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III. 1 Lincoln, Cathedral, Angel Choir, south side, Judgement Portal

Jennifer S. Alexander

The Judgement Portal at Lincoln Cathedral

Lincoln's Angel Choir was built between 1256–c. 1280 as an eastern extension to the earlier choir of the cathedral in order to honour St Hugh of Lincoln, and to provide a magnificent setting for the shrine of the saint, canonised in 1220.¹ Accordingly the exterior of the building made its purpose manifest on the south side by having a ceremonial entrance to the shrine in the form of a gabled porch with an archivolt, sculptured tympanum, shafted jambs and associated large-scale figure sculpture (Ill. 1). The portal, known as the Judgement Portal, has its iconography derived from several sources and it is clear that it reflects the debate about the continued presence on earth of Christ's physical relics. It is also evident that the original scheme was modified during the period of the Angel Choir's construction and afterwards and that we are seeing an incomplete version of the intended iconographic programme.

Construction of the Portal

The archaeological evidence and the masons' marks in the area around the portal point to it being laid out and built early in the campaign of the Angel Choir, probably by the early 1260s. Work on constructing the choir's outer walls had proceeded rapidly on the clear site to the east of the earlier building after 1256, while the work of raising the piers and the elevation had to await the demolition of the chevet of the existing choir.

Siting the portal in the centre bay of the lateral wall of the choir is without precedent in England, and there are only a few examples in France, such as the *Porte Rouge* added to the north side of the choir of Notre-Dame in Paris c. 1270 which is a miniature version of a great portal.²

Lincoln's portal was constrained by the Angel Choir's architecture and the mason had to find a way to create an imposing design in less than the length of one bay of the choir, which he did by projecting a combination of a multi-stepped portal with double entrance doors having arches instead of horizontal lintels below a sculpted tympanon and a narrow, gabled porch hiding a small rib vault. The portal forms a structural unit with the flanking buttresses and its outer order is integrated into the ornamentation of the lower levels of the buttresses. The span of the portal is thus

accommodated between the buttresses, but the result is that the gable above sits awkwardly on the haunches of the arch and it is backed by a plain low wall to disguise the lean-to roof. At ground level steeply pointed blind arches on each of the buttresses flank the main arch of the portal in a very similar way to those of the Galilee porch opening into the south-west transept of the cathedral from c. 1220–1230. Additionally, the Angel Choir's north side has a less elaborate door through which pilgrims could also enter without walking through the rest of the cathedral. In the interior there are two sculpted portals with gates that led from the main, western, transept into the choir aisles and controlled access to the shrine.

Lincoln's imposing exterior portal provides a marked contrast to the situation at other 13th-century English shrines such as St Etheldreda's at Ely or St Erkenwald's at St Paul's in London, where new choirs of similar size and square-ended shape were built and in neither case was there a ceremonial entrance that led directly to the shrine from the exterior.³ At this time masons in England were not noted for designing prominent portals. Salisbury has sets of triple-gabled portals squeezed between the buttresses of its west front and York's south transept is entered through a porch that projects from the wall, but neither can be described as major parts of their respective facade designs, and they were not the sites of extensive sculptural programmes. At Wells, Lichfield, and also at Salisbury, the whole facade was given over to sculpture in the form of a screen and the portals are lesser elements at the base of the wall. English Gothic builders more often constructed separate porches with upper chambers, much as their Romanesque predecessors had done, and positioned them on the side of the nave close to the west end as at Wells and Salisbury. Ely's west porch provided a similar gathering space.

Westminster Abbey's French-derived arrangement of three gabled projecting porches on the north transept from 1253 provided a new incentive for designers of English buildings to reconsider portals in facade designs.⁴ Since the format seems to have been taken up at Lincoln, its portal has to be seen as a response to Westminster, although the choice of site suggests a difference in approach, and the ground had already been well-prepared at Lincoln.



III. 2 Lincoln, Cathedral, north-west transept, Dean's portal

Lincoln departed from the English norm and had a long-established tradition of building prominent portals, starting with the three Romanesque doorways that were added to the west front of the cathedral in the second quarter of the 12th century, and including the chapter house entrance from the early 13th century that anticipates the Angel Choir's portal in its use of a quatrefoil above arched heads. As well as the Galilee porch on the south-west transept there is the similarly dated and little-known portal that provided the Dean with his own entrance to the building from the north (Ill. 2). It projects from the northern wall of the north-west transept under triple gables and has syncopated wall arcades in the interior of the porch that support a steep sexpartite vault.

Comparison between the Lincoln and Westminster portals is compromised by the alterations made to Westminster. The earliest representations, from c. 1650, show the central portal completely obscured by the tall, triangular porch that was added in the 14th century. Restoration began in the 1660s and culminated in Scott and Pearson's total redesign from the late 19th-century. Drawings made once the portals had been cleared of obstructions, but before the 19th-century reworking, show the central tympanum with blind tracery in geometric designs, resembling the later 13th-century west front central portal at Sens. Three different drawings exist for the post-1660s tympanum, two, from 1737 and c. 1793, include a large oculus as the main motif, either glazed with cusps or blind with a concentric inner ring of smaller cir-



III. 3 London, Westminster, Abbey, north transept central portal, as restored by Scott

cles, Dickinson's 1719 design for Christopher Wren's proposed restoration, which is the one most accepted by historians, is the only one to show a quatrefoil.⁵ Lethaby reconsidered his earlier thoughts about the portal in 1925 and noted that Dickinson's drawing showed the tympanum's appearance to be a casing that covered over the very damaged medieval original. George Gilbert Scott removed this and claimed to find traces of an original quatrefoil, on which he based his recreation (Ill. 3).⁶

In the discussion of the original form of the Westminster portals and of the presence or absence of sculptured tympana and associated figures, arguments have been based on examples thought to have been derived from Westminster, including Lincoln. But there is a danger of the argument becoming circular and Lincoln's highly selective borrowing of elements from the model of Westminster should suggest caution in assuming the extent of the connection.⁷ As is widely acknowledged, the Lincoln mason took no interest at all in the structural aspects of Westminster's 13th-century rebuilding, resolutely refusing to engage with the chevet plan, having planned to demolish the earlier one at Lincoln, and rejecting an elevation of great height and slenderness in favour of a low building with thick walls and a full-height eastern wall.

Westminster's highly decorated interior may not have been a prime source for the Lincoln Angel Choir either. At least as important for the Lincoln mason was the new choir at Ely that was completed just before Lincoln started building in 1256. The two choirs share many similarities of plan, structure and the rich treatment of surfaces, and the Lincoln mason was clearly aware of recent work in France, specifically at the Ste-Chapelle in Paris. The spandrel angels in the triforium from which the Angel Choir of Lincoln received its name, for example, follow on from earlier examples within the cathedral itself, and the larger ones with outspread wings positioned above a hood mould with sprigs of foliage quote directly from the Ste-Chapelle rather than Westminster. Equally, Lincoln's east window is more logically derived from the lateral windows of the Ste-Chapelle than from Westminster's early bar tracery windows. This is not to deny totally Westminster's significance for Lincoln, but to suggest that instead of taking his ideas directly from there, the Lincoln mason was at least as interested in the Westminster mason's sources as in his interpretation of them. The idea of a shrine entrance derived from the French tradition of gabled portals is clearly one inspired by Westminster, as is the rib vault inside the porch used together with a reduced arch-volt and certain decorative details can also be related

closely to the Westminster chapter house, as will be explained below.

For the iconography of the portal, however, it is possible to suggest that it was informed directly by French ideas and by the writings of one of Lincoln's bishops without the need to find an intermediate source for it. An additional consideration is that the Lincoln portal designer was constrained by having a single portal on which to display an iconographic programme whereas the Westminster designer had the more usual arrangement of three portals.

The Portal Iconography

Instead of illustrating the life and miracles of St Hugh of Lincoln the portal adopts the French concept of the Last Judgement in a programme that extends over the whole portal, but differs from the French models in certain important areas. The Eucharistic aspects of the imagery would have been entirely appropriate for a portal to the shrine of St Hugh, the bishop of Lincoln whose devotion to the Eucharist is stressed in the hagiographic literature. But there is a more specific element invoked here. The iconography of the Angel Choir Portal stresses the dual nature of the crucifixion, which represented the replacement of the Old Law with the New and offered redemption through Christ's sacrifice. Salvation is shown to have been brought about by the shedding of Christ's blood, and the imagery is specifically focussed on the wound in his side. The Last Judgement on the Lincoln tympanum therefore omits the weighing of souls, the figures of the apostles, or the Virgin and St John, to direct attention to the figure of Christ seated in the central quatrefoil with two attendant angels (Ill. 4). Surrounding this are further angels, who either support the quatrefoil or participate in the scenes of judgement. The dead are shown rising from graves on the lower left and angels direct the saved upwards. On the right demons seize the damned while an angel intervenes and there are further smaller demons pitching souls into the mouth of hell beneath Christ's feet. Monstrous serpents with twin bodies and fierce heads entwine around the foliage of the capitals on the right. Those on the left have smaller, docile, lizards and as this is construed as a part of the realm of the saved, there is no actual representation of Paradise.

The tympanum has been made up from a series of separate pieces. The two lowest ones forming the spandrels above the entrance arches are set forward and provide a ledge for other figures. The relief sculpture is deeply undercut. The construction of the portal results in there being few, if any, through-stones



Ill. 4 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, tympanum



Ill. 5 Lincoln, Cathedral, pre-restoration photo of the Judgement Portal (detail), private collection

linking the interior and exterior faces of the wall since there is no alignment between the two above the paired entrance arches, and the tympanum must be supported on an armature concealed within the wall thickness.

The tympanum was restored in 1895 during a repair to the retrochoir, and the figure of Christ was “restored and replaced” as the gift of Bishop Edward King.⁸ Early photographs show that work was mostly limited to the figures within the quatrefoil although the enclosing arch moulding and adjacent abaci to the capitals seem to have been replaced as well. The other tympanum figures were not given new heads or other details (Ill. 5).⁹ Christ’s missing head and lower arms were replaced and the two attendant angels acquired new heads and censers although the position of their arms would suggest that they originally held symbols of the Passion.

Image of Christ Revealing the Side Wound

The emphasis of the imagery in the central quatrefoil is on the wound in Christ’s side and Lethaby first identified the gesture of Christ pulling back his robe to reveal the wound in 1907.¹⁰ Since the edge of the robe with the traces of the fingers can be seen in the pre-restoration photographs, the replacement is reasonably accurate. A complete image of Christ in the same

pose that was clearly drawn from the same model, but is slightly later in date, is included amongst the triforium angels in the interior and is accompanied by an angel presenting a supplicant soul, doubtless that of Bishop Hugh (Ill. 6). It both confirms the iconography and makes it clear that the side wound is the most important as Christ's hands and the feet are shown unpierced. The unrestored feet on the tympanum Christ have no wounds either (Ill. 4). Traces of paint have been found on both the tympanum and on the triforium and it is possible that the other wound details were painted on, but depicting the side wound in three dimensions establishes its greater significance. As Phillip Lindley notes, the triforium figure has a crown of thorns and the replacement on the tympanum of a nimbed head which fits closely under the quatrefoil is probably not correct.¹¹ There are two further examples of figures derived from the Lincoln example that share this iconography but both have lost their original sites. A damaged figure from Rievaulx Abbey, which includes the knotted belt of the Lincoln examples, also shows a carved side-wound and its greater significance is emphasised by covering the feet with drapery so that the wounds are not shown, the arms do not survive (Ill. 7). A larger example is the seated figure of Christ now in Swynnerton church in Staffordshire but of unknown origin.¹² The figure is seated on a simple bench throne and is proportioned for display high up of a building, but originally protected from the weather since it is little worn. Christ is shown pulling back his robe with his left hand, while the side wound is shown above. The right arm has been broken off at the elbow but was probably raised in blessing. Although there are indications of wounds to the hand and feet these are clearly secondary, they are very roughly drilled out, and the left foot-wound pierces through a band of drapery across the foot, while the right foot is covered by Christ's robe.¹³ This variant on the standard iconography of a seated Christ with all five wounds exposed, which is found on the majority of Last Judgement portals in France, relates closely to King Henry III's gift of a relic of the Holy Blood to the abbey at Westminster and to the debate about the possibility of its existence after Christ's assumption into Heaven.

Robert Grosseteste's Involvement in the Iconography

Relics of Christ's physical body had been the subject of considerable scholastic debate since the 19th century, concerned with the question of Christ's bodily ascension and how it was possible that corporeal relics



Ill. 6 Lincoln, Cathedral, Angel Choir, triforium, second image of Christ revealing his side-wound



Ill. 7 Rievaulx, Abbey, image of Christ with side wound



III. 8 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, archivolts left side

might have remained on earth. The discussion was brought into sharp focus when Henry III acquired the Holy Blood relic from the patriarch of Jerusalem for presentation to Westminster Abbey in the autumn of 1247.¹⁴ A resolution was proposed in the reasoning advanced by the academic and theologian, Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln during this time, in a letter dated the day of the ceremonial procession of the relic into Westminster Abbey, 13th October 1247. In it Grosseteste justified the existence of Christ's bodily relics, especially the blood shed at the crucifixion. His argument further involved a discussion of the hierarchy of the wounds, with that in Christ's side produ-

cing the blood of the greatest significance since it was from the part of the body closest to the heart. This last point was particularly relevant for Westminster as the patriarch of Jerusalem had stressed that the relic was blood from Christ's side.¹⁵

Grosseteste was bishop of Lincoln from 1235–1253, and it was during the later part of his tenure that the Angel Choir was being planned. Although he died two years before the building campaign began, with the request for permission to extend the cathedral sought in 1255, discussion of the form and iconography of its sculpture will have taken place, and designs prepared for the sculptors, some time before actual building

work started.¹⁶ Since the portal was laid out early on in the construction work that began in 1256, its planning must have been in progress during Grosseteste's episcopacy, and it would be inconceivable that the bishop's formidable intellectual powers and theological reasoning were not influential on the iconography of the Angel Choir and of its portal.¹⁷

Archivolt Figures

The archivolt figures of the Angel Choir Portal draw on judgement iconography, too, from the little that can be reconstructed of the damaged sculptures. The west side of the outer archivolt illustrates the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, two of whom still hold inverted lamps (Ill. 8).¹⁸ There are eight figures rather than the ten from the Bible, and the wise and foolish are combined on the same side of the arch, with a curious mixing of the two groups. Although the hands are missing from some of the upper figures their pose suggests that they held inverted, that is empty, lamps like those at the lower end of the archivolt (Ill. 9), and some of the lower ones have the smiling faces of the wise virgins. The judgement portals at Amiens, and at Notre-Dame, Paris, show the separation of the wise from the foolish virgins by placing them on opposite sides of the doorway, with the foolish below the damned on the tympanum.¹⁹ The judgement portal at León, which is based on French prototypes, combines the wise and foolish virgins in the same order of the archivolt and it and Lincoln may have been drawing on the same sources.²⁰ The east side of the outer arch at Lincoln has eight male figures in ankle-length robes who are bare-footed, some hold books, to which they gesture, including one figure who rests his finger on an open page, suggesting that they represent apostles (Ill. 10).

The figures are enclosed in foliage entwined around ribbons that cross over to create the oval shapes with the upper examples lost to damage. The carving, like that of the intermediate non-figurative order, is superb with deep undercutting to the foliage and around the figures. The arch resembles that of the inner portal at Westminster chapter house of about ten years earlier in which figures, thought to be prophets or sibyls, occupy very similar frames (Ill. 11).²¹ The Lincoln figures are smaller in scale, as well as fewer in number, and lack the oversized heads of the Westminster examples, and there is also no equivalent series of small figures in the door jamb at Lincoln.

On the left side of the Lincoln inner order are six women seated under canopies sprung from little corbels, two are crowned, the rest have their hair covered

by a kerchief or a hat, and one has a hawk on her lap, but damage to the figures has removed any trace of other symbols (Ill. 8). Again there are male figures on the right side of the order, of whom two have crowns. They sit under gabled or domed canopies, three on X-shaped thrones, none is complete and no attributes survive (Ill. 4). The canopies can be paralleled by those of the arched entrance to the Salisbury chapter house in which female figures of virtues overcome vices which is of a similar, or slightly later date.²² There may be some significance in the division of the two sides of the Lincoln inner archivolt into male figures on the right and female on the left, which continues the arrangement of the outer order, but in the absence of most of their attributes, identifying them is not possible beyond suggesting that they represent secular figures.



Ill. 9 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, archivolt, detail of the wise and foolish virgins, third figure from the top, with the remains of an inverted lamp in her left hand

Portal Jamb

The Lincoln portal jamb describes shallow curves and consists of alternate triplets of moulded and single inset shafts under stiff-leaf foliage capitals and although there are canopies, which might suggest that column figures beside the entrance doors were inten-



Ill. 10 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, archivolt right side

ded, there are no bases for figures (Ill. 1). The canopies serve to disguise the uncomfortable relationship between the jambs and the tympanum, which in the absence of a lintel, continues into the arch spandrels of the doorway, whilst maintaining the visual proportions of the whole portal. The pendant capitals of the canopies link across between the capitals of the arches and the edge of the jambs where there is a further shaft and capital under a pinnacle. It resembles the arrangement of the Amiens west portals where the

canopies over the column figures are set considerably lower than the jamb capitals.²³ There are several unresolved aspects in this area at Lincoln, however, which indicate a lack of familiarity with the construction of a sculpted portal: The canopies are set in a straight line that ignores the curvature of the jambs, there is a section of blank walling and an incomplete moulding instead of a minor capital on both sides above the end of the canopies, and the small pinnacles cut into the mouldings (Ill. 8).

Trumeau

The trumeau of the Angel Choir Portal has a statue of the Virgin and Child from 1926 which replaces a figure lost since at least the 18th century (Ill. 1).²⁴ The gabled canopy with the remains of its carved tiled roof is original and is cut from the same block as the cluster of capitals to which it is attached, although the upper section of the gable, which is incomplete, is a separate piece of stone. The canopy is inhabited with small figures, there are busts in the gables and heads, now mostly lost, were placed as stops at the ends of the gable arches. Flying angels emerge from the foliage of the capital and the rear of the canopy has angels acting as corbels to support the gables, the front probably had a similar arrangement but these have not survived (Ill. 12).

The Lincoln trumeau invites comparison with the slightly later example at the entrance to the chapter house at York which also has a gabled canopy although it is hexagonal and with shafts at the side and rear that contain the figures. The canopy has two tiers of gables beneath a short stone spire and it shares with Lincoln the use of small scale heads and foliage crockets on the gables. The York figures of the Virgin and Child are largely original apart from their heads, and form part of the same block as the trumeau. The 20th-century sculptor of the Lincoln Virgin and Child may perhaps have looked at the York figure, as might Scott for the Westminster trumeau, but it is unlikely that the 13th-century image would have been of the Virgin.

The French precedent for Last Judgement portals would suggest an image of Christ in Majesty, *le Beau Dieu*, for the trumeau as a second version of the image of Christ shown in the tympanum above who displays his wounds, with examples at Chartres south transept from c. 1210–1215, Notre-Dame, Paris from c. 1210–1230, and Amiens, c. 1230–1235. A version of this iconography was already present in the cathedral as Lincoln has images from the Last Judgement, that are most probably derived from portal sculpture, in the glass of the north rose window from earlier in the 13th century. Although not all the roundels of the rose window have been preserved, Christ appears twice in the glass, once at the top in a quatrefoil with the evangelist symbols, as judge displaying his wounds accompanied by angels with the passion symbols or censuring (Ill. 13), while Christ in Majesty is the dominant image at the centre of the window, shown holding the book with the other hand raised in blessing (Ill. 14).²⁵ Given the Lincoln portal designer's awareness of developments in French portals, together with the presence of the iconography in the north rose, it is probable that he also followed the French model for the trumeau and included a figure of Christ in Majesty.



Ill. 11 London, Westminster, Abbey, chapter house portal, inner arch



Ill. 12 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, trumeau canopy



Ill. 13 Lincoln, Cathedral, north-west transept, rose window, detail of the roundel at the top of the window



Ill. 14 Lincoln, Cathedral, north-west transept, rose window, detail of the roundel at the centre of the window

Portal Figures

The Lincoln mason created spaces for figures to the left and right of the portal on the narrow side walls of the porch, two framed by the wall arches supporting the rib vault, and two on the exterior faces where the flanking arches serve the same purpose (Ill. 1). Canopies and brackets corbelled from the wall are fitted into the shallow curved surfaces to accommodate the figures in each case. The return walls of the buttresses also have pairs of blind arches that rise to the same height and these are now covered by later chapels. It is evident from what can be seen above the chapel roofs that these arches enclose flat, not concave, walls and were therefore not intended to be the sites for further sculpture.

Four figures survive from the portal sites, one male and three female, of which one is very fragile and has been removed to preserve it. They have all been damaged and have lost their heads as well as other critical details and the two in the outer niches were displaced by the construction of the later chapels. Since the figures are quite separate from their supports it is by no means certain that they are all in their original positions. Additionally, there are three other large-scale figures that are now sited high up on buttresses of the south side of the choir that bear a close resemblance to the portal figures and need to be considered with them.²⁶ The scale of these three figures and their poses relate them very closely to the four portal figures, and two share almost identical drapery patterns with them. The two females and one male were all given new heads in 1858 when the sculptor

Thomas Earp was paid £10 for the restoration of three figures from the south-east buttress to the designs of Charles Buckler,²⁷ together with other restorations to hands and arms that have since been removed. The figures are traditionally known as “Queen Margaret”, “Edward and Eleanor”, although this is without any foundation.²⁸

The figures are installed on the buttresses to the east of the portal but it is evident that these were not intended to be sites for sculpture. None of the three figures has a corbel to stand on, or a projection large enough to avoid it oversailing its support, the wall surfaces are flat, not concave, and therefore too shallow to afford protection from the elements (Ill. 15 and 16). The Angel Choir buttresses are ornamented with canopies and bases as a means of articulating very tall spaces framed by arches and shafts, but the relative positions of these rule out their use for figure sculpture. Some canopies lack corresponding bases, and, where present, bases are either placed below arches that do not project out far enough to act as canopies, or in the case of those on the tallest buttresses, sited too far away from the canopies to be connected with them (Ill. 17). Comparable sites, such as Salisbury, made better provision for the medieval sculpture with a full set of bases and associated niches.

It is therefore unlikely to be the case that the three figures are the only survivals of a medieval plan to cover the Angel Choir in large-scale sculpture. Since the figures are of the same period, they may have been intended for the Judgement Portal as part of a



III. 15 Lincoln, Cathedral, Angel Choir, buttress figure, "Queen Margaret"

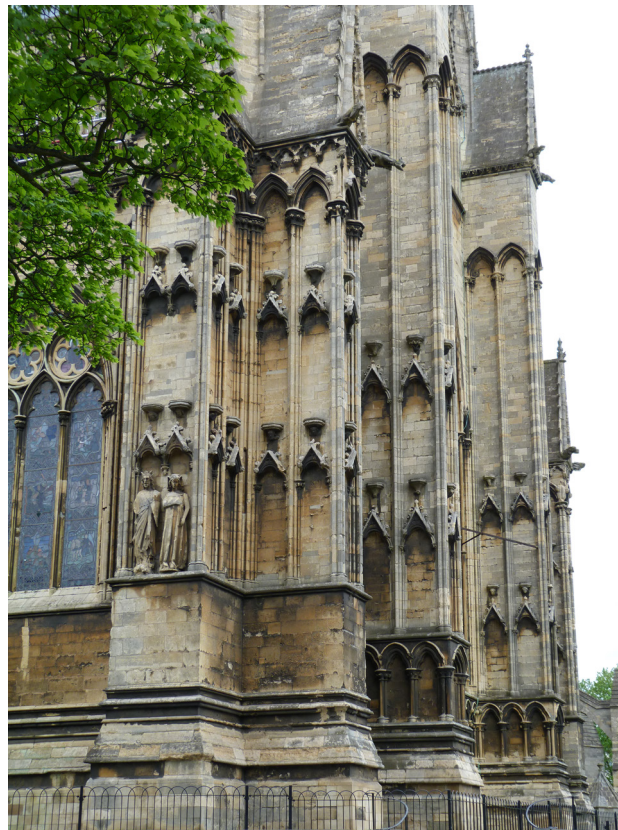
scheme to include jamb figures on the model of the French examples. In the event a change of plan had occurred before the supports for the figures had been installed and a simpler arrangement of canopies over blank spaces was adopted for the portal instead. Some of the figure sculptures had already been carved and, being without sites, they were fitted into spaces close by although these were not intended to house them.

It is not clear when the decision to place the figures on the buttresses was made, but changes to the portal and its immediate area that were made within a few years of each other in the second half of the 15th cen-

tury did have an effect on the portal's sculpture, and there was a third intervention in the 1520s. Between 1472–1483 the Judgement Portal and the north portal were both modified. The whole trumeau of the north portal was replaced at the same time as the lower part of the Judgement Portal's and it is possible that its trumeau figure was affected as well. The work is dated by the inclusion of Edward IV's arms on the north portal and it is therefore associated with the episcopacies of Thomas Rotherham (1472–1480) or his successor, John Russell, (1480–1494), since both were closely connected to Edward IV's court as keepers of the privy



Ill. 16 Lincoln, Cathedral, Angel Choir, buttress figures, “Edward and Eleanor”, note the lack of support under their feet



Ill. 17 Lincoln, Cathedral, Angel Choir, south-east corner with widely spaced bases and canopies on the buttresses

seal in the later part of his reign, leading up to his death in 1483.²⁹ Shortly afterwards the chapel intended to be the burial site of Bishop Russell was constructed on the eastern side of the Judgement Portal encroaching on one outer niche and trapping the “Queen Margaret” figure on the buttress. It was followed by a second chapel, for Bishop John Longland, which was begun in 1528 on the western side, and it too takes up some of the space meant for the figure sculpture (Ill. 1).³⁰

Reconstructing an iconographic programme for six possible sites for jamb figures, plus the four outer niches that were actually used, from the sculptures that remain is made difficult by the damage to the figures that has removed much of the evidence for their identities, but some attempt can be made.

Synagoga and Ecclesia

Returning to the existing portal sculptures, two of the four figures can be read as the female personifications of Synagoga and Ecclesia, and their sites established, but the other two are more difficult both to identify and to place. Synagoga represents the Old Law that was overthrown by Ecclesia as the New Law through the sacrifice of Christ at the crucifixion. The imagery occurs first in ivories and manuscripts depicting the crucifixion in which Ecclesia holds up a chalice to catch the blood from Christ’s side while the displaced and unseeing Synagoga drops the Tablets of the Law, her crown slips from her head and her staff is broken. Ecclesia and Synagoga appear as large-scale figure-sculptures in connection with Judgement Portals during the 13th century. Their inclusion at Lincoln is iconographically consistent with the rest of the imagery of the portal, where it serves to emphasise further the focus on Christ’s side wound. In portals Ecclesia is placed to the left, the equivalent of Christ’s right side, and Synagoga to the right, for example, at Strasbourg and also at Bamberg where the figures are sited high up on columns that flank the *Fürstenportal*. English examples of the figures on this scale are known, but as single sculptures removed from their contexts, at Howden (Synagoga), Winchester (also Synagoga), and Croyland (Ecclesia). There is also a painted figure of Synagoga from the chapter house wooden vault at York.³¹

Portal West Figures

Lethaby identified the figure to the left of the Lincoln portal as Synagoga and reconstructed its missing elements accordingly, while acknowledging that it should have been sited on the opposite side (Ill. 18).³² His re-

construction hinged on the position of the figure's left hand, which has been damaged, but which he thought had the palm downwards, in the act of pushing away the Tablets of the Law, rather than dropping them, while grasping folds of drapery. The drapery itself has been broken off, but it was carved as a deeply undercut narrow swathe of fabric extending from the figure's thigh up to the hand.³³ Close examination of the hand reveals that it is in fact the other way up, with the thumb missing but the fingers closed over the palm, and gripping the drapery between the middle two fingers. Nowhere is there any trace of the dropped Tablets.

The position of the hand makes sense when it is compared not with figures of Synagoga but with Ecclesia in which the chalice is balanced on the palm and enclosed by the fingers, as at Strasbourg, Reims, and León, (Ill. 19) for example. The cut-out section on the upper arm of the Lincoln figure can be read as the site for the chalice's support. The right arm is broken off below the shoulder but the hand was raised and held a staff which was free-standing and attached to the drapery by a small bridging piece which survives. The upright pose of the figure, in which there is no trace of rejection or defeat, further confirms this figure as Ecclesia.

There is an alternative figure at Lincoln which can be identified as Synagoga and that is the fragmentary sculpture that has been taken into storage from its site on the left-hand outer niche of the portal (Ill. 20). The slender standing female figure has a marked sway, with one foot turned out and most of the weight taken on the left leg so that the body is shown turning away. The right foot is markedly thinner than the left because a section has been cut away from its inner side which looks intentional and not the result of damage. Sections of abraded drapery that align with the cut-away part of the right foot in a series of diagonal lines could be explained as the sites of the pieces of the broken staff that Synagoga carries, and which do not survive.

A large part of the figure's left side and arm has been hacked away but there are still traces of an object attached to the hip, either part of the figure's hand, or of the Tablets of the Law. The figure is closely linked to the one still on the portal by the treatment of the upper part of the drapery, which consists of flowing V-shaped folds tightly gathered in at the waist by a belt and falling over it in box-pleats. The lower half of the figure is enveloped in an over-garment of a heavier fabric that falls in deep swathes, and its swirling shape helps create the sense of movement in the figure, in contrast to the static form of the Ecclesia figure still at the portal.³⁴



Ill. 18 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, left side, figure of Ecclesia



Ill. 19 León, Cathedral, west portal, figure of Ecclesia



Ill. 20 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, figure of Synagoga, *ex situ*

If, as proposed, it is the fragmented figure that should be identified as Synagoga, then it must have been taken from its original site on the right side of the portal where the figure holding a model church is sited now, and that figure does bear evidence of having been moved, too (Ill. 21). The slab under its feet has lost the moulding from its front surface and the joint with its corbel shows a fractured edge. Even in its cut-down state the base still oversails its support, and is too large



Ill. 21 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, figure holding a model church

for it. By contrast, Ecclesia's base is intact and neatly fitted (Ill. 18).

The figures may have been moved around and Synagoga changed for the other figure during the period when the two chapels were built across the space of the outer niches. The figure next to the Russell chapel has been moved sideways on its corbel and stands under the edge of the canopy (Ill. 24), but still fits in the available space whereas Longland's chapel wall encroached further and took over more of the niche (Ill. 1). Even with the moulding to the right removed, Synagoga, as the least bulky of the four female figures, only just fitted in the space, and its siting therefore may have been the result of expediency in the early 16th century. Photographs taken before Synagoga was removed from the south niche show it squeezed awkwardly into the restricted space and balanced precariously on the corbel.

French and Spanish buildings with Ecclesia and Synogoga amongst other figures include them within larger numbers of statues as part of a series that is spread over the whole portal zone, as at Amiens or Léon, for example. As a single portal, Lincoln lacks the room for an extensive cycle, but one possible parallel may be the north transept west portal at Chartres

which had a group of four figures that were recorded before their destruction in the French Revolution as Ecclesia and Synagoga, with Rachel and Leah as Old Testament anti-types.³⁵ Rachel and Leah were not the only Old Testament women identified with the two personifications: Rhabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulda and archbishop of Mainz during the first half of the 9th century, presented Ruth and Naomi as prefiguring Ecclesia and Synagoga in his commentary on the Book of Ruth.³⁶

It is therefore possible that the two further female figures at Lincoln, called “Queen Margaret” and “Eleanor”, represent the two Old Testament figures, in either form, and were meant to be sited on the Angel Choir Portal close to Ecclesia and Synagoga. The two figures differ in the ways that their draperies are arranged, with “Queen Margaret” having the fabric looped over her hand similarly to Ecclesia but her garment closely resembles that of the figure with the model church. “Eleanor” has less deeply cut folds, but the two share the same sense of the fabric completely enveloping the body, and falling heavily around the figure’s feet that is common to Ecclesia as well and the figures are clearly linked (compare ill. 15 with 21, 16 with 18).

Female Figure Holding a Church

The female figure holding a model church (ill. 21) placed to the right of the Lincoln portal does not easily belong to this group. Such figures are often depictions of patrons and found associated with the place of their gift.³⁷ Siting the Lincoln figure at the portal may suggest that this is a donor image of a female individual who provided the funds for the building, although the records for the Angel Choir are lacking beyond a few references in wills and in the accounts of donations to the fabric fund and it is therefore impossible to establish any donor’s identity.

There is a detail on the building held by the Lincoln figure that may provide the evidence for its meaning. The model building is clearly not intended to be read as a direct representation of the Angel Choir. It is a small, cruciform building with conspicuous projecting gables under pitched roofs, more closely resembling a reliquary than a building. The central single gable on each of the two visible sides has two doors, one of which has been opened and the other is partly open, or closing (ill. 22).

A depiction of an open door can represent the entrance to the Heavenly Jerusalem, relating to the text, “*and the gates of it shall not be shut at all by day; for there shall be no night there*”, Revelation 21:25, and

the image is often associated with portals as well as with the whole church building itself. It can be seen on the Prior’s door at Ely, for example, where little buildings with open doors are situated at the head of the door jambs, beneath the tympanum with its figure of Christ in Majesty. The relief carving in the cloister at Silos, of the doubting of Thomas, has a fictive city-scape at the head of the panel, in which the door is clearly open.³⁸ The image may sometimes be combined with a donor image, as the model church held by Queen Kunigunde, from the 1237 remodeling of the *Adamsporte* of Bamberg Cathedral, clearly has an open door, as does that on the monument to Count Palatine Henry II at Maria Laach. The building held by Henry II has a prominent west choir and portal which has been seen as an image of the Holy Jerusalem, its open portal aligned with the gaze of the figure of the Count.³⁹

Lincoln’s variation with both an open and a closing door suggests a possible further interpretation, and this imagery has been associated with the wise and foolish virgins, and therefore with scenes of the Last Judgement. Manuscript illustrations of the story of the virgins often include an image of the door closed in the face of the foolish, relating to Christ’s words in John 10:9, “*I am the door: by me if any man shall enter in, he shall be saved*”. As Ragusa notes, there is a close connection between manuscript images of the scene, such as the *Speculum Virginum* texts of the 12th and 13th centuries, and Last Judgement imagery, as in Troyes Bibl. Mun. 252, fol. 58v, in which a figure of Christ appears at the top, angels summon the dead from their graves at the bottom and the wise and foolish virgins are clustered around a tower in the centre. It has two prominent doors, an open doorway which the wise approach and a closed one in front of the foolish. The scenes also occur in French portal archivolt, reduced



Ill. 22 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, detail of the model church



Ill. 23 Laon, Cathedral, south-west portal, Christ with the open and closed doors at the top of the archivolt

to the bare elements of the story but often retaining an image of Christ with the open or shut door at the apex, for example on Laon west front south portal where a building with an open door is above the wise virgins, matched by one with a closed door above the foolish ones (Ill. 23). Lincoln's archivolt does not employ this imagery since the wise and foolish virgins are both on the same, the left side, and the right hand side has a

different series of figures, as noted above. It is in this context that the Lincoln figure holding the church might be read, its open and closing doors relating to the images of the wise and foolish virgins nearby in the archivolt. It would therefore most logically have been intended to be placed as one of the jamb figures for the left side of the portal, sited under the outer order of the archivolts.



Ill. 24 Lincoln, Cathedral, Judgement Portal, right side, male figure

Male Figures

The two remaining figures of the portal are both male: "Edward" on the buttress holds a shield and tramples a beast beneath his feet (Ill. 16), and is therefore a warrior-saint; the second figure, placed on the right, outer jamb of the portal lacks any symbol, but has traces of having held something in its left hand (Ill. 24). The group may have been intended to consist of Old Testament prophets, possibly including Moses holding the tablets of the Old Law, as at León, and Chartres north transept, and Simeon, representing the start of the New Law, again as at Chartres. One further male figure, now installed in a niche on the west front at Lincoln, may also have originated in this group but its damaged state makes any comparison difficult to sustain.

Conclusion

Lincoln's Judgement Portal belongs to the tradition of High Gothic portals in northern France which depict the Last Judgement, but here presented in a different form that has imagery dependent specifically upon the works of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln during the time just before the construction of the Portal.

It seems that the scheme was intended to have been developed further with the inclusion of jamb figures,

for which some of the figures had already been carved and these were subsequently sited around the portal area. The reconstruction offered here, of Ecclesia and Synagoga flanked by Old Testament female figures as anti-types in the outer niches, and six further figures arranged on the portal jambs with a Christ in Majesty as the trumeau figure, provides sites for the seven figures that we have still got, with a further four figures needed to occupy all the spaces. In the absence of the attributes from some of the archivolt figures it is not possible to determine the possible identities of the four missing figures that might have related to them, but they most probably continued the allegorical theme evident in the figures that are present.

It seems likely that the other four figures were never carved and that the scheme for flanking the portal doors with figure sculpture had been abandoned before the jambs were built since there is no provision for their supports in front of the bases for the jamb shafts. Those figures that had already been made were sited, some such as Ecclesia and Synagoga in their intended places, others fitted in places not meant for sculpture, on the buttresses. The later modifications around the portal, to build the 15th and 16th-century chapels and the earlier reworking of the trumeau further affected the programme. As a result, Lincoln's portal represents a much reduced version of its designer's original vision, although it remains a testament to the formidable intellect of its bishop, Robert Grosseteste, whose portrait may perhaps be seen in the carved head of an elderly bishop on the portal's interior.⁴⁰

Notes

- 1 Alexander, Jennifer S.: The Angel Choir at Lincoln Cathedral and the Shrines of St Hugh, in: *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 148 (1995), pp. 137–47.
- 2 Bony, Jean: *French Gothic Architecture of the 12th and 13th Centuries*, Berkeley 1983, p. 413. The iconography of the Porte Rouge is discussed by Gaposkin, M. Cecilia: *The King of France and the Queen of Heaven: The Iconography of the Porte Rouge of Notre-Dame of Paris*, in: *Gesta*, 39/1 (2000), pp. 1–78.
- 3 Meadows, Peter/Ramsay, Nigel (eds): *A History of Ely Cathedral*, Woodbridge 2003; Schofield, John: *St Paul's Cathedral Before Wren*, Swindon 2011.
- 4 The date refers to the completion of lead work. Binski, Paul: *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*, New Haven 1995, p. 9.
- 5 Cocke, Thomas: *900 years: the Restorations of Westminster Abbey*, London 1995, pp. 34–36, 75–80; Kowa, Günter: *Architektur der Englischen Gotik*, Köln 1990, pp. 146f. with ill. 105.
- 6 Lethaby, William R: *Westminster Abbey Re-Examined*, London 1925, p. 71.
- 7 For example, Roberts, Marion E: *The Relic of the Holy Blood and the Iconography of the North Transept Portal of Westminster Abbey*, in: Ormrod, W. Mark (ed.): *England in the Thirteenth Century*, Woodbridge 1985, pp. 129–142, see further below.
- 8 Anon: in: *The Associated Architectural Society Reports and Papers*, 23 (1895–1896), p. ix.
- 9 A cast was made c. 1860 at G. G. Scott's instigation for the collection now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, where it remains, Buckler, John C.: *A Description and Defence of the Restoration of the Exterior of Lincoln Cathedral*, Oxford 1866, p. 95.
- 10 Lethaby, William R: *Notes on sculptures in Lincoln Minster: the Judgment Portal and the Angel choir*, in: *Archaeologia*, 70 (1907), pp. 379–390. A more recent study, Feltman, Jennifer M: *The Last Judgement Portal at Lincoln Cathedral over the Longue Durée: Iconography, Interaction, and Religious Thought*, in: Foster, Elisa A./Perratore, Julia/Rozenski, Steven (eds): *Devotional Interaction in Medieval England and its Afterlives*, Leiden 2018, pp 103–126, considers the sexualised imagery of the damned on the tympanum and relates it to depictions on the Romanesque west front frieze at Lincoln. Feltman also discusses the depiction of Christ's side wound but without noting the particular emphasis at Lincoln brought about by omitting the other wounds.
- 11 Lindley, Phillip: *Westminster and London as Sculptural Centres*, in: Beck, Herbert/Hengevoss-Dürkop, Kerstin (eds): *Europäische Skulptur im 12./13. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt 1994, pp. 231–250.
- 12 Gerald Cobb's connection of it with the seated Christ visible on Hollar's engraving of the west gable of Lichfield Cathedral, removed during the Civil War, is disputed by Thomas Cocke for practical reasons. Cobb, Gerald: *English Cathedrals the Forgotten Centuries*, London 1980, p. 140; Cocke, Thomas: *Ruin and Restoration: Lichfield Cathedral in the Seventeenth Century* in Maddison, John, (ed.): *Medieval Archaeology and Architecture at Lichfield*, (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XIII), Leeds

- 1993, pp. 109–114. There is a seated Christ with a bare torso in the recessed portal on the west front of Lichfield Cathedral that appears to be from the end of the 13th century, which would cast doubt on the Swynnerton figure, with its closely related iconography, being from Lichfield.
- 13 Images of Christ displaying the side wound occur in a number of settings, either in scenes of the doubting of Thomas, as at Silos from the 12th century, where only the side wound is shown, or on the gable of the Percy tomb in Beverley Minster from the 14th century where all five wounds are indicated. Roberts 1985, note 35 (see note 7) lists a number of other examples without discussing their contexts however. The examples on the Bridport tomb at Salisbury, and on the cloister door at Norwich lack connection with judgement.
 - 14 Vincent, Nicholas: *The Holy Blood: King Henry III and the Westminster Blood Relic*, Cambridge 2001, pp. 82–87.
 - 15 Vincent 2001 (see note 14), p. 79. Grosseteste's text is preserved in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, Luard, Henry R. (ed.): *Chronica Majora*, vol. 6, Additamenta, Cambridge 1882, p. 138. Vincent disputes whether the letter was actually composed on that date but accepts that it must have been closely associated with the ceremony, Vincent 2001, p. 88.
 - 16 The cathedral sought royal permission to breach the city wall to extend the building in 1255, *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1247–1258*, London 1908, p. 506.
 - 17 Southern, Robert W: *Grosseteste*, Robert (c. 1170–1253), in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (online edn, Sept 2010 doi: 10.1093/ref:odnb/11665); Roberts 1985 (see note 7) acknowledges Grosseteste's influence on the iconography, but argues for it establishing that the imagery must have been used first at Westminster, with Lincoln copying. As noted above, there is no firm evidence about the Westminster portal sculpture and Paul Binski suggests that an image of Christ in Judgement would have been equally likely. He draws attention to a small seated figure of Christ on the interior of the transept which clearly does not display the side wound, Binski 1995 (see note 4) p. 71. With Grosseteste in post as the bishop of Lincoln at the time it is unnecessary to look for a source elsewhere. For a discussion of German examples of portals using this imagery, see Ute Engel's paper in this volume. Connections between Lincoln and Germany have yet to be established on this point. Williamson has suggested a similarly redemptive element to the iconography of the Strasbourg Angels' Pillar which includes the image of Christ displaying the wound in his side, Williamson, Paul: *Gothic Sculpture 1140–1300*, New Haven 1995, p. 57.
 - 18 The group of women with the filled lamps were interpreted as symbolising the saved whereas those with empty lamps were equated with the damned, and excluded from Paradise, Male, Emile: *The Gothic Image, Religious Art in France in the Thirteenth Century*, London 1961, pp. 197–198.
 - 19 The central portal at Notre-Dame, Paris included only six figures according to the drawing made before the portal was re-stored by Viollet-le-Duc, Ragusa, Isa: *Terror Demonum and Terror Inimicorum: The Two Lions of the Throne of Solomon and the Open Door of Paradise*, in: *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 40/2 (1977), pp. 93–114.
 - 20 Deknatel, Frederick B.: *The Thirteenth Century Gothic Sculpture of the Cathedrals of Burgos and Leon*, in: *Art Bulletin* 17/3 1935, pp. 243–385. Additionally, Williamson 1995 (see note 17), p. 233, draws attention to stylistic similarities shared between Lincoln and León and suggests transmission of ideas through small-scale portable sculpture.
 - 21 Foster, Richard/Tudor-Craig, Pamela: *The sculptural decoration of the Westminster chapter house portals*, in: Rodwell, Warwick/Mortimer, Richard (eds): *Westminster Abbey Chapter House, the history, art and architecture of 'a chapter house beyond compare'*, London 2012, pp. 158–183.
 - 22 Brown, Sarah: *Sumptuous and Richly Adorn'd, the Decoration of Salisbury Cathedral*, London 1999, p. 181.
 - 23 Bony 1983 (see note 2), pp. 278–279.
 - 24 Mrs Grace Hood of Nettleham Hall, Lincolnshire, gave the sculpture as a war memorial. It was made by William Eden Kayte of Bridgeman's in Lichfield to the designs of Mr Hare of London. Carol Bennett, pers. com., Williamson 1995 (see note 17), p. 286 note 45. Grimm's drawing of 1784 is the earliest reliable evidence for the removal of the trumeau figure, early photographs show damage to the shaft and it is clear that any figure was attached and not integral.
 - 25 Nigel Morgan notes a general similarity between the north rose and portal sculpture iconography and compares the window to French rose windows of the Last Judgement, although the figure of Christ as judge is usually in the centre of the scene in French glass. Morgan, Nigel: *The Middle Ages*, in: Bennett, Carol et al., *Stained Glass of Lincoln Cathedral*, London 2012, pp. 35–36. Lincoln also has the fragmentary remains of a large Christ in Majesty surrounded by the evangelists' symbols with a figure of St Paul that has close affinities with the west front sculpture and has been dated to the period of the Romanesque portals, Zarnecki, George: *Romanesque Lincoln*, Lincoln 1988, pp. 80–83.
 - 26 Williamson 1995 (see note 17), p. 209.
 - 27 Lincolnshire Archives Office, CIV 64. G. G. Scott included criticism of the treatment of the figures in his attack on Charles' father J. C. Buckler's, restoration at Lincoln, Buckler 1866 (see note 9), p. 11.
 - 28 Lethaby offered an alternative identification of the figures as St Ethelbert, king of East Anglia, and his queen Althyryda, the second female figure he suggested might be Etheldreda, to complete the East Anglian family, although he was uncertain about the authenticity of their restored heads, Lethaby 1907 (see note 10), p. 388.
 - 29 Rotherham also served as Chancellor of England, Ross, Charles: *Edward IV*, London 1997, p. 321.
 - 30 Russell's chapel is not dated but it was the site of the St Blaise chantry which was in use by 1501, Lincolnshire Archives Office,

- D&C, A/3/2 Chapter Acts 1501-07, f. 12. The Dean granted permission for Bishop Longland to build his chapel to the west of the south door in 1528, and it used the same design with minor modifications, Cole, Robert E. G.: (ed.), *Chapter Acts of the Cathedral Church of St Mary of Lincoln AD 1520–1536* (Lincoln Record Society 12), Lincoln 1915, p. 107. For the effect that the chapels had on the portal figures, see below.
- 31 Prior, Edward S./Gardner, Arthur: *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Cambridge 1912, p. 317 and p. 335, for Croyland, Alexander, Jennifer S.: “Sadly Mangled by the Insulting Claws of Time”: Thirteenth-Century Work at Croyland Abbey Church, in McNeill, John (ed.): *King’s Lynn and the Fens, Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology* (British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions XXXI), Leeds 2008, pp. 112–133. The imagery of Synagoga and Ecclesia has been considered by Rowe, Nina: *The Jew, the Cathedral, and the Medieval City*, Cambridge 2011, in which she places the depictions within the wider context of urban Jewish-Christian relationships, and to the concept of ideal male rule. She creates a distinction between the large-scale portal figures of French mid 13th-century portals and smaller-scale images. The iconography is traced back to personifications of notions of defeat and victory in Classical antiquity. For a discussion of the cultural background to the iconography with particular reference to 13th-century Parisien sources see Rubin, Miri: *Ecclesia and Synagoga in Time*, in: Luxford, Julian (ed.) *Tributes to Paul Binski, Medieval Gothic Art, Architecture and Ideas*, London 2021, pp. 258–271. Lincoln may also have had the imagery of Ecclesia and Synagogue on a morse listed in the 1548 inventory, Edwards, Lewis: *Some English Examples of the Medieval Representation of Church and Synagogue*, in: *Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 18 (1953–55), pp. 63–75.
- 32 Lethaby 1907 (see note 10), p. 384. His view has become widely accepted, although the anomalous siting has been the subject of continued but hitherto unresolved debate, summarised by Williamson 1995 (see note 17), p. 208 and note 45.
- 33 The sculptor left the area over the upper leg roughed out rather than completely finished since it would have been partly obscured, but the inner folds of the upper arm, which can be glimpsed, are fully carved.
- 34 The “Edward” figure from the buttress also shares the same type of drapery.
- 35 Katzenellenbogen, Adolf: *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral*, New York 1964, p. 75. Peter Kidson further developed the argument by drawing attention to the writings of the pseudo-Hugo to support a reading of the whole portal’s iconography prefiguring the triumph of the Christian church over the Jewish Synagogue. Kidson, Peter: *Sculpture at Chartres*, London 1958, pp. 52–53.
- 36 Schlauch, Margaret: *The Allegory of Church and Synagogue*, in: *Speculum* 14/4 (1939), pp. 448–464.
- 37 Klinkenberg, Emanuel S.: *Compressed Meanings, the Donor’s Model in Medieval Art to around 1300*, Turnhout 2009, pp. 11–12.
- 38 For Meyer Shapiro the Silos image combined associations with both the Virgin, symbolised by the porta clausa, and with Christ, as the subject of the scene of Thomas’s doubting on the panel, but developed to take on a Freudian interpretation. Shapiro, Meyer: *From Mozerabic to Romanesque in Silos*, in: *Art Bulletin* 29/4 (1939), pp. 313–374.
- 39 Klinkenberg 2009 (see note 37), pp. 221–224.
- 40 Grosseteste’s case for canonisation was presented on several occasions after his death in 1253 and his veneration in the cathedral included the creation of a tomb with recesses in the tomb chest in anticipation of the needs of pilgrims. Despite the difficulties in his relationship with the cathedral it is evident that his significance continued to be recognised there in the later 13th century. Kemp, Eric W.: *The Attempted Canonisation of Robert Grosseteste*, in: Callus, Daniel A. (ed.): *Robert Grosseteste, Scholar and Bishop*, Oxford 1955, pp. 241–246.

Credits

Ills. 1–24: Jennifer S. Alexander