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ON A  
SCULPTURED REPRESENTATION  
OF HELL CAULDRON,  
RECENTLY FOUND AT YORK.

LEGS  
Auguste BRUTAILS  
1859-1926

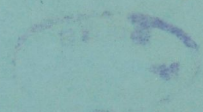
By JOHN BILSON, F.S.A.





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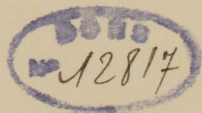
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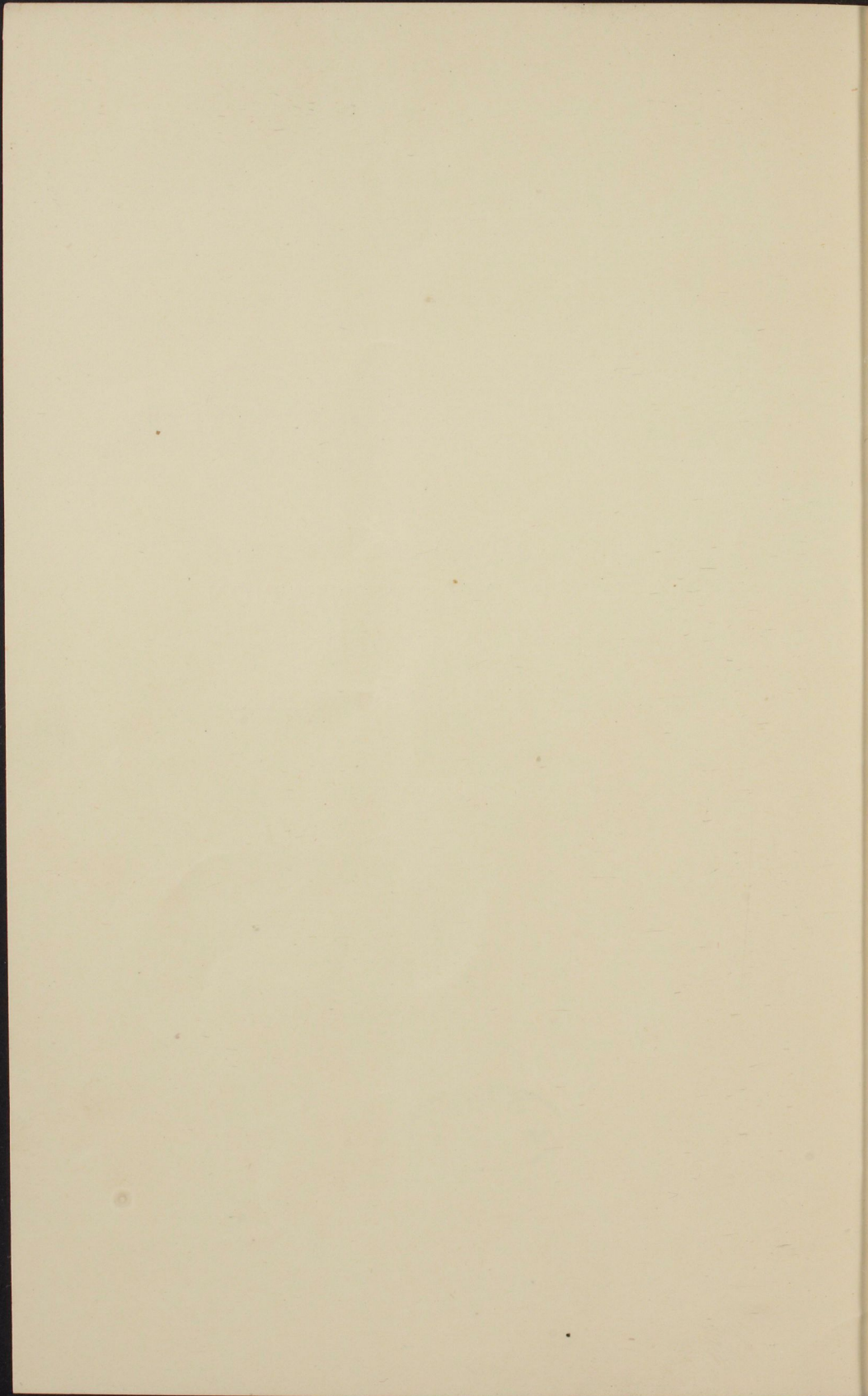
With the writer's compliments.

ON A  
SCULPTURED REPRESENTATION  
OF HELL CAULDRON,  
RECENTLY FOUND AT YORK.

By JOHN BILSON, F.S.A.









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d'eau

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à  
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STONE FOUND IN THE GARDEN OF THE DEANERY, YORK.



ON A SCULPTURED REPRESENTATION OF  
HELL CAULDRON,  
RECENTLY FOUND AT YORK.

*Chaudière  
infernale*

By JOHN BILSON, F.S.A.

THE stone which forms the subject of this notice is of more than ordinary interest and importance, both on account of the character of its sculpture and its unusually large scale. The thanks of the Society are due to the Dean of York for his kind permission to reproduce an excellent photograph of it, taken by Mr. R. C. Green, the Clerk of Works to the Minster.

2  
The stone was found in September, 1904, in the course of an excavation for a water-pipe, in what is now the garden of the Deanery. It lay with its sculptured face upwards, about 18 inches below the surface, at a distance of some 50 feet to the east of the eastern gable of the former chapel of the Archbishop's Palace, now used as the Dean and Chapter Library. It was removed in remarkably good condition, and it is now preserved in the Library.<sup>1</sup>

*Conduit d'eau*

*Bibliothèque*

The extreme dimensions of the stone are 5 feet 2 inches in height by 3 feet 2 inches in extreme width, the width at the bottom being 2 feet 10½ inches. Its extreme thickness at its base is 12 inches, but this thickness extends for a height of only 6 inches from the bottom, above which the back of the stone is hollowed out to an extreme thickness of 9 inches for the remainder of its height. The object of the additional thickness at the bottom was evidently to afford a firmer base for fixing. On the right-hand<sup>2</sup> edge of the stone there are traces of a rebate cut out of the back to a depth of about half an inch, at a distance of about 8½ inches from the front face; there are traces of a similar rebate on the left-hand edge, about 6 inches from the face. The sculpture extends around the angles up to the line of these rebates on the sides, and over the top edge to about

*évidée*

*bord à  
main droite  
penillure*

<sup>1</sup> I have to thank the Rev. Canon Watson, the Librarian, for kindly giving me every facility for examining the stone, and Dr. G. A. Auden and Mr. R. C. Green for their kind assistance in this examination. I am specially indebted to Dr. Auden for his help in elucidating several difficult details of the sculpture. Mr. W. H. St. John Hope and Mr. E. S. Prior have also examined the stone with me,

and have kindly given me the benefit of their observations. I am also indebted to the kindness of M. C. Enlart for several suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Throughout this description, the terms "right" and "left" refer to the right and left of the spectator, except where "right" and "left" are used to describe the limbs of figures.



4 inches behind the face. These facts appear to indicate that the slab was fitted into masonry with its front edges standing free. The back of the stone shows signs of decay, either through its not having been solidly bedded, or from its bedding having become defective in course of time. The face shows signs of exposure to the weather, which proves that the stone must have been fixed on the outside of a building. The stone is magnesian limestone from the neighbourhood of Tadcaster, and it is face-bedded. At a distance of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches above the bottom edge, a circular hole, 1 inch in diameter and  $2\frac{3}{4}$  inches in depth, has been drilled in the front face.

The stone is completely covered with sculpture, representing the hell cauldron and the tortures of the damned. The arrangement of the figures is, in some parts, so extremely complicated that it is by no means easy to describe them intelligibly. It will be most convenient to describe first the three heads on the right side, then the figures above and in the cauldron, and lastly the figures below the cauldron.

The whole height of the right side of the stone is occupied by three heads, the upper of which is erect, the middle one placed sideways, and the lower one inverted. The upper and lower heads, or 'hell-mouths,' are similar in design, and are sculptured around the angle of the stone. They each have large eyes, nose on the angle of the stone, and huge yawning mouth, with a row of large teeth in the upper jaw. The lower lips of the upper and lower heads are continued to form the mouth of the central head.

From the nostrils of each of the upper and lower heads emerge a pair of snake-like forms. That issuing from the left nostril of the upper head is continued into a lizard's body on the right edge of the stone. The corresponding 'snake' of the lower (inverted) head does not appear to terminate in this manner, but the stone is somewhat damaged here.

Both the upper and lower mouths are filled with small figures of souls.<sup>1</sup> Within the upper mouth there are two heads on the angle of the stone, one above the other; a toad is creeping into the mouth, and a lizard<sup>2</sup> is biting the eye, of the lower of these heads on the angle. Opposite this latter, on the edge of the stone, is another head with a toad entering his mouth. Under the teeth of the great mouth is the agonised face of a soul, one of whose eyes is touched by the 'snake' issuing from the right nostril. To the left, at the back of the mouth, is a partially recumbent figure with upturned face and a lizard biting his lower lip. Within the great lower mouth an

<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Da ogni bocca dirompea coi denti un peccatore." Dante, *Inferno*, canto xxxiv., 55, 56.

<sup>2</sup> What I have called "lizards" are reptiles represented with four legs and a long tail.

délaçement  
fixe

perce - fore

élevée  
de côté  
renversée

naïves  
serpentine

Chapard  
rampeant  
invertébré



inverted figure, which lies within the line of the lower jaw, is being tortured by four lizards; above, a large lizard coming round the angle of the stone is gnawing his leg; another bites his genitals; a third, which he grasps with his left arm, attacks his stomach; while a fourth attacks his mouth. Below this figure, and between it and the great teeth, is the head of another figure, whose eye is touched by the tail of the lizard last mentioned. On the angle, between the 'snakes' issuing from the nostrils, is the head of another figure, with a toad entering his mouth.

The central head, which is placed sideways with its mouth on the angle of the stone, has large eyes and broad flat nose, with a toad creeping into each nostril.

Across the rest of the width of the stone, in line with this central head, extends the great cauldron, with flames rising around it. At the left extremity of the mouth of the cauldron is a ring; the right extremity is hidden by the great heads on the right side of the stone.

The figures above the cauldron are intertwined in an extremely complicated fashion. Beginning from the left, and describing first the upper range, the angle is occupied by a draped female figure, which evidently represents Luxury.<sup>1</sup> She wears a long dress, girdled at the waist, and falling in straight pleats to the feet, which are hidden behind the rim of the cauldron; and a wimple, which passes under the chin, covers the ears, and apparently passes over the head, though the top of the head has been broken away. Across the face at the nose is a tight bandage. Over her dress she wears a cloak with a hood thrown back from the head. From the uncarved edge of the stone, a three-clawed paw passes to grasp the cloak upon her right shoulder. On the edge of the stone below this appears a bull-dog like dragonsque head, which swallows her right arm, and has one paw resting upon her right thigh. Her left arm is raised, and holds a circular mirror,<sup>2</sup> which appears in front of the hindquarters of the devil immediately to the right; her left hand or wrist is grasped at the level of the ear by a three-clawed paw similar to that mentioned above. These three-clawed limbs appear to have belonged to the figure of a devil which has been broken off behind the woman's head. In front of her upraised forearm, what seems to be her long hair floats away horizontally to the right, passes behind the hind leg and body of the devil next mentioned, and reappears over his back. To the right of this female figure, next the top edge of the stone, is

<sup>1</sup> Luxury, the vice opposed to Chastity in the series of virtues and vices (Notre-Dame, Paris, Chartres and Amiens). See Emile

Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (Paris, 1902), p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, fig. 50, p. 146.

rouge  
schisch

2

entrelacé

reborn

coiffe

cuirasse

enroulée à  
la taille  
voile

non découpée  
hâte à 3 griffes



a devil lying horizontally, with his head to the right, turning round towards the left; he is represented with sharp pointed ears, grinning mouth, and a curling tail. Behind his back appear the heads of two souls. Below is another devil, holding by the leg the figure of a soul upside down. To the left, under the left arm of the female figure, with its hand upon her waist, is another devil with short pointed ears, looking towards the left; coming up between the legs is what appears to represent a twisting tail, which passes round his body. The hand of the first named of these three devils grasps the head of a figure, which is the first (reading from the left) of a series of souls which fill the space up to the uppermost 'hell-mouth' on the right. This first soul, looking towards the right, is pushing against a second soul with head downwards and leg extending upwards into the mouth of a hideous head with large teeth, which is at the top of the stone immediately to the right of the first of the three devils mentioned above. The second soul has his left arm around the leg of the first soul, and his ear is being bitten by a lizard coming from below. To the right of this second soul is a third, with his head thrown back; his face is being attacked by a snake which, passing behind the leg of the second soul, seems to emerge from the mouth of the first soul. The head of another soul appears in the background, between the body of the third soul and the leg of the second soul. To the right of the third soul is the head of another soul, with a large toad entering his mouth. To the right again is a contorted figure of a soul attempting to flee, with his left knee pressing against the upper side of the great 'hell-mouth' on the right; his face is being bitten by a lizard whose tail is entwined around his arm, while another lizard coming from below attacks his genitals. Below this last lizard is the head of a soul whose brow is being bitten by a lizard crawling up from below, and into whose mouth another lizard appears to enter, issuing from the mouth of another soul placed in the angle between the rim of the cauldron and the upper hell-mouth. The ear of this latter head is in turn attacked by a lizard upon the rim of the cauldron. Immediately to the left of the right end of the scroll described later, and below the lizard mentioned above as biting the brow of a soul, is the upturned head and right shoulder of a soul which is apparently represented as standing upright in the cauldron. The right side of the face is broken away, and the surface is much worn, but an indistinct outline on the stone may possibly indicate a hood similar to that worn by the draped figure already described. A toad or lizard rising out of the cauldron may also perhaps be intended to be sucking the left breast of this figure behind the scroll.

*fiir*

*Sourceil*

*rouleau*

*usée  
coiffe*



Below the figures described in the last paragraph are two figures of souls in the cauldron, with their heads close together. Each has a large purse suspended round its neck, weighing it down into the cauldron, no doubt indicating that its sin was avarice.<sup>1</sup> The right arm of the left-hand figure and the left arm of the right-hand figure are extended, and the hands hold the ends of what appears to be a scroll, which hangs in the form of a segment of a circle below the purses. The idea suggests itself that the scroll may have borne an inscription,<sup>2</sup> but of this there is no trace whatever, the surface of the scroll being worn quite smooth throughout its length. Apparently each of the purse-figures has one arm passing behind its companion, the hand resting on the opposite neck; the hand can be distinctly seen on the neck of the right figure. A lizard or toad passing beneath the scroll can be seen to be sucking the breast of each of the purse-figures, and from the appearance of the breasts it seems to be certain that these figures represent females.<sup>3</sup> Both seem to have long hair. Under the scroll, and appearing above the edge of the cauldron, we see (reading from the left) the head of a soul with a toad upon it; the head of another soul, from whose mouth emerges the tail of the lizard which sucks the breast of the left-hand purse figure; the head of this soul is attacked by a large six-legged creature on its left; then follow the heads of three other souls, the eye of the first being pecked by a beak-like head on its left (similar to that described above); another head with a lizard entering his mouth; a large lizard or toad<sup>4</sup>; and lastly (on the right), the backward-thrown head of the soul described above in the right angle of the cauldron next to the upper hell-mouth.

<sup>1</sup> Avarice is represented by a figure with a purse suspended from its neck in the porch of Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne), and in the portals of Autun cathedral (see *post*), Sainte-Croix, Bordeaux, and of Mas d'Agenais (Lot-et-Garonne), all of the twelfth century; in a tympanum from Saint-Yved, Braisne (Aisne), now in the museum at Soissons (commencement of thirteenth century); in the 'Doom' tympanum of the central doorway of the west front of Amiens cathedral (circa 1225); and in a tympanum of Saint-Urbain, Troyes (end of thirteenth century). In a wall-painting in Chaldon church, Surrey, where the cauldron motive also occurs, a figure tormented by devils is seated amid flames; around its neck hangs a money-bag, and three money-bags hang around its waist; it holds a coin in its right hand, and pieces of coin are falling from its mouth. (See Mr. J. G. Waller's paper in *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, v., 275.) Cf. the usurers

with pouches in Dante's *Inferno*, canto xvii., 55.

<sup>2</sup> The tympanum of the south doorway of the abbey church of Conques (Aveyron), which represents the Doom, has on one side of the lower part a representation of a hell-mouth, and Satan crowned, standing in the midst of devils and tortured souls, and above this group is the legend:—

FVRES, MENDACES, FALSI CVPIDIQVE  
RAPACES

SIC SVNT DAMPNATI CVNCTI SIMVL ET  
SCELERATI.

G. Fleury, *Études sur les portails imagés du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1904), page 117 and fig. 26. This tympanum probably dates from about 1160. Compare also the inscriptions on the tympanum of the central doorway of the west front of Autun cathedral. (G. Fleury, *op. cit.*, p. 204.)

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the tympanum of Bourges, *post*.

<sup>4</sup> That mentioned in the preceding paragraph as possibly sucking the breast of the figure above.

beak-like  
lizard



Below the cauldron is a group of figures, much larger in scale than those already described, appearing above flames which extend along the bottom of the stone. Two large grinning devils, one on either side, are holding down with two-pronged forks the naked body of a soul, probably a woman, lying in the flames, one tongue of which is directed towards her loins. Between them are two devils, apparently helping to support the cauldron. Between these two is another hideous devil, pushing down into the flames the naked soul just mentioned, and the ear of this last is being bitten by a lizard from below. Under the leg of the large devil on the left angle is another figure of a soul in the flames, with left arm outstretched, and another appears in the flames below the head of the recumbent soul.

With the exception of the female figure at the left upper corner, all the 'souls' are represented as naked figures. The devils are represented in human form, naked, with hideous faces. The devils supporting the cauldron have no horns, and one of them has a three-clawed hand, as also has the devil below which pushes the soul into the flames. The two devils with the prongs have hairy heads, horns, large ears, and human hands with thumbs. The devil on the extreme left appears to have a three-clawed foot.

All the motives of this sculpture have their parallels in the representations of the punishment of the damned, which forms one scene in the great drama of the Last Judgment, so strikingly illustrated in the tympana of many great doorways of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in France. In England the tortures represented here have their parallel in one of the series of twelfth-century sculptures on the west front of Lincoln,<sup>1</sup> in which, however, the cauldron motive does not occur. In the representation of the Last Judgment on the tympanum of the central doorway of the west front of Autun cathedral,<sup>2</sup> in the scene of the weighing of souls, Satan is trying to pull down the arm of the balance on the side where the scale bears a damned soul, and behind him another devil brings a lizard, an emblem of evil, to add to the weight. Behind again a devil is thrusting two souls into a cauldron, while from the furnace below issues another devil who drags other souls towards the cauldron; with a two-pronged fork in his right hand he attacks a female figure (Luxury), with a serpent at her breast. In the lower tier, which represents the resurrection of the good and evil, three of the latter

<sup>1</sup> E. Trollope, *The Norman Sculpture of Lincoln Cathedral*, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxv. (1868), p. 14, and fig. 12. See also the paper by Dr. James, cited below.

<sup>2</sup> Autun cathedral was commenced

about 1120; there was a consecration by Pope Innocent II. in 1132, but the church was still unfinished in 1146. Harold de Fontenay and Anatole de Charnasse, *Autun et ses monuments* (Autun, 1889), pp. cxlii., cxliii.



have symbols of their vices—a woman has two serpents biting her breasts (Luxury)<sup>1</sup>; a man has a purse suspended from his neck (Avarice)<sup>2</sup>; and another appears to bear a cask (Drunkenness).<sup>3</sup> As an example of the completest development of the theme towards the end of the thirteenth century, I may mention the tympanum of the central doorway of the west front of Bourges cathedral. Here some of the devils are armed with two-pronged forks; they are pushing along the damned towards and into the cauldron. On the right is a great inverted hell-mouth, vomiting flames around the cauldron above, while two devils are blowing the flames with bellows; on the edge of the cauldron are two toads, one at the mouth of a soul, and the other sucking the breast of a female figure, both of these souls being within the cauldron.<sup>4</sup> M. Mâle remarks that in such scenes as these we find scarcely any trace of dogmatic teaching. "The bestial hideousness of Satan and his acolytes, their cynical gaiety, the liberties which they take with more than one noble lady, the despair of the damned—all these characteristics arise from the popular fancy."<sup>5</sup> He goes on to show, however, that the mouth of Hell is the mouth of Leviathan described in the Book of Job. The verses, "Out of his nostrils goeth smoke, as out of a seething pot or cauldron," and "He maketh the deep to boil like a pot,"<sup>6</sup> passed for an exact description of Hell. This imagery was translated literally by the artists of the thirteenth century, so much so that they represented a boiling cauldron in the yawning mouth.<sup>7</sup> It would appear to be possible, therefore, that the exhalations from the nostrils of the great heads in this York sculpture may have been suggested by the smoke from the nostrils of Leviathan, and that their snake-like form and the lizard which terminates one of them may indicate the poisonous character of the exhalations. Probably also the three heads here may be explained by the representations of Satan as a monster with three heads.<sup>8</sup> We see here, too, a feature which frequently charac-

<sup>1</sup> On the west jamb of the porch of Moissac, Luxury is represented by a naked female figure, with a serpent at each breast, a toad at her loins, and a devil grasping her wrist (G. Fleury, *op. cit.*, fig. 20). On the inner face of the left jamb of the doorway of the narthex of Charlieu (Loire), Luxury is represented by a similar figure, with a serpent at one breast and a toad at the other (F. Thiollier, *L'Art roman à Charlieu et dans les régions voisines* (1894), pl. 3).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. p. 439 *ante*, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Two of the blessed in this resurrection scene bear pilgrims' wallets, one orna-

mented with a cross, the other with a shell. For illustration of this tympanum, see A. Du Sommerard, *Les Arts au moyen âge* (Paris, 1838-1846), pl. 21 of 3rd series.

<sup>4</sup> This scene is illustrated by fig. 124 in M. Mâle's work, *L'art religieux du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle en France*, p. 424.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 422.

<sup>6</sup> *Job* xli, 20, 31.

<sup>7</sup> E. Mâle, *op. cit.*, p. 423. The whole subject of the representations of the 'Doom' is admirably discussed in his chapter vi., pp. 400-432.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Dante, *Inferno*, canto xxxiv., 38.



terises these hell scenes—the wicked are suffering punishments suited to their particular vices. Thus the avaricious are weighted down in the flames by their money-bags, the sensual are attacked by unclean reptiles, while toads attach themselves to the lips of the slanderers.

*diffamateur*  
*Pargues le Nord*  
It is impossible to study this York sculpture without being struck by the vivid imagination displayed by the artist, the intense realism of his conception of the horrors of hell, and his vigorous handling of the subject. Apart from the relative crudeness of the sculpture when compared with the fully developed examples of the thirteenth century, it is distinguished by a weird savagery which is not surprising when we regard it as a product of northern imagination.<sup>1</sup> At the same time the rendering of the figures and reptiles is remarkably true to nature, and certainly cannot be called grotesque.

Before venturing any suggestion as to its probable date, something may well be said of another sculptured fragment in York, which, if not actually contemporary, is, I think, certainly the work of the same school. This is now preserved in the Museum of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, on the ground floor of the 'Hospitium.'<sup>2</sup> The accompanying illustration is reproduced from a photograph which Dr. Auden has very kindly taken specially for this notice. It was found in 1817, laid with the face downward, at the bottom of a flight of steps leading into an old building called the 'Dungeon,' which was discovered when a public-house, known by the name of the 'Hole in the Wall,' was taken down in 1816.<sup>3</sup> This 'dungeon' appears to have been a crypt under the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, built by Roger of Pont l'Evêque (archbishop 1154-1181), at the gate of the archbishop's palace, which was also built by him.<sup>4</sup> The stone in question, which formed the lower part of a semicircular tympanum,

<sup>1</sup> Compare, for example, a representation of Hell in an illuminated psalter said to have been executed for Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, before 1161 (Brit. Mus., Nero civ.), illustrated in *Histoire de l'Art*, edited by André Michel, vol. ii., p. 314. M. Arthur Haseloff, speaking of this psalter, says:—"Le goût du fantastique sombre et sauvage, qui a sûrement son origine dans le caractère du peuple saxon, s'exprime avec une force géniale dans le thème, naturellement préféré, du Jugement dernier, qui ne remplit pas moins de neuf miniatures. Dans la représentation des tourments infernaux, l'art anglais ne peut être surpassé. Sa création la plus originale est celle de l'Enfer conçu comme une gueule énorme et grimaçante. Nulle part cette conception n'a pris une forme aussi

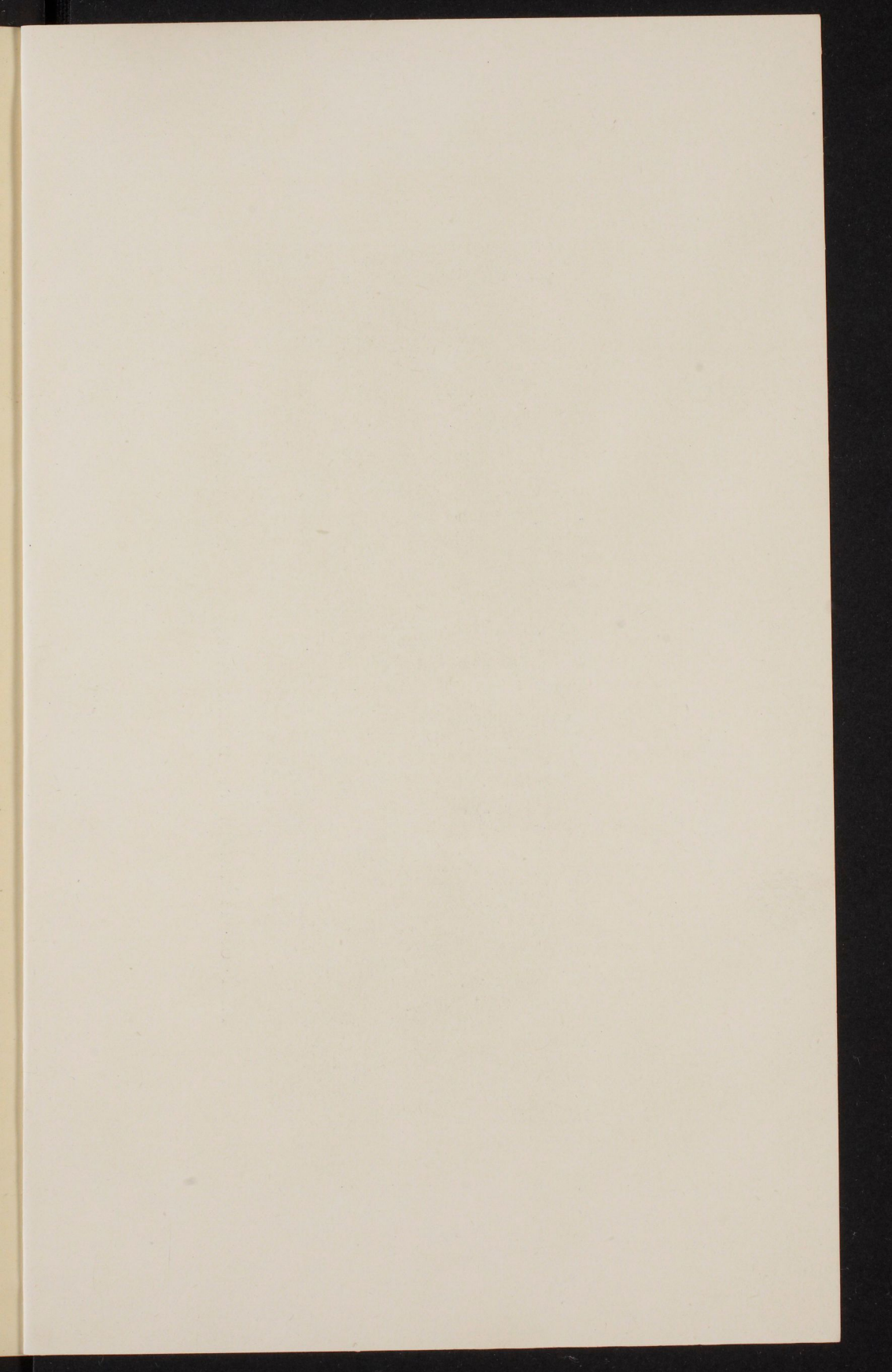
effrayante que dans ce psautier." (*Ibid.*, ii., 315.)

<sup>2</sup> In the Society's catalogue the stone is described as "A sculpture, representing the torments inflicted on a dying person by evil spirits. It was found reversed in the dungeon of a building near the N.W. tower of the Minster. Deposited by the Dean and Chapter in 1862."

<sup>3</sup> W. Hargrove, *History and Description of the ancient City of York*, vol. ii., p. 126, and plate 9. John Browne, *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*, p. 319.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Stubbs' Chronicle, in *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops* (Rolls Series), ii., 398. The chapel was immediately north of the western bays of the present nave (see plan in Browne, p. 181).









PART OF TYMPANUM OF DOORWAY, NOW IN THE YORK MUSEUM.



measures 3 feet  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length at the bottom, 2 feet  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length at the top, 1 foot  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, and about 11 inches in thickness. Like the stone recently found, it is of magnesian limestone from the neighbourhood of Tadcaster. On each of the outer edges of the tympanum is a flat band about 2 inches in width, with a slight chamfer on its inner edge, immediately above which is a narrow band of circular convex projections, or pearls, each about three-quarters of an inch in diameter.<sup>1</sup> Along the lower part of the stone is the recumbent figure of a man *in articulo mortis*, bearded, with the upper half of his body naked, and the lower half, from the waist, draped. Above are three tormenting devils, arranged to harmonise with the lines of the arch. The devil on the left has horns, large ears, a hideous face with large mouth and grinning teeth, hairy body, arms and legs, wings, and a twisted tail. His right hand grasps the soul of the dying man, represented by a small naked figure issuing by the legs from his mouth. The left hand of this devil is represented as passing behind the body of the soul, and grasping the jaw of the dying man as if it had forced the mouth open to allow the soul to escape; the two fingers are broken away from the lip, but the third is distinctly seen under the chin, with a long nail-like claw exactly like that which grasps the back of the head of the soul. Over the dying man is the second devil, similarly represented with horns, wings, hairy arms and body, tail, and cloven feet, and with his legs crossed as if flying; his big mouth is biting the left arm of the soul; his right hand, which grasps the left arm of the dying man, has three long claw-like nails, and his left hand seems to be represented with fingers and thumb; he is cloven-footed, and apparently has had a tail. On the right is the third devil, squatting, with horns, hairy arms and body, and tail, but he has no wings, and his feet are not cloven; his hands are grasping something which has been broken away. The general character of the sculpture very closely resembles that of the larger stone. The hair on the heads of the central and right-hand devil is represented by a series of circular convex projections, precisely like those on the upper and lower heads on the right side of the larger stone.

This tympanum may be compared with a parallel representation, which occurs in the series of twelfth-century sculptures on the west front of Lincoln,<sup>2</sup> shown in the accompanying illustration.<sup>3</sup> Here two

<sup>1</sup> This pearl ornament occurs on several carved stones of the latter part of the twelfth century, preserved in the Museum.

<sup>2</sup> E. Trollope, *op. cit.*, p. 12, and fig. 10. E. S. Prior and A. Gardner, *Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, in the

*Architectural Review*, vol. xii. (Oct., 1902), fig. 46, p. 150.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank Mr. Arthur Gardner for his kind permission to reproduce this photograph.

furchus

arles



angels receive the soul of a dying man, lying prone and naked to the waist. Below a devil is pushing three souls down into a great hell-mouth. Dr. James<sup>1</sup> explains these subjects as the death of Lazarus, 'carried by angels into heaven,' and of Dives, whose two friends share his doom, and he connects them with other adjoining sculptures which represent Dives feasting with two companions, with Lazarus at the door with dogs licking his sores, and Abraham's bosom.<sup>2</sup> This last subject frequently appears in representations of the Last Judgment.

We have still to consider the question of the date and position of these York sculptures. It is possible that the tympanum may have belonged to the building in which it was found as a loose fragment,<sup>3</sup> though this by no means necessarily follows, and on other grounds I think it is more likely that it came from the adjoining west front of the Minster. There can be little doubt that the larger stone once adorned the Minster. Still no documentary evidence has survived, nor is there anything in the building itself to assist in forming a definite conclusion. The remaining parts of the crypt of the choir reconstructed by Archbishop Roger of Pont l'Évêque, and the surviving fragment of the palace which he built on the north side of the cathedral, do not afford much assistance in dating these sculptures, though it is possible that the latter may have formed part of some unrecorded work constructed in the later years of his episcopate. The next recorded work is the reconstruction of the south transept by Walter de Grey (archbishop 1216-1255), but there is no place in his work for these sculptures, which are decidedly earlier in character. We have but little evidence, therefore, beyond that which is afforded by the two stones themselves.

If we compare them with works which we have reason to place about the middle of the twelfth century, we find here very decided development in the style of their sculpture. Instead of the flat treatment, and the rigid attitudes and stiff drapery of the mid-twelfth century, we have here full modelling, vigorously natural attitudes, and greater freedom generally. On the other hand, the drapery of the

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Proceedings*, vol. x. (1901), p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the sculptures illustrating this parable on the west jamb of the porch of Moissac. The upper subject within the right arcade is the death of Dives, who is represented as lying in bed, with a devil taking his soul from his mouth; another devil takes his purse; and below is his weeping wife. The corresponding panel within the left arcade represents Dives in torment, with his purse falling

from him (G. Fleury, *op. cit.*, fig. 20). For a later treatment of the same subject cf. a panel in the lower part of the Portail de la Calende of Rouen cathedral (c. 1270-1280), described and illustrated in *Les portails latéraux de la cathédrale de Rouen*, by Mlle. Louise Pillion (Paris, 1907), p. 101 and fig. 30).

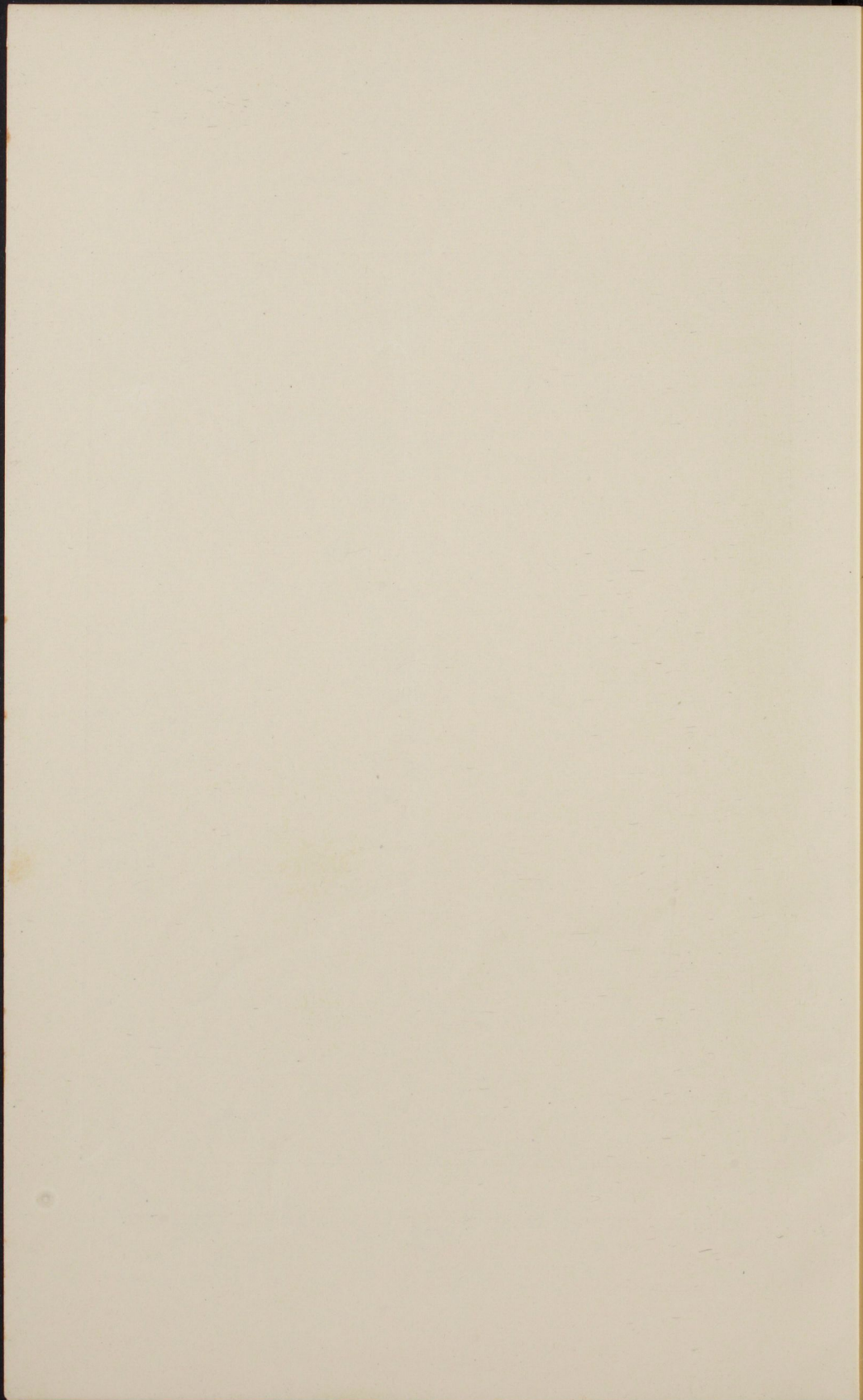
<sup>3</sup> Hargrove's suggestion (on his illustration) that the tympanum belonged to a doorway of the crypt, seems to me to be extremely improbable.





SCULPTURE FROM WEST FRONT OF LINCOLN CATHEDRAL.







female figure on the larger stone is rendered by incised lines, in contrast with the more skilful modelling which we find in the sculpture of the first half of the thirteenth century. My conclusion then is that both these stones date from the last quarter of the twelfth century. This view is confirmed by an examination of many sculptured fragments of this period preserved in the York Museum, which prove too that York at this time possessed a vigorous school of sculpture.

As to the probable position of these sculptures, it is not possible to do much more than hazard a guess. It is important to note that neither appears to represent an isolated subject. Of the larger stone this is certain, and it is almost certain of the tympanum also, if (following Dr. James's explanation of the Lincoln sculptures) we interpret its subject as the death of Dives.<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that the larger stone formed part of a representation of the Doom, or Last Judgment, the most natural position for which would be on the west front. The tympanum, if it belonged to a doorway, would involve a very narrow opening (of slightly over 3 feet),<sup>2</sup> and it appears to be more natural to suggest that it may have been the tympanum of an arched recess, or of a bay of a wall-arcade. The Lincoln sculpture illustrated above suggests that these two York sculptures may even have been associated as scenes in the same drama, the large panel filling the lower part, and the tympanum the upper part of either the same or of two similar arched recesses, a conjecture which is not contradicted by their relative widths. We know that the builders of the Anglo-Norman school of the second half of the twelfth century never attempted to rival the great sculptured portals of Moissac, Conques, Autun, Vézelay, le Mans, and Chartres. We know their fondness for decorating their façades with ranges of wall-arcades.<sup>3</sup> These Lincoln and York sculptures suggest that the façades of these two cathedrals may have been decorated with a series of separate sculptured panels, set in the wall or within wall-arcades, forming a complete scheme of iconography, such as was afterwards developed on the west front of Wells. It is a matter of regret that, so far as York is concerned, the data are not sufficient to make this more than a reasonable conjecture.

<sup>1</sup> The analogy of the earlier sculpture at Moissac seems to me to make this interpretation certain for the York tympanum.

<sup>2</sup> The width of the tympanum on its lower edge, measured within the flat of the edge moulding, is 3 feet  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches,

and from this must be deducted the width of the slight chamfer on the inside of the moulding.

<sup>3</sup> Compare the façades of contemporary churches in Poitou, Saintonge and the Angoumois.



