visionary Perspective* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 9–10 explains that Berengaudus cannot be dated with certainty but was writing closer to the twelfth than to the ninth century. S. Lewis, 'Exegesis and Illustration in Thirteenth-Century English Apocalypses,' *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* ed. R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn, pp. 261–264 describes Berengudus' English popularity during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. M.A. Michael, 'An Illustrated Apocalypse Manuscript at Longleat House,' *Burlington Magazine* 126(1984):340–343 presents two extant twelfth-century illustrations with this accompanying text. Brieger, *Trinity*, p. 14 dates the Trinity College Apocalypse after 1242 but before 1250. G. Henderson, 'Studies in English Manuscript Illumination,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 31(1968):126 believes the manuscript cannot date before 1250. Y. Christe, 'Apocalypse anglaises du XIII e siecle,' *Journal des Savants* 11(1984):81, 83 dates the manuscript after 1250–1260.

for the kingdom with their good works' (folio 8, recto) and that 'by the palms the victory of the, who now praise God unceasingly' (folio 4, verso).[30] Durandus (d. 1296) further explained that palms 'signify victory according to the saying, The righteous shall flourish like a palm tree (Ps. 42:12)' when they enter the palace of heaven in triumph with His Angels.[31] These meanings of triumph were explained to the laity in earlier sermons; for example, in Aelfric's eleventh-century homily the 'Palm betokens Victory.'[32] Thus the angels on the façade would have offered the rewards of the blessed in paradise.[33]

Flanking the Coronation in the upper row of quatrefoils are scenes depicting the biblical history of the City of God while it sojourns on earth with typological references to its triumph in heaven (Figs. 15, 28, and 56: 1–49). This history unfolds from the Coronation towards each side of the façade: the Old Testament events of Genesis can be read from north to south across the southern half of the façade (Fig. 57: 1–18); the New Testament life of Christ is displayed from south to north across the northern half and, then, is extended around the north tower (Fig. 56: 19–49).[34] The Old Testament carvings present the history of Adam, Abel, and Noah; this sequence now ends with what seems to be a depiction of Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh. Although the last scene on the south side of the façade is missing, it is likely that all scenes on this side of the west front were originally taken from the Book of Genesis. The quatrefoils on the south and east sides of the south tower are empty and seem never to have contained sculpture although they may have been intended for additional Old Testament scenes.

The Old Testament quatrefoils depict the following events: (Fig. 56, numbered from the Coronation of the Virgin to the right) 1: Missing, 2: The Creation of Adam, 3: The Creation of Eve, 4: Prohibition of the Tree of Knowledge in Eden (Fig. 28), 5: The Fall, 6: The Lord God in the Garden, 7: The Expulsion from Eden, 8: Adam delving and Eve spinning, 9: Cain's sacrifice, 10: Missing, 11: Lamech shooting Cain, 12:

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[30] Brieger, *Trinity*, pp. 21 and 25, respectively.

[31] Neale and Webb, *The Symbolism*, p. 64.

[32] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 219.

[33] They may also suggest the heavenly choir, especially on Palm Sunday, and may even refer to the Heavenly Mass, as will later be discussed in Chapter 5, p. 166. For example, the scroll held by two angels could indicate a singer and the books perhaps their assistance at the Heavenly Mass.

[34] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 151. On the façade at Lincoln the scenes depicting events from Adam to Noah must also be read outward from the central scene; otherwise the two series are not similar.

Noah building the Ark (Fig. 15), 13: The Ark afloat, 14: God's covenant with Noah, 15: Jacob and Rebecca or the Expulsion of Hagar?, 16: Isaac blessing Jacob?, 17: Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, 18: Missing.[35]

The New Testament quatrefoils present the life and particularly the ministry of Christ from His birth to His ascension which was His last earthly appearance before the Second Coming; they include the following events (Fig. 57, numbered from the Coronation to the left): 19: John?, 20–21: Missing, 22: The Nativity, 23–27: Missing, 28: The return from Egypt?, 29: Christ disputing with the Doctors, 30: The Calling of John the Baptist, 31: The Preaching of John the Baptist, 32–33: Missing, 34: Christ in the synagogue of Nazareth, 35: Christ in Simon's house, 36: The feeding of the five thousand, 37: Christ facing a group of nine people, 38: The Transfiguration, 39: The Entry into Jerusalem, 40: Judas and the High Priest, 41: The Last Supper, 42: Missing, 43: Christ before the High Priest, 44: Christ before Pilate, 45: The Scourging, 46: Christ bearing His Cross, 47: Missing, 48: The Resurrection, 49: The Ascension.

Within this same upper row of quatrefoils on the north side of the façade in the quatrefoil nearest the Coronation is a winged figure seated at an eagle podium used for reading the gospel; he has been considered

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[35] For identification of the scenes, see Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 188–194, especially pages 188 and 154; Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' pp. 111 and 115; L.S. Colchester, *The West Front of Wells Cathedral* (Wells, 1978), pp. 8–11; and M. Roberts, 'Noah's Ark,' *The Friends of Wells Cathedral*, Report for 1973, pp. 10–14. Roberts compared the quatrefoil sculpture with manuscripts from the last quarter of the thirteen century but also pointed out similarities between Noah building the ark and, particularly the form of the stepped ark, and the Caedmon Genesis (Oxford Bodleian Library, Junius 11, p. 6). Similar scenes can be found in other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts such as the Aelfric's Pentateuch (London British Library MS Cotton Claudius v. iv, fol. 15v.). Similar twelfth-century representations of the ark have also been mentioned at Saint-Savin in Poitou and in the stained glass at Poitiers Cathedral. See J. Hayward, 'The Lost Noah Window from Poitiers,' *Gesta* 20(1981):129–139. Because the early eleventh-century manuscripts which are similar relate to the sermons of Aelfric, the Genesis scenes at Wells can be compared with his sermons and with sermons from the twelfth and thirteenth century which are based on Aelfric. See S.J. Crawford, ed. *The Heptateuch, Aelfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament and his Preface to Genesis* (London, 1922); and R. Morris, *The Story of Genesis and Exodus, An Early English Song about A.D. 1250* (London, 1873), pp. 14 and 18 for the stories of Lamech and Noah. Because many of the quatrefoils are empty at Wells, identification of a particular source is impossible. Blum, *Salisbury*, pp. 401–405 considered Anglo-Saxon sources for the Old Testament reliefs (ca. 1280) in the Salisbury chapter house. For Wells, as for Salisbury, both older and contemporaneous sources, such as that of the north transept at Chartres, seem relevant.

to be either the symbol of Saint Matthew the Evangelist because of the New Testament quatrefoils to his right, Saint John the Evangelist witnessing the apocalyptic vision, or, less likely, the angel of the Apocalypse with the identifying eagle of St. John perched on the lectern.[36] The corresponding, but now missing, figure in the quatrefoil next to the Coronation on the south may have represented Moses introducing the old law, as the counterpart to Matthew or John writing the new law.[37]

References to the Church Triumphant are included within the quatrefoils' narrative of biblical events. Some of the scenes correspond to typological references to Christ and the Church found in medieval sermons and liturgical texts. Many were enumerated in the liturgy of the Dedication of the Church.[38] Most depend ultimately on Augustine's explanation of the sacred history of the Church in the *City of God*, an important source during the thirteenth century.[39]

The Old Testament quatrefoils feature many types for Christ and the Church. Christ was considered the new Adam who came to restore Paradise (Fig. 56: 2). From Adam's side Eve was born, as the Church was born from the dead Christ (Fig. 56: 3).[40] Noah and the Ark is the most common prefiguration of Christ and the Church (Figs. 15 and 56: 12).[41] Noah saved the Church from divine judgment by means of

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[36] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 111 suggested Matthew, pointing out no single gospel is the source for the New Testament scenes. Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 154 identified Saint John the Evangelist. Blum, *Salisbury*, p. 53 proposed the angel of the Apocalypse. The Trinity College Apocalypse depicts the angel and St. John when it explains that the bride was joined to Christ as she is shown in the Coronation at Wells. See Brieger, *Trinity*, pp. 5–6 and below, p. 74.

[37] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 154.

[38] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 414–421.

[39] Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium Sarum*, col. 1455. The second nocturne for the feast of the Dedication of the Church includes in lectio 4 Augustine's 253rd sermon which mentions Eve, the Arc, and Sheba much as does the Sequence.

[40] J. Danielou, *From Shadows to Reality* (Westminster, Maryland, 1960), pp. 17, 18, 48–56. Danielou reviews the sources for the sleep of Adam and the birth of the Church. For Aelfric's use of this type see also Thorpe, *Homilies* vol. 1, p. 59. Abel was probably once depicted in the empty quatrefoil adjacent to Cain's sacrifice; the pair, according to Augustine, referred to the two cities, with Abel, of course, indicating the City of God. See Augustine, *The City of God*, vol. 6, Loeb Series (New York, 1950), vol. 4, pp. 427 and 411.

[41] Augustine, *City*, vol. 4, pp. 565–581; and Danielou, 'Shadows,' pp. 69–97; and Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 1, p. 61. Aelfric points out that: 'the swimming ark betokened God's church, and that the righteous Noah betokened Christ … those who continue faithful in God's church will be saved …' This sermon was read on the second Sunday after the Lord's Epiphany. See Brieger, *Trinity*, p. 22 for Berengaudus commentary on folio 5 verso which adds to this interpretation: 'the planks, of which the ark is made,

water, just as the faithful are saved by baptism.[42] Jacob blessing Joseph's sons was understood as Christ's preference for the Christian Church prefigured by the younger son, Manasseh, while the elder, Ephraim, typified the Jews (Fig. 56: 17).[43]

The New Testament quatrefoils also include typological references to the Church Triumphant that were traditionally used in English sermons to instruct the faithful. The entry into Jerusalem denoted that the Church was unbound with Christ's birth (Fig. 56: 39).[44] Mary anointing Christ's feet in Simon's house signified that the Holy Church in the future world of heavenly glory would rest in the presence of the Lord (Fig. 56: 35). This type was used in sermons exhorting the faithful to imitate Mary by living correctly. On Palm Sunday, a day for processions in front of the façade, it was explained that, 'Mary, who sat at the Savior's feet to hear his words and his teaching, betokeneth holy church in the future world, which shall be freed from all its labors, and shall have sight alone of the heavenly glory, and shall rest in the presence of our Lord, and shall unceasingly praise him.'[45] Likewise, the scene of Christ feeding the five thousand can be related to the façade's meaning as Heavenly Jerusalem since it symbolized the catechumen incorporated into the heavenly community through the *panis coelestis* (Fig. 56: 36).[46]

[mean] the doctors of the Holy Church. By the rooms, the various Orders of the Holy Church.'

[42] O.B. Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages* (Baltimore, 1965), p. 150; Augustine, *City*, vol. 6, p. 565; and Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 296. On the Vigil of Easter Noah was presented to the catechumens as the new man saved by the Church, and the rainbow, God's first covenant, was considered a foreshadowing of redemption.

[43] Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 281. While discussing the sacrament of the Dedication of the Church, Hugh explained that when Jacob blessed the sons of Joseph he crossed his hands (placing his right hand upon the head of Ephraim and his left upon the head of Manasseh) in order to express the form of a cross and to signify that after the earlier people were cast aside the younger were placed on the right.

[44] R. Morris, *Old English Homilies and Homiletic Treatises of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (London, 1868), p. 8. In the late twelfth-century sermon in Lambeth MS. 487 the ass 'denotes the Church, or the Synagogue; she was bound under the Old Law, and now is unbound, under this New Law.'

[45] See Chapter 4, p. 135; R. Morris, *The Blickling Homilies of the Tenth Century*, pt. 1 (London, 1875), p. 72; Hardison, *Christian Rite*, p. 106; A.P. Belfour, *Twelfth Century Homilies in MS. Bodley 343* (London, 1909), pp. 113–117; and J. Danielou, *The Bible and the Liturgy* (Indiana, 1956), pp. 154, 209.

[46] Danielou, *The Bible*, p. 156. This quatrefoil will be related to the liturgy and to the concept of the *corpus mysticum* in the façade program in Chapter 5, p. 171.

These typological references to the Church Triumphant within the narrative sequence of Old and New Testament events indicate for the viewer the way to salvation is through the Church. Moreover, within this chronological sequence the quatrefoils emphasize scenes of preaching (Fig. 56: 31, 34–37). No scenes of healing are depicted. Instead Christ's public life is represented by an unusual number of sermons. He expounds the Scriptures in the synagogue of Nazareth. He converts in Simon's house. He feeds the five thousand while preaching. In an unidentified scene He also seems to be preaching to nine people. These scenes underline the importance of preaching the gospel within the Church and will be interpreted later in relation to Lateran IV and to the statues of New Testament preachers and deacons in the niches below the quatrefoils.

The Niches

Rows of statues inhabit the niches of the lower and upper zones of the façade divided by the quatrefoils. (Figs. 1, 11, 50, and 56 which identifies each by category). Originally there were 177 statues in these niches; only 127 survive.[47] Of these, 108 remain in the upper zone with 19 in the lower. In 1655 statues filling all niches were depicted in Dugdale's *Monasticon*.[48] In 1788 Shaw's description still suggested completeness.[49] By 1794 John Carter drew the present state of the façade.[50] It is probable that Monmouth's forces had destroyed most of the lost images.[51] Although these early drawings and descriptions indicate the number of statues, they are of little help in identifying those represented. William Worcestre in 1480 noted that the statues depicted the Old and New laws, but confused north and south.[52] In 1634 Lieutenant Hammond described the program as 'the Patriarckes, Prophets, Apostles, Fathers, and other blessed Saints of the Church, from the Creation, in their admir'd Postures.'[53]

[47] See Chapter 3, 94 n. 29.
[48] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. 1, p. 186.
[49] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 109.
[50] Carter's unpublished drawings of Wells can be found at the Society of Antiquaries, London (BL Add. MSS. 29926, 29932, and 29943.)
[51] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 109.
[52] William Worcester, *Itineraries*, ed. J.H. Harvey (Oxford 1969), pp. 288–290.
[53] (Hammond), ed. L.G. Wickham Legg, *A Relation of a Short Survey of Twenty-six*

In the niches beneath the New Testament quatrefoils Hope identified the remaining seventeen statues as four of Christ's disciples, four female witnesses to the Resurrection—including Mary Magdalene, (Fig. 56: 50), the Virgin (Fig. 56: *L.*), four preachers who accompanied Saint Paul, and possibly five of the six deacons, who were appointed with Saint Stephen.[54] The women seem appropriately placed between the disciples and preachers since as the first to witness the Resurrection, they were considered *apostolae Christi* and thus similar to the apostles.[55] In the niches beneath the Old Testament quatrefoils, only two statues are preserved. They probably represent either patriarchs or prophets, as Lieutenant Hammond suggested, since this may have been the case in the related program on the later façade of Exeter (ca. 1350) (Fig. 56).[56] By analogy with Exeter, Hope and Lethaby identified the lost Wells images of the entire lower zone as: 'the Apostles, the Evangelists, the Major and the Minor Prophets, and other folk mentioned in Holy Writ, such as Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Samuel, the Patriarchs, King David, John the Baptist, Joseph of Arimathea, Nicodemus, other Disciples, and Saint Stephen.'[57]

As at Wells, the program at Exeter focuses on the Coronation of the Virgin, but here the Coronation is located in the upper tier and is flanked by the twelve apostles, the four evangelists, and the seventeen prophets. While the upper zone consists entirely of biblical figures, the lower zone is comprised primarily of kings and knights with the exception of the four Church Fathers and the four Virtues.[58] Although

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Counties … By a Captaine, a Lieutenant and an Ancient (Russell Press, Stuart Series, 1904), vol. 7, p. 98.

[54] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 151–152, Pl. 38, note that on p. 186 he calls all six of the last figures deacons, for discussion of which see Chapter 4, 145 n. 48.

[55] P. Skubiszewski, 'Ecclesia, Christianitas, Regnum et Sacerdotium dans l'art des Xe–XIe s.: Idées et structures des images,' *Cahiers de Civilization Médiévales* 28(1985):154. See Chapter 4, p. 151 for further discussion of the female witnesses to the Resurrection.

[56] E. Prideaux, *The Figure Sculpture of the West Front of Exeter Cathedral Church* (Exeter, 1912), p. 6; and L.J. Lloyd and V. Hope, *Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter, 1973), p. 20 date the façade between 1345 and 1380, although material was already purchased for its construction by 1328/29. Blum, *Salisbury*, p. 51. The façade at Salisbury probably depicted the Second Coming, as at Wells, but it is impossible to identify much of its decimated sculpture.

[57] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 151–152.

[58] Prideaux, *Exeter*, p. 22. The Church Fathers make up the foundation of the heavenly city in the commentary of the Trinity College Apocalypse. See below, p. 74. There is no distinction between the left and right side of the Exeter façade. Prideaux identified the kings of the lower zone as part of the Tree of Jesse since one of the

the attributes of most of the figures can not be distinguished at Exeter, Noah and Melchizedek seem to be represented.[59] Likewise, at Wells the patriarchs and prophets were probably located beneath the Old Testament quatrefoils on the south side of the façade, with the apostles beneath the New Testament quatrefoils on the north side.[60] Still such identifications are hypothetical, and the extensive destruction of statues in the lower zone at Wells makes explanation of the façade program on an iconographic basis problematic.[61]

Just as the lower zone of biblical saints at Wells is appropriately banded by quatrefoils depicting the history of the biblical church, the upper zone of statues is capped by a frieze portraying the resurrection of the dead (Fig. 14). Beneath this frieze the blessed, including the recently martyred Thomas Becket (Fig. 56: 68), are superposed one above the other. For the most part the south side includes hermits, monks, abbots, deacons, priests, bishops, and popes; the north side features kings, knights, nobles, queens, and ladies.[62] Therefore, clerics are generally found on the south and laity on the north of the west front. Nonetheless, King Solomon and three other secular statues are located on the south, and two popes, three bishops, and two priests can be found on the north side, which includes the north and east sides of the north tower.[63] Two queen-abbesses are also placed on the secular, north side of the façade. Although in the center of the façade a queen is placed above Solomon and to her right a widow is located above a bishop, no women fill any of the larger niches on the faces of the

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figures holds a harp and may represent David. J.G. Prinz Hohenzollern, *Die Konigsgalerie der franzosischen Kathedrale* (Munich, 1965), pp. 103, 105 believes that the harp makes it possible that these are the ancestors of Christ at Exeter but adds that the presence of knights does not fit well with this identification.

[59] Ibid. Prideaux points out both are types for Christ.

[60] Chapter 5, p. 164 suggests that Peter and the apostles were once adjacent to the north side of the central portal at Wells and that Melchizedek, as the Old Testament complement of Peter, was among the lost statues at Wells on the south.

[61] Certain aspects of the program can only be elaborated in Part II after investigating the architectural motifs in Chapter 3 that would have originally complemented the missing statues.

[62] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 157.

[63] Ibid., pp. 156–159. Lethaby identified two bishops, St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Elphege, and a priest, St. Amphibalus, (Fig. 56: 68, 67, and 66 respectively) next to the king-martyrs on the central north side of the façade; he also pointed out an unidentifiable bishop on the northernmost buttress of the west side of the north tower. On the north and east sides of the north tower, facing the canon's entrance to the church, are two popes and a priest. See Chapter 6, p. 208.

buttresses, as would be expected considering their subordinate position in the medieval social order and, consequently, in the medieval view of that order in heaven.

Lethaby, however, suggested that the south side of the west front depicted confessors, whereas the north side depicted martyrs and virgins.[64] Nine of the kings on the north side stand upon diminutive crouching figures that suggested to him martyrs (Fig. 56: 59: Saint Edwin?, 58: Saint Edmund?, 57: Saint Kenelm, 56: Saint Edward, 55: Saint Oswyn?, 54: Saint Oswald, 53: Saint Ethelbert, 52: Saint Ethelred?, 51: Saint Wistan?).[65] On the basis of the Wells calendar, Lethaby also suggested that three of the clerics on the north might be the bishop-martyrs, Alphege, Boniface, and Blase and that four of the unidentified knight-martyrs should be George (Fig. 56: 69), Theodore, Maurice, and the local martyr, Decuman.[66] To verify his identifications he compared the Litany of saints in the Winchester Psalter of ca. 980 (Harley 2904) with the statues at Wells. Each section of this Litany ends with a group of English saints; terminating the list of martyrs are Alban, Oswald, Kenelm, Edmund, and Ethelbert, all saints Lethaby identified at Wells. This Litany also invoked the following confessors: Cuthbert, Guthlac, Wilfrid, John of Beverley, Ceadda, Erkenwald, Swithun, Birinus, Judec, and Machu. Tudor-Craig believes Wolstan, Cuthbert, Dunstan, Swithun, and probably Erkenwald and Birinus are included on the façade since they are named in the later stained glass at Wells.[67]

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[64] Ibid., pp. 155–159, 178–179.

[65] Ibid. pp. 158–159, 171–172, 195–206. These martyrs originally carried objects which Lethaby considered in their identification (Fig. 56: 71: Saint Alban, 70: Saint Godric of Finchale? 68: Saint Thomas of Canterbury, 67: Saint Amphibalus, 66: Saint Elphage?, 65: Saint Ethelburga of Barking?, 64: Saint Erkenwald, 63: Saint Eustace, 62: St Thropistis?). Colchester, *The West Front*, pp. 5–8 follows Lethaby but numbers these statues in the following way 144: Saint Thomas, 207: Saint Oswald, 209: Saint Edward, king and martyr, 210: Kenelm, 205: Ethelbert, 213: Edmund, 214: Edwin of York, 208: Oswyn, 201: Wistan.

[66] Ibid., p. 179. Some of the same saints found in the Winchester Psalter (London, British Library, Harley 2904), can be found in later sources of the Litany of the saints at Wells. A fourteenth-century book of ritual in the library at Wells contained the names of the national saints Saint Augustine, Saint Erkenwald, Saint Dunstan, 'Saint Chutbert' (sic). See C.M. Church, 'Notes on the Buildings, Books, and Benefactors of the Library of the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Wells,' *Archaeologia* 57, pt. 2(1900):214.

[67] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 116; and Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 157. Lethaby believed the twenty-two bishops ought to include Alcuin, Aldhelm, Anselm, Athelword, Austin, Birinus, Chad, Cuthbert, David, Dunstan, Egwin, Felix, John of Beverley, Osmund, Oswald, Patrick, Paulinus, Swithun, Theodore, Wilfrid, and

These and other unidentified saints on the façade probably corres-
ponded to saints invoked in litanies sung at Wells. Since the statues
were originally painted, the colors of their garments probably helped
to identify the category to which each statue belonged since the Sarum
liturgy assigns specific colors for vestments worn for the feasts of mar-
tyrs, confessors, and virgins, as well as for different seasons.[68] Wormald
pointed out that in the tenth-century Galba Psalter (British Museum,
Cotton MS. Galba A. XVIII, fol. 21) the martyrs, confessors, and vir-
gins are labeled with invocations from the liturgy.[69]

Although the ordering of specific groups, such as those identified by
Lethaby, may have corresponded to the apostles, martyrs, confessors,
and virgins invoked in litanies at Wells, a rigorous division between
martyrs and confessors seems unlikely.[70] If the north side simply depic-
ted martyrs and virgins, one should find more than two popes among
them, and fewer than the twenty-eight extant kings.[71] The predomin-

Wulstan since they were saints and confessors of special honor. For the four hermits
he suggested Aldwine, Benignus, Edwold, and Guthlac who were specially mentioned
by William of Malmesbury, and for the two monks Bede and either John the Scot or
Meldum, the founder of Malmesbury Abbey.

   [68] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, vol. 56, p. 131. In the late thirteenth-century Wells consu-
etudinary, for example, all clerics wore red on Saint Thomas the Martyr's Day. Pear-
son, *Sarum Missal*, p. xi specifies that the liturgical vestments for the feasts of the martyrs
are red, of the confessors, yellow, and of the virgins, white. Other identifying emblems
may also have been painted on the statues. Although Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 183ff.
includes at the end of his book a catalogue describing the paint found on each statue
during the restoration, the traces of paint are not sufficient to identify garments for
particular feasts.

   [69] F. Wormald, 'Anniversary Address to the Society of Antiquaries,' *Antiquaries Journal*
47(1967):164–165, Pl. XXIV, fig. b (British Museum, Cotton MS. Galba A. XVIII, fol.2v)
and Pl. XXV (British Museum, Cotton MS. Galba A. XVIII, fol. 21.) Fol 2v in the
Galba Psalter, sometimes called the Athelstan Psalter, also depicts choirs of angels,
prophets, and apostles in rows beneath Christ in a mandorla. See also E. Temple, *A
Survey of the Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles Vol 2:Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066*
(London, 1976), figs. 32 and 33; and F.R. Horlbeck, 'The Vault Paintings of Salisbury
Cathedral,' *Archaeological Journal* 157(1960):125–112 mentions that the early eleventh-
century Grimbald Gospels, folio 114 depicts the Heavenly Host adoring the Trinity
with apostles, saints, Old Testament kings, and angels filling the panels and medallions.

   [70] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 116 states that the roll-call of the saints was sung
in front of the façade. Singing of the Litanies was also part of the procession to the font
on Easter Eve, an event possibly referred to by the one of the deacon's vestments. See
Chapter 4, p. 148.

   [71] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 278–279. The Litany for Easter Evening in the missal
includes six martyr popes and one bishop. Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 156,
n. b. Lethaby does not claim that the north side includes only martyrs; he also
posits benefactors. He includes seven or eight clerics among the martyrs in the Wells

ance of laity on the north and clerics on the south generally indicates the temporal-spiritual division suggested by Cockerell and Brieger.[72] Likewise, beneath the Coronation of the Virgin (ca. 1210–1220) at Notre-Dame in Paris, three Prophets and three Kings flank the Ark of the Covenant alluding to *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. Katzenellenbogen believed that this lintel refers to the harmony on which the Church securely rests in order to clarify the allegorical meaning of the Virgin's Triumph.[73] As will later be suggested, a similar theme may have been intended by the general division of clerics and laity on the façade of Wells.[74]

Depictions of kings similar to those at Wells can be found later in Matthew Paris' pictorial genealogies. He depicts and labels thirty-two rulers from Brutus to Henry III, only seven of whom are saints in his *Abbreviatio Chronicorum* (ca. 1250) (MS Cotton Claudius D. VI, fol. 6, 6v, 7, 7v, 8, 8v, 9, 9v).[75] Lewis believes the similar kings, depicted in superposed niches in his *Historia Anglorum* (MS Roy. 14. C.VII, fol. 8v, 9) could have been inspired by the sculptured gallery of kings on the façade of Wells because they resemble carved effigies seated in niches.[76] Even though earlier genealogical diagrams existed, such as that in the *Abingdon Chronicle* (ca. 1220 to 1230), these genealogies are not depicted in the Wells 'gallery of kings format.'[77] Capsulated dynastic histories became popular by 1250, but the façade of Wells in conjunction with diagrams, such as the *Abingdon Chronicle*, suggests earlier thirteenth-century English interest in genealogical history.

Calendar. He also implies that Cockerell's overall division into spiritual and temporal may not be far from the truth, even though he believes that Cockerell identified most of the statues incorrectly. Lethaby also suggested that William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* might contain many of the names of the clerics and his *Gesta Regum* the kings, queen, princes, and nobles on the façade. Nonetheless, identification of Saint Eustace proves that the series is not exclusively English.

[72] Cockerell, *Wells*, pp. 35–50; Brieger, *English Art*, p. 40.

[73] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, p. 61.

[74] See Chapter 6, pp. 210–211.

[75] Lewis, *Paris*, pp. 53–54, 145–147, 158. Matthew's inclusion of the legendary kings of Britain from Brutus to Arthur was probably based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* since this was the source for Roger of Wendover's entries before 1235 in the *Chronica Majora* to which this pictorial genealogy corresponds.

[76] Ibid., p. 143. On the façade and in the manuscript Ethelbert, Oswald, and Oswin are adjacent, as are Kenelm and Edmund. Since Lethaby based his identifications on the texts of William of Malmesbury and Bede, it may or may not be significant that Matthew Paris juxtaposed the same kings that Lethaby identified on the façade of Wells. See Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 55, 160, 171.

[77] Lewis, *Paris*, p. 140.

Hohenzollern believed that the statues on the façade at Wells include the descent of English kings from Edward the Confessor, as well as the nine martyred kings.[78] For him the English sculptural glorification of kings is different from the kingly precursors of Christ on French façades because English choir screens were traditionally decorated with kings and bishops who were not necessarily saints.[79] Moreover, the representations of kings on English choir screens, such as the twelfth-century screen that once existed at Durham, predate the horizontal king's galleries on French façades and thereby indicate an earlier, independent English tradition.[80] The screen at Durham had two tiers: one filled with regional bishops, the other with kings who were benefactors of the church.[81] The Salisbury screen (ca. 1260), which is similar in design to the façade at Wells, displayed kings from Henry I to Henry III (Fig. 47).[82] As will be discussed later, the imagery of kings and clerics on the façade at Wells is quite likely related to this choir-screen tradition.[83]

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[78] Hohenzollern, *Königsgalerie*, p. 108. Hohenzollern tried unsuccessfully to match the number of kings at Wells, as well as those on other English façades, with the kings listed in the *Historia Regnum Britannia*; he concluded that English façades, like those of France and Spain, are not based on specific genealogies but are symbols of glorification and kingship. Still he believed that there may be representations of specific kings at Wells.

[79] Ibid., pp. 105, 108. The façade at Exeter resembles choir screens, such as the fourteenth-century screen at Canterbury or the fifteenth-century screen at York, on which royalty and not saints are represented. According to Hohenzollern, Britton also recorded at Winchester the names of kings from a now-destroyed screen.

[80] Ibid., pp. 99, 106, 109. Hohenzollern believes that the English master masons may have known the French façades but that their intentions were different since English choir screens were the source for façades, such as Lichfield and Exeter, which are later than Wells. Still he does not relate Wells to choir screens.

[81] W.H. Hope, 'Quire Screens in English Churches with Special Reference to a Quire Screen Formerly in the Cathedral Church of Ely,' *Archaeologia* 68(1917):71. The screen described in the sixteenth-century *Rites of Durham* was decorated with sixteen kings disposed in two series of eight on either side of the choir-screen door in the lower tier. On the south side were kings of England from Ailred to Henry I; on the north, six kings of Northumbria and two of the Scots, Edgar and David. In the upper tier were arranged two series of eight bishops of Lindisfarne and Durham, beginning with Aidan and ending with Hugh Puiset, bishop from 1153 to 1195 when the screen was probably built. Hohenzollern, *Königsgalerie*, p. 108 disagreed with Hope that the niches at Wells originally held all the bishops of Wells from its founders to Jocelin since this sort of catalog does not exists on façades.

[82] Ibid., p. 56. A note written between 1397 and 1399 in a manuscript at Emmanuel College Cambridge (I.2.6. fly-leaf) is headed: '*Nomina Regum in ecclesia Sarisubriensi*,' and contains a list of seven kings '*In dextra parte introitus chori Sar.*' from Edgar to William Rufus, and of seven other kings '*In sinistra parte introitus chori Sar.*' from Henry I to Henry III, in whose reign the screen was set up.

[83] See Chapter 3, p. 122.

It is possible benefactors were included among the blessed on the façade at Wells, although the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins mentioned in litanies make up the core of this City of God.[84] Among unidentified clerics and kings in the Chapter House at Salisbury (ca. 1280) nobles were depicted and named on heraldic shields, and their role as benefactors and defenders of the New Law is made explicit in contemporaneous records.[85] Traditionally the City of God is comprised not only of canonized saints, but of 'all the saints,' i.e. all the faithful who will ultimately be among the blessed in the Heavenly Jerusalem.[86] In an English sermon for All Saints Day Herbert de Losinga (d. 1119) thus clarified that:

> the heavenly city is filled with citizens of all nations, is crimsoned with the roses of martyrs … glistens with the lilies of blessed confessors, and is decked with the ever-green purity of holy virgins … Innumerable is the host of simple and private believers; but they who draw not back from the faith, and commit no deadly sins, are purified by the fire of tribulation, and after that are numbered with the citizens of heaven. To keep the birthday of a single martyr is a great joy. How much more edifying must it be, dearly beloved brethren, to solemnize the festival of Patriarchs and Prophets, of Apostles and Disciples, of Martyrs and Confessors, of Virgins, and of all the elect.[87]

Even the simple, private believer is to be included with the saints in the Heavenly Jerusalem. This list recited on All Saints Day summarizes well the statues of the blessed found on the west front at Wells.

Located beneath the image of Christ at the apex of the façade, the blessed divided as *sacerdotium* and *regnum* correspond to the metaphor of the Church Triumphant as the Body of Christ.[88] For Hugh of St.

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[84] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, p. 88. In the archivolts framing the tympanum of Saint Stephen on the south transept at Chartres the saints were restricted to the martyrs and confessors, but patriarchs and prophets, apostles and virgins, as well as the ranks of Church hierarchy and a king were included when the porch was added.

[85] Blum, *Salisbury*, pp. 55, 37, 43. Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 156 and n. b identified not only Edward the Confessor and Richard I but also benefactors, such as the king, pope, bishop and dean living at the time.

[86] The Biblical basis for this tradition is Hebrews 12:22–24, 'But ye are come unto mount Sion …, the heavenly Jerusalem, and … the church of the firstborn … to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect.'

[87] E.M. Goulburn and B. Symonds, *The Life, Letters, and Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga* (Oxford, 1878), vol. 2, pp. 413–417.

[88] E. Gilson, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1947), pp. 330–333; and Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 255; and Duby, *Orders*, pp. 77, 246, 285, 319. During the twelfth century Hugh of St. Victor, Simon de Tournai, and Saint Thomas of Canterbury among others

Victor the Church, or City of God, is made up of the believers who are the Body of Christ. The two halves of the body are the clerics and the laity. The head of the body is Christ, and through His grace the body is unified. For Hugh, clerics form the right side of Christ's body, laity His left, but at Wells the laity are to the right of Christ whereas the clerics are to the left, possibly because this arrangement locates the clerics closest to the cloister on the south where the canons of Wells were buried.[89] On the other hand, this unusual arrangement may suggest Jocelin's ideological position on *sacerdotium* and *regnum*, to be discussed later.[90]

This pyramidal metaphor derives from a tradition going back to Paul's letter to the Ephesians 2:19–20: 'you are fellow citizens of the saints and members of the household of God. You form a building which rises on the foundation of the apostles and prophets, with Christ Jesus himself as the capstone.' According to Isidore of Seville (d. 636), Christ 'will build the Heavenly Jerusalem not of timber and stone, but of all the saints.'[91] The façade of Wells seems to represent Paul's pyramid with the blessed of the City of God in the upper zone as building stones resting upon the foundation of Old and New Testament figures in the lower zone, with Christ as the capstone in the gable.[92]

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conceived of the City of God as composed of two orders, the clergy and the laity. This dualist division between secular and spiritual was first made by Pope Gelasius (492–496), was adopted by Hugh of St. Victor in *De sacramentis*, and is the usual visual model, as at Wells.

[89] A. Katzenellenbogen, 'The Prophets on the West Façade of the Cathedral at Amiens,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* II, 1952:241–260. Katzenellenbogen has explained that at Amiens the reliefs locate sins and punishments on the right side of Christ and salvation on the left, defying Matthew 25:33, which states that the blessed sheep are on the right and the damned goats on the left. Hugh of St. Victor, however, stated that to place one group on the left is not a reference to Matthew 25,41: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,' but to 'Christian laics who are true Christians … of which it is said: "Length of days in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and glory."' (Prov. 3, 16). See Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 255. Still, as at Notre-Dame in Paris on the lintel of the north portal, *sacerdotium* is usually depicted on Christ's right and *regnum* on His left. See Sauerlander, *Gothic*, Pl. 152.

[90] For interpretation of the unusual hierarchies on the façade at Wells, see Chapter 6, pp. 210, 213, 229.

[91] Isidore of Seville, *Allegoriae Quaedam Sacra Scripturae*, in J.P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, series Latina (Paris, 1844–1864), vol. 83, col. 91.

[92] Church, 'Notes,' pp. 207, 210. Although it is not possible to document the exact literary sources on which Jocelin drew, it is interesting to note certain books belonging later to the church of Wells. In 1291 the dean of Sarum returned two sets of books that he had borrowed from the dean and chapter at Wells. They included the following bequeathed by John de Fortibus, chancellor in 1259: Augustine's *Civitate Dei*, *Epistles*,

Although related to Paul's pyramid, the cliff-like façade of Wells resembles still more a remarkable late twelfth-century English vision of heaven. The similarity of this vision which occurred near Wells warrants careful consideration since together they provide a contemporaneous west English view of the Heavenly Jerusalem. A monk from Eynsham, while in a trance which lasted from Good Friday until Easter Eve, saw the blessed moving up the levels of a high and wide crystal wall that was heaven; he then saw Christ on a throne of joy at the top of the wall surrounded by five-hundred souls:

> Furthermore now when we … had gone a good space more inward, and ever grew to us more and more joy and fairness of places: also at the last we saw afar a full glorious wall of crystal whose height no man might see and length no man might consider … And also from the ground up to top of that wall were degrees (*gradus*) ordained and disposed fair and marvelously, by the which the joyful company that was come in at the aforesaid gate gladly ascended up. There was no labour, there was no difficulty, there was no tarrying in their ascending; and the higher they went the gladder they were. Soothly I stood beneath on the ground, and long time I saw and beheld how they that came in at the gate ascended up by the same degrees (*gradus*). And at the last as I looked up higher I saw in a throne of joy sitting our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ in likeness of man, and about Him as it seemed to me were a five hundred souls which late had climbed up to that glorious throne, and so they came to our Lord and worshipped Him and in His Majesty as He is … Soothly he is seen only of holy spirits that be pure and clean, the which be not grieved by no corruption of body neither of soul … thou has seen and beholden the state of the world that is to come … the joys of them that now be come to the court of heaven; and also the joy of Christ's reigning … I knew that I must turn again from the heavenly bliss to this world's wretchedness … And truly so it shall be, that after the term of thy bodily living thou shalt be admitted blessedly to their fellowship everlastingly … Soothly, after that he was come to himself and his brethren had told him that now is the holy time of Easter, then first he believed, when he heard them ring solemnly to compline; for then he knew certainly that the peal and melody that he heard in Paradise with so great joy and gladness betokened the same solemnity of Easter in the

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and some other treatises; Saint Gregory's, *Speculum*; Hugh of St Victor's *Sacramentis*: and Bede's *Temporibus*. Among the books Leland recorded at Wells in 1540 were Isidore of Seville, *De Temporibus Mundi De Natura Rerum*, Rabanus Maurus of Fulda, *De Nautura Rerum*, Bede's works on Grammar, the *Metalogicus* of John of Salisbury; Bishop Grossteste's books on the four Gospels. Jocelin may have had access to similar books, although some, such as the work of Grosseteste, are obviously later.

which our blessed Lord and Savior Jesus Christ rose up visibly and bodily from death unto life; to Whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be now and evermore everlasting joy and bliss. Amen.[93]

This vision appeared to Edmund, the brother of Adam of Eynsham, who recorded it soon after in 1196.[94] Adam was chaplain to the bishop of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon, and author of the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*. Jocelin and his brother, Hugh, were acquainted with both Hugh of Avalon and Adam of Eynsham.[95] Moreover, this vision can be associated with the façade at Wells and with its viewers because of the popularity of the vision itself. As the *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis* points out, it was 'written down at the command of the bishop, and … published far and wide.'[96] Hence it is likely that the the monk of Eynsham's vision was known nearby at Wells. Certainly, this vision was part of the discourse of the time and for many would have conjured up an image of heaven in which the blessed were superposed one above the other in a high and wide crystal wall. At Wells the viewer, is positioned, like the monk who 'stood beneath on the ground,' looking up to Christ at the top with the blessed gathered around Him. The vision may have suggested an image of heaven as a wall made up of superposed logia going right up to the top, i.e., as a 'heavenly grandstand' similar to the galleries put up for coronations or for pageants in the streets of

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[93] G.G. Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, n. d.), pp. 47–51 made this translation of the Latin. The Latin text is found in H.E. Salter, ed., *Eynsham Cartulary* (Oxford, 1907–1908), vol. 2, p. 366.

[94] Salter, *Eynsham*, vol. 2, pp. 257, 258, 289, and 291. On the morning of Good Friday, Edmund, then about twenty-five, was found in a trance lying unconscious on his face before the abbot's seat in the chapter house. On Easter Eve shortly before compline, he recovered consciousness. See Chapter 5, p. 179 for the relationship of the vision and façade to Easter.

[95] Douie and Farmer, *Magna Vita*, vol. I, pp. x, xxi, xxvii, 46–47; Salter, *Eynsham*, vol. 1, p. xx; and Church, *Chapters*, p. 182. Adam finished the *Magna Vita* before 1214 and had earlier accompanied Hugh of Avalon to Witham, a Carthusian monastery in the diocese of Bath founded in 1178 when Reginald, bishop of Bath, secured Hugh of Avalon as it prior. Hubert Walter, Jocelin's fellow *curiales*, often visited Witham. Moreover, Hugh of Avalon preceded Jocelin's brother, Hugh, as bishop of Lincoln. Hugh of Wells was appointed bishop of Lincoln in 1209 and as bishop of Lincoln was the patron of Eynsham when Adam was abbot (1213–1228). Apparently, Adam was deposed in 1228 because of financial problems, and Enysham still owed Hugh of Wells money in 1235.

[96] Salter, *Enysham*, vol. 2, pp. 258–259. A number of manuscripts describing the vision survive, and it is referred to by Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover. See Roger of Wendover, *Flowers*, vol. 2, pp. 148–165.

London.[97] The monk of Eynsham's description of the *gradus*, degrees or levels, which facilitated the joyful ascent to Christ at the top of the wall, would have given a fresh immediacy to Paul's pyramid and perhaps conditioned its interpretation on the façade of Wells.

The Resurrection Frieze

Banding the upper zone of gabled niches, a frieze depicts the dead rising from their tombs in response to the trumpeting angels in the *aedicular* terminations of the buttresses. Since there is no indication, here or elsewhere, on the façade of fear, retribution, or Hell, the exclusive resurrection of the glorified bodies of the blessed seems to be represented (Figs. 14 and 56: IV).[98] Hugh of St. Victor described this moment: 'the dead who are in Christ, shall rise first. Then we who are alive … shall be taken up together with them in the clouds to meet Christ' (1 Thess. 4:15–16).[99] Augustine had earlier distinguished between the resurrection of the blessed and the ungodly, referring to the same biblical text but also to Christ's words in John 5:24–29: 'He that heareth my word, and believeth on him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and shall not come into condemnation; but is passed from death unto life … the hour is coming, in which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice, And shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of judgment.'[100]

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[97] Jean Bony (personal communication) referred to St. Paul's yard, for instance, as an image related to the façade at Wells.

[98] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 189, 167 suggests that 144 figures were intended for the resurrection tier in order to represent the 144,000 who comprise the population of the New Jerusalem. His estimate includes those never carved for the frieze on the south and east of the south tower; the 108–111 remaining figures terminate at its south-west corner. Included are all estates, indicated by crowns, tonsures, or mitres; there are about the same percentage of bishops and kings (1% queens, 5% bishops, and 5–6% kings) as in the niches below. Many show delight, with varied pose and expression or with gestures of greeting and prayer; some are looking upward, mouth open in amazement, and some seem to be waking up. Sampson interprets a few as despondent, such as the one he illustrates with head on shoulder and arms crossed or those he describes with heads down-cast or resting on their hands, but they seem more to be stunned, realizing what is happening. See Kidson and Tudor-Craig, eds. *Wells Cathedral*, pt. 2, archive I, fig. 1/2/39.

[99] Defferrari, *Hugh*, p. 456.

[100] Augustine, *City*, Loeb Series, vol. 6 (New York, 1950), p. 401.

Werckmeister has pointed out antiphonal songs and prayers of the Requiem Mass, i.e. the Mass for the Dead, which repeat John 5:24–29 in a sacramentary for the church of Saint-Lazarre of Autun during the first half of the twelfth century.[101] One prayer asks that the dead, like Lazarus, be raised from the graves of their sins in order to attain the communion of the chosen.[102] Another beseeches that Christ's judgment not press the dead man down, but that His grace help him to avoid divine judgment.[103] These twelfth-century prayers seem based on Gregory the Great's (d. 604) *Moralia in Job* in which the following categories of people are distinguished: two are either chosen or damned from the start, and two have to be judged to decide their fate.[104]

Around the year 1000 in England Aelfric also had explained in sermons that God 'predestined the elect for eternal life, because he knew that they would be such through his grace and their own obedience.'[105] He preached that 'while bodies await the resurrection in the grave, pure souls await the end in glory with the saints but wicked souls in eternal torments.'[106] Augustine had stated that the wicked would see Christ in His human nature as He appeared on the cross, but the blessed would see Him at the end in His divine nature.[107] Recall that the monk of Eynsham also pointed out that Christ in His Majesty: 'is seen only of holy spirits that be pure and clean, the which be not grieved by no corruption of body neither of soul.' On the façade at Wells, Christ appears

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[101] O.K. Werckmeister, 'Die Auferstehung der Toten am Westportal von Saint-Lazarre in Autun,' *Fruhmittelalterliche Studien* 16(1982):208–237; D. Grivot and G. Zarnecki, *Gislebertus* (N.Y., 1961), p. 146; and O.K. Werckmeister, 'The Lintel Fragment Representing Eve from Saint-Lazare, Autun,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 35(1972):23. At Autun the west façade also faced the cemetery.

[102] Werckmeister, 'Die Auferstehung,' p. 213 dates the sacramentaries between 1116 and 1146.

[103] Ibid., pp. 215–216; and Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 180. In the Office for the Dead at Sarum the prayers do not specify absence of judgment, although a prayer said in the presence of the corpse asks that the soul of the dead man 'pass from death unto life.'

[104] Werckmeister, 'Die Auferstehung,' p. 216.

[105] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 1, pp. 113 and 218.

[106] M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), p. 69.

[107] P. Gerson, 'Suger as Iconographer: The Central Portal of the West Façade of Saint-Denis,' in *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis, A Symposium*, ed. P. Gerson (New York, 1986), p. 191; and C. Rudolph, *Artistic Change at St-Denis* (Princeton, 1990), pp. 38–39. Rudolph argues that Hugh of St. Victor was the intermediary source for this Augustinian concept at Saint-Denis. Likewise Hugh's work was probably influential for the use of Augustinian meanings at Wells; works by both Augustine and Hugh were at Wells in 1259. See above, p. 66 n. 92.

in a mandorla of divine glory, and, accordingly, the frieze beneath Him seems to include only the chosen, those who will rise to the resurrection of life.

Analysis of the theophanic image of Christ in the central gable further suggests why only the resurrection of the blessed may have been represented at Wells. Christ's presence in a mandorla of glory links the façade to earlier sculptural representations of the Second Coming as a theophany which is sometimes combined with other theophanic images, such as the Transfiguration, the Ascension, or Pentecost, although at Wells it is combined with the Coronation of the Virgin.[108] When compared to these twelfth-century representations, the façade of Wells resembles somewhat the Vision of St. John depicted on the façade of Angoulême Cathedral since here too Christ is shown in glory at its apex. Although the vision at Angoulême is combined with the Ascension, at both Angoulême and Wells only the elect directly surround Christ. Still at Angoulême the representation of hell in the form of punishment of the evil rich appears, albeit in a subordinate position, under the side arcades.[109]

Christe believes that the view of the ninth-century theologians, Rabanus Maurus and Paschasius Robertus, prevailed in art until the Gothic period: Christ's Second Coming, as a theophany, would never be accessible to the evil, who were not allowed to see supernatural visions or the glory of the divinity.[110] In Romanesque representations of apocalyptic Majesty the damned are usually not included or are placed far away from the image of Christ.[111] By the thirteenth century the Last Judgment, as at Notre-Dame in Paris and at Chartres, took the place of the theophanic vision of the Second Coming, and the Second Coming came to be viewed as an historical event at the end of time that could be seen by the evil, as well as by the good.[112] Nonetheless, the earlier theophanic vision of the Second Coming was represented still without reference to judgment, as in the Ingeborg Psalter (ca. 1200) and the

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[108] Y. Christe, *Les Grands Portails Romans* (Geneva, 1969), pp. 124 ff.; and Verdier, *Le couronnement*, p. 9. Verdier discusses the Coronation of the Virgin as the ultimate theophany in Christian art.

[109] Christe, *Portails*, pp. 124, 129. At Saint-Paul-de-Varax the indication of judgment is relegated to a marginal position. Sometimes, as at Wells, the separation of the elect and the damned is eliminated, as on the west façade at Saint-Jouin de Marne or in the choir of Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers where only the elect are represented.

[110] Christe, *La Vision*, p. 81.

[111] Christe, *Portails*, p. 124.

[112] Christe, *La Vision*, p. 11.

Passion window of Le Mans Cathedral (ca. 1230–1240).[113] Likewise, the resurrection at Wells is represented without any depiction of judgment because only the blessed are able to see the beatific vision of the descending Heavenly Jerusalem, and, accordingly, the glory of the Second Coming is emphasized.

Eschatology and Ecclesiology

Although the Coronation of the Virgin is a common theme on early thirteenth-century French Gothic façades, its depiction at Wells within a theophanic, apocalyptic program without emphasis on judgment is unique in medieval façade programs. Instead of pairing the Coronation with the Last Judgment, as at the cathedrals of Paris or Chartres, the façade of Wells focuses on the Coronation as representing the moment when in Revelation 21:2–4 the New Jerusalem comes down from heaven 'prepared as a bride adorned for her husband.' Following this moment, according to Revelation, there will be no more pain or death since the earth has passed away.

In the *City of God* Augustine makes clear that Revelation 21:2–4 refers to the celestial city when he explains that although the city 'has been coming down from heaven from its beginning, since its citizens grow in number continually … that to understand this as referring to the age in which the city reigns with its King for a thousand years seems to me to be too shameless, since he says quite plainly: "He shall wipe away all tears from their eyes … he is so clearly speaking of the world to come and of immortality and of the everlasting life of the saints …"[114] Aelfric further explicated the same verse from Revelation in a way that clarifies the relationship of the resurrection frieze to the rest of the façade at Wells. In discussing the ages of the world, he stated that the seventh age "runneth on together with [all] these six [of the world] … not of men living here but of souls departed and in that other life; whence they rejoice still in expectation of eternal life after their resurrection; as rise again from death we must all with whole and sound bodies to meet our Lord. The eighth age is that one everlasting day after our resurrection, when we shall reign with God in everlasting happiness both of soul and

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[113] Ibid., p. 64.
[114] Augustine, *City*, vol. 6, pp. 347–351.

body; of that day there shall be no end; and then the Saints shall shine as the Sun doth now."[115] It is this one everlasting day after the bodily resurrection that seems to be depicted at Wells. Hugh of St. Victor clarified why this moment followed the Last Judgement: "Let the wicked be taken away lest he see the glory of God" (Cf. Isaiah: 26.10).'[116]

The mid thirteenth-century Trinity College Apocalypse also presents the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem as an image of the happiness of the blessed following the Last Judgement. Significantly, both its illustration and commentary supports interpretation of the façade at Wells as a vision of the glory of the blessed. In the sixth vision (folio 25 recto) the descending image of the Heavenly Jerusalem resembles the façade of Wells: it is decorated with a horizontal band of quatrefoils above its entrance and with gable-framed niches on its buttresses (Fig. 16).[117] In the seventh vision (folio 25 verso) six of the twelve portals of the Heavenly Jerusalem are surmounted with a gable, and the four major portals are framed by buttresses with superposed niches (Fig. 17).

Although the format of the Trinity College Apocalypse prohibited a detailed depiction of the Heavenly Jerusalem, its commentary, based on Berengaudus, corresponds to the enlarged and extended version depicted at Wells. The commentary describes the sixth vision as the 'glorification of the righteous,' and the scroll to Christ's right, citing Revelation 21:2–4, confirms the moment depicted: '*Veez le tabernacle de deu est od houmes … e deu tendera tute lerme de lur oiz, e mor(t) ne serera mes, ne plur, ne cri.*'[118] Then, the commentary describing the seventh vision, the walled city of the Heavenly Jerusalem, in fact, seems to interpret the meaning of the façade of Wells:

> all that time which will be after the general resurrection. Here is described the glory of the saints, represented by the image of the *city of*

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[115] Crawford, *Heptateuch*, p. 70.

[116] Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 471.

[117] Brieger, *Trinity*, p. 12 states that the buildings in the manuscript 'are rendered in the style of the earlier thirteenth century before the courtly style of Westminster Abbey.' This is true, but is it because these buildings derive from small-scale architectural representations (shrines, seals, or manuscripts) or because they copy early thirteenth-century buildings preceding Westminster, such as the façade of Wells? As will be discussed in Chapter 3, the early thirteenth-century architectural style to which Brieger refers, itself, derives from small-scale representations of architecture as depicted on English seals. Hence both the manuscript and the façade share a common conception of heaven and use similar motifs as signs to depict it.

[118] Brieger, *Trinity*, p. 48.

> *jerusalem* … He also calls it the *bride of the Lamb and his spouse* … the body
> He took from her he gave away for His church which He united to
> Himself in such a way, that He is the head and she the body … By
> the *wall* is understood Christ with all his members; by the *twelve gates*,
> the twelve apostles and their teaching. The *twelve angels* mean the other
> preachers. By the *names of the twelve tribes* we can understand the Fathers of
> the Old Testament … By the four sides can be understood the teaching
> of the gospel.[119]

The commentary accompanying the next illustration, which depicts
John kneeling before the angel and Christ (folio 27 verso), concludes
with an ecclesiological reading of the Apocalypse as an allegory of the
earthly Church anticipating its eschatological realization:

> And when he showed him how Holy Church, after the resurrection, will
> be joined to Christ, and will reign with him eternally, he wanted to adore
> the angel. Holy Church is joined to Christ every day by faith and by
> other good deeds. And she will be joined to him after the resurrection
> much more tightly and much more nobly, because she will simultan-
> eously reign and abide with Him without end … And the bridegroom
> and the bride, that is Christ and Holy Church, invite mankind every day,
> by writings and by preachers, to receive everlasting reward … at the time
> after the resurrection, when all the saints will be glorified.[120]

Likewise, at Wells the focus of the sculptural program on the Coron-
ation of the Virgin surrounded by the City of God emphasizes Rev-
elation 21:2 as a depiction of *Ecclesia* instead of a drama of the end
of time.[121] Thus implicit in the façade program at Wells is the present

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[119] Ibid., pp. 33, 50–51. See above, p. 53 n. 29 for availability of the Berengaudus
commentary in the 1220s. In describing the foundations of the Heavenly Jerusalem
folio 26r–26v differentiates among the saints' earthly roles and relates them to the
Testaments. Likewise, the façade of Wells depicts the blessed as specific estates of
society and includes scenes from the Old and New Testaments. The Trinity College
Apocalypse commentary may identify categories of saints once included but no longer
identifiable on the façade, such as the wise in Holy Church, e.g. Saint Jerome, Saint
Augustine and the successors of the apostles and the doctors of Holy Church. Alhough
the arrangement of the blessed at Wells does not seem hierarachical, it may have
included the categories indicated by the seven angels in the Berengaudus commentary:
in its lower zone, the preachers and prophets, and in its upper zone, the martyrs and
preachers who are to come at the time of Antichrist (folio 18r–18 v). Like Paul, the
commentary thus founds the Heavenly Jerusalem on the apostles and prophets, as was
probably the case at Wells. The Coronation of the Virgin, i.e. the Church Triumphant,
is located in the center of, and is thus founded on, the Old and New Testament events
depicted in the quatrefoils; in the commentary the Testaments constitute the tenth
foundation, a theme elaborated in folio 14 r.

[120] Ibid. pp. 5–6.

[121] Entry into the Heavenly Jerusalem was often associated with the conquest of the

Church anticipating the future celestial Jerusalem of which it is already a part.[122] As the commentary emphasizes, the Church is joined to Christ every day, although joined more tightly after the resurrection. This concept, which goes back to the Church Fathers, depends on a double understanding. A linear historical interpretation of the Church in earthly time (ending with the resurrection and the glorification of the saints) is understood simultaneously in a vertical eternal perspective: the present earthly Church and heavenly Church comprised of all the faithful (past, present, and future) are united through the Eucharist; hence the earthly church is already part of the Heavenly Jerusalem and Church Triumphant. This concept of eucharistic unity implicit in the imagery of the Coronation later will be fully investigated.[123] Because the

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earthly Jerusalem; therefore, the crusades are often considered an important influence on twelfth-century façades in Western France representing the Heavenly Jerusalem. See L. Seidel, *Songs of Glory* (Chicago, 1981), p. 73. Yet, according to Cheney, not many Englishmen were enthusiastic about regaining the Holy Land, and the crusades primarily brought home the plenitude of papal power reminding English society at all levels that it belonged to the Universal Church. See Cheney, *Innocent*, vol. 9, pp. 257–270.

[122] Parallels were drawn between apocalyptic and current events. According to Ralph of Coggeshall in his *Chronicon Anglicanum*, Joachim of Fiore told King Richard the Lionheart at Messina in 1195 that Saladin during the Third Crusade was the false prophet of the fifth seal of the Apocalypse. Richard had earlier heard of Joachim and requested to see the famous abbot. Subsequently Ralph repeated Joachim's analysis of the concordance of the Old and New Testaments with their correspondence to the ages of the world; he also recorded that Joachim had told Richard that the sixth seal of the Apocalypse would begin in 1199 and would end after the defeat of Antichrist with the resurrection of the dead and the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Ralph of Coggeshall, *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Stevenson, Rolls Series, vol. 66, (London, 1875), pp. 67. Joachim had stated that the period up to 1260 would be the great crisis. Around 1213 an English Chronicle quoted Joachim as predicting the appearance of Antichrist in 1260. Matthew Paris (d. 1259) referred to the date as 1250. Adam Marsh (d. 1257) also wrote to Grosseteste (d. 1253) about Joachim. See M. Bloomfield and M. Reeves, 'The Penetration of Joachism into Northern Europe,' *Speculum* 29(1954):775, 785–787, 779. Nonetheless, these apocalyptic prophecies do not seem to have stimulated much response in the first half of the thirteeth century outside Italy, in part because of condemnation of Joachim's ideas on the Trinity at the Lateran Council. See C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy* (Oxford, 1989), p. 523. See also C.R. Cheney, *Pope Innocent III and England: Papste und Papsttum* (Stuttgart, 1976), vol. 9, p. 23. Although Bloomfield and Reeves document Joachim's influence in England before 1215, Cheney maintains that during Innocent III's pontificate unorthodox opinions were unheard of in English schools and that the encounter of Richard with Joachim did not produce much English interest in the prophet. See also R. Freyhan, 'Joachism and the English Apocalypse,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 18(1955):211; and Henderson, 'Studies,' pp. 103–147 who believes the Apocalypse was popular because of upper-class taste instead of religious expectations.

[123] See Chapter 5, p. 162.

earthly Church was considered to be part of the Heavenly Jerusalem, it will also be suggested later that the imagery and motifs of the Church Triumphant carried meanings related to the church of Wells and the English Church of the 1220s.

Eschatology, ecclesiology, and preaching are related, and themes of preaching salvation accompany logically apocalyptic programs, especially in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England.[124] For example, the commentary of the Trinity College Apocalypse emphasized the importance of preaching by repeating frequently that every day the Church invites mankind through preachers to receive everlasting reward. In fact, the old-fashioned Berengaudus commentary may have been retained for the Trinity College Apocalypse, as well as for the many other English Apocalyptic manuscripts produced around the middle of the thirteenth century, because its ecclesiological, as opposed to an eschatological emphasis, still suited the reforming needs of English bishops.[125] Twenty years earlier the façade of Well's sculptural program also emphasized themes of preaching within an ecclesiological context.

Preaching certainly would have been one of Bishop Jocelin's concerns as a bishop in 1220. The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 had recommended preaching as a primary way to 'reform morals, stamp out heresies, fortify the faith, put an end to discussions,[and]establish peace …'[126] The English, Welsh, and Irish were more numerous than at any earlier council.[127] Jocelin, himself, did not attend Lateran IV, and the prior of Wells died on the way; nonetheless proctors from Wells there discussed with Innocent III union with Glastonbury abbey.[128] Jocelin's associates, Stephen Langton, Richard Poore, Walter de Gray, and his brother, Hugh, did attend.[129] Even before Lateran IV, as the twelfth-century commentary of Berengaudus illustrates, preaching was being emphasized.[130] Soon after Jocelin became bishop, Innocent III

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[124] M.D. Chenu, *Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century* (Chicago, 1968), p. 269.

[125] Lewis, 'Exegesis,' p. 262.

[126] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, pp. 17, 96, 143.

[127] Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 388.

[128] Ibid., p. 225.

[129] A. Luchaire, 'Un Document Retrouvé,' *Journal des Savants* 10(1905):557 describes a thirteenth-century manuscript in the Bibliotheque Cantonale at Zurich that contained a text of the decrees and a fragmentary list of the cardinals, archbishops, and bishops who attended. No complete list of attendance survives.

[130] During the twelfth century regular canons felt an obligation to edify others, in part, by preaching. See C.W. Bynum, *Docere Verbo et Exemplo: an aspect of twelfth-century Spirituality, Harvard Theological Studies*, vol. 31, 1979, p. 195.

had sent the preaching friars into England, and their arrival was noted in the Wells' registers, as elsewhere in 1207.[131] Reforms similar to those of Lateran IV had been initiated earlier at Lincoln when Bishop Hugh, the predecessor of Jocelin's brother, recalled William de Montibus in 1186 from the Paris schools to be chancellor. William continued to serve until 1213 at Lincoln under Jocelin's brother, Hugh, and devised means for conveying the new ideas of sacramental theology from Paris to the clergy of his diocese; he also compiled a number of preaching tools to assist them in teaching their parishioners 'the Christian faith and morals through regular preaching.'[132]

After Lateran IV, English bishops encouraged preaching still more systematically to stimulate piety in the reform of their dioceses. Innocent called for local councils at which the bishops were to introduce the decrees into England and required these provincial councils to meet yearly with bishops attending under pain of suspension.[133] Stephen Langton held such a council at Oxford in 1222.[134] The decrees issued at Oxford were ordered to be read by all the parish churches of the province, and there is evidence the order was obeyed. Richard Poore produced the most complete set of all thirteenth-century diocesan constitutions and was very important in introducing the decrees into England.[135] It is recorded that Jocelin's brother, Hugh, as bishop of Lincoln, actively enforced many of the decrees in his diocese.[136]

To judge from the façade of Wells, Jocelin seems also to have been concerned about the tenth canon of the Lateran Council and the office of preaching.[137] The Old and New Testament scenes in the quatrefoils

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[131] Church, *Chapters*, p. 174.

[132] Ibid., pp. 50–51.

[133] Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 406; and Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 143.

[134] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 144. Bishop Peter des Roche issued them at Winchester in 1224.

[135] Ibid., pp. 108, 117, 120, 129. Other constitutions issued in the reign of Henry III are based on those of Salisbury.

[136] Ibid., p. 107.

[137] D.W. Robertson, 'Frequency of Preaching in Thirteenth-Century England,' *Speculum* 24(1949):377; Roberts, *Studies*, pp. 42–42, 120; and F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents Relating to the English Church*, pt. 2, A.D. 1205–1313, pt. 1, A.D. 1205–1265, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), p. 35; and Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, pp. 106, 162, 164. The Lateran stipulated the responsibility of the bishop to appoint suitable men to assist them in preaching and hearing confessions and to see that their priests were properly instructed. Accordingly, English bishops saw to it that their clerks involved with the cure of souls were well read and educated. Langton's sermons, like the tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, emphasized the theme of the reinvig-

at Wells may be one of the ways in which Jocelin planned to effect
reform in his diocese since they taught the unlettered laity about sal-
vation visually. According to Jocelin's associate, Archbishop Stephen
Langton, 'Clerics have the duty, therefore to instruct the laity; even
in their absence, the church itself shall be an open book: Lest the lay-
folk try to excuse themselves by their ignorance because they do not
understand Scripture, or because they are without preachers, whatever
is contained in the holy church is displayed before them instead of a
book …'[138] The façade's program can be read as such a visual sermon
for the laity, and its sculpture emphasizes preaching. The niches in the
lower zone on the south side of the façade once may have held statues
of Old Testament prophets; on the north side they still hold images of
deacons and probably New Testament preachers. Scenes of preaching
are prevalent among the New Testament quatrefoils, and popular ser-
mons provide the basis for interpreting still other quatrefoil scenes and
their narrative sequence within the liturgical year.[139] Spiritual prepar-
ation, of course, relates to the meaning of the façade as the Heavenly
Jerusalem descending, and the façade in its totality constitutes a sermon
on salvation, attainable through the Church.

   In thirteenth-century England preaching in the vernacular was still
an indispensable part of public worship on Sundays, and the sermon
was an important part of a bishop's duties. During special sermons,
such as the Dedication of the Church, the bishop explained church
ritual.[140] After the gospel reading, the bishop delivered the sermon to

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oration of Christian life by a rededicated clergy. Langton and Innocent III had been
friends in Paris where the apostolic movement began.

   [138] R.H. and M.A. Rouse, *Preachers, Florilegia and Sermons: Studies on the Manipulus florum
of Thomas of Ireland* (Toronto, 1979), p. 47 point out that the canons of Canterbury in
condemning Sunday commerce (1213 or 1214) imply that parish priests preached to the
people at least once a week: 'it is on Sundays, above all, that a priest's parishioners
ought "to hear prayers and the ecclesiastical office and God's word".' See also Roberts,
Studies, p. 119.

   [139] Ibid.; and Chapter 4, p. 152 and above pp. 55, 58.

   [140] Roberts, *Studies*, pp. 50–54, 62. Langton was a popular preacher who addressed his
audiences in the vulgar tongue. Sermons, such as his, which had been composed and
preached in the vernacular, were generally published in Latin. Unfortunately, Langton's
sermon at the dedication of Salisbury Cathedral in September of 1225 is not extant.
During these dedications the bishop explained the rites of the consecration of a church
familiarizing the faithful with liturgical practices. According to Lecoy de la Marche,
La Chaire, pp. 209, 228, men and women were usually separated on different sides
during sermons. When the sermon was outside, they were separated by ropes. Certain
sermons, such as consecration ceremonies and that of Palm Sunday, were held outside;

the congregation often applying to the present day the scriptures that had just been mentioned.[141] The traditional English, i.e. Anglo-Saxon, homily persuaded its listeners by touching their emotions through rhetorical devices in contrast to new thirteenth-century French sermons which used documentation and tight instructional methods.[142] Each tried to convince, but by different means. Not only were some late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century English sermons almost translations of Aelfric's homilies, but the homilies of Wulfstan, bishop of York (d. 1023), were also being copied.[143] Wulfstan was known for his 'clear preaching, impassioned style, and interest in moving his audience.'[144] The same was true of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (d. 1095). Like the founders of the see of Wells, Wulfstan was a West Country bishop and one of the few Anglo-Saxon bishops who retained his see after the Conquest, and hence his sermons may have been of particular interest to Jocelin, given his Anglo-Saxon origins.[145] William of Malmesbury (d. 1143), referring to Colman's earlier life, explains that Wulfstan of Worcester, 'was inspired by the Holy Spirit with the same eloquence that had one time moved the tongue of Bede … such violent prayers did he cast up at heaven'; he was even accused by enemies for preaching with 'ostentatious gestures and speech'.[146]

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otherwise, sermons were inside unless the crowd was too large. See also C.R. Cheney, 'A recent view of the General Interdict on England 1208–1214,' in *Studies in Church History* (Leiden, 1966), ed. G.J. Cuming, vol. 3, p. 162 mentions that during the Interdict sermons in the vernacular were sometimes preached in English churchyards.

[141] Roberts, *Studies*, p. 65; and J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (New York, 1950), vol. 1, pp. 456–459.

[142] Rouse and Rouse, *Preachers*, p. 67; and Roberts, *Studies*, pp. 81–88. During the early thirteenth century the structure of sermons changed. Especially in Paris and in the mendicant orders, sermons became more logical because of the teaching methods in the theological schools. This new type of sermon, the school sermon, as distinguished from the older style of the homily, first appears in the second half of the twelfth century. The structure of the homily was simpler, using comparison and descriptions without precise compositional rules.

[143] Morris, *Homiletic*, p. xi, 7; idem, *Twelfth*, pp. 90–92.; D. Donoghue, 'Layamon's Ambivalence,' *Speculum* 65(1990):538; D. Bethurum, *The Homilies of Wulfstan* (Oxford, 1957), p. 104.

[144] According to Bethurum, *Wulfstan*, pp. 89–104, Wulfstan's homilies are carefully adjusted to his audience; he uses a large number of intensifying words and frequent repetition. When he rephrased Aelfric's sermons, he always used two words for one. His timing was very important, and he exploited the oratorical possibilities of English.

[145] M. Swanton, *Three Lives of The Last Englishmen*, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, vol. 10 (New York, 1984), p. 111.

[146] Swanton, *Three Lives* pp. 92, 101, 106 translates William of Malmesbury's life of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, written at the request of the prior of Worcester during

The façade with its multitude of saints engages the viewer in a dynamic manner and could also be described as an 'ostentatious gesture.' Certainly, Jocelin's presentation of the Church Triumphant, as a single overwhelming sweep of images, is more emphatic than the self-contained portal sermons depicting the same theme on French porches, such as on the north transept at Chartres. This style of address on the façade at Wells seems more akin to the preaching tradition of late Anglo-Saxon days, the age of the great homilists, than to the thirteenth-century French mode of scholars; it corresponds more to an Anglo-Saxon tone of spiritual exhortation than to the intellectual mode of newer continental fashion. It is easy to picture Bishop Jocelin, the king's outspoken statesman, in front of the façade during the feast of the Dedication of the Church, preaching a lively sermon similar to that which Aelfric wrote earlier for such an occasion:

> We are the living stones that are built over Christ in ghostly houses … the holy souls that thrive to God, will continue to all eternity with God, in the joy of the kingdom of heaven … the fire on doom's day may not consume his building … those who have good works will suffer no torment in the broad fire that will pass over the world, but they will go through that fire to Christ without any hurt, as if they were sunbeams … lead us to the eternal church of the kingdom of heaven, in which he reigneth with his chosen saints …[147]

Many twelfth- and some early thirteenth-century sermons were based on Aelfric's eleventh-century sermons since he explained eschatology in terms that could be understood by the unlearned in their language. One such sermon was copied in a West-Saxon or Southern dialect around 1200.[148] Layamon and the author of the First Worcester Fragment also testify to early thirteenth-century interest in Anglo-Saxon sermons and traditions.[149] Layamon lived in the West of England ten miles

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the second quarter of the twelfth century. In his preface William states, 'the saint will not lack readers for as long as … there is any writing in the world …'

[147] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, pp. 581–595. At the end of this sermon Aelfric concluded his work stating, 'I have disclosed these two books to the English race, for the unlearned … I never henceforth will turn gospel or gospel expositions from Latin into English.'

[148] R. Morris, *Old English Homilies of the Twelfth Century* (London, 1873), pp. ix–x, 7, 52, 170. Morris does not consider this sermon (Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 1452) a copy of Aelfric, as he does the Lambeth homilies, but many ideas are similar to Aelfric's, as on Palm Sunday. See Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 1, pp. 213–215, and Chapter 4, p. 181 n. 117. For other eschatological sermons, see Crawford, *The Heptateuch*, pp. 23–69; D.N. Warner, ed. *Early English Homilies from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D XIV* (London 1917), p. 113.

[149] Donoghue, 'Layamon's,' p. 537, n. 3 dates Layamon's *Brut* 'from 1189 to some

from Worcester, where the monastic library contained at least six collections of homilies, four of which included many by Aelfric. Thirteenth-century glosses of these manuscripts prove Anglo-Saxon homilies were being used.[150] In his *Brut* Layamon avoids overt French influence and adopts an archaistic vocabulary, as well as specific details, from Old English verse. Language, style, and racial groupings in his *Brut* are retrospective and nostalgic in comparison with the cosmopolitan literary and social complexity of thirteenth-century England. Likewise, the First Worcester Fragment, a short English poem of the late twelfth century about learning and teaching, indicates Anglo-Saxon nostalgia in the West.[151] The poet summons up Bede and Aelfric, as two scholars of the Anglo-Saxon past; he then lists thirteen Anglo-Saxon bishops to make the point that under the present Norman ecclesiastical hierarchy such pious leadership and teaching are no longer available.[152] Finally, he complains that now the teachers are from another people and that many of the English are lost. Included in his list of thirteen bishops are some of the martyrs (Oswald of Wireceastre, Egwin of Heouseshame) and the confessors (Cuthbert of Dunholme, Dunstan, Swithun, and Biern of Wincaestre) who have been identified on the façade.[153] Perhaps the preservation of Anglo-Saxon ruins at Wells, such as the Lady Chapel in the cloister, was part of the same nostalgia for

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time not very early in the second half of the thirteenth century.' W.R. Barron and S.C. Weinberg, *Layamon's Arthur: The Arthurian Section of Layamon's Brut* (London, 1989), pp. xi–xii date his *Brut* between 1189 and 1220.

[150] Ibid., pp. 537, 550, 561–564. According to Donoghue, Layamon and the glossator with the trembling hand 'represent two parts of a movement that promoted and sustained an interest in Anglo-Saxon scholarship and literature.' In his *Brut* Layamon used archaistic English and substituted the older Anglo-Saxon form of fighting and armor for the modern forms found in Wace whom he was copying.

[151] S.K. Brehe, 'Reassembling the First Worcester Fragment,' *Speculum* 65(1990):521–536.

[152] Gatch, *Preaching*, p. 91. This sentiment is also expressed earlier by Aelfric about eleventh-century bishops: 'Bishops and priests are teachers of men and must seek to gain many souls for the Savior … But … few teachers do this work now.'

[153] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 116 believes these confessors are included on the façade because they are named in the later stained glass at Wells. Hope and Lethaby, 'Imagery,' pp. 171–172 identified these martyrs, using Bede on whom the poet also depends. See Brehe, 'Worcester,' p. 522 for the poem in which all the following bishops are named: Wilfrid of Ripum, Iohan of Beoferlai, Cuthb(ert) of Dunholme, Oswald of Wireceastre, Egwin of Heouseshame, Aeld(elm) of Malmesburi, Swithum, Aethelwold, Aidan, Biern of Wincaestre, (Pau)lin of Rofecaestre, S. Dunston, and S. Aelfeih of Cantoreburi.

this golden age.[154] Given his efforts to revive the pre-Conquest see of Wells, Jocelin must have lamented what the Norman Conquest had done to his church when the Norman appointee, John of Tours (1088–1122) removed the see to Bath, making Giso the last bishop of Wells; all these facts were recorded in the *Historiola* not long before Jocelin began the façade and had new choir effigies made for Giso and the other Anglo-Saxon bishops of Wells (Figs. 52 and 53).[155] The effigies of Dudoc and Giso, in particular, which were later to flank Jocelin's tomb, were depicted around 1220 with archaeologically correct Anglo-Saxon mitres, unlike those worn by the earlier effigies of the other Anglo-Saxon bishops (Fig. 53).

Perhaps Jocelin dreamed not only of a revival of the pre-Conquest see at Wells but also of a return to the kind of spiritual leadership represented by the Anglo-Saxon homilists who gave visions of hell, visions of heaven, presentations with an emotional and instantaneous appeal, like that on the façade of Wells.[156] Since Anglo-Saxon manuscripts included miniatures in which Majesties were surrounded by heavenly choirs of confessors and martyrs, an Anglo-Saxon illustration of the City of God with a Litany of saints may have initially suggested to Jocelin the program for the façade.[157] In fact, Jocelin may have asked his master mason to design a façade capable of inspiring the kind of response asked by Anglo-Saxon sermons, as well as his own. It seems he requested a façade that evoked a vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem on the order of that summarized in Herbert of Losinga's early twelfth-century sermon:

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[154] See Chapter 1, p. 18 n. 3.

[155] J.A. Robinson, 'Effigies of Saxon Bishops at Wells,' *Archaeologia* 65(1914):109. Giso was a Lotharingian brought over by Edward the Confessor who held his see through the Conqueror's reign. See Chapter 6, p. 191 n. 8.

[156] Church, 'Reginald,' pp. 334–335 points out that Jocelin mentioned November as the month of dedication (on the day of Saint Romanus) in both of his documented references to the dedication of the church of Wells; in the charter of 1239 he specifies November 18. October 23 is the feast of Saint Romanus in the Sarum use, but November 18 is the day given in earlier Ambrosian and Lotharingian Calendars, such as that found in the Leofric Missal of the late tenth century. Could this possibly indicate that Jocelin dedicated the church according to the Anglo-Saxon Calendar or that a similar calendar was still being used at Wells? Regardless, Matthew Paris also named Saint Romanus as the day of dedication but gave the date as August 9. Church, *Chapters*, p. 230, when quoting the charter of 1239, cites the *erratum* in the transcript of Adam of Domerham-'mense Octobri'; most assumed that Adam got it right.

[157] See above, p. 62; and Chapter 3, p. 94.

Behold, brethren, ye who in (the contemplation of) your minds stand in the heavenly city, and celebrate the Festival of All Saints, betake yourself to your hearts, and to your inner man … 'Whence the Lord saith, in my Father's house there are many mansions,' which He prepareth, while He is instructing and keeping His foreknown and predestined ones in the observance of His commandments. Today brethren ye celebrate the victories and triumphs of all the saints. Labour ye also to become saints, and to be made partakers of so great a brotherhood. Ye have been made fellow-citizens of the eternal city … Here is the new heaven and the new earth; here the incorruption and immortality of the body; here the soul is free from suffering; here is blessedness, here eternity; here most excellent blessing, which eye hast not seen nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, which God hath prepared, and vouchsafes to all His saints that love him.[158]

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[158] Goulburn and Symonds, *Herbert de Losinga*, p. 431. Many of the concepts found in this sermon are found in Anglo-Saxon sermons, but this later sermon combines them in a way that best describes the façade. For comparison of Anglo-Saxon sermons with the façade, see above, p. 80.

THE PRODUCTION OF SIGNS

If a response to the Heavenly Jerusalem, like that asked by Herbert of Losinga, was Bishop Jocelin's charge, how did his master mason, Adam Lock, try to produce it? What is most remarkable about the design of the Wells' façade actually may be due to Adam Lock's attempt to find an architectural equivalent to Jocelin's powerful sculptural homily of *Ecclesia triumphans*. After assembling everything from the traditions of his trade that suggested heaven, Adam Lock seems to have borrowed even more precise indicators from shrines and choir furnishings. This master mason, in fact, seems to have made a properly semiotic effort to transmit Bishop Jocelin's 'heavenly' message, although Jocelin too might have considered it appropriate to reproduce the shrine motifs of the gabled niche and quatrefoil in order to suggest something beyond the motif, itself, especially within the representational context of his sculptural program. Intentional or not on the part of these producers, a semiotic decoding of these motifs seems the best way of analyzing both the procedure followed in the façade's creation and the way in which the viewer perceives the meanings expressed. Moreover, the previous use of the motifs in choir furnishings indicates a site of production outside usual architectural workshops.

The Heavenly Jerusalem

Many cathedral architects before Adam Lock had been charged with constructing the earthly equivalent of the Heavenly Jerusalem, but this time the order seems to have been more specific: a façade which depicted the Heavenly Jerusalem inhabited with the City of God. To judge from the results, Bishop Jocelin requested a dramatic solution that would elicit a strong emotional response. In order to create a sense of otherworldly splendor Adam Lock's first frame of reference seems to have been architectural forms evocative of heaven that he then combined with motifs appropriated from church furnishings.

Originally the façade sculpture and its architectural framework at

Wells were painted with a variety of colors suggesting the jeweled walls of the Heavenly Jerusalem. Traces of paint (primarily red, green, and black) still remain on the sculpture and in the quatrefoils, niches, and moldings of the portals of the lower zone.[1] Dowel holes in the back wall of the Coronation niche and of the quatrefoil with the Virgin and Child indicate that gilt stars were probably once affixed (Figs. 8 and 9: V).[2] Framing the painted surfaces were blue limestone shafts, now replaced with Kilkenney marble.[3] The gilt stars, polished shafts, and bright colors would have resembled contemporaneous shrines. Denuded today of its magnificent mantle of precious polychromy and rich accessories, the façade as heavenly spectacle is much diminished. Without the liturgical specificity of the statues' painted vestments its meaning, too, is less legible.[4]

Perhaps because of its meaning as the Heavenly Jerusalem, the frontage of the façade is twice as wide from north to south as it is high.[5]

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[1] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 150–151, 162–163, and 181. More paint remained at the beginning of the twentieth century: the robe of the Virgin in the central portal was red, and her mantle black or blue with a green lining (Figs. 9 and 56: VI). The Christ Child's robe was crimson. The bench on which the Virgin and Child sit was green. The back of the quatrefoil was red perhaps with a green diaper pattern. The area around the quatrefoil also seems to have been red with a similar diaper. The moldings around the portal were red, and the background of the niches to the north and south of the central door were a deeper red. Traces of gold were found on one of the crowns in the quatrefoils. In the upper zone of the buttresses nearly all the statues retained color: red on lips and black on eyes and hair. Solomon's mantle was red. The background of the resurrection frieze seemed to have been painted with a dark color. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 114–117, 121, 124, 128, 132, and Pl. 3. The conservation of 1974–1986 confirmed this account and added that cuffs, hems, and maniples were gilded with patterning on some garments. The paint seems to have been concentrated in the lower center zone. The smooth surfaces of the façade do not seem to have been painted, though red ashlar lining may have been applied.

[2] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 153, 181; Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 124, and Pl. 3. In the gable spandrel framing the Coronation of the Virgin the ghost of lost pigment and pin holes suggest a sunburst within the arc of a crescent moon above her head.

[3] Reid, *Wells*, p. 96. In the 1867 restoration Kilkenney marble shafts were substituted for the original blue *lias* shafting.

[4] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 121. A bishop on the east side of the north tower has traces of red paint on his alb; the traces of color on vestments, however, are now too sparse to indicate specific liturgical practice, although they once may have done so.

[5] Ibid., pp. 137–138, 142, 145, 180–181. The façade is also as wide as the nave was long, creating another square. Sampson measures the width of the façade between the outer faces of the plinth as 150' (45.72 m) and its height as 75'. The 75' height corresponds to the springing of the gables of the aedicular houses on the buttress, but Sampson makes this dimension apparent by reconstructing a line of weathering

As a double square, it may reference Revelation 21:16 describing the Heavenly Jerusalem as a cube of equal length, width, and height. The superposed pairs of twelve gabled niches on the west side of the six central buttresses seem to correspond to the twelve gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem described in Revelation 21:12, especially given that the major portals in the seventh vision of the Trinity College Apocalypse are also framed with similar buttresses with niches.[6] In addition to these six buttresses visible as a unit from west of the façade, there are two additional buttresses on each of the north, south, and east sides of the façade towers; each of these buttresses is 9 feet deep and 6 feet wide.[7] The six central buttresses no doubt seemed necessary to stabilize the nave vault since the towers are outside the aisles and hence do not abut this vault. The buttresses need not suggest a plan to build high towers.[8] The present towers flanking the central gable at Wells were

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across the front of the façade at this level. The resurrection tier is 71' high (21.68 m). Sampson believes a modern foot of .3048 was used. Likewise Singleton, 'Wells,' p. 16, n. 5 states that the original unit of measure at Wells appears to have been the standard English foot. Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 56 states that the English statute foot was already in general use before the middle of the thirteenth century. Sampson measured the west front as three parts of 32' (9.77 m): first to the top of the middle string-course; second from it to the top of the string-course beneath the resurrection tier; third from there to the underside of the uppermost string-course above the Seated Christ. The distance to the top of the weathering above Christ is 99'. There is some uncertainty about the original pavement level. Hope measured the lower zone, defined by the band of quatrefoils, as about 30' high; the upper zone, beneath the central gable, as about 42' high; and to the top of the gable about 100'. See Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 144–145. Hope's measurements agree with the measured drawing of the west towers in J. Britton, *The History and Antiquites of the Cathedral Church of Wells* (London, 1824), Pl. 5. Using Britton's drawing the width of the west front between the outer splays of the plinth, is 147.6', it is 144' if measured between the outermost quatrefoils which correspond to the actual edge of the buttress, indicating that the width of the façade at Wells might have been intended to approximate the 144 cubit measurement of the wall of heaven mentioned in Revelation 21:17. Murray, *Amiens*, pp. 158–163 mentions that the height of the nave at Amiens approximated the 144 cubit of Revelation 21:17.

  [6] See Chapter 2, p. 73.
  [7] Tudor-Craig, 'Wells Sculpture,' p. 109.
  [8] N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England, North Somerset and Bristol* (Harmondsworth, England, 1958), p. 284. Pevsner believed that high towers were intended for Wells because of its massive buttresses and because of French precedent, adding that 'To achieve a height commensurate to the existing breadth the towers would have to rise to something unprecedented in Gothic cathedrals … Short of that the façade could not have been made wholly successful.' Such an assumption is unnecessary. A similar problem occurred at Bourges Cathedral where the towers are separated from the nave vault by the inner of the double aisles. Had the original plan for terminating the towers

not part of Adam Lock's design; they date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries when the façade was reinforced to support them. Originally the lancets beneath these towers were either filled with wooden louvers or were open making the façade structurally and visually lighter.[9] Adam Lock probably planned to have low octagonal spires at gable level surrounded by little houses on top of each buttress, like those still flanking the central gable (Figs. 4 and 5).[10] The resulting low profile would have resembled Salisbury Cathedral and contemporaneous English seal façades (Figs. 36 and 54). Lock's efforts to create a fragile framework by overlaying the façade with slender shafts and filigree niches would be more apparent without the later additions.

But even today Adam Lock's attempt at evoking an illusion of the Heavenly Jerusalem is conveyed by the scaffolding of shafts and perforations of the buttresses, which suggest otherworldly fragility and lightness. Adam Lock may have observed that the dematerialization of stone mass with crockets behind an overlay of detached shafting used by the Lincoln master mason for the pier with crockets in the east transept gave a sacred richness and heavenly lightness to the pier. At Lincoln this unusual frame probably marked originally the site of a saint's shrine or an altar with a special dedication; otherwise, it would not have been made so 'heavenly.'[11]

At Wells, although a heavy base and strong buttresses physically support and visually balance the wide, horizontal façade block, the upper zone of buttresses is perforated to suggest light, heavenly mansions (Figs. 1, 2, and 27). At close inspection it is apparent that the edges of the upper zone of each buttress is carved away with crockets, and the substance and solidity of the buttress seems to disappear since its mass

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at Wells called for additions as heavy as the later towers, it should not have been necessary to add the masonry reinforcements on the back of the façade when the later towers were built. The tower walls are no thicker than is the west wall of the nave aisle, indicating that high towers were not intended originally. Only the gable wall is thicker. See Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 144.

[9] All sides of the towers at Wells may have been open or have had louvered twin lancets since the masonry now blocking them is neither aligned with, nor bonded into the surrounding frame, as it is in the other blind lancets of the façade. Louvers seem most likely, but open lancets do occur on the façade of Saint-Nicaise at Reims (ca. 1231). The stained glass in the central lancets at Wells dates from the seventeenth century.

[10] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 146 reconstructs the façade as I reconstruct it, but I would add spires. On the otherhand, Jean Bony (personal communication) suggested that an additional open stage between the façade and spires, as at Notre-Dame in Paris, may have been planned with lancets similar to those below in the lower zone at Wells.

[11] Jean Bony (personal communication).

appears as hollowed away behind the niches (Fig. 13). The stone, like a soft material, appears to have been gouged away on all sides until the very core of the block seems penetrated with cavities of space behind the statues. The hollow quatrefoils destroy the corners of the buttress just at the point where mass is needed to support the superstructure's concentration of shafts, as if to deny the weight above (Figs. 11 and 27). Behind the shafts in the superstructure, the crockets destroy the edges of the buttress, and because of the niches, no solid plane defines the sides of the buttress.

Nonetheless, from a distance the gables framing the niches appear to be supported by the lancet shafts, and hence the gables, like the shafts, seem to define sides for the buttress (Figs. 1 and 27). But these gables are actually unsupported: the shafts are in a plane behind the gables and continue unbroken to the top of the lancet (Figs. 11 and 13). The perforated effects created by the hollowed quatrefoils in the lower zone are repeated in the superstructure by the ambiguous depth of the niches. Moreover, the trefoils beneath the gables project beyond the shaft-defined planes of the buttress and at the same time penetrate into its core, making their actual depth visually impossible to define. Given the apparent depth of the gabled niches on all three sides, the buttress should collapse since it appears to be hollowed away. The angle shafts profile the buttress as they did earlier on the buttresses at Canterbury and Lincoln, but at Wells they do so in an especially skeletal 'Gothic' way, for they alone define its planes and edges. Only when the statues and shafts are removed, do Adam Lock's visual tricks become apparent: behind the fragile overlay of shafts and gables, there is, of course, a solid core of masonry for structural support (Fig. 12). The scaffolding of shafts and effects of perforation are actually an outer shell, an illusion of the dreamlike lightness of heaven.

This scaffolding recalls painted Pompeian architectural fantasies and related medieval representations of heaven, such as the fifth-century mosaics of St. George at Salonika. In antiquity the *scaenae frons* was used to indicate the supra-terrestrial sphere of the dream and permitted man to enter the domain of the gods.[12] This visualization of heaven

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[12] F. Héber-Suffrin, 'La Jérusalem Céleste des Evangiles de Saint-Médard de Soissons: Problèmes de Perspective et d'iconographie a l'époque Carolingienne,' in *Du VIIIe au XIe siècle: Edifices Monastiques et Culte en Lorraine et en Bourgogne*, eds. C. Heitz and F. Héber-Suffrin, Centre de Recherces sur l'antiquité tardive et le haut moyen-age. Université de Paris X-Nanterre (Paris, 1977), p. 117. They compare Saint-Georges and Saint-Médard de Soissons to the façades of Sabratha and Leptis Magna and quote

may have been transmitted to Europe during the Middle Ages via apocalyptic frontispieces, such as the ninth-century Gospel of Saint-Médard of Soissons, which imitate antique theater façades, as do the mosaics at Salonika. The *scaenae frons* had sacred connotations because it was derived from the *porta regia*, and its imitation in the Middle Ages was probably due to its origin in the *sacrum palatium* and its association with the heavenly house of God.[13] Buildings in medieval Romance also are described as covered with jewels and resting on fragile supports.[14] The Grail Temple and the Heavenly Jerusalem, of course, were imagined with similar dream-like characteristics.

Like the effects of dematerialization, the cliff-like frontage at Wells must have been chosen partly for the emotional reaction it engenders. Before the façade the viewer can re-experience the vision of the Eynsham monk, who 'stood beneath … the glorious wall of crystal whose height no man might see and length no man might consider.' The monk, 'looked up higher' to see Christ 'in a throne of joy,' as must the viewer at Wells.[15] The cliff-face of the expansive façade at Wells, as well as the arrangement of its sculptural narrative from bottom to top, forces the viewer to tilt back his head in order to see Christ about a hundred feet above. Looking acutely upward before such an expanse, in itself, creates an overwhelming sense of awe as the neck strains and the eyes are filled with light. To achieve this effect the master mason conflated two façade types which traditionally had a cliff-like frontage: the English screen façade and the *palatium sacrum*.

Earlier screen façades in England were characterized by a broad expanse of wall and a central gable. Wells structurally derives from the category of screen façade typified by St. Botolph's Colchester (ca. 1130) (Fig. 19). This type of screen façade has a simple wall at the end of the nave and is stretched between towers outside the aisles. A different category found at Braine, Glennes, and Peterborough has the appearance of a screen but is structurally a western façade block which is placed

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K. Schefold's interpretation of Pompeian painted fantasies as dream constructions permitting access to the realm of the gods. Although the Christian God replaced the pagan divinity, similar techniques were used to render the divine.

[13] A.M. Friend, 'Portraits of the Evangelists in the Greek and Latin Manuscripts,' *Art Studies* 5(1927):144–146; and *E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1956), p. 122.

[14] F. Bucher, 'Micro-Architecture as the "Idea" of Gothic Theory and Style,' *Gesta* 15(1976):84, n. 11.

[15] See Chapter 2, p. 67.

on the exterior as a porch. Therefore, the two series are structurally different.[16] Adam Lock chose to elaborate the older, simpler type of St. Botolph's at Colchester, although the type of Bury St. Edmund's had just been repeated at Lincoln and Peterborough. An important source for Wells may have been the screen façade designed, but not completed, at St. Albans (ca. 1195), which also belongs to the category of St. Botolph's. Adam Lock seems to have known this design since the moldings of the north porch at Wells are similar to those in the west porch of St. Albans.[17] Screen façades of the Wells type were also used at Colne Priory (Essex, ca. 1130) and, perhaps, at Old Saint Paul's (ca. 1150).[18]

Nonetheless, St. Botolph's is closest in design to Wells since the central part of the façade of each is a double-wall construction with superposed passages. In both, the towers are planted outside the line of the aisles making the façade wider than the church. The earlier screen façade at St. Botolph's did not abut a vaulted nave and hence did not need the buttresses required at Wells to stabilize the nave vault. Although both façades are divided horizontally into two major zones, at Wells the band of quatrefoils more emphatically separates the lower from the upper zone. The English screen façade, as at St. Botolph's, was traditionally decorated with horizontal rows of arcading, but at Wells the arcading has been populated with statues imported from contemporaneous French cathedral programs to cover the entire façade. As a result an extensive theological program unfolds across the billboard-like expanse of the English screen façade for the first time, giving to that type of frontispiece a new meaning.

Adam Lock's appropriation of the *sacrum palatium* for his design of the Heavenly Jerusalem at Wells also radically changed the traditional format of the English screen façade. During Henry III's minority fol-

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[16] Bony, 'The Façade,' p. 106.

[17] Malone, 'West English,' pp. 121 and 219.

[18] Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 59 believes Old Saint Paul's in London to be the source for Wells. In a letter to me (June 26, 1984) McAleer wrote that he does not believe Old Saint Paul's London had flanking towers and that it certainly was not a screen façade. J.P. McAleer, 'Particularly English? Screen Façades of the Type of Salisbury and Wells Cathedrals,' *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 141(1988):137–144, identifies two series of English screen façades. The series that includes Wells begins with St. Botolph's and coincides with my identification of the sources of the façade at Wells. For a comparison of the plan of Wells with those of St. Botolph's, Earl's Colne and St. Alban's see his figures, 2, 8, 10, and 11. He dates St. Botolph's after 1150 and reconstructs it (figure 9).

lowing the loss in 1204 of the Plantagenets in Normandy, there may
have been a reaction against French architectural norms, such as the
City Gate façade.[19] At this moment English architects seemed to focus
on their own insular traditions, and several developed the *palatium*
potential of the English screen façade. Even earlier the screen façade,
as an established type in later Romanesque England, had a tendency to
eclipse the two-towered type used at Southwell and Worksop. This tra-
ditional preference for the wide screen façade seems to have facilitated
the adoption of several variants of the palace type of frontage in Eng-
land during the early thirteenth century.[20] At Lincoln (ca. 1230) octa-
gonal turrets were used to frame (from the ground up) a curtain-like
frontage in the manner of fortified Islamic palaces of the time; this type
had been used previously at Bury St Edmund's (ca. 1180) at the time of
the third crusade. Likewise, the Peterborough façade (ca. 1220) imitated
the Islamic liwân-type porch and colossal triple arches of Samarra.[21]

The façade at Wells is also designed with features borrowed from
exotic palace façades. Adam Lock seems to have conflated the Islamic
Mshatta-like podium with aspects of the Imperial Roman *palatium*. The
façade of Wells has a heavy plinth, and its gables and quatrefoils bend
around the corners of the buttress as does the gable pattern with medal-
lions in the angles of the eighth-century walls at Mshatta, located sixty
miles west of Jerusalem.[22] In addition the heavy plinth at Wells along
with the strongly projecting buttresses, which clearly distinguish it from

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[19] Jean Bony (personal communication).

[20] Ibid. Earlier in the Middle Ages other variants of the palace type were designed
but were never the norm. Imperial associations may sometimes have stimulated use of
this type, as in the case of the colossal arch on the façade of the Palatine Chapel at
Aachen, on the façade of Tewekesbury Cathedral, and possibly on the north gate at
Lincoln in the 1090s.

[21] Ibid. Jean Bony in an unpublished study on the Romanesque façade of Lincoln
suggested the possibility of a liwân concept as the point of departure for a certain
number of unorthodox types of façade, particularly in England. He saw the liwân
façade as a variant of the palace concept and as an alternative to the city-gate concept.
As a source for Peterborough he suggested the Bâb al-Amma at Samarra, which was
the entrance to the Jausaq at-Khaqani (i.e. the palace built under al-Mutasim between
836 and 842).

[22] E. Kuhnel, 'Some Notes on the Façade of Mshatta,' in *Studies in Islamic Art and
Architecture in Honour of Professor K.A.C. Creswell* (London, 1965), pp. 132–146. This part
of the world was known to Jocelin's colleague, Peter des Roches. While crusading
with William of Exeter and Frederick II from 1228 to 1229, Peter toured Jerusalem.
Earlier in 1192 William des Roches, Peter's relative and seneschal of Anjou, was among
those permitted to enter Jerusalem during negotiations with Saladin. See Vincent, *Peter*,
pp. 22, and 251–156.

earlier screen façades, were features of Late Antique Imperial façades. Moreover, the way in which the buttresses are overlaid with shafts and niches for statues strengthens its resemblance to Roman façades. Adam Lock could easily assimilate these features of the antique *palatium* since similar forms were current in English buildings: shafts framed buttresses at Canterbury and Lincoln, and superposed niches had been used on Bury St. Edmund's façade around 1140. Descriptions of the Chalke at Constantinople, which was called God's Heavenly *Palatium Sacrum*, reveal that it was adorned with endless rows of statues in ruined form at the time of the sack in 1204.[23] Comparison of the façade of Wells with surviving Roman constructions, such as the proscenium of the Aspendos theater façade in Asia Minor, reveals that each has a strong plinth forming a base for a broad rectangular block broken by repeated vertical projections. Even in seventeenth-century Rome, ruins of these lightweight structures with superposed *aediculae* (e.g. the Septizonium of Septimus Severus) still existed.[24] The crusades and trade routes through Asia Minor made many of these buildings accessible, and it is likely that they were viewed as *sacrum palatium* and thus as appropriate models for the Heavenly Jerusalem.[25]

Wells resembles the *palatium* variant with superposed niches, typified by the Gallusforte portal at Basel, more than it does the usual *palatium* type with horizontal rows of arcading from which the king's gallery at Notre-Dame in Paris derives.[26] Nonetheless, identification of specific sources for façades with niches and arcading is complicated by the depiction of similar façades on shrines and in manuscripts throughout the Middle Ages; Gardelles interpreted these manuscript representations of façades with arcading as the projection on

[23] E. Baldwin Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, p. 138.

[24] The use of head stops at the corners of the gables at Wells recalls Gallo-roman steles such as those preserved at Saint-Ambroix. See J.J. Hatt, *La tombe gallo-romaine* (Paris, 1951), p. 236. Nonetheless, head stops are common in medieval arcading. Still antiquarian zeal such as that of Henry of Blois, who imported antique statues from Rome, might have revived such forms, and extensive Roman remains existed at nearby Bath. Antique influence may also be indicated in the way some of the statues of kings on the façade of Wells elevate their foot on a stool. See Andersson, *English*, p. 44; and Chapter 1, p. 24 n. 24.

[25] An alternative line of transmission to the later Middle Ages might have been sixth-century Christian architecture, such as the convents near Sohag in Egypt, where superposed *aediculae*, such as those of Baalbek, are used in the design of apses. See U. Mouneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohag* (Milan, 1925).

[26] See Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, pp. 34–35, 98–99 for the *palatium* tradition of horizontal rows of arcading.

a vertical plane of the Heavenly City.[27] He believed that represent-
ations of the apocalyptic vision in Beatus manuscripts stood behind
Romanesque façades of Western France, such as Sainte-Croix in Bor-
deaux, Angoulême Cathedral, or Notre-Dame-la-Grande at Poitiers.
Although he found no specific manuscript source for the façade at
Wells, he thought it came from this tradition of representing heaven.

Because the façade at Wells does resemble a manuscript page com-
position with Christ right up at the top, a manuscript tradition of
façades with buttresses and superposed niches, going back to the apo-
calyptic frontispiece of the Gospel of Saint Médard de Soissons, con-
stitutes another area which the master mason at Wells may have con-
sidered when depicting heaven. If Wells, like Peterborough, represents
a new 1220's version of the *palatium*, after renewed contacts with the
Near East, familiarity with manuscripts, such as the *De Civitate Dei* of
Saint Augustine, Canterbury (ca. 1120) with its Imperial *palatium* type of
horizontal arcading might have suggested to Adam Lock a conflation
of the antique *palatium* with the City of God and hence the adoption
of the Palace Frontage type at Wells.[28] Superposed niches and arcad-
ing, however, also characterized shrines. As we are about to see, the use
of these motifs on shrines, as well as in manuscripts, seems to go back
to antique palace façades. Might Adam Lock have realized that if you
shrink a palace you get a shrine, and vise versa?

The Gabled Niche

The gable–over three hundred on the façade–signifies initially by virtue
of its excess.[29] What stimulated the production of this sign, and what
were its earlier sites of production? Each member of the Heavenly
Jerusalem on the façade of Wells is enclosed in a gable-framed niche

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[27] Héber-Suffrin, 'A Propos,' p. 116 implicitly differentiates the two types when he at-
tributes the origin of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Gospel of Saint-Médard de Sois-
sons to Roman theater façades and the arcading in Beatus Bibles to representations of
the temple in Byzantine Psalters. I would add that Wells and the Gallusforte portal at
Basle are similar to the apocalyptic frontispiece with superposed niches on buttresses
while Notre-Dame, Paris recalls an arcaded tradition. Gardelles, 'Recherches,' pp. 113–
133.
[28] Ibid., pp. 128, 131. For more about this manuscript, located in Florence, Biblioteca
Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut. XII, 17, fol. 2 v, see Chapter 2, p. 51 n. 26.
[29] There are 134 gabled niches for statues on the west face of the façade. The north
and east sides of the north tower have 52, and the same number were constructed on

(Figs. 5 and 13). This combination of gable and niche, in fact, creates the primary motif on the façade. In the lower zone of the façade gables frame trefoils to provide niches for the paired statues that once stood on the pedestals above the plinth, as they still do on the east side of the north tower (Figs. 50 and 51). Similar gabled niches still enclose superposed statues in the upper zone (Fig. 13). And little gabled houses, now remaining only on top of the two central buttresses, as mentioned earlier, were no doubt planned to crown all of the buttresses (Fig. 4).

Although the gable sometimes frames doors and windows in Romanesque and Gothic architecture, there is no known medieval architectural precedent for the gabled niche superposed on the façade of Wells. Yet architectural precedents can be found for the superposed niche without a gable. The precedent chronologically closest to Wells is found above the rose window on the façade of Laon Cathedral (Fig. 21). Nonetheless, the model for the French Gothic niches at Laon seems to have been the English Romanesque façade of Bury St. Edmund's which, before its partial destruction, had pinnacles and superposed niches similar to those now preserved on the twelfth-century gateway of St. James tower at Bury (Fig. 20).[30] The superposed niches at Wells thus need not have been French imports.

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the south tower, but never filled on the south and east sides. Accordingly a total of 238 gabled niches were planned, 244 if the gabled houses at the top of the central buttresses are counted, and 265 if gabled houses above all buttresses are assumed. Of these about 177, not counting the six remaining above the central buttresses, once were filled with statues. Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 147. Lethaby stated that originally 176 statues filled the niches of the upper and lower zones; only 127 remain. During the conservation between 1974 and 1986 it was found that by the mid thirteenth century 177 niches held statues of life-size or greater. See Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 83. The niches in the central gable are not capped with gables and hence have not been included in this count of gabled niches. In addition to the gabled niche housing statues, gables frame the arcading, making a total of about 315 gables on the façade.

[30] G. Webb, *Architecture in Britain: the Middle Ages* (Harmodsworth, Middlesex, 1965), p. 105. Webb recognized that the multiplication of the gable at Wells was 'the first example of its use as a repetitive motif … and it is a very long step from the single large scale examples,' such as the gateway at Bury St. Edmund's. R. Branner, 'Gothic Architecture 1160–1180 and its Romanesque Sources,' *International Congress of the History of Art: Studies in Western Art*, vol. 1, *Romanesque and Gothic Art* (Princeton, 1963), p. 101 suggested that the façade of Laon was based on Bury St. Edmund's. J. Bony, 'The Façade,' pp. 81–84, and idem, *French Gothic*, p. 530 n. 53 explained the similarities of the façade at Laon and gateway of Bury St. Edmund's. For the reconstruction of the façade at Bury, see A.B. Whittingham, 'Bury St. Edmund's Abbey. The Plan, Design and Development of the Church and Monastic Buildings,' *Archaeological Journal*, 108(1951):168–187.

Unlike Laon or Bury, the niches at Wells, however, are framed by gables. The only architectural examples of the superposed, gabled niche earlier than the façade of Wells are found in Roman architecture, where it was multiplied as a setting for statues.[31] In his famous essay, 'Heavenly Mansions,' John Summerson compared the skeletal articulation of the Gothic niches on the south porch of Chartres Cathedral to the fantastic buildings in Pompeian wall painting.[32] At Wells the attempt to dissolve the massive buttress into a framework of thin shafts and gabled niches comes even closer than Chartres to approximating Roman fantasies, such as the nymphaeum of Miletus. As Summerson pointed out, the niche in Roman architecture derived from shrines and was literally a little house, or *aedicula*, designed to hold a ceremonial figure. In addition, he suggested that the architectural form of the aedicula was transmitted to medieval architecture through objects small in scale, like the shrines from which it originally derived. Although Imperial palace façades may have been known to Adam Lock, the resemblance of the façade of Wells to Roman buildings might be due not to architectural copying but to a similar transposition and enlargement of the gabled niche from small-scale objects to monumental architecture.[33]

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[31] See above, p. 93 n. 25; and J. Synder, *Medieval Art*, New York, 1989, p. 446 for C.A. Willelmsen's reconstruction of the Triumphal Gateway of Frederick II in Capua (ca. 1232–1240) with busts in roundels and statues in superposed niches flanking the central portal, a clear example of antique influence. Although these niches are not framed with a gable, a line of continuous gables is placed between the upper two.

[32] J. Summerson, 'Heavenly Mansions: An Interpretation of Gothic,' *Heavenly Mansions and other Essays on Architecture* (New York, 1963), pp. 1–28.

[33] The similarity between Wells and Mshatta, mentioned above p. 92 may also result from small-scale transmission and re-enlargement during the Middle Ages. The motif of the continuous gable with medallions in the angles could easily have been miniaturized and transmitted to the west on ivory boxes or in a flattened version on textiles as was the case with the quatrefoil analyzed by J. Baltrusaitis, *Le Moyen Age Fantastique* (Paris, 1955), pp. 91–101. Kuhnel, *Studies*, pp. 132–146 believed that this motif at Mshatta may have been inspired by the ornamental motif of zigzag stripes with inner circles employed in Arabic pottery and garments. Although the zigzag stripe with angle decoration does seem a basic element of design that might be created independently in many areas, it may be of eastern origin when it occurs in the Medieval West, as in a textile context, such as on the mitre of the statue of Gregory the Great (ca. 1220) in the right doorway of the south transept at Chartres. The similarity between Wells and the façades of Aquitaine might also be explained by similar small-scale origins. Seidel, *Songs*, pp. 26–34, 50 mentions the influence of reliquaries on the façades of Aquitaine. In fact, Seidel believes that Carolingian turreted eucharistic receptacles

In his brief discussion of the transmission of the *aedicula* during the Middle Ages, Summerson did not distinguish between a simple niche and the niche framed by a gable. Examined separately, the gabled niche can be traced through the centuries from Imperial Roman small-scale objects to its thirteenth-century production.[34] In Roman Imperial art the motif of a gable framing a figure originated as a house for the gods but then seems to have been reproduced as a sign of dignity with ceremonial connotations. In Late Antique diptychs, for example, the gabled niche signified honor for the consul.[35] In eighth to tenth-century ivories the motif of the gabled niche frames holy figures, especially Christ.[36] Therefore, during the Middle Ages this sign of glorification seems to have been transferred from human to heavenly majesty and then to have become a convention for a sacred setting with heavenly

and their meanings influenced Aquitainian façades. She also points out that, according to Daras, reliquaries donated to the Cathedral of Angoulême by the bishop who began the façade (ca. 1120) may have influenced its design.

[34] Although my aim is to discuss the synchronic meaning of architectural signs in the 1220s, at this point in the study a diachronic approach seemed helpful. Much material was available because the iconography of medieval architecture has focused primarily on the continuity of tradition since 1942 when R. Krautheimer published 'Introduction to an Iconography of Medieval Architecture,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5(1942):1–33. Other studies in the continuity of meaning soon followed, such as Baldwin Smith's *The Dome*. G. Bandmann, *Mittelalterliche Architektur als Bedeutungstrager* (Berlin, 1951) includes a methodological analysis of this approach to the iconography of architecture.

[35] W.F. Volbach, *Early Christian Art* (New York, 1961), Pl. 220 illustrates, for example, the late fifth-, early sixth-century ivory diptych of Emperor Anastasius from the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris.

[36] C. Heitz, *La France Pré-romane* (Paris, 1987), p. 48 reproduces an eighth-century relief from the chancel of Saint-Pierre-aux-Nonnains depicting Christ holding the Eucharist under a gable with crockets. See A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der Karolingischen und Sachsischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1914), vol. 1 for the following representation of ivories. The combination of niche and gable when used in ivories from the Ada group as a frame for Christ (and Peter when paired with Christ as in Pl. 18) derives from sixth-century consular diptychs. On a ninth- or tenth-century ivory casket from the Metz school, (Pl. 42), gables, flanking an imperial baldachino, provide an imperial setting for Herod in the scene of the Three Magi. On a tenth-century ivory from the same school, (Pl. 49), an identical motif creates a sacred setting for the birth of Christ. Gables also frame Christ in ivories of the Foot-washing and Consecration of the Apostles (Pl. 62). Excluding instances where the gable appears incidentally as a pediment for temples, tombs, and houses, these seem to be the only examples of the gable among the tenth-century ivories collected here by Goldschmidt. An exception is an ivory from Echternach in which the hand of God appears from a gable frame in the scene of Moses Receiving the Law perhaps also to distinguish an otherworldly context (vol. 2, Pl. 9).

connotations.[37] Seventh-century pilgrims' *ampullae* depict the Tomb of Christ in the Anastasis Rotunda in Jerusalem as an *aedicula* with a gable containing a shell motif.[38] And the fourth-century tomb, itself, has been reconstructed as an *aedicula* with a gabled roof supported by columns in front of a shell niche above the entrance to the tomb.[39] Similar arches with pediments, shell niches, and *aedicula* were common in late Roman architecture, particularly in the Near East as in the Temple of Venus at Baalbek, but they also decorated the minor arts, for instance a Syro-Palestinian mirror frame in the collection of the University of Chicago Divinity School.[40] Slightly later the same forms appear in Muslim mihrab niches, such as a carved mihrab in the Baghdad museum. According to Ousterhout, 'In many, if not most–instances, these forms would seem to be part of an architectural language of power or glorification.'[41]

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries the gabled niches in chandeliers at Gross-Komburg, Hildesheim, and Aachen specifically depict the gates of the Heavenly Jerusalem.[42] On the Gross-Komburg chandelier an inscription specifies that the chandelier represents the mystical church with the prophets, apostles, and saints found worthy to be included in the City with Christ. The twelve-niched, gate-like towers of the Gross-Komburg chandelier, which represent the gates of the Heav-

[37] Smith, *Architectural Symbolism*, pp. 5, 6, 98 believed that architectural symbolism was always intuitive at the popular level, and for that reason was dependent upon traditional forms and customary ideas. He considered the gable as a *palatium* motif between the eleventh and thirteenth century, 'the *palatium* motifs … were at the same time a means of picturing Heaven, for it made little difference to their celestial meaning if they were seen as *Divus* Burg of God's earthly Vicar, as the Church of Christ, or as a stronghold of God's celestial city.' E.K. Doberer, 'Die ornamentale Steinskulptur an der Karolingischen Kirchenausstattung,' in *Karl der Grosse*, ed. W. Braunfels (Dusseldorf, 1965), vol. 3, p. 221 also stresses that the gable had sacred Imperial meanings.

[38] R. Ousterhout, 'The Temple, the Sepulchre, and the Martyrion of the Savior,' *Gesta* 29/1(1990):48–49 and fig. 6 refers to seventh-century pilgrims' *ampullae* at Monza, Bobbio, and in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection.

[39] Ibid., p. 50, fig. 10 for Wilkinson's reconstruction of the fourth-century tomb aedicula of the Holy Sepulchre.

[40] Ibid. Also relevant may be the alternative line of transmission to the later Middle Ages via sixth-century convents near Sohag in Egypt in which apses are designed with superposed *aediculae* similar to those of Baalbek.

[41] Ibid., p. 49.

[42] P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra* (London, 1972), pp. 178, 216 discusses the Gross-Komburg candelabrum. F. van der Meer, *Apocalypse* (London, 1978), fig. 90 depicts the chandelier in Hildesheim Cathedral given by Bishop Hezilo (1054–1079); it has superposed niches flanking a gabled niche and resembles the gate-like depiction of the portals of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Seventh vision of the Trinity College Apocalypse.

enly Jerusalem, resemble the superposed pairs of twelve gabled niches found on the west side of the six central buttresses at Wells. The similar superposed niches, framing the major portals of the Heavenly Jerusalem, in the Trinity College Apocalypse possibly derive from the same tradition. Likewise, Louis IX's Grande Chasse, made between 1239 and 1241 to house the Crown of Thorns behind the altar in the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, had superposed gabled niches for statues on its buttresses.[43]

The specific form of the gabled niche at Wells was probably borrowed from contemporaneous shrines or tombs which often combined the gable with a trefoil-headed arch, as on the façade. This combination, for example, occurs in Mosan shrines, such as that of Mary at Aachen (ca. 1220–1238); here, a heavenly setting is indicated by the gable enshrining the Virgin and saints (Fig. 22).[44] On the Anno shrine (ca. 1183) the trefoil is actually corbelled out from the wall to create a spatial frame, as at Wells (Fig. 24). No contemporaneous English shrines remain, but the little that is known about English metalwork indicates similarities with Mosan shrines.[45] The presence of trefoil-headed canopies on English tombs, for example, as on the twelfth-century tomb of Benedict of Peterborough (d. 1193), suggests that Adam Lock may have turned to tomb designs in enlarging the gabled trefoil to a monumental scale on the façade of Wells.[46] A corbelled trefoil-headed arch, in fact, covers the effigy of the Anglo-Saxon bishop, Sigarus, which was commissioned by Bishop Jocelin around 1207 for the choir at Wells (Fig. 52).[47] The motif of the trefoil-headed arch, when used alone on shrines and tombs, also had sacred associations. Its context sometimes establishes its meaning as heaven, as on the late twelfth-century Porte Romane at Reims Cathedral, once a tomb structure.[48] Earlier in Eng-

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[43] R. Branner, 'The Grande Chasse of the Sainte-Chapelle,' *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 77(1971):7.

[44] H. Schnitzler, *Rheinische Schatzkammer, Romannik II* (Dusseldorf, 1959), Pls. 52 and 53.

[45] M. Chamot, *English Medieval Enamels* (London, 1930), pp. 7–8; and J. Philips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1530–1665* (New York, 1974), p. 62.

[46] A. Gardner, *English Medieval Sculpture* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 155, fig. 292. Two-dimensional trefoil-headeded frames occur frequently on English tombs.

[47] Robinson, 'Effigies,' pp. 107–111.

[48] E. Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York, 1964), fig. 246. Sauerlander, *French Sculpture*, p. 467, Ill. 88, Pl. 147. The effigy of Bishop Evrard de Fouilloy (ca. 1222) is framed by a corbelled trefoil topped with towers and pinnacles; censing angels define this architectural frame as heaven. In this case the tomb slab is cast in bronze and hence may

land the trefoil-headed arch is found on other items of church fur-
nishings, such as the late twelfth-century font at Much Wenlock.[49] It
was also used to frame special doors, such as the monk's door at Ely
(ca. 1135). And William of Sens placed trefoil framed windows (ca. 1175)
in the upper story of the choir aisles at Canterbury. Both of these archi-
tectural designs seem based on shrines.[50] Yet the gable distinguishes the
trefoil-headed niche at Wells from these architectural precedents and
points directly to English shrines and tombs. When the gable was used
to frame the trefoil-headed arch at Wells, its addition, as a conventional
sign, seems to have specified heaven.[51]

   Narrative sculpture on English tombs slightly earlier and later than
the façade of Wells suggests that the gable would have been recognized
as designating heaven during the first half of the thirteenth century.
Gabled plaques on the sides of the arch framing the effigy of Bishop
Henry Marshall at Exeter (d. 1206) indicate clearly a heavenly set-
ting since they contain angels.[52] A similar gabled structure with the
Archangel Michael, guardian of the gate of heaven, above the trefoil-
framed effigy of Bishop Richard Poore, or more likely his successor
Bishop Roger Bingham, of Salisbury (ca. 1230–1246) again identifies

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be particularly close to its shrine origins. According to Sauerlander, it shows no stylistic
connection with the Amiens west façade. Bishop Evrard laid the foundation stone of
the present cathedral; his vestments are decorated with quatrefoils and probably indic-
ate the type of textiles from which the façade dado derives. The socle scenes of the
right doorway of the west portal are framed with gable toped trefoils similar to those
above the jambs and tympanum of the left doorway of the west façade of Notre-Dame
in Paris; both, no doubt, derived from contemporaneous shrines.

   [49] Lawrence Stone, *Sculpture in Britain* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1955),
p. 100, Pl. 69 (B).

   [50] Following the precedent of Canterbury, the trefoil is used as an architectural
motif at Clymping, Patrixborne, Glastonbury, and Saint-Davids. The trefoil and other
multi-foiled motifs in the West seem to derive from Indian, Mesopotamian, Islamic,
and Byzantine art where they probably had sacred meanings: Jean Bony (personal
communication).

   [51] The gabled niche can be considered a conventional sign because, as an abstract
form, it evokes a concept of heaven based on custom. I first used the term conventional
sign as a semantic term after reading M. Wallis, 'Semantic and Symbolic Elements in
Architecture: Iconology as a First Step Towards an Architectural Semiotic,' *Semiotica*
8(1973):222. He defined a sign as 'an object that can be perceived by the senses and that
has been produced or used by a person in order to make another person develop an
idea of an object other than the sign-object. If such an idea is evoked on the strength
of a custom or convention, then we speak about a conventional sign'. Although he does
not refer to Pierce, his semiotic system is similar. See Pierce, 'Logic,' pp. 5, 10–11.

   [52] E.S. Prior and A. Gardner, *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England* (Cam-
bridge, England, 1912), p. 576, fig. 651.

the gable as either heaven or the gateway to the Heavenly Jerusalem.[53] In a narrative scene on the tomb of Bishop Giles de Bridport (d. 1262) at Salisbury, Michael presents Giles' soul to Christ who is enthroned in heaven beneath a gable.[54] In these gables the narrative context clearly specifies a heavenly meaning.

The monumental gable used to frame the saints at Wells is found earlier on the late twelfth-century tomb of Bishop Iscanus at Exeter, and a heavenly context was probably intended here, as in the more explicit narrative tomb reliefs.[55] The monumental gable-framed, multi-lobed arch above Bishop Giles' effigy and the gable-framed trefoil-headed arch above the effigy of Walter de Gray, archbishop of York (d. 1255) in turn may derive from the façade of Wells.[56] The free-standing gabled canopies covering these later effigies, as well as the earlier tombs, recall the shrine-like *aediculae* flanking the central, pedimental gable at Wells. Moreover, the decorative arcading support-ing the roof-like canopies above these effigies resembles the pattern of gables and quatrefoils in the lower zone of the façade. The gabled niches at Wells, in fact, fall chronologically and formally in the middle of this thirteenth-century English production of tomb sculpture.

When Adam Lock multiplied the gabled niche into a cityscape across the façade, he seems to have called on yet another and related conven-tion to evoke the heavenly city. Baltrusaitis believed that the baldachin-like cityscape above figures in twelfth- and thirteenth-century manu-scripts, stained glass, shrines, and façade sculpture were meant to depict the Heavenly Jerusalem.[57] In earlier medieval ivories these cityscapes specified heaven, as in the tenth-century ivory from Heiligenkreuz por-

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[53] Andersson, *English Influence*, p. 65 identifies the effigy as Bishop Richard Poore; and P. Pepin, 'The Monumental Tombs of Medieval England, 1250–1350,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1977), Pls. 28–32, pp. 40, 10 explains that Roger Bingham is represented. Still Pepin dates the tomb in the 1230s because bishops, such as Walter de Gray of York, were known to have commissioned and approved the design of their own tombs; she believes the same may have been true of Roger Bingham. P. Blum, 'The Sequences of Building Campaigns at Salisbury,' *The Art Bulletin* 73(1991): fig. 2 reproduces V. Jansen's photographic detail of the angel beneath the gable above the lobed niche of the Salisbury effigy.

[54] Pepin, 'Monumental Tombs,' Pl. 39, p. 112, n. 3.

[55] Prior and Gardner, *An Account*, p. 574, fig. 648.

[56] Ibid., p. 584, fig. 661 for the tomb of Walter de Gray. See also H.G. Ramm, 'The Tombs of Archbishops Walter de Gray (1216–1255),' *Archaeologia* 103(1971):103; and Andersson, *English*, p. 65.

[57] J. Baltrusaitis, 'Villes sur Arcatures,' *Urbanisme et Architecture, études écrites et publiées en l'honneur de Pierre Lavedan* (Paris, 1954), pp. 30, 36.

traying Saint Gregory.[58] Here and elsewhere, the baldachin portrays the Heavenly Jerusalem as a city of superposed little houses, a convention deriving ultimately from John 14:2, 'in my Father's house there are many mansions.' Moreover, these cityscapes, sometimes with gabled niches, are often suspended on slender shafts as in the Carrières-Saint-Denis relief in the Louvre (ca. 1150), indicating a convention of lightness and insubstantiality for the Heavenly Jerusalem (Fig. 26).[59] At Wells the multiplication and superposition of gabled niches on slender shafts as individual mansions for each member of the Church Triumphant must have been intended to evoke a similar heavenly cityscape by calling on conventions established in smaller-scale designs (Fig. 27).

If the gabled niches at Wells functioned as a conventional sign of heaven, the pedimental gable at the apex of the façade can be considered a more specific imitation of the type of reliquary that is shaped like a miniature church, here enlarged to crown the façade. The tiers of trefoil-headed niches, the pinnacles, and even the unusual stepped profile at Wells resemble the rear, gabled end of the Three Kings shrine (ca. 1181–1231) (Fig. 23). Similar English shrines probably once existed since the *vesica piscis*, framing the remains of Christ's image at Wells, occurs frequently in the shrine-like façades on English church seals, for example, that from Southwick Priory (ca. 1250). Designed by goldsmiths, for whom the more important commissions were shrines, these representations on seals probably resemble the lost English reliquaries that would have been the model for the apex gable on the façade at Wells.[60]

Already in the twelfth-century the gabled pediments of church transepts, gateways, and façades had been enriched with ornate motifs. When the niche, turret, and enamel-like pattern of reticulated masonry were used, for example, on the gateway of Bury St. Edmund's, their derivation from shrines with sacred connotations would have been

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[58] Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen*, vol. 1, Pl. 54.

[59] Balthrusaitis, 'Villes,' p. 38. I have developed the concept of lightness implicit in his description of the multiplication of the reduced house on slender shafts as a fantastic image that denies the realities of gravity and scale. Balthrusaitis, like Summerson, refers to Pompeian architectural fantasies. The ninth-century ivories can be linked with Pompeian wall painting through the apocalyptic frontispiece of the ninth-century Gospels of Saint-Médard de Soissons or through the *aediculae* framing figures in the dome at St. George at Salonika. See Friend, 'Portraits,' pp. 144–146.

[60] H.S. Kingsford, 'Some English Medieval Seal-Engravers,' *Archaeological Journal* 97(1940):178, Pl. 6, Southwick priory.

evident (Fig. 20).[61] Architectural turrets were always mimetic of small-scale imitations of monumental towers since the shrine is in form and function a reduced building. In turn, the full-scale building when it copies reduced architectural motifs, such as turrets, attempts to be a shrine. Nonetheless, Adam Lock went beyond previous imitations when he transformed the traditional triangular pediment at Wells into an unprecedented replica of a reliquary with its own stepped back gable, shingled roof, and towers in order to enshrine Christ and His angelic company. By imitating a shrine more literally in the central gable than in the abstracted gabled niches below, might Adam Lock have intended a more sacred 'shrine' for Christ?

In the medieval church the reliquary was the locus of the richest decoration because it housed the church's most sacred possession, the protective and miracle working relic which, like the Eucharist, established a spiritual link with heaven.[62] The façade of Wells is part of a general, although sporadic, medieval practice of enriching church architecture with shrine motifs to bestow sacred connotations. It also draws on the traditional identification of the cathedral with the Heavenly Jerusalem and particularly its façade with the gateway to heaven. But at Wells the gateway is developed into a frontispiece representing heaven's 'many mansions,' as gabled niches, in a sculptural program presenting the same message. When the gable appeared above the niche on the façade of Wells, its unexpected reproduction in an architectural context would have commanded special notice calling attention to its previous use and meaning as a sign of heaven long established at a smaller scale.

Because the gabled niches at Wells fit chronologically and formally in the middle of English tomb production at the beginning of the thirteenth century, it would seem that Adam Lock hired specialists to cut and assemble the niches at Wells who later returned to the production of tombs and other choir furnishings. These artisans probably viewed the gabled niches at Wells only as an enlarged version of their customary commissions, and the new designs, devised for Wells, they later used on tombs.[63] As part of continuous tomb production, the derivation

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[61] Bony, *French*, p. 530 n. 53.

[62] P. Geary, *Furta Sacra* (Princeton, 1978), pp. 28–29, 152.

[63] Effigies of knights as well as bishops on contemporaneous tombs resemble the statues on the façade; consequently, tomb sculptors may have worked on some of the statues. See, for example, the William Longespée effigy in Gardner, *Medieval Sculpture*, pp. 608–609, fig. 680. Andersson, *English*, pp. 46–49, 52 points out that the newer thirteenth-century chain mail with seams along the sleeves has its first monumental

of the niches on the façade at Wells and their meaning at a smaller
scale would probably have been recognized by an alert viewer of the
tombs.

The carving techniques used on the façade, such as the unusual
device of corbelling the trefoil out from the wall to create a spatial
frame for statues, were part of the practice of constructing shrines and
other choir furnishings. In fact, the method of overlaying the façade's
structural core of ashlar masonry with a decorative outer covering of
shafts and niches seems to have been learned from smaller-scale pro-
duction. This device was earlier used in the syncopated arrangement
of the aisle arcading of Saint Hugh's choir at Lincoln, where an outer
arcade is placed in front of the traditional arcade and its structural wall
(Fig. 25). As in the quatrefoils at Wells, the sculpture in the spandrels of
this arcading at Lincoln projects from the inner structural core into the
outer plane. In imitation of shrine construction, the inner core at both
Lincoln and Wells is overlaid with an outer covering to create a frame
for sculpture. These sculptural frames at Lincoln are strikingly similar
to the spandrels in the Anno shrine (ca. 1183) (Fig. 24). To create space
for the statues in front of the structural core in the upper zone of the
façade at Wells, Adam Lock created a still more complicated overlay
by combining the corbelled trefoil of the Anno shrine with the crockets
and shafts of the Lincoln pier (Figs. 11 and 18). Significantly, these tech-
niques of perforation and layering, used to create a dematerialized and
hence miraculous effect, came from small-scale production as did the
gable and the conventions of heavenly lightness.

Consequently, the architects of both Lincoln and Wells seem to have
appropriated not only motifs but also constructional devices directly
from shrines or from slightly larger choir furnishings. For example, the

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representation on the façade of Wells: the older horizontal seams are usual in repres-
entations of knights during the first part of the thirteenth century. William Longespée's
effigy at Salisbury resembles the knights at Wells; both are carved in the same style and
wear the new mail, carry kite-shaped shields, and have splayed feet supported by leaves
growing up from the slab. Because William died in 1226, the tomb could have been
made by the atelier of tomb carvers employed at Wells. Accurate fashion seems espe-
cially appropriate for a portrait-like effigy on a tomb. If not first used for that of Wil-
liam, it may have originated on an earlier tomb produced by the same atelier. Similar
chain mail is used later for effigies of knights at Shepton Mallet, at Wareham in Dorset,
at Sullingtron, and at Lewes in Sussex as well as on tombs at Abbey Dore, Hereford,
and Shrewsbury in Shropshire. Tudor-Craig, *One half*, p. 15 refers to the new chain mail
as mail linked down, instead of across the arms; she also points out that some of the
knights at Wells wear the older fashion of a longer surcoat with a deeply slashed hem.

stone pedestals that supported shrines were sometimes built in a fashion similar to the shrines. The later shrine-pedestal at St. Albans (ca. 1305) was constructed with a decorative overlay of niches and free-standing shafts around a hidden structural core.[64] The base for St. Edward the Confessor's shrine at Westminster of 1269 was constructed with niches, as was the earlier base at Wite of Whitchurch Canonicorum (ca. 1220).[65] In the design of the Salisbury choir screen (ca. 1260) a projecting trefoil was placed in front of a line of crockets as on the buttresses at Wells (Fig. 47). Since the unusual construction of the façade at Wells strongly suggests these later choir furnishings, it is likely that now lost, earlier English shrine bases and choir screens, using similar forms to overlay a structural core, were the model for Wells.

Complex stereometry would have been necessary at Wells to make forms, such as the trefoils covering the niches, project from the inner core of the façade. The meticulous assemblage of stones on the façade indicates elaborate prefabrication in the workshop instead of usual ashlar construction on the site. This method of construction would have required a specialized labor force accustomed to the intricate carving required in shrine pedestals, tombs, and choir screens. Probably, the façade workshop consisted of a significantly greater number of carvers of the fine work of motifs than plain ashlar masons. Possibly, these carvers were Purbeck trained artists who had previously worked on tombs; if so, Bishop Jocelin might have acquired them from the king's workshop.[66] Regardless, only because of such well-established teams specializing in choir furnishings and using advanced methods of processing and finishing masonry work of a new kind, could Adam Lock have assembled the many specialists needed for the façade at Wells.

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[64] J. Bony, *The English Decorated Style* (Oxford, 1979), p. 20, Pl. 110 believes the shrine was begun ca. 1305.

[65] J.G. O'Neilly and L.E. Tanner, 'The Shrine of Saint Edward the Confessor,' *Archaeologia* 100(1966):152; and Coldstream, 'Decorated,' 16, 28. In the stained glass at Canterbury Becket's shrine is shown supported on pedestals, but it is represented with niche-like recesses in fifteenth-century stained glass at the church of Nettlestead, Kent, as it is in a drawing in the British Library, MS Cotton Tib. E. viii, f. 269. See below, n. 80 for bibliography on Becket's shrine.

[66] Jean Bony (personal communication). The chapter house at York was constructed later in a similar way with only a few blocks required for the elaborate design of a single bay, and, as at Wells, church furniture technology was enlarged to architectural scale.

The Quatrefoil

Episcopal commissions in which the quatrefoil was first transposed from choir furnishings to the interior walls of churches reveal more precisely such a site of production and the sociality of this English practice. Documentation of individuals responsible for architectural enrichment with motifs from choir furnishings is rare during the Middle Ages. The artisan, himself, may have sometimes initiated the transference of a motif from a shrine to larger choir furnishings, such as tombs and choir screens, especially those made of the same precious materials as shrines. Between 1060 and 1069 the Bishop of York built a choir screen at Beverley of bronze, silver, and gold.[67] The tomb of Henri I, Count of Champagne (d. 1180), consisted of a wood frame covered with enamel plaques and gilded bronze ornaments.[68] Transposition of motifs from a metal shrine to metal tombs and screens could occur easily during production in the same workshop. Occasionally screens, such as those at Hildesheim (ca. 1186) and Halberstadt (ca. 1190), were made of stucco which, when malleable, facilitated the transmission of the fluid designs of metalwork.[69] Often transferences occurred because artisans, such as Theophilus or Master Hugo at Bury Saint Edmund's during the twelfth century, worked in several media.[70] At the beginning of the thirteenth century in Italy the Cosmati transferred the decorative patterns of church furnishings to cloisters and façades, such as Civita Cas-

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[67] W.H. Hope, 'The Twelfth Century Pulpitum or Rood Screen Formerly in the Cathedral Church of Ely,' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 21(1916–1917):28–29.

[68] A.F. Arnaud, *Voyage archéologique et pittoresque dans la département de l'Aube et dans l'Ancien diocèse de Troyes* (Troyes, 1837). Henry I, who was known as Henri le Large, died in 1180. His tomb, which existed until the French Revolution, was originally located in the church of Saint Etienne at Troyes. Some enamel pieces from the tomb that may indicate Lorraine or Rhenish influence are now in the Museum of Troyes. Arnaud published a drawing of the tomb before its destruction, made by the architect Mouillefarine. An engraving was made by Gaucherel and published by A. Didron, *Annales Archéologiques* (Paris, 1860), vol. 20, pp. 80, 86. The tomb is described as a 6'×2' cage of oak, covered with copper foliage and enamel plaques; the columns of the arcading and the angels in the spandrels were of gilded bronze. Inside this frame was the effigy of Henry I.

[69] H. Beenken, 'Shreine und Schränken.' *Jarbuch für Kuntswissenschaft* 19(1926):87–91.

[70] C.R. Dodwell, ed. *Theophilus De Diversis Artibus* (London, 1961). Theophilus was chiefly interested in metalwork, but he also worked in stained glass, wall-painting, and manuscript illumination. Master Hugo at Bury Saint Edmund's worked on manuscripts, but he was also known to have made the bronze doors and a crucifix for the church. See T.S.R. Boase, *English Art, 1100–1216* (Oxford, 1953), pp. 114, 162.

tellana (ca. 1210), because their practice also included making tombs, pulpits, and screens with the same materials, in this case porphyry and mosaics.[71] On the other hand, architectural reproduction of shrine motifs can also be associated with influential patrons. For instance, connections between patrons, such as Bishop Roger of Salisbury with his nephews, Alexander at Lincoln and Nigel at Ely, spread the production of shrine-influenced architecture during the early twelfth century. The fragments that remain from Bishop Roger's church at Old Sarum and from related churches, such as Lullington in Somerset and Roscrea in Ireland, are decorated with metal-like bosses and enamel-like diapering found on the gable of the Lincoln façade or on the trefoiled door at Ely.[72] Yet little is known about the circumstances surrounding these transfers.

Fortunately the English episcopal practice of decorating with quatrefoils during the first half of the thirteenth century offers a well-documented instance of the type of patronage behind this recurring phenomenon. Moreover, this circle of *curiales-bishops* and their *caementarii*, to which Jocelin and Adam Lock belonged, suggests a sociality of production in which sophisticated reproduction of signs could develop. Within this circle Adam Lock could have become acquainted with the up-to-date tomb specialists, suggested by the façade's gabled niches.[73] Here the politics of canonization and translation of saints can be seen to merge with the production of choir furnishings in a network of interactive relationships in which the façade was designed. By tracing the use of the quatrefoil and the production of new retrochoirs for English saints we can establish contact with this social practice.

Investigation of the gabled niche depended heavily on continental sources because few English shrines remain, but in the case of the quatrefoil an extensive and particularly English use of this motif for seals and choir furnishings can be recovered previous to its appearance on the façade of Wells.[74] As in the case of the superposed gabled niche,

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[71] E. Hutton, *The Cosmati* (London, 1950), p. 9.

[72] R.A. Stalley, 'A Twelfth Century Patron of Architecture: A Study of the Buildings Erected by Roger, bishop of Salisbury,' *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 34(1971):62–83. Roger's patronage is examined, but the relationship of metalwork to the buildings is not mentioned.

[73] See above, p. 101.

[74] Baltrusaitis, *Fantastique*, p. 93, fig. 40. The quatrefoil in medieval metalwork and textiles derives originally from the Orient and was transmitted to the West through Islamic or Carolingian contacts with ancient Mediterranean sources. Baltrusaitis compares the quatrefoils at Amiens with Islamic textiles.

Adam Lock seems to have borrowed the quatrefoil from an English instead of from a French source. His design for Wells seems to predate the use of the quatrefoil at Amiens as the dominant motif on the plinth of a façade. Amiens' tapestry-like quatrefoils with embossed reliefs differ completely from the horizontal band of perforated quatrefoils with recessed sculpture at Wells (Figs. 28 and 29).[75] More similar to Wells are the quatrefoils used in a horizontal band above trefoil-headed arcading in the retrochoir at Winchester (ca. 1201–1210), the earliest known English architectural use of the quatrefoil. At Winchester it was probably adopted directly from choir furnishings (Fig. 30).[76] As early as the mid twelfth century, quatrefoils banded a choir screen at Ely Cathedral, now destroyed but known from eighteenth-century drawings (Fig. 42).[77] Mosan-influenced sculptural fragments with quatrefoils found at Canterbury Cathedral probably decorated a similar, late twelfth-century screen (Fig. 31).[78] Such a choir screen seems to have been imitated in the arcading of the retrochoir at Winchester, perhaps because it was intended to house the shrine of Saint Swithun.[79]

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[75] Baumann, 'Wells,' p. 80 recognized that the quatrefoils at Amiens were not the source for Wells because they are flat and not sunk into the wall. Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*, p. 460 dates the façade of Amiens 1220–1235. A. Erlande-Brandenberg, 'Le septième colloque international de la société française d'archéologie, (1er et 2 octobre 1974) la façade de la cathédrale d'Amiens,' *Bulletin monumental* 135(1977):285 has dated the beginning of work to 1236. Murray, *Amiens*, pp. 95, 97 most recently dates the beginning of work on the façade and its sculpture around 1225.

[76] N. Pevsner, 'A Note on the East End of Winchester Cathedral,' *The Archaeological Journal* 116(1959):133–135; and idem, 'The East End,' pp. 7–10 believes that Godfrey de Lucy began the retrochoir while he was bishop (1189–1204) but that it was not completed until the second third of the thirteenth century. P. Draper, 'Winchester,' pp. 6–7 states that some of the 'architectural features look noticeably later than 1204.' It is possible that the level of the quatrefoils was not reached until after 1205 when Peter des Roches had become bishop. Dowel holes within the quatrefoils indicate that sculpture was once affixed.

[77] Hope, 'Quire Screens,' pp. 19–24, 51–55. The screen was destroyed by James Essex in 1770, but sketches by Essex (now in the British Museum) made it possible for Hope to reconstruct the screen.

[78] G. Zarnecki, 'The Faussett Pavilion,' *Archaeologia Cantiana* 66(1954):8–14 believed the reliefs were façade decoration. Additional pieces discovered in the 1960s and 1970s suggest a choir-screen origin, as I shall confirm in a future article.

[79] Draper, 'Winchester,' pp. 9, 15; P. Tudor-Craig, 'A Recently Discovered Purbeck Marble Sculptured Screen of the Thirteenth Century and the Shrine of St Swithun,' *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1980, vol. 6, (London, 1983), pp. 64, 69, 71; Draper and Morris, 'The Development,' pp. 178–182; and Coldstream, 'Decorated,' pp. 20–21. Coldstream dates the shrine base of St. Swithun, decorated with sexfoil roundels and niches, around 1275, while Tudor-Craig dates it ca. 1260. There is no

The extensive practice of using the quatrefoil on English tombs that clearly imitate shrines suggests that the quatrefoil was originally a shrine-motif before it was transferred to other choir furnishings. Quatrefoils appear on Mosan shrines and probably often decorated now lost English shrines; Becket's shrine is so depicted in the stained glass at Canterbury around 1220 (Fig. 37).[80] Hollowed-out lobed motifs, particularly quatrefoils, decorate the shrine-like façades on English church seals between 1180 and 1250, as for example, the Canterbury seals of 1220 and 1233 and the Faversham Abbey seal of ca. 1255 (Figs. 33, 34, 35, and 36).[81] These seal façades may well imitate contemporaneous English shrines: their designers at least used the same metalwork techniques, and documents confirm that seals and shrines were commonly produced by the same goldsmiths.[82] Consequently, perforated quatrefoils, such as those on the second seal of Saint Augustine's Canterbury (ca. 1199), may have been common on lost English shrines (Fig. 32).

It is likely that motifs, such as the gable and the quatrefoil, were frequently transposed from metal reliquaries to stone tombs although too many choir furnishings have been destroyed to re-construct a chronolo-

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evidence that the shrine was translated to the retrochoir during the thirteenth century; it may have remained behind the high altar until 1538. Still it seems probable that the retrochoir was intended to accommodate pilgrims as a rich and spacious frame for the shrine since the western piers of the retrochoir indicate that the retrochoir was meant to open into the choir of the Norman church, though for some reason this arrangement was not completed. For the same reasons the translation of the shrine to the center of the retrochoir, may not have been carried out. On the other hand, even if the shrine originally was to have been adjacent to the east side of the high altar, it would have been framed, when viewed from the east, by the ornate arcading of the retrochoir, if the opening between choir and retrochoir was completed as designed.

[80] For continental examples of the quatrefoil, see O. Falke and H. Frauberger, *Deutsche Schmelzarbeiten des Mittelalters* (Frankfurt am Main, 1904), Pls. 104, 54, 25, 43, 80, 77. See also M. Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral* (Princeton, 1977), pp. 33–35, fig. 164 for the stained glass window from the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury depicting Becket's shrine. Although the stained glass window at Canterbury was probably fabricated before the translation in 1220, it should represent the shrine which also had to be designed significantly before the translation. The quatrefoil pattern on the shrine is similar to the lead frames in the stained glass window. Cf. Caviness, Appendix, fig. 2, n. III with fig. 164. For a full history of Becket's shrine see Coldstream, 'Decorated,' pp. 28–29.

[81] For these seals, see Kingsford, '"Seal" Engravers,' pp. 155–181.

[82] Ibid., p. 178; and O'Neilly and Tanner, 'The Shrine of Saint Edward,' p. 152. O'Neilly and Tanner also reproduce the drawing of the wooden cover and stone base of this later shrine decorated with quatrefoils, which is found in Cotton MS. Tib. E viii f. 269.

gically exact sequence of transpositions. The tomb performs the same
function as the shrine, but it is larger in scale, less precious in mater-
ial, and in a certain sense less sacred in meaning. Once in the realm
of choir furnishings, a motif could be transferred easily to other stone
structures. The first step in such a practice would be to use a motif on
the side of a tomb just as it was on the side of a shrine: the quatrefoils
that decorated the side of Becket's shrine were similar to those on the
sides of what was originally the tomb of Henry the Marshall at Exeter
(d. 1206) (Figs. 37, 38, and 39).[83] The next step would be to transpose
the quatrefoil from the side of a tomb to that of a choir screen: the
quatrefoils on Henry the Marshall's tomb resemble those from the now
destroyed Canterbury choir screen (ca. 1180) (Figs. 31 and 38). Finally,
transposition of a band of quatrefoils from a stone screen enclosing
the choir to the adjacent structural walls of the church completes the
sequence of transmission from furnishings to interior architecture and
arrives at the displacement of the quatrefoil from a screen, such as that
of Canterbury, to the walls of a retrochoir, such as Winchester (Fig. 30).
The master mason at Wells would have viewed the architectural use of
this motif at Winchester within the context of the larger English prac-
tice of decorating choir furnishings with quatrefoils.

A look at one English center where such production occurred doc-
uments this practice. Canterbury was a particularly important center
for quatrefoil production between 1175 and 1220. At Canterbury the
quatrefoil was not only used to decorate church seals, Becket's shrine,
and a choir screen but also was used in the frames for the stained glass
windows, in the mosaic pavement of the Trinity Chapel, and on Hubert
Walter's tomb (d. 1205). Hubert Walter's tomb most clearly imitates
shrines (Fig. 40).[84] As in the Anno shrine (ca. 1183), the sides of this

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[83] The effigy of Henry the Marshall (d. 1206) is placed on top of a later thirteenth-
century tomb chest with an elaborate pattern of quatrefoils and lozenges (Pl. 36).
L.J. Lloyd, 'The Tomb of Bishop Marshall,' *Friends of Exeter Cathedral* 34(1964):18 ob-
served that two slabs of Purbeck marble found in 1920, are from the original bishop's
tomb (Pl. 35). One of the slabs has three quatrefoils; in the center is Christ flanked by
Peter and Paul. The other has roundel-framed quatrefoils with foliage ornament. Both
damaged plaques are earlier in date than the present chest and match stylistically the
effigy. Furthermore, the effigy is 6' 10" and the slabs are about 6' 9" while the present
base is 7' 1" (Measurements D. Malone).

[84] Andersson, *English*, p. 56. The tomb of Gilbert of Glanville (d. 1216) in Rochester
Cathedral has a lid decorated with quatrefoils containing heads similar to those on the
tomb of Hubert Walter. The most recent documentation of Hubert's tomb is found in
Stratford, Tudor-Craig, and Muthersius, 'Archbishop Hubert Walter's Tomb,' p. 74.

tomb are decorated with trefoil-headed arcading, and the shafts of the arcade are placed in front of vertical rows of crocket-like foliage (Fig. 24). Even the shape and decoration of its cover with carved heads projecting from quatrefoils recalls Mosan shrines, such as the early twelfth-century Mangold shrine or the early thirteenth-century shrine of Charles the Great at Aachen.[85] The pattern framing the quatrefoils is also found on the mid twelfth-century Alton Towers triptych.[86] But most strikingly similar and closest in production to Hubert Walter's tomb are the three-dimensional heads within perforated quatrefoils on the second seal (ca. 1199) of Saint Augustine's Canterbury (Fig. 32).[87]

Nonetheless, the treatment of the quatrefoils at Wells is still more similar to the seal of Saint Augustine's Canterbury than is Hubert Walter's tomb, revealing the boldness of Adam Lock's transposition. At Wells even the hollowed technique of metalwork is imitated.[88] Adam Lock went far beyond earlier transpositions of metalwork motifs to stone when he punched-out the corners of the buttresses at Wells with quatrefoils, a method of voiding a structural corner used earlier on the Anno shrine where a shield-shaped motif placed on a diagonal

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[85] Beenken, 'Shreine,' p. 74.

[86] Similar patterns framing quatrefoils can be found in the lead frames of the stained glass windows at Canterbury. See Caviness, *The Early Stained Glass*, Appendix, fig. 2. Trinity Chapel ambulatory window n: VI, n: III. Still the Alton Towers triptych most closely resembles the pattern on the tomb. The triptych pattern can also be found in stained glass frames, such as those at Chalons-sur-Marne where the frames were probably copied from shrines.

[87] F. Wormald, 'The English Seal as a Measure of Its Time,' *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975), p. 593. An inscription on the obverse dates the seal to the tenth year of the reign of King Richard, i.e, between 3 September 1198 and 6 April 1199. In his catalogue of seals in the British Museum Birch has given the date incorrectly as 1189. Wormald also notes that the heads of the monks in the quatrefoils recall the sculptural fragments found at Canterbury. These heads, however, stylistically seem closer to the tomb of Hubert Walter. Baumann, 'Wells,' p. 81 recognized that this seal suggested a metalwork source for the motifs on the tomb of Hubert Walter. See also Stratford, Tudor-Craig, and Muthersius, 'Archbishop Hubert Walter's,' pp. 75, 77–78. For Tudor-Craig the heads on Hubert Walter's tomb represent all the estates of society, refering to the guardianship of the Church Militant.

[88] Baumann, 'Wells,' p. 84 briefly mentions that the cut-out techniques of shrines stand behind the perforated treatment of the architecture at Wells. He also notes similarities between the façade and metalwork that seem co-incidental, for example, the triple shafts on the angles of the buttress. In this case, the tradition of lancet and angle shafts on buttresses at Lincoln and Canterbury might provide ample architectural precedent. Baumann, however, did not develop these observations, stating that no conclusions can be drawn from the similarities with Mosan metalwork because English metalwork is virtually unknown.

across the corner eliminates the right-angled junction of the sides of the shrine. A trefoil-headed arcade similarly cuts across the corners on the tomb of William Longespée (d. 1226), earl of Salisbury (Fig. 41). Only at Lincoln had a master mason experimented in the same way with the perforated effects of metalwork. In Saint Hugh's choir (ca. 1192), not only did the spandrel ornament in the aisle arcading replicate the shield-shaped spandrels of the Anno shrine, but the entire thickness of the triforium and clerestory wall was also perforated with quatrefoils in imitation of the punched-work on shrines, (Figs. 18 and 25). At Lincoln even the crockets perforating the edges of the adjacent piers in the east transept (ca. 1194), which were later copied by Adam Lock at Wells, seem inspired by choir furnishings. In fact, the line of crockets behind the shafts in the Lincoln pier may have been suggested by the vertical lines of foliage behind shafts on shrines, such as those on Hubert Walter's tomb at Canterbury (Figs. 18 and 40). Perforating the stone mass of a pier in this way is nearly as daring as voiding the corner of a buttress with a hollow quatrefoil; both techniques are unique in architecture, and both seem more suited to the more malleable medium of metalwork. The master mason of St. Hugh's choir at Lincoln, hypothetically Geoffrey de Noiers who may have been trained at Canterbury, seems to have initiated the earliest dramatic transposition, e.g., the Lincoln pier. Adam Lock obviously admired Geoffrey's work since we have seen he used Lincoln architectural forms in the north porch at Wells, as well as on the façade.[89] The designs of both these architects are unusually sophisticated in comparison to other related examples of contemporary shrine-influenced architecture, such as the retrochoir at Winchester, the choir and nave chapels at Chichester, or the retrochoir of the Nine Altars at Durham.

Given his sophistication in design, Adam Lock seems clever enough to have conceived the transposition of motifs as signs of meaning at Wells. Nonetheless, Bishop Jocelin, as patron, may also have been involved in the creation of the architectural semiology of the façade since he was part of the episcopal circle that commissioned these choir furnishings decorated with quatrefoils and an associate of Elias of Dereham.

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[89] Malone, 'West English,' p. 221.

Elias of Dereham and the Bishops

The case history of Master Elias of Dereham documents the kind of involvement bishops and members of chapter had at least at some time in commissioning various kinds of works, and it illustrates the degree to which a secular canon could be involved in artistic projects. Elias helped to design Becket's shrine and, as executor of Hubert Walter's will, was possibly in charge of the archbishop's tomb and burial. Moreover, documentation of Elias' associates establishes a close network of ecclesiastical patrons, including Jocelin, who favored the transposition of the quatrefoil from choir furnishings to architecture.

Luckily many records remain concerning Master Elias of Dereham. He is referred to in sixty or more documents, usually as a witness to various legal transactions and as an executor of the wills of prominent English bishops, but he is also mentioned as 'making' a liturgical vessel, a shrine, a tomb, and also as supervising architectural construction. Elias began his career as a steward of Hubert Walter around 1188.[90] Hubert became bishop of Salisbury in 1189; at this time Elias may have received the Salisbury canonry, although 1220 is the earliest he can be documented as a canon with prebends at Salisbury.[91] Matthew Paris cites Elias, along with William of Colchester, the well-known painter and sculptor of St. Albans, as two of the *incomparabiles artifices magistri* who were responsible for making, or having made, *facio*, the shrine of Saint Thomas Becket at Canterbury in 1220 (Fig. 37).[92] In 1224 Elias 'made' a cup, or *pyxis*, for the reservation of the Eucharist over the

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[90] Thompson, 'Master Elias,' pp. 2–3. Elias can be connected with Hubert Walter first in 1188, when they are both mentioned in one version of the foundation charter of a Premonstratensian abbey. In 1205 Elias appeared as one of the executors of Hubert Walter's will. Hamilton Thompson thought it likely that Elias was Hubert's steward but could not find evidence for this. C.R. Cheney, *Hubert Walter* (London, 1967), p. 60, n. 19 identified Elias as steward in Lambeth Palace Library, MS. 1212, p. 92. According to Young, *Hubert*, p. 60 Elias' name is found on a number of Hubert's *acta*, and he was one of the executors of Hubert's will and custodian of the vacant archbishopric from 1205 to 1207 during the dispute over election of a successor. He continued as steward for Stephen Langton, executing the archbishop's will in 1228. Two years later he executed the wills of Langton's successor, of Richard Poore in 1237, and of Peter des Roches in 1238. See also Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 160, 216.

[91] Ibid.

[92] The text referring to Elias and to Becket's shrine is found in the following sources: Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, no. 44, vol. 2, p. 242; and *Chronica Majora*, no. 57, vol. 3, p. 59. The texts are reprinted in Lehmann-Brockhaus, *Lateinische*, vol. 1, p. 242.

high altar at Salisbury.[93] In 1238 Elias 'made' a tomb for Henry III's sister, Joan Queen of Scotland, to be delivered for her entombment at Tarrant, the Cistercian nunnery in Wiltshire.[94] In 1225 and 1237 he ordered timber for building the church at Salisbury; between 1233 and 1236 he supervised and ordered building materials for Henry III's castles at Winchester and Clarendon.[95]

The nature of this evidence suggests that Elias helped design objects and buildings as patron and ordinator. It is significant that the documents that connect him with 'making,' or 'having something made,' are concerned with objects of metal, choir furnishings, and the fabric of Salisbury Cathedral, whose façade is designed with quatrefoil-patterning related to the façade of Wells (Fig. 54).[96] All three of the small-scale objects with which Elias can be directly associated as 'making' are lost. We have only the depiction of Becket's shrine with quatrefoils in the stained glass at Canterbury (Fig. 37).

Nonetheless, documentation of his legal activities connects Elias with many of the clerics who commissioned works in which quatrefoils or similar metalwork motifs appear.[97] Since Elias, as one of Hubert Wal-

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[93] For the Salisbury cup, see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Liberate Rolls, 1240–1245*, vol. 2, p. 22.

[94] For the reference to Joan's tomb, see Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Liberate Rolls, 1226–1240*, vol. 1, p. 316.

[95] Thompson, 'Master Elias,' pp. 14–17.

[96] Ibid., p. 20. Although the façade was probably not built until ca. 1260, it is possible that it was designed before Elias died in 1245.

[97] Ibid., pp. 3, 14–17, 28. The number of documents that associate Elias of Dereham with artistic projects are relatively few compared with the large number citing him as a cleric administering legal affairs. He does not seem to have been an architectural designer in the sense of *caementarius*, as was Adam Lock. The use of the word *facio* in the case of the tomb and the cup could mean 'he made' or 'he had made.' Since Matthew Paris does not refer to him in his shorter edition of the translation of Becket's shrine, it seems clear that William of Colchester, who is known from other documents as a painter and sculptor, was the primary artist who made the shrine. According to Thompson, the title *magister*, usually prefixed to Elias' name, probably indicates nothing more than a university degree and *artifex* can refer to someone interested in art, but not an artist by profession. Documents linking him with architectural projects cast him mainly as an administrator and occur during the last twenty years of his life. He is documented keeper of the fabric at Salisbury only by 1224–1225. See V. Jansen, 'Salisbury Cathedral and the Episcopal Style in the Early 13th Century,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral*, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1991, vol. 17 (London, 1996), pp. 38–39 n. 33. Still Blum, *Salisbury*, pp. 11–12, 272–274 concludes after reviewing not only Thompson but also the following studies on Elias that 'Elias role as *designator* seems both possible and probable.' Harvey, *Architects*, pp. 83–84; and idem, 'The Education of the Medieval Architect,' *Journal of*

ter's executors, became keeper of the vacant see of Canterbury in 1205, he may have been responsible for the production of Hubert's tomb.[98] Likewise, documented associations with Elias might explain the use of the quatrefoil band in the retrochoir at Winchester; in 1206 Elias, for example, performed a financial transaction for Peter des Roches, who had been bishop of Winchester since 1205 (Fig. 30).[99] Elias also knew well Richard Poore, who was bishop of Chichester between 1215 and 1217; they are associated in documents in 1224, 1229, and 1235, but because of their mutual association with Salisbury, they were certainly acquainted earlier.[100] At Chichester quatrefoils above arcading create a reredos for altars in the nave chapels.[101] Richard became bishop of Durham in 1228 and there made preparations for the Chapel of the Nine Altars where a quatrefoil band similar to the one at Winchester decorates the east wall.[102] And to bring the investigation to the façade of Wells, Elias was frequently with Bishop Jocelin. According to Thompson, 'Elias connection with Wells extended over the whole of the thirty-six years of Jocelin's episcopate and lasted a few years longer'; 1208 is Elias' first dated connection with Wells, in 1212 Elias was in France with Jocelin, and by 1222 Elias was 'without doubt a member of the chapter at Wells.'[103] Most important of the many charters that men-

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the *Royal Institute of British Architects* 52,3(1945):230–234 believed that Elias was an 'amateur artist of some distinction,' but that his responsibilities as civil servant and churchman left him only enough time to 'dabble in architecture.' In addition to the citations given by Harvey, the following studies support Elias's claim as 'architect' or 'designer' (but not as *magister cementarius*): J.C. Russell, 'The Many-sided Career of Master Elias of Dereham,' *Speculum* 5(1930):378–387; N. Pevsner, 'Terms of Architectural Planning in the Middle Ages,' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 5(1942):232–237; and idem, 'The Term "Architect" in the Middle Ages,' *Speculum* 17/4(1942):549–562. Pevsner believed that Elias' association with Salisbury was that of *designator*, not a purely business one. Finally, also note S. Whittingham, *A Thirteenth-Century Portrait Gallery at Salisbury Cathedral* (pamphlet), Friends of Salisbury Cathedral Publication (Salisbury, 1970), pp. 13–15, 25–26: Appendix A: 'Works with which Elias of Dereham was connected.'

[98] Young, *Hubert*, p. 62; and Thompson, 'Master Elias,' p. 3.

[99] Thompson, 'Master Elias,' p. 4.

[100] Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. xcviii.

[101] Thompson, 'Master Elias,' p. 3, pp. 8, 9, 12. Foiled motifs are also used in the triforium of the retrochoir at Chichester; they may be a later insertion after the work was finished around 1206.

[102] Ibid., p. 12; Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. 223; and J.A. Bennet, 'The Architect of Salisbury Cathedral,' *Archaeological Journal* 44(1887):370. As bishop of Durham (1228 and 1237), Poore made preparations for work begun in 1242 in the Chapel of the Nine Altars.

[103] Thompson, 'Master Elias,' pp. 4–5. Few of the charters which might supply an initial date for connecting Elias with Wells are dated. In 1208 (the first dated charter)

tion Elias with Jocelin is a charter of 1229 that describes Elias, by then steward of Bishop Jocelin, witnessing a property deed made by Thomas Lock, the son of the late Adam Lock.[104] Therefore, Adam Lock, as well as Bishop Jocelin, can be associated with the circle of Elias.

In sum, the quatrefoil was used by the following group of ecclesiastics who can be documented as associates of Elias of Dereham: Jocelin of Wells, Hubert Walter, Peter des Roches, and Richard Poore. Moreover, Gilbert of Glanville, bishop of Rochester (d. 1216), whose tomb is very similar to Hubert Walter's, was in France with Elias, Jocelin, and Hugh of Wells.[105] Other associates of Jocelin also commissioned additional metalwork motifs. His brother, Hugh (bishop of Lincoln 1209–1235), was responsible for completing the choir at Lincoln with its metalwork design, which had been begun by the former Bishop Hugh of Avalon.[106] Henry the Marshall was Jocelin's neighbor at Exeter and his colleague in King John's court.[107] Walter de Gray, whose tomb at York copies motifs from the façade of Wells, participated in Jocelin's election as bishop.[108] Outside this clerical circle, William Longespée (d. 1226) was also associated with Jocelin and the other clerics advising Henry III.[109] Not only is William's tomb base decorated with similar trefoils, but his effigy also closely resembles statues of knights on the façade of Wells.[110]

Many of these ecclesiastics responsible for works decorated with quatrefoils were high-ranking *curiales*. According to Young, 'The center

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both Jocelin and Elias are mentioned with the king at Charterhouse in Somerset attesting a charter. See also Church, *Chapters*, pp. 162, 182–183, 222, 395–396 for references to Elias as witness for steward of Jocelin in 1212, 1222, 1229, 1234, and 1236.

[104] Thompson, 'Master Elias,' p. 5 refers only to the undated charter of this transaction which mentions Elias. See also Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of the Manuscripts*, vol. 1, p. 36, and Church, *Chapters*, p. 222. The same agreement is recorded and dated September 1229 in Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Calendar of Wells*, vol. 2, pp. 550–552. Here Elias is omitted. Thomas Noreis, the master mason who succeeded Adam Lock, is mentioned as a witness in both versions of the charter.

[105] Thompson, 'Master Elias,', p. 60, and Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 314. Gilbert, bishop of Rochester, was a chaplain of Archbishop Hubert.

[106] Harvey, *Architects*, p. 239. A contemporary source states 'let the work of Hugh the first be finished under Hugh the second.'

[107] Young, *Hubert*, p. 27. Henry Marshall was brother of William Marshall who succeeded Hubert Walter as Dean of York.

[108] Church, *Chapters*, p. 169.

[109] Ibid., p. 209. They were not only associated at events at Salisbury but also in the politics around Henry III. William was at the foundation of the choir in 1220. See Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. 13. Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 347 for events such as Bedford in which the Earl of Salisbury, Falkes, and Jocelin were involved.

[110] Andersson, *English*, p. 48. See above, p. 103 n. 63.

of the administrative activities under the authority of the justiciar was the Exchequer, but the work done there was as much judicial as financial in nature … Normally, Hubert Walter presided; generally present were Gilbert Glanvill, bishop of Rochester, and Richard fitz Nigel, bishop of London; sometimes present were Godfrey Lucy, bishop of Winchester, and Herbert le Poore, bishop of Salisbury.'[111] This was the administrative hierarchy around 1205; by 1223 it would have centered on Jocelin and Richard Poore.[112]

These ecclesiastics of the king's *camera* commissioned choir furnishings and retrochoirs for the translation of saints, as at Canterbury and Winchester; they sometimes ordered their own tombs and coordinated the tombs with the décor of new retrochoirs. In anticipation of the design that he had commissioned for Becket's shrine, Elias of Dereham decorated Hubert Walter's tomb with quatrefoils and placed it in the ambulatory of the Trinity Chapel flanking the site prepared for the shrine (Fig. 40).[113] Quatrefoils were also used for the windows of the ambulatory and for the mosaic pavement of the Trinity Chapel. Later, as archbishop of York, Walter de Gray not only ordered his own tomb but also commissioned to house it the unusually large central bay in the south transept at York.[114]

Furthermore, bishops, such as Hubert Walter, were in charge of the translations as well as the canonizations of saints. Every bishop in England probably convened for these spectacles, and because the spectacles were frequent, ideas associated with them spread rapidly. Edward the Confessor had been canonized in 1163, but it seems to

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[111] Young, *Hubert*, pp. 112–113.

[112] See Chapter 6, p. 205.

[113] M. Caviness, 'A Lost Cycle of Canterbury Paintings,' *Antiquaries Journal* 54(1974):70.

[114] Pepin, Monumental Tombs, pp. 82–84. Walter de Gray was also an associate of Hubert Walter. According to Coldstream, 'Decorated,' p. 17 the shrine base of St. Etheldreda in Ely was executed well before 1252, at the same time and in the same style as the choir for which it was intended. The foliage slightly resembles the Wells west front. Jocelin's own effigy and tomb were described in 1616 by Francis Godwin: 'He lies buried in the middle of the quire which he built, laid in a marble tomb, formerly adorned with his image (or effigy) in brass'; Leland adds that his tomb was high, '*tumba alta*.' It is not known whether it was a flat brass or a three dimensional bronze effigy. See Craig, *Wells Sculpture*, p. 123. All the metalwork at Wells was melted later to pay for fabric repairs. It would be interesting to know whether Jocelin, like Walter de Gray, commissioned his own tomb or planned his own burial, especially since he was buried next to the high altar at Wells in the place of honor surrounded by the effigies of the Saxon bishops. See Chapter 6, p. 190.

have been the canonization of Saint Thomas in 1174 that set off the English series at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[115] Saint Gilbert of Sempringham was canonized in 1202; Saint Wulfstan of Worcester in 1203; Saint Hugh of Lincoln in 1220; Saint William of York in 1226, and Saint Lawrence O' Toole in 1226.[116] In fact, the number of canonizations in England may indicate special zeal at that time on the part of the bishops since it was their responsibility to establish proofs of sanctity for presentation to the Pope.

Between 1178 and 1226 there were also numerous translations of saints in England. Saint Amphibalus was translated at St. Albans in 1178 and 1186, Saint Friedeswide at Oxford in 1180, Saint Felix, Saint Ethelred, Saint Ethelbert at Ramsey in 1192, Saint Guthlac at Crowland, Saint John at Beverley in 1193, Saint Oswin at Tynemouth about the same time, Saint Edmund at Bury St. Edmund's in 1198, Saint Swithun at Winchester after 1202, Saint Wulfstan of Worcester in 1203.[117] The translation of St. Thomas at Canterbury in 1220 can be associated directly with the translation of the relics of St. Augustine at Canterbury in 1221, as principal rival to Christ Church, and with Langton's translation of the relics of St. Mildrith and St Eadburg at St. Gregory's priory Canterbury in 1224.[118] In the same year St. Wilfrid was translated at Ripon. The enthusiasm for such translations is evident in the case of Dorchester Abbey. In 1223 a vision had inspired the canons of Dorchester Abbey to locate the tomb of a bishop identified as St. Birinus, apostle to the West Saxons and founder of the pre-Conquest see of Dorchester. Although numerous miraculous cures followed, Langton delayed the translation because Peter des Roches' monastic convent in Winchester claimed Birinus had been moved to Winchester around 700 AD. Nonetheless, the canons at Dorchester erected a shrine to house the bishop's remains.[119]

Finally, this interest in translations can be associated with Wells and its bishop, Jocelin of Bath. Osmund at Salisbury was translated in 1226 along with Bishops Roger and Jocelin of Salisbury, and two

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[115] E.W. Kemp, *Canonization and Authority in the Western Church* (Oxford, 1948), pp. 86–88, 176; and Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, pp. 85, 144–145.

[116] Kemp, *Canonization*, pp. 104, 112, 163. Canonization had always been seen by the Church Fathers as the greatest good since it increased faith and devotion.

[117] Brieger, *English Art*, p. 7.

[118] Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 243–245, and Lehmann-Brochaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 1, p. 245.

[119] Vincent, *Peter*, p. 244.

years later Richard Poore asked Bishop Jocelin of Bath to oversee the canonization of Osmund.[120] Jocelin's translation of the Saxon bishops at Wells between 1207 and 1220 seems related to this English practice, as does the façade at Wells.[121] Moreover, some of these saints whose translations were cited above have been identified on the façade at Wells. But more importantly, these translations focused the attention of the bishops, their designers, and the faithful who witnessed the accompanying spectacles on the shrines, tombs, and new retrochoirs.[122] Translations thus conditioned the identification of particular motifs with the sacred relics of saints. Since the bishops were responsible not only for the canonizations but often also for the production of the new shrines, Jocelin's program and Adam Lock's design for the façade can be related to the rituals glorifying English saints around the turn of the thirteenth century. Both politically shrewd bishops, such as Jocelin and Peter des Roches, and scholar-bishops, such as Richard Poore, were part of this social practice. In such a circle the conscious transposition of motifs as signs seems possible. Yet within this practice the façade went beyond usual production.

A Choir-Screen Replica

The quatrefoil and the gable are combined in a design at Wells that suggests a specific meaning for the entrance (Fig. 43). This design is three-part. The band of quatrefoils and the continuous line of gables create a border motif that clearly divides the lower from the upper zone of the façade. Beneath this border each gable frames a pointed arch. The pointed arch in turn encloses a quatrefoil and a pair of gabled trefoil niches for statues. It is likely that this combination of motifs would have suggested immediately a choir screen during the thirteenth century since the same design, or its component parts, occurs frequently on the few contemporaneous choir screens known from England and the Continent.

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[120] Brieger, *English Art*, p. 7; and Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, pp. cxxiii–cxxvi, 220, 223.

[121] Although the translation date is not recorded at Wells, the styles of the effigies belong to two series: one carved in 1207, the other in 1220, perhaps suggesting preparations at both times because of the interruption of the Interdict. See Chapter 6, p. 193 n. 9.

[122] See Chapter 6, p. 222 for the relation of the translations to Wells.

Most similar in design to the combination of motifs at Wells are several slightly later continental screens, such as the now-destroyed choir screen from Strasbourg Cathedral (ca. 1252) (Fig. 45). In seventeenth-century drawings quatrefoils form a band across the top of the Strasbourg screen, and a line of continuous gables frames arches that enclose quatrefoils above paired trefoil arches.[123] A similar design still decorates the west screen (ca. 1255) in Naumburg Cathedral, except that a frieze is substituted for the band of quatrefoils (Fig. 46).[124] The earliest known combination of these motifs can be found on a choir screen (ca. 1230) at

[123] Among choir screens the iconography of the Strasbourg screen resembles most closely the façade of Wells. As on the façade apostles flanked the Madonna and Child. See J. Knauth, 'Der Lettner des Münsters: Ein verschwundenes Kunstwerk,' Strassburger Münsterblatt 1(1903–1904):36, figs. 4–13. The Madonna and Child are now in the Cloisters Museum in New York. See J. Rorimer, 'The Virgin from Strasbourg Cathedral,' *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, n.s., 7(1949):220–227. Moreover, a seventeenth-century description mentions statues of Old Testament prophets and scenes on the side of the screen facing the choir. See R. Will, 'Le jubé de la cathédrale de Strasbourg,' *Bulletin de la Société des Amis de la Cathédrale de Strasbourg*, 2d ser., no. 10(1972):63–65, fig. 17. Most important, there are no signs of damnation or punishement, although there is a judging Christ in the central gable referring to the expectation of divine mercy at the end of time. See J. Jung, 'Beyond the Barrier: The Unifying Role of the Choir Screen in Gothic Churches,' *The Art Bulletin* 82(2000):643. According to Jung, the Strasbourg screen is unusual among extant choir screens in its optimistic omission of these signs. See also B. Chabrowe, 'Iconography of the Strasbourg Cathedral Choir Screen,' *Gesta* 6(1967):35–40; and Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 498–499. Still, it seems unlikely that there is a choir screen tradition common to the façade at Wells and the later screen at Strasbourg that accounts for these similarities.

[124] Jung, 'Beyond,' pp. 634–640; idem 'Peasant Meal or Lord's Feast? The Social Iconography of the Naumburg Last Supper,' *Gesta* 42/1(2003):39–61; Schubert, *Der Naumburger Dom* (Halle an der Saale, 1997). W. Pinder, *Der Naumburger Dom und seine Bild-werke* (Berlin, 1926). P. Brieger, 'England's Contribution to the Origin and Development of the Triumphal Cross,' *Mediaeval Studies* 4(1942):95 believes the Naumburg screen had English models and points to the façade of Wells as being constructed with similar atectonic overhanging triangular wall plates, but he does not suggest a choir screen as the model for the façade of Wells. At Naumburg a narrative frieze of the life of Christ bands the top of the screen. New Testament scenes are often depicted on choir screens, see E.K. Doberer, 'Die deutschen Lettner bis 1300,' (unpublished dissertation, University of Vienna, 1946), p. 241. Often the Nativity as at Chartres or the Passion as at Naumburg is stressed; Bourges and Amiens combined scenes of both. Although these themes are also found on the façade at Wells, the choice at Wells does not seem necessarily related to choir screens since they are found in a more general sequence. Moreover, the Infancy and Passion are emphasized in many contexts, representational and textual during the Middle Ages. For the choir screen at Bourges ca. 1260 see Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 505–506, Pl. 294; and F. Joubert, *Le jubé de Bourges* (Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 1994).

Chartres Cathedral (Fig. 44).[125] According to reconstructions, a band of *rosaces* at Chartres decorated the side of the screen facing the sanctuary, and a narrative frieze banded the side facing the congregation in the nave.[126] Otherwise, the Chartres screen closely resembles the design of the entrance at Wells.

Earlier than the façade of Wells, English screens can be found with the components of its choir-screen design: the band of quatrefoils, angels, the gable, and the niche. The mid twelfth-century screen of Ely Cathedral combined the band of quatrefoils with arcading, and a similar design seems to have decorated the late twelfth-century screen that can be reconstructed from the fragments at Canterbury (Figs. 31 and 42).[127] Angels frequently decorated choir screens, for example, the twelfth-century screen on the south side of the west crossing of S. Michel's Hildesheim or the screen of the Liebfraukirke of Halberstadt. A screen with angels and gables could be reconstructed from two late twelfth-century Mosan spandrel fragments, one of which is now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[128] The mid thirteenth-century screen from Salisbury, which closely resembles the façade at Wells, has a row of angels and trefoil-headed niches framing kings (Fig. 47).[129] Niches may earlier have framed the double tiers of kings and bishops, men-

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[125] Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 438–440; and J. Maillon, *Chartres, Le jubé de la cathèdrale* (Chartres, 1964), pp. 73–97.

[126] Maillon, *Chartres*, p. 88.

[127] Zarnecki, 'The Faussett,' p. 11 suggested that gables flanked the quatrefoils as on the façade of Wells. Since the bottom angles of the fragments with kings are slightly curved, however, it seems they formed a row above an arcade, not gables.

[128] The angel spandrel that was acquired by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1966 from the Hermann Schwartz Collection is discussed by the following: J.A. Schmoll, 'Die Sammlung Hermann Schwartz/Monchengladbach im Suermondt-Museum, Aachen,' *Kunstchronik* 14(1961):178; W. Beeh and H. Schnitzler, 'Bewahrte Schoonheit. Mittelalterliche Kunst der Sammlung Hermann Schwartz,' *Aachener Kunstblatter* 21(1961):8; H. Swarzenski, *The Museum Year, Museum of Fine Arts* (Boston, 1966), p. 38; idem, *Apollo* (1969):488, 490; and W. Cahn, 'Romanesque Sculpture in American Collections VI. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts,' *Gesta* 9(2) (1970):67. Schmoll explains that the 85 cm. limestone spandrel fragment from the Hermann Schwartz collection is similar to a fragment in Metlach, decorated with a censing angel. He suggests that both probably came from a choir screen similar to that on the south side of the west crossing of St. Michel's Hildesheim or to those on the screen of the Liebfraukirke of Halberstadt. He also observes that its triangular shape prevented it from filling the spandrel of an arcade. I take his assumptions one step farther in suggesting that the Boston fragment came from a gabled screen. Swarzenski in 1966 identified the fragment as Rhenish or Mosan (ca. 1160) and related it to the leading artistic centers of Liege, Cologne, and Maastricht.

[129] Hope, 'Quire Screens,' pp. 55–56.

tioned in the sixteenth-century description of the lost twelfth-century screen at Durham.[130] Kings in canopied niches were common later in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries on English screens, examples can be found at Wells, Canterbury, York, Ripon, and Howden.[131]

Before the façade was designed at Wells, some of these components, such as quatrefoils and angels, had already been transferred in England to choir walls, as in the retrochoir at Winchester or in the twelfth-century arcading of the east transept at Lincoln (Figs. 25 and 30).[132] On the basis of this evidence lost early thirteenth-century English screens with quatrefoils, angels, gables, niches, and statues can be posited as antecedents for the design of the lower zone of the façade of Wells. The similarities in design and construction between the façade and the later screen at Salisbury suggest that the lower zone at Wells, itself, may even have been copied as part of English choir-screen production in thirteenth-century England. The portal zone at Wells, in fact, may have been viewed as part of a continuous development of choir-screen design since it may have been carved by teams specializing in the complex stereometry of choir furnishings, as seemed to be the case with the gabled niche in relation to the development of tomb design.[133]

As a result, the design of the lower zone of the façade of Wells Cathedral would have more easily evoked a choir screen for viewers during the Middle Ages than it does today since the lack of extant screens has obscured its recognition. Architectural historians have categorized the façade at Wells as a 'screen' façade only because it conceals or screens the dimensions of the building; they have not realized that this portal zone specifically imitated a choir screen. Yet architectural details have always differentiated the lower zone from the rest of the façade. As if to underline the distinctness of the choir-screen design, a strong string-course above the quatrefoils separates the lower from the upper part of the façade. Moreover, the doorways are kept so small that they are contained within the foundation plinth (Fig. 43). Although the central portal breaks into the upper zone of niches, an extension of the plinth molding visually includes it within the lower zone of the façade. In fact, the lateral doorways are the height of doors within an actual

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[130] Ibid., p. 71. See also Chapter 2, p. 64.

[131] Hope, 'Pulpitum,' pp. 29–42.

[132] The angels in the spandrels of arcading at Lincoln were probably designed by the master mason who made the crocketed pier. See above, pp. 29 and 88 for Lincoln, p. 93 for Winchester, and Chapter 5, p. 172 n. 69 for later angel choirs.

[133] See above, p. 101.

screen. They are not quite eight feet high and three feet wide, approx-
imately the size of the seven foot doors in the Ely screen (Fig. 42).[134]
Beneath the ornamental cloak of niches of the lower zone, these dimin-
utive doorways at Wells give an impression of closure that suggests a
choir screen.

Since the fourth century, chancel screens denoted a sacred space
and hieratically differentiated the choir from the nave.[135] During the
twelfth and thirteenth century the choir screen, or *pulpitum*, separated
the private liturgical choir of the canons from the public, western part
of the church to which the laity had access.[136] Hence there was always
an implicit relationship between the façade, as screen to the nave, and
the choir screen, as entrance to the choir. We shall see later that this
parallel was made explicit at times by the liturgy at Wells. Although
we know the location of the choir screen in the nave at Wells, there
is no evidence for its design, except for the fact that it had a central
doorway with an altar on each side, one in honor of the Virgin and
the other St. Andrew.[137] The center of the screen supported a *pulpitum*
and roodloft, surmounted by a great cross, and certainly in this aspect
differed from the façade. Early in the twelfth century at St. Pantaleon at
Cologne the façade seems to have been actually decorated with a rood,
crucified Christ, and *Deësis* group.[138] The crucifixion is not emphasized

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[134] Depending on the original level of the ground, the side portals were ten to eleven
feet high with openings not quite eight feet high and three feet wide, and the central
portal was approximately twice their height, around twenty feet with openings of about
twelve feet. The openings in the lateral doors at Wells are 7' 5/6" high and 35' wide.
For Ely see Fig. 43 and Hope, 'Quire Screens,' p. 43.

[135] J. Branham, 'Sacred Space under Erasure in Ancient synagogues and Early
Churches,' *The Art Bulletin*, 74(1992):376, 379, and 383. Chancel screens in ancient
temples differentiated sacred from profane space and established zones of hierarchy
in Imperial Roman settings; these low screens functioned symbolically rather than
structurally.

[136] Hope, 'Pulpitum,' pp. 20–25. Choir screens are used only in monastic and collegi-
ate foundations or those served by regular and secular canons. All regarded the choir
as their private chapel.

[137] Hope 'Quire Screens,' pp. 52–53. The screen was located in the nave between the
columns of the first bay west of the central tower and across the north and south aisles;
this is made clear by a 1297 statute describing access to the choir as well as marks on
the aisle walls and on the columns of the first eastern bay of the nave. The stalls of the
canons were within the screen under the central tower. For confirmation of the choir
screen's location at Wells, see Church, *Chapters*, pp. 323–326.

[138] R. Wesenburg, 'Die Fragmente Monumentaler Skulpturen von St. Pantaleon in
Köln,' *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 9(1955):12. The façade of St. Pantaleon in Köln
(destroyed in the eighteenth century and rebuilt in 1890) may have served as a ceremo-
nial screen during the Middle Ages. The façade (known from engravings of 1638 and

on the façade at Wells as on choir screens since Heavenly glory is represented instead of damnation or Christ's suffering. The presence in the central gable at Wells of the *Deësis* group with its emphasis on intercession, as sometimes found on choir screens, however, would have been appropriate since it can refer to the expectation of divine mercy at the end of time without reference to damnation.

Between 1231 and 1256 Hugh Libergier designed a choir-screen entrance for Saint-Nicaise at Reims by transposing a choir screen similar to that of Chartres onto the façade.[139] It was a replica almost exact in design and constructed nearly at choir-screen scale making the portals smaller than in other French façades. This choir-screen façade seems unrelated to Wells but may have been designed in relation to similar liturgical concerns. On the other hand, the designs of the façades at Salisbury (ca. 1255) and at Exeter (ca. 1355) followed the precedent at Wells although they imitated later choir screen design (Figs. 54 and 55). At Salisbury a porch, similar to the Chartres choir screen, frames the small doorways of the façade, and the profile of the façade repeats, without extensive transformation, the shrine-like façades represented on seals, such as the mid thirteenth-century Faversham seal (Fig. 36).[140]

1670) had two small doorways framed by a monumental relieving arch. Both drawings show a podium between the doorways. The 1670 drawing shows a rood on the podium and a ceremonial procession moving towards it. Perhaps even earlier this façade was designed as a screen-like *sceana* for a rood since the wide space between the doorways resembles later rood screens and is otherwise difficult to explain. As far as I know, no other example of a façade designed specifically as a rood exists. Wesenburg believes that sculptural fragments of angels and possibly Christ, John, and Mary formed a *Deësis* group filling the niches in the upper zone of the façade and points out that they resemble the grouping of figures on the earlier Poussay gold codex which are based on late antique models. Consequently, St. Pantaleon may be an early example of enrichment from altar furnishings similar, but unrelated, to Wells.

[139] Bony, *French*, pp. 381–386, fig. 358 dates the design of the façade to 1231 and discusses the origins of its choir-screen motif and the use of gables in the 1230s. R. Branner, *Saint Louis and the Court Style in Gothic Architecture* (London, 1965), p. 28 also dated the façade of Saint-Nicaise to 1231. M. Bideault and C. Lautier, 'Saint-Nicaise de Reims: Chronologie et nouvelles remarques sur l'architecture,' *Bulletin monumental* 135(1977):310 believes it was not built until 1256.

[140] Kingsford, '"Seal" Engravers,' p. 161. No date is given for the seal, but he states it could be as late as the Norwich seal of 1258. At Salisbury the façade is decorated with trefoil-headed arcading and also with a quatrefoil pattern, not found at Wells but current in enamels and also present on the contemporaneous tomb of Llewellyn the Great (d. 1240). See F.H. Crossley, *English Church Monuments* (London, 1921), p. 46. The quatrefoil pattern found on the tomb and the façade later becomes common in Decorated architecture. It probably originates in Islamic patterns, such as the Mosque of Hounalla of the twelfth century. See Baltrusaitis, *Fantastique*, fig. 40, no. c.

At Exeter a typical late Gothic choir screen is stretched across the lower part of the façade (Fig. 55). Here, the sculptural program of the Church Triumphant covers only the screen design which protrudes beyond the upper part of the façade.[141] Since the choir-screen entrance projects as a separate entity at both Salisbury and Exeter, these entrances are somewhat more easily identified as choir screens than is the case in the more integrated solution at Wells. The re-use of the choir-screen concept for these later English façades, along with other aspects of the Wells design and sculptural program, strongly indicates that the entrance at Wells was recognized as a choir screen for many years after its design.

Pevsner came close to understanding the connection of the façade of Wells to choir screens when he suggested that 'the master did not after all dream of crags but of an image screen, a reredos as never reredos had been seen before.'[142] Pevsner's description, however, refers anachronistically to the large-scale reredos for high altars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the high altar was free-standing and the reredos was unknown. Altar retables were low, usually no higher than a foot or two. Still secondary altars were often placed against the choir screen, creating the effect that Pevsner describes.[143] An altar was also frequently placed against the west end of a saint's reliquary so that the gabled end of the shrine created a back-drop for it. Thereby the early thirteenth-century priest and congregation did gaze on reredos-like imagery during the Mass.[144] In his design for the façade at Wells the master mason seems to have conflated such arrangements, specifically imitating a choir screen for the entrance and the gabled end of a shrine for the pediment, while placing between them an expanse of superposed images in niches, found on screens and shrines and sometimes used in a single row on low retables and *antependia*.[145]

[141] Prideaux, *Exeter*, p. 6; and Lloyd and Hope, *Exeter*, p. 20.

[142] Pevsner, *North Somerset*, p. 285.

[143] Hope, 'Quire Screens,' pp. 52–58; Rock, *Church*, vol. 1, pp. 153, 181–204, vol. 3, p. 316; and Bond, *English*, vol. 1, pp. 29–30.

[144] Coldstream, 'Decorated,' p. 29; and Rock, *Church*, vol. 3, p. 314 cites Matthew Paris who describes the priest officiating at the altar before Saint Alban's shrine. Gazing on the shrine hence could be an integral part of celebrating the Mass.

[145] J. Braun, *Der Christliche Altar in seiner Geschichtlichen entwichlun* (Munchen, 1924), vol. 2, Pls. 138 and 141 depicts twelfth-century metal *antependia* with two superposed rows of niched figures from Nuremberg and Barcelona; Pl. 200 includes both a metal retable with two rows of superposed, niched figures from S. Miguel Navarra, and one of carved wood from Jütland with superposed figures between frames of towered

Later at Salisbury an apocalyptic vision (ca. 1250) similar to that of Wells was painted on the high vaults to the east of the choir screen creating a similar expanse of imagery above the worshiper.[146] The paintings of the east crossing depicted Christ surrounded by evangelists and apostles. Flanking them on the transept vaults were medallions with a celestial choir, including busts of angels holding crowns, palms, chalices, and musical instruments. Above the choir prophets were painted, and over the sanctuary the Labors of the Month. This imagery of Christ in Majesty accompanied by the Heavenly Host created a kind of screen-like net embracing the entire sanctuary and defining the entrance to the presbytery. As at Wells, heaven on high was evoked above the viewer. Read in conjunction with the angels on the Salisbury choir screen, these paintings would have created a programmatic ensemble resembling the façade at Wells. If such programs decorated earlier churches, they might be considered visual precedents for the façade. On the other hand, both the paintings and screen at Salisbury might even have been designed with the earlier imagery of the façade of Wells in mind. Regardless, both would have had a similar impact on the worshiper positioned beneath, and both were part of the same liturgical and visual culture.

At this point it can be concluded that motifs functioned as signs at Wells underlining the meaning of the façade's sculptural program. By the thirteenth century the gabled niche, especially when multiplied to suggest a cityscape, conjured up visions of heavenly mansions. Moreover, in conjunction with the corbelled trefoil-headed arch, the gable defined a shrine-tomb for each of the blessed in that heavenly city on the façade. Although the quatrefoil can be documented during the 1220s on shrines, choir furnishings, and retrochoirs built for newly translated saints, its particular combination with the gabled niche in the lower zone of the façade more specifically imitated choir-screen design. Because the lower zone of the façade at Wells reproduced at a larger scale the appearance of contemporaneous choir screens, a sign of the imitated object was newly established through replication, not

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heavenly-mansions similar to the Carrières-Saint-Denis retable. Designs such as these rows of superposed niched figures may have been influential in the use of superposed rows of niches on façades, such as that of Angoulême Cathedral. (See above, p. 94.) On the other hand, the vertical arrangement of the Jütland retable, which resembles the Gallusforte portal at Basel, is closer to Wells.

[146] Horlbeck, 'Salisbury,' pp. 117–129.

convention as with the gabled niche.[147] Furthermore, it is probable that the continuous line of gables intersecting the quatrefoils at Wells had heavenly connotations when used on screens. Although the continuous gable is found on shrines and tombs, it may have been especially common on choir screens.[148]

The continuous gable decorated all of the thirteenth-century screens that have been compared to Wells and probably also the twelfth-century Mosan screen from which the Boston Museum angels survive. The presence of a Carolingian gabled-screen at Cortona confirms that gables with crockets were used on choir screens long before Chartres.[149] In fact, the gabled screen at Cortona may represent a *renovatio* of a late antique *palatium* motif carrying connotations of the sacred *palatium* of heaven. Possibly because of these connotations the gable early became part of a choir-screen repertory of forms. The continuous line of gables framing the quatrefoils, in fact, may have signaled that the entrance evoked the heavenly and not the earthly choir, a distinction reinforced by the angels carved in the clouds of the quatrefoils.[150] The liturgical use of the entrance at Wells, next to be discussed, would also have helped to identify the lower zone at Wells as a heavenly choir screen.[151] During liturgical processions the entrance at Wells, as sign of the choir, offered a range of meanings associated with the sculptural program of the Heavenly Jerusalem.

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[147] While a conventional sign is fixed by custom and its form can be arbitrary in respect to its meaning, this sign replicates an object in order to make a sign of it for the first time.

[148] The continuous gable motif can be found above rows of statues in shrines, as in the Mosan shrine of the Virgin at Aachen (ca. 1220–1238) (Pl. 16). For the shrine at Aachen, also see Schnitzler, *Rheinische*, Pls. 50–51; and Panofsky, *Tomb*, p. 246. In 1235 the continuous gable is used on the French tomb of Philip, the brother of Saint Louis. See Sauerlander, *French Sculpture*, p. 459, Ill. 82. M. Aubert, *Cistercian Architecture* (Paris, 1947), fig. 244 and 245 depicts the mid thirteenth-century tomb of Saint-Etienne at Obazine.

[149] Doberer, 'Die ornamentale,' p. 221.

[150] See Chapter 4, p. 133.

[151] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 128 believes the concentration of paint in this lower zone between the central buttresses indicates that funds ran out before the upper parts were painted. It is, however, possible that this lower central area was painted more extensively because of its liturgical focus and its imitation of a choir screen.

PART II

THE ENGLISH CHURCH OF THE 1220S

Now that specific architectural motifs operating as signs on the façade have been decoded, it is possible to discuss the façade in relation to Church practices and ideology during the 1220s. Because most of the statues in the lower zone of the façade have been destroyed, a full analysis of Jocelin's sculptural program could not be made in previous chapters. At this point, however, the eucharistic references of this program, which the choir-screen entrance would have originally complemented, can be considered within a larger frame. Moreover, the function of the façade and its impact on its audience can be interpreted further by considering its motifs as signs in relation to particular liturgical practices and strategies of the English Church around 1220. On the one hand, the choir-screen design of the entrance testifies to innovations in church ritual; on the other, the statues in gabled niches help to recover social pressures in the contest for authority between the canons of Wells and neighboring monasteries. In addition to indicating cultural practices and social pressures, the architectural motifs in conjunction with the sculptural program can be related to the unusual role of the Church in the government of England during the 1220s.

LITURGICAL PRACTICE

We know that Bishop Jocelin was attentive to the liturgy at Wells because he decreed in 1241 that the Wells consuetudinary, regulating it, should be revised.[1] He probably also made the final codification of the *Statuta Antiqua*, which preserved earlier customs based on the Sarum Use.[2] Although the earliest extant description of liturgical processions for Wells is a consuetudinary, dated between 1273 and 1298, its processions are those of the Sarum consuetudinary written around 1210 by Richard Poore, Jocelin's close associate.[3] The chants for these proces-

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[1] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 4. A consuetudinary is a compilation of statutes, rules, and customs used to regulate the canons; it also sets procedures for the ceremonies and processions of the liturgical year.

[2] W.H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum: The Ordinal and Tonal* (Cambridge, England, 1901), vol. 2, pp. xxxi. Frere believes that Bishop Roger in re-establishing the chapter at Wells in 1136 took Sarum as his model and that the *Statuta Antiqua* of Wells, dating from the mid twelfth or early thirteenth century, depends on Salisbury. See Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. xxv; and Gransden, 'The History,' p. 32 for evidence suggesting Jocelin made the final codification of these *Statuta*. According to D. Rock, *The Church of Our Fathers. As Seen in St. Osmund's Rite for the Cathedral of Salisbury* (London, 1904), vol. 4, pp. 134, 137 the Sarum rites are very similar to the Anglo-Saxon and Roman rites.

[3] W.H. Frere, *The Use of Sarum: The Sarum Customs* (Cambridge, England, 1898), vol. 1, p. xix; T. Bailey, *The Processions of Sarum and the Western Church* (Toronto, 1971), p. 62. Frere dates the Sarum consuetudinary to the time of Richard Poore, who was dean from 1197 to 1215 and bishop from 1217 to 1228. He fixes the date around 1210, and certainly between 1173 and 1220, because the consuetudinary mentions the martyrdom but not the translation of Saint Thomas of Canterbury. The Sarum consuetudinary (*De officiis ecclesiasticis tractatus*) is based on the earlier work of Saint Osmund who died in 1099. For discussion of the Sarum consuetudinary, see also P. Blum, 'Liturgical Influences on the Design of the West Front of Wells and Salisbury,' *Gesta* 25/1(1986):140, 150. For an examination of the date and genealogy of the liturgical customs at Wells, see: Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. xxviii, 27–52, 111–134; and Frere, *The Use*, vol. 2, pp. xxxviii, xxxi. Watkin translates the Wells consuetudinary and concludes that 'the Wells consuetudinary in its present form is identical with that introduced from Salisbury c. 1270 and is not a later redaction of it.' During the episcopate of Jocelin, the chapter at Wells in 1241 had ordered the correction of the existing ordinal. In 1273 the order was repeated, and in 1298 a statute referred to the ordinal with satisfaction. It was Edward de la Cnoll, whom Jocelin had brought into the chapter, who finally revised the Ordinal. (See Chapter 1, p. 40) The ordinal of 1298, i.e the second and third sections of the consuetudinary, which treats the liturgy, was adopted from the

sions are preserved in the Sarum missal (ca. 1264).[4] Since Wells relied on Salisbury customs at the beginning of the thirteenth century and because the processions described in all these extant documents are so similar, it is possible to recover the liturgical practices at Wells at the time when the façade was designed during the 1220s.

These, and other, accounts reveal that the Wells choir screen, which is now destroyed, was surmounted by a loft, or platform.[5] During the Mass the choir sang and the deacon, facing towards the North, read the gospel from this platform just before the Eucharist was celebrated. On special occasions liturgical processions stopped in front of the choir screen for singing.[6] The west façade, facing the cemetery of the laity,

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Sarum consuetudinary of 1210. What needed revising in the ordinal of 1241 and 1273 is unknown. Watkin and Frere concur that the Sarum liturgical customs were adapted for Wells at the end of the thirteenth century, with modifications. Frere believes that the Wells ordinal in its present form dates earlier than the fifteenth century. Because the feast of Corpus Christi was adopted at Wells in 1318, a point with which Watkin disagrees, Frere and succeeding scholars date the text of the *Liber Ruber* (in which the Wells consuetudinary is found) to at least the fourteenth century. The *Liber Ruber* written in a fourteenth-century hand, was transcribed in the seventeenth century and was published by H.E. Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral, Its foundation, Constitutional History, and Status* (Leeds, 1880). Frere's assessment that Wells had been dependent on Salisbury customs since the twelfth or early thirteenth century seems corroborated by the following fact mentioned in Reynolds, *Wells*, p. cxxxvii: the Dean and Canons at Wells in 1213 were to consult the Sarum Chapter concerning the customs 'in case of the Deanery being vacant.' Consequently, the early thirteenth-century liturgical practices at Wells were probably similar to the Sarum consuetudinary of 1210. See Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, p. xxxi. See also Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 36, 49, and n. 66; and Klukas, 'The Liber Ruber,' pp. 30–31.

[4] Legg, *Sarum Missal*, pp. v–ix. The missal is dated certainly between 1150 and 1319, probably ca. 1264. The Sarum rite was well recognized in the thirteenth century. Tradition holds that Saint Osmund (d. 1099) had set certain rules for the divine worship, but no twelfth-century form of the Sarum missal has been found. Legg collated three manuscripts for his edition. One manuscript probably dates around 1260, certainly between 1150 and 1319. One dates from 1300, another early in the fourteenth century. Legg gives only the Latin text.

[5] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 116, 118, 119. Verses are sung in the *pulpitum* on Candlemas Day, Easter, Low Sunday, and double feasts. For information on the Wells choir screen, see Chapter 3, p. 123 n. 137. Doberer, 'Die deutschen,' pp. 209–211 mentions that altars were set up on screens for specific Masses. From Maundy Thursday to Good Friday the Host was often guarded at the foot of the cross on the screen. Sometimes screens were also used to display relics of the saints.

[6] Ibid., pp. 115, 116, 120. Processions stopped before the rood on the First Sunday of Advent, Christmas, Palm Sunday, Easter Eve, Easter Monday, and Whitsunday. A procession is made at evensong on Saturdays in summertime, as on the Saturday before Low Sunday, except that no verse is sung.

was used for similar liturgical functions and other dramatic rituals, not for daily access into the church.[7]

According to the Wells consuetudinary, the west doors of the façade were used for funerals, for the reception of important people, and for liturgical processions. Often on these occasions the processions stopped, sometimes to sing, in front of the entrance before proceeding to the choir screen.

Processions

A particularly significant procession is recorded for Palm Sunday in front of the façade. Choristers then sang the *Gloria laus* through *occuli* concealed behind the busts of angels in the lower row of quatrefoils on each side of the central portal of the façade. Angels in carved clouds clearly signal heaven, and singing from heaven just overhead

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[7] For documentation on the graveyard for the laity see Chapter 1, p. 25 n. 29; Church, *Chapters*, p. 153; and Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 56, 274 n. 68; for the canon's graveyard see Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral*, vol. 1, p. 316. In addition to those who lived in the close, i.e. the canon's family and household attendants, certain noble families, pilgrims, and those belonging to fraternities may also have been included in the cemetery, with penitents excluded. It is uncertain whether the townspeople would have been buried here. M. Franklin, 'The cathedral as parish church: the case of southern England,' in *Church and City 1000–1500*: essays in honour of Christopher Brooke, eds. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin, and M. Rubin (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 194–196. Franklin states that most cathedrals served partly for parishioners since they had been built as minsters. The cathedral's parishioners included not only cathedral clergy, i.e. chapter, clerks, vicars, the choristers and their families but also the laity who used the cathedral for the parochial functions of baptism and burial, as at Winchester, Hereford, Exeter, and Canterbury where these rites were denied to other local churches. No such data remains for Wells, but Franklin points out that Bishop Aethelhelm in 909 chose Wells for his cathedral because it was a well-established minster for which there is documentation from 766. Excavation confirmed a pre-existing minster complex before the tenth century. See Rodwell, 'The Anglo-Saxon,' p. 3. Nonetheless the townspeople may have worshiped and been buried in the cemetery of the parish church of St. Cuthbert which was under the jurisdiction of the canons of Wells and located nearby. See Church, 'Jocelin,' p, 339; and idem, *Chapters*, pp. 2, 17. Church speculates that St. Cuthbert may also have been founded in the tenth century. Following the reconstruction of the old Saxon church, at the dedication of St. Cuthbert in 1123–1135, Bishop Robert made over the church of St. Cuthbert to the canons as part of their common property. In 1239 St. Cuthbert was made a vicarage; the vicar was to pay a pension of 20 marcs to the chapter at Wells. Malone, 'West English,' pp. 207–210, Pl. 145. In my dissertation I explain that the nave of St. Cuthbert was re-built around the same time as the façade of the cathedral at Wells. A need for a larger parish church must have developed around 1220.

could be expected to elicit an emotional response from the procession below. The choristers stood invisible to all in a hidden passage within the thickness of the façade wall.[8] This passage with *occuli*, a small but significant architectural staging device confirms, as an index, that the façade was designed from the beginning as a ceremonial entrance to be used as a choir screen for choristers on special occasions.[9]

The passage for the choristers is the lower of two superposed passages constructed within the double wall of the center of the façade. Twelve *occuli*, arranged in triangular groups of three, within the outer wall (i.e. the west wall) of this lower passage are now visible in the four lower quatrefoils adjacent to the Coronation of the Virgin because the angels have been destroyed (Fig. 49). The apex *occuli*, behind the top lobe of the quatrefoil, are five and a half feet above the floor of the passage, while the lower pair, behind the side lobes, are four feet above it. These *occuli* alone justify the existence of the lower passage since it does not open onto the nave as does the passage above it.[10] The low height of the entrance leading down from the triforium to this lower passage makes it suitable for choristers but unlikely to have been an area designed for circulation or maintenance of the building. Moreover, the heights of the megaphone-shaped *occuli* in this passage seem designed strictly for communication with the area in front of the façade.

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[8] H. de S. Shortt, *Salisbury Cathedral and Indications of the Sarum Use* (pamphlet) Friends of Salisbury Cathedral (Salisbury, reprint 1970, 1973), p. 4. Shortt first pointed out that the choristers sang, 'All glory laud and honor' from the passage behind similar quatrefoil openings above the entrance at Salisbury. He also noted the similar arrangement at Wells. See also Blum, 'Liturgical,' pp. 145–150 who first developed this point in 1983 for the Session on Liturgy and the Arts for ICMA at Kalamazoo, Michigan. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 170 illustrates the interior of the passage.

[9] McAleer, 'Particularly English,' pp. 149, 157 n. 80 explains that because of an English Romanesque tradition of small west portals, the liturgical passages could be accommodated without disrupting the traditional design in any significant way. He disagrees with Blum's premise that the presence of these passageways accounts for the small west portals of Wells and Salisbury. Blum, 'Liturgical,' p. 149 had stated that because the passages at Wells were designed to enhance the liturgical drama, the heights of the central portal directly below, and by extension also the subordinate flanking portals, were, unfortunately, suppressed. Certainly, liturgical need informed the design of the façades of Wells and Salisbury, but functional design, symbolic idea, tradition, and aesthetic resolution interacted in the creative process.

[10] Both passages at Wells are located within the thickness of the west wall of the façade. The upper passage is at triforium level and opens onto the nave, fully visible within the church. The lower passage at Wells is invisible since it is closed to the nave with solid masonry. Several steps leading down from the triforium give access to this lower passage. Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 283 n. 262 points out that Blum erroneously states that the south end of the passage is blocked.

Liturgical directions in the Sarum missal indicate that the passage was used, like the loft of the choir screen, for boy choristers who accompanied, sometimes from an elevated position, the Palm Sunday procession in front of the façade. During the second station on Palm Sunday when the choristers sang the verses of the *Gloria laus*, the Sarum missal specifies that they sing from an elevated position (*pueri in eminenciori loco canentes*), with the procession below responding as a chorus.[11] A similar system of passages and *occuli* once existed in Salisbury Cathedral, where, probably in imitation of Wells, eight small quatrefoils in the façade open onto the exterior (Fig. 54).[12] According to the rubrics of the York Use, a temporary platform was also erected in front of the façade of York Cathedral for the boys stationed *in eminenti loco* during the procession on Palm Sunday.[13]

Therefore, the passage at Wells seems to have been constructed for events in the Sarum liturgy, particularly the re-enactment on Palm Sunday of the Entry into Jerusalem.[14] On this day at Wells, after the blessing and distribution of the palms, a shrine with relics and the Host was carried in procession from the choir into the cemetery of the lay congregation to the west of the façade.[15] According to the Sarum

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[11] Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 96. '*Hiis finitis assint pueri in eminenciori loco canentes … chorus idem repetat post unumquemque versum, pueri*'.

[12] Blum, 'Liturgical,' p. 149; and idem, *Salisbury*, p. 333 explains that eight small quatrefoils in the lower passage at Salisbury formerly opened onto the exterior but are now concealed by nineteenth-century statues. W. Dodsworth, *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury* (Salisbury, 1814), opp. p. 128 published an engraving that shows the quatrefoils with diamond-shaped frames in the exterior west wall. The liturgical purpose of the passages was still remembered as late as 1794 at Salisbury in a survey of the fabric that referred to the openings as being in the 'Choir level of the West End.' They were glazed in 1820 and sealed with cement in 1870 when the statues were mounted. On the interior at Salisbury two flights of stairs lead down to this lower of the two passages. This lower passage, behind the quatrefoils, is reached from landings in the staircases of the north and south turrets of the west façade. From the landings, steps lead up to the upper passage which crosses the nave at triforium level. Here, the lower passage for the quatrefoils is open, as is the upper passage, to the nave as an arcaded gallery. Comparison with Salisbury emphasizes that at Wells, because the lower passage does not open onto the nave, it was used only for the specific liturgical purpose for which it was invented, i.e. to communicate with the area in front of the façade.

[13] Rock, *Church*, vol. 4, pt. 2, pp. 269–270 n. 62; and Blum, 'Liturgical,' p. 148. Although York never adopted the Sarum Use, the York Use agreed in outline with the Palm Sunday rituals at Sarum.

[14] Blum, 'Liturgical,' p. 148.

[15] For the complete English translation of the following text of the procession for Palm Sunday at Wells, see Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 115–116: 'First it goes through the

missal, the deacon (wearing an alb) read the Gospel of Christ's entry (Matt. 21:1–9) during the first station before the cemetery. Then three clerics in choir-dress facing the people sang the Anthem and verse:

> Behold, thy king cometh unto thee, O Sion, mystical daughter, sitting on beasts, of whose coming the prophetic lesson hath now foretold … Hail, light of the world, king of kings, glory of heaven, with whom abideth dominion, praise and honor, now and forever … Hail our salvation our

North door of the Choir, goes round the Choir and Cloister, out into the big graveyard up to the place of the first station where the Gospel is sung … The second station is made before the door where the Chorister sings the *Gloria laus* … the third station … is usually made before another door of the Church on the same side … the Procession then goes to the West door and here enters … Finally a station is made before the Rood …' For the Latin text, see Reynolds, *Wells*, p. 29. The description in the Wells consuetudinary is different from that found earlier in the Sarum Use; note in particular that the procession at Wells has been transferred to the big graveyard west of the church at Wells without making stations on the north and south of the church as in the Sarum Use published by Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, pp. 59–61, 303: The route was through the west choir door round the cloister to the churchyard cross on the north side of the church for the first station, then to the south side of the church for the second and third station, and finally through the west door of the church to the rood. Blum, 'Liturgical,' pp. 148, 150 explains and quotes Leggs' transcription of the Sarum missal of ca. 1264 in which after the second station seven boys sing the *Gloria laus* antiphonally from a high place. Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 224 follows Frere, but on the basis of the rubrics of the missal clarifies: 'Here the second station shall take place, that is to say, on the south side of the church, where seven boys, from a very elevated position, shall sing …'; Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 111 added 'singing in a conspicuous place.' Both Warren and Frere interpreted the Sarum consuetudinary as indicating that the second station was made on the south side of the church. On the other hand, the Wells consuetudinary merely states that the second station is made at the door where the choristers sing the *Gloria laus*. An elevated or conspicuous location is not mentioned. Nonetheless, since no change in location is indicated following the first station in or before the graveyard of the laity at Wells, the door of the second station should be on the same side of the church. The third station at Wells is 'another door of the Church on the same side' after which the procession enters the church through the 'West door,' no doubt meaning the central portal of the façade. This citation of the 'West door' by name in the Wells consuetudinary may depend on the wording of the earlier Sarum text. W.H. Hope, 'The Sarum Consuetudinary and Its Relation to the Cathedral Church of Old Sarum,' *Archaeologia* 68(1917):124 interpreted the Palm Sunday procession according to the layout of Old Sarum where the cloister was on the north side and the lay cemetery and churchyard cross on the southeast of the church. There were two lateral entrances to the church on the south. Blum, 'Liturgical,' pp. 146, 150, n. 8 suggests that the routing of the processions changed in relation to the layout of the new thirteenth-century churches at Salisbury and Wells; consequently, the Sarum missal of ca. 1264 merges the second and third stations and locates them in front of the west doors since the churchyard cross base was located to the west of the façade of the new church at Salisbury as shown in seventeenth-century drawings. At Wells it is likely that all three stations were made before the three doors of the façade.

true peace, peace, our redemption, our strength, who of thine own free will didst submit to the dominion of death on our behalf.[16]

A second station was made at the door (its location is not specified, but the placement of the *occuli* indicate the central portal of the west façade) where the choristers, from an elevated position, sang the *Gloria laus*:

> All glory, laud, and honor
> To thee, Redeemer, King,
> To whom the lips of children
> Made sweet Hosannas ring.

Then, the procession, responding as a chorus, repeated this stanza after each of the following verses:

> Thou art the King of Israel,
> Thou David's royal Son,
> Who in the Lord's name comest,
> The King and blessed One.

> The company of angels
> Are praising thee on high …
> Our praise and prayer and anthems
> Before thee we present

> The people of the Hebrews
> With palms before thee went;
> Our praise and prayer and anthems
> Before thee we present.

After a third station before a door on the same side of the church (probably a side portal of the façade), the procession went to the central portal of the west façade where the shrine (perhaps decorated with the same motifs as the façade) was lifted up so that the procession could pass beneath it singing the response:

> As the Lord was entering into the holy city the children of the Hebrews proclaimed the resurrection of life, and with branches of palms, cried out: Hosanna in the Highest.

The procession then entered into the church, where in front of the choir screen the fourth station was made and the anthem was intoned:

> Hail, our King … whom all the saints expected from the beginning of the world, and now expect. Hosanna to the Son of David. Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord. Hosanna in the highest.

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[16] Legg, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 95–96; and Warren, *Sarum Missal*, vol. 1, pp. 222–224.

Finally, all genuflected, entered the choir, and Mass began.

The worshiper in this procession could see staged above on the façade these references to heaven, the Second Coming, the saints, and particularly the angels who appeared to sing these hymns of triumph. One of the angels still holds a palm, as did the worshiper himself. Significantly, the sermon (ca. 1200) in a West-Saxon dialect, which was mentioned earlier, gave a mimetic and anagogical significance to the Palm Sunday procession: 'those who made the way before him [Christ entering Jerusalem] are teachers of the people, bishops and priests, May our Lord Jesus Christ, who to-day made his holy procession into Jerusalem … teach and aid us so to follow his holy earthly procession, that we may be in the holy procession which he will make with his chosen on Doomsday from judgment into heaven.'[17] The procession at Wells followed behind the bishop and, on entering the church, passed beneath the shrine with its relics and consecrated Host; hence Christ, present in the form of the Host, led the procession, as he had led it in the past and would in the future at the Second Coming.[18]

Above the nine orders of angels in the central gable, the spandrels are pierced by eight circular *occuli*, behind which is a walkway under the nave roof. These *occuli* are the same distance above the walkway as are the upper *occuli* in the passage hidden behind the quatrefoils. Yet, because they are located 75 feet above the ground, they probably were not intended for singing. Moreover, they are located at the level of the trumpeting angels carved in the *aediculae* capping the central buttress. Possibly, trumpeters behind the *occuli* announced the triumphal moment when the Palm Sunday procession entered the earthly church. The angels then would have appeared to sound their trumpets in anticipation of the Second Coming and the final procession into the Heavenly Jerusalem as described in the West-Saxon sermon.[19]

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[17] Morris, *Twelfth*, p. 92. This sermon (Trinity College Cambridge MS B. 1452) seems related to Aelfric's sermon for Palm Sunday; both sermons correspond to the imagery of the façade at Wells. The people who cast down their garments are identified as the martyrs. Those who hewed branches of trees to prepare Christ's way are the teachers in God's Church. Those who walked before Christ, are the patriarchs and prophets. Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 1, pp. 213–215. A similar passage is found in another twelfth or thirteenth-century sermon (Lambeth MS. 487) copied from Aelfric, see Morris, *Homiletic*, p. 7.

[18] Bailey, *The Processions*, pp. 116–117. Later in Germany Christ was represented in the form of a life-size wooden figure, but the English practice of carrying the consecrated Host, which began with Lanfranc, made Him truly present.

[19] Tudor-Craig, *Wells Sculpture*, p. 116; and Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 175–176,

The Palm Sunday procession had long been part of the liturgy. The pre-Conquest Rule of Dunstan and the Leofric missal, as well as the post-Conquest *Decreta Lanfranci* include Palm Sunday processions which make a station before the (west) doors of the church.[20] Although an elevated position for singers during the procession is not mentioned in any of these earlier liturgies, similar wall passages have been identified in the twelfth-century English façades of Rochester Cathedral, Lindisfarne Priory, and St. Botolph's at Colchester; significantly, Lindesfarne and Rochester followed the *Decreta Lanfranci*.[21] Since these passages opened through small openings to the west, they probably served a liturgical function similar to those at Wells. The passages of St. Boltoph's at Colchester are of particular interest since this façade is, in other ways, the closest antecedent for the façade at Wells. The liturgical use of the façade of St. Botolph's is unknown, but it is certain that at least the lower of its three superposed passages opened to the west within the intersecting arcading above the portals (Fig. 19). Possibly, the façade of St. Botolph's might be related to earlier choir-screen designs since the doorways are small and the central portal is framed by a gable; nonetheless, both of these features are found on façades otherwise unlike choir screens. Regardless, the formal similarities between this earlier architectural screen façade and choir screens may have stimulated the master mason at Wells to think of combining a choir-screen design with the structural system of a screen façade, especially if the façade at St. Boltoph's served a similar liturgical function. Of course, the transposition of a screen design to a façade could have been made independently at St. Boltoph's and at Wells since the liturgical practice of making processional stations before the façade and then the rood related them and established their parallel role.

283, n. 269. The outside diameter of the openings is 25 cm. but they splay inwards to around 70 cm. Between the roof and the vault of the nave, the walk way, on the top of the facade wall, is about 1.6–1.7 m. below the center of the openings. In comparison, the upper openings in the passage behind the quatrefoisl are 1.67 m. while the lower are 1.23 m. Neither structural nor functional reasons warrant their presence, not even for ventilation since shaped stone plugs survive on the walkway showing they were normally blocked. The openings are 4' 2" deep capable of accommodating a thirteenth-century trumpet with its bell hidden from the ground. Since the trumpets would not have been played by clerics, the rubrics may fail to mention them; the stairs in the towers were perhaps made wide up to this level for these liturgical reasons.

[20] Mc Aleer, 'Particularly English,' pp. 128–131 and 137–148. For the Rule of Dunstan, see, T. Symons (trans.), *Regularis Concordia*, (Oxford, 1953), pp. 34–36.

[21] Mc Aleer, 'Particularly English,' pp. 128–131 and 137–148.

At Wells sequential stations seem to have been made at the west door of the façade and then at the choir screen during processions not only on Palm Sunday but also on Ascension Day, Pentecost, probably on Rogation Days and for the Greater Litanies on Saint Mark's Day.[22] A station during the procession was made before the rood on Easter; although no station was made in front of the west portals, the procession seems to have passed before the façade.[23] Regardless, on Easter when all those living in the vicinity of Wells would have celebrated Mass in the nave of the church, the façade would have been viewed as the laity approached the south door of the south tower which probably served as the entrance; hence on Easter the worshiper also would have viewed sequentially the western portal zone of the façade and the choir screen where he partook of the Eucharist.

In addition to its dramatic use on Palm Sunday, the west door functioned in a particularly interesting way on Ash Wednesday when the penitents were cast out and on Maundy Thursday when they were again received into the Church. On Wednesday morning barefoot, bareheaded, and wearing sackcloth the penitent came to the church door.[24] After the ashes were put on his forehead, a procession was made from the choir to the west door of the façade. Then, the bishop cast each of the penitents by the hand out of the church, and the door was shut unto them until Maundy Thursday. This served as a warning for all the faithful, and the procession returned to the choir where collects, such as the following were said: 'grant unto us thy servants that we may obtain the grace of His resurrection.'[25]

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[22] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 116, 119, and 120; Bailey, The *Processions*, pp. 17, 25, 65; and Frere, *The Use*, vol.1, pp. 133, 174–176.

[23] Bailey, *The Processions*, pp. xiii, 17–18, 67; Frere, *The Use*, vol.1, pp. 303–304; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 291; and Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 116, 118, 120. The fourteenth-century Sarum processionals, like the Sarum missal, state that 'on Easter day the procession goes through the middle of the choir and church, then goes round both the church and cloisters and then returns to the cross in the church.' Although the earliest Sarum ordinal, from between 1173 and 1210, does not indicate that the Easter procession used the west doors, a late thirteenth-century Sarum ordinal and the fourteenth-century Sarum processionals do. The Wells consuetudinary states that the Ascension day procession is as on Easter, and here the directions state that the procession goes out the west door and returns through it, as on Palm Sunday. For the Greater Litanies the procession goes 'out of the Church by the West door in the same way as on Sundays.'

[24] Ibid. p. 117; Reynolds, *Wells*, p. 31; Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, pp. 138, 303; and Rock, *Church*, vol. 4, p. 73. The Sarum consuetudinary specifies the south door, but the processional the west.

[25] Warren, *Saum Missal*, p. 234.

On Maundy Thursday the procession again went to the west door of the church to meet the penitents who were waiting outside.[26] The archdeacon read on behalf of the penitents a lesson that included the reassuring verse: 'Blessed are they that mourn, for they shall be comforted,' while reminding those in the procession that 'through those who return to the unity of the Church we are increased in strength.'[27] When the lesson was over, the bishop began the anthem: 'Come ye, come ye, inside the aforesaid door.'[28] The deacon, on the part of the penitents outside the door, said, 'Let us knell.' Another deacon, on the part of the bishop, inside the door, responded, 'Rise.' This dialogue was repeated three times. Then the penitents were handed, one by one to the bishop, and by him were restored to the bosom of the Church. Finally, the procession returned to the altar to sing the seven penitential psalms. Collects followed asking the Lord to 'give to these … pardon for punishment, joy for sorrow, life for death … the reward of thy peace, and … heavenly gifts.' After the Mass, the day's events were concluded with John 14:1–31 and with a reference relevant to the façade design, 'In my Father's house are many mansions … I go to prepare a place for you.'[29] Thus, as on Palm Sunday, the most dramatic moments of the processions on Ash Wednesday and Maundy Thursday took place in front of the façade. When the penitents were cast out and later when they implored entrance into the Church, the City of God depicted above witnessed their ordeal. As on Palm Sunday, the verses sung related to the façade's imagery.

The façade's theme of resurrection was also central during funeral processions when the dead were buried in the cemetery of the laity beneath the façade. Immediately after death, the body of the deceased was prepared and carried in mournful procession into the church pre-ceded by a sexton ringing a small bell.[30] The bier was placed in the nave perpendicular to the choir screen, with the feet of the corpse stretched out to the east towards the high altar. Daily, until the day of burial, a prayer asked that the dead 'be accounted worthy to rejoice in the com-munion of thy saints,' and the day before burial a post-communion prayer beseeched God for the soul of the dead 'to be received by

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[26] Frere, *The Use*, vol 1, pp. 143, 303; and Bailey, *The Processions*, p. 20.
[27] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 237.
[28] Ibid., p. 238.
[29] Ibid., pp. 239–240.
[30] Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, p. 378.

the angels of light and to be carried to habitations prepared for the blessed.'[31] On the day of burial, Mass was said at the head of the corpse in front of the choir screen.[32] Before offering up the Eucharist, the choir chanted the Commendation of Souls consisting mainly of Psalm 118.[33] After the offering, it was asked on behalf of the dead during the collect that 'when the day of recognition shall arrive, he may be raised up, at thy bidding, among the saints and elect'; the same request for his soul was made in the Secret that followed: 'when thou shalt come again let it be counted worthy to be united to the company of thy saints.'[34] To the chanting of psalms of praise and paradise, the bier then was carried out through the small portals of the façade for the burial which took place before the sculptural company of Christ and the saints in the Heavenly Jerusalem. After the grave was blessed, incensed, and sprinkled, the body was lowered into it as Psalm 40 was sung begging God to forgive the sins of the soul of the departed.[35] After the Absolution, Psalm 130 was recited with a prayer calling upon heaven for mercy towards the dead. Finally, the beautiful verses of Psalm 138 ('If I ascend up into heaven … If I take the wings of the morning') were sung as the grave was filled up and the procession went back into the church, singing the seven penitential psalms. The façade's optimistic message of resurrection was thus associated with burial in the mourners' memory.

The mourners in the procession buried the dead with their feet to the east perpendicular to the façade, just as the corpse had earlier been placed before the choir screen. At this time and earlier it was believed paradise was in the east and from there Christ would be seen returning in His Glory.[36] Facing this sculptural vision at Wells, the mourners

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[31] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 176, 182.

[32] Ibid., p. 177; and Doberer, 'Die deutschen,' pp. 209–211. Often the sermon and prayers for the dead were read from the choir screen.

[33] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 129. Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, p. 383 explains that this is quite different from the Recommendation of the Soul for the dying. The *Commendatio Animarum* is said over the corpse after the *Dirige* (at matins and lauds for the dead) and just before Mass: he points out there is nothing similar to the *Comendatio Animarum* in the Roman ritual. He cites the Sarum Manual (Manuale ad Usum insignis ecclesiae sarum), fol. xcv, Appendix I in (*Manuale et Processionale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*), (Surtees Society, 1875) vol. 63, pp. 53* and 73*. See Chapter 5, p. 177.

[34] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, vol. 2, p. 182.

[35] Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, pp. 385–388.

[36] Ibid. p. 380, n. 48 quotes Honorius from the twelfth century, and Durandus from the thirteenth.

buried the dead and left them in the shadow and keeping of the saints of the Church. Then, the living returned to their place in the church before the choir screen. Accordingly, burials in front of the façade at Wells were framed temporally by stations in front of the choir screen.

A similar sequence of stations would have been made for the reception of distinguished quests. During these processions for 'purposes of respect,' a station, as on double feasts, was first made before the choir screen and verses were sung by three of the choir from the screen facing the people.[37] The procession then went out through the west door to the appointed place to receive the king, archbishop, bishop, or papal legate. The bishop incensed the guest and handed him the gospel to be kissed, then led him back through the portals of both the façade and choir screen to the high altar.

Yet of all these processions which underlined the parallel between the choir screen and the façade, the Palm Sunday procession was especially elaborate, and for it alone does the Sarum missal specify (*pueri in eminenciori loco canentes*). As Shortt pointed out, 'this exalted position simulated the walls of Jerusalem as the procession approached the west door.'[38] Although the façade at Wells was certainly conceived in consideration of the cemetery, it may have been designed, according to Blum, especially to accommodate the reenactment of the Entry into Jerusalem, 'one of the most dramatic events of the liturgical year' since only then does it seem that the openings for the singers made the carved angels appear to sing: 'The company of angels are praising thee on high.'[39]

Vestments

The majority of the angels remaining in the quatrefoils wear albs, some with copes (Figs. 48 and 51).[40] These are the vestments that the choir at Wells would have worn during processions, such as that on Palm

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[37] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 116 and 121; Reynolds, *Wells*, p. 34; and Bailey, *The Processions*, p. 26.

[38] Shortt, *Salisbury*, p. 4.

[39] Blum, *Salisbury*, p. 145.

[40] See Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 162, 186–188 for a more complete description of the following. From north to south (Fig. 56: a-u from left to right) the angels wear and carry the following: a: Girded alb and robe; b: Ungirded alb and mantle, *sudarium*, mitre; c: Ungirded alb, scroll; d: Girded alb and cope with morse,

Sunday. The Sarum Use and the Wells consuetudinary prescribe the cope primarily for processions and the alb generally for the members of the choir during processions and the Mass.[41] Originally there were either thirty or thirty-one angels; nine or ten, as the case may be, are lost.[42] The garments of nineteen of the twenty-one remaining angels can be identified: seven or eight wear tunics, twelve or thirteen wear albs, three of them wear copes. Because the classical tunic and mantle are the usual dress for angels before the fourteenth century, the predominance of angels wearing contemporaneous liturgical vestments at Wells is significant.[43] In fact, this seems to be one of the earliest sculptural programs depicting vested angels. Today, these angels signal the function of the façade as a choir-like screen just as the passage indexes its use during the Palm Sunday procession. Because these carved angels, arranged in a horizontal row as on choir screens, are dressed appropriately for Mass, as well as liturgical processions, they might also have brought to mind the Eucharist, as well as the *Gloria laus* during the 1220s.

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mitre; e: Ungirded alb, *sudarium* and crown; f: Girded alb with veil; g: Ungirded alb, crown; h: Mitre and crown; I: Girded alb, *sudarium* and mitre; j: Veil, crown and book; k: Tunic with veil; l: Tunic with mantle, mitre; m: Ungirded alb, *sudarium*; n: Alb and cope, *sudarium*; o: Girded tunic with jeweled collar and mantle, scroll; p: Tunic and mantle, *sudarium* and crown; q: Tunic or ungirded alb, *sudarium* and crown; r: Girded tunic, *sudarium*, crown and a palm; s: Ungirded alb and amice, *sudarium*, mitre; t: Ungirded tunic, *sudarium* and crown; u: Girded alb and cope with jeweled morse, book. Hence one wears an amice with the alb. Three wear copes, two with a jeweled morse. Ten hold a *sudarium*, twelve or thirteen wear albs, and seven or eight wear a tunic. Three of those wearing a tunic have mantles. There is no clear pattern to the distribution of these vestments across the façade. The trumpeting angels at the top of the central buttresses also wear alb and amice.

[41] Pearson, *Sarum*, pp. xli–xlii; Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 31; Bailey, *The Processions*, p. 14; and Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, p. 37. The alb is worn by all minor clerics and is the usual Mass dress of the choir. The Processional prescribes albs for the choir on double feasts. The cope is worn by the choir during choir and processions. Both alb and cope are worn by all clergy and are generally associated with liturgical processions. The cope is not strictly a sacerdotal vestment; it is pre-eminently processional and can be worn by all.

[42] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 147 states that there were thirty angels and nine are missing because he believes one of the quatrefoils originally had no angel.

[43] J. Villette, *L'ange dans l'art d'Occident du XIIème au XVIème Siècle France, Italie, Flandre, Allemagne* (Paris, 1940), pp. 71, 88. Usually in medieval art, as on the north transept of Chartres, all the angels wear tunics of antique design, but at Reims one of the angels on a buttress of the apse wears a dalmatic and maniple; another wears a cope with a morse. Most wear a tunic. As at Wells, a special meaning must have been intended at Reims. See Chapter 5, p. 168.

Above the angels in the upper zone of the façade priests, bishops, and popes all wear the following medieval vestments: alb, amice, chasuble and maniple.[44] These vestments are prescribed for these ministers during the Mass in the Sarum use, but they are also buried in them and are so depicted on tombs, such as those Jocelin commissioned for the choir at Wells (Figs. 13, 52 and 53).[45] This is also the dress for these clerics who have become saints, for example, the confessors and martyrs on the south transept at Chartres. As the usual dress for these clerics in medieval art, their vesting on the façade at Wells is not unusual but possibly significant given the context of the vested angels and the vested statues of deacons now to be considered.

The vestments worn by the statues of deacons, now five grouped together in the lower zone on the east side of the north tower of the façade, make these images unique in medieval art (Figs. 50 and 56:D). Originally there were at least six deacons, and possibly eight.[46] On the façade the deacons are paired, and the north pair are adjacent to statues dressed in togas who have been identified as New Testament preachers.[47] The deacons are clearly differentiated from these preachers by wearing thirteenth-century vestments. The deacons on the north wear dalmatics. South of this pair a deacon (next to a missing statue) wears a folded chasuble stolewise and a maniple (Fig. 51). To his south the first of the last pair of deacons, reading from north to south, wears a girded alb and stole with a maniple on his belt, and the second wears a surplice and stole with a maniple over his left arm.[48] The origin, duties,

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[44] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 149.

[45] Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, p. 391; and Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. cxli.

[46] A missing statue next to the deacon with folded chasuble is certain since Britton, *History*, Pl. IV depicts a full but damaged statue, and Cockerell, *Wells*, p. 115 (second plate) shows the lower part of such a figure. Neither provides enough information to identify what the deacon is wearing or doing. Additional figures could also have filled the two empty niches on the south side of the west buttress adjacent to the deacon in surplice.

[47] The juxtaposition of deacons with New Testament preachers in the lower zone is appropriate since the apostles selected the order of deacons in Acts 6:3: 'seven men of good reputation full of the Holy Ghost.' Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, p. 158 has suggested that a seated statue located in the highest tier of the southernmost buttress on the north side of the north tower, which has been identified usually as a priest, may be Saint Stephen, as first of the seven deacons chosen by the apostles. Unlike the other priests, he does not wear a chasuble but is vested in amice, alb, maniple, and dalmatic. His left hand holds a book, but his damaged right hand appears to have been held in his lap between the knees pointing downwards towards the group of six deacons.

[48] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 186 identified all the figures as deacons. Colchester, *The West Front*, p. 10 has identified only two of the statues as deacons,

and dress of the deacon are explained by Hugh of St. Victor in *De Sacramentis*.[49] The apostles in the New Testament instituted the order of deacons and commanded them to preach the gospel. When the deacon was ordained, the bishop placed a stole on his left shoulder and gave him the text of the Gospels to designate him a herald of the Gospel of Christ.

The statues are located opposite the north porch, through which the canons of Wells entered the church, and are particularly visible as a group from the north, the direction from which the canons would have approached the church from their houses. These vested statues of deacons replicate the dress of thirteenth-century deacons during processions and the Mass and, accordingly, mirrored the liturgical life of the canons. The laity, as well as the canons, probably recognized the implication of their location on the north tower since the gospel was read to them during the Mass from the choir screen by the deacon facing to the north, as does the center statue who wears the folded chasuble.[50] Appropriately, events from the Gospels are depicted above the deacons in the quatrefoils.

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the last pair on the south, one wearing a surplice, and the other a girded alb. He identified as subdeacons the statue wearing the folded chasuble and the statue wearing an amice and alb without a book of the first pair on the north (Pl. 50); nonetheless, next to the statue without a book he specified an acolyte wearing an amice and alb and holding a half-closed book. W.H. Hope, 'On some remarkable ecclesiastical figures in the cathedral church of Wells,' *Archaeologia* 54, pt. 1(1844):85–86 identified the statue wearing the folded chasuble as a deacon. The first pair on the south he identified as deacons in the text, but in the caption of the photograph the statue wearing the surplice is labeled as a deacon whereas the statue wearing a girded alb is labeled as a subdeacon. He identified the first pair on the north as an epistoler and gospeller dressed for the mass, and in the caption of the photos they are labeled as deacon and subdeacon. Each wears cassock, amice, alb, and a long tunicle. He pointed out that the tunicles are slit, i.e. open on each side, half-way to the waist. At the time Hope was writing, tunicle and dalmatic were interchangeable terms. Strictly speaking, the tunicle is a shorter version of the dalmatic. The long, slit garment worn by the figures in each case is a dalmatic. It is unlikely that either of these figures represents an acolyte wearing an alb since the statues wear the looser sleeved dalmatic over the alb (the tighter sleeves of the alb are seen inside the sleeves of the dalmatic). The dalmatic is not worn by an acolyte, although a tunicle may be worn. If these were subdeacons or acolytes the shorter form of the dalmatic, i.e., the tunicle should have been represented. See Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. lv; and Rock, *Church*, vol. 1, pp. 307–328 for medieval representations and descriptions of dalmatic and tunicle. In the Sarum liturgy only the deacon can wear the folded chasuble, but both deacon and subdeacon carry the gospel open, upright on the chest, as will be explained below, p. 147 n. 52.

[49] Deferrari, *Hugh*, pp. 265–267.
[50] Hope, 'Quire Screens,' p. 47.

Although the statues might simply represent the seven deacons appointed by the apostles, the specificity of their vestments singles them out for special notice and suggests particular liturgical references, especially since customarily the dalmatic alone identifies the deacon in medieval art. Before the façade lost its medieval paint, the detail of each vestment may have defined specific liturgical events recognizable by, at least, a clerical audience. But today, any interpretation must remain hypothetical, if only because of the missing statue in the niche next to the deacon who wears the folded chasuble.

Certainly, a statement more precise than was usual on church façades was originally intended since this center deacon wears the only known medieval representation of the folded chasuble.[51] The chasuble was folded stole-wise and worn diagonally across the chest only for Advent and during Lent, from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday. Then, the deacon wore the chasuble folded during the Mass from the reading of the gospel until after communion.[52] After reading the gospel, the deacon, or his subdeacon, carried the gospel book through the choir back to the altar upright on his breast. This action immediately preceded the celebration of the Mass. Consequently, the center deacon's vestment, his location on the façade, and perhaps his action may indicate the Mass, specifically during Advent or Lent.[53]

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[51] Hope, 'Ecclesiastical,' p. 85. This statement is also based on my survey of the deacon in the Princeton Index of Christian Art.

[52] Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, p. 74; Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, pp. liii, lv, xli, lxvii, 296; Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 121–123; and Reynolds, *Wells*, pp. 35–37. The Wells consuetudinary specifies the deacon as wearing the folded chasuble, but the subdeacon as carrying the gospel. Frere refers to the subdeacon carrying the text as a variant reading of the deacon who carries the text in the Sarum use. Pearson states that there is much confusion, first, as to whether it is the deacon or subdeacon who brings back the text and second, as to who delivers it to the priest. He has cited the subdeacon in the Ordinary of the Mass, but he mentions that if the priest kisses the text, it is given to him on the left by the subdeacon; if the Book of the Gospels, it is given to him on the right by the deacon. Rock, *Church*, vol. 4, pp. 74, 221 states that the deacon wore the folded chasuble when reading the gospel, but that the subdeacon, not the deacon, carried it upright on his chest in the procession before Mass. The designation of deacon will be used in the interpretation that follows since on the basis of vestment analysis outlined above p. 145 n. 48, it seems more likely a deacon is represented.

[53] A book is a common attribute in representations of the deacon in medieval art; sometimes the book is open. If the deacon's action were not meant to evoke a precise moment of the Mass and if only veneration of the gospel were intended, the open book would still have been associated with the gospel reading. This would also be true if even a simple preaching gesture, similar to that of the New Testament preacher to his left, was intended. Nonetheless, it seems more likely a particular meaning is intended since the statue not only carries the book but also wears the unusual folded chasuble.

Each of the other vested statues of deacons, especially when painted, may have also specified a liturgical season or event. For example, the surplice and stole worn by the deacon to the south of the center deacon may have designated Easter and Pentecost. The Wells consuetudinary and the Sarum Use prescribe the surplice for the five deacons, who sing the Litany during the procession to the font preceding baptism, during the Vigil of Easter.[54] After the procession, but before the Mass, baptism took place at the font; therefore, this sacrament could also be associated with the surplice.[55] On Easter Eve not only did the five deacons wear the surplice to the font, but when the *Gloria in excelsis* was intoned during the Mass, all the clerics cast aside their black cloaks, dropping the livery of sorrow, and put on white surplices, symbolizing the new man; they wore the surplice throughout Easter and its octave and again at Pentecost and its octave to indicate the season of rejoicing.[56] Just as the folded chasuble specified Advent and Lent, the surplice was particularly associated with Easter but also with Pentecost.[57]

Less specific in meaning are the alb worn by the deacon who is paired with the statue wearing the surplice and the dalmatics worn by the two deacons to the north of the deacon wearing the folded chasuble.[58] The alb was the deacon's usual processional vestment. He

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[54] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 118; Reynolds, *Wells*, p. 31; Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, p. 149; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 277–279; and Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 166. The deacon wears the dalmatic during the office on Easter Eve. Only Pearson fails to mention the five deacons and refers only to the two carrying oil and chism.

[55] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 284.

[56] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 31, 118; Reynolds, *Wells*, pp. 5, 32; Frere, *The Use*, p. 24; Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, p. 70; vol. 4, p. 286; and Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 31. Without specifying deacons, the lessons at matins, on double feasts and through the octaves of Easter and Whitsun are read in surplices, as are the lessons at Mass. Responsories on all double feasts and during the weeks of Easter and Whitsun are sung in surplices. See also Bailey, *The Processions*, p. 14 who explains that the boys and clerks wear surplices from the Vigil of Easter until the end of the Octave, from the Vigil of Pentecost until the end of the Octave, on all double feasts from Easter until the feast of Saint Michael, and on the octaves of the Assumption and Nativity. Their ordinary choir habit was a black cope.

[57] Except for the folded chasuble, all the vestments worn by the statues are worn on Easter Eve in the procession to the font. The pairing of alb and surplice could have been intended to suggest this procession since the two deacons in the procession who carry the oil and chrism wore albs. Other deacons wore dalmatics. Still the statues wearing albs do not carry the oil and chrism.

[58] The alb was worn in processions on Christmas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, and on Rogation days. For the use of alb and dalmatic, see: Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 31, 114–117, 124, 125, 129; Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, pp. 26, 207; Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, pp. xlii, 571; Reynolds, *Wells*, pp. 5, 35, 47, 48; and Rock, *Church*, vol. 1, p. 313.

wore it on Palm Sunday when all wore albs, and he wore it at the altar on Good Friday, Vigils, and Ember Days. The dalmatic is the most common vestment for deacons. Except during Advent and Lent, the deacon wore a dalmatic during Mass when he read the gospel, and he also sometimes wore it for processions, as on Christmas and Maundy Thursday. Hope believed, however, that the statue of the deacon in alb referred to the Mass for the Dead and that those wearing the dalmatic referred to *solemn obsequies* of the dead.[59] Considering the use of the west door of the façade for funerals, Hope's interpretation might be relevant for both alb and dalmatic.

Still other interpretations might be considered. Because the statues wearing dalmatics face the statue of the deacon wearing the folded chasuble, they could relate to him and be read as a group. On Maundy Thursday, for example, the dalmatic is worn by deacons in the procession. It might be significant that the sculpture in the quatrefoils above the statues wearing dalmatics depict Christ before the High Priest, before Pilate, and also His Scourging, although the Last Supper is on the north side of the tower. (Fig. 56: 41, 43, 44, and 45). The alb is also worn on this day by the deacon accompanying the penitents, as is the surplice which is prescribed for the deacon of the second rank who, after the washing of feet, reads the gospel.[60] This seems to be the only time besides Easter Eve when the surplice is worn by the deacon. Maundy Thursday terminates Lent and is the last day when the folded chasuble is worn. Therefore, all of the depicted vestments are worn on this day when the gospel reading, John 13:16–38, 14:1–31, concludes with Christ's promise of the Heavenly Jerusalem, 'In my Father's house are many mansions,' anticipating the joyful season that will be announced on Easter Eve when all the clerics take off their black cloaks and put on white surplices. Nonetheless, identification of Maundy Thursday as the day specified by all the deacons might be too specific.

Another interpretation can be suggested. Located on the face of the east buttress, somewhat separate from the others, the deacon wearing a surplice and the deacon wearing an alb are the last pair in the sequence of statues extending around the north tower, and their juxtaposition might be significant. Above them the quatrefoils depict Christ carrying

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[59] Hope, 'Ecclesiastical,' p. 86. Because they wear dalmatics without stole or maniple, these deacons could refer to *solemn obsequies* or processions instead of the Mass.

[60] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 236–251; and Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 135–143.

the cross and originally the Crucifixion; to the right of the deacon wearing the surplice are the Resurrection and Ascension, the last scenes in the quatrefoil series (Fig. 56: 46, 47, 48, and 49). The alb, which is often worn by the deacon on solemn occasions, might indicate the Mass for the Dead or Good Friday when juxtaposed with the surplice, which in contrast generally signifies innocence and joy.[61] If the alb indicates Good Friday, the deacons' vestments would refer in sequence to the major Pascal events: the dalmatics and folded chasuble are worn on Maundy Thursday, the alb on Good Friday, and the surplice on Easter.

Although indeterminate, all these interpretations cluster around Lent and Easter and hence the Pascal season. Because the passage concealed behind the quatrefoils was almost certainly designed for Palm Sunday, Lent not Advent seems the better identification for the deacon wearing the folded chasuble.[62] The high visibility of the surplice at Easter also makes it likely that this garment was meant to contrast with the distinctive Lenten folded chasuble. No doubt, the alb and dalmatic are also related in meaning, although the variety of their use makes specific identification difficult. Yet even the meaning of death and burial that Hope suggested for them would relate to the Easter season and hence would be in keeping with Resurrection and the façade program of *Ecclesia triumphans*.

In this case the deacons would complement the reference to Easter suggested for three female statues on the north tower who have been identified as the Three Marries and the Virgin at the Resurrection. (Fig. 56: the Virgin is indicated as *L*; Mary Magdalene is number 50; and the flanking female figures are indicated as L, for ladies.) These statues are located in the lower zone on the east side of the northeast buttress between the preachers and disciples. Like the statues of deacons, they can best be viewed from the east and are in a plane parallel to those deacons wearing dalmatics, alb, and surplice and are hence visually adjacent to them. The Virgin stands out from the others because she wears a chasuble in keeping with her identity as *Ecclesia*.[63] The other figures have been identified as Joanna the wife of Chuza,

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[61] Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, p. 70; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 251; and Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 143.

[62] On Palm Sunday the deacon would have been wearing the folded chasuble during the Mass, but the other deacons' vestments are not worn on Palm Sunday; hence the entire reference cannot be to Palm Sunday.

[63] Sampson, *Wells Cathedra1*, p. 154. The Virgin also wears a chasuble in the Ascension quatrefoil scene.

Salome the wife of Zebedee (or Mary Cleophas), Mary Magdalene with her box of ointment, and Mary the mother of James, Salome, and Joses, witnesses to the Resurrection according to Luke 24:10 and John 19:25.[64]

On Easter morning the Anglo-Saxon Rule of Dunstan, gives directions for four members of the choir, one in an alb to represent the angel at the tomb and three vested in copes to portray Mary Magdalen, Mary the mother of James, and Salome bringing sweet spices to anoint Jesus, as described in Mark 16:1.[65] Their dialogue concludes with the three clerics in copes crying out together, 'Alleluia, the Lord is risen.' This drama commonly known as *quem quaeritis* is not specified in the Sarum missal, but the missal does include (before Mass but after the Easter procession has returned to the cross in the church) directions for a precentor to recite the lines of the angel and for three clerks of higher rank (vested in silk copes, standing in the pulpit and turning to the people) to respond by praising Him who rose from the dead.[66] Located on the east side of the north tower in the lower zone of the façade, neither these female statues nor the deacons are the focal point of the façade program, but they are prominent when viewed from the north porch through which the canons and the regular congregation attended services.

Although the attention paid to the deacons' dress could have something to do with Jocelin's earlier position as deacon at Wells, the diversity of their dress makes them significant, and they need to be interpreted coherently within the larger program of the façade. Certainly, the vestments identify the duties of the deacons within the City of God. Clearly, the deacon with folded chasuble is dressed for the Mass, probably during Lent. Quite possibly, the deacon in surplice suggests the Easter season. Otherwise, a reading of the group of deacons must, today, remain indeterminate.

Nonetheless, the deacons' vestments, especially the folded chasuble, can be interpreted further in relation to the sculptural program. Within the liturgical year Advent and Lent were understood as periods of preparation for the joyful seasons of Christmas and Easter, respectively. Since Lent (from Septuagesima to Maundy Thursday) instead of

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[64] Hope, 'The Imagery,' pp. 151–152, 185, and Pl. 38. Tudor-Craig, *Sculpture*, pp. 112, 129, and n.36. See Chapter 2, p. 59.

[65] Rock, *Church*, vol. 4, p. 117.

[66] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 292.

Advent in the context of the vestments of the other deacons seemed most likely to be the season indicated by the folded chasuble, it can be considered a Lenten garment on the façade of Wells. Septuagesima, the seventy days before Easter, initiates a period of sadness that the liturgy keeps up throughout Lent. Both Aelfric and the author of the twelfth-century sermon written in the West-Saxon dialect explain that the Christian is in bondage for his sins during this period and hence must forsake singing the blissful songs, *Alleluia* and *Te Deum Laudamus*, until Eastertide (the seven weeks from Easter to Pentecost).[67]

In the Sarum liturgy this was also the case, and Genesis was read on Septuagesima Sunday in mourning for Adam's weakness.[68] The Old Testament quatrefoils on the south side of the façade at Wells depict only Genesis and feature Adam and Noah. It may be significant that adjacent to the last quatrefoil, now missing, is the scene of Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh, one of the final events in Genesis since in the Sarum breviary the story of Adam is read for Septuagesima and the story of Noah for Sexagesima; the third week of Quadragesima brings Genesis to an end.[69]

Because the sequence of events in the New Testament quatrefoils on the north side of the façade also can be related generally to their sequence in the Sarum missal, a correspondence seems possible between the Old and New Testament quatrefoils and sermons during the liturgical year. In the course of the Mass the sermon, which was preached to the laity in the vernacular, followed and explained the gospel reading.[70] If sermons based on the Sarum missal or breviary were the source for the narratives in the quatrefoils at Wells, the few

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[67] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 85; Morris, *Twelfth*, p. 53; Rock, *Church*, vol. 4, p. 142; and Freer, *Sarum*, vol. 1, p. 311. Except at Advent, during the interval between Septuagesima and Easter Sunday, and for a few special feasts of the year this hymn was sung immediately after the response to the last lesson of Matins on Sundays and most feasts.

[68] Rock, *Church*, vol. 4, p. 69.

[69] See Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium Sarum*, (Septuagesima to Quadragesima). The fourth and fifth weeks of Quadragesima, Passion, and Palm Sunday feature Old Testament prefigurations for salvation; these would have complemented gospel readings about the life of Christ.

[70] Roberts, *Studies*, pp. 53–64. Preaching after the gospel reading was an established part of the Roman rite by the middle of the twelfth century. Most of Stephen Langton's extant sermons are addressed to lay audiences, were delivered in the vernacular, and, for the most part, were preached on Sunday or during festivals of the liturgical year. The sermons of Stephen Langton were later brought together and arranged according to the ecclesiastical calendar, as were other sermon manuals.

events that appear at Wells but are not found in extant sources (or that have a slightly different sequence) could be based on earlier lost liturgical books at Wells or could represent insertions from lost sermons. For example, the events of Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh and Christ in Simon's house, although not found in extant Wells and Sarum liturgical works, might have been inserted in related sermons as types of the Church. Christ in Simon's house is a frequent type, especially in Palm Sunday sermons.[71]

A reading of the quatrefoils in conjunction with the deacons' vestments also suggests that they might have once been meant to indicate the ages of world history. During the eleventh century Aelfric explained these ages in sermons on the second Sunday in Epiphany and especially on Septuagesima Sunday.[72] The first age of the world extended from Adam to Noah.[73] The law of Moses prevailed until the birth of John the Baptist.[74] The sixth age extended from the Incarnation until the Second Coming and is often referred to as the period of grace.[75] It was generally believed that the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem would initiate the last age, which was often considered to be the seventh age.[76]

If both the Old Testament quatrefoils depicting Genesis (the first age) and the New Testament quatrefoils (the last, sixth age) are considered as depictions of world history, both correspond to the period of sadness preceding Easter, the period when the human race was in bondage, i.e. the Lenten period of preparation, like the folded chasuble. These quatrefoils form a band parallel to the frieze of glorified bodies resurrected for the eternal Sabbath at the top of the façade, the final Easter, to which the surplice probably refers. Tenth-century

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[71] Two of the scenes in the Old Testament quatrefoils are missing, as are seven scenes in the New Testament quatrefoils. Two of the scenes, Jacob blessing Ephraim and Manasseh and the Expulsion of Cain, are not found in the Sarum breviary. The Sarum missal and breviary are later in date than the façade, and I have found no collection of contemporaneous sermons corresponding to the order of scenes on the façade. The similarity of the events in the quatrefoils to those in the missal and breviary might only be due to the fact that each follows the chronology of biblical events. In this case liturgical as well as sculptural evidence is insufficient for more than conjecture.

[72] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, pp. 59–73.

[73] Crawford, *Heptateuch*, pp. 23–24.

[74] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 52.

[75] Ibid., p. 70; Belfour, *Twelfth*, p. 113; Morris, *Tenth Century*, p. 70.

[76] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 70. Although most refer to this last age as the seventh, Aelfric calls it the eighth age, since he considered the seventh to exist for the blessed simultaneously with the sixth. See Chapter 2 p. 72.

homilies presented Lent as a figure of the present world and Easter as denoting heaven and eternal blessedness; in fact, in referring to the Second Coming, the tenth-century Blicking homily predicted that 'this paschal festival presents to us a manifest token of the eternal life … so that none may need doubt that the event shall happen at this present season.'[77]

On the façade at Wells pascal and apocalyptic references obviously relate to the cemetery of the laity located below, where the dead await resurrection at the Second Coming. In the Sarum breviary the readings are from the Apocalypse during Eastertide.[78] The Apocalypse is read until Rogations, the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday preceding Ascension Day, which is forty days after Easter and the last event depicted in the sequence of quatrefoils at Wells. The period between Christ's Resurrection and Ascension is logically the period during which to reflect on the Second Coming and resurrection to eternal life.

The façade in its totality might also have been understood as referring to Pentecost, as the jubilee-octave of Easter; occurring ten days after the Ascension, Pentecost is often viewed as the conclusion of Eastertide; for this reason the deacon wore a surplice for both Easter and Pentecost. Significantly, processions are documented before the façade at Wells for Ascension Day and Pentecost. Deacons were instituted in Acts to help the apostles in their work after Pentecost. Pentecost commemorated the moment in Acts when the gifts of the Holy Spirit transformed the disciples into the Church of God devoted to the task of preaching Christ's Second Coming. Just as the Holy Ghost transformed the disciples, during baptism the Holy Ghost sanctifies each individual to become a member of the Church. The statues of deacons are the last in the series of figures in the lower zone of the façade at Wells. Except for the Virgin wearing a chasuble, the deacons are the only extant statues in the lower zone wearing vestments instead of togas and mantles. Their vestments hence relate them to the similarly dressed members of the post-biblical Church in the upper zone, possibly indicating a post-pentecostal status. Such a reference to the institution of

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[77] Morris, *Tenth*, pp. 35, 82.

[78] Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium Sarum*, week of Pentecost; and O.K. Werckmeister, 'The First Romanesque Beatus Manuscripts and the Liturgy of Death,' *Actas del Simposio Para el Estudio de los Codices del 'Comentario al apoicalipsis' de Beato de Libana* (Madrid, 1980), vol. 2, p. 173. In the Visigothic liturgy the Apocalypse was read from Easter to Pentecost to relate Christ's resurrection to mankind's future resurrection. In the burial church of San Isidoro it was used for the liturgy of the dead.

the Church would relate to the general ecclesiological emphasis of the sculptural program.

Because Pentecost was the jubilee-octave of Easter, Herbert of Losinga says in his twelfth-century sermon on the day of Pentecost, 'the year of jubilee signifieth the year of the holy Gospel, where in all sins are remitted.'[79] Significantly, there is no indication of sin or retribution on the façade. In England, 1220 was the jubilee of the death of Thomas Becket and thereby a time of general remission of sins and a year of celebration commemorating the triumph of the Church.[80] As will be later presented, the façade's representation of the final Easter seems also to have celebrated the triumph of the English Church.[81] Appropriate for a façade celebrating Eastertide was the imagery of the 'blissful song,' *Te Deum Laudamus*, which during the Pascal season 'had to be forsaken' until Eastertide:

> The glorious company of the Apostles praise Thee. The goodly fellowship of the Prophets praise Thee. The noble army of Martyrs praise Thee. To Thee all angels cry aloud, the heavens and all the powers therein. Thou art the King of Glory, O Christ; when Thou tookest upon Thee to deliver man, Thou didst not abhor the Virgin's womb. The holy Church throughout all the world doth acknowledge Thee. When Thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, Thou didst open the kingdom of heaven to all believers. We therefore pray Thee help Thy servants, whom Thou hast redeemed with Thy precious blood. Make them to be numbered with Thy saints, in glory everlasting.[82]

Among this company of the Church Triumphant and within the apocalyptic context of the façade, the deacons may have been viewed, as Hugh of St. Victor described them, like, 'angels in the Apocalypse playing on the Trumpet. For they … advise all either to pray or to sing the Psalms of David or to read and hear the word.'[83]

When the deacon read the gospel from the choir screen, he read as though from the Heavenly Jerusalem and the hill prepared for it, Mount Sion.[84] Both Innocent III and Durandus explained that the gos-

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[79] Goulburn and Symonds, *Sermons of Bishop Herbert de Losinga*, p. 161.

[80] Powicke, *Stephen*, p. 144; and R. Foreville, *Le Jubilé de Saint Thomas Becket du XIIIe au Xve siècle, (1220–1470)* (Paris, 1958), p. 11.

[81] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 135, 206; idem, 'Jocelin,' p. 322; and Chapter 6, p. 222.

[82] Cockerell, *Iconography*, p. 34 first compared this Ambrosian hymn frequently sung in the Anglo-Saxon and Sarum liturgy to the façade.

[83] Deferrari, *Hugh*, pp. 257–265; and Brieger, *Trinity*, p. 33. Berengaudus text in the Trinity College Apocalypse refers to the seven angels holding trumpets as preachers.

[84] L.H. Stookey, 'The Gothic Cathedral as the Heavenly Jerusalem: Liturgical and

pel read from the choir screen announces the kingdom of heaven and that, in a sense, the choir screen elevates the deacon to the Heavenly Jerusalem in order to proclaim this message.[85] Durandus' commentary on the rood loft further clarifies why the deacons, as well as the apostles, preachers, and New Testament scenes, may have been placed on the north side of the façade's choir screen zone at Wells: 'he that readeth the Gospel, passeth to the left side; and setteth his face to the North …' Earlier in his text Durandus had associated the gospel reading with the Heavenly Jerusalem in the following way:

> The Bishop therefore or the Priest, visibly blesseth the Deacon, who is about to read the Gospel … He [Christ] sent forth His Apostles and Evangelists and taught them saying, '*Go and teach, saying, the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.*' S. Matthew 10:7 … And he sendeth him to read the Gospel, to note that Christ sent the Apostles to preach the Kingdom of God … When the Deacon comes to the Rood Loft, he … ascendth that he may read the Gospel … according to that saying of the Prophet, *O thou that evangelizes to Sion, get thee up into the high mountain* (Isaiah 11:9).[86]

Previously Innocent III had explained this reference to Isaiah with Matthew 5:1–3: 'The Lord went up in the mountain, and preached the Gospel … saying: Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'[87] The deacon's use of the choir screen to proclaim the kingdom of heaven from an elevated position thus associated the choir screen with the Heavenly Jerusalem just before the Eucharist was celebrated.

Theological Sources,' *Gesta* 8(1969):40 n. 4; and 39 n. 3. In eschatological writing Sion refers to the hill prepared to receive the Heavenly Jerusalem when the Messiah appears.

[85] E.K. Doberer, 'Die Lettner, seine Bedeutung und Geschichte,' *Mittelungen der Gesellschaft für vergleichende Kunstforschung* (Vienna, 1956), p. 120.

[86] Neale and Webb, eds., *Durandus*, pp. 220–225.

[87] Innocent III, *Sacramenti Eucharistiae*, 'Ordo Missae,' *P.L.*, vol. 217, col. 824.

EUCHARISTIC PRACTICE

For the laity the liturgy made the image of the choir screen not only a sign of heaven but also of Holy Communion. The deacon read the gospel from the choir screen just before Mass was celebrated, and at the moment of the consecration of the Host, signaled by the ringing of bells, the lay congregation faced the choir screen to receive the Eucharist at altars placed against it; the choir screen thus served as reredos for the communion of the laity.[1] Just as the angels in the quatrefoils and the concealed passage for singers still indicate the Palm Sunday procession, the portal zone of the façade testifies with its gable and quatrefoil design to eucharistic meanings otherwise lost with the destruction of the central statues of this zone.[2]

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[1] Most people received communion once a year in their parish church following confession and penance. See M. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 73. Most cathedrals served partly for parishioners. See Chapter 4, p. 133 n. 7. By the twelfth century it was seldom granted to the laity to receive at the main altar; they usually received communion at a side altar where the sacrament had been placed beforehand, or where a special Mass was said. See Jungman, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 374, and P. Browe, 'Mittelalterliche Kommunionriten,' *Jahrbuch fur Liturgiewissenschaft* 15(1941):40. This additional altar was sometimes built just outside the presbytery against the choir screen which formed a dignified backing with a second altar added when necessary. See Jungman, *The Mass*, vol. 1, p. 256; Braun, *Altar*, vol. 1, pp. 401–406; Bond, *English*, vol. 1, p. 131; and Hope, 'Quire Screens,' pp. 47, 52–59, 85–87, 111–119 and Pl. xxi who cited specific examples at Old Sarum, Lincoln, Chichester, Southwell, Beverly, and Ripon where parishioners had an earlier or prescriptive right to the church. Located against the *pulpitum* at Lincoln were the altar of the Holy Cross and the altar of the parishioners of Saint Mary Magdalene who had parochial rights until the late thirteenth century. Hope mentioned that at Wells, when in the fourteenth century a new choir screen was constructed further to the east since no parochial rights were then involved, the two altars that had stood against the old *pulpitum* were moved elsewhere. Church, *Chapters*, pp. 32, 322–329, 419 located these altars of the Blessed Virgin and a secondary altar to St. Andrew on either side of the central door of the choir screen at Wells, adding that the altar of St. Andrew was lately constructed in 1306.

[2] Sampson, *Wells Cathedral*, pp. 177. Unaware of the relationship of the façade to choir screens or the eucharistic meaning of the sculpture that I had discussed earlier in lectures, Sampson observed independently, in his study of measurements, 'If we imagine the plan of the quire tipped up on end, then the central doors of the façade correspond to the choir doors through the pulpitum, and the seated figure of Christ

Popular devotion to the Eucharist had increased during the twelfth century. By the first decade of the thirteenth century it had become Church business. In 1246 it would culminate in the feast of *corpus Christi*. The Lateran Council in 1215 declared that 'There is one true universal church of the faithful, outside of which no one can be saved, in which Jesus Christ himself is priest and sacrifice, whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar beneath the species of bread and wine: the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine into the blood, by Divine power … And no one has the power to confect this sacrament except the priest who has been rightly ordained by the keys of the Church.'[3]

Still the Lateran did not define whether Christ's earthly or glorified risen body was present in the Eucharist.[4] It was not the mode of presence which Innocent III wished to affirm but the presence, itself, in order to curtail heresy.[5] Nonetheless, because of church reaction to twelfth-century heretics, the majority of Christians by the thirteenth-century had become aware of the eucharistic real presence.[6] Even at the end of the eleventh century Lanfranc's view that the entire physical body of Christ was present in every consecrated Host was called by his opponent, Berengar, the mob point of view, i. e. the popular view of the laity.[7] In 1088 Lanfranc had demonstrated visually at Canterbury the doctrine of the real presence by introducing a new ritual procession

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is in the position of the high altar, where every day is repeated the miracle of the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the actual presence of the Saviour.'

[3] D. Devlin, 'Corpus Christi: A Study in Medieval Eucharistic Theory, Devotion, and Practice,' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago, 1975), p. 2.

[4] Ibid., pp. 3, 11, 49, 51–52 explains that the Council's use of the word transubstantiation was based on theological discussions from the ninth century on, but how transubstantiation occurred was not definded before Thomas Aquinas. The term itself appears in the mid twelfth century and is used to describe the mode of Christ's presence in the sacrament between 1150 and 1215. Eleventh- and twelfth-century theologians had emphasized the real presence in order to refute heretics in spite of their inclination towards the spiritual nature of Christ's presence.

[5] P.G. Macy, *The theologies of the Eucharist in the early scholastic Period, A study of the Salvific Function of the Sacrament according to the Theologians c. 1080–c. 1220* (Oxford, 1984), p. 140, n. 35. Innocent III did not intend to curtail theological discussion; he simply used the common term of transubstantiation which had been used to assert the real presence against the claims of the Cathars.

[6] Ibid., p. 91; G.G. Grant, 'The Elevation of the Host: A reaction to twelfth-century heresy,' *Theological Studies* 1(1940):228–250; and Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, pp. 157–158 connect the rise of eucharistic devotion with opposition to popular heresy.

[7] Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 54–58.

with the consecrated Host on Palm Sunday.[8] Almost a century and a half later at Wells the passage was constructed behind the angels on the façade for choirs accompanying this same procession. In some respects, the Palm Sunday procession was a precedent for that of Corpus Christi initiated in 1264.[9]

Since the tenth century confession and other conditions had been commonly required before communion, making it difficult to achieve.[10]

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[8] Ibid., pp. 12, 294. This rite was established by Lanfranc in his *Constitutions* around 1070–1080 for the re-enactment of Christ's entry. Bailey, *The Processions*, pp. 116–117, and n. 31 explains that during the procession the Host was carried in the same position as the relics, and when both were carried, they shared the same pyx. He believes that this was neither an Anglo-Saxon nor a Norman custom, unless very recent or local, since it was not described by John of Avranches. A. King, *Eucharistic Reservation in the Western Church* (London, 1965), pp. 53–54 believes, however, that the procession originated in the Norman abbey of Bec which practiced other devotions to the Sacrament, such as eucharistic reservation on Holy Thursday for the presanctified rite. Church, *Chapters*, p. 5 mentions that Giso of Wells was one of the bishops who consecrated Lanfranc in 1070, and hence the procession may early have been observed at Wells.

[9] Devotion to the Eucharist could have been stimulated in England partly by practices, such as this procession at Canterbury which may have initiated carrying the Host during the Palm Sunday procession as observed in the Sarum liturgy and in the Wells consuetudinary. Bailey, *The Processions*, pp. 174–175; and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 257 concur that the *Gloria laus et honor* was taken from the Palm Sunday liturgy. King, *Eucharistic*, p. 54 mentions that the Canterbury statutes of Lanfranc were adopted at St. Albans by the first abbot after the Conquest. This procession at St. Albans prevailed under Simeon 1160–1183. On the other hand, E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: papers on the liturgy and religious life of the western church* (Oxford, 1918 reprinted 1962) pp. 278–279, 290, 292, 300 believed that, although Hereford copied it from Rouen during the twelfth century, Sarum did not get it from Hereford or Rouen. According to Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 245–246, 267–269, the Palm Sunday procession could have provided a model for processional celebrations on Corpus Christi in which the clergy carried the Eucharist to the altar, although Corpus Christi far transcended the scope of this traditional event. Although Corpus Christi was not established until 1264, the Wells façade was designed at the same time that Juliana of Mt. Cornillon conceived of instigating this feast day while growing up within a strong local eucharistic tradition near Liege. Watkins, *Wells*, p. xxviii notes that Corpus Christi was early adopted at Wells since it is mentioned in the Statutes of 1278 (and still earlier if the consuetudinary dates to around 1270); he points out that the date of 1318, referred to by Frere is merely the date of its extension to the whole diocese. (See Frere, *The Use*, vol. 2, pp. xxxviii, xxxi.) Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 280, 290–292 points out that usually where Corpus Christi was adopted before 1312 heresy had been a threat historically, as in France, the Low Countries, and the Rhineland. This was not the case in England where it became the laity's favorite feast by the fourteenth century.

[10] Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 144–155 explains the difficulties referring to the work of Browe and Jungman. He mentions poor church organization, fasting for a certain number of days, abstaining from flesh meat for up to a week and from all sexual activity for anything from a few days to a month, as well as avoiding any venial sins for a fixed period of time, before confessions could be made.

The Synod of Coventry in 1237, for example, desired a previous fast of half a week for lay people.[11] Growing belief in the real presence meant that unworthy communion profaned the actual person of God, re-subjected Christ's body to the indignities of the crucifixion, and brought down judgment on the recipient; hence clerical concern for protecting the Eucharist from sacrilege made twelfth-century preachers discourage unworthy reception.[12] The result was infrequent lay celebration. Yet the clergy did not discourage the laity's devotion to the Eucharist, and a suitable substitute for communion came to be gazing at the Host since this spiritual communion established a less dangerous personal relationship with Christ's body.[13] By the beginning of the thirteenth century to keep the people from adoring the Host before it had become Christ's body, it was elevated over the priest's head after consecration to display it to the people.[14]

Although a popular cult of the Eucharist was developing which stressed Christ's humanity, William of Auxerre, a Parisian master, still emphasized between 1215 and 1225 that both the bread and wine and the body and blood were symbols of the mystical body of Christ which is the Church. For William there were two kinds of spiritual reception: the traditional, simple incorporation into the mystical body, the Church, and a closer incorporation which stressed the humanity of Christ.[15] Both modes stress incorporation into the mystical body of Christ, the corporate Church. Later the feast of Corpus Christi was to emphasize further Christ's humanity while the sacramental nature of the Eucharist as a community function and as a sacrificial rite would

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[11] Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 364.

[12] D. Sabean, *Power in the Blood* (Cambridge, 1984), p. 37 points out the basis in Corinthians II:27–30.

[13] Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 170, 197; Macy, *Eucharist*, p. 91; and Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia*, vol. 1, pp. 157–158.

[14] Ibid., p. 185, and Rubin, 'Corpus Christi,' p. 55 summarize the reasons attributed to elevation: a response to popular demands to see God (Dumoutet in 1940 and Brooke in 1971), a didactic gesture against heretical claims (Grant in 1940), or a necessary concomitant of the theological decision that the moment of transubstantiation should be after the first consecration, as maintained by V.L. Kennedy, 'The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host,' *Medieval Studies* 6(1944):121–150. The earliest indication of elevating the consecrated Host over the head of the priest comes from Paris in the Constitution of Bishop Odo, usually dated no later than 1208. See V.L. Kennedy, 'The Date of the Parisian Decree on the Elevation of the Host,' *Medieval Studies* 8(1946):87 suggests this statute may actually date from the episcopacy of Peter of Nemours, bishop of Paris from 1209–1219.

[15] Macy, *Eucharist*, p. 134.

be pushed into the background. But this was yet to happen, and in the 1220s both modes coexisted, still with an ecclesiological emphasis.[16]

Jocelin, his associates, and construction of the façade were part of this theological moment. Although the façade alone suggests Jocelin's theology, it can be compared to the texts of his associates, Stephen Langton and Richard Poore. Langton's theology included a mystical and salvific understanding of the sacrament.[17] For him, as earlier for Peter Lombard (d. 1166), salvation depended on membership in the corporate Church as the body of the faithful; the Eucharist, including the real presence of Christ on the altar, signified this union.[18] At the same time Richard Poore in his decrees for Salisbury between 1217 and 1219 stressed the need to instruct recipients 'as often as they communicate that they should not doubt in any way the reality of the body and the blood'; accordingly, 'the people should be taught to act reverently and kneel … when after the elevation of the Eucharist the sacred host is put down.'[19] Poore, furthermore, emphasized frequent communion: three times a year, instead of one as specified by the Lateran.[20]

This English practice of communal reception of the sacrament at Christmas, Pentecost, and especially Easter functioned as a visual witness to the unity of the Church: the laity cleansed from sin would have stood together before the choir screen at Wells, as elsewhere, partaking of this effective sign of their community as saved members of the Church.[21] The common believer knew that sharing this meal brought

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[16] Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 245, 269.

[17] Ibid., p. 128.

[18] Macy, *Eucharist*, pp. 122, 128–129, 102. This ecclesiological approach was also that of Guiard de Laon (1170–1248), Master Guy of Orchelles in Paris (1215–1217), and Jacque de Vitry (1219–1225.)

[19] Rubin, '*Corpus Christi*,' p. 71; Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 176, 189; Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, p. 79. King, *Eucharistic*, pp. 65–66; and Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 327. Richard Poore's devotional attitude to the Eucharist might be indicated by the Ancren Riwle, which he may have written for the nuns of Tarrant in Dorset. (Richard was born and died in Tarrant, had a sister in the convent, and was looked upon as a second founder of the house.) Richard Poore's 1217 decree is the first instance in which the custom of kissing the Host is forbidden because it was unseemly; it became customary to kiss instead the brim of the chalice and in addition generally the corporal or the paten. Legg, *Sarum*, p. 226, n. 5 feels this decree may also indicate Richard's sensitivity to the Eucharist.

[20] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 123.

[21] Macy, *Eucharist*, p. 121.

him 'somewhat nearer to that state of communion in which hostility became impersonal and retired beyond the borders of the community.'[22] He was reminded of this by the *Pax Domini* and by exchanging the kiss of peace.[23] The façade of Wells was conceived during the formation of these social practices and can be interpreted as their material expression.

Corpus Mysticum

In France during the 1180s in order to signify that the Coronation of the Virgin represented the eucharistic union of the Church with Christ, Old Testament statues prefiguring the Eucharist were placed beneath the Coronation. A few years earlier theologians had re-defined the term, *corpus mysticum*, to mean the Church united through the sacrament of the Eucharist.[24] Around 1160 Master Simon clearly distinguished the sacrament of the altar, the *corpus Christi verum*, from that

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[22] J. Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford, 1985), pp. 67–69 and 47–48 points out that penance, too, was a public act by which the sinner was restored to the social community. The priest, as a confessor, kept the interests of the community at large and the peace of the Church as well as the soul of the individual in mind. He calls the Eucharist the social miracle of the Middle Ages and points out that the average parishioner knew that the priest was making sacrifice and satisfaction for the living and the dead and that the priest would make God actually present in the Host. Bossy adds 'for the average soul, the elevation of the Host at the end of the Middle Ages was a moment of transcendental experience.' Sabean, *Power*, pp. 46, 51 also points out that one 'could not go to communion with an agitated heart or bad conscience. In such a state one was unworthy and liable to bring down judgment on oneself.' Since usually disputes were to blame, the solution was to forgive the other party. 'Inside village daily life, the sacrament was interpreted as a meal of reconciliation. It was used by pastors as a key institution for settling conflicts.'

[23] Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, pp. 328–329. The pax-board, invented by the English in the thirteenth century, was a small tablet often painted with an image of Christ, which was passed around the congregation to be kissed, replacing the custom of exchanging an actual kiss: men to men, and women to women. It is prescribed after 1248 in English diocesan statutes and shows a 'finer touch' similar to Richard Poore's earlier restraint from kissing the Host. During the twelfth century the celebrant had kissed first the altar, then the book, and, then the Host to indicate clearly the source from which peace was to be derived.

[24] H. de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum, l'Eucharistie et l'Église au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1949), pp. 117–118, 119, 282; and Kantorowitz, *The King's*, pp. 194–202., and E. Mersch, *Le corps mystique du Christ* (Paris, 1951), vol. 1, p. 251; vol. 2, p. 141. Although Carolingian theologians had originally used the term when referring to the consecrated Host, it began to be used to designate the Church during the second half of the twelfth century.

which it signifies, the *corpus mysticum*, i.e. the Church.[25] This underlying concept of the *corpus mysticum* goes back to the Bible and to the Church Fathers and was fundamental to Christian belief throughout the Middle Ages. Traditionally sermons taught that the faithful (living, dead, and yet to be born) constituted one body. Aelfric had explained this in terms the people could understand in an Easter sermon, 'the holy mass greatly benefits both the living and the departed … the holy housel is both the body of Christ and of all believing people, by a ghostly mystery, as the wise Augustine said of it, "If ye will understand concerning the body of Christ, hear the apostle Paul, thus saying, 'Ye are truly Christ's body and limbs.' Now your mystery is laid on God's table, and ye receive your mystery, for which ye ourselves are. Be that which ye see on the altar, and receive that which ye yourselves are".'[26]

According to Augustine, the Eucharist made the Church a social reality.[27] Innocent III (d. 1216) repeated that the Eucharist caused, as well as signified Church unity.[28] In fact, the link between the Eucharist and the Church became so close during the thirteenth century that the original liturgical term for the Eucharist, *corpus mysticum*, became a formula for the corporate body of Christian society.[29] And most importantly at the end of the twelfth century in England, Herbert of Bosham, secretary of Thomas Becket, had closely linked the metaphor of the Bride and Bridegroom with the concept of the *corpus mysticum*.[30] Simultaneously this concept was depicted in French sculptural programs, such as Senlis (ca. 1170–1180), where the Coronation of the Virgin was flanked by Old Testament statues with eucharistic attributes.

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[25] Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, pp. 119–120. Master Simon distinguishes the two in the following way: '*In sacramento altaris due sunt, id est corpus Christi verum, et quod per illud significatur, corpus ejus mysticum, quod est Ecclesia.*'

[26] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 277.

[27] Mersch, *Le corps*, pp. 114, 118, 145; and M. Lepin, *L'idée du sacrifice de la messe d'après les théologiens depuis l'origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1926), pp. 141–142.

[28] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P.L.*, vol. 217, col. 879; and Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, pp. 100–104, 196. The Eucharist made the church a social reality because it gave to it an interior reality by acting in the heart of Christian society to effect the Church's organic unity.

[29] Kantorowicz, *The King's*, p. 196.

[30] Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, pp. 118, 207.

The City of Saints

Superposed rows of saints each in his own 'heavenly mansion' consti-
tute the Church as the body of Christ on the façade of Wells. Augustine
had stated in the *City of God* that the assembly of saints is offered to God
in the eucharistic sacrifice and that the sacrifice of Christ is the sacri-
fice of the Church because they are one body.[31] Throughout the Middle
Ages this participation with the saints was stressed in the Canon of the
Mass. At the beginning of the Canon the *Communicantes*, the commem-
oration of the saints, teaches that the sacrifice of the saints is contained
within the eucharistic offering because the death of the martyr duplic-
ates Christ's sacrifice.[32] At the end of the Canon in the second com-
memoration of the martyrs, the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus*, the faithful ask
fellowship in the company of the martyrs.[33] Between these prayers of
commemoration, the prayer at the blessing of the chalice emphasizes
the community of offering between Abel, Abraham, Melchizedek, and
the faithful in order to make explicit the Church's celebration of the
Eucharist in company with the saints.[34]

Statues of Abraham and Melchizedek, Old Testament prefigurations
of Christ's sacrifice, probably once filled the south side of the lower
zone on the façade at Wells, and in conjunction with the Coronation of
the Virgin they referred to the *corpus mysticum*, as in the central portal of
the north transept at Chartres (ca. 1204–1210) or in the later program
of the Coronation at Exeter (ca. 1350), a program related to Wells in
which Melchizedek has been identified in a conspicuous angle niche.[35]
Melchizedek and Saint Peter were added at Chartres around 1220 to

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[31] Mersch, *Le corps*, vol. 2, p. 114; and P.Y. Emery, *The Communion of Saints* (London,
1966), p. 210.

[32] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 769; Warren, *Sarum Missal*,
p. 43; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 221; and Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 309. For an analysis of
the *Communicantes* see Emery, *Communion*, p. 205.

[33] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *PL*, vol. 217, col. 770; Warren, *Sarum Missal*,
pp. 47–48; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 224; and Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 312.

[34] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 770; Warren, *Sarum Missal*,
p. 46; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 223; Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 312; and Emery, *Communion*,
p. 209.

[35] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, pp. 12–15; and Prideaux, *Exeter*, p. 22. According to
Prideaux, prior to 1896 the name Noah was still legible on the scroll of one statue;
he identified a related statue in the south-west angle as Melchizedek because of its
exceptional attitude and the fact that it wore a mitre and ecclesiastical robes.

the jambs flanking the Coronation of the Virgin in order to emphasize the eucharistic meanings of the earlier jamb statues.[36] Melchizedek, as an Old Testament priest-king 'who brought forth bread and wine' (Gen. 14:18), anticipated the Eucharist. At Chartres Melchizedek holds the Host and chalice, and Peter once held the same attributes as the foremost member of the clergy who continues to administer the Eucharist.

Earlier at Senlis (ca. 1170–1180) Abraham, Moses, Samuel, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Simon, and John the Baptist (the Old Testament statues also carved around 1210 to flank the Coronation at Chartres) prefigured the Eucharist in order to stress the fact that through the Eucharist the Church is united with Christ. Sauerlander has interpreted these statues at Senlis as references to the 'Bridegroom of the Church, a bridegroom who sacrificed himself and whose sacrifice, through the Sacrament, is a living presence in the church'; he also pointed out that in the central portal at Mantes (ca. 1180) 'the presence of the Cross above the enthroned pair makes explicit the reference to the Bridegroom's sacrificial death.'[37] For centuries *Ecclesia* had been depicted in manuscripts collecting Christ's blood in a chalice at the foot of the cross. Bruno of Seni (d. 1123), commenting on Genesis 2, had explained that 'when his side was opened on the cross he entered into close relationship with the church similar to that between Adam and Eve.'[38] Therefore, it is not surprising that, around the same time as the tympana of Mantes and Senlis, the Canticle of Canticles is introduced with an enthroned image of Christ and to His right the Virgin in the initial of *Osculetur* in a Bible from Montalcino (Biblioteca communale, MS. 1–2, f. 56) (ca. 1175–1200): the Virgin, crowned as *Ecclesia*, holds a chalice and eucharistic bread, and to emphasize the triumph of *Ecclesia* Synagogue is prostrate beneath Christ's feet.[39] In thirteenth-century Moralised Bibles, *Ecclesia* appears often at the side of the heavenly bridegroom holding a chalice; illustrations of Revelation 21:1–4 sometimes also depict *Ecclesia*, as Christ's bride, holding a chalice among the glor-

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[36] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, pp. 62–64.

[37] Ibid., pp. 407–409.

[38] Seiferth, *Synagogue*, p. 133, n. 18 cites Migne, *PL*, CLXIV, 165ff.

[39] See Thérel, *Le Triomphe*, p. 191; I. Malaise, 'Iconographie biblique du Cantique des Cantiques au XIIe siècle,' *Scriptorium:* 46(1992):71 n.1; and M-L. Thérel, 'L'origine du theme de la "Synagogue répudiée",' *Scriptorium*, 25(1971):285, Pl. 13c.

ious resurrected bodies of the blessed in heaven.[40] Sculptural scenes of
the Coronation of the Virgin around 1220, however, are not as explicit
in depicting the Eucharist.

Yet around the time that the façade of Wells was designed, Peter and
Melchizedek with chalice and Host were added to the earlier series at
Chartres emphasizing the Coronation's eucharistic message. At Wells
Peter and the other apostles were probably once located on the north
side of the façade in the lower zone between the Coronation and the
extant New Testament preachers, just as Melchizedek, along with other
Old Testament statues prefiguring the Eucharist, would have been loc-
ated on the south side between the Coronation and the extant Old
Testament prophets.[41] But, even without typological statues, euchar-
istic connotations were always implicit in depictions of the Coronation
of the Virgin because sermons traditionally stressed that the Church
is united with Christ through the Eucharist. Although the Corona-
tion portals at Senlis and Chartres provide clear precedents for the
concept of the *corpus mysticum* at Wells, the façade of Wells is given
a new emphasis since it depicts exclusively the Church Triumphant
without reference to the Assumption of the Virgin or the suffering of
the Church. Moreover, the eucharistic aspect of the *corpus mysticum* of
Senlis and Chartres seems to have been intensified at Wells with new
connotations of the Heavenly Mass.

The Heavenly Mass

The busts of angels surrounded by clouds in the quatrefoils at Wells
may have suggested not only the Palm Sunday procession but also the
eternal Heavenly Mass. Choir screens frequently were decorated with

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[40] See Verdier, *L'origine*, p. 10; and Seiferth, *Synagogue*, fig. 51 for examples in the
moralized Bible in the Pierpont Morgan Library copy of Codex 11560 of the Bib. Nat.
Paris (ca. 1230 with later supplements) and in an historiated bible Codex Fr. 167, Bibli.
Nat. Paris from the 13th–14th century. See also British Museum MSS Harley 1526–127
for an illustration of Revelation 21:1–4.

[41] Although no extant choir screen depicts the Coronation of the Virgin, around
1230 a choir screen in the former Augustinian collegiate church at Wechselburg in-
cluded statues of Abraham about to accept a chalice from Melchizedek. Flanking the
central cross altar and located beneath a monumental Crucifix and Deësis group, the
pair convey a eucharistic meaning. In the row above Abraham and Melchizedek are
statues of Daniel, David, Solomon, and Isaiah (or Ezekiel). See Jung, 'Beyond,' 644–
645, figs. 24–26.

angels during the Middle Ages, probably because angels were believed to assist at the Heavenly Mass. When the Eucharist was consecrated at the earthly altar, it was thought to be offered simultaneously at the heavenly altar. At the moment of consecration the faithful believed that they were united with the saints of the Church Triumphant and participated in the Heavenly Mass. In the Canon of the Mass this oblation is referred to in the prayer of the *Supplices te rogamus*: 'We humbly beseech thee, almighty God, command these (gifts) to be borne by the hands of the holy angel to thy altar on high …'[42] In a three-part analysis of the Canon of the Mass, Isaac of Stella (d. 1169) described the eucharistic offering that begins on the earthly altar and is consummated on the heavenly altar: the sacrifice of man, having become the sacrifice of Christ, is absorbed into the oblation that Christ offers eternally of Himself and His Church on the altar in heaven for the perfect glorification of the Trinity.[43] Twelfth- and thirteenth-century theologians, among them Innocent III, frequently cited both John Chrysostom's account of this mystery with the altar surrounded by angels and Gregory the Great's description of the sacrifice with the heavens opening and choirs of angels descending.[44] Some of these later theologians gave a new interpretation to the angel who makes the offering at the altar.[45] According to Honorius Augustodunensis and Isaac of Stella, the angel is actually Christ.[46] Hence Christ, Himself, was believed to function as priest with

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[42] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 770; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 47; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 223; and Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 312. The prayer that follows the blessing of the chalice is based on Revelation 8:3–5, 'And there was given to him (the angel) much incense, that he should offer of the prayers of all the saints, upon the golden altar which is before the throne of God.' Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 231; Frere, *The Use*, vol. 1, p. 81; and Legg *Sarum Missal*, p. 223. A bow and kiss of the altar is made in the Sarum liturgy at the moment of the *Supplices te rogamus*.

[43] Lepin, *L'idée*, pp. 144–146; and Isaac of Stella, *Epistola ad Joannem Episcopum*, 'De officio missae,' in Migne, *P.L.* (Paris, 1855), vol. 194, col. 1890–1895.

[44] Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 234 analyzes the Early Church Fathers' commentaries on the *Supplices*. Lepin, *L'idée*, pp. 40, 42, 157 discusses medieval familiarity with John of Chrysostom. D.B. Botte, 'L'ange du sacrifice et l'épiclèse de la messe romaine au Moyen Age,' *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 1(1929):302–307 cites twelfth and thirteenth-century adaptations of Gregory, such as Innocent III, whose text on Gregory is repeated by Durandus.

[45] Botte, 'L'ange,' p. 301; Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 233, n. 39; and Lepin, *L'idée*, pp. 144–145. Christ as priest is implicit in Saint Augustine, Saint John of Chysostom, and Saint Gregory.

[46] Honorius Augustodunensis, *Gemma Animae*, in Migne, *P. L.* (Paris, 1895), vol. 172, col. 579. For reference to Christ as priest by Isaac of Stella and Peter Lombard (d. 1164), see: Botte, 'L'ange,' pp. 302, 308 and 157; and Lepin, *L'idée*, p. 145.

the angels assisting as deacons at this Heavenly Mass. Moreover, Inno-
cent III, when interpreting the *Supplices* and Gregory's text, explained
that the earthly altar signifies the militant church, but the heavenly altar
signifies *Ecclesia triumphans*.[47] Like other contemporaneous commentat-
ors, Innocent III indicates the union of the earthly church with the
Church Triumphant at the moment of the sacrifice.

   Therefore, during the thirteenth century the faithful believed that
they shared spiritually in the Heavenly Mass along with the saints of the
Church Triumphant at the moment of consecration. The angels vested
in albs in the quatrefoils of the lower zone might have been viewed as
the choir of angels surrounding the heavenly altar, especially since the
medieval choristers at Wells wore albs during the Mass, as well as in
processions.[48] It is even possible that the seven lost angels in the center
quatrefoils flanking the Coronation of the Virgin may have once held
eucharistic implements; the angels flanking the Enthroned Virgin and
Child above the central door still hold censers. Ten of the twenty-two
remaining angels, wearing albs, hold crowns or mitres in a *sudarium*, or
offertory veil, in which the subdeacon and acolyte carried the paten
during the Mass. These angels were certainly viewed as those of the
apocalyptic vision attending the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem,
praising God, and rewarding the Just. Would not these meanings have
been easily conflated with the related theme of the Heavenly Mass since
the Eucharist, and particularly its heavenly counterpart, is offered not
only for redemption but also for praise and love of Christ? The Palm
Sunday procession at Wells would have stimulated such associations
since the carved angels appeared to sing the *Gloria laus* just before the
Ingrediente Domino when the doors opened and all entered for celebration
of the Mass. The priests, bishops, and popes in the upper zone of
the façade wearing Mass vestments may be dressed for the Heavenly
Mass given their association with the more specifically vested angels
and deacons, although this is their usual dress in medieval art.[49]

   A similar reference to the Heavenly Mass was made at Reims Cathe-
dral between 1220 and 1241 where statues of vested angels surround the

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[47] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 891; and Botte, 'L'ange,'
pp. 302–307 interprets the '*consociandum corpori Christi*, to be associated with the Body
of Christ,' as indicating the union of the militant Church to the Church Triumphant.
Botte's interpretation depends on commentaries, such as that of Pierre de Tarentaise
(d. 1174), 'by these words is asked a translation of the faithful to the triumphant church.'
[48] See Chapter 4, 143 n. 40.
[49] See Chapter 4, p. 145.

exterior of the choir.[50] As at Wells, the vesting of the angels on these buttresses and chapels is significant because contemporaneous liturgical dress was unusual for images of angels before the fourteenth century.[51] The full-length vested angels at Reims surrounding Christ clearly refer to the celestial liturgy: one, wearing a dalmatic and maniple, carries a gospel book upright on his chest as though a deacon; others carry censer, incense boat, book, scepter, processional cross, crown, reliquary, and holy water ewer.[52] Their location around the exterior of the apse emphasizes that they are the heavenly counterpart of the liturgy going on inside the choir. As at Wells, these angels at Reims face a cemetery, although at Reims they face the canon's cemetery instead of that of the laity.[53] Sauerlander believed that the censers and other sacred vessels indicate utensils used during the Office for the Dead.[54] The dalmatic depicted at Reims is prescribed for *solemn obsequies* in the Sarum liturgy, and, as has been mentioned, the statues of deacons wearing alb and dalmatic at Wells may also refer to this Office.[55] The Heavenly Mass, of course, unites spiritually the living and the dead. Borrowing from Gregory the Great's earlier description of the Heavenly Mass, Hugh of St. Victor had explained that the sacrifice made for the dead permits their participation in the Heavenly Jerusalem: 'In an extraordinary way [the sacrifice] saves the soul from eternal death … at the very hour of the sacrifice … the earthly are joined with the heavenly.'[56] When in the thirteenth century Innocent III quoted Gregory the Great's description,

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[50] M.B. McNamee, 'The Origin of the Vested Angel as a Eucharistic Symbol in Flemish Painting,' *Art Bulletin* 54(1972):265, 267 fig. 5; Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*, pp. 482, 487; and idem, *Le siècle*, p. 217. According to Sauerlander, a convincing explanation of the cycle has not so far been found. Brehier thought it might represent the Celestial Liturgy, on late Byzantine lines. Sauerlander first dated the sculpture on the eastern parts of the cathedral to the late 1220s at the earliest and at the latest to 1241, the year the new choir was occupied, but in his later book he stated that the statues of angels on the radiating chapels were put in place by 1221.

[51] Villette, *L'ange*, pp. 71, 88.

[52] Seidel, *Songs*, p. 47. Earlier examples are rare. Seidel mentions twelfth-century angels holding instruments of the Mass as they elevate an image of the Lamb of God at Pont-l'Abbé. She also finds the following examples of eucharistic subjects on twelfth-century façades in Western France: birds drinking from chalices on the portal voussoirs at Saintes and Corme-Ecluse; a woman holding a cross-inscribed wafer at Aulnay, Civray, Fontenet, Dampierre-sur-Boutonne, and Saint-Etienne-le-Cigogne.

[53] For the lay cemetery at Wells, see Chapter 1, p. 25 n. 29.

[54] Sauerlander, *Le siècle*, p. 217.

[55] See Chapter 4, p. 145.

[56] Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 450.

he added that: '… the choirs of angels are present in the mystery of Jesus Christ, and that the lowest things are joined to heavenly …'[57]

Whether or not the façade at Wells evoked for the faithful this heavenly ritual, the row of angels beneath Christ in the central gable was most likely viewed as the choirs of angels who sing the *sanctus* in the preface of the Mass (Figs. 1 and 56: III). Attributes identify this row as the Nine Orders of Angels, and, although the present statues are later than the façade, the nine niches indicate similar figures from the beginning.[58] These nine angels correspond to the Thrones, Cherubim, Seraphim, Powers, Virtues, Dominations, Principalities, Archangels, and Angels who sing the *sanctus*. The *prefatio communis* consists of songs of praise in the ordinary of the Mass just preceding the *sanctus*.[59] The *sanctus*, as the immediate song of praise preceding the Canon of the Mass, associates the faithful with the angels in a prayer of thanksgiving for salvation to prepare them for the holy mystery that follows. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it was sung by both priest and congregation.[60] At the climax of the *sanctus* (when the eucharistic assembly joined in the cry of the heavenly company: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of Thy glory') the Church on earth was believed to be linked with the song of cherubim, seraphim, and all angelic powers.[61]

English twelfth-century sermons, such as that of Herbert de Losinga for the feast of All Saints, explained the relationship of the Nine Orders of Angels to Christ and to the society of saints as depicted at Wells: 'those blessed spirits … bore their part in the toils of the saints … [and] in their conflicts, –Angels, Archangels, Virtues, Powers, Principalities, Dominions, Thrones, Cherubim and Seraphim.'[62] The festival of All Saints referred to the Apocalypse, and, according to Flanigan, when the *sanctus* was sung, 'the possibility existed for an eschatological

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[57] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 891 for Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* in his interpretation of opening words of the *Supplices*.

[58] See Chapter 2, p. 51 n. 24.

[59] Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 117.

[60] Ibid., p. 130.

[61] G. Wainwright, *Eucharist and Eschatology* (London, 1971), pp. 117, 200, n. 386; Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 769; Warren *Sarum Missal*, p. 41; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 220; Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 308; Staley, *Sarum Missal*, p. 41; and Emery, *Communion*, pp. 197–198. The believer is closest to the heavenly assembly during the corporate celebration of the Eucharist when this prayer of praise links the Church on earth with the song of the cherubim, seraphim, and all the angelic powers.

[62] Goulburn and Symonds, *Herbert de Losigna*, p. 481.

understanding of it and of the liturgy as a whole'; since it enabled the worshiper, like John in the Apocalypse, to 'come up into the heavens and participate in the heavenly ritual.'[63] The fact that it was sung in Latin may have heightened the layman's sense of singing a heavenly song.[64] Because of this union of the earthly and heavenly Church during the Mass, the faithful could share in the joy of the angels and saints in their praise and in their proximity to Christ, an event that seems implicit in the rows of saints and angels beneath Christ at Wells.

In the lower row of quatrefoils the representations of Christ's meals can also be read typologically as figures of the sacraments and anticipations of the messianic banquet. The Church Fathers interpreted Christ feeding the five thousand as a prophecy of the Eucharist and hence as a prefiguration of admission to the messianic community of the Church through the *panis coelestis* of Christ's body (Fig. 56: 36).[65] In the Sarum missal (on the fourth Sunday during Lent), following the Gospel of John 6:1–4 in which Christ fed five thousand, it is said at Mass, 'Jerusalem is built as a city: that is at unity in itself.'[66] Within the context of the Mass this verse assumes an understanding of the concept of the *corpus mysticum*. The scene of Simon's Meal with the Pharisee, when Christ eats with sinners, had been interpreted by Saint Ambrose as proof that Christ shares the meals of those to whom he is to give the sacrament.[67] The scene of the Transfiguration at Wells also relates to the Christian participating in the Eucharist: in the words of Saint Paul: 'We all beholding the glory of the Lord with open face are transformed into the same image from glory to glory as by the spirit of the Lord.'[68] Of course, the scene of the Last Supper, when the Eucharist was instituted, would be the most important prefiguration of the Heavenly Mass among the quatrefoils at Wells because Christ promised to share this meal next with his disciples in the kingdom of heaven. These quatrefoils are located directly above the row of vested angels and with them create a band that defines the choir-screen zone of the façade.

For the first time during the Middle Ages the imagery of vested angels at both Wells and at Reims is displaced from the interior of the

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[63] C. Flanigan, 'The Apocalypse and the Medieval Liturgy,' in R.K. Emmerson and B. McGinn (eds.) *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1992), pp. 344, 350.

[64] Ibid., p. 349.

[65] Daniel, *The Bible*, p. 156; and Chapter 2, p. 57.

[66] Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 194.

[67] Daniel, *The Bible*, pp. 156, 209.

[68] O. von Simson, *The Sacred Fortress* (Chicago, 1948), p. 47.

choir to the exterior, in the case at Wells to the west of the church and at Reims to the east. Both may relate to the earlier practice of using rows of angels on choir screens and for aisle-arcading in choirs, a continuing practice in the triforia of mid thirteenth-century English angel 'choirs,' as at Lincoln which probably also depends on the concept of the Heavenly Mass.[69] Within the choir-screen decoration of the portal zone of the façade at Wells the unusual use of contemporaneous vestments for angels, as at Reims, above now lost statues with eucharistic references, similar to those at Chartres, but beneath the saints would have signaled the union of the faithful with the saints during the Mass.

The Incarnation

Medieval explanations of the eucharistic union of the Church can be used to frame a vertical reading of the sculpture in the central section of the façade at Wells. Just as the communion of the saints was considered the truth of the Church's sacraments, the Virgin was often called the source.[70] At Wells the Coronation of the Virgin is superposed directly above the Enthroned Virgin and Child and is related to its meaning as the Incarnation (Figs. 8, 9, 56: V and VI). During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the Virgin was considered the origin of the sacraments because the sacraments are at core the humanity of Christ used to sanctify the faithful.[71] As the Church constituted the body of Christ, the Virgin was considered the mystical neck that united it to the Head.[72] This common metaphor, which places the Virgin between Christ and the Church in the *corpus mysticum*, was used by, to name only a few, Bernard of Clairvaux (d. 1153), Amedée of Lausanne (d. 1159), Philippe of Harvengt (d. 1183), Thomas the Cistercian (d. 1215), and Hélinaud of Froidmont (d. 1229).[73] To this metaphor Hélinaud added

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[69] Later during the thirteenth century at Worcester, Chichester, Westminster, and Lincoln similar 'angel choirs,' depicted at triforium level, continued to surround the choir of the church. See Chapter 3, pp. 104 and 122 for arcading at Lincoln.

[70] Emery, *Communion*, p. 184 refers to Ivo of Chartres (d. 1116) for the metaphor of the Virgin as the source.

[71] H. Coathalem, *Le Parallèlisme entre la Sainte Vierge et l'Église dans la tradition latine jusqu'à la fin du XIIème siècle*, Analecta Gregoriana 74, Section B, no. 27 (Rome, 1954), pp. 106–107.

[72] Ibid., p. 95.

[73] Ibid., pp. 99 (Bernard), 101 (Thomas), 103 (Amedée), 102 (Hélinaud), 108 (Philippe). According to Amedée, the Virgin as the new Eve gave the faithful the antidote,

that the Virgin is the mediator through whom the Logos, the Word incarnate, passes between God and mankind, a concept that went back to the Church Fathers.

Augustine defined the role of the Incarnation within the concept of the *corpus mysticum*: Christ became the head of the body of Christians because of the Incarnation; He became man to become one with the body. God's greatest gift to man was to give him the Logos, as head of the body, and hence to transmit the holiness of the Incarnation.[74] Cyrus of Alexandria (d. 444) added that the Eucharist effects in the faithful what the Logos effected in Christ: transfiguration and divinity.[75] Between the ninth and twelfth century, theologians, referring to Augustine, stated that not only is the natural body of Christ born of the Virgin but so is His mystical body, i.e. the Church, and it can not be separated from the offering.[76] At the end of the twelfth century Isaac of Stella added that Mary is the mother of the Christians, as God is the father, because of the mystical identity of the faithful with the Word incarnate.[77] And most important around the same time Herbert of Bosham inter-related the Incarnation, the *corpus mysticum*, and the metaphor of the Bride and the Bridegroom.[78] The sculptural program at Wells corresponds to these interpretations of the Incarnation as the foundation of the Church since the viewer looks up from the imagery of the Virgin and Child to that of the Coronation of the Virgin.

Related concepts can also be read in the three superposed depictions of Christ on the central axis of the façade: His First Coming, the Coronation, and the Second Coming (Fig. 56: I, II, III). The Church Fathers had explained that the Heavenly Marriage was inaugurated at the Incarnation when Christ contracted an indissoluble alliance with human nature. The marriage would be realized with the Bridegroom's return at the end of time when the souls of the just would form a wedding escort to go forth to meet Him. Between these events the

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the fruit of life, and, as the neck, dominates the other members transmitting to them grace from the head.

[74] Mersch, *Le Corps*, vol. 2, pp. 77, 79, 106, 127–128.

[75] Ibid., vol. 1, p. 489.

[76] Ibid., vol. 2, p. 371; and Lepin, *L'idée*, p. 142. These theologians include Paschasius Robert (d. 851) and Rupert of Deutz (d. 1135). They also stated that the grace in the members of the Church Body is an extension of the grace of the Incarnation produced by the head.

[77] Mersch, *Le Corps*, vol. 2, p. 156.

[78] Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, p. 119.

marriage continued in the sacramental life.[79] At Wells the Bridegroom's return in a mandorla of glory at the apex of the façade constitutes a theophanic vision of divinity and emphasizes His mystical body. Could the alignment of the Christ Child's mortal, corporal body not only with the Triumphant Christ's resurrected, mystical body in the Coronation but also with His final theophanic appearance at the apex of the façade have been intended to stress visually that Christ took man's flesh so that man could become His resurrected flesh? It is the resurrected body of Christ of the Eucharist that gives immortality to man.[80] In his comparison of the *corpus mysticum* with the image of the Bride and Bridegroom, Herbert of Bosham explained that the mystical and invisible flesh, the unity of the faithful, is dearer to God than the corporal flesh of Christ that He took from the Virgin, and, on account of this mystical and invisible flesh, Christ assumed the visible flesh and united it to Himself.[81] Might the placement of Christ's mystical, immortal flesh (the Coronation) above his corporal mortal body (the Virgin and Child, censed by angels) indicate the relationship of the Eucharist to the unity of the Church? Significantly, these scenes are superposed above the central portal through which the elevated Host was carried during the Palm Sunday procession.

An earlier example of axial alignment to indicate a similar meaning is found in the right portal of the west façade at Chartres (the Incarnation Portal, ca. 1145–1155). In this case the *corpus verum* (the flesh Christ had assumed from the Virgin) is represented twice as the Child on an altar in the double lintel (first in the scene of the Nativity and secondly directly above in that of the Presentation) to stress the *corpus verum* as the true substance of the Eucharist; these superposed images are aligned with the Virgin who is presented as and altar holding the Child (the Logos incarnate) in the tympanum above.[82] In this portal at Chartres, according to Katzenellenbogen, 'the concept of the *corpus verum* is complemented by the idea that through the Eucharist the members of the Church are joined to Christ … In the lower lintel it is expressed symbolically by the Holy Animals. They stand for the faithful refreshed by

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[79] Daniel, *The Bible*, pp. 191–192. This meaning is given in the Church Fathers' explanation of the Canticle of Canticles as a figure of the sacraments and as a marriage between Christ and the Church.

[80] J.M.R. Tillard, 'L'Eucharistie sacrément de l'espérance écclésiale,' *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 83(1961):591; and Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, p. 52.

[81] Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, p. 119; see also above p. 163.

[82] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, p. 15.

Christ's flesh.'[83] As an earlier representation of Christ's Incarnation in a context of the *corpus mysticum*, this portal at Chartres is an important precedent for the sculpture aligned above the central door at Wells. But at Wells the Coronation is the focus of the sculptural program, and hence emphasis is on the *corpus mysticum* since the mortal body of Christ present in the Eucharist (the Virgin and Child) is, here, subordinated to His immortal flesh (the Coronation of the Virgin).

The Final Easter

Not only does the frieze at the top of the façade depict the blessed rising from their tombs without reference to damnation, but the façade in its totality is about glorious resurrection in the Heavenly Jerusalem. The eucharistic rite anticipates the Second Coming as the final Easter and so do the post-communion thanksgiving prayers of the Mass throughout the year. But especially during Easter and Pentecost, these prayers specify that the Eucharist establishes the unity of the Church through hope in the resurrection.[84] In the Sarum missal, for example, on Palm Sunday this prayer refers to: 'the spotless Paschal Lamb; by whose blood, we beseech thee, save us from the ravages of the destroyer, and lead us into thy newly-promised land.'[85] Augustine earlier had referred to the Eucharist as 'the sacrament of the resurrection' on the basis of John 6:54: 'Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life; and I will raise him up at the last day.'[86]

At Wells, where the faithful were buried in front of the façade, the eucharistic promise of resurrection was particularly significant. According to Augustine, the souls of the faithful dead, as members of Christ's body, are not separated from the Church.[87] The *Memento etiam domine* for the dead is said in the Canon of the Mass immediately after the consec-

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[83] Ibid., pp. 14, 109. Katzenellenbogen's identification of the faithful is based on Saint Gregory and Saint Ambrose; he also refers implicitly to the concept of the *corpus mysticum.*

[84] Tillard, 'L'Eucharistie,' pp. 681–683; idem, *L'Eucharistie Pâque de l'Église* (Paris, 1964), pp. 212–216; Wainwright, *Eucharist*, pp. 53–55; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 296, 312, 334; and Legg, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 137, 144, 158. These prayers refer to the Communion of the assembled faithful, not to that of the priest alone.

[85] V. Staley, ed., *The Sarum Missal in English*, Part I (London, 1911), p. 229.

[86] J.M.R. Tilliard, *The Eucharist, Pasch of God's People* (New York, 1967), p. 272.

[87] Mersch, *Le Corps*, vol. 2, p. 114.

ration and the *Supplices te rogamus* but before the *Nobis quoque peccatoribus* which is the last plea in the Canon for final participation of the living in the blessedness of the saints.[88] The *Memento etiam* requests that the faithful dead find peace and fellowship with the martyrs: 'Remember also, O Lord, thy servants and handmaidens … who have gone before us … [and]grant a place of refreshment, light, and peace.'[89] Innocent III added that at this point in the Mass the priest should specify the remembrance of particular individuals among the deceased.[90] He, then, interpreted the final phrase of the *Memento* in a way that suggests the significance of locating the cemetery of the laity before the façade at Wells, 'Refreshment with no pain; light with no obscurity; and peace with no conflict. For God will wipe away every tear from the eyes of the saints (Apoc. 21). They will be delighted in endless peace, and will be pleased before God in the light of the living (Ps. 55).'[91] He followed these quotations with reference to 1 Thessalonians 4:16–17 which states the 'dead in Christ shall rise first: Then we which are alive and remain shall be caught up together with them in the clouds.'[92] As there is no indication of damnation on the façade of Wells, it is these glorified dead who are depicted in the frieze. Biblical exegesis of the following verses made mankind's transfiguration dependent on participation in the Mass: 'Who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body' (Phil. 3:21), and 'When Christ, who is our life, shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory' (Col. 3:4).[93]

Beneath the resurrection frieze at Wells, the statues of the blessed can be interpreted as the mystical body of Christ meeting the soul at its arrival in heaven. Recall that during the Office for the Dead, the Sarum missal asks the angels to receive the soul of the departed and carry it to the habitations of the blessed for communion with the saints.[94] Also the *Rituale Romanum* includes the collection of prayers known as the *Ordo commendationis animae*, the Office of the Dying, which opens with the Litany of the saints and prayers, such as 'May your

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[88] Tillard, 'L'Eucharistie,' p. 567.

[89] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 770; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, p. 47; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, p. 223; Pearson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 312; Emery, *Communion*, pp. 219–220; and Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 257.

[90] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 892.

[91] Ibid.

[92] Deferrari, *Hugh*, p. 456.

[93] Tillard, *L'Eucharistie*, pp. 219–223.

[94] See Chapter 4, p. 142 n. 33.

soul, which is departing from the body be met by a brilliant host of Angels, may it be received by the court of Apostles, welcomed by the triumphant army of resplendent Martyrs, surrounded by the lilied array of rubiate Confessors, greeted by the jubilant choir of Virgins, and embraced by the blessed peace in the bosom of the Patriarchs.'[95] In the Sarum rite this *ordo* is called the Recommendation of the Soul and, as in the Roman rite, litanies are included that call upon St. Alban, St. Edmund, St. Swithun, St. Aethelwold, St. Dunstan, St. Cuthbert, St. Edith, together with all the other blessed souls of the saints now in heaven, to pray for the dying.[96] The liturgy thus encouraged the dying and their loved ones to visualize at the critical moment of death the array of saints depicted on the façade of Wells.

Exegesis in sermons similar to that of Innocent III on Revelation 21:4 clearly associated Easter not only with the resurrection of the blessed in the Heavenly Jerusalem but also with the *corpus mysticum*. According to a twelfth-century Easter sermon, 'There is another passover or Easter, or transition, when on the day of judgment in the general resurrection the holy universal passes from the sorrows of earth to the happiness of heaven from the changing state of time to the state of eternity. In this transition the corruptible mortal body will put on incorruptibility and death will be dissolved into victory and death and the sting of death will be taken away (I Cor. 15).'[97] Then after citing Revelation 21, 'God will wipe away every tear,' the Easter sermon explains that the final reward of the dead will be the next Easter that Christ promised to spend with His own after the Last Supper. This next Easter was to be the messianic Easter when all the elect would be introduced to the Heavenly Jerusalem, and the sermon goes on to define this 'next Easter' as 'the taking up and glorification of the whole Church which is the mystical body of Christ.'[98]

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[95] E.H. Kantorowitz, 'The "King's Advent" and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina,' *Art Bulletin* 26(1944):207, n. 2. These words are based on three prayers, two going back to the eighth and one to the eleventh century. The eleventh-century prayer is the source for the arrival of the soul in heaven.

[96] Rock, *Church*, vol. 2, pp. 375 and 383.

[97] Tillard, 'L'Eucharistie,' p. 570 refers to the text and points out the biblical verses on which it is based: Luke 20:15–18, Matt. 25:31–46, and Mark 14:25.

[98] Hugh of St. Victor, *Appendix ad Hugonis Opera Mystica*, 'Sermones Centum,' in Migne, *P.L.* (Paris, 1879), vol. 177, cols. 959–960; and Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, p. 121. This Easter sermon is falsely attributed to Hugh of St. Victor and may actually belong to Richard of St. Victor.

During the twelfth and thirteenth century the final Easter was thus believed to be the glorification of the *corpus-Christi mysticum*, the theme that has been suggested for the façade at Wells. Significantly, at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 Innocent III required lay communion only at Easter.[99] Interpretation of the quatrefoils in conjunction with the vested statues of deacons also has suggested that the façade might refer to the Eastertide of History.[100] Herbert de Losinga in the twelfth-century stressed the Eucharist as the means to salvation on Easter, 'to-day the Lord passed over from corruption to incorruption, and from death to life. So let us also, brethren, become partakers of the Lord's death and of His resurrection. Let us abstain from the leaven of old sin, and let us feast upon the lump of a new life. For such guests the Lord calleth together, and imparteth to them the Sacraments of His body and His blood, as are either washed in the laver of Baptism, or renewed by penitence and confession.'[101] Therefore, the concept of the *corpus mysticum* might help to explain the baptismal, as well as Pascal references suggested earlier for the deacon's vestments in relation to the greater meaning of the façade as defined by the central images of Christ in His glorified humanity, i.e. the Heavenly Marriage, and the Second Coming.[102] At the end of the twelfth-century Isaac of Stella explained that the first resurrection is baptism and that no one will take part in the second resurrection who didn't share in the first.[103] Easter and baptism are one in the Christian liturgy since, during the Easter Vigil,

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[99] Tillard, 'L'Eucharistie,' p. 571.

[100] Chapter 4, pp. 148–152 and Tillard, 'L'Eucharistie,' p. 692. Tillard's modern definition of the Eucharist summarizes the façade's greater meaning in the following way: 'the reality of the Eucharist is the church, *unitas Corporis Mystici*, and the Eucharist constructs the Pascal church, in a state of *transitus ex hoc mundo ad Patrem* into Christ, its head, already resurrected and glorious.'

[101] Goulburn and Symonds, *Herbert de Losinga*, p. 160.

[102] See Chapter 4, p. 148. J.A. Jungmann, *Pastoral Liturgy* (London, 1962), pp. 406, 413–414. According to Jungmann, the feasts of the liturgical year reach a climax in Easter, and the Church stresses Easter daily in the liturgy by concluding nearly every prayer with a reference to Christ in His glorified humanity, as for example, in the ordinary of the Mass during the *Gloria in excelsis*: 'holy … Lord … most high in the glory of God the Father.' These prayers that are said with the Eucharist in mind refer to Christ not as He is present in the sacrament but in terms of His heavenly existence. Christ is Head of the Church in His glorified humanity and because of it the faithful become members through Baptism to form one Body with Him, corporately to become His body. The Eucharist is a pledge of coming glory, granting union with the glorified Body of Christ in heaven.

[103] Hugh of St. Victor, 'Sermones Centum,' Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 177, cols. 1828–1829.

the catechumen is baptized.[104] Baptism is necessary for participation in the Eucharist, and because of baptism and the Eucharist, the death of the Christian cuts him off neither from Christ nor from the Church.[105] Baptism is essential to the concept of the *corpus mysticum* because it begins the work of unity that the Eucharist deepens until the union of the Church is complete in the Second Coming.[106] At Wells these interpretations of the façade as *corpus mysticum*, relating the Eucharist to baptism and Easter, may be indicated by the statue of the deacon wearing a surplice.

The concept of the *corpus mysticum* as expressed in the medieval liturgy not only unites the references to death, Easter, and baptism read in the deacons' vestments but also relates them to the larger program of resurrection in the Heavenly Jerusalem, as expressed on the façade of Wells. These connotations of Easter are underlined by the deacons' proximity to the four female witnesses of the Resurrection, a group the laity would have identified with the Easter liturgy.[107] It is also significant that John had his Apocalyptic vision on 'the Lord's day,' Easter Sunday when heaven and earth celebrated Christ's resurrection.[108] Since the Easter liturgy provided a foretaste of the anticipated resurrection of all humans and the entire cosmos, Easter, death, and resurrection were inherently related in the monk of Eynsham's vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, as in the minds of most Christians. At Wells all familiar with the vision might have appreciated that the monk had this vision of resurrection on Easter in the West of England.[109] Although the more complex aspects of Jocelin's theological program might have been understood only by a clerical audience, the eucharistic significance of a choir-screen entrance on a façade depicting resurrection with references to the Easter season was probably noted by the laity because they were baptized to a new life at Easter and took communion primarily at Easter. The façade's general theme hence would be resurrection on the final Easter in the Heavenly Jerusalem.

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[104] See Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 270, 271, 273, 275, 284 for the liturgy of the Easter Vigil.

[105] Emery, *Communion*, p. 152; and Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, fig. 51. Perhaps to make the same point at Chartres, John the Baptist is represented adjacent to Saint Peter on the jambs below the tympanum of the Coronation.

[106] Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, pp. 204–205; Tillard, *L'Eucharistie*, p. 679; and Wainwright, *Eucharist*, p. 83.

[107] See Chapter 2, p. 59.

[108] Flanigan, 'The Apocalypse,' pp. 340–341.

[109] See Chapter 2, p. 67.

Visio Pacis

Bliss, as in the Eynsham vision, and peace were frequently cited as heavenly rewards in funereal and eucharistic texts. Earlier Aelfric had expressed most beautifully that the faithful 'were in so great unity, as if there were for them all one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed on his table the mystery of our peace and our unity. He who receives the mystery of unity, and holds not the bond of true peace, receives not the mystery for himself, but as a witness against himself.'[110] Around the time that the façade of Wells was designed, Innocent III, when naming specific members of the dead, as part of the *Memento* of the Mass, referred to Psalm 55:13: 'They will be delighted in endless peace, and will be pleased before God in the light of the living'; he, then, explained the necessity of the bond of peace for the *corpus mysticum* in the following way: 'By virtue of this sacrament it becomes possible that those who are on earth may ascend to heaven … All who believe through faith in the sacrament preserve unity of spirit in a bond of peace (Eph. 4). And as one body, one person, one Christ ascends into heaven with his members.'[111]

The Eucharist was, in fact, called the sign of peace, the *ecclesiastica pax*, during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[112] The kiss of peace, which takes place after the *Pax Domini* and just before the eucharistic offering, constitutes a profession of the union of the baptized in mutual love, necessary before partaking of the bread.[113] Innocent III related this kiss of union to the kiss of the spouse in Canticles I, explaining that the kiss of peace is dispersed through all the faithful by the existence of the Church.[114] The Eucharist was called the *ecclesiastica Pax* because through it God establishes the perfect peace that will finally reign between God

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[110] Thorpe, *Homilies*, vol. 2, p. 277; and Morris, *Homilies*, pp. xiii, 26. This sermon is copied in the later Lambeth MS with variations on the effects of receiving the eucharist without true peace, 'so soon as the priest shall put the hallowed bread between their lips an angel will come and take it away with him towards heaven's kingdom, and instead thereof there will remain a live coal that will utterly consume them.'

[111] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, cols. 886 and 892.

[112] Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum*, p. 115. Peter of Poitiers (d. 1205) refers to the *ecclesiastica pax*.

[113] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, cols. 770, 771; Warren, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 46, 60; Legg, *Sarum Missal*, pp. 222, 225; and Wainwright, *Eucharist*, p. 59, n. 186, n. 386.

[114] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 909.

and mankind.[115] Membership in the *corpus mysticum* thus assured the final reward of peace promised by the medieval metaphor of the Heavenly Marriage. This concept would have been brought home by the fact that the condition for participation in the Eucharist was the settling of quarrels; later during the Middle Ages the Church actually used communion to settle conflicts in the community.[116] The Palm Sunday sermon in the West-Saxon dialect from before 1200 also explained these concepts: 'Jerusalem is called sight of peace, and denoteth holy church, wherein believing men are at peace, when the priest … receives from the cup the token of peace …'[117]

These concepts would have been explained to the laity during the feast of the Dedication of the Church before the celebration of Mass.[118] Recall that this feast celebrated the mystical body of Christ since the church building was a symbol of the spiritual Church of the congregation, and on this day the medieval hymn, *Urbs beata Ieruasalem*, as sung in the Sarum breviary, proclaimed: 'The blessed city, Jerusalem is called the vision of peace … the New City coming from heaven prepared for her nuptials as a bride to join with God.'[119] Durandus (d. 1296), using the earlier imagery of Hugh of St. Victor, summarized best the relationship of the dedicated church to the image of the Bride and of peace to the Church Triumphant, 'But in consecration it (the material church) is endowed and passeth into the proper spouse of Jesus Christ … the Church Triumphant, our future home, the land of peace, is called Jerusalem: for Jerusalem signifieth the vision of peace.'[120] Speculation as to why the eternally significant *visio pacis* would have been of particular interest during the 1220s in England, especially at Wells, will later be presented as a political subtext for the façade.[121]

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[115] Wainwright, *Eucharist*, p. 59.

[116] See above, p. 162.

[117] Morris, *Twelfth*, p. 90.

[118] Chydenius, *The Typological Problem*, p. 68; Procter and Wordsworth, *Breviarium Sarum*, col. 1447; and Fichtenau, *Living*, p. 211.

[119] Podhradsky, *New Dictionary*, p. 69; and Defferrari, *Hugh*, p. 279.

[120] Neale and Webb, *Durandus*, p. 116; Defferrari, *Hugh*, p. 279.

[121] See Chapter 6, pp. 203, 214.

New Sacramental Decrees

Bishops, such as Jocelin, commanded respect within the new spirituality of the thirteenth century because of the sacraments, and especially the Eucharist.[122] The Fourth Lateran Council responded to Church reform and devotional needs with new sacramental decrees. These decrees and new eucharistic rituals were part of the cultural matrix in which Jocelin and his master mason transposed a choir-screen design to the entrance at Wells.

Late in the twelfth century Isaac of Stella had used the metaphor of the Heavenly Marriage in his explanation of the Church's administration of the sacraments, 'Bridegroom and Bride are as one, be it in receiving confession or in bestowing absolution … to despise the Bride is to cast a slur on the Bridegroom who has made her his own … Doubtless, Christ need accept no restraints to his power of baptizing, consecrating the Eucharist, ordaining ministers, forgiving sins and the like, but the humble and faithful Bridegroom prefers to confer such blessings with the cooperation of his Bride … no man may separate Christ, the Head, from His Body.'[123] Isaac goes on to describe the archbishops, bishops, and other functionaries of the Church as the limbs of the *corpus mysticum*. Implicit in the representation of the Coronation at Wells is this very precept: the way to resurrection in the Heavenly Jerusalem is through the *corpus mysticum*, the Church and its officials, who alone have the right to administer the sacraments. Saint Francis (d. 1226) expressed his admiration for them in a similar way, 'And why have I so much respect for them? Because I cannot see, here in this world, any tangible witness of that Son of God Almighty except his most holy body and his most holy blood, and these the priests themselves consecrate, and they alone administer them to others.'[124]

Repeatedly around 1220 English bishops emphasized sacramental issues in national synods. Jocelin's colleague at court, Richard Poore as bishop of Salisbury was especially influential in disseminating these

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[122] Von Simson, *Sacred*, p. 54. This had been the case in the ancient church. 'The Christ-like dignity of the bishop originated in his dignity as a priest, i.e., as the *mystagogos* in the mystery drama.'

[123] Isaac of Stella, *Sermons on the Christian Year* (Kalamazoo, 1979), pp. 95–96; and Issac of Stella, *Epistola ad Joannem Episcopum*, 'De officio missae,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 194, col. 1801.

[124] G. Duby, *The Age of the Cathedrals: Art and Society, 980–1420* (Chicago, 1981), p. 143.

decrees in England; his statutes of 1217–1219 contain an early and lengthy explanation of the seven sacraments, a new thirteenth-century doctrine.[125] Poore's constitutions at Salisbury, in fact, are built up around the seven Sacraments.[126] Other bishops, such as Simon of Apulia, bishop of Exeter (1214–1223), also stressed teaching the sacraments.[127] Jocelin, no doubt, responded to this duty at Wells, as did his episcopal neighbors at Salisbury and Exeter. Following the deprivations of the Interdict, the English response to the Lateran decrees may have been especially emphatic because, as Cheney has stated, 'the Interdict was essentially a ban upon celebration of the Mass, upon sacramental ceremonies and liturgical practices in church, and upon the administration of sacraments elsewhere, except for baptism, which was always allowed, marriage, which was a sacrament even when it could not be solemnized by a priest, and the absolution of the dying.'[128]

After a century of discussion, the Fourth Lateran Council had imposed on all Christians the minimum requirement of one annual confession.[129] But even before the Lateran, sacramental issues had been the special concern of Jocelin's associates. The decrees concerning the sacraments at the Council actually developed out of the teaching of Peter the Chanter and his students in Paris.[130] Stephen Langton was one of Peter's most important students, and Richard Poore had studied with Langton in Paris, returning there during the Interdict to teach theology.[131] Peter the Chanter and his students were particularly concerned with penance, focusing attention on the factor of circumstances behind each sin.[132] At the beginning of the thirteenth century many theologians agreed that the priest's principal practical duty was to advise the

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[125] Robertson, 'Preaching,' pp. 377–379.

[126] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 116; C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1968), p. 36; and Powicke and Cheney *Councils and Synods*, p. 35. The statutes of Salisbury (1217–1221) list the seven sacraments: baptism, confirmation, penance, Eucharist, extreme unction, ordination, and marriage.

[127] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 110.

[128] Cheney, 'Interdict,' p. 162.

[129] Baldwin, *Masters*, vol. 1, p. 50; and Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, pp. 96–97. According to Gibbs and Lang, 'This canon has been called the most important legislative act in the history of the church … Before 1215 Confession was "the spontaneous act of the sinner, anxious for reconciliation with God"; after 1215 it became in theory and gradually in practice the sacred and bound duty of every Christian man and woman.'

[130] Baldwin, *Masters*, pp. 49–50.

[131] Ibid., pp. 25, 31.

[132] Ibid., pp. 50, 55.

sinner about satisfaction to expiate sin.[133] The Fourth Lateran Council confirmed those efforts by urging the priest to inquire into the circumstances of the sin.[134] Not only were circumstances taken into account for the first time, but also wills more frequently provided for the mitigation of sins and the continuation of mercy through prayers after the individual's death.[135] The program of the façade at Wells in omitting any reference to judgment is reassuring, as are these new views on penance and atonement. According to Christe, any time that the chance of redemption is more firmly believed the theme of judgment in thought and art is relegated to a secondary position.[136]

During the first two decades of the thirteenth century, the twenty-first Lateran decree was the decree (concerning dogma) most commonly re-iterated and given a prominent position in English Church councils. It required annual confession and communion once a year at Easter 'under pain of exclusion from the Church and denial of Christian burial.' Although Richard Poore and his followers desired parishioners to confess and communicate three times a year, they too required it at least once at Easter.[137]

Moreover, English synods in prescribing the new Lateran practices at the moment of consecration, such as extreme elevation of the Eucharist, explained that their aim was to bring the worshiper closer to Christ.[138] Displaying the Host after the words of consecration instead of before became the new focus of the Mass. Regulation of this new consecration practice kept the desire to gaze on the Host within proper limits and worked out suitable terms for honoring It. As early as 1201

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[133] Ibid., pp. 51–52.

[134] Ibid., p. 56.

[135] Innocent III, 'Ordo,' in Migne, *P. L.*, vol. 217, col. 348. Innocent III describes in his sermons for the Octave of Epiphany the six corporal works of mercy by which an individual sin could be mitigated. Provisions in wills for such atonement became more frequent in the early thirteenth century. Robert Brentano (personal communication).

[136] Christe, *Portails*, p. 132. Earlier at Cluny in the writings of Odilo and Peter the Venerable the reality of redemption is so vividly felt that the Last Judgment is relegated to a secondary level.

[137] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 97; W.R. Jones and W.D. Macray, *Charters and Documents illustrating the history of the Cathedral, city, and Diocese of Salisbury, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries* (London, 1891), p. 142; and Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, pp. 361–364. The Carolingian reform attempted to re-introduce Communion for the faithful every Sunday, especially during Lent, but from the eighth century onward, the actuality seems generally not to have gone beyond what the Lateran Council established in 1215.

[138] Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, pp. 361–364.

the bell was used to direct the attention to the moment of the 'showing,' and clergy and faithful were admonished to kneel down or bow, as in a regulation of Honorius III in 1219.[139]

These new consecration practices for honoring the Host, which would have been observed at Wells, were made official not only in the Synodal statutes of Bishop Richard Poore for the diocese of Salisbury between 1217 and 1219 but also in the Synodal statutes of Archbishop Stephen Langton at Canterbury between 1222 and 1228, at Coventry between 1224 and 1237, and later at Exeter.[140] Richard Poore's statutes for Salisbury not only instruct the laity to bend their knees after the elevation but also explain the purpose of the decree: 'it is the responsibility of our ministry to call back sinners to divine grace through the mystery of the body and blood of our lord … for everyone for whom this is done has this advantage, as Ambrosius says there is a full remission or at least damnation is more tolerable.'[141] The Coventry statutes further explain, 'thus we see in the raising of the Eucharist when it is finally raised at its highest point, then sounds the bell which is like a moderate trumpet declaring the coming of the Judge, indeed the savior coming to us secretly. There should be a dancing of our soul when we approach the heavenly feast, and there will be a triple joy because there the flesh, there the soul, there God the word.'[142] The Exeter statutes instruct the laity to flex their knees and adore the Host during the elevation with all devotion and reverence to which they are excited by the ringing of the bell in order to increase faith.[143] Therefore, the stated aim of the councils in prescribing extreme elevation, genuflexion, and the ringing of bells was to intensify emotions in order to bring the faithful closer to Christ for adoration and prayers for grace.

If the consecration of the Host took place at an altar in front of the choir screen in the nave, it would have been clearly visible at the

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[139] Ibid., pp. 208–210, 211 n. 58. As elsewhere, the English Church opposed any elevation in the Mass before the words of consecration, '*Hoc est corpus meum*, lest (as a London synod of 1215 put it) "a creature be adored instead of the Creator".'

[140] Powicke and Cheney, *Councils and Synods*, vol. 2, pt. 1, the table of contents summarizes the most recent dating of these synods.

[141] Ibid., p. 78. Synodal statutes of Bishop Richard for the diocese of Salisbury, with additions, 1219–1228 and as reissued for the diocese of Durham 1228–1236. (56) (S.C. 53). See also *Constitutiones Ricardi Poore, Sarum Episcopi* in B.D. Mansi, *Sacorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio, in qua praeter ea quae Phil.Florentiae, 1759–1798, Expensis A. Veneti* (Paris, H. Welter, 1901–1927), vol. 22, p. 1118.

[142] Mansi, *Sacorum*, vol. 23, p. 43.

[143] Ibid., vol. 24, pp. 788–789.

moment of elevation.[144] If at the main altar in the choir, it could still have been viewed from the nave, especially if the choir screen had a central portal, as was often the case.[145] Nonetheless, the view of most was blocked by the screen. Hence for the faithful the choir screen either framed the elevated Host, or it was all that they saw as bells signaled the elevation.

During the Middle Ages the formal motifs identifying the entrance of the façade at Wells as a choir screen, like the new liturgical practices such as bell ringing at the moment of the Host's elevation, focused attention on the Mass and the choir. In conjunction with the lost eucharistic statues that have been suggested as framing the central portal, the choir-screen entrance at Wells with its connotations of the Mass would have signaled the way to the Heavenly Jerusalem indicated by the gabled niches in the upper zone since the Eucharist is the key to the blessedness of paradise.

After the demoralizing years of the Interdict when Mass and burials were forbidden and church bells could not be rung, the English may have been especially sensitive to devotional stimuli. Contemporary accounts of the Interdict emphasized its sacramental and sensory deprivations.[146] The bodies of the dead were refused burial in consecrated ground and were carried out of cities to be buried in roads or ditches, without a priest's blessing or mourner's prayer. The altars were denuded, the tone of the chants did not resound, the bells were not heard, all was silent. According to Cheney the end of the Interdict meant to many that, 'At last England was again in full Communion with the Church. Bells could again ring out from the belfries, bodies of the deceased could be dug up from unconsecrated ground and given Christian burial, while other burial-places were now consecrated

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[144] Jung, 'Beyond,' p. 627, n. 55.

[145] Jung, 'Beyond,' p. 627 discusses the later, sparse evidence that exists for the visibility of the Host at the moment of elevation. Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 54–63 refers to the importance of the Host's visibility at the elevation. Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 2, p. 209 refers to a French and English custom of drawing a dark curtain behind the altar to make the white Host stand out. This practice was retained at Chartres and other French cathedrals around 1700. Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' p. 188 explains that at early Masses a special candle was lit and held up near the Host. On the other hand, D. Gillerman, *The Clôture of Notre Dame of Paris and Its Role in the Fourteenth-Century Choir* (New York: Garland, 1977) p. 154 considers the fourteenth-century choir screen as a declaration of the priesthood's exclusive relationship to the body of Christ since it blocked the laity's view of the Eucharistic Host.

[146] Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, p. xcv.

for the first time, and the Mass was celebrated without restriction.'[147] Cheney believed that the hardships of the Interdict stimulated piety and because of it miracles increased.[148]

At the same time interest in miracles and eucharistic devotion relate to an increasingly intimate approach to Christ during the thirteenth century.[149] Eucharistic miracles then became especially prevalent.[150] In England a popularly known instance of such a miracle occurred in 1194 and was published by the same Adam of Eynsham who disseminated the Easter vision of the Heavenly Jerusalem, previously compared with the façade of Wells; both visions seem to have been those of Adam's brother, Edmund.[151]

> In the course of the Mass Bishop Hugh [of Lincoln] reached the place where it is customary to consecrate the Host, which has already been raised to be turned by the words of consecration into the body of Christ, God in His mercy deigned to open the eyes of a certain clerk and showed him Christ in the likeness of a small child in the chaste hands of the venerable and holy bishop. Although very tiny, the child was very lovely and of a supernatural brilliance and whiteness beyond man's imagination. The clerk who saw this not unnaturally felt great devotion and compassion, and wept continuously from the time of the elevation until he saw it elevated once more to be broken into three portions

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[147] Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 352.

[148] Cheney, 'Interdict,' p. 22.

[149] Jungmann, *The Mass*, vol. 1, pp. 118–120. Although several scholars have more recently made the same points, Jungmann summarized well the relation of interest in the Eucharist and miracles to a more intimate approach to the life of Christ: 'The people had learnt that at Holy Mass the Blessed Sacrament was … the person of the Lord, to be accompanied thoughtfully on His path of redemption.' He added, 'Here again is a clear expression of that longing to see … the celestial mystery–the climax of the Grail-legend in which, at this same period, the religious longing of the Middle Ages found its poetic expression.'

[150] See also Devlin, 'Corpus Christi,' pp. 17, 99, 212, 221–263 (especially 255–258) for research on eucharistic miracle stories. Devlin concludes that the church co-operated with the laity's devotion using miracle stories which often involve transformation of the Host into real flesh and blood to establish the doctrine of concomitance as well as the real presence. J. Megivern, *Concomitance and communion. A study in Eucharistic Doctrine and Practice*, Studia Firburgensia, New Series 33 (New York, 1963), pp. 43–44 tallies for each century the Host miracles published in Browe, *Die eucharistiscehn Wunder des Mettelatlers* (Breslau, 1938), pp. 139–146: 10th-1, 11th-8, 12th-20, 13th-45, 14th-70, 15th-40, 16th-5, 17th-1, noting that bleeding Host stories particularly placed further accent on the Eucharist as something to be looked at rather than eaten or celebrated.

[151] Dom D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge, 1963), p. 384; and Salter, *Eynsham*, vol. 2, p. 259. Chapter 2, p. 67.

and partaken of. In the second elevation he saw the Son of the Most High, born of a virgin, in the same form as before, offer himself for the redemption of mankind.[152]

Feelings of intimate devotion, as in this vision, would have been associated with the sanctity of the choir. The entrance at Wells breaks radically with the long tradition of the façade as a monumental, triumphal gateway. The sense of closure and the diminutive doorways, so small that they simply allow a man to pass, kindle the same sensations as does a choir screen: feelings of intimacy and private piety on entering a holy place. This intimate entrance seems in keeping with the Lateran Council's declared aim of making Christ and heaven more accessible to mankind. At Wells, where the dead were carried from the church into the cemetery to be buried facing the façade, its reassuring message based on the oft-cited text of Revelation 21:4, as explained in the commentary accompanying the illumination of the Heavenly Jerusalem in the Trinity College Apocalypse (Fig. 17), would have been particularly meaningful: '*God will wipe away all tears from the eyes of the saints*, for nothing sad could possibly happen to them. *Death will be no more*, because all the righteous will be immortal; there will be nothing for which one could cry. There is pain of body and pain of mind, which are so connected that one is not without the other; and those *pains will be no more*. The *former things passed away* with the world.'[153]

   This was certainly the Church's promise to the faithful, with the rider that the way to Christ and salvation was through the official Church. Eucharistic interpretation of the façade suggests that it refers not only to the eternal glory of the City of God but also to the present Church united with the eternal City during the Mass. The façade of Wells may have once suggested a eucharistic sub-text emphasizing, like Isaac of Stella, the power of the corporate Church and, specifically its limbs, the bishops, because they alone administer the sacraments. It can now be suggested that Bishop Jocelin's powerful message on the façade promoted Wells as the future seat of the bishop.

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[152] Douie and Farmer, eds., *Magna Vita*, vol. 1, p. viii.
[153] Brieger, *Trinity*, p. 48.

IDEOLOGICAL STRATEGIES

The façade was designed at a highly unusual moment in the history of English Church and State, a moment when Bishop Jocelin was at the height of his power. In 1220 the bishops opened the decade with spectacles, such as Henry III's coronation at Westminster and Becket's translation at Canterbury. The second stage of Henry III's minority began in 1223 when Jocelin and Richard Poore became his bishop-counselors, second only to the justiciar and Archbishop Stephen Langton. With their advice, Henry re-confirmed Magna Carta by 1225. The bishops were integral to not only a new political order but also the reforming effort instituted at Lateran IV. In addition they were in charge of numerous canonizations and translations of saints to new shrines which also glorified the English Church. Meanwhile the façade of Wells was being built with repeated donations for its fabric from the king.

During its construction, Jocelin seems to have been active equally at court in London and in his diocese. In 1222 he bought land in London, but in 1224 he was also building a manor-house and chapel at Wookey (near Wells and his birthplace), as well as a bishop's palace next to the church of St. Andrew for which he had purchased additional land at great expense in 1221.[1] In 1219 he had already provided the canons at Wells with grants of land and houses next to the church.[2] Clearly, Jocelin was establishing a new prominence for the church of Wells at the moment when Honorius III had just issued a bull warranting a change in title of Jocelin's bishopric from Bath and Glastonbury to Bath and Wells.[3] Strangely enough, however, when Jocelin died twenty-three years later, he still had not added this new title to his seal.

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[1] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 206, 139, 204, and 206. Bishop Jocelin then bought land in London opposite the church of St. Helen; Peter des Roches and Hubert de Burgh are among the witnesses of this transaction.

[2] Ibid., p. 204; and Chapter 1, p. 39 n. 92.

[3] Ibid., p. 198.

Diocesan Power

In 1242 Bishop Jocelin was buried before the high altar of the church of
St. Andrew at Wells, signaling a breach with the past hundred and fifty
year practice of burying the bishop in the abbey church of St. Peter
at Bath, as seat of the diocese of Somerset. Previously effigies of the
Anglo-Saxon bishops of the see at Wells had been placed to each side
of the high altar around the choir. Could this arrangement to which
Jocelin's tomb was added have been politically motivated? About the
time when the effigies were produced the *Historiola*, a history of the
church of Wells, seems to have been compiled. It was probably written
not in 1175, as was once assumed, but early in the thirteenth century at
a time when the antiquity of Wells was under critical scrutiny since its
prologue declares:

> I have felt an earnest desire to know for what reason, by what chance, in
> what manner, when, and by whom the Pontifical Seat was transferred to
> Wells from some other place, and how in process of time it was removed
> to Bath, since information on these points has not been hitherto made
> public … the facts which I thence collected I have here thrown into
> one narrative, which I have committed to writing, in order that future
> generations may know the truth, and that our posterity may see clearly
> what is, in a great measure, concealed from the eyes of most persons
> living at this present time.[4]

The *Historiola* then gives Wells a spurious origin under King Ine.[5] In set-
ting out the history of the see it cites the succession of its bishops from
the legendary Daniel to Dudoc (1033–1060), includes Bishop Giso's
autobiography stressing the possessions he gave to the see of Wells, and
then recounts the episcopates of John of Tours and Robert of Lewes.[6]

Perhaps for similar reasons, the new effigies of the Anglo-Saxon bish-
ops were arranged on low walls surrounding the choir at Wells (Figs.
52 and 53).[7] These effigies were probably made in preparation for the

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[4] Hunter, J.H. (ed.) '*Historiola De Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*,' in *Ecclesiastical
Documents* (Camden Society, London, 1840), p. 9. See also Gransden, 'The History,'
p. 33; and Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon,' pp. 23, 28.

[5] Hunter, '*Historiola*,' p. 4.

[6] Ibid., p. 21.

[7] Ibid. In the Anglo-Saxon church Giso was 'buried in a little niche made in the
wall, on the north side near the altar, as Duduco his predecessor was buried on the
south side of the altar.' Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon,' pp. 6, 7, 18, 20, 21 believes that these
niches were semi-circular recesses or side chambers, *porticus*, hence lateral apses, similar
to those in the late tenth-century Old Minster at Winchester. In the Gothic church the

translation of the bishops' remains to the choir. Under each effigy an oak box contained the alleged bones of the bishop whose name on a lead plaque was affixed to the box; these names correspond closely with the episcopal list from Daniel to Giso in the *Historiola*, suggesting a common origin.[8] As in the case of the *Historiola*, neither the date of the Anglo-Saxon bishops' translation to the choir nor of the effigies' commission is certain, but stylistic evidence indicates that five of the effigies were made around 1207.[9] Gransden believes that these effigies and the *Historiola* were produced shortly after Jocelin's succession

tombs of the bishops were displayed around the high altar on low walls on the north and south sides of the choir. Only seven effigies are extant, but an eighth seems to have been lost in the eighteenth century; there are eight skeletons, and eight named bishops were said to be interred in the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. Six cast lead plaques bearing the names of bishops Sigar, Burwold, Eilwin, Levericus, Duduc, and Giso were prepared at this time. Daniel's tomb and plaque is missing, and Levericus has a fourteenth-century plaque. See also Robinson, 'Effigies,' pp. 107–111. The tombs were concealed behind new wooden stalls for the canons when the choir was extended to the east in the fourteenth century, and they were moved to the aisles in the nineteenth century when stone stalls were built. Gransden, 'The History,' p. 33; and W. Rodwell, 'Lead Plaques from the Tombs of the Saxon Bishops of Wells,' *Antiquities Journal* 59(1979) pp. 407–410 who suggests that the effigies originally stood against a choir screen, unlikely for the canopied figures and impossible for the two who rest on pillows.

[8] Hunter, '*Historiola*' pp. 14–15 cites Sigarus (Pl. 4), Alwynus, Brithelmus, Burthwoldus, Liowyngus, Brithumus, Elwynus, Brithwynus, Duduco (Pl. 53), and Gyso. According to Robinson, 'Effigies,' pp. 104, 106, 110. The tablets list: Sigarus, Eilwinus, Burhwoldu, Levericus (later tablet), Dudico, and Giso. William of Malmesbury listed the following as bishops: Sigar in 975, Elwine in 997, Living (possibly Burworld) in 999, Merewitqui (possibly Brihtuui) in 1027, Dudeca in 1033, and Giso in 1061. Duduc died in 1060, and Giso died in 1088.

[9] Robinson, 'Effigies,' pp. 95–112; Malone, 'West English,' p. 177; and M. Reeve, 'The retrospective Effigies of Anglo-Saxon Bishops at Wells Cathedral: a Reassessment,' *Somerset Archaeology and Natural History*: the Proceedings of the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 142(1999), pp. 235, 239. Because all of the effigies are carved from Doulting stone, Reeve dates the first five effigies ca. 1180–1184, contemporaneous with Colchester's dating of the earliest phase of building in which Doulting stone is used. See Chapter 1, p. 17 n. 1 for a rebuttal of this early dating. Reeve also makes stylistic comparisons with foliate capitals in the eastern part of the transept. Similar comparisons of the foliage on the tombs are found in the north porch at Wells which would date the tombs to the first decade of the century. The effigies are stylistically more similar to the corbel-figures at triforium level of the transept than they are to the façade statues, with the exception of the two effigies wearing low Anglo-Saxon mitres which are later than the rest and contemporaneous with the façade statues. As the north porch attests, the sculptors of the transept were still working at Wells until the Interdict. Reeve dates, as do I, the later figures around 1220, and in this case relates the use of Doulting stone to Savaric's earlier acquisition of Glastonbury. Because of his early dating of the first five effigies, he pushes back the goal at Wells of reviving its status as cathedral to Reginald's episcopate.

in 1206 as a result of decisions made by him and the chapter to adopt Wells, instead of Glastonbury, as a prospective episcopal see and to cultivate the Anglo-Saxon tradition of Wells so that it offered a respectable alternative to Glastonbury.[10] This might explain the claim in the *Historiola* that King Ine, the founder of the Benedictine monastery of Glastonbury, moved the secular clerks from Congresbury to Wells.[11] In addition, the labeled boxes of bishops' bones at Wells parallel the (alleged) bones of Saint Dunstan 'discovered' in 1184 in a wooden box and identified by inscription at Glastonbury. There, King Arthur's bones had also been found with archaic handwriting similar to that on the Wells' boxes. Following the discovery of their bodies, Arthur and Guinevere were buried to the north and south of the high altar in the abbey church, and two Anglo-Saxon royal benefactors to the abbey, King Edmund and Edmund Ironside, were interred on each side of them. Gransden believes Jocelin may have imitated the monks at Glastonbury in the arrangement of the Anglo-Saxon bishops around the choir of Wells.[12] For Jocelin the Anglo-Saxon bishops may have fulfilled a need since the church of Wells had no major relics, as did Glastonbury. The Wells consuetudinary instructs the priest on simple feasts to incense these tombs right after incensing the altar of St. Andrew.[13] As the Glastonbury monks may have used the newly discovered bodies to attract pilgrims, Jocelin may have intended that the effigies should signal Wells' pre-Conquest prominence.[14] The Anglo-Saxon Lady Chapel, preserved as part of the new Gothic cloister, signaled continuously Wells' pre-Conquest history and, like the effigies, may indicate a sensitivity at Wells to this golden past, as well as a recognition of the visual efficacy of Anglo-Saxon signs.[15]

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[10] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 33.

[11] Dunning, 'Bishop's Palace,' p. 228; and Gransden, 'The History,' p. 33.

[12] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 34; and Coldstream, 'Decorated,' pp. 24, 26, 32.

[13] Reynolds, *Wells*, p. 10; and Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, p. 36.

[14] Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 30–31. Gransden believes that Savaric coveted Glastonbury's venerable tradition of saints and the newly discovered bodies of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere which attracted pilgrims and benefactions. Spiegel, 'Historicism,' p. 82. Social groups most affected by changes in status are most sensitive to the power of language to register social transformation. Obviously, they might also be especially sensitive to visual codes.

[15] Harvey, 'The Building,' p. 75 n. 37; and Rodwell, 'Anglo-Saxon,' pp. 7, 16. Jocelin may have been a canon at Wells in 1196 and involved in the decision to preserve the Lady Chapel. See Chapter 1, p. 18 n. 3. Recall that other Anglo-Saxon structures seem to have stood until the middle of the century, such as the west wall of the cloister.

The sculptural style of the effigies of Giso and Deduc clearly reveals that they were made later than the others probably around 1220 (Fig. 53). Giso and Deduc, as the most honored of Wells' pre-Conquest bishops, were buried immediately to the north and south of the high altar. Unlike the earlier effigies wearing the triangular Norman mitre with a broad band around the bottom and up the middle to the peak, the effigies of Giso and Deduc wear the much lower Anglo-Saxon mitre with rounded points before and behind.[16] The addition of this antiquarian sign would have strengthened the visual power of the effigies to signal the past authority of the Anglo-Saxon see of Wells at the moment that Jocelin requested the dual title of Bath and Wells from the Pope. These later effigies, in fact, may have been made in response to the papal legate's demand in 1219 for an inquiry into the history of the see of Wells.[17] Begun around the same time as these two effigies, the façade's program of the greater Church Triumphant can also be interpreted in relation to Jocelin's intention to make Wells the administrative center of the diocese.

Viewed as signs, the niched effigies of the Anglo-Saxon bishops made for the choir ca. 1207 and the similar niched mansions for the blessed on the façade ca. 1220 bracket Jocelin's initial attempts to move the seat of the diocese from Bath to Wells and to resolve the related conflict with the wealthy abbey of Glastonbury (Figs. 13, 52, and 53). In 1171 Reginald, bishop of Bath, had attempted to bring the abbot of Glastonbury into the chapter at Wells.[18] His successor, Bishop Savaric, in order to have at Glastonbury the jurisdiction and rights of an abbot had united the abbey to the bishopric of Bath in 1194; hence the bishop of Bath acquired the title of Bath and Glastonbury, as well as

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[16] Robinson, 'Effigies,' pp. 101, 108. There is an antiquarian touch in the mitres of Saint Oswald and Saint Wulfstan portrayed on King John's tomb at Worcester, but here Robinson believes the form is intermediate, perhaps an intentional compromise. He suggests that at Wells the low Anglo-axon mitres could have been copied from the original tombs of Duduc and Giso which might have been used until 1220. See also P. Lindley, 'Retrospective Effigies, the Past and Lies,' Medieval Art and Architecture at Hereford: *British Archaeological Association Transactions* for the year 1995, vol. 15, Ed. D. Whitehead, pp. 111–121.

[17] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 34 speculates that Jocelin may have planned to replace the whole series with effigies in Anglo-Saxon mitres in order to further stress their Anglo-Saxon identity.

[18] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 55, 117. In 1171 the abbot of Glastonbury received a prebend from the bishop of Wells and thus became a member of the bishop's chapter.

a fourth part of the revenue of ten manors.[19] Savaric's success over this powerful monastery was perceived as an unusual conquest at the time.[20] As mentioned before, during Savaric's forced enthronement at Glastonbury in 1200 Jocelin was one of the canons from Wells who violently subjugated the monks.[21]

As Savaric's successor and with Innocent III's support, Bishop Jocelin initially held onto Glastonbury. In 1215 he procured the protectorate of the abbey from King John, perhaps in anticipation of its independence.[22] In 1219 when Honorius III, advising Jocelin to conciliate, dissolved the union with Glastonbury, Jocelin remained Glastonbury's patron as the king had granted in 1215 and thus held the fief immediately under the Crown.[23] These rights were reconfirmed in 1227 and 1235.[24] Nonetheless, when forced to drop the title of 'Glastonbury,' Jocelin

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[19] Ibid., pp. 4, 92, 94–98, 108–109. Church discusses in detail the 1202 arrangement for revenue from Glastonbury's manors. The greater wealth of Glastonbury is suggested by comparing its possessions to those of the *Terra Gisonis Episcopi* in the great Domesday Survey two years before Giso's death in 1086, which then included more than one twelfth of the shire and measured 280 hides (about 50,000 acres) with thirty-seven free tenants and an adult population of 854 while Glastonbury abbey had a hidage of 442 and a population of 1390.

[20] Ibid., pp. 97–99, 110; and Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 30–31.

[21] See Chapter 1, p. 31.

[22] Church, *Chapters*, p. 191. Nov. 21, 1214: The king, on advice of the papal legate, archbishop Stephen, and others of his council confirmed the union between Bath and Glastonbury and the ordinance made in 1202, granting to the bishop the *patronatus* of the abbey which put the bishop in the place of the crown with feudal homage and service due to him. In case of the vacancy of the abbey the bishop was to have custody of the abbey and grant permission to elect its abbot.

[23] Ibid., pp. 116, 117. Jocelin retained his hold on Glastonbury as long as Innocent III supported him. It was not until Honorius succeeded Innocent in 1216 that Rome, according to Church, could 'decently reverse its policy.' Honorius finally arranged the following terms: the union was dissolved, and the abbey obtained the right to elect their own abbot; the cession of four of their manors was the price they paid for independence. Jocelin remained the patron between the Crown and the abbey with the right of guarding the temporalities during vacancy, of confirmation of election, of restoration of the temporalities and the diocesan rights of benediction and of visitation. Because he held the fief immediately under the Crown, he became responsible for the knight's service from the abbey. The royal confirmation of Jocelin's rights in Glastonbury was probably implicit recompense for the damages that the church of Wells suffered during the Interdict. A charter of 21 November 1214, which granted to all cathedral and monastic churches of England free elections in perpetuity, refers in so many words to the agreement reached between King John and Jocelin about their *ablata* and *dampna* in the time of the Interdict. See Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 363.

[24] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 211, 224.

expressed to Honorius III a desire to have compensation for that loss by being permitted to add 'Wells' to his style.[25]

Wells had been the original seat of the diocese for two centuries before it was moved to Bath.[26] Lanfranc at the Council of London in 1075, as part of William the Conqueror's episcopal policy, had decreed that episcopal sees should be moved to the most prominent town of the diocese; therefore, the see could have been moved from Wells to Bath as part of the general Norman reorganization of the kingdom.[27] Yet the change did not occur for thirteen years, and John of Tours (or de Villula), who succeeded Giso, seems to have moved it for personal and political motives.[28] William Rufus granted John the abbey of St. Peter at Bath in 1088, and the grant was confirmed by two charters of Henry I dated respectively, 1100 and 1111. The second charter refers to 'Bath where my brother William and I set up and confirmed the seat of the bishopric of the entire Somerset which once was at the villa called *Wella*.'[29] William of Malmesbury a few decades later implicitly criticized this change as, 'Andrew yielded to the brother Simon, the senior to the junior.'[30] The *Historiola* states that at Wells John destroyed the canons' cloister constructed by Giso and turned the canons out to live in common with the people.[31]

Wells lost the preeminence it had held for two hundred years as the *sedes praesulea* when the seat of the bishop was transferred to Bath; it then became one of the manors of the diocese, although it retained a collegiate church.[32] During the twelfth century the bishop was to be elected by representatives of the two churches although Bath was the *sedes praesulea*: the bishop was to be enthroned in both churches, but first in the church of Bath.[33] Needless to say, all the material realities of this

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[25] Ibid., pp. 198–199.

[26] Ibid., pp. 2–3. In the tenth century the church of Wells, served by a company of priests, became the seat of the bishop of Somerset, and the priests became the canons of Saint Andrew. In the eleventh century under Giso (1061–1088) the number of canons increased and the possessions of the see grew by royal endowments and episcopal gifts.

[27] F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1947), p. 658. Other examples of this same policy can be found at Lincoln where a cathedral was built to replace Dorchester. Sarum also replaced Ramsbury. This policy had already started under Edward the Confessor in 1050 when in Devon the see of Crediton was transferred to Exeter.

[28] Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 24–25.

[29] T. Perkins, *Bath: Malmesbury: & Frankford-on-Avon* (London, 1901), p. 5.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Hunter, '*Historiola*,' p. 22.

[32] Church, *Chapters*, p. 6.

[33] Ibid., pp. 22, 50–52, and 55. The constitutional relation between the two sees

sign of authority and jurisdiction would have gone with the protocol. Bishop Jocelin, as a native son of Wells, hoped to reverse this situation.

When Jocelin received permission from Pope Honorius III to assume the title of bishop of Bath and Wells in 1219, it was conditional on proving that Wells had once been a see by apostolic privilege.[34] This should not have been a problem since the *privilegium* was contained in Pope Nicholas' grant to Bishop Giso in the chapter archives, but, as far as we know, Jocelin never assumed the double title. Either the papal legate, Pandulf, did not issue his license for some other reason, or Jocelin did not wish at that moment to antagonize further the monks of Bath who were bothered by the increasing importance of Wells. Gransden believes that Jocelin obtained in 1242, a few months before his death on November 19, two forged charters: one confirming Reginald's election in 1174 by the dean and chapter of Wells, the other, the right of Wells to participate in the diocesan's election.[35]

Although the canons at Wells, as a cathedral chapter, had the right during the twelfth century to elect the bishop along with the monks of Bath, that right had not always been respected. Jocelin's election in 1206 created a precedent for participation, but Savaric (1192–1205) had been elected against the canons' wishes. Since Godfrey (1123–1136) and Robert (1136–1166) also had been elected by the monks of Bath alone, it was important to prove that both churches had shared in the election of Reginald (1174–1191).

Clearly, the problems with Bath were not settled by the time of Jocelin's death. Breaking with precedent, the canons hurried to bury Jocelin in the middle of the choir at Wells before the monks at Bath

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of Bath and Wells was laid down during the episcopate of Robert of Lewes (1136–1166) in a papal charter by Pope Alexander III (1159–1181). Bishop Robert did much in reasserting the equality of Wells with Bath, though Bath was still recognized in 1157 by Pope Adrian IV as the *sedes praesulea*. It is likely that Bishop Reginald (1174–1191) lived at Wells; there is no evidence that he ever resided at Bath.

[34] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 33; Church, *Chapters*, pp. 145, 198; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 170. *Calendar of Papal Registers* I: 1198–1304, ed. W.H. Bliss (London, 1893), p. 70: 'He [Bishop Jocelyn] states that the church is anciently by apostolic privilege, a cathedral, though he has been unable to find the privilege in a register, and if it be found, on enquiry, that this is so, the legate is to grant the bishops the desired faculty.' It is known that, after Christmas in 1219, Pandulf traveled to Wells for an ecclesiastical council and stayed in the west until the end of the following month.

[35] Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 34, 36. One of the early additions to the first chapter register, the *Liber Albus* which was compiled shortly after 1240, documented the controversy with Bath.

were notified of his death.[36] With reason, the canons were anxious to secure Jocelin's burial as conflict did arise that day with Bath monks in the church at Wells. When Jocelin's death was announced to the convent of Bath on November 24, the monks were warned not to deliberate on a successor apart from the chapter at Wells.[37] Nonetheless, they elected Roger without consulting the canons at Wells, at one point forcibly excluding the canons by shutting the doors of the choir at Bath in their faces.[38]

The canons of Wells, whom Jocelin had made materially strong, persevered in long and expensive litigation to reverse the election at the Roman Curia.[39] The canons argued that for two hundred years, until the see of Wells was moved to Bath, their predecessors had elected the bishop.[40] Their efforts suggest that the chapter had actively supported Jocelin's ambitions for Wells from the beginning. Some of these canons were important in the king's court, and Henry III supported the chapter at Wells in the litigation.[41] In 1244 Pope Innocent IV confirmed Roger's election, but as bishop of Bath and Wells. He assured the chapter at Wells of future participation: elections and installations would be held alternately in each church, and the bishop would be enthroned in both. Moreover, he stated that the style of the bishop in charter and on seal henceforward should be *Episcopus Bathoniensis et Wellensis*. Yet in 1245 Innocent IV had to repeat the order to adopt the double title. Finally in 1246 Roger conceded the rights of Wells and accepted the title of Bath and Wells.[42] In 1247 Roger was the last bishop to be buried at Bath, and, henceforth, joint elections were carried out.[43]

Still Jocelin seems to have obtained already the right to be bishop of Bath and Wells in 1219, and during the synod of Bath in 1220 the question was raised as to whether the prior of Bath or the dean of Wells should stand to the right of the bishop. This protocol of precedence was decided in favor of the prior of Bath with the provision that the church of Wells should not suffer any consequent loss of jurisdiction or author-

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[36] Church, *Chapters*, p. 238.
[37] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 35.
[38] Church, *Chapters*, p. 245.
[39] See Chapter 1, p. 40; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 240–255, 407–415, especially p. 253.
[40] Gransden, 'History', p. 35.
[41] Church, 'The Rise,' pp. 4–12.
[42] Gransden, 'The History,' p. 35; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 253–255.
[43] Church, *Chapters*, p. 257.

ity.[44] Accordingly, as Church explained, 'Bath obtained precedence in form and title; but, notwithstanding, the ascendancy of Wells was being established, to the annoyance of the Bath chapter … Jocelin made Wells to be in reality the chief seat of the bishop.'[45] Closer scrutiny indicates that Jocelin had begun to promote Wells soon after he became bishop in 1206 and that he clearly planned to make Wells the seat of the diocese by 1220. Before Jocelin became bishop there was no indication that the canons wished to gain cathedral status for Wells since they supported Savaric's attempt to move the see from Bath to Glastonbury. Still, according to Gransden, when Innocent III on March 25, 1206 gave the monks of Glastonbury the right to elect an abbot, the canons of Wells did not expect Glastonbury to become the see of Somerset, even though Jocelin continued to style himself 'bishop of Bath and Glastonbury' while in France from 1209 to 1213.[46] Although Jocelin obtained sanction from the papal legate for this title in 1214, Gransden feels that he actually did not want to move his see to Glastonbury but instead used his pretensions to strike a bargain for the see of Wells.

In 1207 Jocelin had obtained two charters from King John suggesting that he already intended to build a bishop's palace at Wells. The first allowed him to enclose a park on the south side of the church; the second permitted him to incorporate two roads at the border of the park to insure the privacy of the bishop's demesne.[47] The provision for a hospital in 1212 (in the will of Jocelin's brother, Hugh) and its construction in 1221 may also indicate the intention of making Wells the seat of the bishopric; a hospital was a customary appendage to a bishop's headquarters, providing hospitality to travelers who could not be received at the bishop's palace because of disease and filth.[48] About 1221 the park was extended, and Henry III allowed him to stock it with deer from the king's forests.[49] It was within this park that Jocelin began

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[44] Ibid., p. 135.

[45] Ibid., p. 146.

[46] Gransden, 'The History,' pp. 27, 28, 31, 32. Even if the chapter of Wells had planned to move the Anglo-Saxon tombs to the choir before 1206, Jocelin, as a former canon, took up this project and the larger effort of re-establishing the see after he became bishop. Gransden finds no evidence that the canons of Wells during the twelfth century or under Savaric felt aggrieved at their church's loss of its cathedral status; she attributes Wells' future as a cathedral to Jocelin.

[47] Church, *Chapters*, p. 138.

[48] Church, 'Jocelin,' p. 290 credits this observation to a note by Bishop Hobhouse. See Chapter 1, p. 20 n. 10.

[49] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 139 and 204. Jocelin valued the new five acres highly to

construction of a bishop's palace during the 1220s. Establishment of a bishop's palace and park certainly indicates that he planned for Wells to be the primary residence of the bishop and hence the administrative center of the diocese.

Jocelin's request to enclose a park in 1207 coincides with the production of the new tombs for Wells' Anglo-Saxon bishops. Since fabrication of the latest tombs, the bishop's palace, the hospital, and the façade at Wells was simultaneous during the 1220s, it is likely that the disruptions of the Interdict between 1209 and 1213 and the subsequent civil war in 1217 delayed Jocelin's plans.[50] Placing effigies of the bishops around the high altar stressed that the canons of Wells possessed the remains of eight Anglo-Saxon bishops. This arrangement would have underscored for the monks of Bath, who could claim only four bishops (and these from after the Conquest), that Wells was the original seat of the bishopric, that it had indeed been the seat for the first two centuries of its existence, and that it should be again.

Making Wells the locus in the 1220s for an impressive façade featuring the Triumph of the Church can also be interpreted as Jocelin's effort to assert the authority of the church of Wells in this contest with the monks of Bath. The similarity of the canopied niches on the façade to the earlier canopied tomb of Bishop Sigarus signals their common purpose: the niches enshrine the ancestors of the Church in the Heavenly Jerusalem as the tomb does this pre-Conquest bishop (Fig. 52).[51] Because of his own Anglo-Saxon ancestry, Jocelin may have felt it appropriate to take his place at death in the choir surrounded by the effigies, as part of the same line.[52] Like the Anglo-Saxon effigies, the

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judge from the amount of land given in exchange: two messuages in the borough by East Wells, two parcels of land on the way to Horrington, ten-and-a-half acres of bishop's demesne at Karswell, three acres under Stobery, seventeen-acres-and-a half of demesne at Stobery, and four acres at Beryl. He enclosed it with a wall which required diverting the road to Doulting and substituting a new roadway.

[50] See Chapter 1, p. 34.

[51] Prior and Gardner, *An Account*, p. 296 consider the façade statues the next phase of development after the tombs. Andersson, *English*, p. 18 compares the tombs and façade statues to establish dates for the façade sculpture at Wells. Neither mentions their thematic similarity.

[52] Church, *Chapters*, p. 240 states, without evidence, that Jocelin chose Wells as his burial place. The position beside the high altar, flanked by the two most important of the Anglo-Saxon bishops, Giso and Deduc, was highly prestigious. If this were Jocelin's request, some might consider it an instance of the megalomania of bishops and relate it to the grandiose façade, as well as to Jocelin's attempt to establish Wells as the seat of the bishop. For interest in the Anglo-Saxon past see Chapter 2, p. 81; for Jocelin's tomb

blessed on the façade promoted Church genealogy as the foundation for the see at Wells, but the façade's depiction of the canons' greater *familia* (international saints and possibly national benefactors) presented a glorified ancestry broader than that of the Anglo-Saxon bishops. At the moment of the façade's design Jocelin positioned Wells to win this battle of authority; he would nonetheless have to promote the episcopal rights of Wells to the end of his life. Yet four years after his death, they were accepted by all. Jocelin probably did not add the title, *Episcopus Bathoniensis et Wellensis*, to his seal to avoid trouble with the monks of Bath, but in a less confrontational way he asserted the triumph of Wells, as cathedral, on its façade. The representation of *sacerdotium* and *regnum* on the façade at Wells also can be interpreted as part of this assertion of power. The images of popes and kings might have reminded the monks of Bath that Jocelin not only had the papal legate's approval to add Wells to his title but also that he was powerful as counselor to the king, who had financially supported construction of the façade.

Sacerdotium *and* Regnum

Around 1220, after the crises with Henry II in the late twelfth century and with King John in the early thirteenth century, the English Church seemed to re-establish its place in the nation as Bishop Jocelin and the other great *curiales* took in hand the child-king Henry III and the administration of the kingdom. The year 1220 marked the fiftieth anniversary of the martyrdom of Saint Thomas Becket, initiating a new era of computation in the registers at Wells and elsewhere.[53] When Becket's body was moved on July 7 from the crypt at Canterbury to a new shrine in the Trinity Chapel, the translation symbolized that the liberties of the Church had been secured.[54] For the sermon at this celebration Stephen Langton developed the theme of a spiritual jubilee, instituting the first jubilee of Saint Thomas.[55] This celebration of the English Church coincided with Pope Innocent's international reform: two years after Becket's translation, Archbishop Langton at the Council

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and other bishops who commissioned their own tombs see Chapter 3, p. 117 n. 114.

[53] Church, *Chapters*, pp. 135, 200; and idem, 'Jocelin,' pp. 278, 322.

[54] Powicke, *Langton*, p. 144.

[55] Foreville, *Le Jubilé*, p. 11.

of Osney applied the Lateran decrees not only as the mark of a united Church but also of the English Church's independence from a papal legate.[56]

During this period the bishops were important in maintaining stability in the kingdom. A few weeks before the translation at Canterbury, the thirteen-year-old Henry III was crowned for a second time on Pentecost, May 17, with full regalia at Westminster; 'he and his vassals renewed their solemn obligations to each other and he was crowned in "peaceful and splendid" state.'[57] Henry was being educated under the protection of the Church. Because of the king's minority, Pope Honorius III maintained until 1221 a lordship over England but acted on the advice of the King's counselors, the bishops.[58] From the perspective of the jubilee year in 1220, and at Osney in 1222, English clerics viewed the Church as clearly triumphant.

As noted earlier, the sculptural members of the Church Triumphant on the façade at Wells is divided, for the most part, between clerics and laity with the unusual placement of most clerics to Christ's left on the south side of the façade and of most seculars on its north side.[59] This arrangement not only locates clerics adjacent to the canons' cemetery in the cloister, but it also positions the king-martyrs in the place of honor to Christ's right (Fig. 56: 51–59). Sometimes, however, kings are juxtaposed with bishops on both sides of the façade. Sometimes a king is placed above a bishop, although in another location a priest is placed above a king (Figs. 11 and 56).[60] Conjecture about this unusual ordering of *sacerdotium* and *regnum* can be framed by Jocelin's practice in royal government during the façade's construction.[61]

Justification of bishops, such as Jocelin, in secular service influenced thirteenth-century discourse about *sacerdotium* and *regnum*. Baldwin

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[56] Ibid., p. 151; and Vincent, *Peter*, p. 207. As soon as Pandulf resigned in July of 1221, Stephen called the provincial council at Osney, which was held in April of 1222.

[57] Powicke, *Henry III*, pp. 42, 177, and 187; Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 162, 188; and Norgate, *Minority*, p. 130.

[58] Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 88 and 149.

[59] See Chapter 2, p. 60.

[60] A similar integration of the two orders is suggested in the quatrefoils by the distribution of crowns and mitres that the angels hold. Of the still existing seven crowns and six mitres, four of the crowns are located on the north side with five of the mitres on the south.

[61] See Chapter 1, p. 36; and Andersson, *English Influence*, p. 22, who refutes Hope's suggestion that some of the unusual superpositions in the niches could result from later changes.

points out that for a *curialis* 'royal service was comparable to attending school or undertaking a pilgrimage which excused one from canonical residence.'[62] According to Smalley, around the time that Jocelin entered royal service, Ralph of Dees had justified the position of *curiales* in the following way: 'notwithstanding the canons: bishops made better officials than laymen and so contributed to the public good … Wideawake thinkers had to accept double standards … It was not quite consistent with their commitment to *sacerdotium* against *regnum*; but it fitted into their aim to evangelize the laity.'[63]

More specifically, Jocelin's views on *sacerdotium* and *regnum* may have been similar to those expressed by Stephen Langton since the pair often collaborated on issues involving Church and State.[64] Smalley's analysis of Langton's position on the two orders at any rate can be used to indicate the kind of discourse in which the façade was produced: 'The Becket conflict had marked high tide in the claims of *sacerdotium* against *regnum*. It was exciting and noble while it lasted. By the end of the century it had begun to pall … Stephen Langton, as far as we know, could never commit himself on the question of the two swords. Langton inclines to the view that the Church has held the power of both swords from the time of Abel. He adds a rider … "I do not say the pope, but the Church" … The debate ends: "But we shall pass this over, since it is an old quarrel".'[65]

According to Matthew Paris, Langton objected to the recognition of the pope as a feudal suzerain, to the gratitude of his fellow countrymen.[66] Yet he appreciated 'the conception of a united church, bound together under the headship of the pope, by a common law inspired by the law of God.'[67] Langton's view of the Church, as the congregation of

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[62] Baldwin, *Masters*, p. 177; and B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 227–228, 177. Even such theologians as Gervase of Chichester, who was a friend of Becket, advised the clergy at the end of the twelfth century to defend the prelate in civil service as a spiritual mentor at court. To facilitate court service Jocelin may have instituted his residency requirements which were so liberal that they were reversed after his death. See Chapter 1, p. 39.

[63] Ibid., pp. 231–232, 240–241. Ralph of Dees was writing around 1180 to 1202.

[64] Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 164, 324; Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 94, 130, 142, 151. Both historians describe Langton as a highly practical man whose actions corresponded to his theories.

[65] Smalley, *Becket*, pp. 239, 213–214; and Powicke, *Langton*, p. 98 concurs that Langton was satisfied to teach that at the head of the Church is Christ.

[66] Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 130, 150. Langton disliked especially the pope's interference with canonical appointments and increasing provision of foreigners to canonries.

[67] Ibid., p. 151. Baldwin, *Masters*, pp. 165–166. According to Langton, 'the church

the faithful, included both clerics and laymen and thus resembled the distribution of statues on the façade at Wells.

Langton's actions during the production of Magna Carta and the façade of Wells corresponded to his theories of the two swords since he claimed that temporal authority derived from the community of the faithful.[68] According to Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover, Langton actively supported the barons in initiating Magna Carta.[69] Then, the pope assigned Langton the task of mediating between the barons and King John, and he led the baronial party in negotiations with the king.[70] Yet, early in 1215 because Langton was against the barons' use of force, he joined with the legate, the archbishop of Dublin, and seven other bishops, including Jocelin, in a manifesto to the people on the barons' refusal to give guarantees; during the summer of 1215 Langton and these bishops strove hard for peace.[71] After Magna Carta was drawn up, the pope, supporting John as a crusader king, annulled Magna Carta and suspended Langton from office in August of 1215, but Baldwin speculates that Langton could have justified his participation in the baronial movement as action in the name of the Church since he defined the Church as the congregation of laymen, as well as clerics.[72] Langton's practice thus coincided with his theories of *sacerdotium* and *regnum*.

Thirteenth-century historians, such as Gervase of Canterbury and Ralph of Coggeshall, concurred that the final terms of Magna Carta were arranged under the guidance of a middle part of barons and bishops, headed by Langton; among them were Jocelin and his brother Hugh during early negotiations for Magna Carta, at its signing on June 15, 1215, and later in its enforcement.[73] In January of 1215 they promised

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transmits the temporal sword to the prince because it is only by the consent of the faithful, both clergy and laity, that the king is placed at the head of their government.'

[68] Baldwin, *Masters*, pp. 166–167.

[69] Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 102–113, 116. Like Powicke, Matthew Paris believed that Langton was the central figure behind Magna Carta.

[70] Baldwin, *Masters*, pp. 166–167.

[71] Ibid., pp. 124–125; and see below, p. 204 n. 75.

[72] Ibid., pp. 166–167; and Painter, *John*, p. 347.

[73] Baldwin, *Masters*, p. 127; and Church, *Chapters*, pp. 180, 189, 192, and 195; idem, 'Jocelin,' pp. 277–278, 318; Vincent, *Peter*, p. 119. Jocelin is styled '*Bathon. et Glaston.*' in the grant of Magna Charta (1215) and in the reissue of the charter (1216). Roger of Wendover, *Flowers*, p. 309 refers to him only as bishop of Bath, although Matthew Paris gives him the double title. See Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 1, p. 361 for the Bull of Innocent III confirming the privileges conceded by John of free election in the English church. Hugh and Jocelin (among others, such as William of London, Eustace of Ely,

the barons that John would carry out his oath and guaranteed the baronial delegation a safe journey home.[74] Nonetheless, by July of 1215 they supported the king's interests in issues about the forests, as well as confirming to the pope the barons' refusal to guarantee the king's rights.[75] In September during the civil war between king and barons, most ecclesiastics, including Jocelin, increasingly supported King John, because the barons had offered the throne to Prince Louis, who landed in May of 1216.[76] Two weeks after King John's death and Henry III's immediate coronation at Gloucester on October 28, 1216, the bishops reissued Magna Carta, as they would again in 1217, 1225, 1234, and 1237; Jocelin's involvement with it continued as his importance grew at court.[77]

The English episcopate had unusual political power following King John's death and Henry III's first coronation. This unusual situation, as well as Magna Carta, suggest a context for the ordering of Church and State on the façade at Wells. Henry III, before and after he gained control of his seal in December of 1223, depended on the support of the bishops.[78] Between 1214 and 1224, forty-two of seventy-eight English bishops were administrators and magnates, of whom twenty-two were employed in the *Curia Regis*; these bishops prevented feudal reaction during the minority.[79] Between 1216 and 1221 the papal legates, Guala and Pandulf, who were closely involved with major decisions of the government, ensured cooperation between Church and State by making certain that appointees to bishoprics were loyal to the king and by encouraging bishops to assume high office in the government.[80] Bishops were prominent among the barons of the exchequer in 1217, such as Peter des Roches, and among the justices in eyre appointed in

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and Egid of Hereford) are cited with Stephen Langton as coming to this agreement with John.

[74] Painter, *John*, p. 300.

[75] Ibid., pp. 338–339. The archbishop of Canterbury and Dublin and the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, Worcester, and Coventry issued letters, to protect themselves and in opposition to the barons, declaring that no customs necessary to the administration of the forests should be abolished. The same group, with the addition of the bishop of Chichester and Pandulf, issued letters concerning John's rights on which the barons had reneged.

[76] Chapter 1, p. 35; Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 12; Painter, *John*, pp. 352, 355, 377; and Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 79, 443.

[77] Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 461–464.

[78] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops*, p. 70.

[79] Ibid., pp. 11–12.

[80] Cazel, 'Legates,' pp. 15–24; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 132.

1218, such as Jocelin.[81] Above them was the legate and hence the pope. Pope Honorius III explained in numerous letters that Henry was both a crusader and a ward in his custody and 'thus his rights cannot be usurped by anyone without injury to our rights, and thus it behooves us to attend, as if prosecuting our own cause, to the recall of those rights to his hands'; the pope, in fact, was concerned to uphold royal rights over the Church ordering cathedral chapters to 'above all things reverently to preserve the royal right and honour' and elect pastors 'faithful to the king'.[82]

In 1223 when the pope on the advice of the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, Archbishop Stephen Langton, Bishop Richard Poore, and Bishop Jocelin declared the sixteen-year-old Henry capable with their advice of ruling the kingdom, disruptions again arose since the barons were asked to surrender castles under the king's authority, but they complied either with the bishops' threat of excommunication or coercion, as Jocelin counseled at the Bedford hanging.[83] According to Carpenter, there 'could be no more striking testimony to the strength of the alliance in 1224 between church and state' than that the king was able to dispatch money to Poitou because of the tax imposed by Langton and the bishops on the demesne ploughs of ecclesiastics and their tenants.[84] Those responsible again were Stephen Langton, Richard Poore, and Jocelin who had joined with Hubert de Burgh to form the new government at the end of 1223.[85] In 1224 Jocelin in London and Richard in Salisbury were in charge of a special exchequer for collecting the tax.[86] When the great council at Westminster conceded this fifteenth tax on moveable property, the Church secured in exchange confirmation of the 'liberties of the priests,' referring to the first promise in

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[81] Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 52–53; and Chapter 1, p. 36.

[82] Ibid., p. 143.

[83] Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, pp. cxvi–cxvii; and Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 154, 156–157 believed that Langton's success with recalcitrants, such as Fawkes de Bréauté, was due to the fact that he had reliable bishops on his side since Hubert de Burgh was an uncertain element. Powicke confuses Hugh with his brother, Jocelin, demonstrating the lack of attention that has been paid to Jocelin as a political force during the 1220s, a period when Hugh does not seem to have been active. Powicke acknowledges that the center of gravity had shifted between John's reign and when Henry came of age; Hugh and Jocelin seem a good example of this shift.

[84] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 365.

[85] Ibid., p. 400.

[86] Ibid., p. 379.

Magna Carta that allowed freedom of election to the English Church, although these liberties were clearly not threatened at the time.[87] The government connected closely the tax with the liberties of Magna Carta in 1225 since this was the best way of getting it paid. Jocelin no doubt endorsed the pragmatism of this symbiotic relation of Church and State. He supported reciprocal rights for the king, and we know from his response at the Bedford hanging a year before that he was pragmatic.[88]

Magna Carta of 1215 and of 1225 frame the period in which the façade of Wells was designed and, along with the façade, are artifacts, made by the same producers, testifying to their social view. According to Powicke, Magna Carta of 1225 was 'the symbol of unity and sound government' since it was granted by Henry III with 'spontaneous and free will' and was witnessed by those who had stood on opposing sides in 1215.[89] A pragmatic approach characterized both charters, and workable balance was a major concern of the king's bishop-advisors during the 1220s.[90] Because of Henry's minority and Magna Carta, the king's council had to reassert the rights of the crown so that the king had the power to preserve the rights of his subjects. According to Carpenter, a middle point was hard to find so the government mixed pragmatism with its propaganda.[91]

Having implemented Magna Carta's decrees as a justice in 1217–1218, Jocelin participated extensively in the 1225 'landmark in the estab-

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[87] Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, pp. cxvi–cxvii; N. Brooke, *The English Church and the Papacy* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 226; Cazel, 'Fifteenth,' p. 67; and Jones and Macray, *Charters and Documents*, p. 170 also refer to the grant of the fifteenth at Westminster signed by Hubert, Jocelin, and Richard.

[88] For Bedford see Chapter 1, p. 37; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 387. Reciprocal rights and Magna Carta were invoked to defend the king's liberties in a writ, attested by the king in the presence of Hubert and the bishops of Bath and Salisbury: 'since the Charter had reserved to everyone all the liberties which they enjoyed before, so the king should enjoy the liberties possessed before by his ancestors, provided they had not been specifically given away in the Great Charter.'

[89] Powicke, *Langton*, p. 157; Norgate, *Minority*, p. 214; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 382, 388. According to Wendover, after Northhampton in 1224 the archbishop of Canterbury and other magnates asked Henry to confer the liberties and free customs of Magna Carta, although it had been twice renewed in his name. Previously, the king had been too young to understand to what he was agreeing; now he was 'a man in wisdom and understanding.' In a textual sense the Charters received their final form in Magna Carta of 1225, which was confirmed in 1237 and 1253.

[90] F. Heer, *The Medieval World* (New York, 1961), p. 349.

[91] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 237.

lishment of the Charters.'[92] In the rubric to Magna Carta of 1225 Jocelin is listed before the bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, perhaps because of his greater influence with Hubert de Burgh.[93] Heer describes Magna Carta, especially the revised version of 1225, as 'founded on the principle of legality … the King must no longer give judgment by himself, but with the advice of the magnates of the realm.'[94] In 1234 Jocelin and the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Coventry and Rochester stressed the principles of consent and right judgment, which Peter des Roches and his regime had just flouted, and the text of Magna Carta of 1225 was proclaimed in every county court: 'this reissue of the Charter in 1234, repeated in 1237, was effectively to place permanent limitations upon the exercise of brute, royal power … It is no coincidence that the men who came forward in 1234 to dominate royal counsel should have been those most devoted to peace, stability and respect for legal form: the English bishops …'[95] Apart from Peter des Roches who had little sympathy for Magna Carta, Jocelin was the only bishop witnessing the confirmation of Magna Carta in 1237 who had been named in the original charter of 1215.[96]

Partly because of Magna Carta the Church defined itself as protector and supporter of the people. Duby concludes that 'Stephen Langton urged good clerks to wed the cause of the people because according to him the blood of the poor was none other than the blood of Christ; he was working with all his strength to deliver a society of injustice …'[97] According to Roger of Wendover, Langton told the barons that, in absolving King John at Winchester, he made him swear to recall good laws, such as those of King Edward, and that a charter of Henry I had just been found by which they could recall long-lost rights.[98] But even earlier, according to Matthew Paris, another archbishop of Canterbury, Hubert Walter, had seen the Church as protector when he 'spoke

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[92] Ibid., pp. 64, 335, and 387. Magna Carta had called for the restoration of the eyeres, along with the bench, since they had been virtually suspended between 1209 and 1212. The itinerant justices of 1218–1219 acted in the spirit of clause 18 which demanded that the king's judges should visit the counties four times a year; in 1217 this requirement was changed to once a year.

[93] Vincent, *Peter*, p. 226.

[94] Heer, *World*, p. 349.

[95] Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 443, 463–464.

[96] Ibid., pp. 119, 221, and 475.

[97] Duby, *Orders*, p. 320.

[98] Roger of Wendover, *Flowers*, pp. 276–278 also reported that the archbishop faithfully promised the barons his assistance in August of 1214 at St. Paul's in London.

with special force at the coronation of John in order that … he might safeguard the realm so far as words could from the evil days which he expected.'[99]

As a contract Magna Carta imposed binding obligations between king and people, king and barons, and king and bishop. The king's coronation oath, vowed to the Church, also bound him to maintain these obligations, peace, and justice; Jocelin administered this oath at Gloucester to Henry who promised to 'maintain the honour, peace, and reverence due to God, His Church, and His ordained ministers.'[100]

Might the mixing of *sacerdotium* and *regnum* and the hieratic reversals in the positioning of kings and clerics on the façade at Wells indicate similar cooperation between Church and State and between the estates of society? The arrangement at Wells suggests a complicated balancing of the two powers. Three secular statues, as well as King Solomon, are interspersed with two popes on the south side of the west front; three bishops and two priests are found on the north side, even though most clerics are located on the south and most laity on the north.[101] Of 108 remaining statues 31 are bishops or abbots wearing mitres and 24 are kings (Fig. 56: K's, B's & BA's).[102] Although the bishops dominate in number, a certain balance is suggested by the 11 clerics and 9 secular statues in the larger niches on the faces of the buttresses. Strategic positioning is indicated by the location of two popes and a priest above kings and a noble in the niches on the north and east sides of the north tower since they face the path between the canons' houses and the north porch of the church. Likewise, only bishops, one above the other, are found in the large niches on the south side of the south tower facing the canons' cemetery.

On the other hand, although the faces of the 6 buttresses across the west front of the façade present equally 6 seculars and 6 clerics, there are 3 secular statues and only one bishop in the buttress niches flanking

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[99] Powicke, *Langton*, p. 110 cites the *Chronica Majora*, vol 2, p. 454.

[100] Ibid., p. 107; Norgate, *Minority*, p. 4; See Chapter 1, p. 35.

[101] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' pp. 156–159. Three of the bishops and a priest (Fig. 56: 64, 68, 67, and 66 respectively) are next to the king-martyrs in the upper row of niches on the north side of the façade's center. The others are spread across the façade (Fig. 56: PR, P, and B). See Chapter 2, p. 60 n. 63.

[102] Hope and Lethaby, 'The Imagery,' p. 157 identify the mitred figures with books as bishops who were once abbots (Fig. 56: BA). Included in the count, are bishops (Fig. 56:64, 66, 68), the nine martyr-kings (Fig. 56:51–59), and Solomon (Fig. 56:61). A greater number of clerics than laity, and hence more bishops than kings, were probably intended for the unfilled niches on the south tower since they face the canons' cemetery.

the center section. The top niches of these two center buttresses are occupied by kings, and one of the kings is placed above a bishop (Figs. 10 and 11). Consequently, although clerics are more numerous on the façade, prominence in location is given to kings. Might it be significant that both the center of the west façade at Wells and Jocelin's politics around 1220 seem to privilege kings?[103]

Nonetheless, unlike Peter des Roches, Jocelin stressed, instead of arbitrary royal power, rule by common consent: the two seated kings in the highest tier flanking the center portal hold charters resembling Magna Carta, and the king on the north is seated above a noble whereas the king on the south is placed above a bishop (Figs. 10 and 11).[104] The bishop on the face of the adjacent buttress to the south turns to look at them and thus focuses the viewer's attention towards these figures.

When Henry visited Wells in 1235, 1236, and 1249, he probably passed beneath these statues of kings displaying Magna Carta-like charters since, according to liturgical directions for Wells, kings and other distinguished guests were received into the church through the western portals.[105] Appropriately for such occasions, these statues of charter-

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[103] Norgate, *Minority*, pp. 212 and 291; Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 327; Stacey, 'Politics,' pp. 24–25; and Eales, 'Castles,' p. 37. Jocelin continuously supported centralized kingship and anticipated benefits from a strong and wealthy king; for example, Sherborne and Bristol castles were transferred to Jocelin during the purge of 1223–1224, ostensibly to ensure neutrality. Earlier in his career Jocelin's loyalty to the king was so strong that he and Hugh supported John even when the king insisted that archbishops and other prelates were to be chosen by him alone. See Painter, *John*, pp. 179–181, 352, 355, 377. Still John did not list Hugh or Jocelin, as he did Peter des Roches, among those in his will who had served him faithfully. See A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book To Magna Carta* (Oxford, 1951), p. 486. Unlike some of his peers Jocelin had also defended the king's rights against Prince Louis of France as he later safeguarded them against insurrection at Bedford Castle in December of 1223. See Chapter 1, p. 37.

[104] This became particularly apparent in 1234 when Jocelin was among those who took over when Henry III repented of Peter des Roches' advise to put the rights of kingship above all else. See Vincent, *Peter*, p. 436. Hope and Lethaby, 'Imagery,' pp. 196, S. 10 and 199, N. 10 pointed out that these kings hold open charters. These charters are short, like Magna Carta, and unlike the long scrolls usually held by medieval statues of kings, such as the following pictured in Sauerlander, *Gothic Sculpture*: Saint-Denis, p. 380, Illus. 2; Chartres, Pl. 13; Le Mans, Pl. 17; Bourges, Pl. 38; Notre-Dame Paris, Pls. 153 and 155. The other kings on the façade do not hold charters but only swords, scepters, or most commonly the strap of their mantle.

[105] Watkin, *Dean Cosyn*, pp. 116 and 121; Reynolds, *Wells*, p. 34; and Bailey, *The Processions*, p. 26. T. Craib, 'The Itinerary of King Henry III, 1216–1272,' typescript, London Public Record Office (London, 1923):1235 August: 1 Wells; 2 Glastonbury; 3 Bath; 4 Malmesbury; 1236 June: 27 Glastonbury; 28 Wells; 28–30 Bristol; 1249 August:

bound kings, glorified in the gabled niches of heaven, prominently dominated the center of the façade and were placed above both a bishop and a noble. Did Jocelin and his master mason consider the reception ceremony of the king when designing the façade, as they did the Palm Sunday procession in the placement of the quatrefoils?

According to Cheney, Innocent III 'denied on politico-theological grounds that a king should rank with a bishop by being anointed on the head at coronation, but the English coronation *ordines*, which prescribed anointing on the head, must have been approved by the bishops who used them,' as did Jocelin when he administered the oath at Henry III's first coronation in 1216.[106] At this time it was believed that a good king was strengthened by this mystical union with the Church at coronation, although a king could claim in virtue of it no sacramental characters.[107] Later when Henry III was interested in the sacredness of kings, he corresponded about their anointing with Grosseteste who replied that the ceremony did not confer priesthood; hence in order to promote his sacrality, it became more important for Henry to promote Edward the Confessor because he was a sainted king in the royal line.[108] Jocelin's positioning of the Anglo-Saxon king-martyrs to the right of Christ near the center of the façade likewise promoted the sacredness of kings, as well as drawing attention to the Anglo-Saxon past of the church of Wells.

Might the arrangement of statues on the façade indicate Bishop Jocelin's prescription for harmony between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*? Episcopal discourse was often aimed at establishing or maintaining order, whose model the bishop found in heaven.[109] Jocelin's politics at court, however, were more complicated than the ideal heavenly model, and his view of order and hierarchy no doubt was nuanced by the pragmatics of government in the decade between 1215 and 1225. The location of the statue of Thomas Becket adjacent to the Anglo-Saxon kings on the façade suggests a theme of harmony, as might the similar juxtapositions of other clerics and laity whose placement deviate from the overall division of the two orders.

14–16 Glastonbury; 17 Wells; 18 Chew Magna; 19–27 Bristol.

[106] Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 405.

[107] Powicke, *Langton*, p. 108.

[108] Ibid.

[109] Duby, *Orders*, p. 116.

French façades, familiar to Jocelin and his sculptors, also promoted a harmonious alliance between Church and State. A few years previous to the design at Wells the north portal of the façade of Notre-Dame in Paris represented prophets and kings on the lintel beneath the Coronation of the Virgin alluding, according to Sauerlander, to harmony with the State on which the security of the Church depended.[110] Earlier French façades, such as the west façades at Saint-Denis and Chartres, inter-mingled Old Testament priests and kings to stress their mutual protection. Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis, another politically engaged cleric, maintained in the mid twelfth century that 'the glory of Christ's body that is the Church of God, consists in the indissoluble unity of kingship and priesthood … because … the temporal kingdom becomes stable through the Church of God and the Church of God progresses through the temporal kingdom.'[111] No doubt, these were Jocelin's sentiments during the tax of 1225 and earlier when he expanded the French Coronation portal theme into the post-biblical array of clerics and laity across the façade at Wells which like a great council holds court in a pageant-like grandstand.

Framed by Jocelin's involvement in the development of the great councils in England between Magna Carta of 1215 and 1225, the City of God on the façade at Wells might be read as a protective great council centered on charter-bound kings.[112] Cazel envisioned a similar council, divided between *sacerdotium* and *regnum*, surrounding Henry III at the witnessing of the first letters patent under the new seal of 1218 when the legate Guala, two archbishops, the marshal, and the justiciar in the presence of 12 bishops, 9 abbots, 8 earls and 15 barons met in common council.[113] During this period of the minority, the king's council (varying from a small group to a large assembly) grew in importance.[114] The great councils came to have a large say in government because the

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[110] See Chapter 2, p. 63; and Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, p. 61.

[111] Katzenellenbogen, *Chartres*, p. 33. Although priests and kings are separate on the lintel of the north door of Notre-Dame in Paris, clerics and kings are juxtaposed in the jambs. Later at Amiens and Reims prophets and kings are separate.

[112] Recall that façades and manuscripts with an array such as this are rare. See Chapter 3, p. 94.

[113] Cazel, 'The Legates,' p. 17. The council limited use of the seal so that no grant in perpetuity would be made before Henry came of age.

[114] Norgate, *Minority*, p. 178; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 54, 389. The King's Council in 1219 consisted of the Primate of England, the justices, and the great officers of state (justiciar, chancellor, treasurer) and others called on personal rather than official grounds.

ministers at their center had been appointed by great councils and were responsible to them.[115] Magna Carta was the product of such a council, and it also defined how great councils were to be convoked, as well as attempting to give councils control over extraordinary taxation.[116] In the years preceding the design of the façade at Wells the great council appointed the regent and controlled all major appointments; it also granted the king a seal of his own and advised the papal legate.[117]

With Jocelin as a central player, councils also granted laying siege to Bedford castle in 1223 and levying the fifteenth tax of the Charter of 1225.[118] According to Powicke, when the great council induced the king and his ministers to grant money for the war in Poitou, its position as a national body, acting for the whole community, was strengthened; it was argued that 'any one who refused to pay the fifteenth granted on this occasion could not expect to enjoy the liberties secured by the charter. If the charter belonged to all, all must share in the responsibility assumed by the Great Council.'[119] This concept of unity is even more evident in the grant of the sixteenth in 1226, and this case also reveals how the great council interacted with smaller councils, particularly the cathedral chapters. The sixteenth, granted on all property not assessed for the fifteenth of the preceding year, was a tax on spiritualit-

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[115] Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 402, 407.

[116] Ibid., p. 54. These clauses were omitted in 1216 and later editions of the charter.

[117] Ibid., pp. 55, 94, 134, and 408; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 94 and 407. In 1216 the regent was not only appointed by, but his authority depended on securing common consent from a great council. In 1218 it was the great council which gave the king a seal of his own and, since the king was a minor, laid down regulations for its use. Even the lifting of the final restriction on the king's powers depended on such a council. In 1219 Pandulf, the papal legate, was made 'first counselor and chief of all the kingdom by the common consent and provision of all the kingdom' and took advice from the councils. The same year a great council made Hubert de Burgh justiciar, and he acknowledged that he remained justiciar 'by the counsel of the (legate), the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishops and magnates of the land.' The control which great councils exercised over appointments is apparent in the case of Ralph de Neville who Matthew Paris asserts in 1218 'received the seal by the common counsel of the kingdom.' In 1236 Neville refused to surrender the seal because he held it by 'common counsel of the kingdom, and therefore could not resign it to anyone without the common assent of the kingdom.' See D.A. Carpenter, 'Chancellor Ralph de Neville and Plans of Political Reform, 1215–1258,' in *Thirteenth Century England* (II Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference, 1987), ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988), p. 70.

[118] Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 362 and 408. Bedford castle was besieged 'by the common counsel of the kingdom' and 'by the counsel of the archbishop, bishops and magnates of the land.'

[119] Powicke, *Langton*, p. 157.

ies (rather than the temporalities of the fifteenth) for a secular purpose, a principle that had been debated in cathedral chapters. The assembly which granted it had representatives from all these chapters, and preliminary discussions at Salisbury had debated the right of a majority to bind the whole body.[120] These councils were related to the principle of representation which had been extended to the concept of a united and universal Church since Magna Carta of 1215. Magna Carta and councilor government were closely associated, as in 1232 when Peter des Roches had ousted Hubert de Burgh; then it was the bishops who insisted that Hubert be judged by his peers of the council and the law of the land as definded by Magna Carta.[121]

The unusual hierarchical alternation of Church and State on the façade of Wells can be related to this social ordering in which these councils and Magna Carta developed. Jocelin was at the center of the state councils, and it is recorded that some of his peers believed that the only legitimate decisions were those authorized by great councils.[122] The king's ministers had to cooperate laboriously amongst themselves and seek consent from great councils.[123] Moreover, English church councils, such as that called by Stephen Langton at Osney in 1222 to proclaim the decrees of Lateran IV, were especially prominent at this time. The tendency of the bishops (such as those at Carlisle, Coventry, and Worcester) to strengthen and frame concordats with their cathedral chapters, as Jocelin did at Wells, can also be interpreted as related practices.[124] Between 1232 and 1234 Henry III, listening to Peter des Roches instead of Jocelin and the other bishops, learned the hard way that the king should neither ignore the advice of his council nor overturn charters.[125] This lesson is perhaps implicit on the façade of Wells.

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[120] Ibid., pp. 158–159. According to Powicke, this principle became more apparent after Pope Honorius III requested a permanent papal revenue from the whole Church in 1226 and after Langton summoned a council made up of representatives of ecclesiastical corporations which refused to agree to the pope's demand unless the whole Church acceded. As representatives of local corporations, this council insisted upon its unity with the rest of the Church. This occurred at the same time as the granting of the sixteenth.

[121] Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 316, 448. This constituted the first state trial.

[122] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 127. The earl of Salisbury and Robert de Viewpont expressed this view in 1220.

[123] Ibid., p. 145; and idem, 'Ralph,' pp. 69–80. During the twenty-seven years of peace following the civil war of 1215–1217, the demand for the appointment of justiciar and chancellor by common consent grew.

[124] Chapter 1, p. 38; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 145.

[125] Vincent, *Peter*, p. 464.

Constructed during the formation of these many councils, the façade was part of the visual culture that supported them.

Implicit in any depiction of *sacerdotium* and *regnum*, or of *Ecclesia triumphans*, is the theme of *visio pacis*. This theme is celebrated on the façade as the peace and unity of the English Church and State. Yet Bishop Jocelin was so closely involved in maintaining the king's peace with church support during the 1220s that he also may have intended the façade to promote peace in the kingdom; certainly as Suger pointed out, it was a pre-requisite for Church prosperity.[126] Discourse about the condition of the kingdom during the 1220s, such as that at Henry's coronation, presented a newly achieved peace and tranquility, although there seems to have been fear of civil war.[127] Although insurrections, like that at Bedford, justified such fears, the kingdom throughout the 1220s remained on course through the constant efforts of the bishops. As Langton claimed peace to avoid having a legate, it can be suggested that Jocelin, by presenting an image of peace on the façade, may have also hoped to make it so in the kingdom while promising that the Church and its bishops guaranteed it, as they had, indeed, with wise counsel, like that of Jocelin at the siege of Bedford. A similar strategy was proposed earlier for Jocelin's proclamation of triumph on the façade to assure cathedral status for the church at Wells within the diocese.[128] In fact, the country remained at peace until the end of Jocelin's life, with rebellions, such as that of 1233–1234, resolved by the council of bishops in which he participated.[129]

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[126] Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 98. The oath he administered to the counties as justice in eyere was similar to that sworn by the magnates of England in November of 1218 when the king's seal was inaugurated: to preserve and promote 'the royal honours and rights, obey and assist the regent and the king's councilors in doing the same, and repress violators of the peace.'

[127] Norgate, *Minority*, p. 130; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 155, 177, 186–188, 349–351. According to William of Coventry, the king was crowned 'with such great peacefulness and splendour, that the oldest … present asserted that they never remembered any of his predecessors being crowned amid such concord and tranquility.' Modern historians concur that concord did seem to reign because of a renewal of the truce for four years with the king of France on Easter, March 3, 1220. Still Pandulf on April 26, 1220, referring to internal threats to the king's peace and authority, agreed with Hubert de Burgh that 'the times are evil and the malice of men and the times grows daily.' Conditions were perhaps more serious in 1224, but in 1220 there seems to have been fear of civil war.

[128] See Chapter 1, p. 37 for Bedford; and above p. 193 for Jocelin's diocesan strategy.

[129] Carpenter, 'Ralph,' p. 77; and Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 434–436, 442, 448, 451. In 1234 the bishops negotiated a truce with Llywelyn, promoted an air of justice at court, and during the conflict between Henry III and Peter des Roches in 1234 intervened to bring

At Wells just as kings are adjacent to clerics, English saints are placed next to saints honored internationally. For example, Saint Eustace is near Saint Ethelburga of Barking (Fig. 56: 63 and 65). A similar mixing of categories characterizes the program of kings and clerics painted on the vaults of the Trinity Chapel at Canterbury in 1220.[130] Here three Canterbury archbishops and possibly a royal founder of the abbey can be identified; Henry III is adjacent to Mary Magdalene, and other internationally popular saints–Catherine, Peter, and Leonard–are grouped with English saints. Since Henry III is depicted with the particularly prominent crown and scepter conferred at his coronation in May of 1220, the paintings at Canterbury may document Henry's presence during the translation of Becket on July 7 to his new shrine in the Trinity Chapel, and his entourage may emphasize the presence of his spiritual ancestors at the event.[131] Likewise, the similar juxtapositions of categories on the façade at Wells probably indicate the spiritual support and unity of the Church past and present, local and international. During the minority of Henry III the English Church and the Universal Church pulled together as one body. Along with the bishops, the papal legates, Guala and Pandulf, worked hard for the realm's unity, quite unlike the papal legates who strove for papal lordship in Sicily during the minority of Frederick II.[132] Recall that Honorius III insisted on Church support of the young king 'as if prosecuting our own cause.'[133]

Although most of the statues on the façade of Wells cannot be identified, Jocelin seems to have featured English saints among this greater City of God. In addition to the Anglo-Saxon martyr-kings, English benefactors may be present among the unidentifiable kings, as they were on English choir screens.[134] Discourse during the ceremonies for

about peace, taking it on themselves to issue safe-conduct for Peter de Rivallis.

[130] Caviness, 'A Lost Cycle,' pp. 67, 71. Nineteenth-century drawings identify the figures. Caviness has noted similarities between the statues of bishops at Wells and drawings of the saints painted on the vaults of the Trinity Chapel and has suggested that the paintings may have influenced the façade's design. Nonetheless, given the complexity of the program at Wells and the relative simplicity at Canterbury, the two may be similar only because both were conceived in the same circle of ecclesiastics around 1220.

[131] Ibid., pp. 69–71.

[132] Cazel, 'The Legates,' pp. 18–21 and 207. Cazel believes that Guala strongly aided 'the reconstruction of the English polity in the minority.' Although Guala was first counselor, he ruled not with supremacy, but with the other members of the council; he did not make decisions by himself.

[133] See above, p. 205.

[134] Chapter 2, p. 64.

the translation of saints emphasized English identity. Stephen Langton preached the 'triumph of an Englishman' at Becket's translation in 1220.[135] Earlier in 1163 Thomas Becket had presided at Edward the Confessor's translation. According to Powicke, Ailred of Rievaulx wrote as an Englishman of King Edward in his life of the Confessor, composed for the translation: 'He gloried in the fact that England now had an English king, surrounded by so many English bishops and abbots … and told how … Wulfstan had gone to Edward's tomb and appealed to him …'[136] Wulfstan's appeal was against the Norman Lanfranc who had attempted to depose him. Perhaps this story became current in the thirteenth century because of Wulfstan's translation in 1201. At any rate, King John in 1211 quoted to Innocent III Wulfstan's statement to William the Bastard, '"You did not give me my staff, and I will not give it to you": and he went to the tomb of St. Edward and said in his mother tongue [*in lingua sua*] "Edward you gave me my staff, and now on account of the king I cannot hold it" … [John] added in our own days my father conferred the archbishop of Canterbury on St. Thomas.'[137] This case not only indicates an interest in Anglo-Saxon precedent but also reveals John posing as the heir of Edward the Englishman and holding up English custom in defense of his right to appoint prelates when papal legates came to negotiate the Interdict. The barons in 1214 also cited English custom and used English sentiment against Peter des Roches and his fellow aliens; the xenophobic clauses of the first edition of Magna Carta were later eliminated, but claims made as an Englishman recurred, of course, during insurrections and when Louis of France invaded in 1217.[138] Although Jocelin, like Langton, was native-born and involved in conflicts with aliens, throughout his life he collaborated with them.[139] National identity

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[135] Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 96–97.

[136] Ibid., p. 86.

[137] Ibid., pp. 87–88.

[138] Ibid., pp. 108, 119; and Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 119–120, 135.

[139] Recall that Jocelin (whose family name seems to have been Troteman) was no doubt of Anglo-Saxon origin. Carpenter, *Henry III*, pp. 261, 271–273, 289, 324–325 shows that certain antagonisms and alliances during the 1220s were influenced by tensions between native-born, *naturales*, and aliens, such as Peter des Roche or Fawkes de Breauté, as expressed in Langton's sermon to the people on the occasion of Fawkes' absolution in 1223. Vincent, *Peter*, pp. 112, 119, 120, 135, 158, 168, 215, 205, 292 finds anti-alien feeling was politically motivated. Cazel, 'Legates,' p. 21 mentions that clergy and laity alike were moved by xenophobia when it came to legates. According to H. Ridgeway, 'King Henry III and the "Aliens", 1236–1272,' in *Thirteenth Century Eng-*

seems often to have provided political rhetoric for particular situations, and if the façade does emphasize English saints, it is probably linked more closely with Jocelins' plans for re-establishing the see at Wells and emphasis on the past, golden age of the English Church.

A Rhetoric of Sacred Ritual

Because of a spate of translations of Anglo-Saxon saints in England around 1200, Brieger suggested 'an intentional revival of the fame of those who had laid the foundation of the English church.'[140] The translation at Wells of its Anglo-Saxon bishops to the choir and the production of new effigies for them were part of this larger English practice, as was the depiction of Anglo-Saxon king-martyrs on the façade.[141] Like the Worcester Fragment, which praised Anglo-Saxon bishops for their pious leadership, the façade of Wells can be interpreted as an artifact testifying to an early thirteenth-century emphasis on the past, golden age of the English Church. Early thirteenth-century references to Anglo-Saxon sermons, translation of Anglo-Saxon saints, and the production of the façade can all be related to episcopal assertion of the permanency and the dependability of the English Church as manifested by its past.[142] Translations of Anglo-Saxon saints to new shrines and the proofs of sanctity for canonization were the bishops' special concern and can be considered as part of their rhetoric of glorification.[143] Not only did the new cult of Saint Thomas intensify a sacred stance in the English Church, climaxing with his translation at Canterbury in 1220, but often, as at Canterbury, relics were translated to, and the rituals orchestrated in, newly built retrochoirs decorated with shrine motifs

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land, II Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne conference, 1987, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd, (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1988), p. 86 '"Down with the aliens" was a powerful, recurring political slogan throughout the century, even though Matthew Paris … is the primary source.' Throughout his life Jocelin collaborated with Peter des Roches, only opposing him when necessary, as in 1209, 1223, and 1234. In 1221 Peter contributed to the construction at Wells. See Chapter 1, pp. 36–37 for Jocelin's activities between 1218–1224.

[140] Brieger, *English Art*, p. 7; and Powicke, *Langton*, pp. 85, 144–145. Brieger did not develop this idea.

[141] Chapter 2, p. 61.

[142] Chapter 2, p. 82.

[143] Chapter 3, p. 117.

similar to those on the façade at Wells.[144] Most likely these translations resembled, if on a somewhat smaller scale, the spectacle at Canterbury which had been proclaimed two years in advance, not only in England but also in Europe.

Stephen Langton's translation of Becket on July 7, 1220 followed his coronation of Henry III on May 17 at Westminster and rivaled it in splendor. On the day of the translation free wine ran through the gutters of the streets; expenses were hardly paid off by Langton's fourth successor to the see of Canterbury.[145] Stephen Langton had issued orders for provisions from all his episcopal manors for maintenance at Canterbury of the vast multitude comprised of bishops, abbots, priors, parsons, earls, barons, knights, serjeants, squires, husbandmen and 'simple men eke of the land.'[146] Accompanied by Richard Poore, Langton moved Becket's bones from the crypt tomb to a chest which was carried in a procession headed by 'King Henry, the young child,' to the new shrine in the Trinity Chapel.[147] After describing those viewing the shrine with raised hands and eyes to the sky, Matthew Paris explains the benefits bestowed on them in terms of Luke 2: 29–30: 'Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in ease, according to thy word: For mine eyes have seen thy salvation. Which thou hast prepared before the face of all people.'[148] On this occasion Mass was celebrated before an altar in front of the choir screen which was visible to the vast congregation in the nave, a choir screen banded with a row of quatrefoils (Fig. 31), as was the entrance at Wells.[149]

Stimulated by the precedent of the Trinity Chapel, which was built for Becket's shrine as an eastern extension of the choir at Canterbury, other English east ends were enlarged usually to house new shrines, mainly for Anglo-Saxon saints, or to accommodate the access of pilgrims to older shrines. Constructed at the end of the twelfth century were the eastern extensions of Chichester, Hereford, Lichfield, and Rochester; at the beginning of the thirteenth century Chester (ca. 1211),

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[144] Coldstream, 'Decorated,' p. 23.

[145] Foreville, *Jubilé*, pp. 9–10; and A. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*, (London, 1904), pp. 200–201, 252 transcribes these details about the feast from 'Polistoire,' a Norman French manuscript.

[146] Stanley, *Historical*, p. 200 quotes Robert of Gloucester.

[147] Foreville, *Jubilé*, p. 8; and Stanley, *Historical*, p. 201.

[148] Lehmann-Brochaus, *Lateinische Schriftquellen*, vol. 1, p. 243.

[149] Stanley, *Historical*, p. 201. This screen was most likely that with a band of quatrefoils discussed in Chapter 3, p. 121.

Salisbury (1220), Winchester (ca. 1204), Worcester (1224), and Ely (1234); and later in the thirteenth century, St. Paul's, Lincoln, Westminster, Hailes, St. Albans, and Malmesbury.[150]

Likewise, spectacles associated with canonizations, such as that of Wulfstan in 1201 at Worcester, flourished as part of the bishops' sacred ritual and provided a display of shrines for the laity. The account of the gathering during Lent at the tomb of Wulfstan conveys the excitement stirred up on these occasions. Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, with bishops and other notables witnessed 'the great concourse of pilgrims at Wulfstan's tomb, the religious devotion, and the miracles, and they were moved to enthusiasm themselves.'[151] Though this text suggests that popular devotion inspired the bishops, at least in part the reverse was probably the case. The Church's ability to kindle enthusiasm and generate pilgrims must have stimulated events such as this. Organizing these canonizations seems to have been no small part of the bishops' duties. The event at Worcester occurred during the very weeks that Hubert Walter was in charge of an enquiry into miracles for the canonization of Gilbert of Sempringham. The pope had appointed Bishop Eustace of Ely and the abbots of Peterborough and Wardon to proceed personally to Sempringham 'to search for the truth, through witnesses, common repute, and authentic writing'; even King John wrote to the pope in support of the archbishop's testimony.[152] Gilbert's case was only one of several that Hubert was processing: he had taken over Gilbert's case after Hugh of Lincoln died in 1200, and he was soon to take on the canonization of Wulfstan and Hugh, himself. In fact, at his death, Hugh was positioned as a saint, and his corpse was carried for burial in the choir as though it were a relic. According to Roger of Hoveden, King John and his barons carried 'that holy man's dead body on their shoulders unto the western door of the minster; there it was met by three archbishops and thirteen bishops ...'[153] Langton, in turn, took over, after Hubert's death, the canonization of Hugh.

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[150] P. Draper, 'The Retrochoir of Winchester Cathedral,' *Architectural History* 21(1978):6–10; and idem, P. Draper, 'Architecture and Liturgy,' in *Age of Chivalry*, eds. J. Alexander and P. Binski, (London, 1987) p. 87; and V. Jansen, 'Attested But Opaque, the Early Gothic East End of St. Werburgh's Abbey,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Chester*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1992, pp. 59–60, 61.

[151] Cheney, *Innocent*, p. 57, and E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008–1095* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 278–281.

[152] Cheney, *Innocent*, pp. 54–55.

[153] Rock, *Church*, vol. 3, pt. 1, pp. 309–310.

Jocelin would have been similarly occupied in his unsuccessful attempt to canonize Bishop Osmund of Sarum at the request of Richard Poore in 1228 following Osmund's translation to the new church at Salisbury in 1226.[154] As Brieger stated, although the translation of a saint may have been arranged sometimes to attract pilgrims 'as part of a financial scheme … the new shrines could not fail to give fresh life to the peoples devotion and to their loyalty to the English church.'[155] By staging events of pomp the English Church surrounded itself with an aura of sanctity, engaging the people and their rulers.

Throughout his life Henry III attended translations all over the country; this habit was probably cultivated by the bishops during his minority.[156] Jocelin's placement of martyr-kings on the façade to Christ's right might also suggest that he and the bishops emphasized sacred kingship. The king of England could claim at this time to be the only European monarch who had inherited his crown from a saint, Edward the Confessor, and Henry III and his family were later buried next to the shrine of Saint Edward at Westminster, with the king in the place of honor on the north side of the shrine of his patron saint.[157] During his minority, Henry's bishop-advisors probably stimulated his devotion to Saint Edward and his respect for sacred tradition. In order to restore a custom that went back to the golden age of 1100 they had Henry crowned for the second time in 1220 at Westminster.[158]

Traditionally relics of saints had distinguished the Church as holy protector.[159] Wulfstan had appealed to Saint Edward for protection; King John in turn had put himself in Saint Wulfstan's safekeeping and was later buried in front of the high altar at Worcester between the bodies of Wulfstan and Oswald, both local Anglo-Saxon saints.[160]

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[154] Jones, *Vetus Registrum*, vol. 2, pp. cxxiii–cxxvi, 220, 223. This attempt to canonize Osmund was Richard Poore's last official act before being transferred to Durham. In fact, Richard Poore received Pope Gregory's appointment of the commissioners of Bath and Coventry to inquire into the life and miracles of Osmund on July 16, 1228 the same day that he received the news of his provision to the see of Durham. Osmund was canonized two hundred years later.

[155] Brieger, *English Art*, p. 7.

[156] Coldstream, 'Decorated,' p. 33; and Vincent, *Peter*, p. 246.

[157] Hohenzollern, *Königsgalerie*, pp. 106–108.

[158] Coldstream, 'Decorated,' p. 32.

[159] Geary, *Furta*, pp. 25, 152–154, 162.

[160] B. Singleton, 'The Remodeling of the East End of Worcester Cathedral in the Earlier Part of the Thirteenth Century,' in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1975, vol. 1, (London, 1978), pp. 106–108; and Vincent, *Peter*, p. 131. John was not buried at Beaulieu as first

In preparation for Magna Carta the barons with Stephen Langton in 1214 had gathered before the shrine of St. Edmund at Bury on the anniversary of his martyrdom.[161] Langton also took portions of the sacred relics of Saint Thomas with him to Rome in 1220, not for protection, but as signs of power in his successful mission to free himself and the English Church from the tutelage of a papal legate.[162]

The church of Wells had no major relic and was not a center of pilgrimage, as was Glastonbury, but Jocelin seems to have found equivalents in its Anglo-Saxon bishops and in the façade program. As previously mentioned these effigies were produced shortly after Jocelin and his chapter's decision to adopt Wells, instead of Glastonbury, as a prospective episcopal see; the façade and two of these effigies, wearing Anglo-Saxon mitres, were begun at the moment when the Anglo-Saxon tradition of Wells could be used to support this claim to the pope.[163] Perhaps at this date Jocelin Troteman already styled himself successor to these Anglo-Saxon bishops whose effigies would later surround his burial place in the choir at Wells. Even the Frenchman Peter des Roches, as Bishop of Winchester, posed as successor to the old English saints Birinus, Swithun, and Aethelwold in a poem on St. Birinus, commissioned from Henry of Avranches in 1227.[164]

It can be suggested that spectacular ceremonies for the translation of saints, as well as the new shrines, themselves, not only promoted the saints and their churches as protectors but further established this same role for the English Church. Therefore, the frequency of translations and canonizations in early thirteenth-century England may indicate the bishops' promotion of the Church as holy protector of the people within a mind set of longer duration. The English Church may have taken a sacred stance in contrast to tyrannical English kings, perhaps since the time of William Rufus, but certainly since the conflicts with Henry II and John. As defender of the people, the Church may have stressed its beneficent power as the shield against tyranny and the promise for the future. In principle the bishops served the crown as

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intended only because it was overrun by the French in 1016.

[161] B. Abou-el-haj, 'Bury St. Edmunds Abbey between 1070 and 1124: A History of Property, Privilege, and Monastic Art Production,' *Art History* 6(1983):13.

[162] Powicke, *Langton*, p. 145; and Carpenter, *Henry III*, p. 254.

[163] See above, p. 193.

[164] Vincent, *Peter*, p. 246. Although this was Peter's way as an alien of establishing English identity, it reveals a practice among English bishops of using Anglo-Saxon saints as a source of authority.

ministers to serve the people. Stimulated by the Becket tragedy, but possibly going back to the canonization of Edward the Confessor, the Church may have identified itself with the holiness of its saints and of its shrines, signs of sacredness and purified strength, which could empower the whole English Church.

This ideology may also explain Jocelin's choice of a façade decorated with sacred motifs, a façade transformed into a monumental shrine housing all the saints to signify the protective role of the Church. Certainly, the immediate image that the façade projects with its mantle of shrine motifs is a profusion of splendor and holiness, as well as a promise of eternal happiness. This is what the Church offered up at its spectacular translations and liturgical processions of glorification, such as that of Palm Sunday when a shrine, probably with motifs like those on the façade was carried through the central portal. In fact, Jocelin's definition of the church at Wells with a shrine-like façade might be interpreted as indicative of the way in which the English Church was presenting itself in the 1220s.

The strength of the bishops politically in the kingdom and in a reforming Universal Church seems essential to the production of the façade at Wells during the 1220s. For them the decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council may have taken on a special meaning after the Interdict and with Magna Carta, both connected to the rule of a tyrant. In accord with the reforming spirit of Lateran IV the bishops seem to have turned traditional triumphal church ritual into inspiring spectacles which proclaimed the sanctity of the English Church and its power as protector of the kingdom. With a new king ruling under the guidance of a team of powerful bishops, the Church was in control and able to stabilize the kingdom at last. The triumph of the Church seems to have been celebrated and maintained with ceremonious display, such as the translation of Becket and the façade of Wells, both perhaps promoting the New City of God, the English Church. In an overwhelming diocesan gesture of power, Jocelin, intent on restoring Wells to its pre-Conquest status and prestige, confronted his canons' monastic rivals at Glastonbury and Bath with a façade conceived as a spectacle of glorification. The claims of the canons at Wells to house the bishop's seat in the face of the counter-assertions of the monks of Bath may have been an important reason for the thematic choice of the Church Triumphant and for its sacred architectural frame. Significantly, Jocelin offered no such image, no such inspiration, for the diocesan community at Bath Abbey, their twelfth-century harmonic two-tower façade presented only

a narrow monastic image, unsuited to all the functions of a cathedral.[165] Jocelin's celebration of the façade of Wells as the material equivalent of the Church's rhetoric of sacred ritual thus would have offered the concluding, overwhelming argument in favor of his policy of making the church of Wells the cathedral of the diocese.

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[165] Perkins, *Bath*, p. 8; and *Victoria History of the County of Somerset* (1911, reprinted by Dawsons of Pall Mall. London, 1969), vol. 2, pp. 71–72. J.P. McAleer, *The Romanesque Church Façade in Britain*, (New York, 1984) p. 432. Before his death in 1122 John of Tours, who moved the see from Wells, rebuilt the abbey church dedicated to St. Peter, but this church was damaged in a fire and rebuilt in 1137. It was torn down and rebuilt in 1500. This existing building extends only to the west piers of the crossing of John's church. Several Romanesque nave piers were excavated between 1863 and 1872; a shaft base, south of the present west respond of the north nave arcade, has been taken as evidence of a façade with a triumphal arch similar to Teweksbury Abbey's façade, but this seems unlikely since, as McAleer points out, the piers of the Romanesque nave were not of the colossal Tewkesbury type, being compound and not round. Jean Bony (personal communication) believes that the abbey had a mid twelfth-century harmonic two towered façade.

CONCLUSION

The line usually followed on church façades is 'Come in, here is the whole story, look at it and learn the way to salvation.' The façade of Wells can be interpreted as having changed somewhat that approach to a simpler more emphatic motto: 'Join the band-wagon of the Triumphant Church!' The spectacle displaying the City of God across the entire surface of the broad expanse of façade at Wells managed the viewer's response in a totally new way. Since the 1180s in France, the theme of *Ecclesia triumphans* had taken the form of the Coronation of the Virgin. Although this symbolic figuration is still central at Wells, the surrounding presentation of the Church, itself, in triumph emphasizes that it is *Ecclesia*, not Christ's Mother, who is crowned. Though present, the primary theme ceases to be the usual story of salvation via the Incarnation; the focus is shifted to the eternal state of the glorified Church. The choir-screen format for this new message was not simply anomalous during the 1220s but purposeful in elaborating the façade's program as *Ecclesia*. The evidence so far discussed can now be synthesized to suggest what the façade's choir-screen entrance and sculptural theme of triumph meant to its various audiences and how it engaged with them to create new cultural meanings.

Since the façade visualizes what medieval homilies ask, 'to stand in the mind's eye in the Heavenly Jerusalem,' the viewer, subordinated before kings, popes, saints, and Christ, Himself, is positioned to be awed and empowered by its eschatological spectacle. For Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis the liturgy had sounded like 'a symphony angelic rather than human.'[1] At Wells less than a century later this concept became performance when the façade functioned as a choir screen on Palm Sunday. As clerics and laity entered the church at Wells, reenacting Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, choristers overhead, singing the *Gloria laus* from behind carved angels in a Heavenly Jerusalem setting simulated this 'symphony angelic rather than human' and, no doubt, stim-

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[1] E. Panofsky, *Abbot Suger on the Abbey Church of St.-Denis and its Art Treasures* (Princeton, 1946), p. 121.

ulated an emotional response from the procession. The participants in
the Palm Sunday procession took on effective power by virtue of their
imitation of Christ's entry because their performance anticipated their
future entry into heaven. As Flanigan has expressed in another context,
'to do what was once done–what is now done in that other world, or
what will be done in the future–is to be somehow incorporated into
those past, present, and future actions and thereby to become bene-
ficiaries of their power.'[2] Participation in this ritual thus sanctified a
virtuous life and promised heavenly reward.

For those in the procession at Wells the carved angels within frames
of quatrefoils and gables would have conjured up choir screens and
thus the sanctity of the choir. The act of passing through the small
screen-like portals, replicated to scale on the façade, would have physic-
ally engendered a feeling of entering the holy of holies, especially since
the procession passed beneath a shrine containing relics and the con-
secrated Host. At Wells for the first time a choir screen was replicated
on the outside of a church with hidden singers breathing life into stone
angels as a dramatic device aimed at inspiring the faithful to join the
saints in heaven depicted above on the façade. In addition, trumpeters,
concealed behind openings in the central gable, made the trumpeting
angels in the *aediculae* on the buttresses seem to sound Christ's return,
heightening the procession's anticipation of the glorious resurrection
depicted in the frieze across the top of the façade.

Architecture and sculpture were co-coordinated at Wells in a new
way to create a stage from which to simulate the sounds, as well as
the imagery of heaven evoked by the liturgy. The façade's sculptural
Litany of saints in the celestial city appeared to join in hosannas of
praise with the earthly citizens of the procession during the *Gloria laus*
and thereby made visible the union of the heavenly with the earthly
Church. The imagery of angels and saints also would have resonated
with the joyful praises and concept of union expressed in the *Sanctus*,
the *Te Deum*, and the *Urbs beata Ierusalem*, the latter anticipating the
descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the 'vision of peace,' depicted on
the façade.

As a representation of this vision, the façade's reassuring message
without reference to damnation took on special meaning as *scaenae frons*
to the lay-folk's cemetery. First and foremost, the façade of Wells prom-

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[2] Flanigan, 'Apocalypse,' p. 349.

ised triumph over death through the Church and its sanctifying ritual. Facing the façade during burials, the mourner could be comforted by this vision of the glorified dead and their resurrection at Christ's return in the east. The façade also offered hope to the repentant sinner, especially on Maundy Thursday, when excluded from the Church and the prospect of heaven, the penitent humbled himself before this depiction of the Heavenly Jerusalem, waiting for the bishop to admit him back into the Church. On this occasion, Jocelin, as bishop, in response to ritual pleas physically admitted the repentant back into the church through the façade's narrow choir-screen doors. A few days later on Easter he would unite them spiritually to the Church through the Eucharist in front of the choir screen. Both choir screen and façade functioned in parallel ways as part of the liturgy during these sacred rituals.

Participating in the Mass at Easter, the Christian most clearly understood that he was then united with the saints in the Heavenly Jerusalem, whose triumph was being commemorated, and he celebrated with them the Heavenly Mass, as previously on Palm Sunday he had mimetically joined another sanctifying ritual of union, the entry into Jerusalem. Like the vested angels carved on the exterior of the choir at Reims, those on the façade at Wells probably suggested this eternal Heavenly Mass. When bells signaled the consecration of the Host, as they continue to do in Catholic rite, the lay congregation, relegated to the nave, faced the choir screen. Like the sound of the bells prescribed by the Fourth Lateran Council to bring the worshiper closer to Christ for adoration, pardon, and grace, the choir-screen entrance at Wells resonated with the promise of the Mass. Abbot Suger at Saint-Denis had earlier explained this promise in the following way: 'by the susception of the most holy Eucharist, Thou uniformly conjoinest the material with the immaterial, the corporeal with the spiritual, the human with the Divine … Thou invisibly restorest and miraculously transformest the present [state] into the Heavenly Kingdom … and mercifully make us and the nature of the angels, heaven and earth, into one.'[3]

The sculptural scene of the Coronation of the Virgin, centrally located within the choir-screen zone of the façade at Wells, visually conveyed this eucharistic promise since it signified the Church, Christ's

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[3] Panofsky, *Abbot Suger*, p. 121.

bride, united with Him through the Eucharist. As in other contemporaneous portals, it probably was originally flanked by eucharistic figures, such as Melchizedek. But only at Wells was the Coronation also framed by choir-screen motifs. The metaphor of the *corpus mysticum* once made explicit by the eucharistic statues of the sculptural program was complemented by these motifs. Because of the liturgy the *corpus mysticum* became part of the spiritual reality of the faithful: their union as the body of the Church was solemnized through the eucharistic meal which they shared as a social community before the choir screen. Therefore, the conflation of a sculptural program depicting the Heavenly Jerusalem with a choir-screen entrance on the façade at Wells was able to signal in visual terms the union of heaven and earth, as expressed in every eucharistic rite. The choir-screen zone of the façade with its row of quatrefoils depicting biblical narratives, as on choir screens, would have indicated to the viewer the way to salvation and to union with the blessed in the zone of gabled niches above–themselves signs of 'heavenly mansions.' As a result, the façade of Wells, like its liturgy, afforded to the viewer a preview of heaven and thereby takes its place along with the mosaics at Sant' Appolinare Nuovo of the sixth century and the Ghent Altarpiece of the fifteenth century to express the essentials of the Christian faith with imagery related to the Book of Revelation and to ritual performance.[4] At Wells, as in these other comprehensive programs, the liturgy at specific moments during the year would have activated the imagery in the mind of the viewer. At Wells, however, the façade was part of thirteenth-century eucharistic enthusiasm, as registered in the new rites of elevating the Host.

Although much of the façade's message addressed all the faithful, some aspects of Jocelin's theological presentation seem to have been directed to particular groups. The sculpture on the east side of the north tower with its detailed depiction of the deacons' vestments, probably a microcosm of the Easter liturgy, addressed specifically the canons at Wells, as they entered the choir via the north porch, since they would have been especially sensitive to these nuances of dress. As a former

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[4] For Sant' Appolinare Nuovo see von Simson, *Sacred*, pp. 69–110. For the Ghent Altarpiece see E. Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Harvard, 1953), pp. 212–216; and L.B. Philip, *The Ghent Altarpiece and the Art of Jan van Eyck* (Princeton, 1971), pp. 55–83. Panofsky discusses its interior panel as an All Saints picture, based on Augustine's *City*, depicting the 'Eternal Beatitude of the City of God and the Perpetual Sabbath,' and Philip explains the altarpiece in terms of the Heavenly Jerusalem, the Heavenly Mass, and the Holy Wedding.

deacon, Jocelin would have been particularly sensitive to the significance of the north side of the choir screen for proclaiming the kingdom of heaven after the gospel reading and just before Mass was celebrated. Facing, and positioned for, this same audience were the upper zone of niches on the east side of the north tower in which popes are privileged by placing them above kings, a reversal of the hierarchy on the center of the west front of the façade. Correlation of the biblical scenes in the quatrefoils with the liturgical year and with the ages of the world may have been mainly intelligible to this same clerical audience, as would have been the more complicated aspects of the relationship of the sculpture to the concept of the *corpus mysticum*.

Associations could also have been made between the church of Wells and the English Church of the 1220s given that the façade focuses on the Coronation of the Virgin, as *Ecclesia*, and offers a vision not only of the end of time but also of the earthly Church united with its counterpart in heaven. The façade may have conveyed to both clerics and faithful the triumph of the English Church and restoration of religious life following the political turmoil and liturgical deprivation of the Mass and consecrated burial during the Interdict. For clerics it may also have expressed the triumph possible through spiritual reform following the direction given by Innocent III at the Fourth Lateran Council. As a representation of Revelation 21:2, and hence the heavenly glory of the Church Triumphant, the façade thus can be interpreted as cloaking both the English Church and the specific earthly church of Wells with connotations of victory.

For the canons of Wells and for the monks of Bath, the façade created expectations of the triumph of Wells as seat of the bishop, though in each of their chapters it would have engendered opposite reactions. As the 'other' in the contest for primacy in the diocese, the chapter of monks at Bath constituted antagonistic viewers. Standing beneath the City of God on the façade at Wells during their protracted struggle with the canons, these monks could have only compared it to their less impressive, old-fashioned façade at Bath and in doing so would have recognized Jocelin's ambitions for the church of Wells and the increasing power of its canons. As these monks entered the choir at Wells to be surrounded by new effigies of the see's Anglo-Saxon bishops, they would have further realized the diminishing status of their own church as seat of the diocese. They would have understood that the effigies, by identifying Wells as the Anglo-Saxon see, validated Wells' right to reclaim cathedral status, a status for which the façade already pro-

claimed victory. Such claims and reactions seem likely since the same prerogatives were recorded in the text of the *Historiola* which was probably produced at Wells around the same time. Because the monks at Glastonbury had capitalized earlier on their Anglo-Saxon past in a similar way, this mode of discourse was familiar to all. The monks of Bath could have read the City of God on the façade and the choir effigies (the canopies of which the façade niches resemble) as related partisan assertions since both authenticated Wells' genealogical right to diocesan authority. Likewise, their association of the façade's niches and quatrefoils with reliquaries would also have marked Wells as particularly sacred and hence the rightful spiritual seat of the diocese. Because the façade motifs and its sculptural program communicated these sacred claims within the triumphal context of liturgical glorification during processions, it empowered the canons of Wells in the eyes of visiting monk, king, or papal legate, all players in the canons'contest for cathedral status.

Jocelin's colleagues in the king's court, of course, recognized the façade's claim for domination within the diocese, but they may have particularly admired it as artifice fashioned in relation to their own liturgical and political concerns which, like those of Jocelin, would have been ideologically intertwined with reform, the authority of the English Church, and the stability of the State. These bishops, such as Richard Poore at Salisbury, shaped society's values and discourse through ritual and architectural gesture.[5] They can be considered Jocelin's ideal audience in that they might be expected to comprehend all levels of the façade's meaning and the relationships assumed between them, not only the theological implications of the sculptural program but also its implicit political ideologies. As administrators of the Church, their prerogatives and liturgical duties were the same as Jocelin's, and they could have understood that the program was a stone version of Archbishop Stephen Langton's definition of the Church as the community of the faithful and, like Langton's jubilee sermon at Becket's translation in 1220, Jocelin's permanent gesture to the triumph of the English Church. As the jubilee granted remission of sins, the façade presented the Second Coming without reference to damnation. For them, the façade may have meant, at least in part, the victory of the English Church after the murder of Becket and especially after Runnymede,

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[5] Jansen, 'Salisbury,' pp. 32–39. The design of the choir of Salisbury Cathedral around 1220 was also part of the bishops' emphasis on Lateran IV.

with Magna Carta sealing the Church's mission as *defensor populi* against tyranny. In fact, they might have acknowledged that this eternal vision of *Ecclesia triumphans* was part of their ritual rhetoric of glorification through which the Church not only reinvigorated Christian life, according to the tenth canon of the Fourth Lateran Council, but also maintained control.

During the entire career of these *curiales*-bishops, reaction, ecclesiastical and lay, to Becket's tragedy and to his translation to a new shrine at Canterbury seems to have contributed to the advancement of saints, shrines, and the sanctity of the English Church. During Henry III's minority, the Church guaranteed a just social and political order through these bishops, all friends of Bishop Jocelin from the same prep school for statesmen, the King's *curia*. This council of bishops, who were responsible for the translations of saints and the production of shrines, probably understood that the façade of Wells attracted the people to the Church as a place of protection and celebration, much as did contemporaneous translations of the Church's saints and shrines.

The laity can be expected to have associated the façade's excess of gables with shrines and heaven because they witnessed the spectacles organized by these bishops for the canonizations and translations of Anglo-Saxon saints to new shrines in richly decorated retrochoirs or, as at Wells, of Anglo-Saxon bishops to new tombs in the choir. Because of these spectacles, the people, like their kings, developed a passion for saints, such as Edward the Confessor or Thomas Becket, depicted on the façade. Therefore, it is likely that the laity responded to the façade as though it were a precious, colossal shrine for the saints.

Since the façade of Wells was an enlarged version of shrine production needed for translating relics, the creation and viewing of shrine-motifs as sacred signs on the façade at Wells can be interpreted as part of a greater glorification of saints and, like it, part of a sacred stance in the early thirteenth-century English Church. Even the provision for ritual performance in the façade's design thus may be related to an ideology of empowerment since it was the function of liturgical celebration, as well as relics, that made the Church protector of the community of which the bishop and his cathedral was the head. Even the sculptural details of the vestments on the façade conjure up a ceremonial image. Moreover, the façade was used for and hence designed for ceremonial reception of distinquished guests, such as the king, as well as for liturgical processions.

In addition to understanding that the façade signified the Heavenly Triumph of the Church through its unprecedented use of the gabled niche, some of these *curiales*-bishops might have understood that its design as a *sacrum palatium* was more consonant with a program of sanctity and glorification than the two-towered French City Gate façade. Since the order of the kingdom had long been understood as a reflection of the order of heaven, Jocelin and his fellow bishops, responsible for supporting Henry III and for the stability of the state during Henry's minority, might have associated the councils in which they implemented Magna Carta and maintained order in the kingdom with this depiction of the court of heaven. Would they have appreciated that kings in gabled niches displaying Magna Carta-like charters, above both a bishop and a noble, dominated the center of the façade?

The bishops' production of shrines and screens not only frame a social interaction in which the gabled niche and quatrefoil, as signs on the façade, were able to condition the viewer's response but also recover a commonality of practice between these bishops-patrons and their artisans in the circle of Elias of Dereham, master of the king's work at Winchester, as well as canon of Salisbury and Wells. The bishops, identified as part of Elias' circle, along with Jocelin and his master mason Adam Lock suggest a sophisticated level of discourse, a dialogue of collaboration in which a 'heavenly' sculptural theme and its architectural framework could have been conflated with a choir-screen replica and its eucharistic connotations.

Identification of the unusual aspects of the façade's design today suggests not only the viewer's response but also the producer's intentions since the expected reception would have conditioned the dialogue of Jocelin and his master mason during the process of creation. When these producers selected an elaborate sculptural program for the previously flat, broad format of the English 'screen' façade and rejected large French portals, each with its own narrative, they seem to have aimed at an instantaneous impact on the viewer, a single inspiring homily. The plan to use the façade as a ceremonial screen may have been a primary stimulus for both this format and the design of the portal zone as a choir screen, whether the initial idea to use motifs from choir furnishings was Adam Lock's or that of Bishop Jocelin. Lock may have conceived the choir-screen entrance as an extension of the shrine and tomb-maker's repertory to which he referred in order to signify heaven. Since apse themes were sometimes used for tympana, he might have thought of the transfer of a screen from choir to façade as

a similar transposition. Nonetheless, connotations of the Mass would tend to favor any extension of that idea to Jocelin since a bishop could be expected to connect the Heavenly Mass and the *corpus mysticum* with the related program of *Ecclesia triumphans*. Just as any political intention behind the selection of the theme of Church Triumphant would be attributable to the bishop and his secular canons, so would be these great symbolic concepts.

An absolute distinction between the part played by bishop and master mason is not possible, and semiotic suggestions could have come from either side. Bishops commissioned works, were involved in the thinking out of iconic concepts, and understood the value of using visual signs to make liturgical or political points. Jocelin, like his master mason, knew well all the furnishings of the choir at Canterbury, and he had stayed for a while in the diocese of Chartres. The similar background of patron and master mason might actually explain the unusual use of motifs as signs on the façade of Wells, and it might be best to think of the façade as a collaborative production with Jocelin and Adam Lock both creative co-producers within the cultural complexity of the 1220s. Bishop Jocelin can be regarded as the program-setter and Adam Lock as the professional designer who found the best way of materializing his patron's charge.

Moreover, it is impossible to differentiate always which ideas were conscious concepts or unconscious expressions of beliefs and associations that were part of the culture at that moment and materialized in the process of creation. If not an instance of cause and effect, the Fourth Lateran's new emphasis on the Mass and the choir-screen concept for the façade were both part of the same impulses that stimulated the Council's decrees on the Eucharist. Such impulses permeated the social fabric at large, and audience, artisan, and episcopal patron shared in many respects a common religious and visual culture. Once concept became matter, then the façade began its work in relation to the different audiences already considered.

Implicit in any conjecture made so far about expected audience response is Jocelin and his architect's intentions for the façade, but it still remains to be asked, how other medieval master masons would have viewed the façade, keeping in mind that any such assessment is, of course, colored by the perspective of the modern architectural historian. The Western School of masons might have considered the ornate façade as a departure from earlier local productions, as exemplified by the nave of the church at Wells which was being constructed simultan-

eously in an older, simpler style. Even the format of the broad screen façade had not been used previously in the West, and they probably understood it as a way of aggrandizing the size of the church to make it more impressive, just like the ornate decoration. On the other hand, in certain English workshops some master masons, particularly those designing the façades at Peterborough in the 1220s and at Lincoln in the 1230s, both variants of exotic palace façades, would have recognized the façade at Wells as a related interpretation of God's *palatium sacrum*.

Later master masons understood and copied its choir-screen concept though never with the same coherence. When around 1255 at Salisbury a narrower version of a shrine-façade with niches and quatrefoils on the order of Wells was assembled, its format and motifs were inspired for the most part by current metalwork and choir furnishings, testifying to the continuation of this English practice. But at Salisbury the form of the Chartres choir screen was simply affixed as a porch in front of the façade (Figs. 44 and 54). Still later at Exeter Cathedral, when the lower zone of the façade (ca. 1350) was again designed as a contemporaneous choir screen depicting the Church Triumphant, the screen, as at Salisbury, projected as though separate from the architectural outline of the nave and aisles (Fig. 55). The tightest integration of architectural format and choir-screen replica was achieved at Wells, where the idea originated. Here, within an architectural 'screen' façade, the lower zone was designed specifically as a horizontal extension of a choir screen, and the quatrefoil design banding this elongated screen was balanced visually by the resurrection frieze spanning the upper zone of the façade to integrate the design. As a transformation of the traditional 'screen' façade, the choir-screen concept worked best at Wells because the master mason dared to enlarge a choir-screen design to an unprecedented scale and wrap it around the entire façade, transforming it into a monumental piece of church furniture.[6]

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[6] Although no modern architectural historian has equated the three façades as related productions, a sensitive nineteenth-century viewer did. Henry James, 'Wells and Salisbury,' *Transatlantic Sketches* (London, 1893) p. 44: 'Wells is not a city with a cathedral for a central feature; but a cathedral with a little city gathered at its base … You feel everywhere the presence of the beautiful church … The great façade is remarkable not so much for its expanse as for its elaborate elegance … I am inclined to think that if I had to live within sight of a cathedral, and encounter it in my daily comings and goings, I should grow less weary of the rugged black front of Exeter than of the sweet perfection of Salisbury.'

The transformation of motifs at Wells, then as now, would have stood out as particularly inventive when viewed in comparison to early thirteenth-century French churches, as well as to other English churches, decorated with metalwork enrichment. Among these designs, and contemporaneous with the façade of Wells, the transept porches at Chartres with their related program of the Church Triumphant are comparable as an extensive adaptation of metalwork, given that the vaults of the north porch are covered with a pattern imitative of *repousée* tooling and the statues stand on pedestals resembling cast metal. Nonetheless, these transpositions at Chartres did not change the porch-format. Even at Saint-Nicaise at Reims (1231) the choir-screen entrance can hardly be distinguished from a porch, and the perforated metal-work effects in its upper zone did not change the architectural pro-file of the traditional harmonic French façade. Later at the height of Early Rayonnant developments in the Sainte-Chapelle (ca. 1242–1248), where transformation was extensive, contemporaneous shrine designs were simply applied to the inner wall of the building without transform-ing the architectural system of dado and windows.[7] Moreover, in these French examples it seems unlikely that the shrine-like motifs suggested meanings other than the traditional sacred connotations associated with shrines. On the other hand, at Wells this study has suggested that the motifs, as signs, complemented the sculptural program for the medieval viewer and, as a result, articulate for the modern viewer intentions lost with the destruction of the eucharistic statues of the lower zone.[8]

Then, as today, the façade of Wells stood out from contemporan-eous productions as an unusual example of architectural enrichment with motifs from choir furnishings, a practice which only became com-mon later in thirteenth-century Early English, French Rayonnant, and fourteenth-century English Decorated architecture. In fact, the façade's

[7] Bony, *French*, pp. 400–402 cautions about referring to the 'shrine treatment' of the Sainte-Chapelle, adding that the only French architectural composition that was truly treated in a shrine-like spirit was the west façade of Reims Cathedral of the mid 1250s which he refers to as a 'unique exception based on a compromise, unlikely ever to be repeated.'

[8] My interaction with the architecture of the façade indicated its eucharistic implic-ations because the choir-screen pattern of the entrance pointed in that direction. Had I initially approached the façade from a sculptural and iconographic point of view, com-parisons with the north porch at Chartres might have turned me in the same direction in spite of the missing statues within the zone of the entrance at Wells. Regardless, unusual architectural motifs on the façade from the beginning directed my study and, I believe, its conclusions.

reproduction of this type of enrichment may have maintained its modernity in the eyes of later medieval viewers. At Wells the façade was visually consonant with the fourteenth-century rebuilding of the choir with niches, as well as with the façade towers added in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Although possibly not the case later during the Middle Ages, extensive architectural reproduction of motifs from choir furnishings at the beginning of the thirteenth century seems to have depended on clerical patronage, such as that of the bishops documented around Elias of Dereham. Perhaps, because of their affiliation as *curiales* involved in the translation of saints, their practice of decorating with these motifs produced a particularly sustained development in early thirteenth-century England, while similar efforts in France appear isolated. Although the use of motifs as a system of signs on the façade of Wells is unusual within this Early English practice, a sustained English production of tombs, shrines, and the coordinated designs of retrochoirs seems essential to the invention of the design at Wells. Certainly, well-established workshops of specialized carvers of tombs and choir screens were needed to cut and assemble the complicated framework of perforated quatrefoils and canopied niches for the façade. In turn the new combination of the motifs on the façade became an integral part of the vocabulary of forms used in the production of choir furnishings.

The unexpected architectural use of the gabled niche as the dominant motif on the façade of Wells would have singled it out for special notice during the early thirteenth century, but later when the gable became more common in architectural decoration, the impact of its connotations of heaven was probably diluted–perhaps even as early as the church of Saint-Urban at Troyes (ca. 1242–1248). If the 'heavenly' meaning of the gabled niche was not totally forgotten during its endless repetition in late medieval architecture because of the obsessive tonality it forced upon the viewer, its significance was completely devalued for modern eyes by its popularity during the nineteenth-century Gothic Revival. Likewise, the late medieval and Victorian popularity of bands of quatrefoils, as well as the paucity of remaining medieval choir screens, has obscured for modern viewers the choir-screen design of the entrance at Wells. But when the façade was newly designed, the use of the gabled niche and, even, the quatrefoil in architecture was still unusual, and the later ubiquity of the motifs and their subsequent mobility as signs must not dull our perception of their meaning as expressed on the façade in the 1220s.

For different reasons the other signs of Bishop Jocelin's intentions no longer signal with their original force. The effigies of the Anglo-Saxon bishops, in particular, were concealed behind new stalls for the canons in the fourteenth-century rebuilding of the choir and in the nineteenth century were moved into the aisles. Cathedral status had been secured and contest with the monks of Bath was not at issue, and thus they were displaced from the center and marginalized. On the other hand, because of its excess of statues in niches, the façade today continues to demand attention, and this visual insistence stimulated my recovery of long forgotten social pressures in the diocese, as well as the discursive context of Bishop Jocelin's national politics. During the decades following the 1220s, the pressure of the saints' gaze may have helped to resolve the fight for power in the diocese, making Wells its administrative center, which is a right still promoted by the spectacle on the façade.

If the façade registered the position of the bishop and canons of Wells against Bath during the 1220s, it can be considered a dynamic participant in the making of history. Along these lines the façade took a position in the discourse with Bath about the primacy of the see at Wells and continued the battle until its resolution in 1246, four years after Bishop Jocelin was dead. It also supported the social matrix in which government by councils developed, and its sculptural program of *sacerdotium* and *regnum* may have been part of the bishops' ideology of promoting a tighter covenant between Church and State during the 1220s. Interpreted in this sense the façade would have promised justice, protection, and social order along with essential sacramental needs for salvation, as did the English Church of the 1220s.

The façade seems not only to have expressed the ideological positions of Jocelin and his court-related circle during the 1220s but, in using shrine and choir-screen motifs conjuring up the rites of the choir, to have also engaged with and actively participated in the transformation of contemporaneous perceptions of the Church and its sacraments. For mourners, penitents, and others the façade created new associations with the traditional rites of penance and of the dead, as well as with communion. Its unusually reassuring image of salvation thereby was part of early thirteenth-century discourse on atonement and penance. By reinforcing the Lateran's emphasis on mercy in the mitigation of sin, the façade actively participated in transforming the viewer's perception of salvation within the thirteenth-century Church. Because at this time in England penance and communion for the laity were required only

at Easter, under pain of exclusion from the Church, the Eucharist and its sign, the choir screen, would have been particularly associated with Easter. Therefore, the façade's exclusive portrayal of glorious resurrection established a new and more accessible image of heaven and associated it with the sacraments, especially when used as a screen during the Pascal season. That the façade suggested a new way of representing the Heavenly Jerusalem may be indicated by the later illustration of Revelation 21 in the Trinity College Apocalypse which is decorated with gables and a choir screen entrance similar to Wells.

As part of a larger social and cultural production, the façade partakes of, comments upon, and engages with other specific political, social, and cultural sites of thirteenth-century England. Produced by the same bishops as Magna Carta, the façade, as a material presentation of *Ecclesia triumphans* during the 1220s, can testify to their social views, mediating between that specific historical moment and today's viewer. As a formal construct, it can be interpreted as indexing the significant moment when Lateran IV coincided with a change in the configuration of power because of the minority of Henry III, a moment when the English bishops, responding to the Lateran's reforming spirit, encouraged devotion and strengthened the Church's position in the kingdom by intensifying the traditional triumphal aspect of the liturgy. The sacred spectacle on the façade at Wells, if interpreted as part of the bishops' rhetoric of glorifying the Church through relics and ritual, can be read as presenting the English Church of the 1220s along the lines of the new City of God. Such a gesture of hope and power could not have been articulated verbally with the same force. In a similar way the façade can be understood as proclaiming triumph for Wells at a moment when Jocelin was unable officially to add Wells to his bishop's seal. The shrine-like façade with its imagery of the City of God was able to empower the church of Wells, just as the saints and their translations could sanctify the English Church. In each instance the façade, as an architectural gesture, could imply and persuade when a verbal statement would have been too bold, too definite. Without incarnation into a 'masterpiece' the conjuncture of these ideological positions of the 1220s might have vanished with little trace. Through formal, iconographic, and cultural practices that once played a part in its design and spectacle, the façade is able to communicate and to participate actively in the larger semiotic field. Within that greater field, this book becomes part of the unending semiosis of the façade at Wells as it interacts with its viewer.

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