ICMA Master Carvers Series

A resource for discussion and information.

14 The Bannière Master (1075-1120)

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The capitals discussed here may be examined in larger format in vols. 3-5 of
The Ark of God, and his full *œuvre* will be published in volume 7.

This is number 14 in an on-going series describing Early Gothic carving masters for discussion and comments

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)   1114

The Bannière Master (1076-1120)

Carvers moved around and, unlike Félix or Grégoire, need not have visited the same place twice. They could travel in any direction, and could have settled in regions far from Paris. The Fanny Master is one whose works I have located in many regions scattered over most of the pilgrimage routes from the north to Compostela, but with few in each place.

In the case of Bannière it is best to start by studying some leaves. In the choir of Saint-Martin-au-Val the lobes of a fan-like frond are scooped, with rounded ends [r1]. There is no encasing form for the leaf as the lobes simply terminate where most convenient. In this case they line up over the top of the astragal. A clover leaf with three large scooped fronds hangs between the fans.

At Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville the choir has an arcade on the outside. One of the imposts has almost identical lobes on a central leaf and clover-like leaves on each side [r2]. They fill all the available space.

In the nave of Gournay-en-Bray there is a similar leaf to Boscherville (but cruder) and in the somewhat later choir the lobes fan vigorously upwards and the scoops finish in little baubles [b1,2]. In the south cloister of Saint-Aubin in Angers there is another fan, and more competent [b3].

In all these examples there is no empty space. There are small variations in the lobes that make little difference to their basic characteristics. In three they do not all start at the base, but emerge partway along the leaf in whatever way is most convenient. In some they are tied with a tight collar. In two they finish against the frame of the stone, while in a couple they are framed with in a leaf-like curve.

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir   1081

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)   1095

Gournay-en-Bray nave Ws1n(a)   1080

Gournay-en-Bray ES4(a)   1093

Angers, Saint-Aubin south cloister, sideways 1120

In collecting capitals with fans I found that many included other elements, such as vines, heads or dogs. He used no one format, no standard template, but created each design from scratch. It is the similarities in the shape and detailing of the fan-like leaves that connect all these elements as the work of one carver. There are dogs in both Saint-Martins, figures and wandering vines in Gournay, heads with controlled vines at Angers, and stiff geometric elements in Deuil, while the fan itself occurs in nearly every one, either attached to vines or to crockets.

In Pierrefonds the fan is joined to the crocket and hangs as if blowing in the wind, an original device that I call a tail [r1]. In Boscherville the fan is connected to a pair of vines that emerge from heads that have replaced the crockets [r2]. The heads have no chins. Another fan in the same church is being held by a hairless figure with a rounded head [r3] and in a third fans of different sizes stick out in pairs from a central trunk like a tree [r4].

The lobes are long and scooped, but with small differences in detailing. In the first and third the uppermost lobes are separated from the others and twist back with sharp points. In the first and fourth some lobes are separated from the rest and stick out to one side. In the third and fourth some are fat and generous and others narrow. To this master variety was everything.

It is the fans and the chinless head at Saint-Martin that link the dogs to Bannière [r5] and the tails attached to the crocket the link the geometry to him at Deuil [r6]. All the attributions have been made through such links. I have listed them all below with the characteristics that connect them, in approximate date order.

TAIL HANGS FROM CROCKET in Pierrefonds crypt

FAN AND HEADS in Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville

FIGURE AND FAN in Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville

Motifs used by Bannière

Croix-sur-Ourcq ?	nave	fan				
Marolles-en-Brie ?	east	fan		people	heads	
Vic-sur-Aisne	nave	fan				geometry
Mortefontaine	tower	fan				
Bitry	tower base		tail		crocket	geometry
Château-Landun	nave	fan			crocket	geometry
Saint-Martin-au-Val	choir (a)	fan		heads dogs	crocket	geometry
Melle, Saint-Servinien	west			people	dogs	
Gournay-en-Bray	nave west (a)	fan		people		geometry
Bouconvillers	tower 1	fan tail			crocket	
Arthies	tower		tail		crocket	
Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont	tower 3, spire		tail		crocket	
Bruyères-sur-Oise	tower base		tail		crocket	
Gournay-en-Bray	nave crossing		tail		crocket	
Parnes	apse		tail		crocket	
Fontenay-Saint-Père	east		tail		crocket	
Pierrefonds	crypt		tail		crocket	
Courville	nave	fan				geometry
Oulchy-le-Château	nave	fan		heads	crocket	geometry
Saint-Germain-la-Ville	nave	fan				
Montlevon	nave (a)	fan tail		heads dogs		
Deuil-le-Barre	nave		tail		crocket	geometry
Gournay-en-Bray	south choir (a)	fan tail		heads dogs	crocket	geometry
Saint-Jean-d'Abbetot	nave	fan		people	crocket	geometry
St-Martin-de-Boscherville	external E(d)	fan		people heads dogs	crocket	
First Crusade						
Morienval	east chapels	fan				
Morienval	east (c)	fan				
Maule	east (d)			dogs		
Mogneville	south (a-)			dogs		
Saint-Vaast-lès-Mello	nave 4			dogs		
Latilly	tower	fan				
Coulonges-Cohan	crossing	fan			crocket	
St-Martin-de-Boscherville	east (a)	fan		people heads	crocket	
St-Martin-de-Boscherville	west	fan		people heads dogs	crocket	
Jumièges	WN1(a)			dogs		
St-Martin-de-Boscherville	apse (c)	fan		dogs	crocket	
Catenoy	crossing (c)			dogs		
Avrechy	apse	fan		people		
Angers, St-Aubin cloister	south range	fan		heads	crocket	

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS5(a)

DOGS AND HEAD in Saint-Martin-du-Val choir

GEOMETRY AND TAILS in Deuil-le-Barre nave

The first phase (1075-1088)

The nave of Vic-sur-Aisne would have been the earliest fan design. On the front face it has large fan-like leaves that spread outwards, and a chequerboard geometric pattern on the side faces [r1]. The lobes stretch until they meet the abacus. They are not framed by a leaf-like or circular frame defined by the fan itself, but are stretched until they fill the entire space, expanding until they meet other elements such as the frame or other lobes, so that there is no emptiness. The fan is held by a collar at the base and there are no crockets.

Spread-eagled fronds are found in the Mortefontaine tower though much of the pattern has been worn by the weather [r2]. The fan has a branch, or 'handle' at the base a little like the collar in Vic.

A window capital in the little lateral apse at Bitry has similar fronds with expanding lobes [r3]. They are attached in a slight manner to the crocket. The lower decorative band is typical of many from this period. The building itself is massive, with very thick walls and a barrel vault to support the tower overhead. This began a series of experiments on ways to link the fronds to crockets in which he developed the fan as a tail. He was in contact with the Comet Master about this time and may have been affected by him, or the idea may have evolved naturally from placing fronds at the ends of vines, as in Bouconvillers.

There are two similar fans next to the window over the west door at Château-Landun [b]. The long, scooped fronds extend to the edges of the block so that every bit of space has been occupied. There is no overall geometry, curves are freehand and tend to follow the framing shape of the block rather than having centres of their own. There is a crocket on one capital, but in this early stage the fan is not attached to it [b2].

Vic-sur-Aisne WS4w(a)

Mortefontaine tower

Bitry

Château-Landun W-wR(aw)
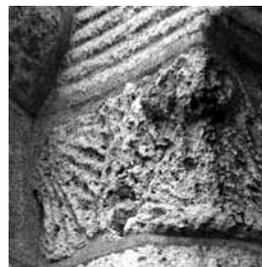
Château-Landun W-wL2(aw)

There are fronds emerging from the mouths of a pair of dogs in the abbey of Saint-Martin-au-Val near Chartres [b1]. As described on the first page, the lobes of these fire-like fronds extend to meet the astragal. They thus fill the whole space in a way that became increasingly typical of Bannière's designs. The head without a jaw at the top became a feature in later work. The adjacent stone has loosely arranged vines encircling the dog [b2].

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir

The nave of Gournay-en-Bray has two 'trees' with trunks and lobes forming discrete leaves that poke out sideways in paired fans. The one on the right face is somewhat more disorganised than the other, but both are clearly made up of the same elements [r1].

On the same pier another capital has figures holding onto a branch [r2]. This clearly shows that the lobes do not all begin at one place, but spring from the branch wherever is most convenient for the form of the fan.

This apparent waywardness is fundamental to Bannière's method, which was to avoid symmetry, to bend elements one way and another so that though the tree asks to be symmetrical the bends in the trunk and the detailing of the lobes ensures that perfect symmetry is avoided. As he grew older this avoidance became the source of great creativity.

There are two rounded figures that carry branches [r2,b]. On the left corner the face is rather African with curly hair. He holds a snake in his right hand. The man on the right may have a goatee, and holds in his left hand two tree-like branches [b3].

This is one of the earliest large-scale naves in the Paris Basin, possibly inspired by the gargantuan work in nearby Normandy. The evidence in the stones suggests it was constructed over many campaigns. This one may have been simply added onto the existing crossing.

Gournay-en-Bray nave Ws1ne(a)

Gournay-en-Bray nave   Ws1n(a)

Gournay-en-Bray nave crossing, two corner figures ....

In two capitals in the lower storey of the tower of Bouconvillers the lobes are like those in the Gournay tree, but with a greater freedom as they were not attached to a trunk [r4]. Some fronds seem to hang delicately off the crockets. All these lobes have rounded tips, though from here on round will be mixed with others with sharpened points. The next level of the tower and the spire above that were probably among the seventeen church steeples paid for by Count Galeran seventy years later [v.3].

Bouconvillers tower stages 1,2 and spire

Bouconvillers tower 1

He worked alongside the Comet Master in the tower of Arthies. Two capitals are similar, both with crockets and tails, and both fronds are attached to the crocket by a chord [b]. Because Bannière has taken up Comet's formula, the qualities that separate them are not as clearly distinguishable in this first sharing here as they will be as we study more of their capitals. Bannière modified the comet in three ways: He added a little knob or collar (arrow), raised the connecting branch in order to fill the upper part of the stone, and covered the remaining empty space under the tail with multiple drill holes arranged with little sense of order [b2]. Also, his crocket has a unique curl with a dimple on the underside, and the lobes in the tail are splayed whereas in Comet's they are parallel.

A sharing friendship between them is suggested by the number of times they worked on the same jobs, and that here their capitals are on opposite sides of the same opening [r1]. At Arthies the differences between them is not great, but become marks of identity when taken in the context of a life's accomplishments. Sharing ideas with others in the shed, like this, is one reason it is so hard to disentangle the work of each individual. The motifs that are a result of relationship on site have to be disentangled from the identity (often more felt than itemised) of the individual.

Arthies tower with both capitals

Arthies tower by the Comet Master

Arthies tower by Bannière

Underneath in the crossing one capital is pock-marked with drill holes, both have crossed ropes that emerge from the top of the crockets, one of which is made of twisted rope. The drilling was used in the tower, and the crossed ropes will be found in Deuil. There are connections between the two levels that I cannot disentangle at this moment, but I suspect that Bannière could have been involved with work on the crossing in some way, took the idea of ropes with him to Deuil, kept playing with drill-holes and used both here and at Fontenay. I would leave this possibility open, even if only as a detailer working under another.

Arthies crossing

Arthies crossing

Arthies crossing

At Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont in the upper part of the tower there is a large capital that, as far as I can make out in its worn state, has fronds attached to extremely long tendrils and a star-like motif in the centre that may be part of one of the leaves [b]. There are also paired fronds under the left crocket. The lobes are scooped and appear to be irregular in arrangement. Also, the crocket has a depression on the underside, a rather peculiar detail that emphasises the separate origins of each curl coming from different faces of the capital. The same depression is visible in all the earlier crockets. Another small capital at Longmont has tendrils almost exactly like those in later work at Pierrefonds [r1].

Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont

1085

Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont tower

In Bruyères-sur-Oise the base to the tower has one capital by Bannière alongside the door on the inside [b1]. At a slightly higher level there are two by Sprouter on the outside [r,b2]. It is like a very large one he carved in the Gournay choir a few years later [b3], and another we will discuss shortly in Boscherville. His sequence of work helps to confirm Bannière's dates.

1085

Bruyères-sur-Oise tower base, Bannière capital on inside, Sprouter capital on outside, and at Gournay nave

Bruyères-sur-Oise tower base

1086

It is probable that the crossing piers had work done on them some years after the western bays. One capital has tails like those of the Comet Master, but more rigid, with a wide collar and turned-back tips to the lobes [r3]. It would have been by Bannière, though the stiffness and the amount of empty space differ from his usual schema. On the other hand a number of later capitals have this frieze of parallel lines along the bottom.

One indication of the stages in construction lies in the outer faces of the impost mouldings. Those over the wall and pier capitals are almost plumb, as can be seen in the corner [b1]. Over the capitals of the crossing pier the lower roll has been set back [b2]. This is the pier with the Bannière capitals, and adjoining is one by Rampant III definitely of a later date [r3].

Gournay-en-Bray crossing   WS1w(a)

A further element lies in changes to the arcade arches that will be discussed in another section.
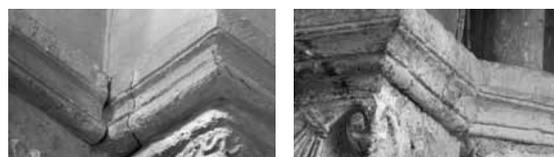
Gournay-en-Bray nave imposts from nave and crossing campaigns

Gournay-en-Bray crossing   WS1s(a)

Comet and Bannière met again at Parnes. Though he used a frond something like a tail, and was following Comet's lead in this manner, the design has a rather incoherent quality in detailing and arrangement [b1]. There is a tendril that passes under the left-hand tail and an additional spray under the crocket, all being an attempt to fill the space in a way Comet would never have done. The carving is shallow and the edges unclear.

The apse of Parnes is like Auvers-sur-Oise in having a polygonal plan with buttresses placed on the centre of the facets, not on the corners. At Auvers the lowest ten courses of the apse were erected with the north chapel many years before the upper walls of either vessel. Though it had been thought that the first straight-sided apse was at Laon, there are polygonal apses scattered throughout the region from much earlier: Bitry north chapel without buttresses, Fontenay-Saint-Père and the choir of Saint-Pierre in Chartres with mid-facet buttresses like Parnes and Auvers, and the Luzarches central apse with drum-like corner buttressing. All these were laid out in the five or so years before as well as after 1090.

Parnes apse

Parnes apse (c) by Bannière

Parnes apse (d) by the Comet Master

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

By contrast the apse of the little church of Fontenay-Saint-Père has a circular plan with a semi-domical vault. Bannière carved most of the capitals to the windows, both inside and out [b, and next page]. The crockets are shaped as a simple screw as in Arthies, there are small collars, and the lobes are gouged, and the tips finish along either the frame of the stone or within straight-edged triangles. There is little empty space.

One has the drooping tail tied with a collar, and many drill holes scattered across the blank space [r2], as in the Arthies tower [r3]. The stiffness and the collar give him away.

Arthies tower

In the other capitals the connections with Bruyères and Bitry are obvious, though the detailing seems more creative, which is why I would place Fontenay after both. There is a wildness in one [b1], and a massiveness in another [b2], though both do their best to cover the entire surface of the block.

The variety in these ten designs is amazing. Unlike nearly every other master I have studied, no two capitals are the same. In the nave and north arm of Boscherville we will meet the same variety, creating endless changes on the same basic elements.

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse interior

1088

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse window

The geography of the three phases

This was the last of the first phase of his work in the west. For the next five years, from Fontenay-Saint-Père onwards, he travelled eastward, beginning near his 'home area' around Vic-sur-Aisne to carve one capital on the crypt at Pierrefonds.

We can divide his life into three phases by the areas he worked in. It looks like his early work was powerfully influenced by the characteristics of whichever carvers were in the same shed. We have dealt with the his beginning on the Aisne, starting with Vic to Morteforntine and then Bitry. Physically very close together. This was followed by some long journeys, perhaps in that travelling stage of his apprenticeship, to Château-Landun and later to Chartres and even further south to the Poitevin region to work on the west front of Melle.

Who knows how many other places he may have stayed at for a while on this journey? From Gournay he continued to work in the area north of Paris for the next seven or eight years.

His second phase that we are about to discuss was in the east where he met men carving huge stones with considerable intricacy. He learned a great deal from them in the creation of large-scale detailed designs. These concepts he brought back to the west where he carved a number of major capitals in Deuil just north of Paris. This stage culminated in a few capitals in Boshcherville, where further work was cut short by the Crusade.

The third phase was after funds started to flow again following the Crusade. I would surmise that during this recession he withdrew to his home area near the Aisne, for his first commission seems to have been at Morienval. This was followed by a tremendous output of work in a new manner, confident, well-coordinated and with beautifully proportioned details, at Saint-Martin. His presence there was interrupted by sojourns in other places, as we will discuss.

Where there have been choices in the relative timing of carvings I have allowed their geographical proximity to have an influence. For example, from style of cutting Mortefontaine could have been closer in time to Gournay, except that would have involved very long journeys between one end of the *royaume* to the other and then back again.
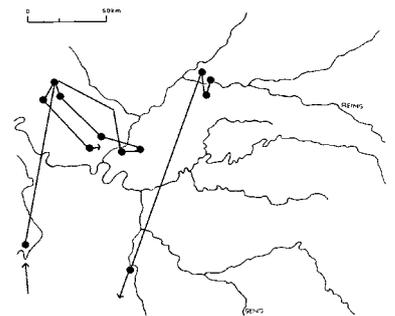
Map showing Bannière's travels during his first ten years from Vic and Bitry in the north-east to Château-Landun, Melle and Chartres, and then north to seven sites in the Vexin and among the quarries of the Oise.
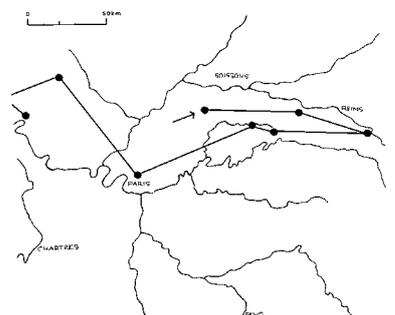
Map showing Bannière's travels during his second period. Moving to Pierrefonds from the west he proceeded further west before returning to Montlevon and Oulchy. This eased his passage back to the Parisis, Gournay and finally Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville, just before the Crusade.

DRAFT

The second phase in the Soissonais and the Marne (1089-1092)

Once he left Fontenay, he spent many years in the eastern area. All his appointments were within 100 kilometres of each other. Pierrefonds is in a remote valley to the south of Vic, Courville is closer to Reims and Saint-Germain well to the south, though still on the Marne, while Montlevon and Oulchy are fairly central in this area. After Montlevon he moved back to the Parisis and the west.

In the Pierrefonds capital there is a rope or vine that attaches the banner-like frond to the crocket. It hangs like a tail with a freer, almost startled quality [r1]. The open fingers of the fans, especially the one on the right face of the capital, and the way the fronds relate to each other and the tight curls on the crocket are charming and eccentric, quite in keeping with the earlier work. The other capitals in Pierrefonds give few clues on date, but I would place this as the earliest in this period, jut after the most comparable work at Fontenay.

At Courville there is one capital in the nave with a large fan-leaf under a half-circle that would, if undecorated, have formed a cushion capital [r2]. The lobes in the central leaf have ribs up the centres, but the lobes in all the others are scooped. The trees in the corners and their lobes are in his manner. He may have carved or helped with a second capital with a fan on the left face, also with scooped lobes [r3]. They both have tree-like structures on the corners, but no crockets, which he used sparingly.

Because the lobes are better organised than in Gournay and the arrangements are more coherent, I would say he was working in the company of older men who were giving him some creative support. At a time when he was growing in skill and artistic acumen he was in the company of men with different ideas that he could absorb.

For example, the trees in the corners of both these capitals may have come from the carver of an upright design with large crockets [b1]. His later use of large heads instead of crockets may have been inspired by the carver of this nearby capital [b2].

Pierrefonds crypt

Courville nave WN4(a)

Courville nave WN2(a)

Courville nave WN3(a)

Courville nave WS3(a)

There is a stronger sense of geometry in the planning of these capitals than used elsewhere. He limited his own freedom, apparently much loved before and after this, by encasing frond, fans and trees within geometric forms that controlled the whole surface of the stone.

Afterwards he limited geometry to the different forms that participated in the whole, such as the fans, but eschewed any over-arching delineator. For example, at Oulchy-le-Château. There he worked once again with the Comet Master who carved one very large capital in the nave. Bannière's was nearby, seen in the fan on the front in a rounded frame, reminiscent of Courville [r4], and on the right face there is a spray with a collar [r5]. In the latter note the way the lobes begin along the spine with no junction to the branch, and the parallel lines as in the Gournay crossing.

Oulchy-le-Château nave

Oulchy-le-Château nave right face

The use of geometric patterns at Oulchy may have been inspired by the men who were applying geometry exclusively to most of the other capitals in the nave. There had been a little geometry in Courville, but at Oulchy the large capitals have more than any other northern building.

The time-lines for Bannière place Oulchy after Courville and before Montlevon and Deuil. The date would be just before 1090, not earlier. Oulchy is often misdated to 1072 from a poor reading of the documents [v.3512].

It is possible Bannière made the four-day journey to Saint-Germain-la-Ville, for though the arrangement is more stylised, the design has many similarities [r1]. The lobes are longer and more pointed with greater space between them at the tips. This gives the impression of disengaging from the frond itself, like the dry spreading of late summer leaves. The idea developed into an alternative motif over the following years.

From Saint-Germain he may have travelled back along the Marne, a four-day journey, to Montlevon [r2]. The local fine-grained limestone allowed him to follow the skills he had acquired in setting out and in compacting the designs. Many details are reminiscent of Oulchy and Courville. There was no over-arching geometry, for which he gave little thought, but he paid exquisite care to subtle detailing, made all the easier by the type of stone. The usual elements are also seen in the imposts [r3].

The variety in his work is most apparent here, and later in Boscherville. This is where freedom of arrangement allowed him to play with the elements in order to fill up every cranny as densely as possible. It must have given him exquisite pleasure [b]. Fans and spirals are everywhere, but no crockets. He placed dog-like heads on little spikes and ran trees up the corners as in Courville [b2].

Saint-Germain-la-Ville   WS1(a)

Montlevon WN1s(a)
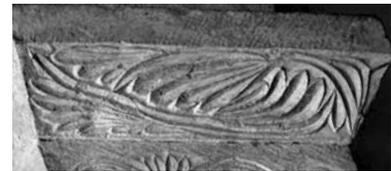
Montlevon ES1(a) impost

Montlevon WS1n(a)

Montevon   ES1n(a) right face

Montlevon ES1n(a)

Montlevon EN1s(a)

On ES1 there is a little dog on the right side, set among trees on the corners and fan-like fronds [r4]. It has something fluid emerging out of its mouth, and though crude in outline has the qualities that in a very young man could develop into the other dogs we will discuss in a moment.

He may have had an assistant by this time, and could have instructed him to carve the simplistic versions of his designs: truncated heads in the corners and wide fans like a spray across the surface. He may also have carved the simple crocket capital further down the nave [both illustrated in v.3-445].

Returns to the west until the Crusade (1093-1095)

In Deuil-le-Barre Bannière worked a third time with the Comet Master. Under his influence he returned to attaching the tendrils for his fans to the crockets. One of the capitals he carved in the nave has a simple yet strong geometric pattern across the face that combined what he experienced at Oulchy with his current willingness to play with comets. .

Deuil-le-Barre nave WS4w(a)

Where the tails by Comet form impressive wings that hang [b1,2], in Bannière the tails fly to one side and are tied to the crocket by a long thin chord that makes no pretence of being a branch [r1,2]. The tails are integrated and sensuous in the Comet's, and hoar-frost stiff in the other. The Comet wings emerge from the top of the crocket as if growing. They seem integral with it, whereas Bannière's seem attached. It is for this quality that I called him Bannière, from the way his fronds seem to fly in the wind like winter banners.

Deuil-le-Barre nave WS3e(a) by Bannière

Deuil-le-Barre nave WN1(s) by Comet

Deuil-le-Barre nave WN1(a) detail by Comet

Deuil-le-Barre nave WS3e(a) detail by Bannière

There is a third capital where he has started to integrate the tails with the geometry, in this case intersecting arcs like overlapping rainbows [r3]. The chord has been lengthened and turned into a rope of twisted threads that continues to the end of the frond. A pair of ropes form a 'v' across the upper half. This is an ambitious though not entirely successful design, utilising more elements while bravely trying to find a way to integrate them. It shows a trend towards complexity that will be developed much further as the carver matured.

To find three capitals carved by one man suggests that Bannière was a major carver on the site. It could be that he had more time there than the others who came for shorter periods, but it could also be that he had been placed in charge of the crew and therefore took more work for himself.

There is another capital in Deuil with similar banners, yet with a completely different manner of detailing [r4]. I would say this was a co-worker using Bannière's concept of tails, but within his own more regular geometric manner. He was more skilled in maintaining control over his edges than Bannière, and was certainly more willing to stick within the limits set by his geometric layout, yet his design elements appear somewhat ungainly.

In the choir of Gournay-en-Bray only the south wall and aisle piers were constructed. Nothing on the north side was erected in this campaign, though one presumes there would have been something there from an earlier building. There is a capital in the south bay of the choir [b]. The banners hanging off the crockets are back, but sit over a completely uncharacteristic pattern of quasi-antique classical motifs unlike anything else he had carved before, with a pinecone in the centre [r5]. Yet the straps joined by collars are not symmetrical, and on the right are roughly woven.

Deuil-le-Barre nave WS4e(a)

Deuil-le-Barre nave WS3w(a)

The time-lines of Fanny and Rampant II who carved adjacent capitals confirm that the south choir aisle was built some dozen years later than the nave. Perhaps Bannière was at this time enlarging his repertoire, and to such an extent that his characteristic tails are dominated by other things.

Gournay-en-Bray Es2(a) right face

Gournay-en-Bray choir Es1se(a)

Bannière carved two other very complex arrangements in the south bay [b]. They have two types of fans joined by wavy tendrils that overlap. Overlapping is an unusual detail among the rinceau carvers of the north, though far more common in the southern regions, such as in the Aquitaine.

The fronds have movement, partly because they are not organised in a rigid manner. The lobes do not radiate in straight arrays, but swing in slightly irregular curves and their terminals may have nodules or be sharpened. They are becoming integrated with the design. In his urge to fill the space he was compelled to develop more flexibility, and in doing this has managed to secure many disparate elements into a single artistic field that hangs together. That was no mean achievement, especially within a design-style that avoided symmetry.

Gournay-en-Bray choir Es2e(a)   Gournay-en-Bray choir ES4(a)

About the same time it is possible that he carved a large capital in the Norman church of Saint-Jean-d'Abbetot. There are fans set within heart-shaped circles as in Courville, scooped lobes arranged in a spread-eagled way, and on the left side a head holding the ends of the vines. The crocket has a dimple in the underside so that the coils from each face are distinct. The central figure has a large head, is hairless and knees and elbows were carved with the lumpiness usual with Bannière.

Saint-Jean-d'Abbetot nave

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville and changes after the Crusade

There are some very similar capitals in the external arcade of the choir of Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville [b]. They are badly worn and the surfaces pitted, yet the major characteristics can be made out. One capital has the large multi-lobed frond on the face [b1]. It is like Mortefontaine in a loosely organised mode [r1]. The fronds look as if they are emerging from the trunk of a tree. Another capital has a wild looking prancing animal eating leaves from a different sort of tree, with sharp-pointed and bent fronds filling every inch of space on a tall stalk [b2]. This is not unlike the trees in the Gournay choir [r2]. Both capitals appear to be in turmoil.

Mortefontaine

Gournay-en-Bray nave Ws1n(a)

The foundations are usually dated to after 1113 when the Benedictines took over, and though this is pretty skimpy evidence the date seems to fit into Bannière's chronology for the upper parts of the church, but not for this external arcade. I am going to suggest that these capitals would have been carved just before the Crusade. The wildness and passion in the work, so different to the almost clinical calm in Oulchy, may have been stimulated by the excitement then enveloping the country.

1095

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)

There are immense differences between Bannière's capitals in the external arcade and those he carved in the upper levels. As one typical capital shows, the fronds are larger and more generous and the curves less abrupt [r4]. Yet if construction had proceeded smoothly there should have been only a couple of years between these two levels. [To compare further, the external arcade capitals are on the next page, and of those in the rest of the church are on the following pages.]

The coursing is remarkably uniform all around the building. Uniformity is rare throughout this period. As I showed in Etampes,[n] it is more usual to build a large church in a number of stages so the available funds may be used to get the eastern end up as quickly as possible. Continuous coursing, as in this case, suggests that the promise of future funding was enough to inspire confidence that the entire building would be completed, not just the choir.

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS3(a)

While the external arcade was being carved the builders may have been laying courses to the west, even if only for the plinths. I presume this was to encourage donors to continue their support for the works. The interior bases have massive stones that form a square under the piers and project well beyond the shafts above them in a manner that is more in the style of Durham cathedral of the 1090s than of Normandy twenty-five years later.[n]

The third lies in the base profiles in the external apse arcade which are tall and more typical of the eleventh century than the twelfth [r5]. The

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS3(a)

DRAFT

fourth is stylistic, for Bannière had an only rudimentary control over his arrangements in the arcade compared to those higher up. There is also a capital in the arcade by Sprouter, whose work I have already mentioned on page 7, and whose contributions were all made before the Crusade [r1]. These all argue for a gap in time between the arcade and the aisle capitals.

I am therefore going to suggest that the lower courses, including the external arcade, were the work of the 1090s, and that progress was delayed during the Crusade and did not pick up until some years later, perhaps not until the generally accepted date of 1113.

There are nine capitals in the external arcade that I would attribute to Bannière. They are a varied collection with intersecting loops and clumsy big-headed figures, and wandering tendrils and the usual large fan-like fronds that are a hallmark. One head has flames out of his mouth like Saint-Martin-au-Val [r2], two have crockets that connect to rope-like tendrils that loop across as in Deuil, and so on. It is when we compare them to the later work upstairs that we can see how ideas evolved during the quiet time of the Crusade, by studying the eight below from the arcade with three from the aisle on the right.

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville external by Sprouter

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WN1(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville north

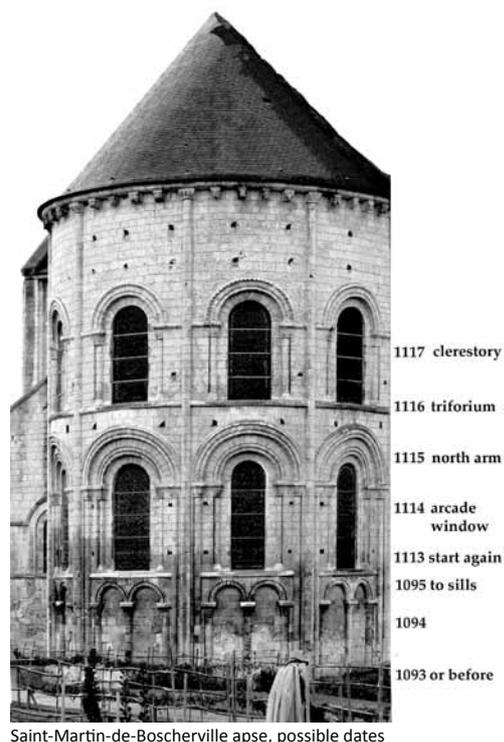Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

The next level where we find his capitals is in the choir where there are three by him in arcade and windows [b]. Two have figures of a particularly lumpish posture, and one has a chinless head sprouting a vertical vine ending in fan-shaped fronds with scooped lobes. These were all carved twenty years after those in the external arcade.

Later he worked on the nave aisles, the north transept, the eastern triforium and nearby window, and in the choir clerestory, as well as on the west front. There would have been some time between these levels, and either he remained on site and engaged in general masonry, or (which I prefer) he left for a while and returned when they needed him.

The fact that Bannière spent many years working on Saint-Martin on many levels, suggests that one large campaign saw the erection of a great part of the building. Analysis of the capitals indicates this would have included the whole of the choir above the sills (though probably not the vaults and upper six or seven courses where their heights change) and the nave and transepts to somewhere in the triforium level. How long would it have taken to build this much can be calculated in comparison to other dated buildings, which I have previously discussed in "08 construction timetables" of the *Master Carvers Series*. Based on similar constructions I estimate that the choir from footings to above the clerestory windows would have taken at least eight years at a maximum of eight courses per year.

1117 clerestory
1116 triforium
1115 north arm
1114 arcade window
1113 start again
1095 to sills
1094
1093 or before

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville apse, possible dates

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)

Boscherville apse window (aw)

There are similar capitals in the nave arcade. They are remarkably well preserved and the details are still crystal-clear. Some have heads in the upper corners, one without a chin [b1], another is a Green Man with a tree-like member coming out of his mouth [r3]. On the right side of WN1 the space between the crocket and the corner has been filled with an elongated head squashed against the wall, a rare device [b2,3].

The designs are varied, as if he carried ideas in his head, but no actual template: The fan-like fronds, the expansiveness, the filling of the entire space and so on are all characteristics of Bannière, but I cannot tie him down to any one arrangement. They are all different.

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS5(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS3(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WN1(a)

Boscherville WN1(a) right face

Bannière carved most of the capitals in the north arm, including the massive one under the entry arch [b1,2]. These are remarkable in being left, in the main, incomplete. Elements like the vines were only blocked in, as if he was finishing only those parts that attracted him most, like the grapes.

There are only vines and bunches of grapes on one face, and a stirring rider encased in large fronds on the other, separated by a tall homely figure [r1]. Perhaps this figure on the corner with his leather belt and simple shirt was the vigneron who had made a suitable donation for this part of the church. He has drilled the eyes and a flat head, as in most of his figures, including what appears to be a self-portrait in the choir external arcade [r2].

1116

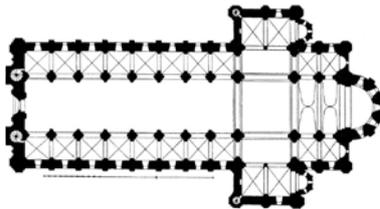Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NC2(a) left face

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NC2(a) front face

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NC2(a) the donor?

In this level a gradually awakening sense of order was emerging. The designs for the corners link into the faces. The layout is still freehand, but not nearly as messy as it used to be and, with one exception [b1] not as jam-packed with elements. As in the nave, he slipped a large head against the wall with its tongue lolling out [r3]. These capitals reflect the change in his skill and maturity that he developed while the crusaders were away.

I am particularly struck by the variety in Bannière's work. No two are the same. If these were single carvings in different workshops we might consider the influence of companions on the same site. But we cannot do this in the aisle of the north arm where he carved nearly every capital. Though this period is remarkable for the ingenuity shown nearly everywhere, such wide-ranging creativity is not found in the work of most masters. It is an intrinsic quality.

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville plan

1116

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville north (a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)

In the triforium level of the choir there are two Bannière capitals. One is almost identical to three in the external arcade of the apse with crossed vines and fan-like fronds and a head in the centre [b1,2]. The other I attribute to him only because there are sharp-pointed lobes on the frond below the sword and a collar, because of the bulky form of the animal that is being skewered and the head on the corner [b2].

1117

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (t)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir external arcade

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (t)

In the uppermost level of the choir there is one in the clerestory under the vaults, and another in the adjacent window [b], both with chinless corner heads and large fans. One head has big teeth, like the animal being skewered

1118

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville AN1(c)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville S-e(cw)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville interior from west

On the west front there is one capital with a chinless head and sharp-pointed lobes like a couple in the north transept, and probably carved as part of the same urgent building campaign [b1]. An adjacent capital has the characteristics of the SS Master [b2], and in the article on him in the *Master Carvers Series* I dated it to around 1120.

1119

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville W-w(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville W-w(a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville west entry

Here in the abbey of Saint-Martin we have spanned the great divide caused by the Crusade, and concluded with the last projects in a long life, the clerestory and the west front. It is time now to fill in the gaps. It is unlikely a sculptor as competent as Bannière would have been left at the abbey during all the years of construction carving no more than walling or mouldings. In the pauses between sculptural programs he would have been off to other sites, a suggestion that is both logical and born out by the evidence.

Other projects completed after the Crusade (1104-1120)

1120

I was delighted to find that the south cloister at Saint-Aubin in Angers has a capital with the same wide-spreading fan as in the Boscherville clerestory, both being carved in about the same year [r1]. The object that holds the straps at the top may be a collar or a mutilated chinless head, which would have been more usual. Here is Bannière's familiar detailing in the lobes and the fan-like spread of the fronds, the same collars and scoops, and the same head as in so many places before.

As in Mortefontaine at the beginning of his career, the leaf fits snugly into the space, with the difference that where in the tower it had been squeezed into a rectangular frame, in Angers it was more important to maintain the half-circle of the foliage which was itself fitted into the curves of the straps. Where Mortefontaine has a short stick holding the fan, Angers emerges out of a chord-like vine that comes out of the head-like block under the corner. We can see how Courville stands in the middle of his life and hold the promise of this last capital at Angers.

1081

I have mentioned before the capital in the choir of Saint-Martin-au-Val near Chartres that has a pair of 'dogs' hurling fire-like fronds out of their mouths [r2]. The adjacent capital has animals placed in a more playful and adroit manner and provide a more detailed view of the dog [r3]. I estimate that this was the first time he used this animal, followed by Montlevon [b].

Angers, Saint-Aubin south cloister

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir

Montevon ES1n(a) detail on right side

The sway along the back is typical, as is the open mouth that usually had something coming out of it. The ears are clearly sculpted. Only later was the nose turned up and more realistic paws added. There was often a tendril with a little frond on the end hanging across the middle of the body. This was repeated in the south chapel entry at Mogneville, in an early campaign [b]: See the piece on The Facet Master.

1109

Mogneville south entry (a-)

Mogneville south entry (a-) from left side

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir

1108

Maule choir dado right side detail

There are dogs in a major capital in the Gournay choir [r1]. It is next to a stone with Bannière fronds, mentioned earlier. The dogs are in two layers. One can see how the characteristics of the dog have advanced over the years. They have sway backs with heads looking to the rear, and yet within that feline naturalness the figures have an all-too-stolid appearance. There is no definition of ankles or facial features, no clear observation of where the tail meets the rump or of how the legs fold into the body. The fur is designed as if it were scales on a fish. The dogs are like Bannière's bodies of humans, if somewhat more sculpturally active.

In support of these attributions, I would add that there are no other dogs of this type or with these characteristics in the Paris Basin at this time, besides those listed here, except for one on the Le Mans nave wall and another one worn and plastered-over in Lavilletertre. The fact that some (Mogneville, Jumièges) have shorter fronds may suggest another master, but I do no have one to attach them to.

In the external arcade at Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville there is an impost [b]. It is a small stone, no more than 70mm high, carved with two dogs and a square-edged fan-shaped frond with an adjacent clover leaf [described on the first page] with the same clover leaf as in Saint-Martin-au-Val [r2]. There is a long rope-like connection joining the bodies of both dogs and the central frond. There are collars at each junction. The carving is more deeply cut and he seems to have acquired some sense for the overall character of the capital. I would not say geometry, as he prefers arrangements to be wayward, but there is more control - certainly more than the Gournay nave.

Gournay-en-Bray south choir

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir arcade impost

The southernmost capital in this arcade also has a dog-like creature with huge teeth and something flowing out of its mouth [b1]. I have discussed this earlier, but mention it again to bring all the dogs together. The stone is pitted and hard to see, but the long tendril from the crocket and the swirling wildness of the foliage from a central 'tree' are unmistakable, as is the use of scales instead of fur.

There are two dogs in the Jumièges nave. One is rampant with a fan on the upper left [b3]. I would be unable to date this on its own, but the other heraldic capitals with birds all suggest a time just after the Crusade, and this is where I have placed it.

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)

Jumièges WN1R(a+)

Jumièges WN9n(a+)

There are three more of these dogs in the Paris Basin, two on the east wall above the crossing arch at Catenoy, and one in the nave of Saint-Vaast-lès-Mello from the fourth campaign. They have similar characteristics, for they move from left to right, have sway backs, long tails ending in foliage, and open mouths. Two are belching flames. I would like to think they were all by Bannière, even though there are no fans or fronds that might identify him.

Catenoy crossing east side (c+)

Catenoy crossing east side (c+)

Saint-Vaast-lès-Mello group 4

There is also one dog south of the Loire that has the same characteristics and lies within Bannière's life-span. It sits between the consoles under the cornice of the west front at Saint-Savinien at Melle, and may well be Bannière [r1]. This is the only similar dog I have found, though it comes from what has been an only partial search.

Some of the adjacent little figures may be his too [b]. There is a wild untamable quality in his work, as in the dog at Saint-Martin and in the self-portrait we shall examine in a moment. Two panels are concerned with sex, one of a couple in coitus and the other of a man with an erection. They show that with people, as with animals, he observed with some accuracy even if he lacked or could not be bothered with making the details more carefully or three-dimensionally.

Melle Saint-Savinien

The town is inland from La Rochelle. The consoles may have been carved during his apprentice years, presumably while travelling in the south. This would place this nave somewhere near the time of Saint-Martin-au-Val, and suggests that Château-Landun, Saint-Martin and Melle were all part of this southern journey seeking new experiences and training.

Melle Saint-Savinien west front

Melle Saint-Savinien under console

Melle Saint-Savinien under console

Melle Saint-Savinien under console

Melle Saint-Savinien under console

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d) detail sculptor

Carvings of people

Bannière liked to carve doll-like figures with over-large heads with flattened temples and little corporeal reality. They are large, upright, massive. They hold on to things, like fronds or hammers. There is hardly ever any hair, and breasts are like little buttons.

I consider the figure at Saint-Martin a self-portrait of himself as mason holding a mallet and a chisel [r1]. He does not wield an axe or a laye, which would suggest a stonemason, but the tools of the sculptor's trade. The power of this piece resides in the flamboyant posture, arms upheld, the body leaning backwards and the knees twisted as if he were dancing.

In the choir of Saint-Martin there are two capitals with figures from some years later [b1,2] There are two earlier figures [see page 5] in the nave of Gournay-en-Bray with fanned leaves and long wandering tendrils [b3].

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)

Gournay-en-Bray nave Ws1n(a)

There are similar figures at Avrechy. I photographed these capitals first from scaffolding while the vaults were being renovated, and later after plaster had been smeared over all the carved work to "clean it up". The lighting was poor in the first and the detailing disguised under the plaster in the second. The use of plaster on these old capitals was a disaster.

Nevertheless, there is a man with a big head holding a double-ended tree in each hand as in Gournay, which is not far from Avrechy [r3]. The 'trees' have the usual fronds that are in this case surmounted with a simplistic pine cone. The capital next to it has curled branches between the figures and fan-like 'halos' behind the angels.

There are two bulky angels nearby, staring with solid wings and little legs, stiff and straight [b]. Symmetry has now entered his repertoire. Not just the convenience of placing a figure on each corner, but the more exact symmetry of a tree placed along the central axis [b2]. One capital to the left of the angels has a pair of upright birds, in their component parts very like the bird at Melle, with claws more like hands and splayed tail and wings. On the other side is a man flanked by animals with typical fan-like tails like Jumièges [r3]. His checkered coat is no longer visible under the plaster.

Avrechy apse ES2nwn(a)

Avrechy apse ES1ne,e(a)

Avrechy apse ES1e(a)

Avrechy apse ES1se(a)

Morienval choir (1104-1106)

I have many difficulties in analysing the chapel capitals at Morienval because most lack any appearance of wear and tear, because the decoration is uncharacteristically rigid for this time and because there are so few reasonably comparable capitals elsewhere. Uniqueness is not a characteristic of carving in the twelfth century, which is why these studies are possible.

Morienval stands out as a collection of virtually unique capitals, unless we consider the possibility that they were replaced or restored. The surface finish and the crispness of the edges suggests that many have been tampered with. This can be tested by petrographic analysis, but pending that I have collected similar capitals from elsewhere to compare with these, and which fit into the ambience of the period and are unmistakably of this time.

The comparative analysis will show that nearly every one of the designs at Morienval is a modified version of ones from other buildings that were carved by masters with a body of work elsewhere. In other words, if the possible source for one of the Morienval capitals lies in a recognisable contemporary group from other places, then it is a fair bet that those at Morienval were reconstructed versions of the originals. This issue with the Morienval capitals will be discussed in Chapter 16 "General analysis".

Considering this, is there a possibility that Bannière worked at Morienval? The possibility is supported by two observations. The first is in a group of restored capitals that have fans, collars and overlapping vines [r1-3]. There are no crockets, the head has been replaced with a bundle of wavy lines. Being restored I suspect the designs were altered slightly by being made more exact and less freehand than Bannière would have done. I would compare them to a couple in Boscherville, especially one in the apse external arcade [b4].

If he did these larger capitals, then I would expect to find him in a number of smaller capitals in the chapels. These are tall and narrow stones with little space for complex decorative effects. I set them both out below, with the one in the northernmost pier being original, as shown by the general level of *abimation* [b1]. The central one with paired fronds meeting each other in the centre is a typical early Comet in the manner of Acy-en-Multien. That on the right was by the Aviateur Master of Villers-Saint-Paul and Latilly. There is another narrow capital that could have been based on Bannière [b2].

If I can pin these on him, two in the chapels and one in the clerestory, then he could have been in residence for a number of years. The connections are intriguing, and there is some logic in the proposition, as during the first years after the Crusade funding may have been hard to find and men like Bannière may have looked for the more permanent employment a job on one site may have given him.

Morienval choir chapels restored

Morienval choir chapels restored

Morienval choir clerestory replaced (c)

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)

Morienval choir chapels original

Morienval choir chapels replaced

When the vaults were completed the apex was decorated in a most unusual manner. Four triangular panels were set between the ribs. One has two figures holding what looks like a reliquary or a book. The heads are large, round, flat on top and hairless [b].

Another has fan-like fronds coming out of the sides of his head, and rounded elbows and enlarged head. A third panel with a bird has wings outstretched in the same manner as the fronds.

They look like Bannière's work If so, then he could have spent more than three years at Morienval to build from the chapel capitals and their vaults up to the main vault. From the number of courses, the entire choir from footings to roof would have required seven plus years, probably from 1102-1108. These dates were confirmed by those for the Comet Master.
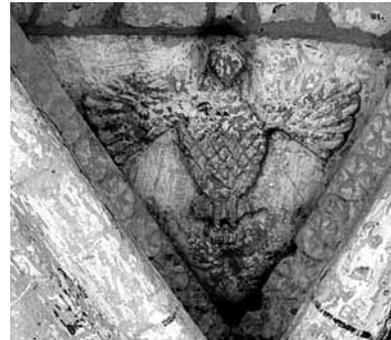

Morienval vault

Morienval choir southern boss panel

Morienval choir northern boss panel

Morienval choir western boss panel

There is no evidence for other work by Bannière during these years, so he may have been permanently at the one site all this time.

The map shows after Morienval he travelled along the Seine and Oise river valleys [r]. With the sole exception of a stint in the east, where he worked on the tower at Latilly only 5 kilometres from his previous site of Oulchy, and was one of the most competent. On the same journey he carved a capital in the crossing of Coulanges-Cohan, just a smart day's walk to the east. After that all his work was in the area of the Vexin, and especially a long period at Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville (as already discussed).

He travelled long distances to find work, and he would have 'stumbled' across other jobs on the way, though more than half his output has been lost. When passing through the Oise and Vexin he was in the middle of a major construction zone, and its unlikely he would have lacked for employment on his travels.

I do find it strange that his last work was such a long way away at Angers. There were a number of northern sculptors working there at that time, and they may have come down in a body for the southern cloister. Félix was one of the more important, yet there is no other place where all these sculptors had worked together before that.
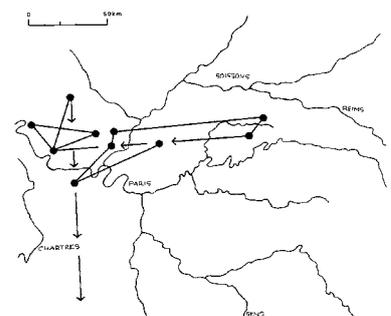
Map showing Bannière's travels during his third period after the Crusade from Morienval to Maule, then to the region north of the Oise, followed by two in the east and back to Boscherville, Jumièges and Avrechy all in the one area. The long journey to Angers was his last.

Apprenticeship and two possible earlier jobs

The further back in time we travel the less characteristic is his work. It is only by hindsight that we can glimpse the boy who became the man. It is natural that in the early years he would have been gaining his style and his artistic preferences. I think I have found a little evidence for him during his apprenticeship years, at La Croix-sur-Ourcq just south of Oulchy.

It is a very disjointed capital, yet we can observe that the expanding lobes are gathered into groups like fronds, and the design shows the carver had an urgent need to fill every inch of space [b]. These qualities became more orderly over time and developed into the more complex work later on [b].

1076

La Croix-sur-Ourcq WN3w right corner

La Croix-sur-Ourcq WN3w face

Marolles-en-Brie may also have been an early job. One capital has stiff figures with enlarged and hairless heads. The tree supports a fan, and there is another fan pretending to be a bush next to the figure [b1]. There is a pair of dogs rampant on the adjoining stone, and another with a snake against the ear and a 'moustache', all festooned with lobe-covered fronds [b2]. A large head is placed on the corner of a third, again with many fronds [b3]. Yet all have lots of empty space between the elements.
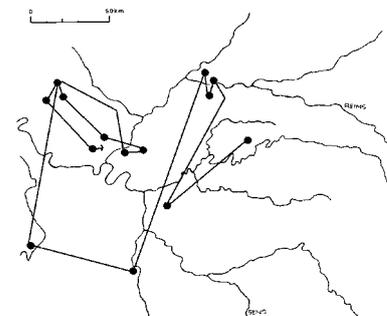
1077

Marolles-en-Brie choir WN1se

Marolles-en-Brie choir EN1w

Marolles-en-Brie choir WN1ne

To suit his stylistic evolution, this would have had to have been in the later 1070s, probably after La Croix, with help from a great teacher in between, and definitely before Bitry or Château-Landun. I have redrawn the travel map for the first phase with these two churches in it [r2].

Chronology

The period before 1120 is the most difficult to analyse as little remains. I estimate that of the works constructed between 1130 and 1180 we have lost 60 percent, but for the period before that 80-85 percent has disappeared.

I would have liked to used the changes in his work to establish a more authentic chronology, but his *œuvre* is too eccentric, too varied and too spontaneous to allow me and I am going to have to rely on the work of

Revised map of Bannière's first travels before Vic-sur-Aisne and Bitry.

others on those sites where they worked with Bannière. For example, the design evolution of Sprouter and Fanny help fix the dates of Courville, the Gournay choir and the lowest courses of Boscherville. The Old Duke helps with Saint-Vaast and Montlevon and Morienval, and both his pupil the Duke Master and Félix from the Ile-de-France back up the date for the Saint-Aubin capital.

As in the definition of ecology, everything is connected to everything else, and therefore by integrating the time-lines of the many masters in these studies I hope to achieve a more accurate chronology. That will come soon, but in the meantime here are the best dates I can muster at this stage for 38 campaigns spread evenly over 54 years. If the first was the work of a 15-year old, the last was carved by a man who was almost 70.

1076	Croix-sur-Ourcq ??	nave (a)
1077	Marolles-en-Brie ??	east, south chapel
1077	Vic-sur-Aisne	nave
1078	Mortefontaine	tower
1079	Bitry	tower base
1080	Château-Landun	nave, west wall
1081	Saint-Martin-au-Val	choir (a)
1081	Melle	cornice over west door
1082	Gournay-en-Bray	west nave (a)
1083	Bouconvillers	tower 1
1084	Arthies	tower
1085	Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont	tower 3, spire
1085	Bruyères-sur-Oise	tower base
1086	Gournay-en-Bray	nave crossing (a)
1087	Parnes	apse
1088	Fontenay-Saint-Père	east (aw)
1089	Pierrefonds	crypt
1089	Courville	nave (a)
1090	Oulchy-le-Château	nave
1091	Saint-Germain-la-Ville	nave
1092	Montlevon	nave (a)
1093	Deuil-le-Barre	nave
1093	Gournay-en-Bray	south choir (a)
1094	Saint-Jean-d'Abbetot	nave
1095	St-Martin-de-Boscherville	east (d)
1095	Crusade	
1104	Morienval	east chapels (a)
1106	Morienval	east (c) and vaults
1108	Maule	apse (d)
1109	Mogneville	south (a-) phase 3
1110	Saint-Vaast-lès-Mello	nave phase 4
1112	Latilly	tower
1113	Coulonges-Cohan	crossing
1114	St-Martin-de-Boscherville	east (a)
1115	St-Martin-de-Boscherville	west, north (a)
1116	Jumièges	WN1(a)
1117	St-Martin-de-Boscherville	apse (c)
1118	Catenoy	crossing (c)
1119	Avrechy	apse
1120	Angers, Saint-Aubin cloister south range	

*All capitals by Bannière
in approximate date order*

(1076-1120)

La Croix-sur-Ourcq nave ?? 1076

Marolles-en-Brie choir ?? 1077

Vic-sur-Aisne nave 1077

Mortefontaine tower 1078

Bitry north window 1079

Château-Landun west window 1080

Saint-Martin-au-Val choir 1081

Melle, Saint-Savinien west console 1081

Gournay-en-Bray nave 1082

Gournay-en-Bray nave 1082

Bouconvillers tower stage I 1083

Arthies tower 1084

Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont tower 1085

Saint-Vaast-de-Longmont 1085

Bruyères-sur-Oise tower base 1085

Gournay-en-Bray nave crossing 1086

Parnes apse clerestory 1087

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Fontenay-Saint-Père apse   1088

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse   1088

Fontenay-Saint-Père apse   1088

Pierrefonds crypt   1089

Courville nave   1089

Courville nave   1089

Oulchy-le-Château nave   1090

Oulchy-le-Château nave   1090

Saint-Germain-la-Ville nave   1091

Montlevon nave   1092

Montlevon nave   1092

Montevon ES1n(a) detail on right face   1092

Deuil-le-Barre nave   1093

Deuil-le-Barre nave   1093

Deuil-le-Barre nave   1093

Gournay-en-Bray choir   1093

Gournay-en-Bray choir   1093

Saint-Jean-d'Abbetot   1094

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)   1095

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)   1095

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)   1095

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)   1095

Crusader's recession 1095-1102

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville E(d)   1095

Morienval east chapels   1104

Morienval east chapels   1104

Morienval east chapels   1104
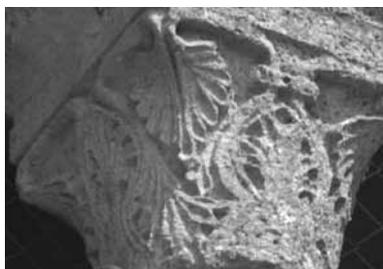

Maule choir dado   1108
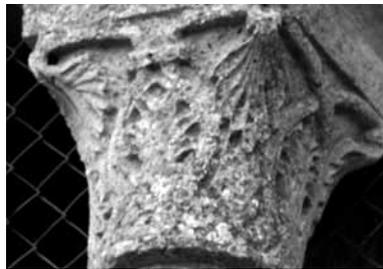

Mogneville south entry   1109

Saint-Vaast-lès-Mello group 4   1110

Latilly tower   1112

Latilly tower   1112

Coulonges-Cohan crossing   1113

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)   1114

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS3(a)   1114

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (a)   1114

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville north (a)   1115

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)   1115

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WN1(a) 1114

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)   1115

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NE2(a)   1115

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville nave WS5(a)   1114

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NC2(a)   1115

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville NC2(a)   1115

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (t)   1116

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville choir (t)   1116

Jumièges WN9n(a)   1116

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville S-e(cw)   1117

Saint-Martin-de-Boscherville AN1(c)   1117

Catenoy crossing (c+)   1118

Catenoy crossing (c+)   1118

Avrechy east   1119

Avrechy east   1119

Angers, Saint-Aubin south cloister 1120

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