

UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM

Department of Archaeology

Animals in the Romanesque Sculpture of Norman Cathedrals

by

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Declaration of Originality:

I certify that:

- a) The following dissertation is my own original work.
- b) The source of all non-original material is clearly indicated.
- c) All material presented by me for other modules is clearly indicated.
- d) All assistance received has been acknowledged.

Abstract

This dissertation takes four of the great Norman churches and studies the Romanesque animal sculptures in and on them in order to come to conclusions about why certain animals may have been represented in different places.

An overview of humoral theory, medieval bestiaries, and the relations between humans and animals in the medieval period in chapters two and three helps to gain an appreciation of how animals were viewed and their associations at the time.

Chapters 5-8 then give a brief description of each church and present the Romanesque animal sculptures found during surveys and desktop research. This information is then used to map out the animal sculptures onto church plans in order to find patterns in their distribution.

The following chapters then use the information from bestiaries, humoral theory, and the Bible in order to show that there are patterns in where the animal sculptures appear around the churches, through mapping, and come to conclusions as to why these patterns may have been created.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Questions

This dissertation will investigate the use of animal images in the Romanesque sculpture of four of the great Norman churches; Ely, Lincoln, Peterborough, and Southwell. By mapping and examining the location and species of animals depicted and relating this to the medieval world view through the use of bestiaries and humoral theory, assessments will be made about the meanings behind the use of this type of sculpture.

Using the information from the mapping alongside the medieval worldview, assessments will then be made about why the sculptures appear where they do, including the locations of certain animals. Conclusions will also be drawn regarding the patronage of sculptures and the influences that can be seen in the decorative schemes.

1.2 Objectives

This dissertation uses a number of areas of previous research as well as original practical research, recording the animal sculptures at Peterborough Cathedral and Southwell Minster, in order to fill gaps in the research of Romanesque sculpture.

Firstly, the main objective is to expand the knowledge of Romanesque sculpture by building upon the studies into human figures and plants which have dominated previous research (Conrad 2006; Macready 1986; Hunt 2004; Wood 2013) by focusing instead on depictions of animals, which have so far received little attention. Research into Romanesque sculpture, and architecture in general, has normally in the past been carried out from an art historical or architectural history viewpoint (Ferne 2014; Charles & Carl 2012; Conrad 2006; Baumgart 1970). This dissertation instead approaches it from an archaeological view, treating the sculpture as material culture reflecting the people who created, used, and viewed it.

The subject of sculpture, which is normally studied as an isolated topic, will be brought into context, exploring its place within the church building, using spatial analysis methods such as those found in Roberta Gilchrist's work (Gilchrist 1994; Gilchrist 2005). This allows appreciation for how these sculptures would have been viewed as people progressed through the church, showing changes in theme and meaning through space.

This dissertation will also apply humoral theory in order to interpret the animal sculptures. This is new and innovative, as in the past humoral theory has not often been applied to medieval studies outside of medicine, despite the huge effect it would have had upon normal people's everyday lives, being an intrinsic part of their worldview. By using humoral theory and medieval bestiaries it is possible to get closer to a medieval understanding of the animals used in church sculptures and their symbolism.

1.3 Methods

This dissertation begins with two chapters introducing the architecture and place in society of the medieval church, and the role of animals and humoral theory in medieval life. Following this, the methods used for data collection, including original practical research at Southwell and Peterborough, and analysis will be described, and each church introduced, with a brief summary of its location, history, and a full record of the Romanesque animal sculptures that can be found there. The final chapters will then present the data gathered and analyse it, coming to conclusions about the use, symbolism, and patronage of the sculpture.

Chapter 2 – The Church and Its Architecture in the Medieval Period

2.1 Introduction

In the medieval period, religion played an important role in everyday life and the church was extremely powerful and wealthy. Churches were often the only stone buildings in a settlement, and therefore it is these, along with castles from which we gain most knowledge about the architecture of the period. Architectural forms are constantly falling in and out of style. This was no different in the medieval period to today. In the Norman period, the important and high-status buildings of Britain and Europe favored the Romanesque style of architecture.

Medieval churches have, in the past, been studied from a variety of viewpoints, including architectural history and archaeology (Pevsner 1977, 1979, 2002; RCHME 1968-72, 1982; Keyser 1907), the changing uses of churches (Gilchrist 1994; Herbert, Martin & Thomas 2008; Meadows and Ramsey 2003), and the development of the church as an institution (Addyman & Morris 1976; Blair & Pyrah 1996; Morris 1989; Rodwell 2012; Tatton-Brown & Munby 1996). In this dissertation, these types of sources are used to put sculptures into context, understanding the meanings and symbolism of the buildings in which they exist in order to come to more reliable conclusions about the use of animal sculptures.

This chapter will begin by discussing the role of the church in medieval society before moving on to explain how the Romanesque style came to be dominant and where it was used, describing features common to the style, including the type and location of sculpture used for decoration.

2.2 The Role of the Church in Society

The Norman Conquest brought a wave of church building never before seen in England. Countrywide, Saxon churches were being replaced with larger, more impressive stone structures and new churches were being erected, as part of William the Conqueror's show of power (Williams 1995, 1-3). Many were placed where there had been no former churches, allowing more people access to places of worship and making the church an even more integral part of people's lives (Morris 1989, 146). The building of a church also became a way for landowners to display their power and wealth, whilst also ensuring their own spiritual wellbeing (Howe 1988, 321). Churches and the parish structure were also used in the collection and distribution of tithes, linking them into the economy and meaning that founding a church, particularly a large or important one, could have financial benefits (Bond 1988, 127-135).

Along with parish churches, the great churches saw many changes. In 1070 William the Conqueror made Lanfranc the Archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore in charge of the churches, abbots and priests in England. Over the following years, all of the positions high up in the church were filled by Normans and those William trusted. At the same time, cathedrals began to be built, or rebuilt, on a grand scale and at an amazing pace, in the Romanesque style (Clanchy 2014, 68-69). Both cathedrals and monasteries increased greatly in number, and a new type of foundation was established, the monastic cathedral, run by a monastic order but with the public functions of a cathedral (Ferne 2000, 32).

By the mid 1100s the rate of church building had dropped dramatically; however, by this point a stone church existed in nearly every village (Clarke 1964, 10), the parish structure was fully developed, and the church had multiple functions including looking after the spiritual needs of its parishioners, feeding the poor, providing boundaries for tithes, and maintaining its built structures.

2.3 Rise and Fall of the Romanesque Style

After the fall of the Carolingian Empire, Europe experienced a period of invasions with many civilized activities which had been highly valued such as politics, art, and religion disappearing. Large scale architecture and sculpture was among this (Zarnecki 1984, 15). With the stability the Ottonian empire brought in the 10th century, art and architecture began to flourish again (Conant 1959, 2).

Some Romanesque features had begun to develop in the Carolingian Empire, however, it was not until the Ottonians that most of the features we recognize today began to appear, with regional styles developing all over continental Europe (Conant 1959, 2). These styles can be recognized as Romanesque, all sharing inspiration from classical period, particularly Roman basilicas, hence the name that was later given to the style; Romanesque, or 'Roman like' (Ferne 2014, 5).

In England there is some evidence to suggest that the Romanesque style would have developed even if the Norman conquest had not occurred, bringing with it the European building style. Westminster Abbey, for example, had already been built in the Romanesque style by Edward the Confessor in the mid-11th century (Ferne 2014, 147), however, the Anglo-Saxon style was still predominantly used in 1066, when The Normans' church and castle building regimes meant that the Romanesque style suddenly had a huge impact on the country (Timmers 1969, 191).

In contrast to the continent, where several schools of Romanesque architecture developed around the same time, it took decades for regional variations to appear in England (Zarnecki 1971, 11). Having said this, England did not relinquish its native architecture entirely upon the Romanesque arrival, as Viking and Anglo-Saxon features such as the dragon motif and interlace decoration (Zarnecki 1988, 23), were still used throughout the Romanesque period.

Gothic architecture began in 1140 with the building St Denis, France. In the late 11th century, monastic reform and the wish to return to simple worship without the elaborate ritual and ornamentation associated with the earlier Cluniacs (Sekules 2001, 77-78) led to the development of the Cistercian order who, during the 12th

century, spread simplified designs and created plainer architecture with sculpture being forbidden in 1124 and stone towers in 1157 (Conant 1959, 128).

In England this style influenced the Early English Gothic style (Conant 1959, 134), which gradually replaced Romanesque architecture as the fashionable style throughout the later 12th century, with the first fully Gothic structure in England being Canterbury Cathedral choir, rebuilt in 1174 (Zarnecki & Allen 1984, 16). Gothic styles were also used all across Europe, becoming the dominant architectural form in many countries. England did not only take ideas from these external sources, but also influenced them, for example in the use of ribbed vaulting (Timmers 1969, 191).

Since the decline of the Romanesque style of architecture, a great many buildings of this era have been lost through disaster, rebuilding, or demolition. It is thought that England has lost more architecture and sculpture than other countries due to the demolition of many monastic churches in the dissolution of 1539 and destruction of images by the Puritans in the 17th century (Zarnecki & Allen 1984, 15).

2.4 Romanesque Architectural and Sculptural Features

The style and features of the Romanesque have been studied in huge detail as an architectural style (Oursel 1967; Kuback 1988; Hammett 1927) and as an art form (Charles & Carls 2012; Macready & Thompson 1986). Very little of this is from an archaeological perspective, with the majority being architectural history (Baumgart 1970; Bayard 2012; Durant 1992; Pothorn 1971; Sturgis 1915; Hopkins 2014). This dissertation uses the literature to recognize the Romanesque style within cathedrals and goes beyond this to view the sculpture from an archaeological perspective, as material culture that was interacted with, rather than purely a decorative motif.

As with all styles of architecture, Romanesque can be recognized by a number of stylistic features which are common to lots of its buildings. Not all Romanesque buildings display all these features, and some display many others, as the style varies across place and time.

In terms of the church layout, most large Romanesque churches follow the three-aisled basilica or cruciform plan with a nave, chancel, and north and south transepts with a tower over the crossing (Miller 1895, 4). On the continent apses and ambulatories were very popular, however, in England the rectangular east end was used in many churches, a continuation from the Anglo-Saxon period (Fernie 2014, 24). The layout of the church is not particularly diagnostic as other styles may use this plan, and many churches which began as Romanesque were altered so far as to have little or none of the same architecture but have kept the layout of the original church.

One of the most immediately visible features of a Romanesque church are the semi-circular arches over windows, doorways (Figure 1), and arcades, in opposition to the later pointed arches of Gothic architecture (Figure 2) (Miller 1895, 14 & 16). The doorways in particular were often of several orders and highly decorated (Zarnecki 1971, 60).



Figure 1:
Romanesque
doorway at the
Basilica of St
Denis, France, with
a semi-circular arch
and several
decorative orders
(Sullivan 2006).



Figure 2: Gothic doorway dated c.1315-1320 with pointed arch at Norwich cathedral (Binski 2014, 103).

Another feature is areas such as the nave and chancel being divided into bays using buttresses, pilaster strips, or half-shafts. Pilasters and half-columns were also used to decorate supporting piers in arcading, quite often creating an alternating pattern (Ferne 2014, 25).

One other diagnostic feature, which survives less frequently, is vaulting over smaller areas in the church (Figure 3). There were two main types; barrel vaulting, where a series of semi-circular arches form the roof, and groin vaulting where two-barrel vaults meet (Encyclopædia Britannica inc. 2018 a & b). In 1128-33 rib vaulting was introduced at Durham cathedral, giving the ability to span larger areas, however, this was not in common use until the Gothic period (Timmers 1969, 192).

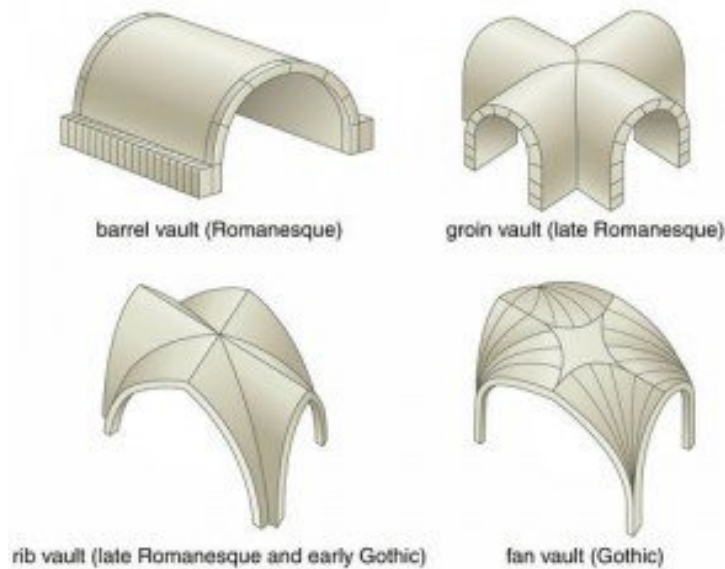


Figure 3: Different types of vaulting used in buildings of the Romanesque and Gothic styles (Terry n.d.).

The final feature to be discussed is decoration. Romanesque churches used sculpture to decorate surfaces far more than Gothic architecture. Anglo-Saxon churches also used sculpture liberally, however the placement and uses can help distinguish them. Anglo-Saxon sculpture was more detached from the building, and less systematically placed. Romanesque sculpture, on the other hand, is more integrated into the architecture, appearing not along the walls but on features; jambs and arches of portals, capitals, and tympana, however, some motifs from the Anglo-Saxon period continued to be used (Ferne 2014, 16).

Initially upon introduction to England, Romanesque sculpture was used as ornamentation on capitals, but it later spread to common use around portals, in corbel tables, and all major architectural features. Early Romanesque sculpture had a heavy emphasis on geometric designs, and where figures were used they were rather flat and badly proportioned. Although the large scenes and friezes of European Romanesque never gained the same popularity in England, carving techniques did improve, with the damp-fold style allowing more anatomically correct figures (Figure 4). By the end of the Romanesque period there was less emphasis on geometric designs, and instead far more figures were used to create complex scenes with a relaxed, almost classical feel. The themes behind the sculptures also changed throughout the period, becoming less focused on hell and evil (Bond 1988, 147-148).



Figure 4: Example of figures in the damp-fold style from Durham Cathedral c.1155 (Bond 1988, 188-189).

The Romanesque style of sculpture has undergone some previous study, with some publications cataloguing examples (Zarnecki & Allen 1984; King's College London Digital Humanities 2018) with little analysis, and others focusing on the sculpture within one building (Zarnecki 1958; Zarnecki 1988). Throughout these, three clear themes were focused upon; geometric designs, human sculptures, and foliage (Conrad 2006; Macready 1986; Hunt 2004; Wood 2013). Despite all of this research, one of the mysteries that remains around Romanesque sculpture is its patronage. Most churches were founded either by rich laity or ecclesiastical, however, it is often impossible to determine who was responsible for individual sculptures and how much influence the patron would have had over the designs in comparison to the sculptor. Individual building phases in the church could have been funded by local lords or the bishop or churchman in charge, and these are often not recorded. This dissertation fills a gap in Romanesque sculpture research, expanding upon what is already known and specializing in animals, an area which has so far been neglected, examining clues about the patronage of individual pieces.

Chapter 3 – Animals and Humoral Theory: Assessing the Medieval Perspective

3.1 Introduction

The medieval people creating the carvings and animal depictions which focused upon in this dissertation had a very different world view, affecting the way they interpreted and interacted with the world around them. The core principles underpinning their understanding of the world, everything within it, and how to interact with it, was outlined in the humoral theory school of thought.

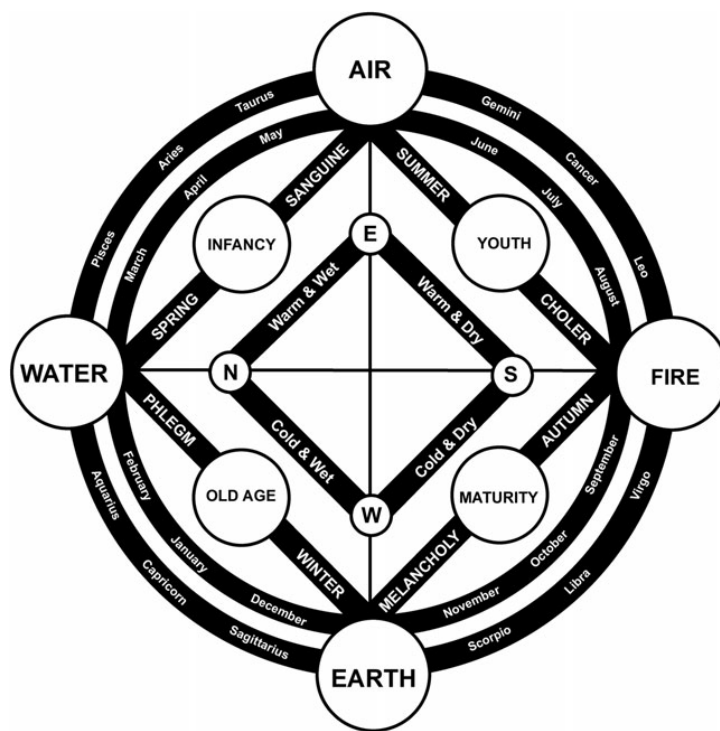
There have been large amounts of research conducted on the medieval period on a wide range of subjects from the feudal system (Brown 1974; Pirenne 2015), religion (Lynch 2013; Deanesly 1969), towns (Schofield & Vince 2003; Baker & Slater 1992), guilds (Rosser 1997; Giles 2000) and production (Astill & Langdon 1997; Dodds 2007) to monasteries (Aston 2000; Coppack 2009), ports (Jervis 2017; Waites 1977), trade (Adelson 1960; Hemer et. al. 2013), and buildings (Grenville 1997; Munby 1987). Of this literature, there is very little that considers humoral theory, despite a push in more recent decades towards understanding material culture from the worldview of those who made and used it. Where humoral theory is discussed, it is usually in a medical context, particularly history of medicine studies (Guthrie 1945; Rosenburg 1971; Singer 1962). These sources are useful in understanding the origins and function of humoral theory but there is little research going beyond this, linking it to people's everyday lives, despite humoral theory being more about maintaining wellness than curing disease (Kuk 2014, 324-325). This dissertation takes principles laid out in humoral theory and uses them to aid in understanding how Romanesque animal sculptures could have been perceived, applying humoral theory in a way that is rarely done.

This chapter will begin by describing humoral theory's development and principles, before moving on to examine its uses in the medieval period and the importance of considering it when making archaeological interpretations. Finally, the uses of

animals and the way they were viewed in the medieval period will be discussed, considering humoral explanations.

3.2 The Development of Humoral Theory

With the building blocks being present over four millennia ago in Chinese and Indian medical traditions (Logan 1975, 8), it was in 5th century Greece that humoral theory really began to develop and emerge as a prominent medical theory (Finch 2010, 375). This began with philosophers such as Alcamaeon and Empedocles suggesting that everything was made up of different quantities of cold and dry earth, warm and wet air, warm and dry fire, and cold and wet water (Matthews 1983, 827). Hippocrates then linked these elements to four humors which were contained within



the body; black bile, yellow bile, blood, and phlegm (Balzar & Eleftheriadis 1991 207-209) and produced the idea of keeping these humors in balance to maintain health. This meant that all illnesses were thought to be caused by an imbalance in the humors and could be cured by reestablishing the equilibrium (Smith 2015, 678 & 692). Plato then associated these humors with planets and astrological signs (Draper 2015, 259-262).

Figure 5: Diagram showing how, by the 11th century, the qualities, seasons, stages of life, elements, humors, astrological signs, and cardinal points were thought to relate to each other (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 178).

Five centuries after Hippocrates, Galen built upon the previous philosophers' work, getting humoral theory to a form that would have been recognizable to medieval people (Kuk 2014, 323). Most of his work was linking the humors with temperaments, life stages, and personality traits (Figure 5). For example, too much yellow bile caused short temperedness and excess energy (West 2014, 123), and babies were warmer and wetter than older people (Gadelrab 2010, 46-47). He also investigated what factors caused the balance of humors to change, and what could cause or cure illnesses e.g. seasons, climate, exercise, food and drink, sleep, emotional state, and intercourse (Vallgård 2010, 611).

Humoral theory, in this form, continued to be the predominant medical theory in the west until the end of the 17th century (Singer & Underwood 1962, 101). It is likely that the decline in the use of humoral theory was caused by a number of new scientific discoveries and theories beginning the mid-17th century when mechanical and chemical explanations of the body began to be made e.g. William Harvey's work on blood circulation (Gordon 2013, 137-138). The age of enlightenment and new discoveries being made by scientists like Newton changed people's view of the world and spelled the end for humoral theory as a medical theory (Wear 1992, 5). Despite this, humoral theory was still used in many contexts such as the slave trade in order to show how a slave's native climate should affect their treatment (Smith 2015, 678 & 688-690), in poetry (Singer & Underwood 1962, 46), or in everyday speech (Bound 2003, 65). In other parts of the world, such as the Americas, humoral theory is still used to treat illnesses in a similar form to Hippocrates' and Galen's early works (Logan 1975, 8).

3.3 Humoral Theory in Medieval Life

In the medieval period, humoral theory was understood (to some extent) by everyone and was used to interpret how interactions with the world affected the individual. This means that, although primarily a medical theory, it was also far more than that. Although it is likely that only scholars and learned men would have understood all the complexities of humoral theory, it can be assumed that at least some aspects of it would have filtered down to the uneducated masses e.g. cures for common illnesses,

appropriate foods for different people, and how fields should be used for crop growing (Jones, Miller & Sykes 2016). It would also have influenced their view of animals, their properties, and appropriate uses.

It was believed that humors were intrinsically linked to people's character, their emotions, and physical characteristics. The balance of a person's humors was thought to affect how they would think, act, which seasons they would prefer, and what occupations they might partake in. It was also thought that humors were reflected in facial features, revealing a person's personality. Literature at the time sometimes used physiognomy such as eye, hair, and skin colour to explain how people should choose slaves, friends, and even lovers (Friedman 1981, 138-145 & 149-152).

As a medical theory it was used to treat both physical and mental disorders, as no distinction was drawn between the two (Jackson 1978, 367-368). As each person was thought to have a different natural balance of humors, treatments varied between patients, even those suffering from the same illness, however physicians did categorise symptoms, different types of imbalances, and likely cures for each (Smith 2015, 678). The most universally used treatment during the medieval period was blood-letting, which was used for almost every disease imaginable being thought to release evil humors from the body (Rando & Finkel 2013, 575). Diet was another predominant form of treatment, with patients eating foods rich in the qualities they were lacking. Spices were very popular as a treatment as, not only did they have very strong hot qualities which balanced the wet and cold British diet, but they also came from mysterious, and possibly magical far-off lands (Figure 6) (Kuk 2013, 330-334). Other forms of treatment included drugs (normally mixtures of herbal remedies, spices or similar) and therapeutic baths, with surgery being a last resort, only appropriate to some illnesses and injuries (Mitchell 2004, 57).

Acceptance of humoral theory as fact is also present in medieval court records. The balance of a person's humors was thought to affect the way they felt emotion. Men were hotter than women and therefore more likely to experience anger, and men were recorded as having sentences reduced due to 'hot anger' in more cases than women (Langum 2016, 45-46 & 125). When the Greek writers spoke of men being

hotter than women, neither was meant as any better than the other, however medieval culture viewed hot as better than cold, and therefore often saw men as better than women (Cadden 1993, 17).

Dry					Hot				
					4				
					3				
					2				
					1				
	4	3	2	1	1	2	3	4	
		rose	Medlar, millet	Broad bean	1	Ricotta, sour milk, spinach	pear	pork	
		acorn	Barley, rice, rye		2	prawns	Chickpea, cucumber, lamprey, pumpkin	Cherry, melon, peach	
		camphor	Lemon, mandrake		3			Fish, orange pulp	
					4				
				Cold					

younger kid, lamb, and veal were considered moister (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 181-185).

Humoral theory was also deeply engrained into the practices used to produce the food that people ate. The qualities of the soil affected the time of year it was prepared, what type of manure was used etc. as a warm and moist state was worked towards. Deposits of ceramics associated with farming have been interpreted as farmers trying to achieve this state as hot and dry ceramics have been found in soils which would have been considered cold and wet (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 181-185).

Another way in which humors could be transferred as through smells, which were thought to have the same qualities as the objects from which they were released. These smells were often known as miasmas, and 'bad' ones could be very detrimental, as the smell of a decaying corpse was thought to cause an excess of black bile when inhaled, or even through skin pores (Gordon 2013, 138-140).

There is also some evidence of the idea that humors could be produced or transferred by sounds. This comes more from Anglo-Saxon monasteries than the medieval period, however humoral theory is thought to have changed very little between these periods. Large numbers of chickens on monastic sites may show an engineered 'soundscape' and a lack of cockerels would back up the theory that animals are very important in humoral terms as they would have been loud and aggressive, none of the qualities valued in monks (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 185-186). This could, however have been more to do with diet. Ecclesiastical communities were meant to eat fish and chicken and were discouraged from red meats due to both the humoral connections and beliefs about the nature of animals (Montanari 2012, 33-34).

Some suggestions have been made that touch could also transfer qualities, however there is little evidence for this. Some ecclesiastical documents have been found to be made from deer and sheep hide, both animals considered righteous and chaste, these would have been suitable for religious people to touch (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 185-186). When considering evidence such as this, it is always important not to

forget that there may be other reasons for choices such as cost, availability, or the quality of products.

Overall, it can be seen that humoral theory affected many aspects of people's lives, informing the decisions they made in order to maintain humoral balance and their health. By not considering humoral theory, the extent to which the medieval world can be understood is limited. Whether or not we, with modern minds, believe that humoral theory has a basis in truth or is completely disproven, is of no consequence, as to the people of medieval England it would have been a truth of life, rarely questioned. It is only by accepting this mind set that we can begin to understand why medieval people made the choices they did with regards to the food, materials, and images they used and created.

3.4 Bestiaries and the Uses of Medieval Animals

Secondary sources about medieval animals are scarce. Very few books or papers focus as a whole, or in part on how animals were conceptualized in the medieval mind. The vast majority of published work concerning animals in the medieval period is in the form of zooarchaeological reports, often being used as part of a larger site analysis (Smart 2014; Williams 1977). These generally cover the abundance of animal bones and their potential uses, sometimes theorizing that an animal may have been used in a ritual, kept as a pet etc. but never delving deeper into what people were thinking or feeling towards these animals and rarely attempting to explain why they were treated in these ways.

In everyday life animals played a huge role. Horses and cattle were used for work such as pulling farm machinery, horses were the exclusive form of transport aside from walking, and animals such as sheep, pigs, and goats were kept for their milk, meat, wool, skin or manure (Stone 2001, 612-638). In the countryside particularly, most households would have kept some livestock which would have lived in close proximity to the dwelling and been integral to the family's life.

On the other hand, pet keeping was far less common than today. Most families would not have had the expendable income to keep an animal purely for company, and most records of animals being kept as companions come from monasteries. Manuscripts and poems show that monks often kept cats to control pests such as mice and rats, however, they also sometimes show a closer bond which goes beyond the animal being a tool to carry out a job. The other people who kept pets were the rich, with it being a way to show off their expendable income (Walker-Meikle 2012, 3 & 62).

Animals were also used as entertainment by the elite. Hunting was a popular pastime for those who could afford it, and was surrounded by ritual and meaning, from how the hunts took place and how the kill was divided, to who was allowed to hunt which animals (Sykes 2014, 72).

One of the most important roles of animals was as a food source. Kings often held great feasts, and peasants lived mainly off a plant-based diet (Müldner & Richards 2005, 40-41). As discussed in the previous section, however, different foods were also thought to have different humoral attributes and within their means people would alter their diet throughout their life to balance their humors (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 181-185).

Animals also featured in a number of Bible stories, representing everything from the devil to God and Jesus. For example, hell is often portrayed as a beast's gaping mouth, and the dove is a well-known symbol of peace and representation of the Holy Spirit. With religion playing a huge part in medieval life, Bible stories and their featured animals would have been known and understood by both the educated and uneducated. The symbolism of these Bible animals also often links in to humoral theory. Dragons, for example, are often given hot attributes, as is hell, with which they are often associated. This will be further expanded upon, with descriptions of the symbolism of individual animals, in chapter 9.

As shown, animals in the medieval period were thought to affect people's humors, but the ways in which people viewed animals varied as much as it does today. Some animals were tools for work or war, some were food, some companions, some feared, and others were seen as exotic and symbols of wealth.

In the Norman and medieval periods people had a far smaller view of the world. Most ordinary people would never have seen anything far outside of the village or town in which they lived. This meant that exotic animals and mythical creatures were often thought of as the same, with a mermaid being every bit as real to a medieval peasant as a lion or elephant, with drawings or stories brought back by pilgrims and traders being the only way they could learn about these animals (Sekules 2001, 7). This is evident in bestiaries where mythical creatures and exotic animals are often presented alongside each other (Elliott 1971; White 1954). Bestiaries were catalogues, normally written by monks, showing all of God's creations and describing their characteristics and symbolism. Originally written in Latin, some have since been translated into English and published, sometimes along with extra notes or interpretation (White 1954; Elliott; 1971). Despite being a very useful source of information regarding how animals were viewed, they should be treated with caution as most were published later in the medieval period, meaning that views may have changed, and they were written by monks, only one small group, and therefore may not represent the views of all society.

This dissertation will closely study a sample of bestiaries to assess the contemporary meanings and associations of animals found in Romanesque sculpture. They are a particularly appropriate source as they are likely to reflect the world view of the ecclesiastics who were the major patrons and occupants of these church sites, and many cathedral and monastic libraries are likely to have included bestiaries which may have served as a source of inspiration for sculptural motifs. Humoral theory will also be used to help categorise and understand the ways animals were viewed and used in the medieval period. Each species of animal, and sometimes different ages or sexes within species, had different humoral properties and associations. These associations can be used to more fully understand how medieval people would have interpreted the animal sculptures found in the churches.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

4.1 Introduction

In order to study Romanesque animal sculptures in churches a number of methodological steps had to be taken to select the data set, collect data for analysis, and understand it within its wider context. This chapter describes how desktop and practical research was carried out, and how the data collected in these processes will be used.

4.2 Selecting the Churches

With a limited time frame to complete this research, it would have been impossible to study all the Romanesque churches in Britain. For this reason, it was decided that the study should focus on four of the great Norman churches in east England. The cathedrals at Southwell, Peterborough, Ely and Lincoln were selected for their large amount of well-preserved Romanesque material, including sculptures depicting a variety of animals. These churches also have a good amount of previous research on their origins, history, and building phases, meaning that areas of Romanesque sculpture can be easily located. It was also important that the selected churches were accessible as some had to be visited for practical investigation.

4.3 Data Collection

The main data required was the location of Romanesque animal sculptures within the churches, and which species of animal are represented. A study of the literature showed that the Romanesque sculpture of some of the cathedrals had already been recorded, if not analyzed. Details of the Romanesque sculptures at Ely and Lincoln had been recorded by Zarnecki (1958; 1988) and Southwell is described in some depth in ‘The Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture’ online resource (King’s College London Digital Humanities 2018). From these, information on the location of the

sculptures and some of the species could be drawn, along with pictures allowing for further assessment of species, preservation etc.

Peterborough and Southwell cathedrals required visiting to assess the species and location of animal likenesses. After background research identifying the location of Romanesque architecture in the church, a systematic visual assessment was carried out, including photographs and notes recording the location and details of animal sculptures. These photographs were then compared to animal sculptures from other churches in order to identify the species represented.

4.4 Analyzing the Data

The collected data then needed to be analyzed to come to conclusions about why the species of animal were selected and placed where they were. To do this, existing plans of the churches were used and added to in order to map the positions of the sculptures, including specific species. These were then used alongside literature about the use of spaces in churches to come to conclusions about why animals were placed in specific locations. Bestiaries were also used to understand how animals would have been viewed and why specific species were chosen.

Chapter 5 – Ely

5.1 Location

Ely is a city in the south east of England, in the county of Cambridgeshire (see Figure 7). It is the second smallest city in the country with a population of around 18,000 (East Cambridgeshire District Council 2012, 1). It sits on the edge of the Fens.

The Cathedral of The Holy and Undivided Trinity stands at a crossroads in the south east portion of the city (see Figure 8) next to a park and the Norman motte and bailey earthworks (Historic England 2015).



Figure 7: The location of the City of Ely in the south east of England, just north east of Cambridge (Edina Digimap n.d.).

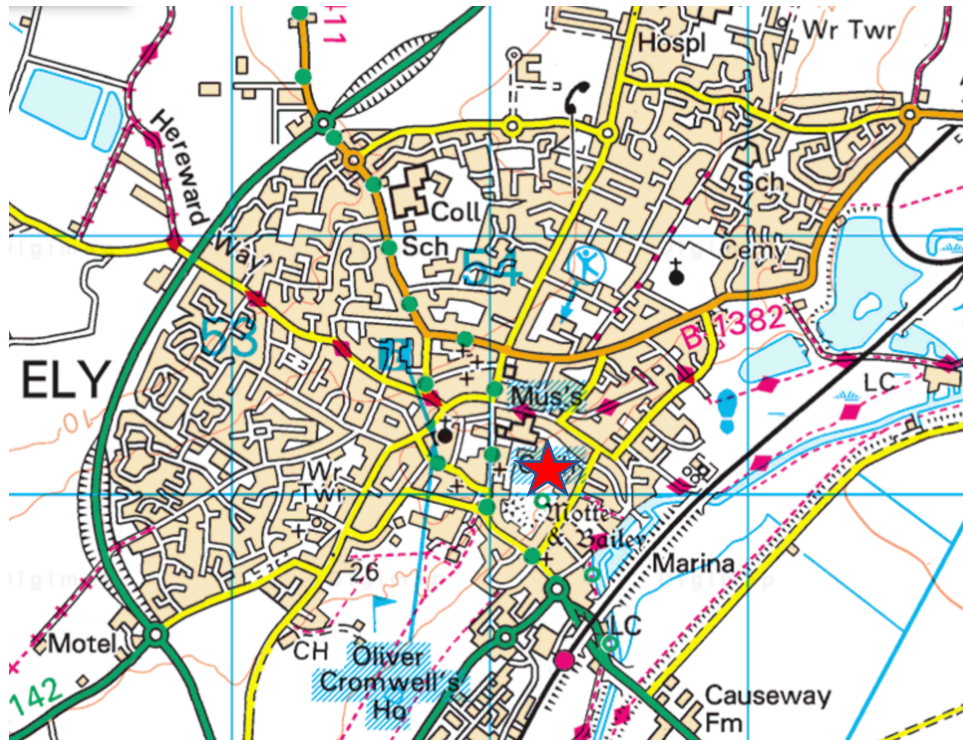


Figure 8: The location of the Cathedral within the city of Ely (Edina Digimap n.d.).

5.2 History and Building Phases

Ely Cathedral was originally an Anglo-Saxon church, supposedly founded by St Etheldreda, daughter of Anna, king of the East Angles, who ran away to Coldingham to escape from her second husband, Ecgfrith. In AD 672 she became a nun, but her husband traced her, and she was driven to the Isle of Ely (Purcell 1973, 1) where she founded a monastery for monks and nuns to the north of the village of Cratendune (Dorman 1968, 5) and worked as Abbess until her death in AD 679 (Zarnecki 1958, 3-4).

Nothing now remains of this Anglo-Saxon church as in the 870s Danish raids looted and burnt many monasteries, including Ely. It has been suggested that some repair work took place after this, with some monks and nuns still living in the monastery, however, it was not until AD 970 that any serious rebuilding was carried out, a new community of monks was formed (Purcell 1973, 2) and the land was re-consecrated (Pevsner 2002, 339).

Ely, being in the fens, was, at the Norman conquest, easily defensible. Thurston, the abbot, who had been appointed by King Harold, resisted William the Conqueror, making Ely a refuge for rebels until 1071 when the monastery was finally taken (Purcell 1973 4).

After the Norman Conquest building work began again under Abbot Simeon who laid out the plan for a whole new cruciform church and begun construction on the east end, probably completing at least the lower stages of the transepts and choir before his death in 1093 (Purcell 1973, 5). Building work on the new cathedral church continued until it was completed in the early 13th century (Pevsner 2002, 339).

Almost immediately following the completion of the church areas began to be enlarged and remodeled, including the apse and chancel being rebuilt on a larger scale, the west porch significantly remodeled, and a lady chapel added (Pevsner 2002, 339-340).

The next significant alteration in the fabric of the church was in 1322 when, on 22nd February, the Norman crossing tower collapsed, causing much damage to the chancel (Pevsner 2002, 340). This led to the east arm being rebuilt and the octagon replacing the tower (Meadows & Ramsey 2003, 96). There were few major architectural alterations to the building after this, with the only exceptions being the addition of chantry chapels and rebuilding of the north arm of the west transept after 15th century collapse (Pevsner 2002, 339-340).

In 1539 the monastery was dissolved, the cloister and most of the monastic buildings destroyed, and a Dean replaced the prior. The monastery cathedral was kept for use by the public (Pevsner 2002, 340) (Figure 9).



Figure 9: The present-day cathedral at Ely from the south-west (Ely Cathedral 2018).

5.3 The Romanesque Animal Sculptures

The Romanesque animal sculptures at Ely can be separated into two main groups, those around the portals (doorways) and those in the corbel tables, of which Ely has a very large and complete scheme (Zarnecki 1958, 1-5) (Figure 10).

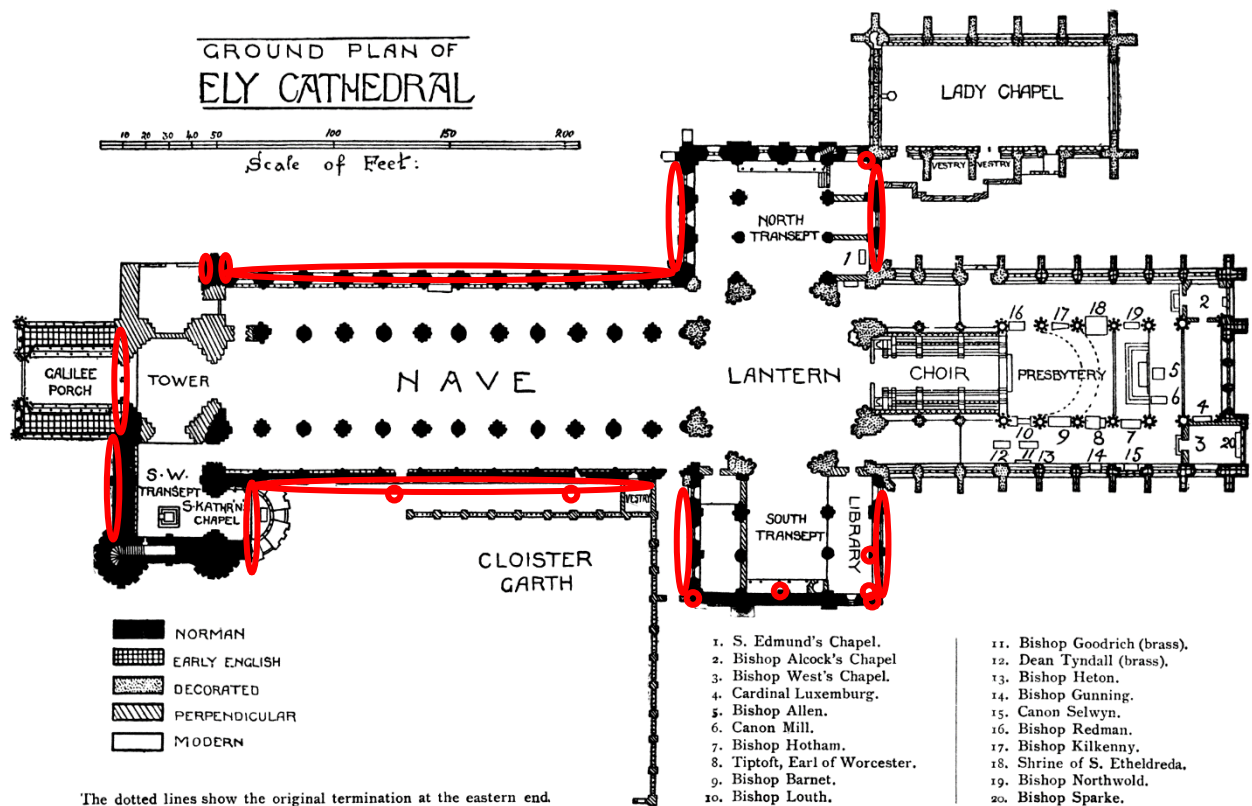


Figure 10: Plan of Ely Cathedral showing the Norman areas in black and the Romanesque animal sculptures in red (adapted from Sweeting 1910).

The Portals:

Two of the three Romanesque doorways in the cathedral contain designs of animals. The first and least elaborate of these is the monks' doorway (Figure 11), located between the cloister and the south aisle. Made up of four orders, the opening measures 2.29m high by 1.46m wide. In the first order impost block there is what appears to be the tail of a dragon, ending in a leaf form, however, much has been lost due to modern shaving of the impost block to fit a new door. Also in the first order, over the head of the arch, are a pair of dragons biting each other's bodies. Their tails then turn into foliage which intertwines with more on the arch (Baxter 2018 a). Also on the jamb of this order is a bird entangled in the scroll decoration (Zarnecki 1958, 21). The other animal depicted on this doorway is a lion mask at the angle of the fourth order impost. This also works its way into the foliage decoration surrounding it, as stems protrude from the lion's mouth like tongues (Baxter 2018 a).

The Prior's doorway (Figures 12-13) which is also situated between the cloister and south aisle of the nave is the portal with most examples of animal sculptures. The jambs are adorned with a series of circular medallions containing different images of people, foliage and animals, some with a seemingly zodiac influence. On the west jamb there are 14 medallions, of which 11 depict animal or human-animal forms.

These are, working from top to bottom as shown in figure? (Baxter 2018 a):

1. A standing deer facing right
2. A goat with horns, beard, and a large head facing right
3. A standing ram facing right
4. A standing boar facing right
5. A standing rabbit facing right
6. A fish-tailed, Aquarius, man facing left
7. A pair of fish, Pisces, swimming in opposite directions
8. A lion with a raised tail facing right
9. A fish tailed siren
10. A badly damaged horse and rider
11. A badly damaged bird facing right but with head looking back over shoulder.

On the east jamb there are 15 medallions, but only three of these depict animals:

12. Two dogs catching a deer
13. A man holding a fish
14. A fish swimming left underneath an unidentified object

The nook shafts of the second order are decorated with lions, dragons, birds, and composite beasts fighting in pairs amongst foliage. The imposts of this same order are in the shape of dragons, with tails becoming foliage and working into the rest of the design (Baxter 2018 a). The bases of this order, although now very decayed, are shown through engravings made by James Bentham in 1768 and D. Lysons in 1808, to be figures sitting atop lions. There are also lions carved in the round as the capitals, however, only one survives. The inner jambs are also of animal heads and, like those of the second order, gradually change into foliage, but this time from the tongues (Zarnecki 1958, 23-33).



Figure 11: The monk's doorway (Zarnnecki 1958).



Figure 12: The Prior's doorway (Zarnecki 1958).



Figure 13: Details on the Priors doorway. Left: medallions on the west side depicting a goat and a ram. Right: a colonette with a bear being clubbed (Zarnecki 1958).

The Corbels:

There are a huge number of corbels surviving in Ely Cathedral, on the nave, transepts, and west tower; the vast majority on the exterior of the building. Between them a huge range of subjects are depicted including foliage, humans, and a variety of animal species.

On the exterior of the nave there are two corbel tables, one at the level of the gallery (only on the north side) and one at the level of the clerestory. Of the 64 corbel heads at gallery level, 27 are either animal heads or composites of humans and animals (Baxter 2018 a). At clerestory level there are 77 corbels on the north side and 71 on the south side, with 23 and 25 respectively having animalistic features (Table 1) (Figure 14).

Bay	Animals		
	North face gallery	North face clerestory	South face clerestory
1	Human with buffalo horns	Dog	Composite human-duck
2	Dog-like	Composite human-dog	Human with dog-like nose, dog-like
3	Cat-like	Two bird-like, Ass	Bird
4	Cat-like	Two horned heads, composite human with pointed ears, composite human with horns, dog-like	Dog-like
5	Human with pointed ears, human with oval beast ears, camel-like	Bird	Dog-like, cat-like
6	Cat-like, beast with a large mouth and pointed ears, bird nest, beast with pointed ears	Two dog-like, horse with bridle	Dog-like with horns, cat
7	Two dog-like, wolf	none	Dog, human-dog like composite, human-cat like composite
8	Dog, composite beast with duck bill	Horned beast, dog-like	Human-dog like composite, three horned grotesques
9	Bird with ears, snake or reptile, horse-like	Dog-like, human with pointed ears or horns, unidentified beast	Human-dog like composite, human-beast composite with pointed ears, horned human
10	Lizard-like, dog, possible deer	Beast with pointed ears, human with beast ears, unidentified beast	Cat-like devil, cat-like human, dog, human with buffalo horns, human with frog-like mouth
11	Dog, reptile, composite human and cat, possible owl	Human-beast composite, snouted beast	Bird
12	Composite human and dog	Bird holding an object, dog-like	Composite human-duck, horse

Table 1: Animal-head sculptures in the corbel tables on the exterior of the nave.



Figure 14: Corbel on the nave with duckbill (Zarnecki 1958).

On the east and west faces of the north transept there are also corbel tables at both gallery and clerestory level however some have been replaced. Of the originals, 7/19 on the east clerestory, 3/16 on the east gallery, 4/11 on the west clerestory, and 1/7 on the west gallery being animals (Table 2) (Baxter 2018 a).

Bay	Animals			
	West face gallery	West face clerestory	East face gallery	East face clerestory
1	Lion	Beast with long snout and horns	-	Dog, dragon, cat-like, possible duck
2	-	Two ducks, human with pointed ears	Beast with pointed ears	Possible duck, snake-like, beast with pointed ears
3	-	-	Dog, possible dragon	-

Table 2: Animal-head sculptures in the corbel tables on the exterior of the north transept.

In addition to these there are also corbels on the east turret of the north transept. Most of these are humans, however, at least one has a duckbill.

The south transept does not have a corbel table at the gallery level, however, it does at the clerestory and turret level on both the east and west faces. 2/17 on the east clerestory, 4/16 on the east turret, 2/16 on the west clerestory, and 10/16 on the west turret being animal heads (Table 3).

Bay	Animals			
	East face clerestory	East turret	West face clerestory	West turret
1	-	Dog-like, ram, cat, bird	-	Human with dog-like ears, human-dog composite, three birds, dog, two dog-like, reptile, unidentified beast
2	Dog-like		Composite human with pointed ears	
3	Dog-like		Simian (ape)	

Table 3: Animal-head sculptures in the corbel tables of the south transept.

Inside the transepts there are more animal sculptures. The south transept has arcades separating three bays. On the capitals of these, foliage designs can be seen, alongside a lion and a hawk-like bird. Also in the south transept are two capitals on which animals can be found; two fighting bears on the central half-shaft capital, and two lions on the east nook shaft capital. In the north transept there is also evidence of Romanesque animal carvings on a capital, however, concealed by a 14th century buttress, the beast is no longer identifiable (Zarnecki 1958, 17) (Baxter 2018 a).

At the west end of the cathedral there are two more sets or corbels on the south-west and north-west transepts. Despite most of the north-west transept having been destroyed, the southernmost two corbels survive on the east face clerestory, west face clerestory, and west face fifth storey. Of these there is one composite human-dog head on the east clerestory and a human-wolf composite and unidentified beast head on the west clerestory.

On the south-west transept more corbels survive on one storey of the east face, and two storeys of the west face, in addition to both turrets. 2/20 of the east clerestory corbels, 2/18 of those on the west face fifth storey and 4/18 in the west face gallery can all be identified as animal, or possibly animal (Table 4). In addition to this, a few of the corbels on the south-east and south-west turrets are beast heads, and where the east face clerestory meets the nave there is a larger corbel depicting a beast with bulging eyes and bared teeth (Baxter 2018 a).

Bay	Animals		
	East face clerestorey	West face 5 th storey	West face gallery
1	-	-	Two lions
2	Camel, composite human with beast ears	Two composite snouted humans	Possible worn human-beast composite, possible worn snake

Table 4: Animal-head sculptures in the corbel tables on the exterior of the south-west transept.

The last place where Romanesque animal sculptures can be seen is on the west face of the west tower in two courses; the first at the top, which has 3/14 corbels depicting animals and the other below the windows, with 5/13 (Table 5) (Baxter 2018 a).

Animals	
Upper corbel table	Lower corbel table
Two dogs, bird	Two composite human-beast with cat-like ears, composite human-beast with dog-like ears, unidentified beast, composite human-beast with fish-like mouth

Table 5: Animal-head sculptures in the corbel tables on the exterior of the west tower.

Chapter 6 – Lincoln

6.1 Location

Lincoln is a relatively small city with a population of just under 100,000 (City of Lincoln Council n.d., 13). It is located in the East Midlands, about 40km north east of Nottingham (see Figure 15), with the cathedral sitting right in the heart of the city, near to many of the university buildings (see Figure 16).



Figure 15: The location of Lincoln in relation to Nottingham and the East Coast (Edina Digimap n.d.).



Figure 16: The location of the cathedral in the center of Lincoln (Edina Digimap n.d.).

6.2 History and Building Phases

Despite being an important city as far back as the Roman period, there is no evidence of a cathedral in Lincoln before the Anglo-Saxon period (Foyle 2015, 11).

The Norman church was begun by Remigius between 1072-1075 as a direct result of the decision that all bishop's sees should be in walled towns. By 1092, the cruciform church was complete enough to be consecrated (Pevsner & Harris 1964, 82). The next major phase of building followed a fire in 1141 (Bennett 2001, 4), and involved enlarging some areas of the church and inserting three new doorways and the frieze into the west front (Pevsner & Harris 1964, 83).

The vast majority of the church, except for the west front was rebuilt again in the 13th century after an earthquake in 1192. This new church had a much more elaborate east end, with many chapels and an attached cloister and chapter house (Bennett 2001, 5).

The last major rebuilding phase had less of an effect on the layout of the cathedral than that of the 12th century, however, repair works and additions in the 13th to 16th century have significantly changed its appearance from the outside. In the late 1230s the tower collapsed, being replaced shortly afterwards (Pevsner & Harris 1964, 111-112). The apse was also replaced with a square choir and chancel. In the early 14th century the crossing tower was significantly heightened, and the west towers followed at the end of the century. The church then remained much as it was for the next 150 years until, in 1548, the central spire fell, and the west towers began to lean. In the 1700s much was done to aid this, however it was not until the 1800s that the spires were finally removed (Bennett 2001, 5) (Figure 17).



Figure 17: The present-day west face of Lincoln Cathedral (Lincoln Cathedral 2018).

6.3 The Romanesque Animal Sculptures

As the only Norman part of the cathedral to survive is the west front, almost all of the Romanesque animal sculptures are in this area, with the only exception being the font (see Figure 18).

The animal depictions on the west front can be split into two main groups; those in scenes of the frieze, and those around the doorways.

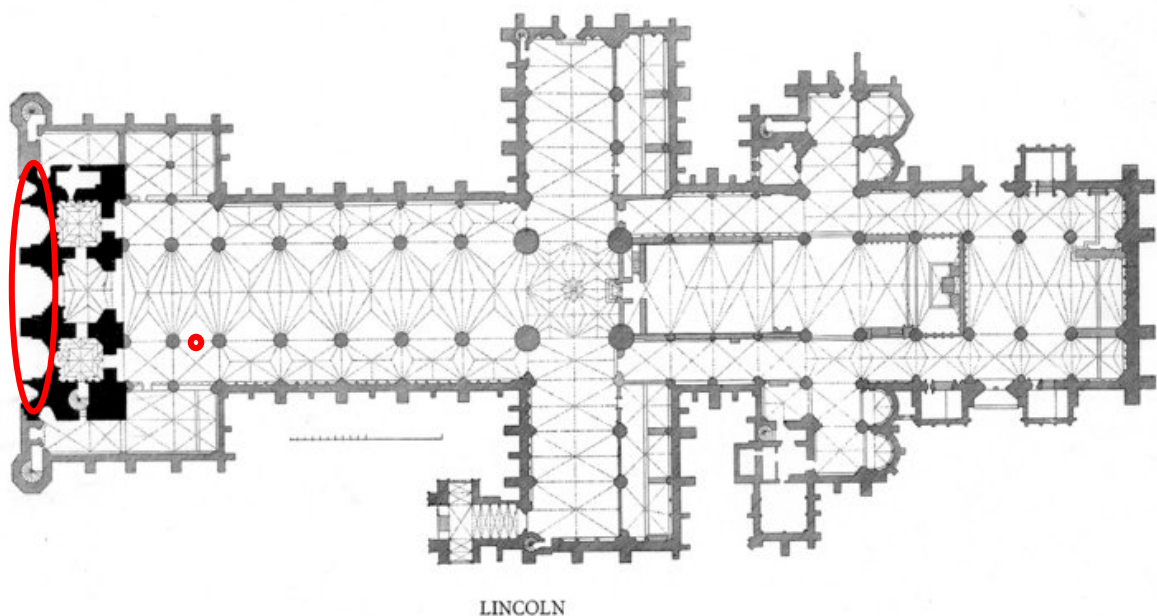


Figure 18: Plan of Lincoln Cathedral showing the Norman areas of the cathedral in black and the Romanesque animal sculptures in red (adapted from Kendrick 1902, 152).

The Frieze:

The frieze runs along the west front, above the doorways. It consists of a number of panels depicting various Bible stories, with the old testament to the south side and the new testament to the north. Of these panels, only eight depict any sort of animal, however, some panels (probably including the creation scene) have been destroyed by the later addition of the 14th century 'Gallery of Kings' over the central doorway (Zaenecki 1988, 36-59).

The first Old testament scene which may contain an animal is a panel showing 'the birth of Able' and 'Eve spinning'. In the bottom half of the panel, next to a figure (thought to be Eve) spinning, Able stands carrying something over his shoulder. Although the relief is broken, it is thought that this may be a lamb, therefore picturing Able as the good shepherd, in a similar way to St Marks mosaic in Venice (Zarnecki 1988, 47-48). There is also a series of scenes depicting the Noah's Ark story. In one of these, 'the Ark on the Waters', the tail feathers a bird which Noah is releasing can be partially seen despite much of the scene being hidden. As in the story of Noah, it is assumed that this bird is either a raven or dove. The other scene in this series containing animals is 'Going forth from the Ark'. This shows Noah and his family on the Ark, with five animals including a pig and a goat, and a possible donkey outside (Figure 18). In the top left corner there is also the very weathered figure of a dove carrying an olive leaf. Interrupting these scenes of Noah is one of Daniel in the lions' den which was presumably initially intended to be placed elsewhere, however, where this was is highly debated. It pictures Daniel standing in the center surrounded by five lions, two on their hind legs behind him and three at the bottom of the panel, shown just as heads, all with their teeth bared (Zarnecki 1988, 48-56) (Figure 19).

There are another four scenes containing animals in the new testament series. The first of these is the 'Death of Lazarus' and 'Dives and his companions in hell' in which hell is shown as a gaping beast's mouth. In the 'Harrowing of Hell' a monster's face is also used to represent hell (Figure 20). The final three scenes show the tortures of hell and all involve serpents entwining around and attacking the figures, and the final scene also shows monsters doing the same (Zarnecki 1988, 59-69).



Figure 19: Noah's Ark and Daniel in the Lion's den sections of the frieze (Broughton 1996, 37).



Figure 20: The scenes 'The torments of the damned in hell' and 'Harrowing of hell' featuring snakes and beasts (Zarnecki 1988, 68).

Doorways:

There are three Romanesque doorways in the west front of the cathedral, all altered by the 14th century insertion of the gallery of kings and two phases of restoration in the 18th and 19th centuries (Zarnecki 1988, 21).

All of the doorways have a mixture of human and animal beakheads (Figure 21) around the arches, however some, particularly on the north doorway, are copies of the originals. These heads emerge from a flat background and then attach to the roll-moulding by the tongue or beard (Henry & Zarnecki 1957, 23). These include cat and dragon-like heads as well as human-beast composites with pointed ears. They also all have dragon heads on the ends of the hood-moulds, a very typically Anglo-Saxon decoration (Zarnecki 1988, 23-24).

The north and south doorways both have replacement colonettes and, although they are copies of original fragments which are now kept in storage, there may have been more animal decoration on the sections which do not survive. The replacements have in their decoration vines entwining human figures, a centaur aiming a bow at a man, and birds (Broughton 1996, 33-34).

The central doorway has also suffered a lot of damage to its colonettes and only three sections survive, two on the doorway and one in storage, with those on the doorway probably not being in their original positions. One of these sections contains plants surrounding medallions of birds or animals including one of a man riding a goat. The second section, which is the most finely executed, has a range of men, animals, and birds entwined in foliage (Figure 22). The animals represented include (from bottom to top) a wild boar, bird, and two serpents being restrained by a man. The final piece is extremely damaged and difficult to make out, however one lion is recognizable (Zarnecki 1988, 29-32).

Figure 21: A colonette and beakheads on one of the Romanesque doorways (Foyle 2015, 36).



Figure 22: Doorway colonette showing a bird surrounded by foliage (Broughton 1996, 34).

Font:

The font (Figure 23), now positioned towards the west of the south aisle, is made of blue-black carboniferous limestone which became a popular material choice in the 12th century, from the region around Tournai in northern France. It has a square bowl, with depictions of animals on each of its four sides, all with foliate tails (Zarnecki 1988, 91).

On the side which now faces west, there are four animals; two lions facing two creatures which appear as birds but with the heads of beasts. The other three sides each have three animals on; the north side all are winged creatures with two facing each other, their front feet on books, on the east side are two creatures similar to those on the north alongside a two-legged griffin with a serpent-ended tail attacking its wing, and on the south side is another griffin facing two lions (Zarnecki 1988, 92).



Figure 23: The font at Lincoln cathedral (Antiques Lincoln GB n.d.).

Chapter 7 – Peterborough

7.1 Location

Peterborough is a city with a population of a little under 200,000 (Peterborough City Council n.d.) situated in the east of the country. It is located at the very north of the county of Cambridgeshire, only very slightly south east of Leicester (Figure 24).

Until the 1800's Peterborough was still relatively small, with only 3580 inhabitants at the turn of the century, and it was only with the opening of the Fletton brickworks that the city began to grow (Pevsner 1969, 305).

The Cathedral is located in the center of the city, just north of the river Nene and beside the earthworks of tout hill (Figure 25).

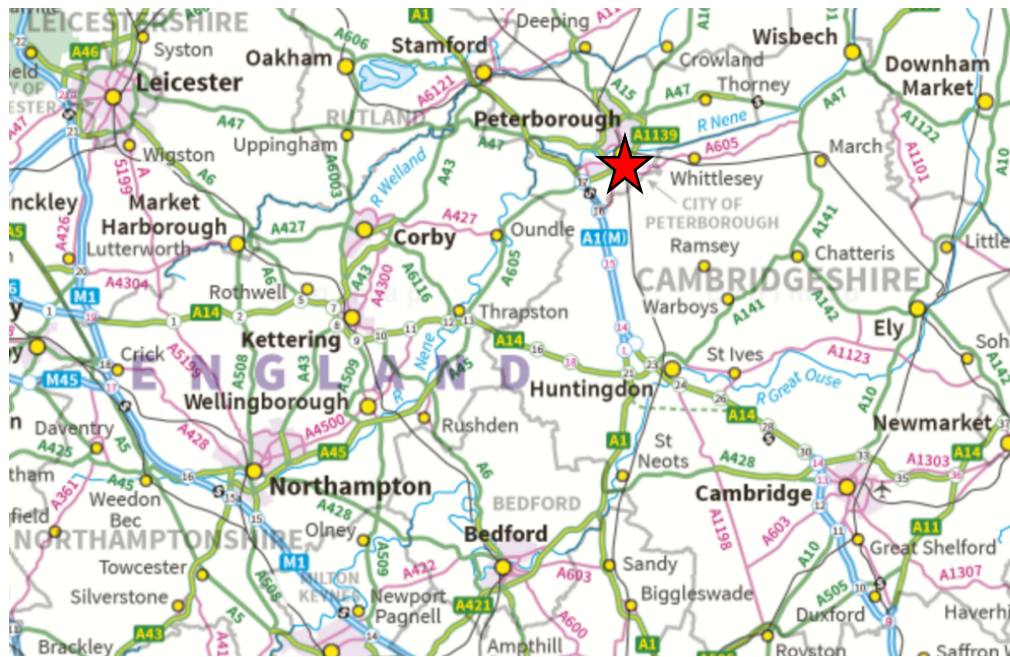


Figure 24: The location of Peterborough in relation to Leicester, Cambridge, Ely, and other major towns and cities (Edina Digimap n.d.).

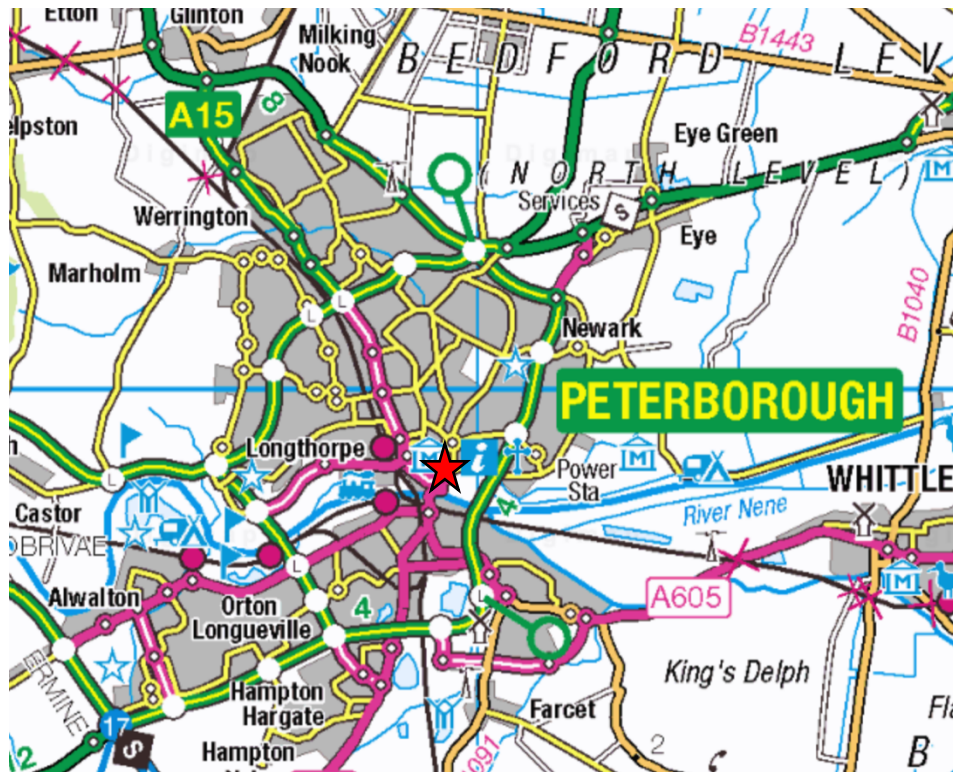


Figure 25: The location of the cathedral within the city of Peterborough (Edina Digimap n.d.).

7.2 History and Building Phases

The Benedictine monastery is thought to have been the first building in Peterborough, with the city building up around it as houses for workmen etc. became necessary (Sweeting 1898, 5). The monastery was first founded around the year AD 654 by Paeda, the King of Mercia, however, as with many other religious houses, this building was destroyed in Viking raids in AD 870 and was left in ruins for many years (Sibthorp 1943, 3).

It was not until nearly a hundred years later, in AD 972 that the monastery was rebuilt by Aethelwold. Of this rebuilding there is very little evidence remaining today, just some stairs in the south transept, however excavations in 1883 revealed the plan of the building (Sibthorp 1943, 3). This second monastery survived, in use, until 1070 when it was sacked, with only the church being spared. The church continued, largely unaltered, until 1116, well after the Norman Conquest, when it was destroyed by fire (Pevsner 1969, 307).

In 1118 the Norman church was begun (Pevsner 1969, 307). This was the last major rebuilding of the church, however, there have been numerous smaller alterations and editions since (Sibthorp 1943).

The Norman four bay chancel and apse still survive, however, some later windows have been added, the roof replaced in the 15th century, and two Norman side apses lost. The nave is also almost entirely Norman, with just a few alterations such as some later windows and the 13th century Priest's doorway leading to the 12th century vestry. The transepts, despite having Norman origins, survive in a far less complete state, with many new windows (Pevsner 1969, 307-317).

The only structures to date entirely to after the Norman period are the 13th century lady chapel which was built onto the east side of the north transept and the north porch, also from the 13th century. The crossing tower is also new, dating to 1883-6, replacing an earlier structure (Pevsner 1969, 307-317) (Figure 26).



Figure 26: Present-day Peterborough Cathedral from the south-west (ITV 2013).

7.3 The Romanesque Animal Sculptures

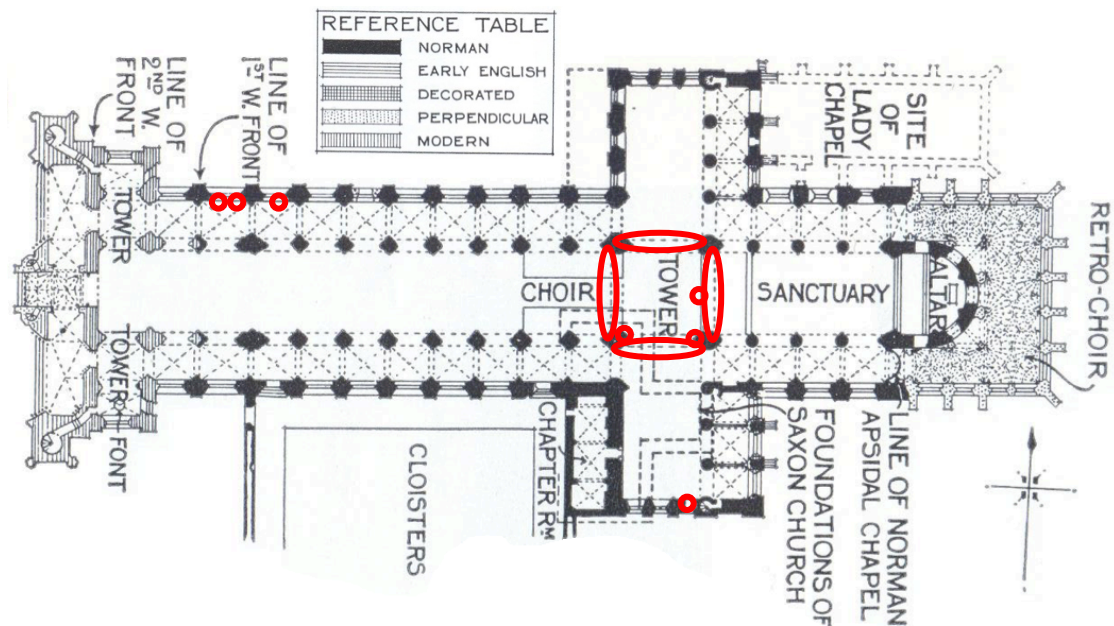


Figure 27: Plan of Peterborough Cathedral showing the Norman areas in black and the Romanesque animal sculptures in red (adapted from Fletcher & Palmes 1975, 640).

On the interior there are some animal sculptures in the nave acting as the capitals for arcading on the north wall (Figure 27). In the first Norman bay from the west the third and sixth capitals represent a cat-like face with pointed ears and sharp teeth and a more dog-like creature with smaller, flapped ears (Figure 28). In the second bay the central capital is also cat-like, very similar to that in the first bay, but without the sharp teeth. On the south wall of the south transept, another capital like these can be seen but this one is more damaged and difficult to identify.

Also inside the church are eight corbels below the windows of the crossing tower (Figure 29). Out of these eight corbels, four appear to be human, one appears as a devil, one appears as a human-beast composite, and the other two as lion-like creatures, both with their tongue sticking out, one almost cartoon-like in appearance. The final animal sculpture is on a reset capital in the Holy Spirit Chapel. On it is a human headed dragon with cats' ears, very Anglo-Saxon in style (Baxter 2018 b).



Figure 28: The two Norman capitals in the first bay of the church north wall (photograph by author).



Figure 29: Two corbels inside the crossing tower (photograph by author).

Moving to the outside of the church the crossing tower corbel table the only place where animal sculptures can be found. Most of the corbels are of human faces, but on each side there are some animals or animal-human hybrids in the form of maned lions or similar. It is worth noting, however, that the south side of the nave was not accessible for survey and therefore the presence or absence of sculptures here is unknown.

Chapter 8 – Southwell

8.1 Location

Southwell Minster is the only church in this study which is in a town rather than a city, with just 6565 residents in the 2001 census (Newark and Sherwood District Council 2005, 3). In the heart of the east midlands, between Newark-on-Trent and Mansfield (Figure 30), the town is contained by the river Greet to the north east and Westhorpe Dumble to the south. The Cathedral stands just to the north of the latter, on the very southern edge of the town (see Figure 31), next to the site of a Roman villa and baths (Historic England 2015, b).



Figure 30: The location of Southwell in relation to Nottingham, Mansfield, and Newark-on-Trent (Edina Digimap n.d.).

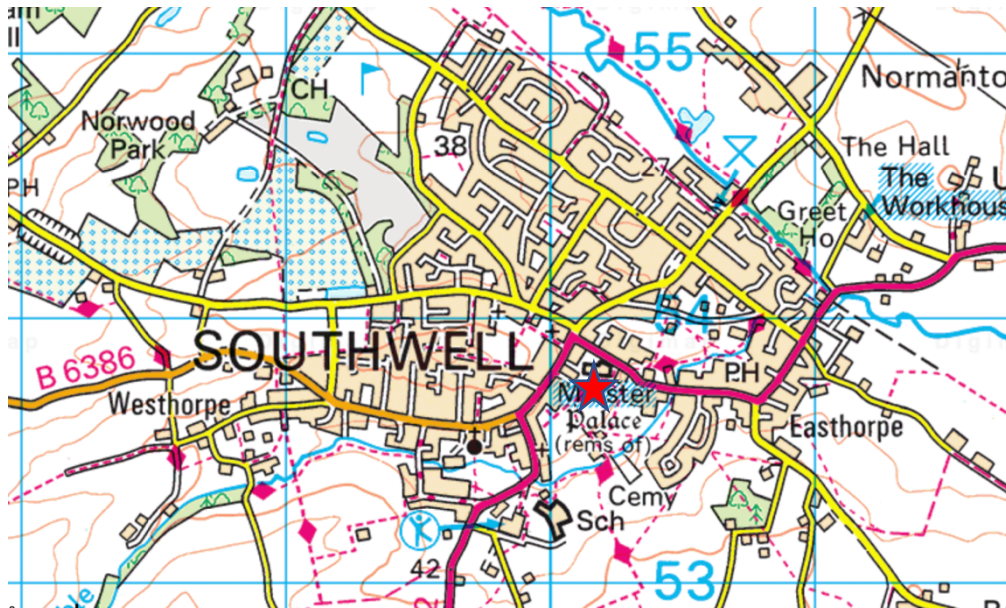


Figure 31: The location of the cathedral within the town of Southwell (Edina Digimap n.d.).

8.2 History and Building Phases

Little is known about the foundation of Southwell Minster (Pevsner 1979, 319), except that in 956 the King of Wessex granted the land to Oskytel, Archbishop of York, and by 1140 there were a community of priests there. There is also archaeological evidence for an Anglo-Saxon church structure in the form of some discarded building materials and the famous St Michael fighting the dragon scene, which is now displayed as the tympanum to a doorway in the north transept (Dixon, Coates & Hale 2008, 4-5). It is thought that Southwell was used as a collegiate church, with a college of canons right from its foundation. This arrangement survived the reformation and continued until the Minster was made cathedral of the newly formed diocese of Southwell and Nottingham in 1884 (Pevsner 1979, 319).

The Norman church, the whole west end of which survives today (Pevsner 1979, 318), was begun in 1108 (Sirrel 2013, 258). Work began at the east end, and by the 1120s had reached the central tower, everything west of which still survives. It is thought, by the style of the west towers, that the building was finished by the 1160s or 1170s (Dixon, Coates & Hale 2008, 6-10).

The next major building phase occurred in 1234 when the Norman east end, which is now only known from excavation (Pevsner 1979, 318), was pulled down and replaced with a longer choir. In c.1288 the Chapter house was built on the north side of the choir, and then in c.1320-40 the stone screen was replaced (Sirrel 2013, 258). In the 14th or 15 century the Norman windows in the nave were replaced in favour of larger ones. There were also a number of chantries attached to the minster at this time, however, following the abolition of the doctrine of purgatory in 1547 these were destroyed, and little remains of them (Dixon, Coater & Hale 2008, 23-24).

After the reformation Southwell suffered from a lack of upkeep and in 1711 a fire caused a great deal of damage. In the early 1800s this state of disrepair caused the church to be closed for forty years while repairs including re-facing stonework and adding spires to the western towers were carried out (Dixon, Coater & Hale 2008, 26-28). The nave and west tower roofs were rebuilt in 1879-81 and the glass in the west window in 1996 (Sirrel 2013, 258) (Figure 32).



Figure 32: Present-day Southwell Minster from the north-west (Church History n.d.).

8.3 The Romanesque Animal Sculptures

All of the Romanesque animal sculptures at Southwell Minster are around the nave, transepts or towers as all the buildings east of this are 13th century or later (Figure 33). The most famous sculpture is the tympanum above the north transept door, however, as this is thought to have been made before 1066 and shares little stylistically with the Romanesque, it shall not be focused upon here (Zarnecki 1984, 165; Kelly 1998, 19-20).

As with some of the other churches being studied, the animal sculptures here can be split into two groups; those within scenes, and those which are presented on their own as part of a corbel table or similar.

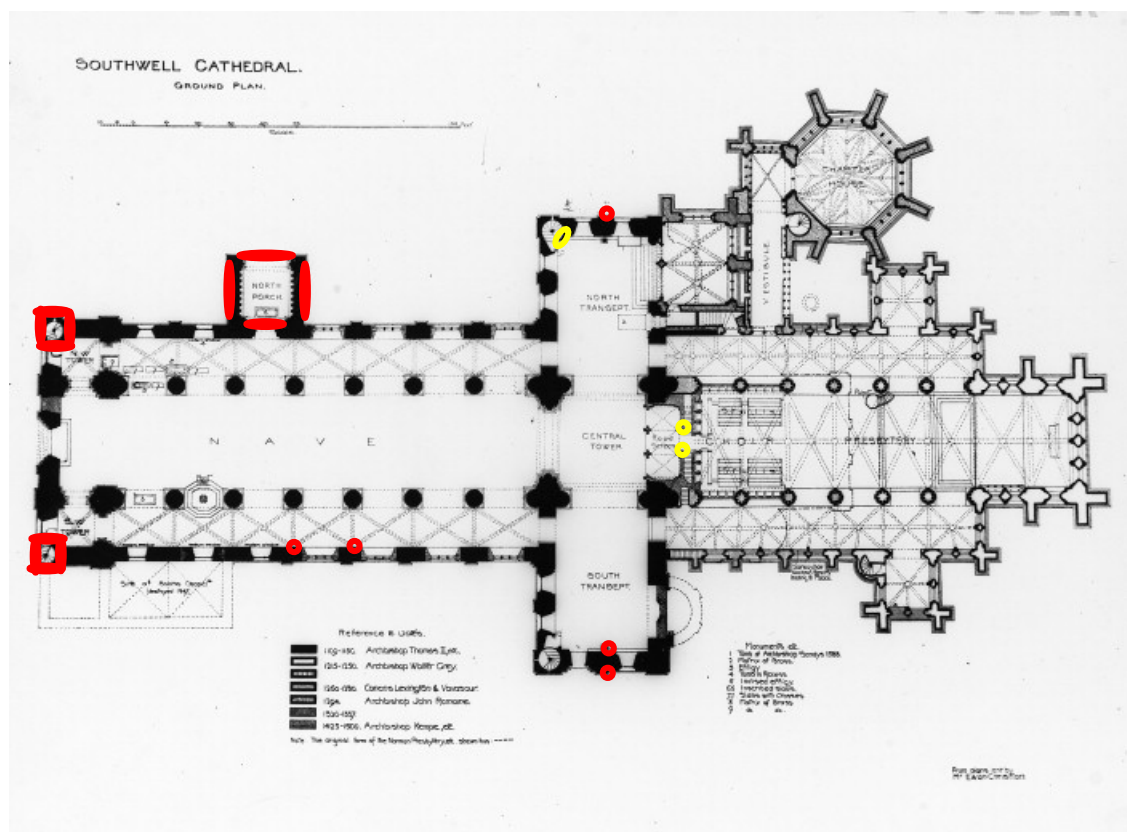


Figure 33: Plan of Southwell Minster showing the Norman areas in black and the Romanesque animal sculptures in red. Yellow represents sculptures that are not in their original positions. (adapted from Courtauld Institute of Art n.d.).

The scenes:

Most of the animals depicted as part of a scene are on capitals in the eastern arch of the crossing tower. They do not fit exactly in their current position, meaning that it is likely they were moved from elsewhere, making dating problematic, however, the style is early Romanesque and dates them to the early 12th century (Kelly 1998, 13), despite having some characteristics of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Of the six capitals, four depict animals. The first and second, on the north side of the archway, depict firstly a dove within a medallion as an unusual part of The Last Supper scene, and secondly on the underside of one showing virgins, a priest and a possible miracle scene is a dragon with a knotted tail. On the south side, the third and fourth show, respectively, Jesus riding on a donkey in his entry to Jerusalem; and birds entwined in foliage with an Agnus Dei (lamb) medallion and more birds and dragons with knotted tails on the underside of the other (Kelly 1998, 14-18).

The individual animals:

The vast majority of the Romanesque sculptures depicting animals on their own are on the exterior of the church in the context of portals and window openings, and corbel tables. On the interior there are only three examples; two capitals in the south aisle and one in the south transept. From west to east these depict two beasts with pointed ears, one of which is a dragon, (Figure 34) and a fish-like creature with round eyes, a large mouth and long whiskers (Figure 35).



Figure 34: The two animal corbels in the south aisle (photograph by author).



Figure 35: The Fish-like creature on a capital in the south transept (photograph by author).

Moving outside, the north doorway to the church contains a row of beakheads which includes many cat and dragon-like heads, some human faces, birds, and some creatures with more rounded ears which could be bears or dogs (Figure 36). On the outside of the north porch are more examples of animal sculpture. Near the top of the north wall are three round-headed windows, each with a dragon head at the termini of the hood-molds (Figure 37). On the very pinnacle of the porch roof is a crouched creature carved in the round. It is much worn, but its legs appear to be jointed as a sheep or lambs would be. Finally, on the north porch are corbel tables (Figure 38), one on the east side and one on the west. On the west side these include human faces, cat or dragon-like creatures with pointed ears, one with paws raised to the sides of its face, and a monkey-like creature also with arms up to the sides of its face. The east side has similar cats or dragons however it has less sculptures of humans and has several unidentified creatures with bared teeth. There is also one rather strange rounded face with huge round eyes.



Figure 36: Some of the beakheads above the north doorway (photograph by author).



Figure 37: The easternmost window on the north porch showing dragon head hood-moulds (photograph by author).



Figure 38: A selection of the north porch east face corbels (photograph by author).

There are more corbel tables on the north-west and south-west towers. The north-west tower has cats and dragons on all sides, pigs or dogs on all but the south side, and a monkey on the west side. The south-west tower has more unidentifiable animals than the north-west tower. The east side has dragon-like creatures, a monkey with arms up to the side of its face, and a cow or pig; the north side, a whiskered cat-like creature and two which appear as snouted animals but are identified by the *Corpus of Romanesque Sculpture* as a reptile and a frog or toad (Kirsop 2018). On the south side are more cats, an unidentified animal with a muzzle, and an ox or cow wearing a halter. Finally, on the west side is a dragon and another ox or cow. There are also unidentifiable heads, humans or possible human-animal hybrids on both towers.

The last two animals are both carved in the round, with one sitting on the top of the north transept roof and the other on the south transept. They are very similar carvings, both depicting a crouched bear looking outwards.

Chapter 9 – Animals and Their Meanings

9.1 Introduction

The churches in the previous chapters, along with others such as St Albans, show that Romanesque buildings were on a spectrum, with some being fairly plain and others highly decorated with geometric patterns, biblical scenes, foliage, and animal and human sculptures.

Throughout the next two chapters, mapping will be used alongside the information gained from bestiaries and humoral theory in order to find and analyse patterns in the location of animal sculptures as a whole, and specific animals. This will include exploring reasons behind the choices of these animals, the role of the patron in their design, and comparing the animal sculpture locations to the preservation of Norman material in general. This will be done by firstly discussing the issues affecting the preservation of different areas of Norman churches and comparing this to the locations of animal sculptures, and then moving on to study the locations of sculptures of different species and using bestiaries and humoral theory to interpret why these creatures may have been chosen.

Bestiaries, despite mainly being written in the later medieval period and translated, are the main primary source of information about animals and the way they were viewed in the medieval period. They give an insight into how the educated religious would have interpreted animals, and therefore allow us to get closer to a medieval worldview when interpreting the sculptures. It is important to remember, however, that the views represented in bestiaries are only those of the people writing them; normally monks, and this may not reflect the views of all medieval people.

9.2 The Preservation of Norman Churches

Different areas of churches survive more frequently and fully than other areas for a number of reasons. Throughout history, the main threats to original fabric of churches have been additions and alterations to the building, however, these can range from fairly small-scale obstruction of original fabric to the complete destruction of whole areas of the original building.

The original east ends of churches very rarely survive as they, being the centre of worship in the church, were often rebuilt to keep up-to-date as the liturgy changed, keeping focus on the most holy parts of the building. Some were also less well cared for than the naves, being in the care of priests rather than the laity, with disrepair sometimes necessitating rebuilding (Morris 1989, 321-323). None of the Norman chancels survive in the churches studied in this dissertation. The west end of churches survive far better in many cases; however, this is not always true as, particularly in larger churches, these were sometimes rebuilt make the exterior grander.

Even where an area of the original church survives e.g. the whole nave, features such as windows were often replaced to fit with the latest styles and allow more light into the building (Morris 1989, 296-298). Conversely, original features which were particularly elaborate or valued, such as doorways, were sometimes moved to a different location, or even a different building altogether e.g. the tympanum and capitals at Southwell Minster (Dixon, Coates & Hale 2008). The issue with this is that records were very rarely kept of relocations, meaning that it is often not known where the features were originally placed.

In the medieval period and since, aisles were often added to churches to enlarge them, sometimes meaning the destruction of entire nave walls (Rodwell 2012, 274). Less destructive were the chapels which were very commonly founded in the medieval period (Morris 1989, 289 & 365). As these normally only involved the construction of internal partitions or walls they caused less destruction, however, often small areas of wall would be altered or obscured in order to allow for the insertion of the chapel.

In more recent times many churches have added toilet facilities, kitchens, heating, electricity, and sound systems. Even though these are fairly small scale works and the preservation of the historic church is taken into consideration, actions such as drilling for the instillation of wiring are destructive and have a negative impact on the original fabric of the church (Rodwell 1981, 39-42).

The final issue affecting the preservation of original church fabric, and that from other periods as well, is restoration work. If restoration is carried out badly, even with the right intentions, it can cause more harm than good (Rodwell 1981, 40).

There are some instances, such as the monk's doorway at Ely, where parts of a feature have been replaced, but without proper records, which were not routinely kept until recently, it is impossible to know how close to the original the replica is. This is also the case at Lincoln, where 19th century restoration has led to the loss of much of the original sculpture around the doorways.

9.3 The Species of Animals Represented

As well as the places in which animals were represented, builders would also have put consideration into which animals they depicted. This section will examine which animals and mythical creatures can be seen in the churches and explore the meanings and values which the medieval minds may have attached to them (Table 6).

Cats and dragons are the only creatures to appear in all four churches. As with most creatures which we now know to be mythical, the dragon was considered to be a real animal that lived in the hot lands of Ethiopia and India (White 1954, 167). This humoral association with heat has continued and dragons are still closely associated with fire, also often being depicted with red skin or scales. In medieval thought dragons were closely associated with both serpents and the devil, being considered a type of large snake and the devil being the largest of the dragons. Therefore, they were normally depicted as long creatures with wings and small heads. They used their tails to squeeze the life out of their prey much like a constrictor (White 1954, 167). Their main prey was considered to be doves and elephants, both symbols of Christ (Hassig 2000, 126). This perception of dragons as evil and against God links

strongly with Revelations 12 which tells the story of two symbols that appeared in the sky; a pregnant woman and a dragon aiming to eat the baby. St Michael fought the dragon and it fell to earth, being left to fight against all who followed God's word as the devil (Revelations 12:1-17).

Animal Species	Churches				Total
	Ely	Lincoln	Peterborough	Southwell	
Dog	30	-	1	<10	31-41
Lion	13	10	16	-	39
Dragon	10	>2	1	10-17	>23
Cat	9	unknown	2	11-17	>22
Snake	12	8	-	-	20
Bear	2	-	-	2-8	4-10
Pig	2	1	-	<5	3-8
Fish	4	-	-	1	5
Horse	4	-	-	-	4
Ape	1	-	-	3	4
Goat	1	1	-	2	4
Lamb	1	-	-	2	3
Deer	3	-	-	-	3
Donkey	-	1	-	1	2
Camel	2	-	-	-	2
Griffin	-	2	-	-	2
Centaur	1	1	-	-	2
Siren and fish-tailed man	2	-	-	-	2
Oxen	-	-	-	2	2
Duck	1	-	-	1	2
Dove	-	1	-	1	2
Lizard	1	-	-	-	1
Wolf	1	-	-	-	1
Rabbit	1	-	-	-	1
Owl	1	-	-	-	1
Hawk	1	-	-	-	1
Total	103	>27	20	26-68	>176

Table 6: The number of each animal species represented in the churches. Where exact numbers are not known, or identification is difficult, upper and lower limits are given as appropriate.

With similar connotations to the dragon, the snake, or serpent, can be seen at Ely and Lincoln. The snake is often connected with the story of Adam and Eve, being cast out of the garden of Eden and with sin, however, it was also a symbol of renewal and less associated with heat and fire than the dragon, being more a part of the earth upon which it crawled. The shedding of a snake's skin was seen as a metaphor for

rebirth and the leaving behind of past sins. It was believed that the snake left its venom behind when it drank, as sin should not be brought into the church (Hassig 2000,144; Elliott 1971). Famously the serpent is present as the corruptive force in the story of Adam and Eve (Genesis 3), however, it also appears in the story of Moses (Exodus 4:1-5) and is often associated with the wilderness (Isiah 30: 6; Numbers 21: 4-9; Deuteronomy 8:15). These negative connotations continue in the New Testament with Jesus comparing them to the Pharisees (Matthew 3: 7). There is also reference to defeating or trampling the snake or dragon underfoot, as if it is a devil to be beaten (Psalm 91: 13). Despite all this, Jesus does say that the Apostles should be 'wise as serpents', casting the animals in a more positive light (Matthew 10:16) and the snake also sometimes appears to represent God's power (Douglas 2003, 5-6).

Lizards are also considered similar to snakes, with the sun-lizard in particular being thought of as a deceiver, like the devil, with its bright colours luring in prey (Hassig, 2000, 168).

Another animal very commonly depicted is the cat, particularly the lion. In the later medieval period cats were often associated with witchcraft and the devil, in part because they are nocturnal (Woolgar 2006, 149-150), however, they were also used as pest control and monastic records even show a companionship towards some. Lions, on the other hand, were often thought of as symbols of pride and courage. In many ways they were seen as representations of God. It was thought that the lion slept with its eyes open, in the same way Jesus was both dead and alive after being buried in the tomb, and that lion cubs were dead for three days after their birth before being roused by their father's roar, as Jesus was dead for three days before rising again. They are also seen as good role models, compassionate in eating only when they need to and not eating animals or people who are already dead or injured (White 1954, 7-9). No cat other than the lion is mentioned in the Bible, and this is shown as a fierce beast to be much feared in the story of Daniel in the lions' den (Daniel 6). Despite having two very different meanings, it is not always possible to distinguish between representations of domestic and big cats in the context of sculpture, and this may well have been the case at the time they were made as well, with the exception of distinctly maned lions. This could suggest that the animals were not seen as

having such distinct meanings as the text suggests, or that these were not always important in their portrayals.

Often associated with the lion is the lamb. Sheep and lambs were connected with passivity and piety in the medieval period as they are defenseless, and a mother and lamb can recognize each other even amongst a whole flock (White 1954, 72-74). The ram or wether, the male of the species, is stronger (White 1954, 73). The horns on its head, along with other animals such as the antelope and unicorn were often associated with biblical Law e.g. the old and new testaments (Hassig 2000, 169). In the Bible the Lord is repeatedly referred to as a shepherd (Ezekiel 34:30-31; John 10:14; Psalm 100), and the people his flock, making the sheep a representation of everything that a good Christian should be. The Agnus Dei, a lamb holding a cross surrounded by a halo, is an ancient Christian symbol with the lamb representing Christ and his sacrifice.

The donkey or ass, which appears at Lincoln and Southwell, is commonly associated with hard work and the common man. It is with these associations that the donkey was used in the story of Jesus' entry into Jerusalem (Matthew 21:1-11; Mark 11:1-11; Luke 19:28-44). The wild ass, on the other hand, is often linked with sexual depravity and the devil, biting off the testicles of its young (Hassig 2000, 168) and braying when roaming for food, as the devil roams for the souls of people going morally astray (White 1954, 82-83).

The pig or boar are normally difficult to distinguish from each other in sculpture. They would have been used for food and hunting, and we still use the word boorish to mean someone who is wild or rude, a term which dates back to at least the later medieval period (White 1954, 76). In the Bible pigs are considered unclean and unsuitable for consumption (Leviticus 11:27) and are obviously low status, as in the parable of the lost son the younger son is forced to work with, and even wants to eat with, the pigs (Luke 14: 11-31). It is possible that their significance could have changed from biblical times to the medieval period. By this stage, boars were a prestigious animal to hunt, being seen as powerful, and strong. The hunters that overcame this to kill them would have had great prowess and the defeat of a beast of such strength would have added to the hunter's status (Steel 2011, 59).

The bear appears in Ely and Southwell. They were often linked to healing and beginnings. It was thought that bears gave birth to shapeless pulp and then formed their cubs by licking and shaping them, bringing them back to life as God did his son (Clark & McMunn 1989, 16). They were also thought to be able to heal their injuries using herbs (White 1954, 45-46), however, throughout many periods in history they have also been associated with the violence of hunting and fighting. These associations are also found in the Bible where they are shown as quite violent and highly protective of their young (2 Samuel 17: 8).

The goat appears at Ely, Lincoln, and Southwell. Male goats were considered very 'hot' in nature, with a large sexual appetite, and were even believed to be one of the animals into which the devil could transform to copulate with humans (Hassig 2000, 63 & 72). Conversely, goats were also often associated with Jesus. They lived high in the mountains and were believed to have extraordinary eyesight, being able to recognize hunters as Jesus went into the mountains and recognized that Judas would betray him. Goats also chose good plants to eat and would ruminate these, as Christians should take good thoughts, leaving the sinful ones, and take time considering these (White 1954, 40-43). In the parable of the sheep and the goats, however, the goats are shown as selfish and wary of strangers, not helping the Lord when he was starving or ill (Matthew 25: 31-46).

The dog can be seen at Ely, Peterborough and Southwell. Dogs had a number of uses in the medieval period; as guard dogs, for hunting, and as loyal companions (White 1954, 61-67). Dogs were sometimes compared to priests and their congregations, healing wounds by licking, as the priest heals sins through confession (White 1954, 66). Like the congregation returning to their sins, however, the dog will also return to re-eat its vomit (Hassig 2000, 85). The Bible has quite a negative view of dogs, associating them with carcasses and using them to symbolize low status, however, some of the verses about dogs are more difficult to interpret. For example, Exodus 22: 31 speaks about throwing meat to dogs which could show them as below men, eating what was unfit for human consumption, but in medieval homilies it is explained as a reward for the dogs' good behavior (Menache 1997, 29).

The wolf, an animal very close to the dog, can be seen at Ely. They were feared for their fierceness and power, being a threat to livestock (Almond 2003, 70-71). They were also very much associated with the devil and evil, with eyes that shine like a cat's, ensnaring its prey as the devil ensnares souls (Clark & McMunn 1989, 114). In the Bible they are represented as a predatory creature to be feared (Isiah 34:14; John 10:12). Despite this, wolves did still have some uses as skins, fur or, as a last resort, as a food stuff (Almond 2009, 105).

Also at Ely, but representing a prey animal is the deer. This animal was linked to hunting, particularly women hunting, with Artemis, the Greek goddess of wild animals, hunting, children, and more (Fisher-Hansen & Poulsen 2009, 11), often being portrayed with a deer. Due to this association with women, deer would have been considered a humorally cool animal, possible being associated with earth and water. The deer was also often compared to a good Christian. They would eat snakes, as people already contain the sin of their ancestors, and then go straight to water to rid them of the poison, as people should go to church or a priest to hear the word of God and cleanse their sin (White 1954, 37-40; Elliott 1972). The deer is also thought to be very caring and helps his friends when needed, as all good Christians should (Elliott 1971).

The rabbit, another animal seen at Ely, was introduced into England by the Normans (Almond 2003, 22). Primarily used for their fur, rabbits, along with hares, were commonly associated with women and were one of the animals they were permitted to hunt. Therefore, they may have been seen as cool and with water or earth associations (Almond 2003, 108-111; Hassig 2000, 72). This also made them suitable for ecclesiastics and many monasteries maintained warrens.

The camel, present at Ely, would not have been seen by most medieval people. They were exotic but were also considered a humble creature due to the bowing motion they make when lowering themselves to be loaded (White 1954, 79-80).

At Ely there are several depictions of horse-like heads on corbels and one of a horse with a rider on the Prior's doorway. In addition to being a highly practical animal for transport and farm work, the horse was also a symbol of status, with only the

wealthiest being able to afford good quality horses for hunting or war (Almond 2003, 54-56). Horses were also often associated with loyalty, being very faithful to their masters, sometimes until death (Hassig 2000, 64). It was even thought that horses could prophesize the outcome of battles by their mood, with a low-spirited horse signaling a defeat (White 1953, 86).

At Southwell, two oxen or cows can be positively identified. Oxen were considered to be very friendly towards each other, always wanting to work alongside the same animal, and also very hard workers (White 1954, 76-78).

Another animal found at Ely and Southwell is the ape. Monkeys and apes were both viewed as being in league with the devil. The devil himself, in fact, was thought to take a similar shape to the monkey (White 1954, 34-35). The ape, often pictured alongside the owl in medieval art, has many of the same vices including lust, irreverence, and uncleanness. They were considered the worst of the beasts, outcasts even within the animal kingdom (Hassig 2000, 35-37). Apes are only mentioned twice in the Bible, in the same story, and this shows them in a very different light, as a treasured exotic good (2 Chronicles 9:21; 1 Kings 10:22).

At Lincoln, there are two mythical creatures depicted, the centaur and the griffin. Centaurs, being half man and half beast in appearance were thought, like mermaids and sirens, to be halfway between man and beast in their temperament as well (White 1954, 86). They are quite often depicted holding arrows which could hold connections to hunting or to astrology and the star sign Sagittarius. It is a symbol common in Pagan art but then continued in Norman churches (Sheridan & Ross 1975, 101-105). The zodiac symbol for November, the centaur is a creature of the earth, associated with war and fighting (Katzenstein & Savage-Smith 1988, 28).

Similarly, with Pagan origins, the siren and a fish-tailed man can both be seen at Ely. Both half-human, half-fish, they are symbols often found in pagan art as well as in churches (Sheridan 1975, 84-88). Mermaids or sirens were, in the medieval period and later, considered an evil and deceptive creature, luring unwary sailors to their deaths with their beauty and voice (Elliott 1971; White 1945, 134-135), and the mermaid holding a mirror was a famous symbol of vanity and seduction. The fish-

tailed man, on the other hand, can be found in the signs of the zodiac as Aquarius. These symbols of the zodiac are associated not only with their own traits, but also the traits of people born under that sign, as described in Bartholomew the Englishman's 13th century book *De rerum proprietatibus* (Strickland 2003, 31). Those born in February, a month associated with wet and cold in humoral theory (Jones, Miller, & Sykes 2016, 178), under Aquarius, were thought to be fair-faced, glad, joyful, and rich. Aquarius is also linked to the Bible, being the symbol of John the Baptist (Strickland 2003, 31 & 33).

The griffin, half bird-half lion, was thought to be a rather vicious animal (White 1954, 22-23). With the traits of both lion and eagle, it was a fierce and fearless creature, but highly intelligent (White 1945, 105-107).

In addition to these animals, there are also fish and birds represented, however, with the exception of ducks, these are normally more difficult to identify down to species level. Fish, or fish-like creatures are seen at both Ely and Southwell. Fish are quite deeply linked to Christianity, appearing in the Bible in several instances such as the loaves and fish story (Matthew 14:15-21) and the calling of Jesus disciples 'fishers of men' (Matthew 4:18-22). They were also allowed to be eaten by monks when meat was not, possibly due to the idea that fish were produced without semen and therefore did not excite the human passions (Hassig 2000, 76). In the medieval period, fish were also linked to monks and religion, with them being an acceptable food source when meat was not (McLean 1980, 57). This meant that fish were associated with religion and piety, but also that monks had a 'wetter' humoral composition than the average man, making them more similar to women.

One of the recognizable species of bird is a possible owl at Ely. As with the ape, it was a much-despised creature, the worst of the birds (Hassig 2000, 35-36). In bestiaries they were often compared to the Jews as creatures that turn away from Jesus and into the darkness (White 1954, 133-134).

Another is the duck which is at both Southwell and Ely. A common prey animal, it is not clear what place this animal would have held in the medieval mind as it is not often recorded beyond its appearance and uses. It is possible that this creature was

associated with purity, as it was in medieval Persia, however, this is merely speculation (Bintley & Williams 2015, 45).

A hawk can also be identified at Ely. These were known for their thievery and harsh treatment of their young, pushing them out of the nest (White, 1954, 138-139). They are sometimes linked to lying, such as in Hugh of Fouilloys *De avibus* (Clark 1992, 13-19), or more often to death, representing man's earthly joy of hunting e.g. in the Dance of Death paintings (Almond 2009, 87).

The raven, possibly represented at Ely and Lincoln, is said to get its name from the rasping sound it makes (White 1954, 141). It has been suggested that breathing problems were often related to a lack of faith (Hassig 2000, 165), therefore showing the raven as a creature which is not close to God. The raven also has biblical connections, playing a key role in the Noah's Ark story (Genesis 6-9).

Also connected to the story of Noah, being the bird that was released and found dry land, is the dove (Genesis 6-9). Seen at both Lincoln and Southwell, the dove is often used to represent peace or the holy spirit as it descended from heaven in the form of a dove when Jesus was baptized (Matthew 3:16). They were seen as manifestations of everything good, and as such were thought to be enemies of dragons, as God is the enemy of the devil (Harris 2000, 147 & 173). In a similar way, they were also sometimes associated with priests or preachers and the virtues which they were meant to show e.g. not being angry or provocative, choosing the better grain/scripture, humility, gentleness, and peace (White 1954, 144; Elliott 1971; Clark & McMunn 1989, 4).

The final animals to be discussed are the symbols of the evangelists; Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. All four are winged to signify spiritual power and are normally depicted with books, with each then representing certain traits. St Matthew is represented by a man with wings which is not focused upon here as it is not an animal as such but is worth considering as the four symbols of the evangelists often appear together. St Mark is shown as a lion to represent pride; St Luke as an Ox or calf to represent strength; and lastly, St John is represented by an eagle, showing nobility (Child & Colles 1971, 171-183).

It can clearly be seen that in many cases, such as with fish, the humoral traits that animals were considered to have matches with their 'sacred' symbolisms as presented in the Bible. The next chapter will use these meanings to map out and interpret the sculptures in the four churches.

Chapter 10 – Animal Sculptures: Contexts and Meanings

10.1 The Location of Animals within the Churches

Chapter 9 highlighted the spiritual meanings of medieval animals, drawing on medieval bestiaries and biblical references, and explored the ways in which this may have interacted with understandings of the humoral properties of medieval animals in the minds of medieval ecclesiastics. However, a second important aspect of understanding animal decoration is to emphasize the importance of spatial context to ‘reading’ medieval sculpture as a form of material culture. This chapter will map animals by their humoral and ‘sacred’ symbolism, theorizing over why they appear in these locations.

Of the churches in this study, Lincoln Cathedral has the lowest levels of preserved Romanesque fabric, with only the west end surviving. Southwell also has a Norman west face and is entirely Norman up through the nave and transepts. Ely has a complete nave and transepts; however, the west facade has been rebuilt, leaving only the south-west transept as Norman. The lantern tower over the crossing is also newer. Finally, Peterborough is the only church to have any of its Norman east end surviving with the whole sanctuary dating from this period. Like Ely and Southwell it also has Norman transepts, but the west end of the nave has been rebuilt leaving only the first eight bays in the original fabric. In the discussion of the location of sculptures, the font at Lincoln, tympanum at Southwell, and the capitals in the crossing tower at Ely will not be considered as they are not in their original positions.

Of the four churches studied, all but Peterborough show animal sculptures distributed around all areas of the surviving Norman church. At Peterborough the vast majority of recorded animal sculptures are on the crossing tower, however, problems with accessing the south side of the church mean that this may not reflect the true distribution of animal sculptures.

One trend is that there are far more animal sculptures to be seen on the exterior of the churches than on the interior, with the vast majority being within corbel tables. Within these, the animal faces appear to be dispersed evenly amongst the human and grotesque faces, with no particular clusters or groupings. This distribution, with most of the animals on the exterior of the churches has been described before, for churches of a later date, and has been explained in a number of ways. With particular focus on the monstrous creatures, the main theory is that the corbel table creates a kind of barrier, protecting the church within and keeping the devil out (Sheridan & Ross 1975, 12-13). It could, however, also work as a visual warning against sin, or symbolically link the church and God with the natural world.

Another pattern that can be seen is a clustering of animal depictions around major divisions in the building, places where enter, exit, or levels of holiness change. Roberta Gilchrist has carried out considerable work on churches and monastic sites, analyzing the levels of 'sacredness' throughout different areas of the buildings, and the ways in which these spaces can be articulated with architecture and sculpture (Gilchrist 1994; Gilchrist 2005). Portals, for example, have a very large amount of sculpture around them as people enter the church, and there is also a lot of sculpture around the crossings and transepts. This would have been the furthest east and nearest to the religious services that the laity would be allowed to access (Gilchrist 2005, 245-246), therefore being a defining point in the church, marked out by the sculpture. It would be very interesting to investigate whether sculpture appeared more in the east ends of the churches, the holiest areas, however, due to a lack of survival of these areas, it is difficult to determine.

There are no clear patterns in the types of features on which animals are represented. The group of churches show examples on doorways, windows, capitals, and corbels, all places where geometric designs or human sculptures would also be expected to be found. It can be said that there are far fewer windows and doorways with animal designs in the churches than capitals or corbels (two and three respectively), however, there are also fewer Norman examples of these features surviving. In comparison to the number of surviving Norman features, capitals are actually where animals have the lowest representation. Despite appearing in all four churches, there are only a small number of examples of capitals in each with animal decoration,

despite the total number of Norman capitals being far higher. Although some of these capitals do contain a scene featuring animals, foliage, and humans, most are animals in isolation between plain corbels, making this the only type of feature on which animals had a higher representation than human portrayals. On the other hand, doorways have a huge representation of animals, with six out of eight surviving Romanesque doorways containing animal sculpture, and all of these having multiple depictions rather than just a single animal.

It is also worth noting that not all great churches show the same amount and range of animal sculpture as those studied here. Some, such as St Albans cathedral, are relatively plain and contain little sculptural decoration, including animals (Herbert, Martin & Thomas 2008).

Overall, animal sculptures appear in most of the areas where there are still standing remains of the Romanesque church, with this varying significantly from church to church. Animals are clearly represented on the outsides of churches more than inside, and particularly around transitional areas e.g. doorways and crossings. In all of these places, animals are presented alongside humans and human-beast composites, with capitals being the only places where animals are represented more frequently than humans.

10.2 The Individual Animals

By mapping out the locations of some of the animals that appear (excluding within scenes and those which are not in their original location), patterns can begin to be seen in their arrangement, and theories can be put forward for why certain animals may have been chosen for certain locations. This section will map the animal sculptures in the churches by a selection of their species, symbolism, and humoral theory associations and use these to come to conclusions about their potential meaning and role within the church.

The first comparison to be made is between the location of those animals which were thought to have evil traits or be associated with the devil, and those that had good

Christian traits or were associated with God or Jesus (Figures 39-42). All four of the churches studied contained at least one animal associated with evil and the devil and one associated with God, Jesus, the church, or highly valued traits. In three out of the four churches (all apart from Peterborough), animals associated with the devil only appear on the exterior of the church, whereas those with more positive connotations appear inside the church more frequently. This pattern could just be because there are more examples of animal sculpture on the exterior of these churches than on the interior overall, however, it could also show a preference for keeping sculptures associated with the devil outside of the church. For churches of a later date, it has been suggested that the appearance of animals, particularly those associated with the devil on a corbel table surrounding the church could be a symbolic barrier, protecting the church from evil and keeping sin away (Sheridan & Ross 1975, 12-13). In this way it would have acted as a divider, separating the devil from God, the outside from the inside, and the sinful from the holy. It is probable that the patterns seen in the four churches of this dissertation have a similar symbolism to the later churches, showing earlier instances than previously studied, suggesting the cultural tradition goes back further than previously thought.

There also tend to be far fewer animals with negative connotations towards the east ends of the churches, possibly also showing a desire to keep evil away from these more holy areas. However, again this could be because less Romanesque architecture survives towards the east end of the churches in general, and there is not a complete absence of the evil here, with Ely cathedral having sculptures representing both God and the devil as far east as the east face of the transepts. Without more churches to compare these four to, it is impossible to come to any confident conclusion as to whether this pattern is deliberate or merely a product of the sculptures' survival, but it is clear that animals associated with the devil do appear more frequently on the outside of churches than on the inside.

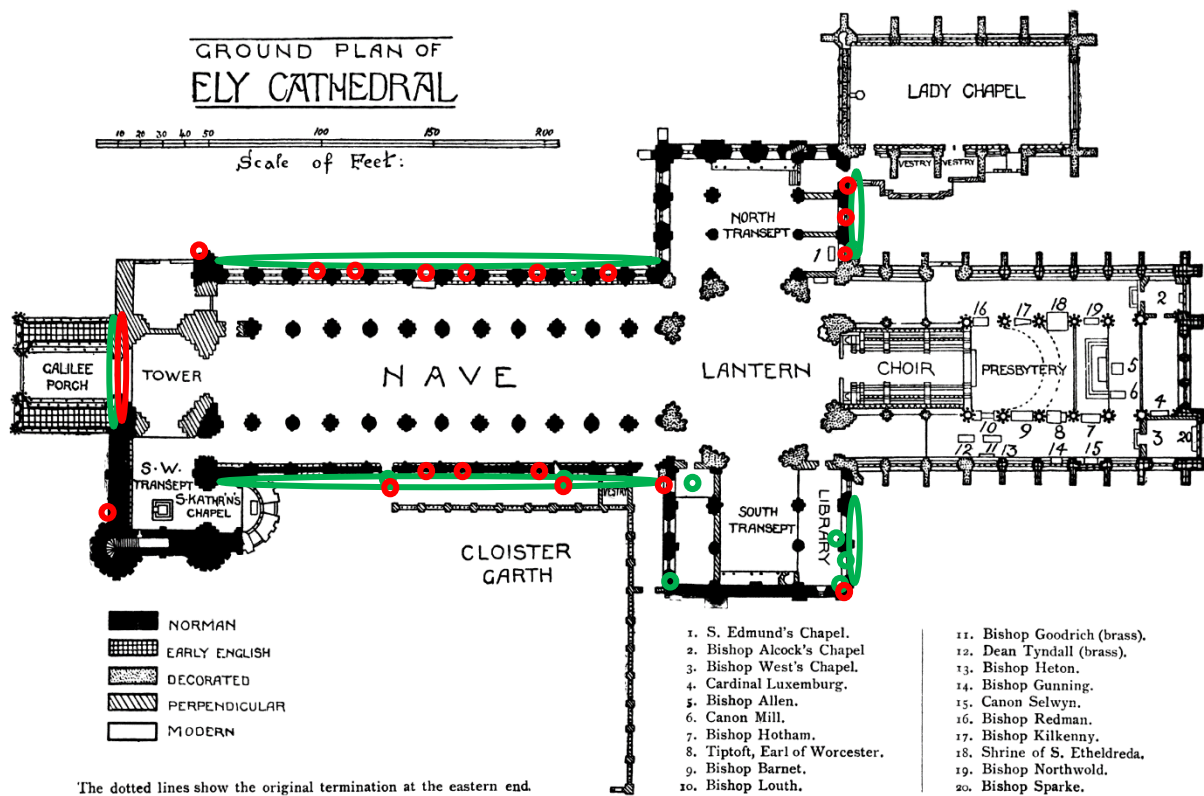


Figure 39: Plan of Ely Cathedral showing the Romanesque animal sculptures with associations with the devil and evil in red, and God, Jesus, and righteousness in green (adapted from Sweeting 1910).

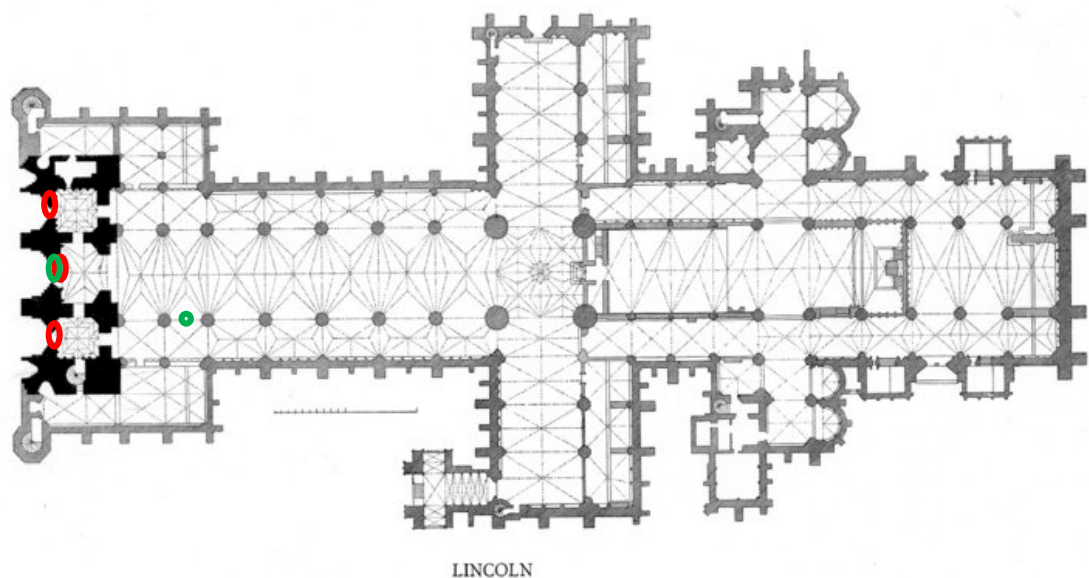


Figure 40: Plan of Lincoln Cathedral showing the Romanesque animal sculptures with associations with the devil and evil in red, and God, Jesus, and righteousness in green (adapted from Kendrick 1902, 152).

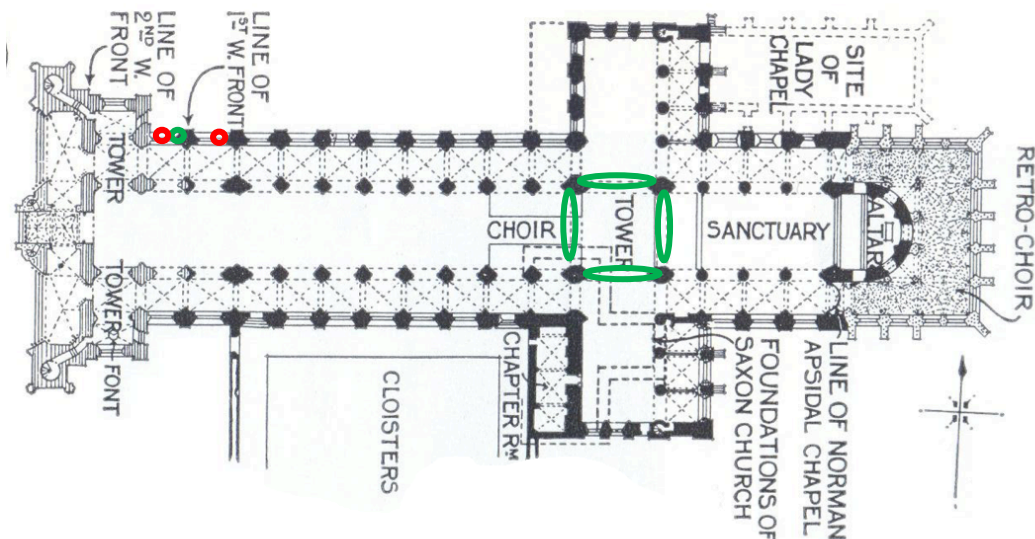


Figure 41: Plan of Peterborough Cathedral showing the Romanesque animal sculptures with associations with the devil and evil in red, and God, Jesus, and righteousness in green (adapted from Fletcher & Palmes 1975, 640).

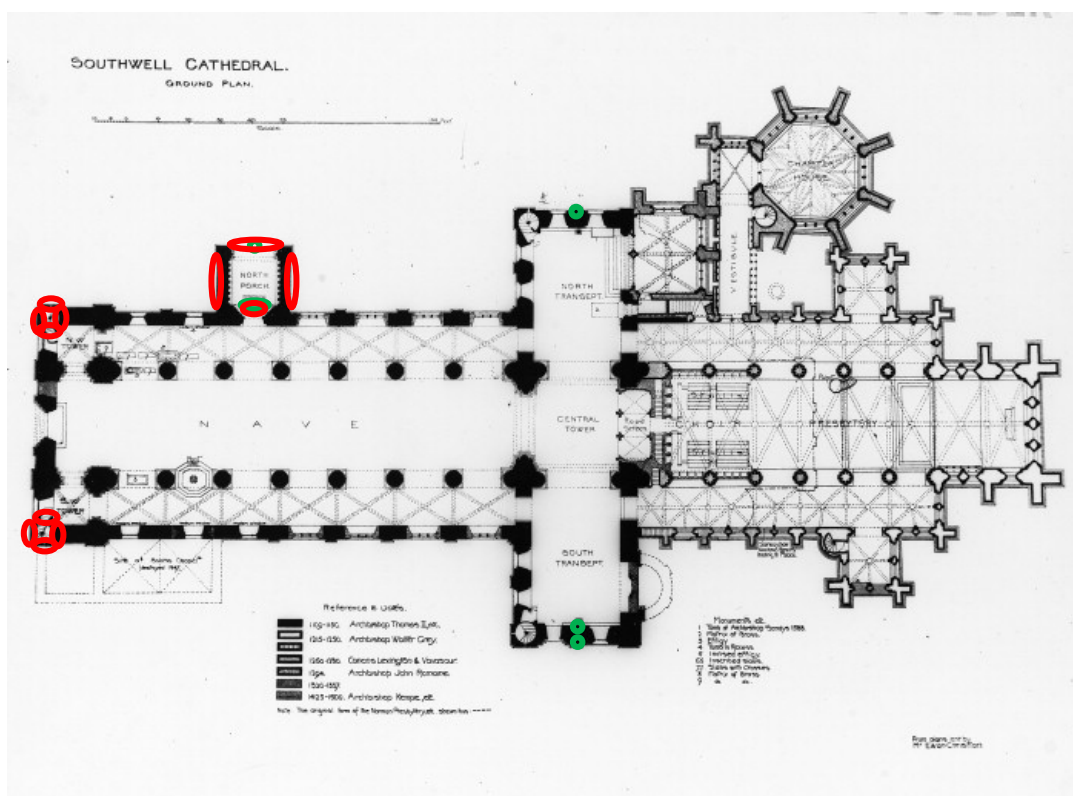


Figure 42: Plan of Southwell Minster showing the Romanesque animal sculptures with associations with the devil and evil in red, and God, Jesus, and righteousness in green (adapted from Courtauld Institute of Art n.d.).

Next to be analyzed are the appearances of fish and birds, or in humoral theory terms, water and air, the animals most associated with monks and others in religious orders. Peterborough shows depictions of neither birds, nor fish. Throughout the other three churches it is clear to see that birds appear far more frequently than fish, appearing in most of the main areas where Romanesque animal sculptures are found (Figures 43-45). Proportionally, there are far fewer birds in Southwell than in Ely or Lincoln, however, there is no clear reason for this. In terms of fish, there are not enough examples in these churches to reveal any patterns about their location. More conclusions may be able to be drawn on this if the species of birds represented were known, however, these are not always identifiable, and may not have ever been meant as a specific species of bird.

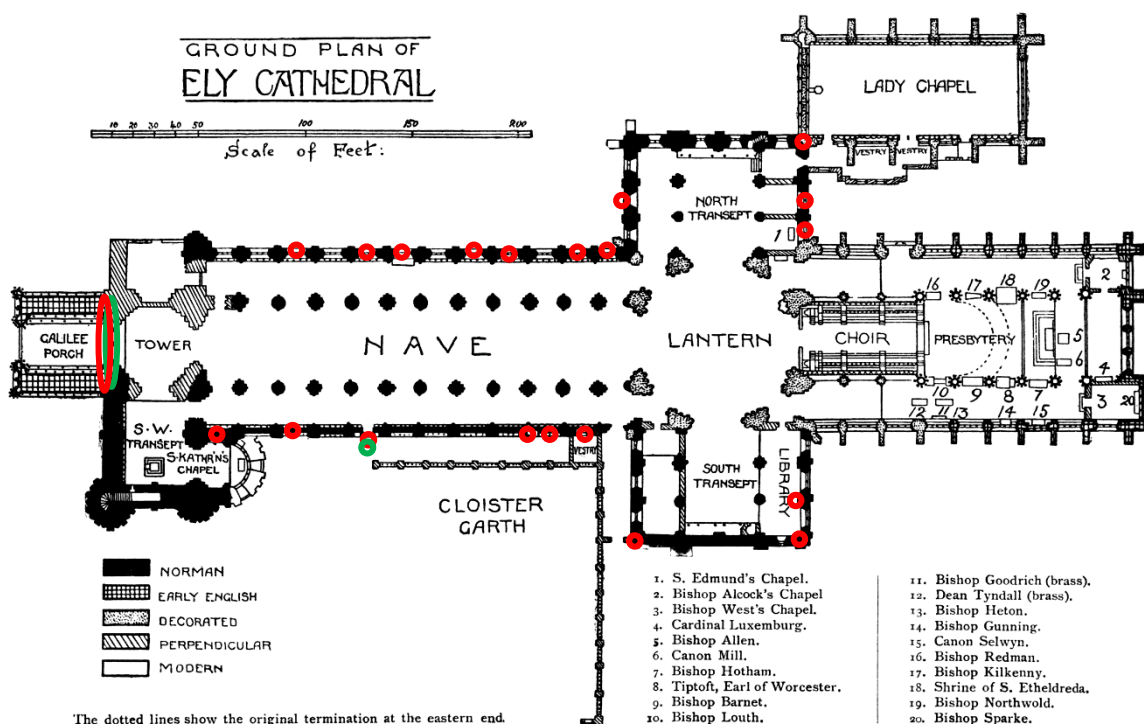
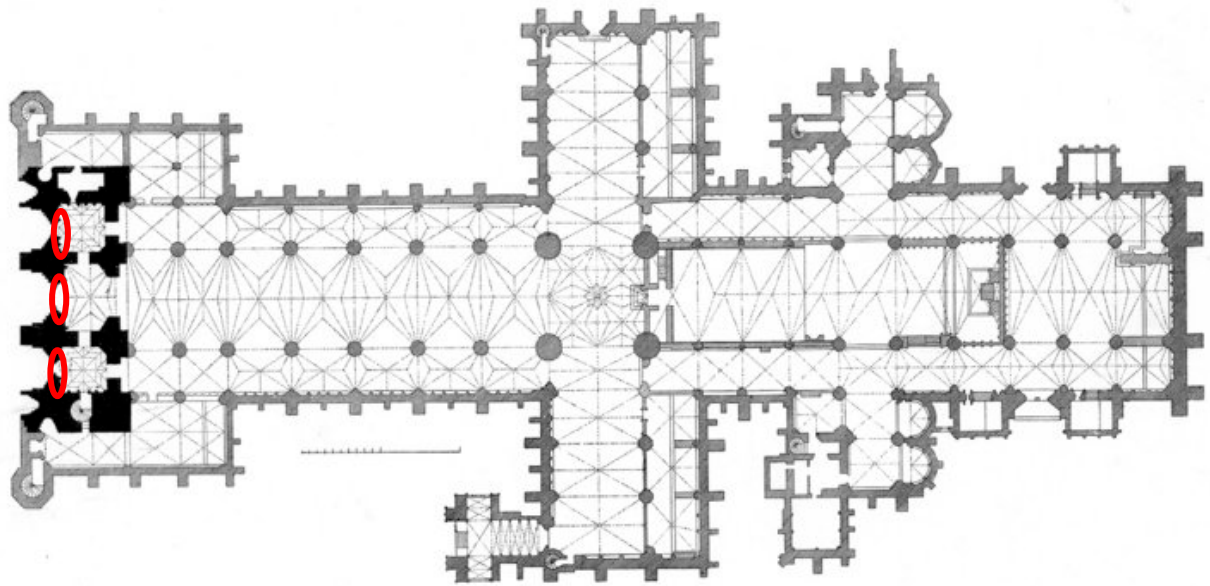


Figure 43: Plan of Ely Cathedral showing the Romanesque birds in red and fish or fish-like creatures in green (adapted from Sweeting 1910).



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Figure 44: Plan of Lincoln Cathedral showing the Romanesque birds in red (adapted from Kendrick 1902, 152).

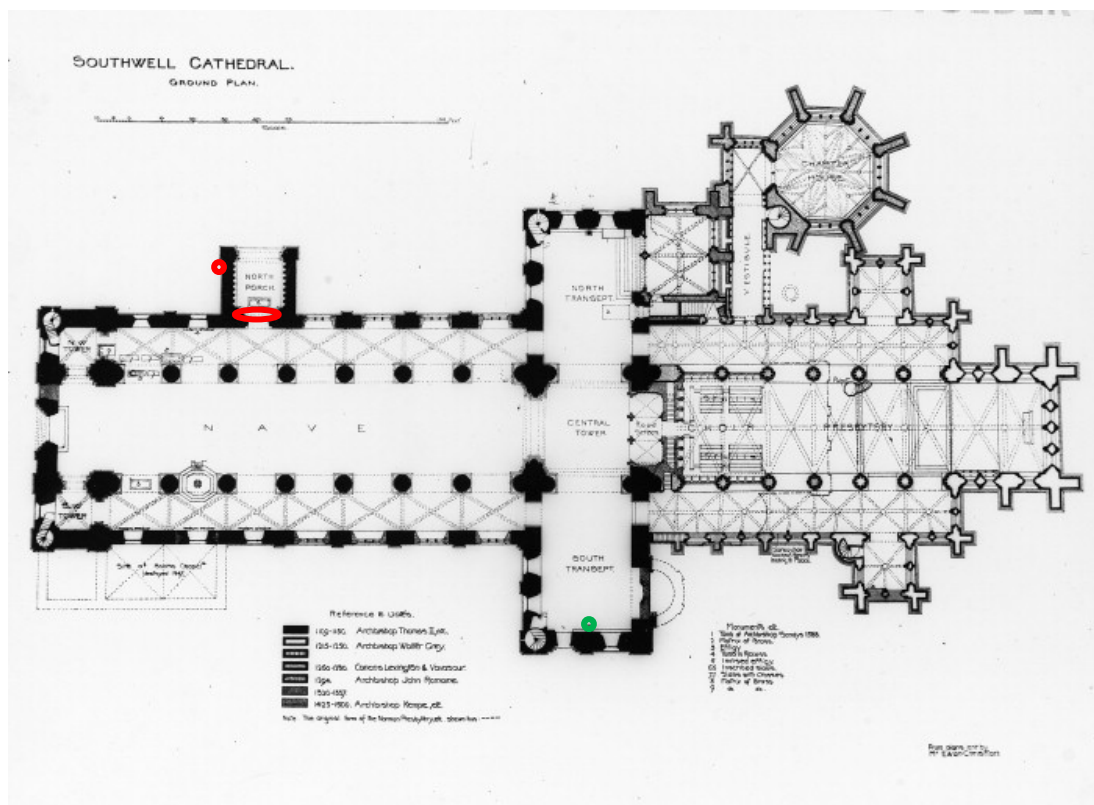


Figure 45: Plan of Southwell Minster showing the Romanesque birds in red and fish or fish-like creatures in green (adapted from Courtauld Institute of Art n.d.).

Another comparison can be made between animals that would have been present in the British countryside and known to the observers of the sculpture, and exotic or mythical creatures. These maps (Figures 46-53) exclude those animals described as cats or cat-like as it is sometimes impossible to tell whether they are intended to be domestic or big cats. It can be seen that British animals appear more frequently on corbel tables than exotic or mythical creatures, particularly in Ely, however, this is not completely consistent, with Peterborough showing the reverse. Mythical creatures also appear more towards the west of the church, even where animal sculptures in general are spread more evenly around the building. They also appear particularly frequently around doorways, being present on six. The prominence of mythical creatures towards the west ends of the churches could suggest that they were seen as further from God, not being positioned toward the more holy east ends of the churches. This is supported by the bestiaries where many of these mythical creatures are described as having negative or unpleasant traits e.g. the siren being predatory and deceptive (Elliott 1971; White 1945, 134-135) and the griffin being vicious and fierce (White 1954, 22-23).

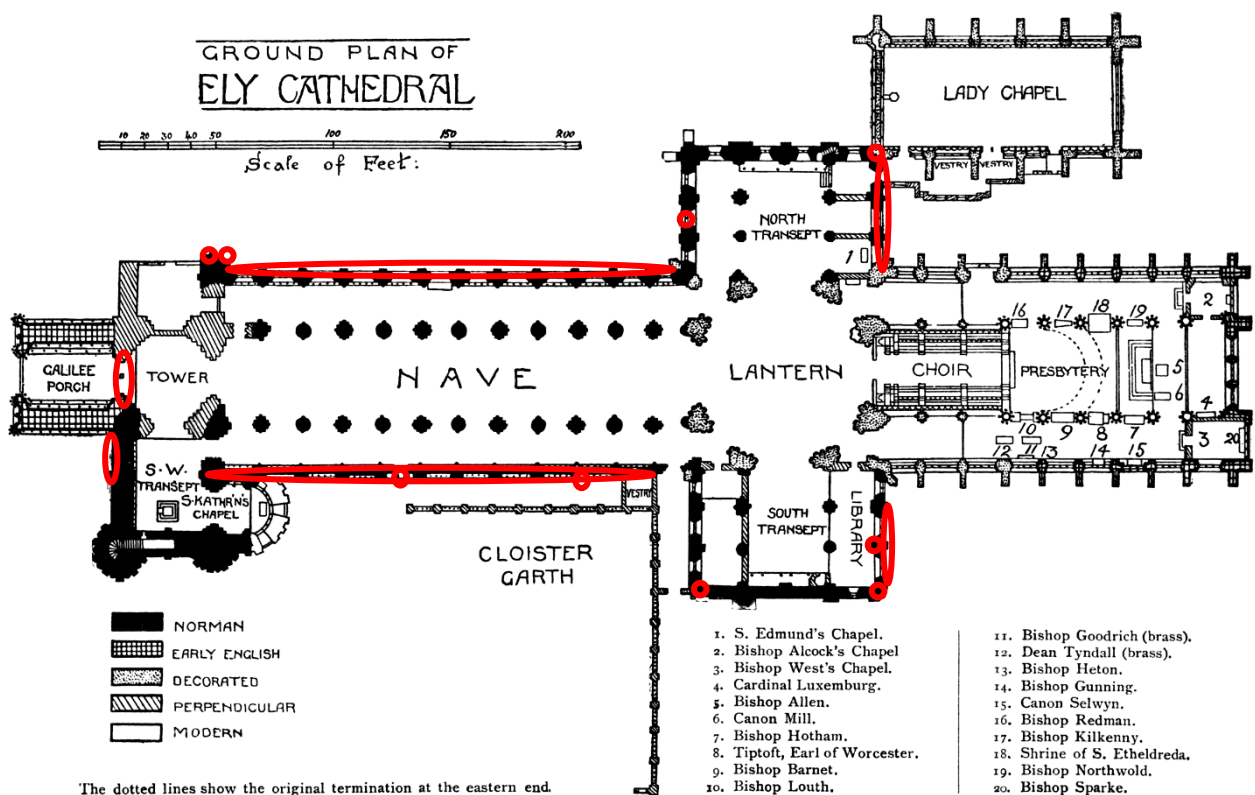


Figure 46: Plan of Ely cathedral showing sculptures of the animals which would have been found in medieval Britain in red (adapted from Sweeting 1910).

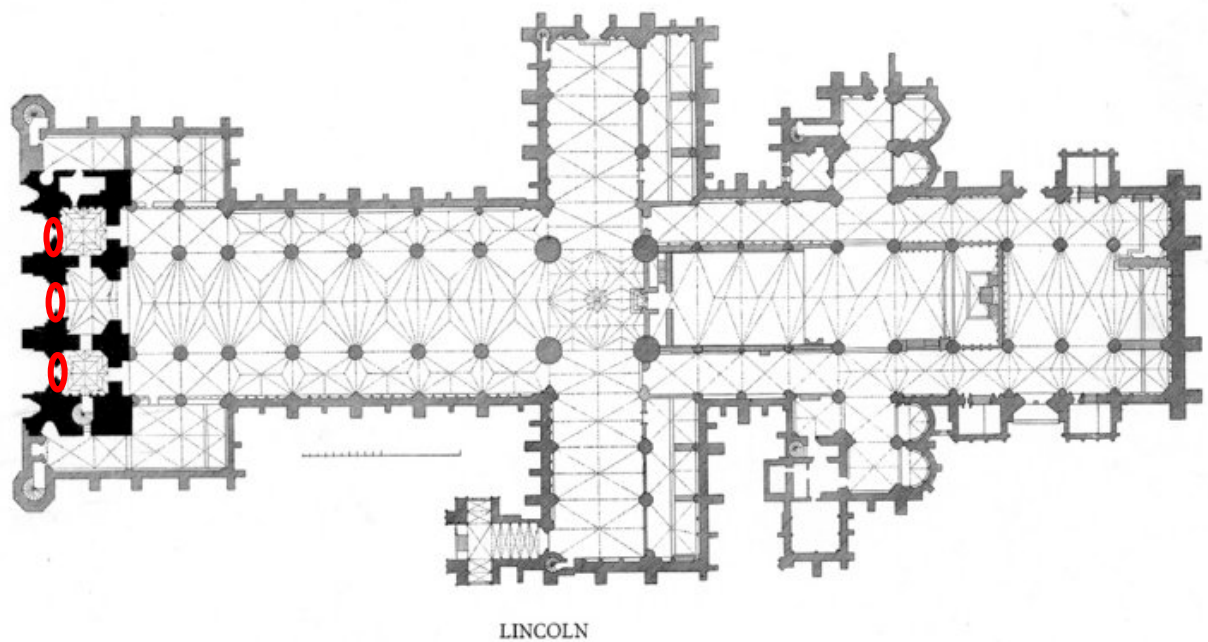


Figure 47: Plan of Lincoln cathedral showing sculptures of the animals which would have been found in medieval Britain in red (adapted from Kendrick 1902, 152).

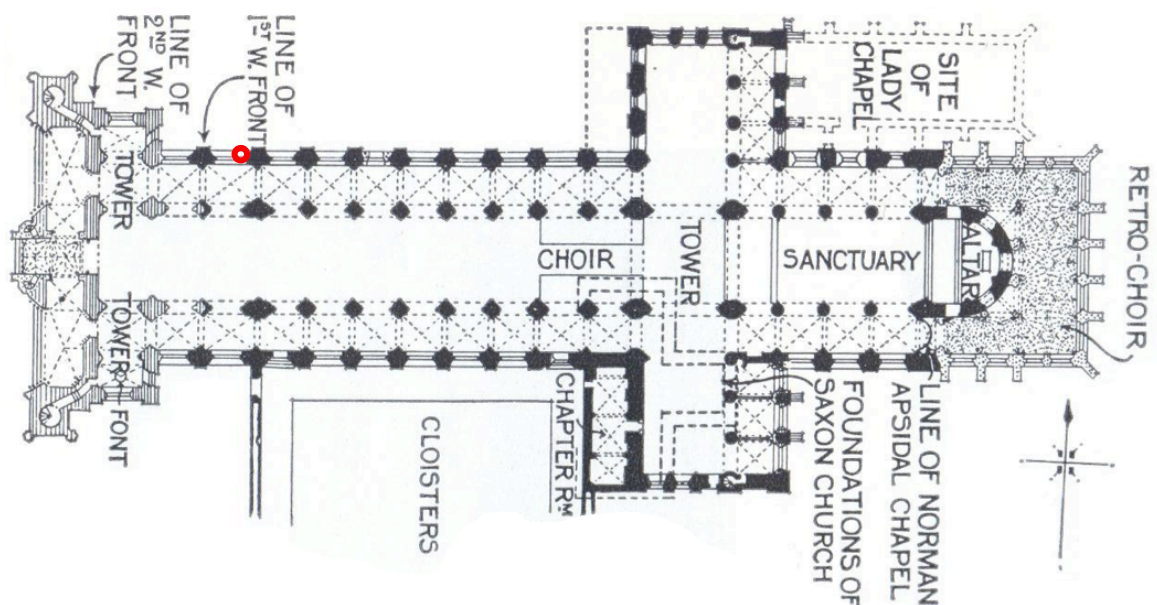


Figure 48: Plan of Peterborough cathedral showing sculptures of the animals which would have been found in medieval Britain in red (adapted from Fletcher & Palmes 1975, 640).

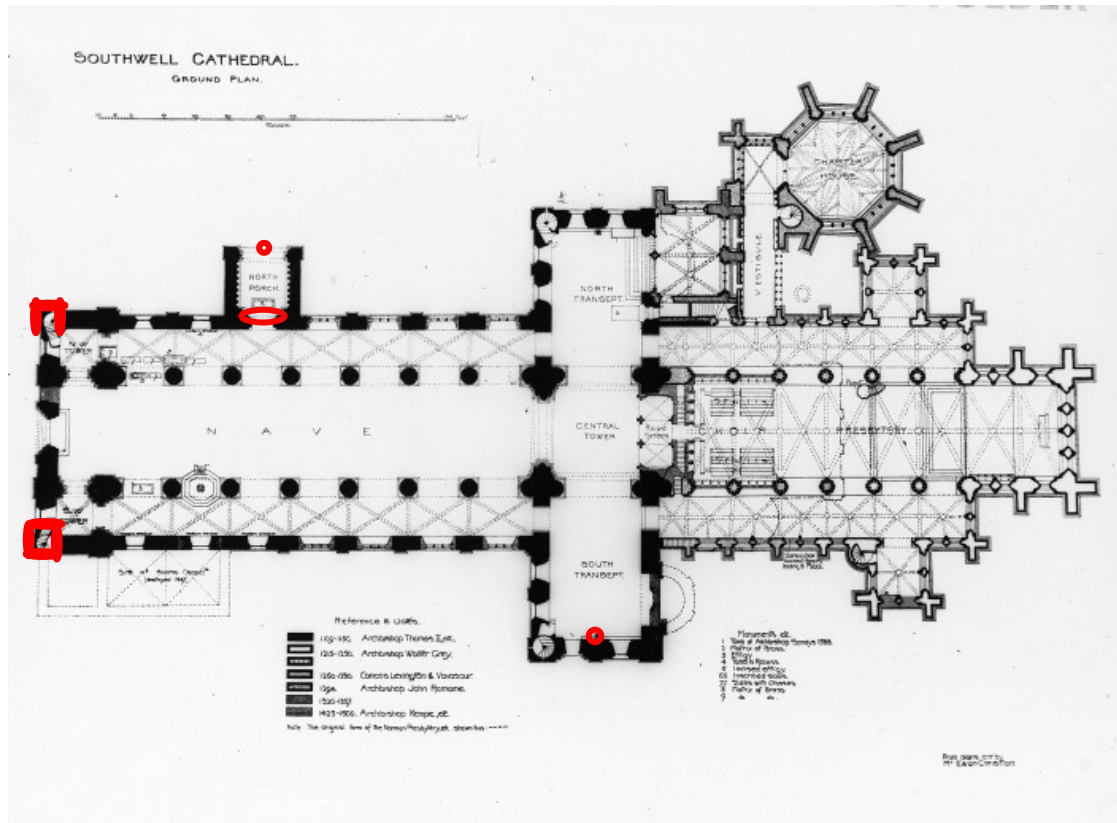


Figure 49: Plan of Southwell Minster showing sculptures of the animals which would have been found in medieval Britain in red (adapted from Courtauld Institute of Art n.d.).

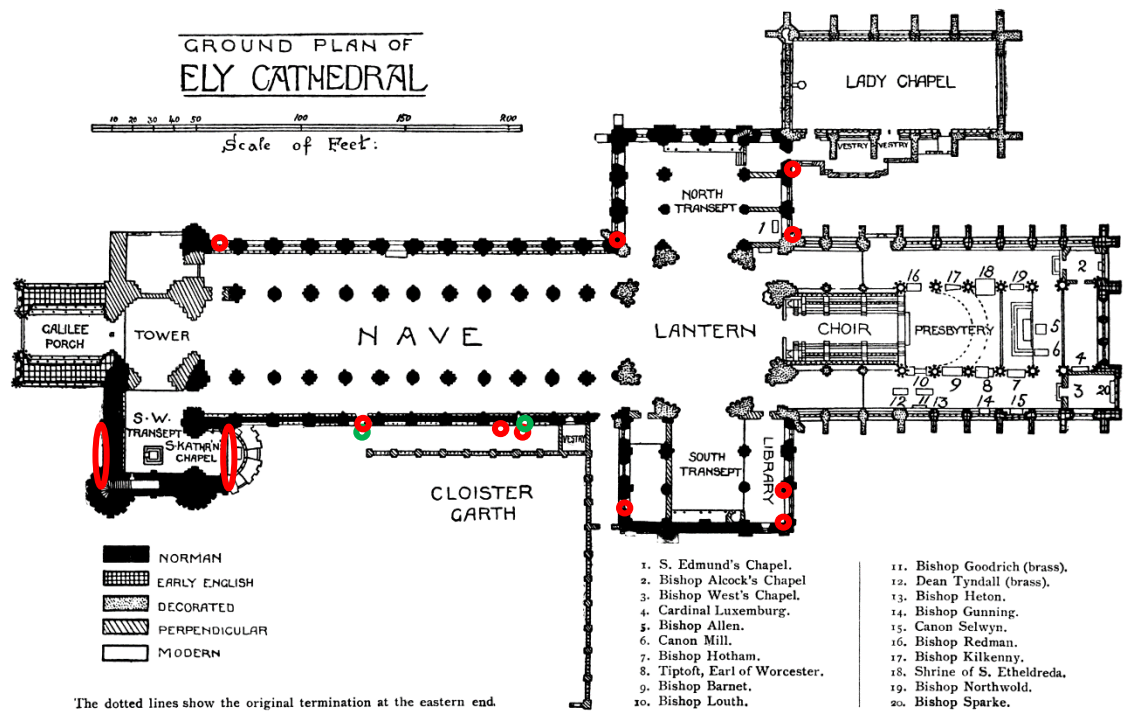


Figure 50: Plan of Ely cathedral showing sculptures exotic animals in red and mythical creatures in green (adapted from Sweeting 1910).

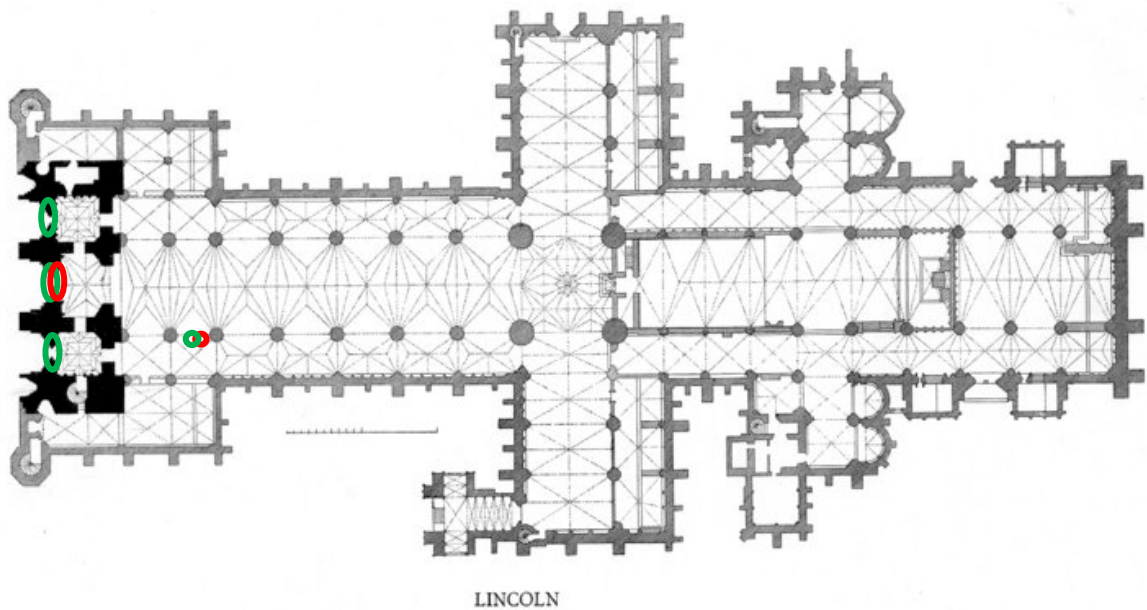


Figure 51: Plan of Lincoln cathedral showing sculptures exotic animals in red and mythical creatures in green (adapted from Kendrick 1902, 152).

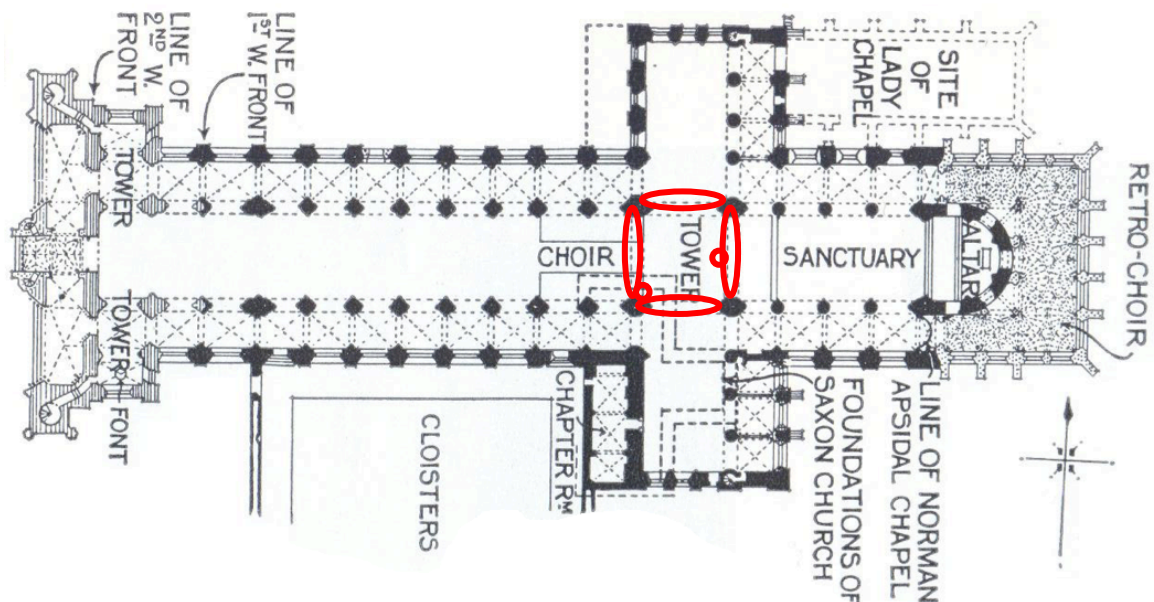


Figure 52: Plan of Peterborough cathedral showing sculptures exotic animals in red and mythical creatures in green (adapted from Fletcher & Palmes 1975, 640).

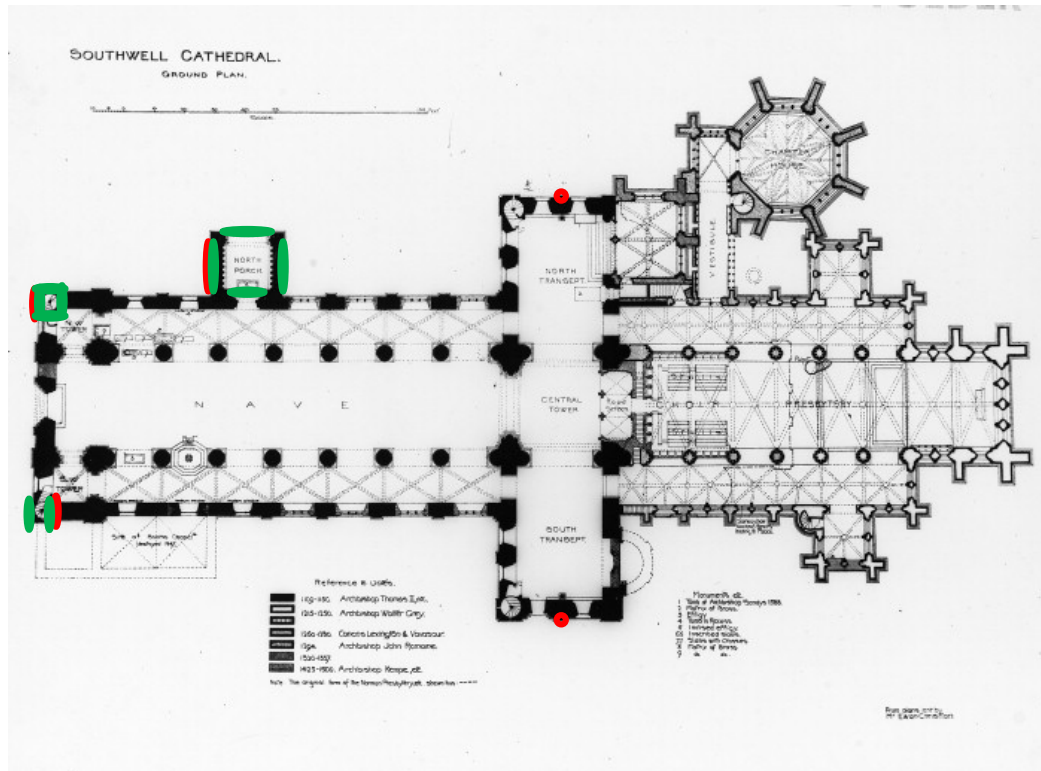


Figure 53: Plan of Southwell Minster showing sculptures exotic animals in red and mythical creatures in green (adapted from Courtauld Institute of Art n.d.).

Another distinct group within the Romanesque sculptures are the human-animal composites (Figures 54-57). These sculptures portray part-human part-animal heads and only exist in the context of corbel tables, with the exception of Lincoln where they appear in beakheads around the doorway. The north and south doorways at Lincoln also have a centaur, and the Prior's doorway at Ely has a centaur, siren, and Aquarius. These are slightly different, however, as they are not just human-animal hybrids, but creatures in their own right as well. The human-animal hybrids appear almost exclusively on the outside of the churches, with the only exceptions being at Peterborough where there is one inside the crossing tower and one in the south aisle. On the outside of the churches they appear in all of the main places that animal sculptures do; around portals and within corbel tables, always in amongst full animal faces, and often human faces as well. Their appearance in corbel tables and on doorways around the outside of the church could hold the same significance as the animal and human heads in the corbel tables; protecting against sin and the devil and

creating a barrier or separation between the church and the outside world (Sheridan & Ross 1975, 12-13).

The composites that appear include snouted people, one with a frog mouth, fish mouth, a variety of beast ears and horns, human-duck composites, a dragon with a human head, and by far the most common, human-dog composites and human-cat, lion, or human heads with pointed, cat-like ears. A good number of these, particularly the dogs and cats, have sinful, or devil-like connotations, and it is possible that having these traits on a human face is giving that person the same traits, in these cases the unwelcome and sinful ones of the dog or cat. Along the same lines, the horned faces could represent cows, loyalty, and hard work, or they could represent the devil; some cases are easy to identify which is intended and others are impossible. With most of these being on the outside of the churches, it could be forming a symbolic barrier, keeping sins outside of the church. There is no discernible pattern in where different species of human-animal composites occur, with them all being fairly evenly distributed throughout the corbel tables and beakheads.

The only human-animal composites which do not appear to fit into this is category are the human-lion corbel at Peterborough, and the human faced dragon on a capital in the same church. The human-lion composite corbel highlights the issues of identifying these types of sculptures as, although the face appears to have a mane, this could just be a large head of hair, or it could be intended as a grotesque rather than any particular animal species. The dragon, on the other hand, is quite clearly half-human and half-animal. This reflects the earlier Saxon style of decoration, where dragons of this style were often used.

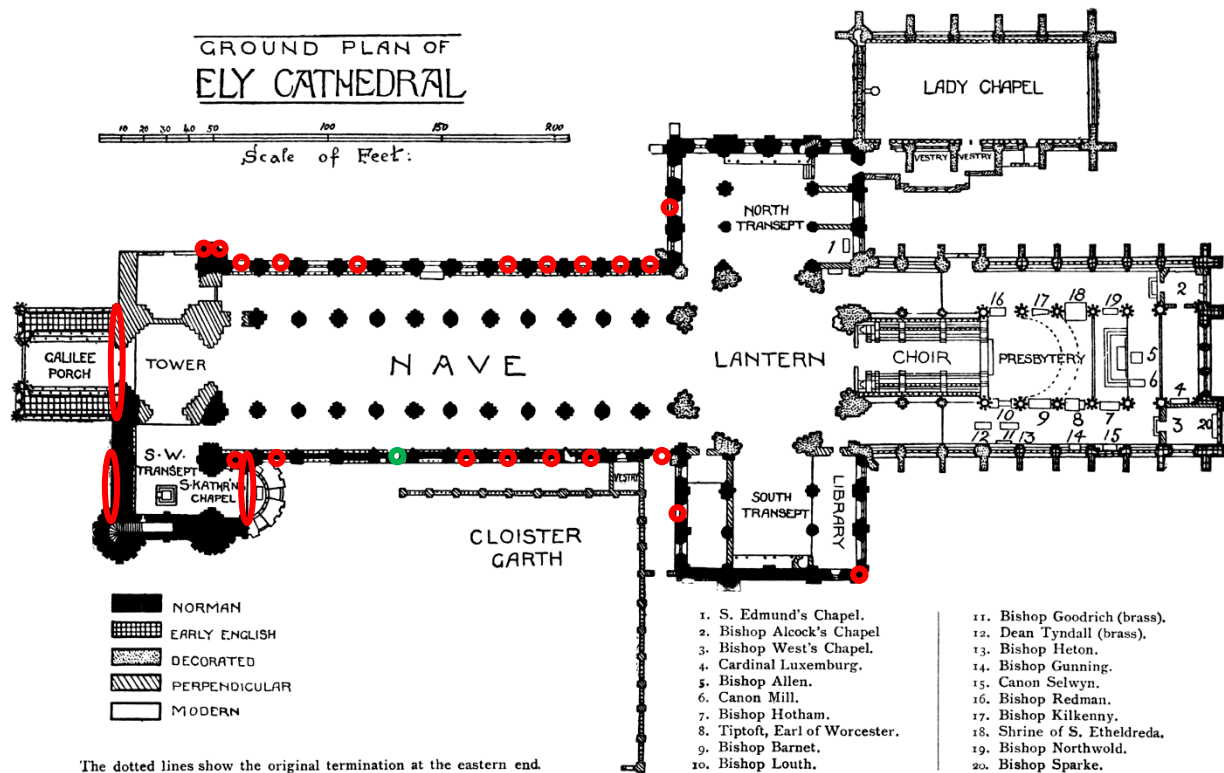


Figure 54: Plan of Ely cathedral showing the position of human-animal composite sculptures in red and part-human mythical creatures in green (adapted from Sweeting 1910).

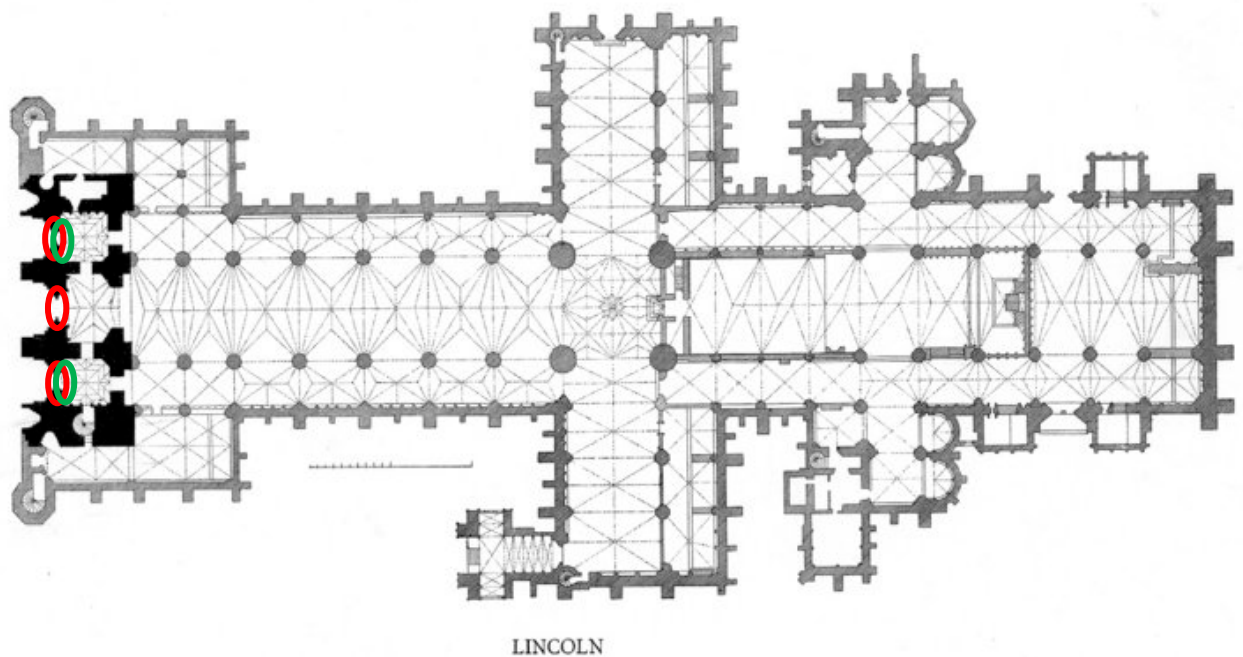


Figure 55: Plan of Lincoln cathedral showing the position of human-animal composite sculptures in red (adapted from Kendrick 1902, 152).

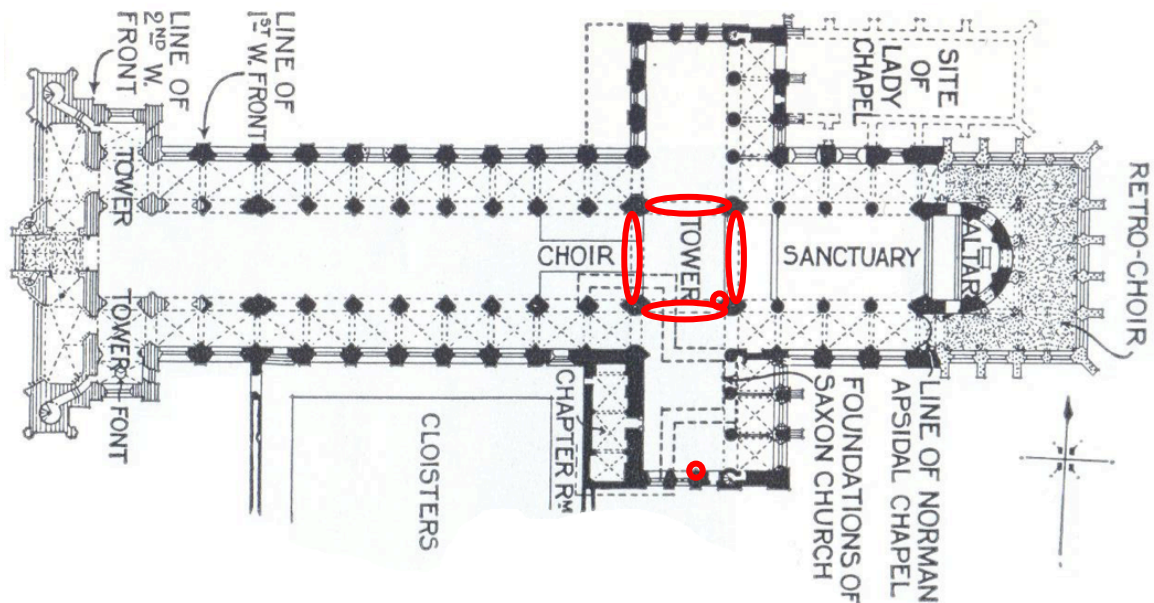


Figure 56: Plan of Peterborough cathedral showing the position of human-animal composite sculptures in red (adapted from Fletcher & Palmes 1975, 640).

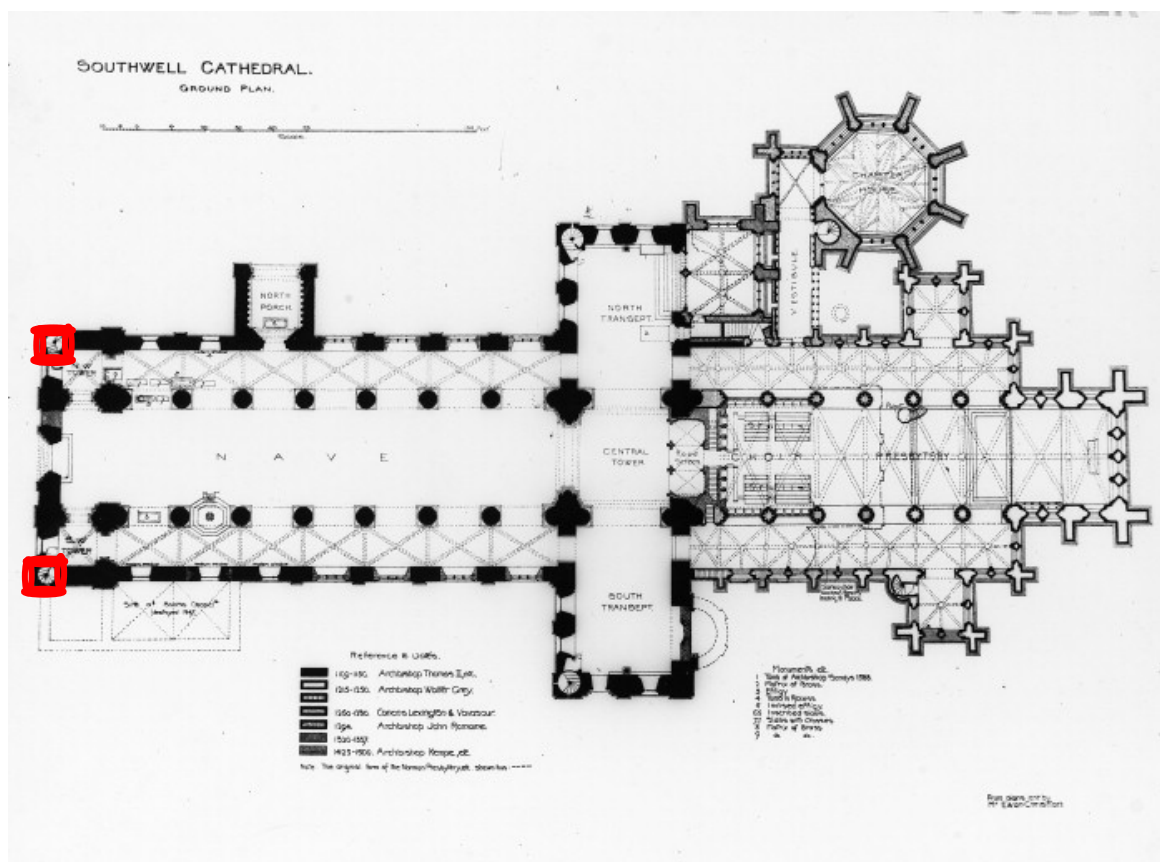


Figure 57: Plan of Southwell Minster showing the position of human-animal composite sculptures in red (adapted from Courtauld Institute of Art n.d.).

The final group of animals to be studied are the symbols of the Evangelists. Despite representations of lions and birds appearing at most of the cathedrals and oxen appearing at Southwell Minster, it is unlikely that many of these were designed to represent the symbols of the Evangelists as they do not appear with wings, or in close geographical connection with each other. The only place where the symbols of the Evangelists can be positively identified is on the font at Lincoln. The current north side of the font depicts three creatures, two winged, with their front legs on books (Figure 58). These have been interpreted as the symbols of St Mark and St Luke (Zarneck 1988, 90-92), however they are not easily recognizable as an ox and lion, appearing to have more horse-like manes. It is also unclear why the other Evangelists would not be shown. If these are the symbols of St Mark and St Luke, then the other fearsome-looking creatures likely represent sins and evil being overcome by the power of baptism (Broughton 1996, 40).



Figure 58: North side of the Lincoln font showing the two creatures standing on books (Antiques Lincoln GB n.d.).

10.3 The Scenes

Animals are presented as part of biblical scenes in both Lincoln cathedral and Southwell Minster. At Lincoln, this is along the west front as part of a frieze showing a selection of new and old testament stories. The first of these is a depiction of Able carrying a lamb. In this case the lamb represents Able's role as a shepherd and his offering of a lamb to God in the story of Cain and Able (Genesis 4). The use of sheep in this story may be to show Able as having traits similar to the Lord and clearly show him as the character on the side of 'good', as God shows preference for his offering over Cain's (Genesis 4).

One of the other scenes, Daniel in the lions' den, features five lions, all with teeth bared to show their ferociousness. In the Bible story, Daniel is thrown to the lions and they are used as a tool to show God's power as he calms the lions (ferocious beasts waiting to attack and kill Daniel) and turns them into gentle beasts (Daniel 6).

The final scenes from the old testament, positioned towards the south of the west face, are all Noah's Ark. Shown in these are the dove, representing hope and forgiveness as it finds land after the flood. It also depicts three animals getting into the Ark; a pig, a goat, and a donkey. It is possible that these were chosen in order to show the range of animals saved from the flood, from the hot-tempered goat, to the lowly pig and the hard-working donkey.

The new testament scenes use beast heads to represent the opening to hell and also snakes attacking and biting figures. This shows them in hell, doing the devil's work, and encompasses all of the evil traits that snakes were associated with.

At Southwell, on the capitals reset in the crossing tower, the first animal depiction, a dove in a medallion along with a scene of the last supper is puzzling as it is not a usual part of this scene (Kelly 1998, 15) however it is most likely a symbol of the divine in this context.

The second capital, with scenes including a miracle above, has a dragon on the underside. With pictures of priests, virgins, and all things pious and good above, the dragon could be a representation of the devil lurking below, waiting for sinners.

The third capital has Jesus riding on a donkey on his entry into Jerusalem. In this context the donkey is normally used to represent Jesus as a common man, despite being the son of God. It is a show of humility and care for the normal people that he would use this mode of transport.

The final capital contains more animals and is not a Bible scene. With birds entwined in foliage, it may just be a representation of nature. The presence of the Agnus Dei and dragon may represent the presence of both God and the devil or hell within nature. It is less likely that they represent the conflict between God and the devil in this situation as they are not together, and they are represented in different ways with the Agnes Dei in a medallion and the dragon on the underside of the capital.

The scenes would have played different roles in the two churches, meaning that different stories might have been chosen to give different messages. The frieze at Lincoln, stretching across the west front, is highly public. Passed by everyone entering the church and acting as a backdrop for ceremonies taking place outside, it was also highly visible to those walking past the church. The heavy focus on hell and punishment, therefore, may have been as a warning, reminding people to avoid sin in their daily lives, with many of the other scenes such as Noah's Ark and Daniel in the lion's den showcasing God's power and greatness. At Southwell we do not know the original location of the capitals, or at what date they were moved, however, the position they are in now articulates the progression from the crossing tower where laity would have been allowed, to the holier and more restricted chancel (Gilchrist 2005, 237-247). This position may have been picked for the capitals because of the pictures they represent. As a person walked through the church, transitioning from a less holy to more holy area, these capitals articulate the space, showing pictures with very holy associations, miracles, the last supper, and the entry into Jerusalem to name a few, as this transition is made.

10.4 The Doorways

Doorways are the places where animal sculptures are most concentrated, with six out of the eight surviving Romanesque doorways containing animal sculptures, and each of these containing multiple animals. The only church without a Romanesque doorway is Peterborough.

The other churches all have dragons on at least one doorway, and Lincoln and Southwell also have cats. These may well perform a similar function to the corbels, representing leaving sin and the devil outside the church.

The prior's doorway at Ely cathedral contains some medallions with creatures related to the zodiac; Pisces, a lion which could be Leo, and Aquarius. Although not all the medallions relate to the zodiac, these have been compared to the Worcester manuscript (Zarnecki 1958, 34), suggesting that inspiration could have been taken from here. This would mean that the ecclesiastical patron had at least some control over the design of this doorway as it would have been them rather than the sculptor that had access to the document. The extent of this control is unknown; the sculptor may have been copying the patron's design or may have just been given some elements to include e.g. giving the figures that needed to appear in the medallions, but not in which order to present them. The central doorway at Lincoln uses medallions in a not dissimilar way, presenting a range of figures down the columns. This suggests that it could possibly have similar origins, taking ideas from a manuscript or similar. This issue of patronage is a huge one, with it being extremely difficult, and often impossible to know how much power the patrons and sculptors had, or where influences came from. It is likely that these differed significantly between building projects, and even different areas of the same building.

Beakheads such as those at Southwell can also be argued to originate in the pages of manuscripts, with similarities being seen in Anglo-Saxon illuminations (Baxter n.d.). It is unlikely, however, that in the Norman period each set of beakheads was copied from a manuscript, with it being more likely that it became a recognized decorative scheme which would have been well known between sculptors and adapted as required.

The doorways at Ely are interesting examples as all the other doorways would have been for use by the public, but these two join the cloister to the church and would therefore have been designed for use by those in the religious community. With the Prior's doorway being particularly intricate, it may suggest that the most complex schemes were used in these locations where the religiously educated would see and interpret them. This could in turn, show an acknowledgement of the different ways in which people medieval people would have interpreted the sculptures based on their economic background, level of education, familiarity with Bible stories etc. For example, a wolf may be seen as a threat to a farmer, but as a target to a hunter. Therefore, it suggests that the most complex designs were put where their subtle meanings would be most appreciated by the religiously educated rather than uneducated peasants.

Chapter 11 - Conclusion

Animals were central to medieval life and were bound up with complex practical, medicinal and spiritual meanings. They form an essential component of Romanesque sculptural decoration, but until now there has been no dedicated in-depth study of animals depicted within 12th century churches. By using a mixture of desktop research and practical surveys, it can be seen that Romanesque animal sculptures appear on a number of features, most notably around portals, on capitals, and in corbel tables, with doorways being the most concentrated areas. It has also been shown that the number of these sculptures and variety of animals depicted varies considerably from church to church, with some such as St Albans Cathedral having very few depictions of animals, and others such as Ely having many. Although the survival of Norman areas of the churches does differ, the number of animal sculptures does not reflect just this, showing that the churches were designed with different levels of decorativeness.

With regards to the type of animals portrayed, it is clear to see that there are a wide variety of species including those common to Britain, exotics, mythical creatures and human-beast composites. These animals would have had a huge range of meanings to the medieval mind; however, the positioning of animals does not seem to show many strong patterns. By studying a larger group of churches, it may be possible to strengthen the patterns that can be seen, such as creatures associated with evil and the devil, and human-beast composites normally appearing on the outside of churches and come to more reliable conclusions about the reasons for these. The lack of any strong patterning could suggest that the patrons of the churches did not choose many of these animals to send a strong message to those viewing them, and therefore the sculptors may have had more freedom of choice. This is not to say however, that there may not have been either generally understood, or explicitly given rules, e.g. doves may have been considered a more appropriate animal to depict inside a church than a dog, due to its commonly known associations at the time.

What can be clearly seen, is that the majority of corbel tables and portals presented animals on the outside of the church rather than on the inside, perhaps as a form of protection, to keep the devil out, or to more strongly connect the church to nature. This same pattern has been widely recorded in later, Gothic style churches, however this research is the first to take this patterning back to the Romanesque period and to map it out in this way, showing how the sculptural decoration was used to articulate spaces in the building.

This research also holds a lot of originality in both the subject matter; studying animal sculptures where previous researchers have focused on human figures or plants, and the interdisciplinarity of the study. Most previous research has come from an art history or architectural background, whereas this dissertation is much more interdisciplinary and attempts study at the architecture from a perspective closer to the medieval people who designed and made it. By using both bestiaries and humoral theory, the meanings of these animals to the people who made them were explored in a way that has not been done before, however, it is important to remember that these were the views of the educated religious, and those viewing the sculptures could have interpreted them very differently.

With regard to humoral theory, it was originally hoped that this would take a larger role in this research, however, it was found that there was little information available about humoral theory outside of its use as a medical theory to explain diseases. This meant that it was more difficult than anticipated to understand the symbolism of animals in terms of their humoral attributes, and therefore, this became a smaller area of the research. This lack of information is partly due to the small amount of scholarly research which has taken place around the subject, however, it is also a concept difficult to determine from the archaeological record. The way people see the world, their ideas and thought processes do not exist as physical things and can therefore only be determined through material culture revealing the actions people took due to these thoughts e.g. putting hot and dry pots in cold and wet ground (Jones, Miller & Sykes 2016), or through their writing, although this only ever gives the view of the educated, and normally religious, leaving the beliefs and vies of the common man difficult to understand.

One of the major debates surrounding medieval sculptural decoration is how much influence the patron had over the designs. The complex figurative scenes and doorways probably had far more influence from the patron than the corbel tables and capitals did. The biblical scenes presented on capitals at Peterborough and in the frieze at Lincoln appear in very prominent places and are clearly designed to impart a message to the viewer, with the Lincoln frieze in particular acting as a very public backdrop for any religious events taking place outside the church. Similarly, at Ely, the Prior's doorway is unlikely to have been designed by the sculptor. Although this piece was less public, viewed more often by those from the religious order, it is a complicated scheme, with complex ideas and influences probably based in manuscripts. It is unlikely that a builder would have had the knowledge to put together schemes such as these, and also unlikely that a patron would have allowed them control over such an important aspect. It is also more likely that the patron than the sculptor would have had access to manuscripts such as those that influenced the doorway at Ely. With the corbel tables and capitals, it is likely that the sculptor had more freedom, however it is impossible to determine how much. It is likely that there were a set of either spoken, or generally understood rules surrounding which animals and decorations were deemed suitable for which positions around the church, however, to what extent this was formally structured, is difficult to assess.

Overall, this research has used original techniques to come to conclusions about an area which had previously lacked in-depth research and thereby adding to the field of church archaeology by showing that some of the patterns seen in later architectural styles also exist at this earlier date.

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