

THE FUNCTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FOLIATE HEAD IN ENGLISH
MEDIEVAL CHURCHES

by

IMOGEN JANE BARBARA ANTONIA CORRIGAN

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of Master of Philosophy

Department of English
University of Birmingham
November 2019

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ABSTRACT

This is an investigation into how the image originated, developed and how it functioned. It seeks to find an interpretation of an image which is present in churches across Europe and which is known as the foliate head, but latterly as the Green Man. It is generally a carving of a disembodied head which either issues foliage from its mouth, nose, ears and/or eyes or which appears to be transforming into it. The so-called Green Man image has caused debate and widely varying interpretation since the name was coined in 1939. This only applies in Britain an effect of which was to bring the carving to the attention of folklorists, which in turn brought particular readings, some based on instinct and emotion.

The image is found in pre-Christian times in several countries, but it is believed that its frequent appearance in churches indicates a Christian interpretation. They are not thought to be rogue pagan images somehow smuggled into Christian buildings. A detailed analysis has been made of its varying appearance, location, types of foliage and accompanying images in an attempt to resolve its function. Having done this, it is believed that the foliate head image should be read in a positive way, probably connected to personal resurrection after death.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis seeks to address a number of questions about the image frequently found in church carvings, furnishings and manuscripts across Europe which is commonly known in Britain as the Green Man, but which is more accurately termed the foliate head. The appellation of Green Man, coined relatively recently and used exclusively in the United Kingdom, has generated interpretative responses that have as much to do with modern sensibilities as any original function or symbolic significance within the belief structure and artistic traditions of the medieval period. As much as these readings have created renewed interest in and enthusiasm for medieval decorative art, it is important to balance this with more systematic studies. No records for, or comments on, the image survive from the Middle Ages so interpretation can only be based on information garnered from looking at the carvings *in situ*; indeed the carvings constitute the sole primary source of information. One factor in interpretation is that the majority of churches and cathedrals have been altered since the foliate heads were created sometimes making decisive comment on the significance of their position impractical. Another is that whilst some of the heads have been restored without knowledge of any original colouring (some of these have been painted green to chime with the post-1939 appellation (All Saints, North Street, York)), others have radically decayed.

The foliate head is a multi-media image that appears throughout the high and late Middle Ages. It may be carved out of stone and wood, painted on glass, screens and in manuscripts and is found in numerous locations both on the interiors and exteriors of buildings. Surviving examples are mainly located in ecclesiastical buildings but there are some secular examples as well, indicating that the significance may not be exclusively

religious. The rarity of these examples may be simply the loss of secular buildings from the period, or may indicate a particular function within the sacred space of the church. For the purposes of this study the image is typically a disembodied head which either has foliage issuing from its mouth, ears, nose and/or eyes or a combination of those orifices, or it seems that foliage is growing out of part or all of the head, sometimes suggesting that the head is turning into foliage.¹ These two types will be referred to as ‘disgorgers’ and ‘transformers’, typical examples of which are shown at figs. 1 and 2.



Fig. 1: A ‘disgorger’
York, St Mary c.1400



Fig. 2: A ‘transformer’
Canterbury Cathedral, Black Prince's Chantry c.1350

The popular, comparatively recently imposed name is Green Man, but examination of 1,172 images found in four hundred churches in England for this study show that only about two thirds are identifiable as human. It is not always possible to assign gender to these heads, though several writers claim that they are male.² The remaining heads are either recognisable animals, fictional beasts or grotesques with some being too eroded to be certain. It is rare for original colour to remain, but it is not thought that the colour green is relevant in itself; where there is colour it is predominantly red or gold. This is important because numerous studies of the carving dwell on the colour green and its significance

¹ F. & G. Doel, *The Green Man In Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), p. 17.

² Doel, p. 48.

which is irrelevant simply because they were not called ‘green men’ until 1939. That said, foliage is key to their design and interpretation. For the remainder of this study, the image will be referred to either as a foliate head, or just as a head.

Whilst there have been some studies of the English foliate head, there have been no serious widespread surveys and a strength of this investigation is that it is based on extensive fieldwork with personal examination of four hundred ecclesiastical buildings, which is more than has been attempted before. The early research planning for this thesis involved visiting churches of appropriate date in every county in England with the aim of establishing whether or not foliate heads really were to be found in quantity across the country rather than focusing on one area. This alone would indicate that they had some significance, whether spiritual, talismanic or apotropaic. Such surveys have been carried out before but either target a confined geographic area or exclude those heads which are not human, specifically listing Green Men and ignoring green animals or monsters which skews the overall interpretation. It is only by systematically examining churches across the country that it can be determined if trends exist and if particular accompanying images have any significance which may help to ascertain their function, and thus extensive fieldwork was carried out. It was not feasible to examine every single church that was founded before the Reformation of the 1530s: seven hundred and ninety-eight were visited of which four hundred had one or more examples of the foliate-head motif. The nation-wide English churches were selected with the expectation of finding the design either inside or on the exterior, or both, although some were visited speculatively. The foliate heads under consideration are medieval and date from *c.*1000 to 1534 which was the time of their greatest proliferation; after the Reformation the art-form does not appear to have been enjoyed so much, although it does endure to this day. The field work was therefore confined to English churches which were built or had been

founded before the Reformation of the 1530s. There is only space to consider English examples, but this is an image that was popular across Europe where it has been found in numerous churches and cathedrals.³

An initial list of suitable buildings was drawn up after consulting existing studies of the Green Man, and of church carvings, misericords and monsters, more generally.

Following the age old practice of collaborative activity favoured by antiquarians such as Francis Blomefeld, suggestions were also received from people who thought that their church contained such an image and some were already known from personal observation over five decades of visiting churches. Several web sites and gazetteers offer lists of churches where foliate heads can be found, but these did not always prove to be accurate because of a lack of consensus as to what constituted a foliate head. Likewise local guides and church information sheets occasionally include carvings of heads either surrounded by foliage or wearing garlands, as opposed to interacting with it. Buildings where the presence of a foliate head was reported were given priority, although other churches were visited randomly. Heads were occasionally found in these, but it was decided to focus on the original list for reasons of time. The scope and nature of the present study was largely determined by inspections of foliate heads *in situ* and by the development of a database recording these findings.

³ Although this study must needs confine itself to England, the incidence of foliate heads in churches on the continent were noted and were found to be equally widespread in churches originally built for pre-reformation religious practices. They were not found in either Greek or Russian orthodox churches with the exception of the one on the Greek island of Tilos where there had been a considerable Italian influence at the time that it was built. Seventy-five cathedrals outside England have been visited. It is worth noting that foliate heads were found in each one of them as well as in high-status religious buildings such as the abbeys at Mont Saint-Michel, Caen (Abbaye-des-Hommes, the burial place of William I, Abbaye-des-Dames, that of his wife), Echternach in Luxembourg, the church of St Katherine's Convent in Tallinn, Estonia and Ulm Minster and Nuremberg, St Lorinz in Germany. Other European cathedrals have been visited, all of which revealed foliate heads but some of these buildings have been substantially altered or post-date the period of Reformation. These include Lecce c.1700, Cagliari 1699, Syracuse C19th, Valletta 1578 and Helsinki where there is a nineteenth-century Lutheran cathedral with numerous foliate heads on a chandelier.

This database was compiled noting details of the heads with entries made under the headings listed at Appendix A. The factors taken into account include the location of each head, the type of head and foliage (where identifiable) and additional details such as the presence of teeth, clothing and the orifice from which the foliage issued. Each head was examined minutely taking into account whether or not the mouth was open and, if so, if the tongue could be seen. Likewise whether or not the eyes were open or potentially blind, but ascertaining their line of sight was not held to be helpful because so many buildings and churchyards have been substantially altered since the head was carved. Seventy-five of the foliate heads were found on misericords and were therefore usually face-down to the floor which also militates against line of sight being relevant. The species of foliage and how the head engaged with it, whether disgorging or transforming into it, was deemed to be of particular importance since that is the basis of the image. Miscellaneous details were recorded which included supporting or neighbouring images where they were contemporary and if the foliate head revealed more of the body than just the head. Where possible a date was assigned using information from local guide books, dictionaries of architecture which discuss building styles and, very occasionally, sundry information gathered from tombs or records of contracts. This list was maintained throughout the fieldwork although it quickly became clear that some headings such as ‘expression’ or ‘maturity’ were too instinctive to be analysed constructively; initially it was hoped that meaning or function might be understood if uniformity was found amongst facial expressions or age. No such consistency was found. Decisions about expression were held to be too subjective to be useful and they could not be applied to animals or grotesques. The complete database is very large so a summary of it is attached at Appendices B & C which have been ordered alphabetically within counties and then chronologically. All the statistics used in this thesis have been drawn from this

database. The lack of original information concerning motivation or inspiration for carving heads increases the importance of examining as many examples as possible: it was hoped that deductions might be made from how they are sited, uniformity of design and possible connections with other contemporary carvings.

As can be seen from the breakdown of numbers of foliate heads found in individual churches visited in the list at Appendix D, it is a phenomenon that occurred across England although there were areas which had none from the earlier period at all, such as Norfolk which also has the highest number of churches containing the image (thirty). This may be explained by the fact that Norfolk was amongst the wealthiest and most densely populated areas in the fourteenth century which, in turn, will have led to a programme of church building and even churches founded *c.* 1100 such as those at Quidenham and Saxthorpe underwent refurbishment around the year 1400.⁴ There is no county which lacks images made in the later period, although early ones are most common in Kent, Rutland, Buckinghamshire and Herefordshire. This will be discussed later in the survey. When the fieldwork was in its early stages, it was thought that it might be useful to compare the incidence of foliate heads in only two or three counties so as to ascertain whether or not the subject was approached differently and therefore perhaps had a different interpretation. In the event churches were visited in every county and no obvious differences were noted other than stylistic ones, which probably stem from local carvers using different techniques. Foliate heads are distributed throughout England with Yorkshire, the largest county, having foliate heads in twenty-six of its four hundred and ten relevant churches and Rutland, the smallest, having only five in its sixteen churches. This appears to show that Rutland has a

⁴ Christopher Dyer, *Making A Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850-1520*, (London: Yale University Press, 2002), p. 359. Jan Burrow-Wilkes, *A Short Illustrated History of Saint Andrew's Church, Quidenham* (East Harling: Postprint, undated), p. 2., 'M.W.', *Saxthorpe and Corpusty* (no place, no publisher, 2007), p. 5.

greater proportion of churches with foliate heads but, in fact, it was not possible to visit more in the north.⁵

According to the English Church Census of 2005, there are 16,247 Anglican churches in England.⁶ It has not been possible to obtain an accurate figure of how many of these were founded before the Reformation but examination of the diocesan registers for Canterbury, Derby, Hereford, Lichfield, Norwich, Rochester and Truro indicates that it is roughly 60% of them, or about 9,748. The four hundred churches used in the fieldwork for this study therefore amount to just over 4% of the total number, but nonetheless it is not thought that such a detailed survey has previously been carried out. There are various types of foliate head, whether disgorging or transforming into foliage or both and these included heads that were human, monstrous, hybrid or animal. These have been investigated in detail along with an analysis of the symbolism of accompanying images, for example where a head is on a font which bears other figures, as well as the relevance or otherwise of the types of foliage, the frequency of headdress and tongue pulling. The location, both geographic and relating to their position in or on church buildings was considered to see if that had any bearing on their function or interpretation.

A specific origin of the foliate head has not been located: it may be found in folklore, Classical mythology as well as in other cultures. This is, nonetheless, an important part of the examination, not only because it reveals artistic styles combining in a single image, but because it shows a diverse background which can lead to varying interpretations. There has been some investigation into this in the past but, in general, there has been a lack of critical debate about the image and it became clear that very little academic interest has been taken

⁵ A Church Near You, <<http://www.achurchnearyou.com/result.php>> [accessed 13 March 2016].

⁶ *English Church Census*, <<http://www.eauk.org/church/research-and-statistics/english-church-census.cfm>> [accessed 20 September 2006].

in the foliate head. The historiography will be discussed in Section One but heads were largely ignored until the twentieth century. A misunderstanding of the recently-imposed name of Green Man caused some writers to connect it with ancient folkloric traditions whilst others sought interpretations that were linked to spiritual awakening. This survey will analyse the foliate head by considering the aspects mentioned (type, location et cetera) but will pay particular attention to religious symbolism where it is appropriate because it is felt that this may lead to an understanding of the image. It is such a common motif that it is felt that it must have a function that is more than merely decorative, although it is accepted that there was a medieval delight in depicting monsters of many types, so perhaps this is just one of them. It is not considered to be merely a liminal image; many examples are found at thresholds and in the less accessible parts of the buildings, but many are also found right at the heart of the sacred space. This will also be discussed in more detail. I will also examine foliate heads in the context of the time in which they were made when religious practice was an important part of daily life and belief in an afterlife was generally accepted. It is worth reiterating that one of the most important contemporary factors is that the carvings were not known as green men when they were made. The reasons for this appellation will be investigated later, but it is fair to say that it has skewed modern consideration of them and it is hoped that this thesis will rectify this.

CHAPTER 1: CONTEXTUALISING THE ENGLISH MEDIEVAL FOLIATE HEADS IN CHRISTIAN AND NON-CHRISTIAN TRADITIONS

In this chapter the works of writers from the beginning of the nineteenth century to recent times will be discussed, some of whom do seek to find a specific origin for the image. The influences on the carvings are sufficiently diverse for it not to be possible to identify an unambiguous starting point. Some of the threads that culminate in the foliate-head carvings will be examined but it quickly becomes apparent that, whilst these need to be considered, they do not necessarily add to any inquiry about their origin or meaning. More notably, the genesis of the term Green Man can be found amongst these writers, but not a precise lineage. It will be shown that bestowing this name on the carvings changed the perception of them and, whilst the colour green and, indeed, the gender of man are not relevant to their inception, it has not proved possible to find post-1939 descriptions that ignore these two factors.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

One of the challenges that lie in investigating the decorative feature known as the foliate head is the scarcity of writing on the subject or rather, the dearth of objective, research-based studies. There is the work of so-called folklorists who have assumed that the popular name of Green Man links the image to mythical characters who are not necessarily connected to the Church. The few scholarly studies, as well as the more populist writings, will be discussed in this section.

No contemporary references to the images exist, but this is not unusual for carvings and other images from the medieval period, and foliate heads have not been found in

bestiaries.¹ As these documents ascribe human qualities to known and unknown beasts, using them to make moral points, their absence may be telling in itself. Isidore of Seville listed different types of monster in his seventh-century *Etymologies* but makes no reference to any person or animal blending or converging with plants.² Few records of contracts remain between the patron and craftsman and, again, this appears to have been the norm indicating that the arrangement of particular images was discussed verbally. Where a written contract survives it seems somewhat broad-brush, for example at Vale Abbey, Cheshire in 1359: 'The Prince of Wales and his Abbey of Vale Royal engage Master William de Helpston, mason, to build twelve chapels round the east end of the quire of the abbey church. He is to have a free hand over details ...'³ This means that it is not known if the patron specifically requested that foliate heads or other designs be carved, or if the carvers proposed them. It is also the case that post-medieval writers on architecture and design acknowledged the presence of such heads only in passing and without analysis, suggesting that their significance was given no more weight than other carved monsters.

That the foliate head appears to have been consistently ignored by writers on church art and architecture is intriguing in itself. Of the possible reasons for this disregard, the chief is that although the writers' style might be florid, sometimes even conversational, their work is very focused. Mainly they were concerned with the development of architectural styles, not with the detail of decoration, and may have felt that the heads were of only minimal importance within this larger narrative. In this regard foliate heads were treated no

¹ This has caused comment in several books, for example, Canon Albert Radcliffe in his preface to Clive Hicks, *The Green Man, A Field Guide* (Fakenham: Compassbooks, 2000), p. v.

² Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies* xi.iii.3-13, trans. by S. Barnes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 244-245.

³ L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1520, A Documentary History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952), p. 439.

differently from other applied decorations; there are no distinct descriptions of the carved monsters that rampage through our churches. It is as though images that were subject to dispute or debate were overlooked in favour of those with obvious religious significance, such as biblical stories or a specific saint identifiable by his or her attributes. Victorian and Edwardian moral precepts and notions of appropriate forms of ecclesiastical decoration may in part account for their turning a blind eye to seemingly chaotic and inexplicable figures in Christian buildings. It seems likely that foliate heads were held to represent the base, not to say crudely primitive, medieval mind-set. That said, copies of heads can be found in neo-Gothic buildings. The facial expressions of these Victorian foliate heads neither challenge nor threaten and it may be that they were copied as part of the fashion for reviving medieval religious art, but having been cleaned up, so to speak, without any attempt at understanding. In his seminal study of the marginal in medieval art, Michael Camille considered that the lack of comment on grotesque or profane images could suggest a fear of the proliferation of perversities, adding that this blinded generations of scholars to the significance of marginal visual play.⁴ (Although Camille made an in-depth study of marginal images, many of them monstrous, at no point does he specifically discuss foliate heads).

An example of Victorian misunderstanding may be found at Kilpeck in Herefordshire where the remarkable twelfth-century corbel table around the outside of the church features many monsters. Amongst them is a sheela-na-gig, a specific image which reveals a woman in grotesque form displaying her exaggerated genitalia. It is sexually explicit and may have had an apotropaic function or was to ‘teach of matters that are too sinful to consider as befitting the spiritual life.’⁵ G.R. Lewis, the Victorian writer on architecture, said it was a

⁴ M. Camille, *Images on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1992), p. 31.

⁵ M.W. Tisdall, *God’s Beasts: Identify and Understand Animals in Church Carvings* (Plymouth: Charlesfort Press, 1998), p. 229.

fool opening his heart to the devil.⁶ While some of his contemporaries questioned this insistence upon the 'universally scriptural' symbolism of such images, their original purpose was seen as baffling.⁷

In these circumstances it is unrealistic to hope that the Victorian writers would discuss the foliate head. Their motivation in returning to the Gothic style was partly to do with a desire to return to the ritual of the Middle Ages and partly because the style of the building was expressive of function.⁸ Artistic details within the building may not have seemed important; they copied the principles of the church framework as opposed to replicating it exactly.

Thomas Rickman (1776-1841), the English architect and architectural antiquary and a major figure in the Gothic Revival, wrote a book aptly named *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* which was much amended, the definitive edition being published in 1848, posthumously. The book features exquisite, accurate drawings, as well as straightforward descriptions of the types of architecture he had observed in his extensive travels around England and France. Of the numerous churches listed, many have foliate heads such as Brigstock, Brixworth and Chaddesley Corbett. He, however, makes no reference to them because the point of his discussion is the taxonomy of English architecture. He is more concerned with, for example, Saxon architecture, Norman fonts or Early English tracery than with any symbolic meaning of the decoration. The foliate heads that have been found in the churches named are not relevant to those subjects because they

⁶ G.R. Lewis, *Illustrations of Kilpeck Church, Herefordshire* (London: Pickering, 1842), p. 15.

⁷ Anonymous Review in *The Archaeological Magazine of Bristol, Bath, South Wales and the South-West Counties*, 1:1 (1843), 34-36.

⁸ The Oxford Movement within the Church of England, centred at Oxford, aimed to restore High Church ideals. This is often referred to as Anglo-Catholicism which is significantly more ritualistic in its practice than that of the Roman church today. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. by F.L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 1001.

feature on screens or roof bosses that were made in the later medieval period. That said, in his drawing of one of the Decorated English piers at Dorchester Abbey in Oxfordshire a foliate head is plain to see. Indeed, his drawing is clearer than a photograph taken nearly two centuries years later.⁹ Rickman's text reads:

A new disposition of shafts marks very decidedly this style in large buildings, they being arranged diamondwise with straight sides, often containing as many shafts as will stand close to each other at the capital and only a fillet or small hollow between them. The capitals and bases of these shafts are much the same as those described in the section on doors ...¹⁰

His description of the doors says:

The capitals of these shafts differ from the Early English, in being formed of a woven foliage and not upright leaves [...] There are also in many good buildings, plain capitals without foliage.¹¹

Although he has faithfully copied the small, disgorging head, it is telling that he chose to make no comment.

In 1844 A.W.N. Pugin published his *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume*, described on its fly-leaf as ‘a grand survey of church ornaments, vessels and vestments [...] including long-forgotten ones he hoped to revive.’ His illustrations are of floriated crosses and of particular plants such as ivy, but there is no specific mention of foliate heads even though his introduction specifies that every ornament worthy of the name must possess an appropriate meaning, and should therefore be introduced intelligently and on reasonable grounds.¹² The symbolic associations of each ornament should be understood and considered because otherwise things that are beautiful in themselves would be rendered

⁹ In 1862 an English architect, W. Eden Nesfield, made exquisitely detailed drawings of many French cathedrals and churches, some of which are known to house foliate heads. He did not include any of them.

¹⁰ Thomas Rickman, *An Attempt to Discriminate the Styles of Architecture in England* (Oxford: John Henry Parker, 1848), p. 157.

¹¹ Rickman, p. 136.

¹² A. Welby Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume Compiled from Ancient Authorities and Examples* (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1846), Plates 49, 50. Pugin, p. 163.

absurd.¹³ He deals swiftly with what he terms ludicrous and even indecent images under the heading of 'Fools', largely dismissing them as being of pagan origin, which indeed they may be (the use of pagan images in a Christian context will be discussed later in this chapter).¹⁴ Later he refers to the medievalism of nineteenth-century architects, but does not consider the appearance of the foliate head. John Ruskin's aesthetic response makes clear the link between medieval architectural styles and natural forms, but he too overlooks the peculiarities of the foliate head motif.

In the edifices of Man there should be found reverent worship and following, not only of the spirit which rounds the pillars of the forest, and arches the vault of the avenue - which gives veining to the leaf, and polish to the shell, and grace to every pulse that agitates animal organization -, but of that also that reproves the pillars of the earth, and builds up her barren precipices into the coldness of the clouds, ...¹⁵

To take another example, in 1852 G.R. Lewis wrote a series of lithographs about the so-called folly arches at Shobdon in Herefordshire.¹⁶ At least nine much-eroded foliate heads have been identified here (it is likely that there were many more) dating back to the early part of the twelfth century, but they are not mentioned in his text, even though it is his detailed drawings that confirm that they were once present since their current state makes it less certain. Some of the drawings have been reproduced on display boards that interpret the Shobdon arches. The tympanum has been copied and can be viewed in the Cast Room of the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is curious that Lewis does not enlarge on them because Stanton notes that he declared that all church architecture was intentionally symbolic, albeit that is architecture, not decoration.¹⁷ His lack of interest is typical. While the foliate head

¹³ Pugin, p. iii.

¹⁴ Pugin, pp. 139-141.

¹⁵ J. Ruskin, *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (Oxford: J. Wiley, 1849), p. 65.

¹⁶ G.R. Lewis, *The Ancient Church of Shobdon, Herefordshire, Illustrated and Described* (London: Pelham Richardson, 1852). Therefore so called because they once formed the chancel arch and north and south arched doorways inside a church that was demolished in 1751. Lord Bateman placed them on his estate to be a focal point in the landscape.

¹⁷ Phoebe B. Stanton, *The Gothic Revival and American Church Architecture: An Episode in Taste* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1968), p. 19.

became a common feature of ecclesiastical buildings of the Gothic revival and later, there is nothing of this period that offers a serious attempt to interpret or define them.

Sir George Gilbert Scott (1811-1878), who was instrumental in restoring scores, if not hundreds, of parish churches and cathedrals in the mid-late nineteenth century, wrote extensively on architecture and how to deal with it sympathetically. Most notably in *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future* (1858), he devotes a chapter to interior decoration. In this case he means the interior of secular houses, but he draws on lessons learned from churches, especially on the subject of colour. Interestingly he says that ‘recently’ they had found that the architects of ‘the buildings of our cathedrals delighted not in stone-colour, but covered it with rich tinctures whenever the opportunity offered’ and that this had led to great debate about whether or not statues in churches should be left plain, in what had become the traditional manner, or should be brightly painted.¹⁸ The chapter deals with the appearance of chimney pieces, grates, staircases, floors, ceilings and painted glass. He remarks that some liked their houses to follow medieval ideals in their decorations, as well as in other respects, but that these would always be the exceptions.¹⁹ In common with other writers of this period, he disregards the specifics of decoration.

From the other end of the century comes William. R. Lethaby’s ground-breaking *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* (1892). Lethaby was an English architect and architectural historian whose ideas were influential in the late Arts and Crafts and early Modern movements in architecture, and in the fields of conservation and art education. His Introduction notes that he looked for ‘the purpose behind structure in form which may be called the esoteric principles of architecture’ and that he sought the origins of religious

¹⁸ Sir George Gilbert Scott, *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture, Present and Future* (London: John Murray, 1857), p. 74.

¹⁹ Gilbert Scott, p. 72.

buildings in distant history and lands.²⁰ His work can be summed up by the words of César Daly whom he quotes on the frontispiece: ‘Are there symbols which may be called constant, proper to all races, all societies, and all countries?’ One of these symbols is the tree and Lethaby frequently discusses both the use and symbolism of the tree, whether in the sense of tree trunks being needed to support roofs or in the sense of cosmic trees, Trees of Life or jewelled trees of Indian culture. His work is both highly readable and fascinating, but he does not take his discussion beyond the whole tree in that he neither considers the symbolism of certain leaves, nor any foliage attached to living beings. This studied ignoring of the foliate head continued into the Edwardian period. A so-called Green Man was photographed for a paper by the Venerable E. Barber in 1903 for the *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*. The photograph was sub-titled ‘Head of Our Lord? - probably representing I am the Vine’, but there was no comment in the text.²¹

Even into the 1960s the foliate head was not recognised as having any particular significance. In the entry for Kilpeck in the Herefordshire volume of Sir Nikolas Pevsner's series 'The Buildings of England' (1963) there is reference to some capitals with heads with beaded trails coming out of their mouths, but he appears to have seen only four of them and makes no further comment about form or function.²² Williamson, writing about Durham cathedral, does not describe the five foliate heads found on roof bosses in the cloister, although she does refer to the fifteenth-century timber ceilings with shields on the bosses which survive in large numbers.²³ The exterior of the church of St Nicholas in Durham's

²⁰ W.R. Lethaby, *Architecture, Mysticism and Myth* (New York: Macmillan & Co, 1892), p. v.

²¹ K. Basford, Letter to The Editor in *Folklore*, 79. No. 1 (Spring, 1968), p. 61

²² A. Brooks & N. Pevsner, *Herefordshire, The Buildings of England* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 385.

²³ E. Williamson in N. Pevsner, *County Durham, The Buildings of England*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) p. 201.

Market Square sports an excellent and prominent example of a monstrous head expelling vigorous foliage from its mouth, but that is also overlooked.²⁴ Likewise in his survey of Norwich cathedral, Pevsner makes no mention of foliate heads although there are at least eight on roof bosses in the cloisters, which include one of the most famous in England with its striking male face and slightly crossed eyes, the head transforming into gold leaves, veined with crimson (fig. 53).²⁵ He states that there are nearly four hundred decorated roof bosses in the cloister with those in the north and east ranges revealing scenes from the Life of Christ. This is also where all but three of the cloister foliate heads are to be found.²⁶ The remaining three are in the south and west walks where the unique Apocalypse suite of bosses may be found. More heads are located on the misericords, but they also escape attention.²⁷ Pevsner identifies fourteen foliate heads in Worcester Cathedral, some on misericords and bench ends and others on roof bosses, but these do not feature in his description of the building and its ornaments. Alan Brooks, also writing in 'The Buildings of England' series, lists some of the subjects shown on the misericords where they are identifiable stories, but limits his assessment to vague reference to source material in an unnamed bestiary series.²⁸

That said, Pevsner does not always overlook foliate heads and it may be that he omits them from the more elaborate buildings for reasons of space, or includes them in information about the smaller buildings if there is a shortage of other material. For example, the Norman church of St Leonard, Linley in Shropshire is small and comparatively plain, but it has an unusual mid-twelfth-century tympanum over the north door. Even more unusually it depicts

²⁴ Williamson, pp. 222-223

²⁵ These may not be the original colours. The bosses were repainted in the 1870s and 1930s. M. Rose & J. Hedgecoe, *Stories In Stone: The Medieval Roof Carvings of Norwich Cathedral*, p. 15.

²⁶ N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North-East Norfolk And Norwich*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 227.

²⁷ Pevsner, *North-East Norfolk and Norwich*, p. 225.

²⁸ A. Brooks in N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Worcester* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 689-690.

a foliate head that is not just the head, but a somewhat stylized whole person with goggling eyes, big ears and his hands on his hips. Foliage from his mouth almost overwhelms him. Of this image Pevsner writes: ‘The N doorway, in a normal position, has a more decorative but even more primitive tympanum [than one on another side]: a demon with legs wide apart and stylized foliage sprays issuing from his mouth.’²⁹



Fig. 3: Tympanum over north door, Linley, Shropshire C12th

The Chapter House at Southwell has some remarkable foliage dating to the end of the thirteenth century which Pevsner examines in detail in his *Leaves of Southwell* (1945). He writes about the influences on this building being principally from Rheims cathedral (1230-85) and Sainte-Chapelle, Paris (1243-48) and he contrasts the somewhat flat foliate head mask in one of the spandrels with the life-like leaves. He does not comment further and nor does he note the other seven foliate heads in the Chapter House.³⁰ Pevsner appears not to interpret what he found, but to record and describe, and his phenomenal achievement in doing this extensively across Britain should not be overlooked. In a similar vein, in G.L. Remnant's *Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* there is a description of every surviving misericord, but he records precisely what he sees without any attempt to interpret the images.

²⁹ J. Newman & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Shropshire* (New Haven: Yale University Press 2006), p. 332.

³⁰ Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Leaves of Southwell* (London: King Penguin Press, 1945), pp. 41-42.

The point has been made that there is a history of critical disregard for the foliate head, but this trend is also found in the work of writers such as Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968), Graham Hutton (1904-1988), John Harvey (1911-1997), Edwin Smith (1912-1971), Olive Cook (1912-2002), George Zarnecki (1915-2008), and the ongoing work of Paul Binski, Richard Marks and Jon Cannon. It is surprising that Panofsky did not tackle the subject since he became particularly well known for his studies of symbols and iconography in art (for example, he was the first to interpret Jan van Eyck's Arnolfini Portrait as a visual contract testifying to the act of marriage, arguing that it was more than a depiction of a wedding ceremony. He identifies a number of symbols that point to the sacrament of marriage).³¹ Smith, Hutton and Cook, collaborating in *English Parish Churches*, produce a photograph of the c.1200 foliate head at Sutterton (Lincolnshire) but only observe that the foliage is a crude form of a type that will become popular as Gothic architecture develops.³² Their aim was to produce a gazetteer that tracks the development of architectural styles, using illustrations from English churches. Other photographs in their book show foliate heads, also without comment.

Thurlby, Tisdall and Woodcock, all modern architectural historians with an interest in symbolism, do address the subject. Thurlby either illustrates or refers in writing to foliate heads at Kilpeck, Rowstone, Leominster, Shobdon and Fownhope but his only interpretation concerns the mid twelfth-century south door at Kilpeck of which he writes:

On the right of the doorway the capital is transformed into a huge human mask from which stylised foliage [...] issues from the mouth. [...] It has been seen as the preacher sending forth the fruitful Word of God, for which the serpent on the minor shaft reaches, but does not obtain. [...] It may depict the temptation to eat the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil.³³ The foliage and fruit [...] is the same as on

³¹ Panofsky, Erwin, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1953), i, pp. 178-201.

³² Smith, Edwin, Graham Hutton and Olive Cook, *English Parish Churches* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976), p. 47.

³³ This theme will be considered under Mouth Disgorgers in Chapter Two.

the tympanum but it is difficult to believe that the grotesque features of the mask could be equated with a priest. It is therefore more likely to represent evil and temptation associated with the serpent.³⁴

He sees the whole scheme of the Kilpeck south door as being concerned with the struggle between good and evil which he demonstrates with an interpretive description of the remaining images on the tympanum, taking evidence from Bestiaries. The sequence of a phoenix, an angel and a dragon is therefore seen as representing resurrection, good and hope because the dragon appears to have lost its strength.³⁵ He makes no comment on the eleven linked heads that are part of this scheme. They are not immediately obviously as foliate heads, being upside-down and the foliage being a stylised pattern of dots within parallel lines (known as granulation) which link the heads. This type is also seen on Stottesdon's font and Gundrada's tomb at Lewes which date to the same period.



Fig. 4: Three of the upside-down linked heads on the south tympanum of Kilpeck, Herefordshire mid C12th

Michael Tisdall examines twelve Green Man images. Whilst acknowledging the comparatively recent coining of the name, he discusses greenness in association with the growth demonstrated by the presence of foliage, also speculating that it might be a symbol of temptation.³⁶ He also considers the possibility that the leaves equate to words being spoken or that the combination of leaves and heads represent man's endless toil and struggle with the

³⁴ Malcolm Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Architecture* (Little Logaston: Logaston Press, 1999), p. 46.

³⁵ Thurlby, p. 48.

³⁶ Tisdall, p. 104.

earth in the sense of agriculture.³⁷ He notes that Christian symbols tend to be specific, their meaning understood from references in the bible, bestiaries and other early writings. The Green Man is an exception, although his significance must have been self-evident to the patrons and carvers at the time.³⁸

Alex Woodcock, writing in 2003, offers a considered opinion. He supplies detailed descriptions of varying types of monstrous carvings in the south-west of England and considers their origins whether from biblical stories or Classical art, but he analyses them in their medieval setting.³⁹ His survey takes into account foliate heads from *c.*1000-*c.*1500 but he pays attention to those created in the fourteenth century in the context of plague. He argues that temporal disaster was reflected in church art, especially in those foliate heads that have a cadaver-like appearance.⁴⁰ Whilst he is mainly interested in how they are placed, emphasising that they are liminal images, he focuses on the importance of the mouth as a vehicle of regurgitation and renewal.⁴¹ He notes that most of the images involve foliage coming from the mouth which medieval culture regarded as an enormously significant part of the body and one laden with symbolism.⁴² Indeed, well into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the mouth was popularly conceived of as the point of exit for the soul, which might take on animal form.⁴³ He discusses the connection between reading the holy words and eating (devouring the words) and the impact on the common man of seeing the body of Christ being eaten in the form of communion, bringing the community closer to God both

³⁷ Tisdall, pp. 104, 105.

³⁸ Tisdall, p. 102.

³⁹ Woodcock, Alex, 'Liminal Images: Aspects of Medieval Architectural Sculpture in the South East of England from the Eleventh to the Sixteenth Centuries' (Unpublished Phd, University Of Southampton, 2003), p. 144.

⁴⁰ Woodcock, p. 161.

⁴¹ Woodcock, pp. 143-145.

⁴² Woodcock, p. 173.

⁴³ Woodcock, p. 173.

physically and spiritually.⁴⁴ This analysis ignores the fact that the foliage looks as though it is being expelled, not ingested, that it may be disgorged from other orifices, not just the mouth and that some appear to have foliage growing out of their faces so that they are transforming into it. Woodcock (and others) are continually in contention with writers who only do local or superficial fieldwork such as J.C.D. Smith who said that there are about fifty foliate masks on misericords (there are at least seventy-five) and goes on to say that the image is mainly found in Somerset (not so) because of a belief that it represented a spirit that lived in the woodlands of the Quantocks.⁴⁵

If most art and architectural historians took little more than passing interest in the foliate head, other lines of enquiry were opened up by Sir James Frazer's, *The Golden Bough*; a comprehensive examination of symbolic behaviour and folkloric practices in twelve volumes published between 1890 and 1915 (abridged in 1922). This epic work considered sympathetic magic, magical control of the weather, incarnate human gods, sacred marriage, the perils of the soul, taboos of things / people / acts and words, sacrifice, Adonis myths, Osiris, corn-mothers and maidens, the eating of gods, transference of evil, scapegoats, heaven and earth, fire-festivals and the external soul in folk-custom. In particular, Frazer explored ideas about the spirit of the tree and tree worship. It would have been natural for tree worship to take place considering that the area now known as Europe was covered with primæval forests. Leaving aside the effect this must have had on group and individual imagination, the tree was all-important as a provider of shelter, heat, weaponry and some food as well, so it is perhaps unremarkable that it was both feared and honoured, whilst also given human characteristics and spirituality.

⁴⁴ Woodcock, p. 174.

⁴⁵ J.C.D. Smith, *A Guide To Church Carvings, Misericords and Bench Ends* (Newton Abbot: David Charles, 1974), p. 88.

Frazer suggested that the spirit could be in human form in the sense of it being acted out in pageants or, perhaps, in the form of a doll incorporated in the decorations.⁴⁶ Belief that a tree was sentient was not uncommon which led to the idea that a woodland spirit might still inhabit the timber out of which houses had been made.⁴⁷ If a primitive man could believe that a tree had a soul of its own, then it was not illogical that rituals should be enacted before a tree was felled lest its spirit took its revenge on the community.⁴⁸ Frazer's work rekindled interest in folkloric practices across Europe. In his book about Jack-in-the-Green customs, Roy Judge states that it is not possible to overrate the influence of *The Golden Bough* on interpretations of the Green Man. It must be remembered, however, that Frazer's interest is in folklore, rather than sculpture, and the direct link others have found between these newly identified customs and images placed in churches is entirely unproven.⁴⁹ Frazer's persuasive writing continues to colour study of the Green Man, perhaps because it appeals to romantic notions of an idyllic past.⁵⁰

It seems very likely that Lady Raglan, herself a noted folklorist, was influenced by Frazer's *The Golden Bough*. In 1939 she coined the term the Green Man for foliate head carvings, to denote the combination of head and foliage in the images.⁵¹ Her article in *Folklore* describes a confrontation in the church in Llangwm, Monmouthshire in 1931 with the then vicar, the Reverend J. Griffith, who also had a reputation as a folklorist. Lady Raglan wrote of the image:

It is a man's face, with oak leaves growing from the mouth and ears, and completely encircling the head. Mr Griffith suggested that it was intended to symbolize the spirit

⁴⁶ James Frazer, *The Golden Bough* (Ware: Wordsworth Reference Books, 1993), p. 125.

⁴⁷ Frazer, p. 117.

⁴⁸ Frazer, p. 111. Frazer, p. 113.

⁴⁹ R. Judge, *The Jack-In-The-Green* (Ipswich: D.S. Brewer Ltd, 1979), p. 19.

⁵⁰ Judge, p. 71.

⁵¹ Lady Raglan, 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture', *Folklore*, 50 (1950), p. 45.

of inspiration, but it seemed to me certain that it was a man and not a spirit. And moreover that it was a 'Green Man'. So I named it.⁵²

The following year C. J. P. Cave observed the number of foliate heads in the roof of Ely cathedral. He appears to have noted a possible link between the carvings and green men in folklore in writing, especially the ones where the face is hidden except for the eyes, because they reminded him of the Jack-in-the-Green.⁵³ It was Lady Raglan who took the association a step further, asking if there could have been a real-life figure who had inspired the images. She decided on 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, The King of May and the Garland who is the central figure in the May-Day celebrations throughout Northern and Central Europe.'⁵⁴ Thereafter she began to seek out other British examples, alert to the potential significance of the foliate head being the only carving of consequence in the church, although it may be surrounded by general or stylised foliage in quantity. She notes that there was a great deal of oak and poisoned ivy in the foliage, again speculating that it must be relevant that oak predominated and that the green man story may have evolved from myth concerning Odin and Attis who were both ritually hanged.⁵⁵ Many of the heads have a protruding tongue which could represent a hanged man.⁵⁶ Whilst she describes and illustrates grotesque heads at Newport (Wales) and Kilpeck, it seems that she only regarded human foliate heads as being part of her study. This may help explain her linking them with folkloric characters. This brief survey has been influential and has been the cause of considerable misunderstanding in the deciphering of the image. To this day many writers and observers impute significance to medieval images

⁵² B. S. Centerwall's discussion of the name of the green man will be considered later.

⁵³ C. J. P. Cave, 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral', *Proceedings and Communications. Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 32 (1932) pp. 33-46.

⁵⁴ Raglan, p. 68.

⁵⁵ In fact, this is not correct: out of 1,172 examples on the database, only 58 can be confidently identified as oak and 5 as ivy; the most popular leaf type is stylised.

⁵⁶ Raglan, p. 54.

based upon the supposed significance of post-medieval celebrations such as May Day, which were not in vogue when they were created.⁵⁷ More particularly there is often discussion about the significance of the colour green which is not relevant because, as has been demonstrated, the foliate head was not formally called the Green Man until 1939.

The recent upsurge of interest in the Green Man has given rise to numerous publications detailing both medieval and modern foliate head carvings, the principal books being: Kathleen Basford's *The Green Man* (1978), William Anderson's *Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth* (1990), Ronald Millar's *The Green Man, Companion and Gazetteer* (1998), Mike Harding's *A Little Book of Green Men* (1998), Clive Hicks' *The Green Man, a Field Guide* (2000), Fran and Geoff Doel's *The Green Man in Britain* (2001), John Matthews' *The Quest for the Green Man* (2001), Mercia MacDermott's *Explore Green Men* (2003), Mary Neasham's *The Spirit of the Green Man* (2004) and Richard Hayman's *The Green Man* (2009).

Kathleen Basford's *The Green Man* (1978), is held to be the definitive study of the subject and is referred to by all of the above authors. It is one of the earliest works dedicated to the carving and the first to offer non-folkloric interpretations, although she acknowledges that myths may play a part.⁵⁸ Her text consists of some seven thousand or more words and is mainly given over to an illustrated gazetteer ranging from western Britain to Istanbul but, nonetheless, hers is important in the study of this image because she tries to disregard personal feelings and romantic attitudes.

⁵⁷ May games sometimes known as Ales were recorded in the C15th. Some of these included gathering branches to decorate houses, but none of them occurred every year and nor are they recorded in the majority of parishes; they were more likely to be sporadic to raise funds for a specific purpose. Ronald Hutton, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 28.

⁵⁸ K. Basford, *The Green Man*, p. 9. 'Although the Jack-in-the-Green explanation cannot be stretched to fit and cover every example of the motif as it was used in the Middle Ages (it may not even precisely fit any of them), the image does, in fact, display at least one green man characteristic, namely, his power of revival and regeneration.'

Basford traces their earliest known use in a Christian context to a fourth-century tomb in Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, and then to sixth-century Trier where Roman leaf-masks had been recycled and notes that many carvings have a baleful expression.⁵⁹ She regards them as being more akin to the darkness of man's heart than lightness although she notes that they might be found in prestigious places such as on a tomb of Saint Louis IX of France, even though this is hardly a buoyant place.⁶⁰ She describes a change in how foliate heads were presented, moving from the leafy masks of antiquity to demon-like heads disgorging not just foliage, but occasionally snakes and birds.⁶¹ She attributes this to the influence of Rabanaus Maurus, the eighth-century theologian who believed that leaves represented the sins of the flesh and wicked men doomed to eternal damnation. She describes graphically how coiling tendrils that push out through the mouths of demons may be explained as suckers springing up from an evil root and also wonders if they could be an illustration of Ezekiel 8:17 (See, how they hold the branch to the nose) which could refer to idolaters to whom God would show no mercy.⁶² Basford concludes by saying that she can see that the Green Man was a much-loved motif, but it was unlikely to have been revered as a symbol of the renewal of life in spring.⁶³ Because she sees it as a dark, baleful image, she thinks it may have been associated with death.

Hicks offers the most comprehensive guide to foliate heads in churches and some secular buildings across Britain, but many of his examples do not conform to standard notions of a foliate head as discussed above. His study does not explain the criteria used for identifying foliate heads and the impression one is left with is that his checklist for inclusion

⁵⁹ Basford, *The Green Man*, p. 10.

⁶⁰ Basford, p. 9.

⁶¹ Basford, p. 12.

⁶² Basford, p. 13. See also Chapter Two, Nose Disgorgers

⁶³ Basford, p. 20.

was so capacious as to include any carvings remotely related to the image. Hicks does not always pay attention to date, and some examples prove to be post-Reformation or modern on inspection. His is a true gazetteer in that it comprises a list of churches arranged within counties in England and some overseas locations where foliate heads might be found. In his introduction he briefly discusses the place of the Green Man in folklore and custom and considers its links with a different type of church carving known as a wodewose or Wildman, an image which is usually a whole person with talons, covered in fur and often holding a cudgel. It is not similar enough to the carvings of this research for there to be a convincing connection and its study is therefore unlikely to add any further understanding of the foliate head. Hicks considers the carvings' mythological origins and thinks about the Green Man in the context of it being what he terms an archetype of the human soul and personal sense of being.⁶⁴ He ascribes function to the actual carving; he sees it as a witness of divine drama and a guide to help us to improve our behaviour.⁶⁵ He further observes that as sexual domination by men is no longer acceptable in society, the green man should be interpreted not just as a male, but as a female, not least because the image represents the divine feminine and is to be linked with the Mother of God in a Christian context.⁶⁶ This imposition of modern sensibilities on medieval aesthetics and applied art is distortive and does little to convince the reader of the objectivity of his interpretations of the Green Man's original function and significance within medieval ecclesiastical buildings.

Hicks' romantic notions are clear from the concluding statement of his introduction:

In the world humanity embodies a consciousness beyond that of its environment – humanity is the consciousness of the world. The green man is an expression of this. Within each human psyche there is that which each feels to be 'I', the ego, which is an incarnation of the psyche. The green man is an expression of this. The consciousness of the individual set in this mortal vehicle, in the union of the timeless

⁶⁴ Hicks, p. 2.

⁶⁵ Hicks pp. 9-10.

⁶⁶ Hicks pp. 10-11.

with time, in a circle of birth, death and renewal. The green man is an expression of this. The idea of the green man is an Archetype: it is the practical incarnation of the reality that All is One.⁶⁷ [...] Individually people have woken to the idea; their growing numbers represent a collective awakening to the present relevance of an old idea. This is a mystery, as if the psyche were calling our ancestors to our unity with the world.⁶⁸

Similar views are voiced by William Anderson, a one-time collaborator of Hicks, in his *Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth*:

The Green Man signifies irrepressible life. Once he has come into your awareness, you will find him speaking to you wherever you go. He is an image from the depths of prehistory: he appears and seems to die and then comes again after long forgetting at many periods in the past two thousand years. [...] The Green Man, as a composite of leaves and a man's head, symbolizes the union of humanity and the vegetable world. He knows and utters the secret laws of Nature.⁶⁹

And again:

The Green Man is the guardian and revealer of mysteries. In his mask form he is linked to the universal significance of the mask which are those of a part in a drama to be taken up and dropped again and of the world of spirits and of what lies behind death. As the disgorging or devourer of vegetation he speaks of the mysteries of creation in time, of the hidden sources of inspiration, and of the dark nothingness out of which we come and to which we return. As the fruit of vegetation, he signifies the mystery of law and intelligence in natural forms and expresses our own instinctive desire to anthropomorphize everything that is beautiful, touching or powerful in the world about us. In all his forms he is the Poet who in revealing mysteries opens up even more wonderful and enticing mysteries beyond the words he speaks.⁷⁰

A sceptic might suggest that it is not the carvings that are calling to us today, but Anderson himself who has only recently noticed images that have existed in churches and cathedrals for several hundred years. Anderson postulates that the green man depicted in wood or stone is connected to the type of age-old spiritualism that might help mankind find an affinity with nature and the planet. His rationale is erroneously based on the 1930s concept of the 'green man'. Like Hicks and other writers such as Fran and Geoff Doels and

⁶⁷ Hicks, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Hicks, p. 3.

⁶⁹ William Anderson, *The Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth* (London: Harpercollins, 1990), p. 14.

⁷⁰ Anderson, p. 33.

Mary Neasham, he explores links between the carvings and festivals which have evolved from post-medieval folklore traditions. Anderson, for example, begins his work with a description of a Jack-in-the-Green enactment at Hastings Castle.⁷¹ He then offers a précis of the story of the Middle English romance *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* before describing a foliate head in the rood screen of King's Nympton church in Devon. His intention is to link all three, which he does by means of a series of stories concerning a Green Man of Knowledge, an entertainment laid on for Elizabeth I in 1591. Anderson seeks the Green Man in antiquity, suggesting that the sarsen stones at Avebury were linked to the story because they may have been a processional way for the spring festivities of the Great Goddess, and also finds him in Classical Rome, with the Celts and in the Middle East.⁷² He presents ideas and information which veer from church carvings, to folklore and ancient tales, to drama and, very often, to the instincts of his own heart. In his coverage of the Green Man in the Middle Ages, he discusses possible links with the Virgin Mary and with agriculture, and he connects the spread of the image to writings by Hildegard of Bingen and Albertus Magnus who wrote treatises on the virtues and symbolism of plants.⁷³ His contention that the carvers and masons of the day would have been more in tune with nature and with the medicinal benefits of various plants is reasonable, but his arguments frequently run into pure conjecture. He discusses the intelligence underlying the life of vegetation and suggests that men looking out from, or through foliage (such as in the Chapter House at Southwell) are what he calls the green man un-masked; a green man who has done his duty having disgorged his leaves and who is allowed to rise up to point to the new wonders in life.⁷⁴ With disarming honesty, he agrees that this view is not based on evidential research:

⁷¹ Anderson, p. 9.

⁷² Anderson, p. 35.

⁷³ Anderson, p. 92.

⁷⁴ Anderson, p. 95.

Much of what has been said about the connection of the Green Man [...] with foliage is presumption - a presumption based on a desire I certainly share and have to be warned against. That desire is for every tradition to be as ancient as possible.⁷⁵

Despite its idiosyncrasies, Kathleen Basford admired Anderson's book, for what she saw as his inspirational approach in considering how images can accrue different ideas over time. They can evolve and diversify if they are exposed to different cultural climates and as they catch the imagination of the particular individuals who use them.⁷⁶ Basford regrets that Anderson does not take account of what she terms the 'sad mortality' of the green man since she sees him as a *memento mori*, a view she believes is endorsed by the work of Mrs Betty Willsher who has recorded green man carvings on Lowland Scottish gravestones of the eighteenth century.⁷⁷ These are usually accompanied by biblical texts such as Psalm 103:15-16 or Isaiah 40:6-8 which are funereal in their tone.⁷⁸ Whilst Basford is right that these sentiments express deep feelings and memories, the sentiment may not be appropriate for carvings made for pre-Reformation use when symbols were understood and used differently.

The Doels' book includes illustrations of foliate heads which are not those of humans, but of monsters or animals. Nonetheless their argument is predicated, as was Lady Raglan's, on the image being that of a man though they argue that the foliage is often so stylized that it ceases to be a recognizable plant and that, likewise, some of the heads are no longer distinctly human.⁷⁹ As with the works of Hicks and Anderson, much of their argument is developed without regard for historical or cultural context and as such can be dismissed as superficial and devoid of evidence. Typical of this approach is their inclusion of

⁷⁵ Anderson, p. 26.

⁷⁶ Kathleen Basford, 'A New View of the 'Green Man' Sculptures', *Folklore*, 102: 2 (1991), p. 238.

⁷⁷ Basford, 'A New View', p. 239.

⁷⁸ Ps. 102: 15-16 'He remembereth that we are dust: man's days are as grass, as the flower of the field so shall he flourish. For the spirit shall pass in him, and he shall not be: and he shall know his place no more.'
Isaiah 40: 6-8 'The voice of one saying: cry. And I said: what shall I cry? All flesh is grass, and all of the glory thereof as the flower of the field. The grass is withered, and the flower is fallen: but the word of our lord endureth forever.'

⁷⁹ F. & G. Doel, *The Green Man In Britain*, p. 119.

the ritual of the Burry Man of South Queensferry who has nothing green about him; this offers no apparent connection with the medieval past but does provide a link to modern concerns for the environment. As Bradtke and Negus recognise, the appeal of these works is not in their ability to make concrete connections between the foliate head and documented practices and beliefs of the medieval period, but that they appropriate the Green Man as a powerful ecological symbol of our times.⁸⁰

The work of Millar and Neasham is very similar in that they both ascribe not only spiritual links to the green man, but have also given him actual spirituality and sentience. Millar describes the carvings as loving to frighten, which in itself suggests limited field research since many of the heads have serene or amiable expressions.⁸¹ Both Millar and Thurlie Grundy (who has produced a short guide to the green man carvings in Carlisle cathedral) maintain that the carvers who created the images either had yet to convert to Christianity, or will have reverted to paganism following the failure of the Church to avert the plague known as Black Death and that this accounts for the proliferation of foliate heads carved from the middle of the fourteenth century to about the year 1500.⁸² Grundy goes so far as to suggest that foliate heads represent pagan god blowing life into vegetation. Millar refers to the 'Old Religion whose quintessence was Life. [...] To this belief belonged the Green Man.'⁸³

⁸⁰ Elaine Bradtke, Review of *The Green Man In Britain by Fran Doel and Geoff Doel* in *Folklore*, 114: 1 (April 2003), p. 133. Tina Negus, 'Medieval Foliate Heads: A Photographic Study of Green Men and Green Beasts in Britain', *Folklore*, 114 (2003), p. 247.

⁸¹ Ronald Millar, *The Green Man, Companion and Gazetteer*, (Seaford: S.B. Publications, 1998), p. 13. Also: 'There is more than a good chance that his voice is the roar of beech in a gale, the hiss of ash in a high wind, the breathless hush of a winter forest and the tumult of woodland in Spring. When we hear him no more, he - and life - will be at an end' - p. 45.

⁸² Thirlie Grundy. *The Green Man of Carlisle Cathedral* (Carlisle: Carlisle Cathedral, 1998), p. 5 and Millar, p. 45.

⁸³ Millar, p. 45.

Neasham believes that the green man ‘provides us with a direct link to nature and the inner nature of life even at the consciousness level.’⁸⁴ Matthews also presents the green man as both a living and a supernatural being:

The Green Man has proved impossible to kill. Again and again throughout the ages he has returned to remind us of our indissoluble links with nature – often in such a mysterious manner that it is hard to know where to look for him. For he is a trickster too, laughing both with and at us [...] As a shaman journeying on our behalf into realms to which we might never go, he returns with knowledge vital to our survival. Often, just when we think we are about to catch him, he shifts his shape and vanishes again, only to reappear in another guise before our wondering eyes.⁸⁵

He does not clarify who has tried to kill him or why, neither does he explain the shape-shifting nor what the vital knowledge might be. He explores man’s age-old fascination with both the forest and the colour green, echoing the work of James Frazer.⁸⁶ Matthews also proposes that the carvings’ origins lie in Celtic symbolism and Roman myth.⁸⁷

Other studies are more focused in their search for the origins of the Green Man. MacDermott’s *Explore Green Men* investigates the possibility of it having roots in European and Asian mythology. She considers links to Roman myth (as did Millar) but in describing the attributes of individual gods, she invariably concludes that one is obliged to dismiss them. For example, the Gaulish god known as Sucellus was associated with the Roman Silvanus. His usual attributes were a hammer and a pot and while he sometimes had a leaf-crown, this greenery was not a constant factor.⁸⁸ More profitable is the connection with the foliate head in the *kirttimukha* (Face of Glory) of India and Nepal, an image that consists of a disembodied head which sometimes issues leaves and sometimes flames. Its function is that of guardianship and it represents all that remains of a demon created by the Hindu god,

⁸⁴ Mary Neasham, *The Spirit of the Green Man* (Sutton Mallet: Green Magic, 2004), p. 10.

⁸⁵ John Matthews, *The Quest for the Green Man* (Newton Abbot: Godsfield Books, 2001), p. 8.

⁸⁶ Matthews, p. 24 & p. 29.

⁸⁷ Matthews, p. 22. Matthews, p. 24. The origin of foliate heads will be considered elsewhere, but there seem to be many threads incorporated in them: Roman, Celtic, Indian and Scandinavian.

⁸⁸ Mercia Macdermott, *Explore Green Men* (Wymeswold: Heart of Albion Press, 2003), p. 162.

Shiva. The original creature was so keen to make an impact on Shiva that it was willing to follow his command to eat his own body, starting at the tail. Shiva was sufficiently impressed to give the *kirttimukha* the title of Face of Glory (that being all that was left of him) and to permit him to stand guard over him and other gods.⁸⁹ In India and Nepal it is often found on archways, over doors and other places where it has a good line of sight. Tina Negus supports this idea, citing the twelfth-century font at Holt in Worcestershire as an example of an early foliate head that is similar to a *kirttimukha*.⁹⁰ It is similar, as are many heads on twelfth-century fonts, although this particular example lacks the flamboyancy of the Nepalese demon (See fig. 10). As is common with these fonts, the head has stretched, oval eyes and a wide mouth with thick tendrils (not leaves) pulling at the corners of the mouth.⁹¹ The tendrils are tautly linked to other heads which does not occur with the *kirttimukha* which always stands alone and this will be examined further under ‘Possible Derivations from Other Cultures’. In addition the font tendrils tend to link to the five other adjoining heads both from the mouth and from the ears, or the top of the head which may be important because they serve to join living heads to each other.

MacDermott is also interested in what she sees as the paganising of a carving made for a Christian purpose and which is predominantly displayed in Christian churches. By this she means the post-war interpretation based on the name Green Man which generally assumes that all the heads are male (which they are not) and that the colour green represents fertility, a theory which ignores its comparatively recent coining. She searches biblical texts and Christian myths, for example from Jacobus de Voragine’s thirteenth-century *The Golden Legend* for any mention of an image which could be interpreted as a Green Man there.⁹²

⁸⁹ Roy C. Craven, *Indian Art, A Concise History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1976) p. 164.

⁹⁰ Negus, p. 254.

⁹¹ Fonts at Morville, Alne, Stottesdon and Gundrada’s tomb slab at Lewes also come into this category.

⁹² Macdermott, p. 104 and p. 106.

Voragine's section on the Invention of the True Cross tells how when Adam was dying he sent his son, Seth, to the Garden of Eden to ask for seeds from the tree of mercy. These were laid under Adam's tongue when he was buried:

And out of his mouth grew three trees of the three grains, of which trees the cross that our Lord suffered his passion on was made, by virtue of which he gat very mercy, and was brought out of the darkness into the very light of heaven.⁹³

In Volume III of Voragine's work an explanation is given as to how these trees came to be used in the Crucifixion. The Queen of Sheba worshipped the tree when she visited Solomon because she prophesied that Christ would be crucified on it. Solomon therefore had it dug deep into a pit to preserve it which later filled with healing water. Prior to the Crucifixion the tree floated on top of the water and became the timber that was used to make the Cross. MacDermott suggests that stories such as these, written in the thirteenth century, would provide both a basic template and powerful inspiration for carvings of heads with foliage coming out of their mouths. She further asserts that Voragine's account of a plant growing from someone's mouth was inspiration for disgorging images.

A moralised reading is offered by Richard Hayman who, making use of the subject matter of other carvings contiguous with or close by to the foliate head, interprets the images as being primarily associated with sin. He examines the context of several individual heads, each time concluding that it has a negative or sinful meaning. His evidence can be readily challenged; for example, the fact that a foliate head is on corbels supporting an image of the Virgin and Child at North Walsham in Norfolk and in Exeter cathedral does not imply that she is trampling it as she might a demon; it might, in fact, be sustaining her.⁹⁴ Indeed, the foliage in the latter case forms what could be interpreted as a protective hedge around her.

⁹³ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, i, ed. by F. S. Elliott (New York: AMS Press, 1900), pp. 180-181.

⁹⁴ Richard Hayman, *The Green Man* (Botley: Shire, 2009), p. 27. Hayman, p. 28.

Similarly, the twelfth-century tympanum over the south door of St John's, Elkstone in Gloucestershire shows a type of tetramorph with Christ-in-Majesty in the centre, sitting on an elaborate throne intended to represent Jerusalem or the City of God (fig. 5).⁹⁵ He blesses with his right hand and holds a book in his left. Above him, the Hand of God can be seen, pointing downwards.



Fig 5: Tympanum over south door, Elkstone, Gloucestershire 1160 onwards

In this version small wings can be discerned on the backs of the lower two animals and they have much-eroded scrolls bearing the names of the evangelists they represent, as does the eagle. The winged man stands to the left (his wings are crossed in front of him) instead of taking his usual place with the other three symbols, a place occupied by a wingless animal to which Christ appears to point whilst he blesses. This is presumed to be a lamb because it stands beside a small cross, enclosed in a circle which is a symbol known as the *Agnus Dei*, the Lamb of God. It often has a flag of victory, known as a *vexillum*, on the staff of the cross which may be represented by the trailing foliage that almost encloses the whole image. There are two foliate heads, circled, one opposite the winged man and one amongst

⁹⁵ A composite figure containing the symbols of the Four Evangelists: Matthew has a winged man, Mark has a winged lion, Luke has a winged ox and John has an eagle. *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* Ed. by C. T. Onions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 2159.

the voussoirs.⁹⁶ The foliage exuding from the lower foliate head's mouth is luxurious, almost forming an arch in itself so that it would connect to the Agnus Dei were there not a gap over Christ's head to admit the hand of God.

Hayman does not comment on the upper foliate head, but says that the lower one is there to symbolize the damned being sent to hell because the angel, on the other side, stands for those who have been saved and sent to heaven and that this, therefore is a combination of a tetramorph and a last judgement.⁹⁷ This is unconvincing; it seems understated for the fashion of the period during which clear significance was valued more than subtle references. It seems more likely that the foliate heads can be given a positive reading because of their proximity to holy figures, as will be explored in greater detail later in the thesis.

In a more recent study, John Satchell writes that with a few exceptions the very numerous examples of green man carvings are benign, vigorous, cheerful and even noble.⁹⁸ He then goes on to comment only on a smaller group which have a malevolent squint which was later seen as a sign of evil and witchcraft, or which had supporting images with negative connotations such as a head at Preston Patrick near Kendal which shares its position with a fiend and an owl with a cloven hoof.⁹⁹ He suggests that this type of symbolism might offer proof that in the more remote parts of Britain, paganism was too firmly entrenched for Christianity to make much headway. This seems an odd conclusion given that the Preston Patrick carvings are part of a church that was not built until the 1500s.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ The wedge-shaped stones forming an arch. Lucie-Smith, p. 197.

⁹⁷ Hayman, p. 19.

⁹⁸ John Satchell, 'The Green Man In Cumbria', *Folklore*, 110 (1999), p. 98.

⁹⁹ Satchell, p. 99.

¹⁰⁰ The original church was dismantled in 1850, a new one being built. Many features from the original church were incorporated into the new which was built in the Gothic revival style.

This approach epitomises those readings of the Green Man that are based upon uncorroborated ideas about their origins in the sense of belief and myth. A notable example is Millar's notion that the image is linked to some form of latent medieval paganism. He supposes that after the plague of the fourteenth century:

The Old Religion survived in people's memories. Its quintessence was Life. It rejoiced in natural things, the spirits of wind, earth, water, of vegetation. Even its temples, the sacred oak groves, had been in the open-air. None may have remembered white-robed priests [Druids] who cut mistletoe with golden sickles, stood on one leg, closed an eye and pointed to cast spells and predict the future but there was a folk culture of omens, portents, charms, witches, fairies and things that went bump in the night and how passing under a ladder brought bad luck and that sprinkling salt over the left shoulder with the right hand averted it. To this belief belongs the Green Man. The Church, fearing it was losing credibility fought back with one of its old conversions. It allowed the evil spirit to enter by the back door in the form of decoration [i.e. the foliate heads]. Only by this compromise might he be tamed.¹⁰¹

In those unhappy days when the plague known as Black Death killed at least half the population in twelve to eighteen months, it is unlikely that the pre-Reformation mind-set would have considered other religions, an action which would have jeopardised any chance of gaining entry to paradise, and so this view is disputed. Millar later adds that there is a persistent myth that the hunting accident that overtook William Rufus in the summer of 1100 in the New Forest was ritual slaughter and that he was sacrificed to appease the spirits of the Greenwood or even the green man himself.¹⁰² This is the only reference that has been found to this myth and he does not give a source.

A more systematic study, but still one lacking in critical rigour is by R. O. M. Carter and H. M. Carter who attempt a fivefold classification of the image:¹⁰³

1. Jack-in-the-Green: a human, not a grotesque, looking out from foliage.

¹⁰¹ Millar, p. 45.

¹⁰² Millar, p. 61.

¹⁰³ R. O. M. Carter & H. M. Carter, 'The Foliate Head in England', *Folklore*, 78: 4 (Winter, 1967), pp. 269-270.

2. Tête de Feuilles: a human face that is also a leaf, such as in the drawing of Villard de Honnecourt. They see it as a survival of the Roman deity, Silvanus or, if it is seaweed, of one of the sea divinities.
3. Foliate head-proper, usually with two stems coming from the mouth.
4. Variations such as animal heads, skulls and other images which may have come from manuscript illumination.
5. Some with fabulous animals which mainly occur on capitals and tympana dating from shortly after the Conquest.

They display a lack of rigour in their field work, stating that they only found one in Westminster Abbey, which was on a Renaissance misericord in Henry VII's chapel. There are at least eight, five of which can be dated to before the Reformation. They also say that there are no foliate heads in Southwell Minster other than in the Chapter House, although there are certainly at least two others: a large twelfth-century corbel by the south transept door and an early fourteenth-century misericord. They believe that there was a sharp decline in the creations of foliate heads after 1400 and that they are rare in the wool churches of East Anglia. Most oddly, they say that the farmer was a Christian at mass and a pagan in his fields and that this is partially proven because in the Middle Ages no inconsistency was seen in a fertility rite (Rogation) being conducted by the parish priest, a ceremony carried out to this day during which the congregation processes through fields to reinforce boundaries and to pray for the crops to be preserved from mildew.¹⁰⁴ The explanation is that many pagan practices were taken over by Christian missionaries as explained below.

The arbitrary fashion in which writers such as Millar and the Carters link the Green Man and supposed pagan or non-Christian practices can be understood as a modern response

¹⁰⁴ Carter & Carter, p. 272. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* ed. by F. L. Cross (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 1172.

to some of the vivid anecdotes provided by later medieval writers. In his essay about folklore and popular religion, Carl Watkins points out that preaching and teaching, especially by the parish priest, was designed to bridge any gap that might exist between the position of the church on one hand and belief and practice in local communities on the other.¹⁰⁵ He considers some of the numerous indications of folkloric activities going back through the centuries, whilst acknowledging that mainly they are too fragmentary to be useful. He cites examples from the late twelfth century onwards, indicating that some men and women thought it unlucky to meet a priest in the street and that others were not averse to crumbling communion wafers over their crops to protect them. It seems that people were agog for tales of the wondrous for which chroniclers increasingly found space in their narratives: Ralph of Coggeshall told of green children found in cornfields, wild men fished from the sea and invisible spirits haunting peasant houses. Walter Map spoke of fairy women who married mortal men and dead men who rose from the grave by night.¹⁰⁶ It was not just the lay community but religious men as well; apparently Guibert of Nogent, an educated clergyman of the twelfth century, used to sleep with a lamp by his bed to keep evil spirits at bay whilst Gerald of Wales attacked a wide range of abuses in the community such as the laity singing and dancing around churches and cemeteries on the feasts of saints when they should be devoting themselves to the prayer and to concentrating on the Mass, although this was probably more to do with decorum than superstition.¹⁰⁷

These anecdotes add to the corpus accessed by uncritical writers who link foliate heads to unproven pagan practices. There are many once-pagan images in Christian churches, used to help to tell the Christian story: labyrinths, the Wodewose or wildman,

¹⁰⁵ Carl Watkins, 'Folklore' and 'Popular Religion' in Britain during the Middle Ages', *Folklore*, 115: 2 (Aug 2004) p. 145.

¹⁰⁶ Watkins, p. 140.

¹⁰⁷ Watkins, p. 142.

dragons and monsters, angels, and the foliate head to name but a few.¹⁰⁸ This stems from early Christian missionaries to Britain such as Abbot Mellitus c.600 whom Pope Gregory the Great advised to take pagan rituals, feasts and buildings already in place and use them in a Christian context rather than destroy them.¹⁰⁹ In this way he hoped to attract converts to Christianity. It is also the case that some Christian festivals are hangovers from pagan days, whether it is the Rogation service that bothered the Carters, the Harvest Festival giving thanks for a successful crop and a chance of survival through the winter, or major feast days falling on previously pagan ones. The name for the most important Christian festival, Easter, is thought to derive from Êostre, a goddess whose feast was celebrated at the vernal equinox.¹¹⁰ Despite this, the farmer would not have had split religious loyalties as has already been mentioned when Millar proposed the idea. In those days it would not have occurred to the farmer to have done so; he may well have been horrified by the idea of considering something that would damn him to everlasting suffering. At times of great national (and international) suffering, such as plague, personal piety is likely to have increased and not become something to be tinkered with. Hayman points out that this is an idea supported by Eamon Duffy whose work has shown that the populace was devoutly Christian, not defiantly pagan at this time.¹¹¹ In his seminal work, *The Stripping of the Altars* (1992), Duffy examines both Christian practice and its impact both before and after the Reformation. At no point does he conclude that pagan belief thrived amongst the medieval population citing, for example, the fact that perhaps two thirds of all English parish churches underwent substantial rebuilding or alteration in the one hundred and fifty years before the

¹⁰⁸ Most cultures have a winged man in their mythology. Judaism and Christianity call them angels.

¹⁰⁹ Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by J. McClure & R. Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 57.

¹¹⁰ *The Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*, ed. by C. T. Onions (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 298.

¹¹¹ Richard Hayman, 'The Green Man' In *British Archaeology*, 100 (2008), p. 13.

Reformation. As he says: 'If we take it as an axiom of human nature that where your money is your heart is also, then the hearts of late medieval [...] men and women were in their parish churches.'¹¹²

A different approach has been taken by Tina Negus whose aim is simply to make more images of green men available for study and she makes it clear that she regards green beasts as being of equal significance by the title of her article, 'Medieval Foliate Heads: a Photographic Study of Green Men and Green Beasts'.¹¹³ She begins with the now usual review of Lady Raglan's coining of the term and possible folkloric links, and she briefly considers their origins perhaps in manuscripts, textiles or other images from the middle and far east. She is anxious that green beasts should not be dismissed as mere demons and then devotes the rest of her work to twenty-five photographs with extended captions, taken in chronological order. In common with Pevsner and with G.L. Remnant in his *Catalogue of Misericords*, she offers detailed description, but eschews interpretation, a clinical approach which allows the reader to draw his own conclusions without bias. For example, her Plate 4 shows a twelfth-century door capital at Leominster with the following text:

The masons of the twelfth-century Herefordshire School were influenced by work along the French pilgrimage route to Santiago de Compostela (Zarnecki 1953, 9-15). The Green Man on the door capital at Kilpeck is well known (Basford 1978, Pl. 22). Inside Leominster Priory, both door capitals have foliate heads. The northernmost shows a human face with large eyes, forked, plaited beard, neat hair and foliage gushing from his mouth. The other is far from human, nor does it resemble any known animal. Although it is rather cat-like, its ears are rounded. The face has a wide, floppy mouth, no lower jaw, long nose, bulbous eyes, with deep grooves crossing the cheeks. Vines issue from his mouth and ears.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Tradition Religion in England 1400-1580* (London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 132.

¹¹³ Negus, p. 247.

¹¹⁴ Negus, p. 240.

She does not enlarge on this or say why the French pilgrimage route is relevant, assuming a high level of reader knowledge.¹¹⁵ Plate 8 in her text is of another twelfth-century carving, this time at Quenington, Gloucestershire. This is a cat-like head glowering above strong, curved leaves. Negus notes that this is similar to cat heads found in early medieval manuscripts, the capital B of the *Beatus* page becoming especially associated with what she calls the uttering beast-head.¹¹⁶ In a note to this entry, she speculates that the medieval illustrators incorporated the Green Beast into their design to complement the meaning of the psalm. It is true that verses 1-3 of Psalm 1 has mention of trees and leaves which may account for the popularity of leaves on the *Beatus* page. It does not mention cats or heads, nor does it imply that the two should be connected with leaves. Given that illustrations in manuscripts must have influenced craftsmen, it is not felt that these verses would create sufficient impetus to induce such a proliferation of carvings across Europe.

L. J. A Loewenthal analysis follows a different line in that he suggests that the species of leaves in any amulet is important. Leaves are a critical component of the foliate head and will be discussed in detail later, but Loewenthal is especially interested in spiny ones because he has observed that they are often represented in late Gothic decoration.¹¹⁷ This may be for a variety of reasons: holly is popular at Christmas and has come to represent that feast (a throwback to the winter solstice festival) and hawthorn was particularly liked by medieval carvers.¹¹⁸ This suggestion does not stand up to scrutiny because, as far as foliate heads are concerned, the plant types are more likely to be stylized than a recognizable

¹¹⁵ Lord Hugh Mortimer made Oliver De Merlimond Chief Steward of his land and property. De Merlimond is known to have been on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, probably returning via western France and thereby seeing decorations on the twelfth-century churches at Aulnay and Poitiers amongst others. This is probably the foundation of what became known as the Herefordshire School of Architecture, the best example of which is Kilpeck church. Thurlby, pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁶ Negus, p. 251.

¹¹⁷ L. J. A. Loewenthal, 'Amulets In Medieval Sculpture' I, *Folklore*, 89: 1 (1978), p. 8.

¹¹⁸ Loewenthal, p. 8.

species. Observation indicates that where the leaf is identifiable, it is indeed an artistic-looking one, such as hawthorn, oak, ivy, maple or acanthus. Loewenthal, quoting Glueck, speaks of the amuletic value of such plants, but this does not prove that the Green Man was seen as a talisman. Foliate heads on jewellery or other pieces of personal adornment have yet to be found, indicating that they were not considered to be lucky or protective.¹¹⁹

Of studies contemporary with Basford, the most important is that of Brandon S. Centerwall whose article offers new directions for the study of the foliate head. In a short article called 'The Name of the Green Man' Centerwall looks to see how Raglan's nomenclature has been used, and remarks that it is inevitable that almost any folkloric figure which involved the colour green - or anything at all that is leafy - would be dubbed the Green Man, including the Jack-in-the-Green which Roy Judge has demonstrated to be a May Day money-making scheme developed by chimney sweeps in the late-eighteenth century.¹²⁰

He goes further than Anderson because he finds that this Green Man apparently did not exist as an innkeeper's sign prior to the seventeenth century:

Under the circumstances, Lady Raglan's intuitive leap looks a bit more imaginative than we would like.¹²¹ Even Kathleen Basford admitted that no one ever called a foliate head a Green Man before Lady Raglan did, and now we all do even if we don't accept her hypothesis and Roy Judge concluded that Raglan's green man was a particularly successful example of modern myth-making, a 'case study in the invention of tradition'.¹²²

Centerwall feels that Raglan was so anxious to make the Green Man fit Frazerian ideas that, as he puts it, her error lay 'not in that she cast her net too wide, but that she cast it in the wrong direction' because she either chose to overlook or was not aware that there were

¹¹⁹ He speculates that the foliate head could be a man-plant hybrid with his tongue changing into foliage, but this does not chime with visual evidence. Loewenthal, p. 9.

¹²⁰ Brandon S. Centerwall, 'The Name of the Green Man', *Folklore*, 108 (1997), pp. 25-33.

¹²¹ Centerwall, p. 25.

¹²² Centerwall, p. 26.

other green men entities to be taken into account besides inns named The Green Man, such as the Green Man of English pageantry and Green Man distilleries.¹²³

He then makes an interesting excursion into the world of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plays and pageants where he finds participants who were known as green men. In John Kirke's play, *The Seven Champions of Christendome*, written in 1638, the Clown queries a foreigner, 'Have you any squibs in your Country? Any Green-men in your shows?' These green men were especially associated with the London Lord Mayor's Pageant where they functioned as whifflers; exotically garbed men whose role was to clear a way through the throng for the pageant-proper with the aid of flaming torches and fireworks. They make another appearance in Matthew Taubman's 1686 description of the Lord Mayor's Pageant: 'In front of all these, twenty Savages or Green Man, with Squibs and Fire-works, to sweep the Streets, and keep off the Crowd.'

The earliest written reference to the Green Man in dramatic traditions comes in George Whetstone's 1578 play *The Second Parte of the Famous Historie of Promos and Casandra*. Act 1 scene 6.

Phallax: Two men, apparelled lyke greene men at the Mayor's feast, with clubbes of fyre worke.
 Phal: This geare fadgeth now, that these fellowes peare,
 Friendes where weight you?
 First: In Jesus Street to keep a passage cleare,
 That the King and his trayne, may passé with ease.

Centerwall cites another case where green men were used as part of an entertainment, this time in Chester on St George's Day 1610 when there was a visit by Prince Henry. In this

¹²³ Centerwall, p. 26.

account a dangerous sounding acrobatic feat on top of the steeple of St Peter's was described, followed by:

Two disguised, called Greene-Men, their habit Embroydred and Stitch'd on with Ivie-leaves with blacke-side, having hanging to their shoulders, a huge black shaggie Hayre, Savage-like, with Ivie Garlands upon their heads, bearing *Herculian* Clubbes in their hands, an artificial Dragon, very lively to behold, pursuing the Savages entring their Denne, casting Fire from his mouth, which afterwards was slain, to the great pleasure of the spectators ...¹²⁴

It could have been tempting to see this as a Frazerian-style banishing of winter, but contemporary notes of the performance indicate that it was to be interpreted as the hope that all present (and presumably especially Prince Henry) would be spared until the next St George's Day.¹²⁵

It seems that the whiffler / green man was expected to act as though they were very drunk which might also account for the danger to clothes from their torches, and that could be the reason why distilleries took them as their emblem.¹²⁶ That, in turn, might be the reason why so many inns were named the Green Man, their sign-boards depicting wild-looking men with clubs, leaves and garlands.¹²⁷

These additions to the history of the Green Man are then followed by a discussion about a particular church carving, a bench end in the church at Crowcombe in Somerset which was carved in 1534. There are a number of full-size bench ends in this church, some with complicated illustrations which are hard to interpret.

¹²⁴ Centerwall, p. 26.

¹²⁵ Centerwall, p. 27.

¹²⁶ Centerwall, p. 28.

¹²⁷ Where a sign for a Green Man Pub shows a foliate head, inquiries have shown that, pre-war, the image was of a Jack-in-the-Green or whiffler, for example at the now-named Frog and Orange at Shatterling near Canterbury.



Fig. 6: Bench end at Crowcombe, Somerset 1534

Centerwall's contention is that the men coming out of the man's deformed ears are the whiffers of pageantry. They have the Herculean clubs and leaf bucklers, so often worn, their heads are garlanded, their chests, shoulders and faces bare. The intoxication of the pageant could be indicated by the grapes issuing from the main Green Man's mouth.¹²⁸ This would then be a record of a community event, rather than anything more symbolic. Richard Hayman also describes the Crowcombe bench ends; he believes that the possible whiffers are, in fact, mermen.¹²⁹ In his interpretation, the flat faces of the image shown above and other carvings at Crowcombe are deliberately ugly so that they represent sin, an idea embellished by the presence of two naked men on another bench end who have been caught up in branches coming from a monster's mouth.¹³⁰ The idea of the whiffler is beguiling, but Hayman is right to consider all the carvings in this suite, even though they may not have been planned to tell a co-ordinated story.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Centerwall, pp. 29-30.

¹²⁹ Hayman, p. 7.

¹³⁰ Hayman, p. 38.

¹³¹ Indeed the carvings were probably not connected; observation shows that bench ends, misericords and roof bosses rarely have images that are linked.

Centerwall makes a case for the pageant green men evolving from the ones in church carvings by using the instance of a whole man who features in a spandrel of a choir stall in Winchester cathedral, carved by William Lyngwode in 1308. He is finely dressed with bouffant hair and holds a tiny sword and shield. Plainly these are more for a play than for real use and he has his teeth clenched over some large branches. If this is a faithful rendering of how early whifflers had to dress in pageants, it must be assumed that the actor did not have any speaking parts.¹³² He concludes with the comment:

It was unfortunate that Lady Raglan subsequently dragged into her hypothesis every green figure in sight, but her original intuition was not only correct but grounded on sound observation. It was not just luck. By the standards of sober scholarship, her argument would never pass muster today. Lady Raglan has no business being right, yet there it is: the name of the ‘Green Man’ was and is, the Green Man.¹³³

The popular view of those who write about foliate heads today can be summed up by Dr Colin Harris of Solihull who replied to a 2007 inquiry to the *Daily Mail* letters page as follows: ‘The green man reflects our oneness with Mother Earth [...] to some he reflects birth, death and re-birth, the passing of the seasons or the triumph of good over evil’ whilst Ian Redpath of Canberra National Folk Festival opined that, ‘The green man represents wildness and wilderness and leaving things untouched by order, concrete and modernism.’¹³⁴ As we have seen, elsewhere people have given human characteristics to the carvings such as a penchant for frightening or functioning as some sort of witness to behaviour, or as a guide to show us how to behave using persuasion, trickery and fear to make man do the right thing.¹³⁵

In this survey of who has written what, it has been apparent that a folkloric, idealistic interpretation has been prevalent for almost a hundred years, with writers variously seeing

¹³² Centerwall, p. 30.

¹³³ Centerwall, p. 32.

¹³⁴ *Daily Mail*, 3 July 2007, p. 58. *Times 2*, 4 April 2012, p. 4.

¹³⁵ Millar, p. 13. Hicks, p. 9.

the image as a being in its own right, a throwback to an idyllic pastoral past, an ecological symbol, a symbol of sin (so, therefore, either a confessional piece or a warning), a voice from ancient religions or a record of community activities in the form of the whifflers. Had the Edwardian and Victorian writers addressed the issue of monsters in general, it might - perhaps - have been given a different treatment later. In the event, Frazer's monumental work appears to have swept all other readings away until Basford attempted a more objective view in the 1970s, but even her work did not persuade some to place the heads in the context of the time in which they were made. There is a marked difference between the restraint of the earlier works and what can appear to be a desperate attempt in more recent times to make the carvings into something which they cannot be, particularly in the case of Anderson and Millar. It is hard to think of another image which has received that treatment. It is the more intriguing because, although they do not specify their personal beliefs, one gains an impression that these writers are not people who would go to a church to attend a service, so occasionally there is misunderstanding about what occurs there.¹³⁶ They would probably (and reasonably) argue that attendance at church is not a prerequisite for reading religious art, but it does give another dimension that may have been over-looked: whatever the meaning of the Green Man, he was created by men of Christian belief and placed in structures built for Christian purposes. There seems to be widespread disregard for the impact of Christian belief on the population and how individuals might have reacted in times of national crisis, such as plague, which have led to a belief that paganism not only thrived, but that somehow the clergy were universally hood-winked into having actively pagan images in their churches, none of which stands up to logical inspection.

¹³⁶ This may be why the Victorian writers ignored Green Men; the Victorian writers are more likely to have been church attendees and may have felt that there was something inexplicably wrong about bringing these strange monsters (and possibly pagan images) to the attention of the public.

THE DERIVATION OF THE FOLIATE HEAD

Investigation indicates that there are several possible starting points from which the foliate head has developed and it is unlikely that only one of them is the source. In this section, its beginnings will be sought in the art and myth of Greece, Rome, India, the Celtic peoples and Scandinavia. There are other strands from Egypt and Byzantium which may have had an impact on the foliate head image which appears to have arrived in Britain in the ninth or tenth centuries, although its first use in a Christian context on the Continent predates that by some five hundred years.

Many of the authors surveyed in the previous section write about the origins of the foliate head, but it may be useful to give this further consideration. The problem lies in identifying a verifiable narrative or chain of events that brought the foliate head into, or to the attention of, Christianity. For example, Stemp suggests that the image derived from Silvanus, a Roman spirit of the woods, but conceded that many cultures have festivals or images that are either overtly connected to Spring or generally to the renewal of life and growth. He reiterates the idea that it is a pagan image adopted by Christianity.¹³⁷

Before looking at influences from around the world, it may be useful to investigate more of the folklore surrounding trees and leaves, if only to try to understand better why it is that writers such as Anderson and Millar are so committed to this line of inquiry (albeit always keeping in mind that the image was not called a green man until 1939). There are indeed green men in British folklore. For example at Clun in Shropshire, every May a man dressed in green, wearing a leafy headdress and representing spring, meets the Frost Queen

¹³⁷ R. Stemp, *The Secret Language of Churches and Cathedrals* (London: Duncan Baird Publishers, 2010), p. 116.

on the bridge where they clash. The Green Man wins and escorts the May Queen to the grounds of Clun Castle where he declares both the Green Man Festival open and the beginning of summer. This is a modern practice which can be linked to May Day festivities enjoyed for centuries, such as those described by William Hone in the nineteenth century who, in turn, cited poetry as evidence, especially that of Robert Herrick in his seventeenth-century 'Corinna's Gone a-Maying':

Rise and put on your foliage, and be seen
To come forth, like the spring-time, fresh and green,
And sweet as Flora.¹³⁸

Likewise Edmund Spenser spoke of May Day, albeit in a more melancholy way, in

The Shepheardes Calendar of 1579:

Is not thilke the mery moneth of May
When loue lads masken in fresh aray?
Howe falles it then, we no merrier bene
Ylike as other, girt in gawdy greene?¹³⁹

Celebrations on May Day were recorded in 1512 in the third year of Henry VIII's reign and may go further back into the medieval period because it is usual to see a person holding branches or sprigs in depictions of the Labours of the Month for May.¹⁴⁰ That year the king and Catherine of Aragon:

Rode a Maying from Greenwich to the high ground of Shooters-hill: where [...] they espied a company of tall yeomen, clothed all in greene, with greene hoods, and with bowes and arrows to the number of two hundred. One, being their chieftain, was called Robin Hood, who required the king and all his company to stay and see his men shoot [...] Moreover, this Robin Hood desired the king and queene with all their retinue, to enter the greene wood, where, in arbours made of boughs and deckt with flowers, they were set and served plentifully...¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ W. Hone, *The Everyday Book or Everlasting Calendar of Popular Amusements*, i (London: Hunt & Clark, 1826), pp. 544-5466.

¹³⁹ *The Works of Edmund Spenser* ed. by E. Greenlow, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford, R. Heffner, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1943), p. 46.

¹⁴⁰ Hone, p. 550. 'And [In] Divers Other Yeeres.' Hone takes his evidence from a contemporary account by Edward Hall.

¹⁴¹ Hone, p. 551.

It seems that they were re-enacting the earlier part of a scene from Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* completed in 1469. In Chapter XIX Queen Guinevere is described as riding out a-maying with ten ladies and knights with their retinue, all of them dressed in green and 'bedashed with herbs, mosses and flowers in the freshest manner'.¹⁴² From these descriptions one may imagine them strewn with flowers and greenery in an artistic manner: at no point is there a suggestion that they are engaging with the plants in any other way. There is no mention of them putting greenery in their mouths or up their noses, for example, and nor do they appear to make foliate or floral masks.

May poles have also played a prominent part in May Day celebrations and these, by their nature, could be linked to trees. Early references in literature can be found in Chaucer's works when he is reputed by John Stow to have described a braggart as bearing his head as high as 'the great shaft of Cornhill', a reference to the over-sized May Pole associated with the church of St Andrew's Undershaft in London which was said to have been higher than the church steeple.¹⁴³

In 1584 Reginald Scot published a list of figures whom he regarded as being fictional, but who had been believed in by the uneducated.¹⁴⁴ Although his intention was to show that witchcraft did not exist (and thereby to save the lives of those accused of practising it), amongst those listed are Robin Goodfellow (who may have been the prototype for Shakespeare's Puck), and the man in the oak who may also have been some sort of green man. He is part of May Day festivities too, but came to prominence when it was claimed that

¹⁴² Malory, Sir Thomas, *Le Morte d'Arthur* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 445-446

¹⁴³ J. Stow, *A Survey of London Containing the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of That Citie, Written in the Year 1598* (London: George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1876), p. 163. This line is much-quoted in guide books of London, none of whom provide a source note but refer to Stow's report. Hone, p. 555.

¹⁴⁴ R. Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, p. 86.

Charles II hid in an oak tree, a story that came into being when his celebratory day moved to 29 May being Charles II's birthday as well as the day on which he returned to London in 1660.¹⁴⁵ This became known as Oak Apple Day.¹⁴⁶

The Jack-in-the-Green story is one that is commonly thought to go back several centuries, although Roy Judge has shown that the earliest written record to it only dates to 1795 and it was a custom that was peculiar to chimney sweeps.¹⁴⁷ Judge quotes J. Strutt who described the festivity in 1801, from which we learn that the Jack-in-the-Green was a structure consisting of a hollow frame of wood or wicker-work, made in the form of a sugarloaf, but open at the bottom, and big enough inside to contain a man standing upright. The frame was covered with green leaves and bunches of flowers interwoven with each other, so that the man inside was completely hidden. He then danced with his companions to entertain the crowd, who were amused by the seemingly animated pyramid of leaves.¹⁴⁸

In 1826 William Hone also described a chimney sweeps' holiday that had taken place on May Day the previous year:

But for the first time there was this year added a clown, a-la-Grimaldi, to one or two of the sweeping processions; he grimaces with all his might, walks before Jack-in-the-green on his hands or on his feet, as may be most convenient, and practises every antic and trick that his ingenuity can devise, to promote the interests of his party.¹⁴⁹

Sir James Frazer, writing about mummers (actors of folkloric tales) told a similar story about leaf-clad mummers, the best known of whom was the Jack-in-the-Green, a chimney sweeper who walked encased in a pyramidal framework of wickerwork, which was

¹⁴⁵ Doel, p. 99.

¹⁴⁶ Doel, p. 99.

¹⁴⁷ R. Judge, *The Jack-In-The-Green*. 19. The reference could be c.1775-85.

¹⁴⁸ Judge, p. xi.

¹⁴⁹ Hone, pp. 583-586. This tradition has recently been revived, for example at Rochester, Kent since 1981 where teams of morris dancers and chimney sweeps perform throughout the city on or about 1st May, and at Bristol where individuals dressed as trees appear to roam randomly through the streets to the confusion of shoppers. This does not appear to be far removed from the moving pyramids seen by Strutt.

covered with holly and ivy, and surmounted by a crown of flowers and ribbons. He then danced on May Day at the head of a troop of chimney sweeps, who collected money. Frazer found another example in Fricktal in Switzerland where a frame of basketwork was called the Whitsuntide Basket. As soon as the trees began to bud, a spot was chosen in the wood where the village lads made the frame which consisted of leafy branches twined round two hoops, one of which rested on the shoulders of the wearer, the other encircled his calves and holes were made for his eyes and mouth, with a large bunch of flowers fixed to the very top.¹⁵⁰

This same Jack-in-the-Green has similarities to the Green George whom Frazer found in parts of Russia. He offers several accounts of customs acted out on St George's Day during which a tree was felled, decorated with flowers and carried in a procession by a young man who was covered from head to foot in green birch branches. At the close of the ceremonies an effigy of the Green George was thrown into the water whereupon the youngster who played the role of Green George had to step out of his leaves and substitute the effigy so swiftly that no one spotted the switch. This was all to encourage rain to make the fields green and the crops grow in summer.¹⁵¹

It is possible that these ceremonies are reincarnated relics of ancient tree-worship, reinvented for pageantry and amusement, as Frazer argues in his chapter on the subject.¹⁵² He states that he had found a mass of evidence of these activities, citing reports going back to 1583 by Phillip Stubbes, and to 1682 by Sir Henry Piers, with examples from most areas of England and Europe. Although all of these are green men in folklore, none of them so far can be matched to the carvings of foliate or leafy disembodied heads in churches.

¹⁵⁰ Frazer, p. 129.

¹⁵¹ Frazer, p. 126.

¹⁵² Frazer, pp. 120-135.

A green man in literature is the Green Knight who challenged Sir Gawain in a poem written in the late fourteenth century. It describes how Sir Gawain, a knight of King Arthur's Round Table, accepts a challenge from a mysterious Green Knight who says that any knight can strike him with his axe on condition that he takes a return blow a year and a day later. Sir Gawain accepts the challenge, beheading the knight with a single blow at which point the Green Knight stands up, picks up his head and reminds Gawain of the time of their next appointment. Although this is a story about chivalry and honour, the description of the Knight is that he is not only gigantic, enormously strong and perfectly formed, but also that he is also 'ouer-al enker grene' - all over a bright green.¹⁵³ His flowing beard and hair are green, as are his clothes, his horse and harness and 'Such a horse and rider had never before been seen.' A link between this story and other folkloric tales mentioned in the last few pages may seem possible, but Sir Gawain's opponent is completely coloured green; there are no references to foliage or to trees of any type. Another obvious difference between the Green Knight and the foliate heads is that the former has a body so there does not seem to be any connection between the story and the images which anyway were not called Green Men until 1939. It should also be noted that where traces of original colour remain on the foliate head, the face (if recognisably human) is of human hue, not tinted green.¹⁵⁴

There is no evidence for the colour green having anything to do with the foliate image except that at Ancaster in Lincolnshire there is a Romano-British inscription to the god Viridius (which could be Latin *viridis*: green) on a stone which has been re-used as a grave-slab in the fourth century, possibly in a Christian cemetery of the time.¹⁵⁵ There is no

¹⁵³ Sir Israel Gollancz, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, 150-197 (London, Oxford University Press), p. 6.

¹⁵⁴ Jeremy Harte, *The Green Man* (Andover: Pitkin, 2002), p. 4. The face of a head in the east walk of the cloisters of Lacock Abbey has been painted green in a comparatively recent repainting. The original carvings were made c. 1400 but it is not thought that there was intended to be any connection to Sir Gawain.

¹⁵⁵ B. Whitwell, 'The Green Man, a Study', in *Land, People and Landscapes: Essays on the History of the Lincolnshire Region*, ed. by D. Tyszka, K. Miller, G. Bryant (Newland: Lincolnshire Books, 1991), p. 30.

image extant of this deity so it is not possible to tell if this grave-stone has any bearing on subsequent interpretation or naming. Where foliate heads are predominantly coloured green, investigation has shown that they have all been repainted comparatively recently, for example at Burton Bradstock in Dorset where a notice in the church states that the roof boss installed around 1400 was restored in 1897. A similar tale occurs with the roof bosses in the north porch at Salle, Norfolk and in Norwich cathedral cloisters, as well as at All Saints, North Street, York where the corbels have been re-worked. It is remarkable that, where any tint remains, it is usually red, gold or both and not green since thriving foliage is naturally that colour. It seems unlikely that the heads were intended to imply autumn rather than spring or summer, although fifty-three also bear fruit, grapes or acorns. Speculatively gold could represent the sun or simply pay honour to the overall image, whilst red could be life-giving blood or the blood that Christ shed, but there is no evidence for this. Gold leaf is often, but not always, on roof-boss heads and therefore may have been a practical way of highlighting the image.

The separate strand of investigation that comes from later Christianity in the form of the thirteenth-century *The Golden Legend* has already been examined. It is not known when or where the story about Adam's death was first conceived, and it is noted that the author expresses uncertainty about its source ('it is said of none authority'), but the idea of trees growing out of Adam's mouth cannot be ignored when considering the source of the foliate head. That said, it should be noted that the compiler of *The Golden Legend*, Jacobus de Voragine, did not finish his task until about the year 1266 so if the publication of the book was also the first time the story was heard, then it could not have had a bearing on the early foliate heads which appeared in England in the first millennium.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ Jacob Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. by C. Stace (London: Penguin Books, 1998), p. ix.

Along with the account of Adam's death, this story offers a credible basis for images such as the foliate head, but this is because the plant life comes from the mouth and we are told how it got there. The image of Tree of Jesse does not, even though Hicks sees a connection.¹⁵⁷ Jesse is used to portray the genealogy of Christ in that he is the father of David and Christ was of the house and lineage of David.¹⁵⁸ Jesse is often depicted in stained glass, lying on his side, asleep, whilst a tree which has the ancestors of Christ sitting in the branches growing from his stomach.

All of these legends and ideas about the colour green came together in the second part of the twentieth century after Lady Raglan had given foliate heads their new name. The idea of green men appealed both to modern-day pagans and to those interested in a New Age interpretation of medieval art and this has led to foliate heads sometimes being seen as manifestations of pagan fertility rites. It is noteworthy that since foliate heads have been known as green men they have fired imagination, caused ideas of ownership and sparked both debate and unsubstantiated sentiments. There are numerous examples of otherwise realistic writers seeing human characteristics and emotions in the carvings and these have blurred whatever the true meaning and function may have been. It is necessary to investigate what may be folkloric links, but none of them stand up to scrutiny because they are largely based on their involvement with the colour green and/or garlanding or going a-maying. Green and garlands were not an essential component of medieval foliate heads when they were made.

POSSIBLE DERIVATIONS FROM OTHER CULTURES

¹⁵⁷ Hicks, p. 21.

¹⁵⁸ Luke 2.4.

It is not always feasible to analyse prospective origins in chronological order because some of them overlap and some span hundreds of years; a problem occurs when thinking about the possible influence of Greek and Roman legends and that lies in the style of the art form, although there are numerous potential links which this section will consider. Early foliate heads in English Christian art forms tend to be somewhat uniform in style and more restrained than the exuberant heads wearing garlands, or with their hair and beards turning into living matter, that have been found in Antiquity. It may only be possible to say that initially the idea of heads and foliage working together travelled, as opposed to the precise artistic style.

Whilst chronology is important when asking if any culture borrowed ideas from another, initially they will be considered by geographical area. When researching this section, time was spent looking at items and images in galleries and museums to see if a motif used by one culture might feasibly have been taken to mean something different by another and adapted for that culture's use. A question arising from that has to be: how did that image travel? Again, the answer cannot be supplied with any confidence, other than to acknowledge that items arrived with invading and/or migrating forces and, of course, through trade. Portable items did travel, either as objects for sale, as gifts, as amulets or for use in now-forgotten pagan rituals. Proof that long-distance international trade took place can be found in both archaeological and literary sources. Writing about the early seventh-century ship burial at Sutton Hoo, Parker Pearson says, 'Most of the grave goods were imported to England - a cape from Syria, garnets from India, bowls from Egypt, a sword from the Rhine, drinking horns from Sweden and coins from France.'¹⁵⁹ The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* relate that in 787 the reeve of Dorset went to meet three ships from Hordaland,

¹⁵⁹ M. Parker Pearson, 'Tombs and Territories: Material Culture and Multiple Interpretation', in *Interpreting Archaeology: Finding Meaning in the Past* ed. by A. Alexandri and Others, (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 207.

Norway, assuming that their leader would exchange the usual courtesies between trading countries, only to find that to his cost that this was one of the early Viking raids.¹⁶⁰ Short-distance travel is easier to track because there are occasional references to one parish commissioning work from carvers who were not local. The churchwardens' accounts from Pilton, Somerset, in 1523 reveal that one of them claimed expenses of 2s 4d to travel sixty-nine miles to Exeter to discuss ideas with a carver.¹⁶¹ We can also see the churchwardens of Banwell, north Somerset, specifying that a new screen should be like a new one in St Erth, one hundred and seventy miles away near Penzance in Cornwall. They were given 4d 'for paper to draw the draft of ye rode loft.'¹⁶² None of the accounts refer to foliate heads, but they do offer an explanation of how ideas travelled from church to church.

Several countries and cultures have stories that could have led to the foliate head image. For instance, Jonathan Black contends that the foliate head in Christian churches is actually the Egyptian god, Osiris, who claimed to be the plant of life:¹⁶³

In Northern Europe the god who became entangled in the cycles of nature was portrayed as the Green Man. A leaf-clad god, fierce like nature but also a victim of it, Osiris stares down at the congregation from the walls of countless Christian churches.¹⁶⁴

This suggestion seems improbable, not least because of its not being known as a Green Man until 1939. However, Osiris was seen as a god of regeneration which could chime with Christian notions of being born into a new spiritual life and figures in the 'Osiris pose' can be seen in several early English manuscripts such as the St Chad Gospels of the eighth century and the Book of Kells c.800.¹⁶⁵ The Osiris pose essentially shows the

¹⁶⁰ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, trans. and ed. by Michael Swanton (London: Phoenix Press, 2000), p. 55.

¹⁶¹ J.H. Bettey & C.W.G. Taylor, *Sacred and Satiric: Medieval Stone Carving in the West Country*, p. 11.

¹⁶² Bettey & Taylor (Bristol: Redcliffe, 1982), p. 11.

¹⁶³ J. Black, *The Secret History of the World* (London: Quercus, 2010), p. 123.

¹⁶⁴ Black, p. 130.

¹⁶⁵ Black, p. 131. Françoise Henry, *The Book of Kells: Reproductions from the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin with a Study of the Manuscript* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1974), p. 161.

person's upper torso with their arms crossed across their chest whilst holding perhaps flabella or books as in the Book of Kells folios 202^v and 290^v, or a crook and flail as on the mummy case of Tutankhamen. It is worth mentioning here that the Book of Kells has numerous examples of foliate heads of varying types.

One cannot overlook the number of leaf masks that frequent the Roman world, very often in the area that became known as Byzantium. Many examples of sixth-century ones have been seen in Istanbul's Archaeological Museum, as well as even earlier ones in Constanta, Romania and in Odessa in the Ukraine, all of which had been taken from Roman sites. What is curious is that the general design of these masks is more likely to be found in foliate heads made in England from the mid fourteenth century, not in the earlier ones. The exception to this is also the oldest found so far, dating to *c.* 1900 BC and taking the form of a pottery horse's head, painted to show foliage coming out of the sides of its mouth [Fig. 7]. It is thought the head was used as a sprinkler in processions where it was found at Amasya, north Turkey. It may not be disgorging foliage, but eating it.



Fig. 7: Pottery head from Amasya, Turkey *c.* 1900 BC

Greek and Roman legends proffer the figure of Dionysius, also known as Bacchus who is often shown wearing garlands of leaves and flowers, which sometimes overwhelm his head in the more exuberant portrayals of him. Zeus turned Daphne into a laurel tree to allow her to escape Apollo, the Gorgon sisters Medusa, Euryale and Stheno had hair which

was a mass of writhing snakes which may not necessarily resemble foliage, but are an example of living matter engaging with a head.¹⁶⁶ Medusa could be a particular influence on British foliate heads because she was such a popular Roman figure and her image survives in many forms including on mosaics at Cirencester and Bignor, a tombstone from Colchester, silver discs and brooches from St Albans, in the centre of a shallow pan from Faversham and at Bath, to list a few examples. The Medusa mask on the pediment of the first-century AD Temple of Sulis-Minerva at Bath could be a prototype for the style of foliate heads found from the fourteenth century onwards because it consists of a disembodied head with serpents growing thickly from its skull. Although Medusa was a female, this head looks male, not just in his strong facial features, but because the head also seems to sport a moustache.

Oceanus, the son of Uranus and Gaia, is found on the fourth-century AD Roman treasure discovered at Mildenhall in Suffolk where he is the centre-piece of a large silver plate. His face has so much seaweed surrounding it that it looks as though it is actually sprouting from him, whilst sea birds emerge from his beard. All of these stories conjure up ideas about transforming into foliage or something living which may have been taken up later in western art although, as just mentioned, stylistically they seem to influence later foliate heads, not the earlier ones.

A carving of the minor Roman god Silvanus has caused a little confusion because of a fountain basin that was found at the abbey of Saint-Denis, north-east of Paris, which shows him with oak leaves growing from his brow and an inscription bearing his name. It seems likely, as Kathleen Basford suggested, that this is not a link to future foliate heads, but merely a carver interpreting the Roman god of uncultivated lands, woods, agriculture and

¹⁶⁶ Philip Wilkinson & Neil Philip, *Mythology* (London: Dorling Kindersley, 2007), p. 48. Wilkinson & Philip, p. 64.

hunting and boundaries in his own way.¹⁶⁷ This particular god's cult was mainly centred in Italy, but gets almost no attention in literature because he was for private, not public, devotion. He is more usually shown dressed as a hunter, carrying a bow.¹⁶⁸

Some theatrical masks can also look a little like later foliate heads, such as ones found in mosaics in the House of the Fabius Rufus and the House of the Faun at Pompeii, although those precise images would not have been seen in the Middle Ages since the Pompeii ruins were not excavated until 1599 and then again in 1798.¹⁶⁹ The masks are necessarily disembodied heads and these have wide, aggressively-shaped mouths, staring eyes, lined faces and they both have hair that could easily be interpreted as being vegetal. It was not unusual for Roman mosaicists to include masks in their work and some have leafy headdresses and / or beards made of acanthus leaves. Another example of this can be found in the Great Palace Mosaics in Constantinople which were laid down in the reign of Justinian I (AD 527-565).¹⁷⁰ In Pompeii again, a mosaic in the Temple of Isis and Io has a mosaic from the first century AD which includes a man with a green, leafy beard and a laurel wreath. A mosaic now housed on a gable in the ruins at Herculaneum is hard to date but is distinctly a foliating head. These types of images appear to have been known and enjoyed across the Roman world.

¹⁶⁷ Lesley & Roy Adkins, *Dictionary of Roman Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 204.

¹⁶⁸ Adkins, p. 204.

¹⁶⁹ Paul Roberts, *Art in Pompeii and Herculaneum* (London: British Museum Press, 2013), p. 90 and p. 112.

¹⁷⁰ Edem Yücel, *Great Palace Mosaic Museum* (Istanbul: Korpus Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık Tic Ltd, 2010), p. 7.



Fig. 8: Herculaneum, gable mosaic, c.2nd BC-AD79.

In Britain a Roman mosaic was discovered by a farmer ploughing at Stonesfield, Oxfordshire, in the early eighteenth century. Unfortunately it was destroyed within a few years of its being found, but drawings and eventually an embroidery were made which are now in the Oxfordshire Museum. It mainly depicts Bacchus, but what is useful for this study is that the border decoration includes a disembodied head or mask from which emanate delicate trails of acanthus foliage.¹⁷¹

Even if none of those legends are pertinent to the foliate heads' development, there are certainly stylistic links to Greek, Roman, Celtic and Scandinavian times and to the geographical area of the Indian subcontinent. Unfortunately the image itself was not popular enough to be mentioned by contemporary writers.

If the origins of the foliate head are to be found in Indian art and sculpture, then it would be unlikely to be from legends so much as from images which were seen by traders who brought the ideas home and made them their own. Stories surrounding the Buddhist and Hindu religions would probably have been too alien to Christian culture to have been adapted in themselves. This would apply particularly to Hinduism which is understood to have no single scripture or commonly agreed set of teachings. It has already been noted that

¹⁷¹ Patricia Witts, *Mosaics in Roman Britain: Stories in Stone*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2005), p. 129.

artefacts did come from India from the Roman times and it is assumed that this was through trade although R.A. Jairazbhoy has found evidence that Crete and other Greek islands were open to oriental ideas in their art. These islands lie directly on the route of Mediterranean merchants plying their trade between Byzantium and the west.¹⁷² It may sound unlikely that Christians would use oriental art forms to express their spirituality but, as Jairazbhoy observes:

One of the most astonishing attributes of cultural phenomena is the ability to endure through generations of time with little modification of content, although the stylistic rendering might vary from age to age, for certainly the personalities of the peoples colour the temper of their arts. No less astonishing is the ability of some motifs to capture the imagination of cultures far removed from their places of origin. Usually the lending of motifs goes from the more mature society to the less.¹⁷³

Jairazbhoy thinks that all the ideas that shaped western art were enormously influenced by that of the Orient, not least because of the type of iconography that appealed to both cultures.¹⁷⁴ He notes that: ‘Particularly frequent among the motifs in the Romanesque church are composite beasts, savage animals in couchant, rampant, confronted and supporting postures, hunting [...] jousting, legendary heroes overcoming the powers of evil or ascending to paradise.’¹⁷⁵ This is true, but it is also true that similar motifs can be found in Greek art and sculpture, albeit in what might have been thought to be a more refined artistic form at the time. The images from the Indian sub-continent that appear to have the most bearing on foliate heads are the *kurttimukha*, the *makara*, the *yaksha* and the *phurpa kīla*.

Ganesha is lord [isha] of the hosts [ganas] of Shiva, and is the god of prudence and sagacity. As the latter, his image is often placed over the doors of Indian banks, shops, and libraries today (already mentioned under Historiography). He is also the ‘remover of

¹⁷² R.A. Jairazbhoy, *Oriental Influences in Western Art* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p. 5.

¹⁷³ Jairazbhoy, p. 1.

¹⁷⁴ Jairazbhoy, p. 3.

¹⁷⁵ Jairazbhoy, p. 3.

obstacles', to be propitiated before any undertaking: his image is painted at the front of illuminated manuscripts, he is attached to the tops of letters, and he is also saluted before beginning a journey.¹⁷⁶ Amongst other symbolic details that often accompany him are the three-headed cobra used as a waistband and the *kirttimukha* or Face of Glory. The *kurttimikha* has been defined as a 'lion's head with missing lower jaw as a decorative motif placed mainly over door jambs of temples or on the front part of a tower' and its similarity has already been noted by MacDermott and Negus who compared a linked set of images on a font in Worcestershire with the Indian / Nepalese demon (see figs. 9 and 10).¹⁷⁷ Had Negus seen the twelfth-century foliate heads inside the south door of Southwell Minster (fig. 11), or at Sandwich, Kent (fig. 12), and North Newbald in Yorkshire (fig. 13), she might have been even more struck by the similarity.



Fig. 9: C12th font at Holt, Worcestershire



Fig. 10: C11th Kirttimukha from Jain capital, Gujarat, West India, now British Museum



Fig. 11: C12th corbel at Southwell, Nottinghamshire



Fig. 12: Corbel at Sandwich, Kent c. 1130

¹⁷⁶ Craven, p. 163.

¹⁷⁷ Partha Mitter, *Indian Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 36.



Fig. 13: Capital at North Newbald, Yorkshire c.1140

The image can be seen all over India and Nepal, but the British Museum in London houses many examples in Gallery 33. These include several examples from the eleventh century such as one above a statue of Surya from the east of India which has huge eyebrows that resemble leafy fronds and a foliate beard. It is evidently part of the Jain religion because there are two eleventh-century column bases from Gujarat, both of which sport eight *kirttimukhas* encircling the columns, one of which also has statuettes of goddesses. The images have bulging eyes, teeth in the upper jaw and stylised foliage coming from the sides of their mouths. The stylisation takes the form of granulation (a single row of beads between two lines) which is a pattern frequently seen in both Greek and Scandinavian art. There is an eleventh-century figure of the Jina, Parshvanatha (a Jina is a Victorious One) which was found in Karnataka in central west India. Parshvanatha is flanked by attendants with fly swats, he shelters under the royal parasol and is guarded by a *kirttimukha*.

Also from Karnataka is a twelfth-century Jain figure of Sarasvati, the multi-limbed goddess of sacred learning. She holds a book in one hand to signify learning, a noose in another to tie up ignorance and a club in a third to subdue evil. A missing fourth hand would

have held a rosary as an emblem of meditation and inward knowledge.¹⁷⁸ There is a ferocious *kirttimukha* immediately above her with a granulated beard and flying foliate eyebrows and hair. A twelfth-century image of Vishnu from eastern India is flanked by his consorts, Lakshmi and Sarasvati. Vishnu holds a conch and mace and is posed under a benign *kirttimukha* which has curling, flowery foliage coming from his eyebrows, cheeks and chin.

The *makara* is seen less frequently: it is a mythical, aquatic creature, a symbol of fertility.¹⁷⁹ It is part-fish, part-crocodile and is usually shown with an elephant's head, the trunk of which tends to make the whole image look like some kind of dragon with something issuing from its mouth. It is associated with trees because it is found supporting statues and images of the yakshi Chandra, the queen of fertility, who can make a tree bloom by the mere touch of her foot.¹⁸⁰ Yakshas and tree nymphs, *shalabhanjikas*, were nature spirits and local village deities which were gradually absorbed into Buddhism, Jainism and Hinduism. They presided over fertility and famine, health and disease and, as such, they played a major role in village life. They had to be humoured with offerings and their wrath was the source of natural disasters.¹⁸¹ The *yaksha* on a corner of a sixteenth-century door jamb found in Madhya, Pradesh has a magnificent creeper with lush foliage and tendrils sprouting from his mouth which looks more western than Indian.

The last motif from the Indian sub-continent to mention is a Tibetan Buddhist object called *phurpa kīla* which is a three-headed mask with six arms found on the top of a triple-

¹⁷⁸ According to tradition, the rosary entered the Christian church via St Dominic In 1214. It is not known if there is any connection with the rosary held by Sarasvati.

¹⁷⁹ A.L. Dallapiccola, *Indian Art in Detail* (London: British Museum Press, 2007), p. 142.

¹⁸⁰ Craven, pp. 64-65.

¹⁸¹ Dallapiccola, p. 42.

sided knife. This was originally used to tether sacred animals in rituals. The mask normally has two large eyes which look out from flames, or leaves in a dramatic form.¹⁸²

The images described above come from a huge geographical area and yet there are similarities between them, the chief of which is foliage - or what could be taken for foliage. If these figures did influence western art in general and the foliate head in particular, then it is relevant and important that the foliage is thriving in each case, even if the head is monstrous. This is a theme that will become apparent in later discussion of foliate heads in England. It seems that the earliest foliate heads in the area we now call Europe may have had stronger artistic links with India rather than with Asia Minor or Byzantium, even though India is much further away so the similarities could also be coincidence.

The idea of a disembodied head may have come from Greek and Roman theatre masks, but it is also possible that it originated in central Europe with the Celts. Unfortunately this is a somewhat vague term, the dictionary definition of which is: 'The ancient peoples of Western Europe; the Gauls and their (continental) kin.'¹⁸³ The term spread to include the indigenous peoples of Britain, usually living on the south-western, western and northern fringes. Although this is also a culture that spanned hundreds of years and a vast geographical area, as with Indian *kirttimukhas*, Celtic images had a certain consistency about them. Human images, in the sense of the whole body being shown, are rare in Celtic traditions, but the head is a recurrent symbol and the faces of the heads are often mask-like.¹⁸⁴ Some of these images date as far back as the fifth century BC.¹⁸⁵ Celtic tribes went

¹⁸² Madanjeet Singh, *Himalayan Art* (London: Macmillan, 1968), p. 47.

¹⁸³ C.T. Onions (ed.), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, p. 281.

¹⁸⁴ Miranda Green, *Celtic Art* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), p. 115.

¹⁸⁵ Green, p. 138.

eastwards into the Danube basin, which marked the start of the invasion of the Balkans which was to culminate in attacks on Greece and Asia Minor a hundred years later.¹⁸⁶

In Britain the term Celtic implies the culture and art of British people living on the borders of England but Celtic art was not extinguished when the Romans arrived in Britain.¹⁸⁷ Several aspects of the Celtic colonisation were important, but two of the main ones were the cult of the head and the arrival in Britain of the La Tène artistic style, named after an archaeological site in Switzerland.¹⁸⁸

The La Tène style is important in the development of the foliate head largely because of its ambiguity, often hinting at an animal or human form which was suggested by swirls and spirals.¹⁸⁹ For example a first-century BC mirror back found at Aston in Herefordshire has a design which only really consists of two eye-shaped ovals at the top which are linked downwards via what could be a bulbous nose to an open, circular mouth. It could be a face as is strongly suggested, but it could also just be a pattern.¹⁹⁰ Triskeles, also so often seen in Scandinavian art, spirals, scrolls and swastikas were a part of this art form, as were immensely delicate tendrils and a generally flowing and rhythmic overall design.¹⁹¹ These wispy tendrils could have been adopted by the carvers of foliate heads and some of them could be issuing from the mouths or nose. The designs are so detailed that it can be very difficult to discern precisely what is going on. Granulation, already noticed in Greek art, is in the Celtic repertoire of patterns; another possible influence on the earlier foliate heads.¹⁹² It is also noticeable that La Tène art inclined towards faces with pointed ears and hair and

¹⁸⁶ Simon James, *Exploring the World of the Celts* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2005), p. 30.

¹⁸⁷ J.V.S. Megaw, *Art of the European Iron Age: A Study of the Elusive Image* (Bath: Adams & Dart, 1970), p. 38.

¹⁸⁸ James, p. 36.

¹⁸⁹ Green, p. 125.

¹⁹⁰ Green, p. 116.

¹⁹¹ 'A symbolic figure consisting of three legs radiating from a common centre', Onions, *Shorter England Dictionary*, p. 2250.

¹⁹² Christine Eluère, *The Celts: First Masters of Europe* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993), pp. 41, 46 & 58.

beards taking on a vegetal form.¹⁹³ Faces with pointed, beast-like ears are very common amongst the foliate heads made before about the year 1200 with instances being found at twenty churches ranging from Brough in Cumbria, Alne and Felixkirk in Yorkshire to Barfrestone and Patrixbourne in Kent. Examples have been found in Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Oxfordshire, Rutland, Shropshire, Somerset, Sussex and Worcestershire.

Another branch of Celtic art, the Waldalgeshein style, named after a Rhineland grave, used palmettes and foliage worked into repetitive continuous chains which sometimes had vegetal motifs, some of which seem to transform into human faces.¹⁹⁴ A repeating image in a chain of possible faces and foliage is also a theme that occurs in early foliate heads especially those on fonts.

The popular idea of links between trees and foliate heads has been explored already, but the idea of a hallowed tree should not be dismissed entirely when thinking about Celtic influences. Pliny referred to the sacred oaks of the Druids because they formed a link between the underworld, the earth and the sky.¹⁹⁵ The idea of the Tree of Life may have derived from the sheltering and providing nature of trees, whether in terms of fruit or timber; this is an image much used in Christianity, often on a tympanum over a door as at Kilpeck.

A tentative link to the origins of the foliate head could even come from descriptions of the appearance of Celts. It is not unreasonable to assume that there were images of them in circulation which have long since been lost to us. The first-century Greek historian, Diodorus of Sicily gave a clear account:

The Gauls are always washing their hair in lime-water, and they pull it back from the forehead to the top of the head and back to the nape of the neck, with the result that their appearance is like that of Satyrs and Pans, since the treatment of their hair

¹⁹³ Eluère, p. 70.

¹⁹⁴ Eluère, p. 70.

¹⁹⁵ Miranda Green, *Animals in Celtic Myth* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), p. 2.

makes it so heavy and coarse that it differs in no respect from the manes of horses. [...] Some of them shave the beard, but others let it grow a little; and the nobles shave their cheeks, but they let the moustache grow until it covers the mouth.¹⁹⁶

A matching image does survive on the first-century BC Marlborough Bucket now in the Wiltshire Heritage Museum, Devizes, which depicts a male head with strongly swept back hair, very much as though it was treated with lime-water; the hair ends in thick curls and he has a long moustache. A medieval carver could be forgiven for glancing at these images and rendering them as foliate heads.

If the Celtic triskele transferred easily into Scandinavian art where it became widely popular, then so did the spirals and scrolls. The triskele does not look dissimilar to the three-legged image on the flag of the Isle of Man.¹⁹⁷ It has a symmetry in its rotation and, instead of legs, it has spirals or coils which extend from the triangular centre of the image. It is an image that is frequently found in, for example, the Lindisfarne Gospels that date to c.700 AD. It is not known if this is therefore a Celtic influence or an idea that came to Britain via traders from Scandinavia before the Viking Age, the start of which is usually dated to the attack on Lindisfarne in June 793. The idea of the tree was important to the Vikings anyway, the cosmic world being centred on Yggdrasil, the sacred ash tree.¹⁹⁸

It is evident from manuscripts of the time such as the Durham Gospels, the Book of Durrow, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Gospels of St Chad, the Book of Kells amongst other and from items of jewellery such as the Brooch of Tara that many of the ideas already mentioned were beginning to emerge in British art. The Scandinavians - or Danes as they are

¹⁹⁶ Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History Books*, iv.59 - viii, trans. by C.H. Oldfather (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 171.

¹⁹⁷ It is also the symbol for Sicily.

¹⁹⁸ Wilkinson & Philip, p. 121.

called in the chronicles of the time, even if they were not from Denmark - had a great impact on British church art right up until about the year 1200 when fashions began to change.

The beginning of this may be traced to the ship burial at Sutton Hoo in Suffolk of c.615 which has many Swedish traits. As there is no reference to a major battle in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles or elsewhere, there must have been a peaceful migration of a Swedish dynasty which then integrated successfully into the tribes of East Anglia, ultimately coming to rule over them. There are items amongst the treasure found which have Celtic-style coils and scrolls such as the red enamel hook-escutcheon from a large hanging bowl. The belt buckle, the shield and the reconstruction of the helmet on display at Sutton Hoo both reveal a liking for granulation which was fashionable in Scandinavian work which was probably copied from that of the Celts. The idea of Germanic animal ornamentation which is at the root of much Viking art flourished in Denmark towards the end of the fifth century, probably in itself influenced by late Roman work.¹⁹⁹ It was from this base that zoomorphic images evolved.

There are also Mediterranean items in the grave, especially silver-ware.²⁰⁰ Some of this, such as the Anastasia Dish which bears stamps from the reign of the Roman Emperor Anastasius (492-518), was about a century old when it was buried.²⁰¹ This is further evidence that artistic influences from overseas travelled to England. Of more direct relevance to this study are animal ornament designs that decorated the mouth-fittings of some maple-wood bottles and also the neck and shoulders of drinking horns, for example the late sixth-century ones found at Taplow in Buckinghamshire. These depict a continuous granulated foliage-like pattern with dragon-animal heads interwoven with it. It looks as

¹⁹⁹ James Graham-Campbell, *Viking Art* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013), p. 25.

²⁰⁰ Angela Care-Evans, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial* (London: British Museum Press, 1986), pp. 57-63.

²⁰¹ Care-Evans, p. 57.

though the heads are either biting on this foliage or it is issuing from them. Viking art and its origins is too big a subject for this survey, but suffice it to say that there were several styles that developed over the years: Oseberg, Borre, Jellinge, Mammen, Ringerike and Urnes.²⁰² A theme that runs through all of these styles is the intricate nature of it' even a small piece of jewellery can be crammed with myriad figures, most of which appear distorted when compared to real life. The later styles are especially characterised by intertwined and trailing tendrils, delicate foliage, filigree granulation and numerous zoomorphic birds and beasts, many of whom are either biting or disgorging foliage. One of these styles in particular, that of the Ringerike, was made fashionable in England by the Danish king Cnut (AD 1016-1035) and later also had considerable impact in Ireland.²⁰³ A classic example can be found on a rune-inscribed stone discovered in the churchyard of St Paul's cathedral, London and which is now in the Museum of London. It shows a large animal, looking back over its shoulder (a device also found on the font at Hinton Parva (figs. 43 and 44) on what is one of the two earliest foliate heads in Christian use that have been found so far in England). It has tendril-like flowing horns ending in a Celtic half scroll. Its legs have been confused with and are entangled in more trailing foliage whilst its body is bound in delicate interlacing. Its tongue protrudes significantly from its mouth, so much so that it looks as though it has a strand of foliage coming from it.

A last example from Scandinavian sources is the early eleventh-century bronze mount from a stirrup-strap found at Deal (Kent) which is in the form of a Ringerike-style human mask.²⁰⁴ This is a small piece, being less than four centimetres high, but it shows a distinct face of the type that would become typical of early foliate heads in England and

²⁰² Graham-Campbell, p. 9.

²⁰³ Graham-Campbell, p. 127.

²⁰⁴ Graham-Campbell, p. 131.

beyond. The face is an elongated triangle with almond, blank eyes that could be thought to be Egyptian or early Greek in style. The mouth is firmly closed and the nose descends smoothly from its eyebrows. Two distinct fronds appear to be growing from each side of the nose, stretching across the cheeks until they meet up with, and curl round, the stylised hair that frames the design.

Carpets from the Middle East arrived in Britain, leaving their artistic mark on the Lindisfarne Gospels and other manuscripts which incorporated carpet pages in imitation of the imported rugs. In their turn, these manuscript images influenced other artistic media whether it was jewellery design, carvings or possibly textiles. At some unidentifiable point, the image of the cat mask also arrived, much used in English books of psalms such as the late ninth-century Bosworth Psalter and the Ramsey Psalter made near Winchester about a hundred years later. The idea could have come from Egypt, Greece, Macedonia or, more likely, from the Romans. This design was often incorporated into the crossbar of the initial B of Beatus, so that the mask was on its side and the foliage it disgorged could flow up into the main strut of the letter. Again, this was an idea carried into sculpture found in churches over the next two or three centuries.

It can be seen that many cultures in different parts of the world made their mark on the development of art in England. It is usually thought that it most affected church art and architecture rather than that of houses and castles and, although this is likely, it is impossible to prove as a fact because secular art has not survived in such great quantity.

Although the earliest surviving example of a foliate head in a Christian context is on the fourth-century tomb of St Abre in Poitiers, leaf masks have been discovered which date back to the early and mid second century as far apart as Trier in Germany, Baalbek in the Lebanon and Hatra in Mesopotamia. One of them, at Trier, had been made for a Roman

temple but was re-cycled by Bishop Nicetius for the cathedral in the sixth century.²⁰⁵ Why he did this is not known, and he probably used these masks for decoration, but it was this that sanctioned their use in a church setting which allowed it to pass into medieval ornament. It is likely that he admired the excellence of the workmanship and sumptuous splendour, rather than the subject matter, but this may have been the turning point in their history.

In summary it can only be said that there are no distinct origins of the foliate head. There is no one link that allows an unassailable line-of-descent from a particular artefact, design, story or geographical area. Whether one looks into legend, folklore, other cultures or across continents, sadly nothing can be proved with any confidence although there are, indeed, numerous possible links. It is notable that the foliate-head design is found in such varied forms all over the Catholic west and, as we shall see, in all parts of Christian buildings. It is therefore all the more remarkable that it was routinely ignored by Victorian and Edwardian writers, only apparently coming to prominence in British culture after being renamed Green Men. It may have been as popular in secular design but, if so, the great majority of those artefacts and images have been lost to us. Many would say that this adds to the allure and mystery of the foliate head although it is hoped that this brief look at its various potential ancestries shows that, even if Lady Raglan had not coined the term in 1939, the name of Green Man is inappropriate. If the images do come from any of the cultures mentioned above, then the name makes no sense at all.

²⁰⁵ Basford, p. 26.

CHAPTER 2: TYPES OF FOLIATE HEADS

In this section the different types of foliate heads will be considered in detail. It will cover the two main sorts of disgorgers and transformers, and will look within those groups to examine how the foliage is disgorged and from which orifice; an attempt will be made to see if these distinctions offer a particular interpretation. Variations on the themes will be considered: some foliating images reveal more than just disembodied heads and some are animals.

The foliate heads recorded on the database fall into two main categories: disgorgers and transformers. The most widespread are the disgorgers which may be defined as disembodied heads which have foliage issuing from the mouth, although tendrils can also emerge from the eyes, ears, nose or a combination of those orifices. The disgorgers form by far the largest group, totalling nine hundred and thirty-four or 79.67% of the whole number, so they will be considered first. The transformers are also usually disembodied heads but, in their case, the faces appear to turn or grow into foliage. This may be an almost complete transformation as at Sharrington in Norfolk (fig. 14) or in some of the roof bosses in Norwich Cathedral cloisters, or the beginnings of it with embryo leaves sprouting from the upper lip or eyebrows such as at Buckminster in Leicestershire (fig. 15). One hundred and sixty-seven (14.26%) out of the 1,172 images on the database transform into foliage whilst a further seventy-one (6.01%) both disgorge and transform into foliage.¹ There is a further distinction between those heads which are human (six hundred and eighty-four, 58.42%) and

¹ There are examples at Maidstone, Sandwich and Stratford-upon-Avon where the hair transforms into foliage. The Maidstone heads were discovered after the field work was completed and so are not included on the database or in the statistics.

those which are grotesques (three hundred and eighty-five. 32.79%). There are seventy-three (6.23%) hybrids and thirty (2.56%) are identifiable animals.



Fig. 14: Sharrington, Norfolk *c.*1330



Fig. 15: Buckminster, Leicestershire *c.*1400

The section will seek an understanding of the image by the way in which the foliage is expelled, giving regard for the fact that a foremost consideration may have been the overall aesthetic or space available. It will also consider how the foliage species should be interpreted along with other supporting factors such as gender, monstrosity and the presence of animals or costume. The Green Man is an enigmatic figure in church art and it is felt that the key to understanding him may be through the study of symbols associated with individual designs where they are either adjacent or actively engaging with the carving. Where appropriate, an interpretation of foliate heads will be sought in biblical sources: many surrounding images depict Old and New Testament stories.

MOUTH-DISGORGERS

It is normal for the foliage only to come out of the centre of the mouth where it frequently takes up the whole space available to it. Out of eight hundred and eight images that disgorge from the mouth (69% of the total), two hundred and eighty-nine, or just over a

third of them, have plant life coming from one or both corners of the mouth, although it is unusual for it to be from one corner only; just nineteen of these types have been found.



Fig. 16: Adstock, Buckinghamshire c.1100



Fig. 17: Guiting Power, Gloucestershire c.1400

Where this happens at Adstock, Buckinghamshire (1100) (fig. 16) where there are two examples, Over in Cambridgeshire (1300), Guiting Power, Gloucestershire (1400) (fig. 17) and Pinchbeck in Lincolnshire (1400), it seems to be an adjustment on the part of the carver to make it fit into a corner of the church; these instances tend to be on corbels set into an angle between two walls. A similar phenomenon occurs on Gundrada's tomb (1160) at Lewes, Sussex and on the four examples on the Duke of Gloucester's tomb at St Albans in Middlesex (1430). On Bishop Hamo's tomb in Rochester cathedral (1352), a spray flows from the right-hand corner of the mouth while the design ascends in a series of spandrels and this gives momentum to the idea of an upward motion, presumably heavenwards. There are two examples of foliage leaving from one corner only of the mouth in spandrels in the Chapter House at Southwell Minster in Nottinghamshire (1290) where decidedly human heads exude leaves, some of which are inhabited by birds. In these cases, the heads are slightly angled to accommodate the foliage and facilitate its egress which adds to the natural style. At Pocklington, Yorkshire (1300) an aggressive-looking head is part of a capital frieze where it leans into neighbouring foliage, trailing leaves from one side of its mouth, again giving an impression of momentum. The Lady Chapel at Saxilby, Lincolnshire (1300) sports

a corbel head on a beam whose foliage exits the left corner of its mouth and then appears to caress its chin. On this carving the eyebrows also transform into greenery and at Broughton, Oxfordshire (1350) the design incorporates the person's hand holding his chin which restricts the space for further carving. Dunchideock in Devon (1400) hosts a recently repainted roof boss in which the foliage exits from the right-hand side and rotates clockwise. This theme recurs at Lezant, Cornwall (1500) on a roof boss, although this head is more cheerful. The leaves appear from the right-hand corner of its mouth and then go in rhythmic coils around its head, finishing by its left jaw. Only two foliate heads have been found so far where any rotation of the leaves is anti-clockwise and these are at Advent, also in Cornwall (1450) and Dunchideock, just mentioned.

Three hundred and ninety-four (33.64%) have their mouths closed and in these cases the foliage is either attached to a very narrow stem as at Wye in Kent (1350) or the mouth forms a seal round the stem as at Woolpit, Suffolk (1400). This means that only four hundred and fourteen (35.35%) have their mouths wide open of which a hundred and fifty-six have teeth, the number ranging from single ones found on a head on a corbel in Guildford, Surrey (1300), a misericord in Chester cathedral (1380) and a roof boss in Lechlade, Gloucestershire (1400) to three heads each with fifteen visible teeth on the early sixteenth-century roof bosses in Sheffield cathedral. The average number of teeth per head where teeth are shown is 5.6 and, as is often the case with depictions of medieval monsters, the teeth are strong and in excellent condition. No cases of jagged, missing or uneven teeth have yet been found on foliate heads.²

² The only reference found so far to a head with irregular, decayed teeth is in Ruskin's description of a head on a tower in Venice, although this is not a foliate head. E. T. Cook & Alexander Wedderburn (eds.), *The Works of John Ruskin*, Xi. (London: George Allen, 1904), p. 162 .

It can be no coincidence that the exit point for the majority of greenery associated with the image is the mouth, a major threshold of the body and the only one that can admit and emit substances as well as shaping sound. As Woodcock says:

The mouth is the most important of all human features for the grotesque. [...] The functions of disgorging and devouring carried significant theological weight in medieval religion and were by no means diametrically opposed; the symbolic devouring of the body of Christ at the Mass to absorb the divine was mirrored by the devouring of souls in hell.³

Images of the Last Judgment almost always show the damned being swallowed by a monster with an enormous mouth and this applies across all media whether on carvings, wall paintings or in manuscripts. Usually it is not the whole monster, but just a gigantic maw; there is something alarming about that even to modern eyes, so it must have had greater impact in a more susceptible age. Judgment is shown by images of Christ with the two-edged sword in his mouth from the Book of the Apocalypse 19.15: 'And out of his mouth proceedeth a sharp two edged sword; that with it he may smite the nations. And he shall rule them with a rod of iron.' Christ is identified in that passage as 'The Word of God' as in 'the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us,' words also issuing from the mouth.⁴ In St Paul's letter to the Hebrews, he said, 'For the word of God is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword; and reaching unto the division of the soul and the spirit, of the joints also and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart,' showing the power that words can have and, by extension, the mouth, a crucial component of the foliate-head images.⁵

General observation of the 1,172 examples in the database leads to the conclusion that the heads are all expelling foliage, not ingesting or inhaling it, although it cannot be said

³ Woodcock, p. 7.

⁴ John 1.14.

⁵ Hebrews 4.12.

whether the plants are growing from the mouth or stomach, if they are being held in the mouth or are being blown out. There are a few cases, such as at the now deconsecrated church of St Mary, York (1400) (fig. 1) where the head looks distinctly as though the foliage rides on a gust of breath, raising the question that this signifies some sort of verbal message as Tisdall has already suggested and as first mentioned in Chapter One. Could the leaves coming from the mouth (in this instance) represent the Word of God as in the Gospels? If so, then the whole image would be one of evangelising, of spreading the Word, which might be appropriate since it is a corbel almost at eye level on the outside of the building and so is very easily accessed by the public.⁶ The date of this head militates against this because this was the time of a heresy known as Lollardy which, in simple terms, sought to preach the Gospels in the vernacular. Lollards followed the teachings of John Wycliffe who died in 1384; he had asserted that the bible, not the Church, was the supreme authority. This was a time of dissent, not least the so-called Peasants' Revolt of 1381, and in 1399 one of Henry IV's first acts of legislation was to impose the death penalty on anyone found guilty of Lollardism.⁷ His swift action indicates how important the issue was held to be and it also seems unlikely that the Church would countenance such a blatant snub especially in the home of an archdiocese, even if masons were given a free hand. This foliate head is so easily observed that the incumbent could not have failed to have noticed it as soon as he walked round the building so, if it is intended to be blowing out words in an evangelical sense, it seems possible that it would have been removed or amended.

Tisdall cites the bench-end at Brent Knoll, Somerset (1450) (fig. 18) which has a small foliate head in the triangular apex. The rest of the panel is devoted to an eagle, the

⁶ This particular head supports a now-empty niche; it is not known which saint or holy figure used to stand above it.

⁷ C.S. Clifton, *Encyclopedia of Heresies and Heretics* (Oxford: ABC-Clio, 1992), p. 82.

symbol of St John the Evangelist which often illustrates John 1:1: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God and the Word was God.' One of the other panels reveals the ox of St Luke, but there are also parodies, such as some apes acting as cooks. The foliate head associated with the eagle does not engage with the bird, the foliage is sturdy, stylised and the mouth is wide open. It has an aggressive expression perhaps in support of the Word of God represented by John's eagle, or in defiance of anyone gainsaying it.



Fig. 18: Brent Knoll, Somerset 1450

A deformed mouth is still a difficult thing to look at, a natural sentiment exploited by Sir John Mandeville in his *Travels*. He describes one race as being:

[...] ugly folks without heads, who have eyes in each shoulder; their mouths are round like a horseshoe in the middle of their chest. In yet another part there are headless men whose eyes and mouths are on their backs. And there are in another place folk with flat faces, without noses or eyes, but they have two small holes instead of eyes and a flat, lipless mouth. In another isle there are ugly fellows whose upper lip is so big that when they sleep in the sun they cover all their faces with it.⁸

These descriptions conjure up repellent images, some of which may be echoed in foliate head design, especially the monstrous ones, in which case the carvers may be reacting to travellers' tales.

⁸ *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. by C. W. R. D. Moseley (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1983), p. 137.

It is also true that one's mouth is a vulnerable point which it is natural to protect if under attack. Because they are entrances to the human body, they are susceptible to assault whether by disease (as modern medicine has shown), or by evil, as they were persuaded in the Middle Ages.⁹ It is probably for this reason that when St Michael is shown defeating the dragon, he often thrusts a spear directly into its mouth, as in the Stammheim Missal of the 1170s or in the Douce Apocalypse.¹⁰ In a manuscript of 1310-1325, the false prophets are shown with frogs or toads leaping from their mouths symbolising their evil words.¹¹ Words were problematic in other ways. A person who spoke many languages might be regarded with suspicion because he eroded the distinctions between individual languages and therefore between races and nations, although it was believed that before the Tower of Babel such distinctions did not exist; all humans spoke the same language and divisions into tribes had yet to occur.¹² This should have been countermanded by Pentecost when the Holy Spirit allowed the apostles to speak all languages, understanding everything that was said to them.¹³ Again, it is the mouth that is the vehicle for conveying this suspicion, anxiety and inspiration.

Some disgorging heads not only have their mouths wide open, but the foliage seems to come from deep within; had the image had a body as well, it would seem to have been rooted in its stomach. Choosing examples of these ones is subjective and it may be that an impression of deeply-rooted foliage is enhanced by wide, stretched eyes. There are some deep-rooted ones at Broomfield in Somerset (1300), Durham (1400) (figs. 19 and 20) and

⁹ Camille, p. 75.

¹⁰ Elizabeth Morrison, *Beasts, Factual and Fantastic* (London: British Library, 2007), p. 95. Nigel Morgan, *The Douce Apocalypse* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2006), p. 70.

¹¹ Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), p. 29.

¹² David, Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1996), p. 141.

¹³ The Acts of the Apostles 2.1-4.

two in Tewkesbury Abbey, Gloucestershire (1400). These are the only ones about which any confidence can be felt which means that there are too few examples amongst the 1,172 total for their origins to be credibly based in Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend*, previously discussed, in which Seth planted a seed in Adam's mouth when he lay dying.¹⁴ As an aside, speech that came from the stomach not the mouth, otherwise known as ventriloquism, was mistrusted in the Middle Ages, some associating it with the devil.¹⁵



Fig. 19: Broomfield, Somerset c.1300



Fig. 20: Durham c.1400

It cannot be overlooked that the mouth is the point of nourishment either directly or spiritually in the case of Communion and therefore of ingestion. Peter of Celle remarked c.1145 that monks feed on words, leading to ideas about words being in the mouth and speech being a form of mastication.¹⁶ In the mouth there is the juxtaposition of creation (in the forming of words) and in demolition (in the crushing of food). There is survival in the form of sustenance being processed, and there is destruction in the power of some of the words that might be said. There is delight in the tasting of food and horror caused by gnashing teeth. The mouth is the point of ingestion and expulsion whether taking in food and air or ejecting words and vomit. A human being could manage without eyes, ears or nose,

¹⁴ Voragine, pp. 180-181.

¹⁵ Williams, p. 141.

¹⁶ Camille, p. 63.

but without the mouth it would perish which makes filling the mouth with branches particularly interesting because it potentially blocks all of these activities unless it represents them. The way the foliage is represented gives more of an idea of it being expelled than inhaled or ingested, but the mouth is a multi-functional part of the body so perhaps the function of the foliage is multi-faceted too.

TONGUES

Tongues are visible on ninety-two heads which constitute 7.85% of the total.

Tongues are problematic when they are part of a foliate head because they can be interpreted separately; it cannot be known whether the fact that a tongue is visible or actively protruding was intended to be symbolic or merely playful when it was carved. A number of writers who have compiled dictionaries of symbols offer suggestions about how to understand the image, such as Becker who identified the tongue as a flame because of its shape.¹⁷ He surmises that because it is the organ that physically produces speech, its act of creation could be interpreted with respect to fertility. Cooper agrees with the fertility analysis but says that this is because it has phallic symbolism, adding that fleshy tongues are attributes of Satan in medieval art.¹⁸ On the other hand there may be a connection to preaching because of its role in the production of words. Chevalier and Gheerbrant go further. They say that the tongue was regarded as a flame because it is agile and of the same shape and that it both destroys and cleanses when involved in eating. As the organ of speech it can create or annihilate, so its power is boundless. It has been compared to the beam of scales in that it weighs and gives judgement.¹⁹ That may be true, but that explanation seems to indicate that the tongue is

¹⁷ Udu Becker, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Symbols* (New York: Continuum, 1992), p. 303.

¹⁸ J. C. C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1982), p. 174.

¹⁹ Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant, eds, *Dictionary of Symbols* trans. by John Buchanan-Brown, 2nd Edn. (London: Penguin Reference, 1982), p. 1014.

sentient and that it can make decisions about what words it helps to produce, as opposed to being only a part of the communication machinery, although this idea may have come from Proverbs 18.21 which says that 'Death and life are in the power of the tongue.'

There are several references to tongues in the Bible and it is noticeable that when they are mentioned in the Old Testament, it is often in a cautionary or pejorative sense. For instance:

May the Lord destroy all deceitful lips, and the tongue that speaketh proud things.
(Psalm 11.4)

A peaceable tongue is a tree of life: but that which is immoderate, shall crush the spirit. (Proverbs 15.4)

Behold, the name of the Lord cometh from far, his wrath burneth, [...]: his lips are filled with indignation, and his tongue as a devouring fire. (Isaiah 30.27)

In the New Testament the tongue has a more constructive connotation, but here it is more likely to be used in the sense of language than as a body part, or as a means to launch inner thoughts. For instance, Acts 2.1-4 :

And when the days of Pentecost were accomplished, they were all together in one place. And suddenly there came a sound from heaven, as of a mighty wind coming, and it filled the whole house where they were sitting. And there appeared unto them parted tongues as it were of fire, and it sat upon every one of them. And they were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and they began to speak with divers tongues, according as the Holy Ghost gave them to speak.

If applied to foliate heads, then the application of these verses suggests a positive representation in Christian terms since it suggests that all those heads that have tongues would understand both each other and every part of the Christian message. It would connect them with the clarity of comprehension and certainty of spirit that the Apostles and others experienced at Pentecost.

Tongues appear in the New Testament in St Paul's letter to the Romans 14:11 as being a vehicle for confession and in the General Epistle of St James 3:5-8:

Even so the tongue is a little member and boasteth great things. Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth. And the tongue is a fire, a world of iniquity. The tongue is placed among our members, which defileth the whole body, [...] For every nature of beasts, [...] is tamed, and hath been tamed, by the nature of man. But the tongue no man can tame, an unruly evil, full of deadly poison.

This is not so much a negative portrayal of the tongue as an observation that man's tongue can run away with him and that unkind words can be uttered without enough thought. Saint Benedict warns against loving too much talking and uttering words that are foolish and which provoke laughter.²⁰ Elsewhere he devotes a chapter to the virtues of keeping silent: 'I set a muzzle over my mouth; I stayed dumb, I was humbled, I refrained from speaking even good words.'²¹

If those suggestions are relevant to the ninety-two foliate heads that also have visible tongues, then that indicates a desire on the part of the carvers to include communication (or sometimes silence), especially in didactic and therapeutic forms. The presence of a tongue must surely suggest speech or maybe inhibited speech since you cannot speak whilst sticking out your tongue, but it might, as mentioned, refer to sex because of its phallic connotation.

There are a few cases, such as at St Margaret's, Herefordshire, where it is hard to decide if the head has a tongue or if it is tongue-shaped foliage but generally, where there is a tongue it was clearly identifiable, as on the misericord carving in Bristol cathedral (figs. 21 and 22).

²⁰ *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. by Abbot Parry (Leominster: Gracewing, 1990), p. 19.

²¹ *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, p. 23



Fig. 21: St Margaret's, Herefordshire c.1500



Fig. 22: Bristol Cathedral 1520

Also noticeable is the medieval enjoyment of carving what are sometimes known as tongue-pullers: figures who have their tongues sticking out whether they are foliate heads or normal ones. It is likely that some foliate heads were also made into tongue-pullers because that was the whim of the local carver. There was no obvious pattern in the groupings of carvings so it could not be said that tongue-pullers were more prevalent in a particular geographical area, or if there was, or was not, a foliate head present. A breakdown of foliate heads that were also tongue-pullers is at Appendix E (Foliate Heads with Additional Features) where it can be seen that they were the equal-largest group of heads that had additional features.

EAR-DISGORGERS

A further sixty heads (5.12%) have foliage coming from their ears and two of these at Woodbury in Devon c.1300 have the foliage coming out of the left ear only which Tisdall interprets as the gift of hearing.²² Again, this type of head is spread throughout England and is not restricted to one particular area as can be seen from Table 1. There are two distinct

²² Tisdall, p. 105.

styles amongst the ear-disgorgers: the early group, up to about the year 1200 are generally wide-mouthed, goggle-eyed, cat-like beasts, often on fonts. The heads are linked by continuous granulated strands which do not always resemble any specific type of plant. The later group, after 1200, reveal a wider range of styles commensurate with the tastes of the time; some of these heads are much more identifiably human.

Ear-disgorgers seem to generate multiple heads in one place but at Holt, Iffley, Morville, Kilpeck, Stottesdon and Lewes, which are all 1200 or earlier, the heads are linked to each other by tendrils coming from the neighbouring head's ears. In these cases the heads are not always identical, but are often very similar to each other. On the font at Holt (fig. 9) it can be seen that the foliage is so stylized that its presence in this survey could be disputed. These designs have been included because the style of the strands is also seen in representations of this period that are more obviously foliate heads and the principal of stems leaving the head via the mouth, eyes, nose or ears holds true. As a technicality, the heads at Morville are also stylized and do not have precise ears, but the looping tendrils exit the head both at the mouth and at the point where the ears should have been. It is noticeable that multiple heads, linked by circular or looping stylized foliage, very often granulated, were in vogue up to about the year 1200 but as yet there is no explanation for this, other than fashion. It has already been observed that granulation was a popular decoration in Scandinavian, Celtic and Classical art so this is most likely to be an influence brought by settling Vikings who also enjoyed depicting heads with tendrils issuing from the mouth. It is not thought that the geographical spread is significant, not least because there may have been numerous other examples now lost to us through erosion or amendment to the buildings.

The table below shows the incidence of heads with foliage coming from the ears. It can be seen how widely spread they are both geographically and in terms of how they adorn

the church, and that the preference for multiple images connected to each other in this way tended to be in the Romanesque period.²³

| Date | Church | County | Location |
|--------|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| 1118 + | Morville x 3 fh | Shropshire | Font |
| 1150 | Kilpeck x 8 fh | Herefordshire | Voussoirs |
| 1160 | Lewes x 17 fh | Sussex | Gundrada's tomb |
| 1160 | Stottesdon x 4 fh | Shropshire | Font |
| 1160 | Riccall | Yorkshire | Capital, doorway |
| 1175 | Iffley x 9 fh | Oxfordshire | Voussoirs |
| 1200 | Holt x 7 fh | Worcestershire | 5 on font, 2 capitals |
| 1250 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Misericord |
| 1300 | Elstow Abbey | Bedfordshire | Corbel, sanctuary |
| 1300 | Woodbury x 2 fh | Devon | Capitals, nave |
| 1330 | Dennington | Suffolk | Capital, chancel |
| 1350 | Brant Broughton | Lincolnshire | Roof boss |
| 1400 | Norwich Cathedral Cloister | Norfolk | Roof boss |
| 1400 | Chittelhampton | Devon | Roof boss, chapel |
| 1420 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Misericord |
| 1532 | Boxgrove x 2 fh | Sussex | Chantry |

Table 1: Incidence of foliate heads with foliage coming from the ears
(‘fh’ = foliate heads)

The ear is, of course, an organ of hearing so the fact that it has foliage coming from it, thereby blocking it, could indicate a form of deafness. It was also a symbol of betrayal in the Garden of Gethsemane because Peter drew his sword, cutting off Malchus' ear at the moment that Judas betrayed Christ.²⁴ Metford stipulates that:

Because the ‘Word of God [...] enters the mind through the ear, and because the Psalmist said ‘daughter [...] incline thine ear,’ (Ps 44.11), it was believed that St Mary the Virgin conceived Jesus through her ear. A shaft of light is thus shown

²³ Roughly 800 to c.1200. Known as Norman in England from 1066-c.1200. Lucie-Smith, pp. 162, 131.

²⁴ John 18.10.

descending towards her ear.²⁵

It is true that rays are often seen going from, perhaps, a dove towards Mary's head, albeit not specifically to her ear when they should go to her womb, but this does not seem to be a likely link with foliate heads. Whilst these particular ones bring forth fruit in the sense of plant-life from their ears, it seems too abstruse a connection even for medieval man's delight in visual riddles.

Ears are a means of enslavement as we see in Exodus 21:6, one of several examples where it says, 'His master [...] shall bore his ear through with an awl: and he shall be his servant forever.' Again, this does not seem to be relevant to foliate-head carvings where a sense of the head being pinned by the foliage leaving the ear has yet to be found. In each case the foliage, stylised or otherwise, enters or exits via the centre of the ear, so there is no suggestion that the foliage is any kind of adornment as an earring might be when attached to a lobe. There is an intriguing set of four heads round the top of a column at Woodbury in Devon, dating to about 1300. They are all disgorging human heads, but one issues leaves from both ears and another from the right-hand side of his mouth and from his left ear. This foliage, which comprises stylised vines and grapes, is being eaten by an elegant dragon which emerges vigorously from the left side of a third head's mouth. The dragon has various interpretations depending on context and type, but it was usually held that the danger came from its tail rather than any fire from its mouth and so a dragon with a curled or knotted tail has been neutralised.²⁶ The Woodbury dragon's tail is straight and so it is still viable as a threat. It eats the grapes, the product of the vine and a symbol of the blood of Christ so this

²⁵ J.G.J. Metford, *Dictionary Of Christian Lore And Legend* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1983), p. 88.

²⁶ Cooper, p. 56.

set of heads could be construed as the devil within man attacking the good that is also within him: man's dual nature and the constant struggle between good and evil.

At Elstow abbey in Bedfordshire a well-dressed, young, bearded man leans out of a large corbel (fig. 23). He has a mass of somewhat stretched oak leaves coming from his ears and swirling above his head. His eyes are genial, but his expression cannot be accurately assessed because a large but precise rectangle has been hacked away from where his mouth should be. The damage is smooth and even, suggesting a repair that has never come to fruition rather than defacement. The oak is traditionally a sign of steadfastness in England and the location of this foliate head, one of only thirty-four found in sanctuaries, signifies a position of trust. Oak leaves and acorns also feature on an ear-disgorging head on an Exeter misericord. This head is also a tongue-puller and sports a third spray of leaves springing from the top of his head, possibly - but not probably - representing Trinity. It is more likely to be an artistic device to complete the image, although the presence of the acorns indicates fruitfulness and renewal of life.



Fig. 23: Elstow Abbey, Bedfordshire *c.*1300



Fig 24: Dennington, Suffolk *c.*1330

The early fourteenth-century head at Dennington in Suffolk is a mouth-pulling, tongue-pulling distinctly human head (fig. 24). His hands claw at the sides of his mouth whilst his eyes look directly ahead, apparently eagerly. He may be a monk because there is

evidence of a fringe on his forehead, but the architecture prevents sight of the top of his head (he inhabits a window capital in the choir) so it is not possible to tell if he is tonsured in the Benedictine fashion, or if the hair merely denotes a youngish man. The leaves which issue profusely from his ears appear to be sycamore because two of the propeller-like seeds are also present. That being so, it is not only another example of renewal of life, but it might help to refine dispute on the internet as to when the sycamore was brought to Britain (sycamore is native to central, eastern and southern Europe) with suggested dates ranging from the end of the Roman occupation to the late Tudor period. If the image at Dennington was carved in England by English carvers which seems likely, then the tree must have been here long enough for it to have grown to maturity by 1330. It can take twenty-five years for a sycamore to produce seeds, so a latest arrival date of approximately 1300 is possible.²⁷ Two other foliate heads are present at Dennington, but their plants are hawthorn and peony.

The Chittelhampton head is a corbel in the south chapel. It has a wide, flat face with indeterminate foliage coming out of its ears and curling over its head. The whole image has darkened over the years so it is not very clear at first glance, but the overall impression is of a pleasant face with an amiable expression.

The two ear-disgorging foliate heads at Boxgrove priory in Sussex are all on the de la Warre chantry chapel of 1532. There are other heads here of similar types but the two in question are both also upside-down, although this is most likely to be to assist the flow of the overall pattern. The leaves are stylised.

Overall the ear-disgorging heads are very varied in style, especially after the year 1200. All the later ones except for those at Boxgrove Priory are distinctly human whereas there was a preference for monsters before 1200. This is not uncommon although, in the case

²⁷ *Gardening Know How*, <<http://www.Gardeningknowhow.com/ornamental/trees/sycamore/sycamore-tree-care.htm>> [accessed 28 Nov 2015]

of the ear-disgorgers, it seems to have been to make it easier to carve chains of linked heads. What the overall message was is not at all clear: maybe that they were all linked in the same belief, thought or shared life on earth. Many of them show great imagination, but none of them take us closer to an overall interpretation.

NOSE-DISGORGERS

Forty-six examples, or 3.92% of the total number, had greenery coming from the nose, sometimes in conjunction with other orifices. Indeed the very earliest known European example found in use in a Christian context, on the tomb of St Abre at Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers, falls into this category.²⁸ The comparatively small British group has occasionally been cited as providing the original meaning of the foliate head, because it is said to feature in the Bible, as has already been noted in Chapter One in connection with the writings of Kathleen Basford. The reference is to Ezechiel 8.16-18: 'and behold they put a branch to their nose' which may refer to idolaters to whom God would show no mercy.²⁹ The phrase in context is:

And he brought me into the inner court of the house of the Lord: and behold at the door of the temple of the Lord, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men having their backs towards the temple of the Lord, and their faces to the east: and they adored towards the rising of the sun. And he said to me: Surely thou hast seen, O son of man: is this a light thing to the house of Juda, that they should commit these abominations which they have committed here: because they have filled the land with iniquity, and have turned to provoke me to anger? and **behold they put a branch to their nose**. Therefore I will also deal with them in my wrath [...]

²⁸ The head dates to *c.*360.

²⁹ Basford, p. 13.

These are ambiguous verses which many have attempted to interpret, although most agree that they concern Judaic ceremonies connected to a sun worship ritual which has since passed into obscurity.³⁰ That being so, it seems unlikely to have triggered an image that became current in Christian churches from the early to late Middle Ages across Europe, even though pagan ideas were absorbed into Christian art as has been reported. Idolatry is abhorred in Judaism and Christianity, not least because the Second Commandment tells us that God forbids it: 'Thou shalt not make to thyself a graven thing, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, nor of those things that are in the waters under the earth. Thou shalt not adore them nor serve them.'³¹ The fear of idolatry or rather, fear of the effects of it, has brought about waves of iconoclasm at various times, more in the Orthodox Church than the Catholic one, but there is a fine line between using images as teaching devices, decoration or for assisting in devotions and actually praying to the person portrayed.³² Despite this, the western Church has always included figures of recognizable human saints as well as unidentifiable grotesques in both buildings and manuscripts. If the foliate heads that have branches coming out of their noses are linked to this passage that is possibly about idolatry, then the link seems tenuous for such a serious subject. It would be expected that the message would be expressed in a less subtle way so that the whole congregation would understand its import, so it seems that much is being made of a single verse in the Bible. One would also expect to find more foliate heads carved in this way so it is probable that, again, this version of the image is created at the whim and by the expertise of the carver.

³⁰ *Bible Hub* <<http://biblehub.com/commentaries/ezekiel/8-17.htm>> [accessed 3 December 2015]

³¹ Exodus 20.4.

³² Technically saints should be invoked, not prayed to.

Table 2 shows a list of all the images found so far that have foliage coming from the nose, although in one or two cases, such as at Ribbesford, Worcestershire, it is hard to tell if it comes from the nose or grows from the face immediately below it. As with the table showing the numbers of ear-disgorgers, the carvings are widespread both geographically and spatially - that is, where they have been found within individual churches. It is noticeable that there are less likely to be multiple numbers of nose-disgorgers together, but that is probably because it is easier to make links via the ears than the nose. Where there is more than one nose-disgorger on site, the two heads are completely separate as at Leverton, Beverley Minster and Great Budworth. At sites such as Worcester and Norwich cathedrals and Beverley Minster, there are numerous other heads *in situ*, but of different types.

| Date | Church | County | Location |
|------|-------------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| 800+ | Dolton | Devon | Font |
| 1120 | Castor | Cambridgeshire | Corbel |
| 1250 | Harlaxton | Lincolnshire | Nave corbel |
| 1250 | Podington | Bedfordshire | Nave corbel |
| 1290 | Warrington | Northamptonshire | Nave roof boss |
| 1300 | Halse | Somerset | Wall roundel |
| 1300 | Hereford, All Saints | Herefordshire | Nave corbel. Crowned |
| 1300 | Leverton x 2 fh | Lincolnshire | Exterior corbels |
| 1300 | Pilton | Somerset | Porch roof boss |
| 1300 | Weasenham | Norfolk | Exterior corbel |
| 1325 | Beverley Minster x 2 fh | Yorkshire | Spandrel |
| 1330 | Temple Balsall | Warwickshire | Window capital |
| 1340 | Ottery St Mary | Devon | Lady Chapel corbel |
| 1350 | Alrewas | Staffordshire | Roof boss |
| 1350 | Brant Broughton | Lincolnshire | Tongue-puller |
| 1352 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Tomb spandrel |
| 1370 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcestershire | Cloister roof boss |
| 1380 | Clare | Suffolk | Doorway archivolt |
| 1400 | Aylsham | Norfolk | Bench end |
| 1400 | Beverley Minster | Yorkshire | Roof boss |
| 1400 | Brant Broughton | Lincolnshire | Roof boss |
| 1400 | Brigstock | Norfolk | Screen |
| 1400 | Cawston | Norfolk | Roof boss, transept |
| 1400 | Chipping Norton | Oxfordshire | Roof boss, porch |
| 1400 | Eastwell | Leicestershire | Exterior window corbel |
| 1400 | Great Shelford | Cambridgeshire | Screen spandrel |

| | | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1400 | Lincoln Cathedral | Lincolnshire | Misericord |
| 1400 | Lincoln Cathedral | Lincolnshire | Choir bench end |
| 1400 | Nantwich | Cheshire | Choir poppy-head |
| 1400 | Ribbesford | Worcestershire | Screen |
| 1400 | Scottow | Norfolk | Porch roof boss |
| 1400 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Porch corbel |
| 1450 | Great Budworth x 2 fh | Cheshire | Corbels, nave |
| 1450 | Hexham | Northumbria | Misericord |
| 1450 | Norwich, St Andrew | Norfolk | Exterior corbel |
| 1475 | Henham | Essex | Porch spandrel |
| 1475 | King's Nympton | Devon | Nave roof boss. |
| 1484 | Stamford | Lincolnshire | Nave roof boss |
| 1500 | Eaton under Heywood | Shropshire | Wall roundel |
| 1500 | Kettering | Northamptonshire | Nave roof boss |
| 1500 | Mappowder | Dorset | Nave corbel |
| 1512 | Handley | Cheshire | Exterior corbel |
| 1520 | Derby Cathedral | Derbyshire | Exterior tower corbel |

Table 2: Incidence of foliate heads with foliage coming from the nose

The data shows a seemingly-random placing of foliate heads that involve the nose and it must be exactly that: there is no overall pattern or logic that has been identified. They range from the very earliest (see fig. 63, Dolton, under Fonts) to almost the most recent and are frequently interspersed with more ‘normal’ ones. The conclusion, again, has to be that there is no special significance that can be attached to a foliate head which has its leaves exiting via the nose. It seems more likely that it was an artistic device enjoyed by the carver than any attempt to illustrate a biblical passage or moral.

EYE-DISGORGERS

Out of nine hundred and thirty-three examples of disgorging heads, only seventeen (1.45% of the total of 1,172) have foliage coming out of their eyes. On nine of them the points of issue are at the borders of the eyes. These tend to have a relatively cheerful expression, which excludes them from being considered in the blood-sucker group which

comprises eight heads which will be examined separately. The craftsmen who carved the former group of nine images do not appear to have wanted the spectator to feel in any way uncomfortable or disturbed by what they saw. The only valid interpretation of them therefore is that the carvers deployed foliage set in the corners of the eyes as an artistic device, as opposed to any reference to punishment or other social comment which may not be the case for the blood-suckers. Because there are so few of them, and because the non-blood-suckers are spread across seven counties, it is not thought that they represent anything of particular significance. The fashion - if it can be styled as such - for plant life appearing at the eyes comes later in the medieval phase of their history, the earliest example being found at Warmington, Northamptonshire dating to *c.*1290 (fig. 25). No examples have been found from the Romanesque period at all. The incidence of them is shown at Table 3.

| Date | Church | County | |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1290 | Warmington | Northamptonshire | |
| 1300 | Sharrington x 2 fh | Norfolk | |
| 1340 | Ottery St Mary | Devon | Blood-sucker |
| 1377 | Canterbury Cathedral Cloisters | Kent | |
| 1400 | Brant Broughton | Lincolnshire | |
| 1400 | Crediton | Devon | Blood-sucker |
| 1400 | Evesham | Worcestershire | |
| 1400 | Marston | Lincolnshire | |
| 1400 | Marston | Lincolnshire | Blood-sucker |
| 1450 | Axbridge | Somerset | Blood-sucker |
| 1450 | Woolstone | Berkshire | |
| 1471 | Spreyton | Devon | Blood-sucker |
| 1475 | King's Nympton | Devon | |
| 1484 | Stamford | Lincolnshire | Blood-sucker |
| 1500 | Peter Tavy x 2 fh | Devon | Blood-sucker |

Table 3: Incidence of foliate heads with foliage coming from the eyes

Branches come out of the actual eyes of the Warmington head (fig. 25), not from the corners of them which would normally put it in the same bracket as the blood-suckers except that the rest of the face is life-like with an unperturbed expression, belying the discomfiting exit points of the plants. The eight that have been annotated as blood-suckers are distinctly

cadaverous. The difference between the two styles of foliage coming from the eyes and the edge of the eyes is illustrated below. The Woolstone head (fig. 27) has a stalk of foliage coming from its closed lips as well as two huge fronds from the eye sockets. Where the tendrils come from the corners of the eyes, this might be the outer or inner corners which can make a pleasing overall pattern as at Brant Broughton in Northamptonshire (fig. 26); the carver has arranged the design so that it forms a perfect quatrefoil, suggesting a mask. The expression on the face of this head is also tranquil and unperturbed.



Fig. 25: Warmington, Northamptonshire 1290



Fig. 26: Brant Broughton, Lincolnshire c.1400



Fig.27: Woolstone, Berkshire c.1450

There are numerous biblical references to eyes, whether it is Jacob being described as the apple of the Lord's eye, as an expression of endearment, or in relation to remorse: 'Mine

eye poureth out tears to God' or expressing mal-intent and other emotions.³³ The most well-known biblical passages concerning eyes are from Exodus 21.23-24 and Matthew 5.29. The first reference is the Book of the Covenant which lays down rules for punishment and compensation: 'And if her death ensue thereupon, he shall render life for life. Eye for eye, tooth for tooth [...]' The second is where Christ lays down the new law in his Sermon on the Mount: 'If thy right eye scandalise thee, pluck it out, and cast it from thee [...]' The latter statement concerns adultery but the mindset of the Middle Ages could have construed that to be a punishment for a different crime, perhaps a serf looking at a nobleman offensively. Blinding was a part of retributive justice, especially in the early medieval period. Graphic accounts exist, for example in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* of 1036, where Edward (later Confessor)'s brother, Alfred, was captured by Earl Godwine and made to watch his companions being blinded before he suffered the same fate himself.³⁴ Alfred the Great, was said by his biographer to have feared blindness or any condition which might render him useless or despicable to others.³⁵ This was a genuine and persuasive anxiety, underlining again the very natural desire any person would have to protect their eyes, which makes eyes with branches coming from them even more unsettling.

In Exodus 4.11 the Lord said, 'Who made man's mouth? or who made the dumb or the deaf? the seeing and the blind? did not I?' This is a powerful in an age where everyone knew and was influenced by the scriptures. The rules laid down for priests in Leviticus 21 are specific. 'Neither shall he approach to minister to him: If he be blind, if he be lame [...] or blear-eyed, or have a pearl in his eye' [...].³⁶

³³ Deuteronomy 32.10. Job 16.10. Proverbs 23.5.

³⁴ Swanton, pp. 158-160.

³⁵ Asser, *Life Of King Alfred*, trans. by Simon Keynes & Michael Lapidge (London: Penguin Classics, 1983), p. 89.

³⁶ Leviticus 21.18.

Woodcock explores the medieval belief in the power of the evil eye and the ability of it to attract and/or repel malevolent powers.³⁷ The eye being the mirror of the soul was believed to make it susceptible to danger. In his thesis he uses liminal images as his vehicle, arguing that the fact of their being on the threshold of religious buildings also makes them apotropaic because they can immediately deter attack. He argues that this is why carvings are placed in seemingly inaccessible situations; they were not all intended to be seen by a human audience.³⁸ Foliate heads are not always peripheral images although the principles may still apply, particularly in examples such as the dragons at Pipe Aston which guard the door to the church.

Given all of these factors, it is perhaps surprising that more was not made of the combination of branches and eyes. The carvers could have exploited and explored ideas about vengeance, worthiness and emotion which would have worked well with the medieval taste for the macabre and penchant for portraying monstrous ideas and shapes. The eyes are sometimes described in terms of being windows into our souls; people are criticised for not smiling with their eyes as well as their mouths and an instant health assessment can be measured by looking to see how bright or dull a person's eyes might be. It can be difficult to assess mood or meaning if the eyes are shielded and death can be ascertained immediately by looking at the eyes. The eyes are a crucial part not only of how people live, but how they are received and judged and yet only seventeen out of the 1,172 images use them as the point of exit.

The obvious conclusion to be drawn from this is that either that the foliate head needed to see, or that eye contact with the spectator was important. On the other hand, not many images in churches are deliberately blind unless sightlessness is part of their story as in

³⁷ Woodcock, pp. 115-116.

³⁸ Woodcock, p. 124.

the case of St Lucy whose eyes were gouged out at Syracuse under Diocletian's persecutions, so there may be nothing special about foliate heads.³⁹ It is noticeable that many monsters in church art are things of imagination but some monsters are the stuff of nightmares, so one might speculate that the carver was expressing his own worst fears and perhaps putting them in a church so as to neutralise them. If that is the case then it is even more surprising not to see more eye-disgorgers since injury to the eyes is shocking and potentially life changing in any age and, as we have seen, feared by kings.

WHOLE BODY DISGORGERS

Although the definition of a foliate head that is being used for this research is that of a usually disembodied head, there are variations in which part or all of the body is shown, which in this thesis will be known as foliate bodies. The most common form of these is part of the shoulders or perhaps hands grasping the stems as at Melbourne in Derbyshire and in Norwich cathedral cloisters. Table 4 shows their distribution.

| Date | Church | County | Location | Details |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------|-------------------------|---|
| 1100 | Holt | Worcs | Exterior door capital | Hands hold foliage |
| 1100 | Wroxham | Norfolk | Exterior door capital | Half figure |
| 1150 | Linley | Shrops | Exterior north tympanum | Whole figure |
| 1150 | Melbourne | Derbs | Crossing corbel | Cat-beast, front legs |
| 1290 | Southwell Minster x2 | Notts | Chapter House spandrel | Neck |
| 1300 | Elstow | Beds | Sanctuary corbel | Young man |
| 1300 | Much Marcle x 4 fh | Herefords | Nave capital | Shoulders |
| 1300 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Misericord | Whole figure |
| 1308 | Winchester Cathedral x 2 fh | Hants | Stalls | Whole figure with shield. Head with neck |
| 1330 | Dennington x 2 fh | Suffolk | Chancel corbels | Woman, peonies |
| 1350 | Broughton | Oxon | Nave corbel | Hands holding chin |

³⁹ *The Book of Saints, A Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary*, ed. by Dom Basil Watkins OSB (London: A&C Black Ltd, 2002), p. 358.

| | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1400 | Brant Broughton | Northants | Nave roof boss | Playing pipes |
| 1400 | Lincoln Cathedral | Lincs | Misericord | Grotesque with feet |
| 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister roof boss | Hands |
| 1400 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucs | Transept corbel | Neck, upper torso |
| 1404 | Battlefield | Shrops | Nave corbel | Neck, shoulders |
| 1490 | Lansallos | Cornwall | Nave bench ends | Woman with shoulders |
| 1534 | Crowcombe x 2 fh | Somerset | Nave bench ends | Men disgorged |

Table 4: Incidence of foliate heads revealing all or part of the body

Twenty-five have been found so far, which constitutes 2.13% of the 1,172 examples and again, as with the foliate head, there is no obvious geographic or spatial preference for the foliate body: it is not specific to a particular area of the country or part of the church. Foliate bodies are helpful simply because more than the head can be seen; if clothing is visible it can be possible to deduce status and/or to place them within society. Four examples survive from the Romanesque period at Holt in Worcestershire, Wroxham in Norfolk, Linley in Shropshire and Melbourne in Derbyshire and they show very different approaches to the subject, although they all disgorge from the mouth. This demonstrates again that the carver had a free hand, although this is more surprising because at that time the Romanesque style tended to be more uniform not only in England, but across Europe. The two oldest ones are very different from each other. The head at Holt (fig. 28) has a lively, wide-eyed human face with his mouth wide open which must have been carved in deep relief because his eyes, finger divisions and other details are still clearly marked and he has been exposed to the elements for some nine hundred years, although he was re-cut during a restoration in 1859.⁴⁰ His body is visible down to his upper torso and elbows so the folds of his V-necked robe are visible. He struggles with the stylised foliage, gripping it hard as it forges forward and, to some extent, he has conquered it because it appears to be bending backwards. What is also

⁴⁰ A. Brooks & N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Worcestershire* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 378.

interesting is that he could be wearing a crown. This image has been inspected several times and it remains unclear whether he is meant to be a king or if the top of the capital has been cut into crenelations. The idea of a crown is favoured, largely because the crenulated pattern does not occur anywhere else on the facade. This foliate head is a capital on a doorway column and is surrounded by zoomorphic figures, a coiled serpent and the chevron zig-zag pattern typical of late Norman architecture, so the subject matters are not connected, which is not unusual for this period.



Fig. 28: Holt, Worcestershire c. 1100



Fig. 29: Wroxham, Norfolk c. 1100

About a hundred and forty miles east of Holt, but made at approximately the same time, is the half figure at Wroxham in Norfolk. This is also part of a doorway scheme, now enclosed within a porch. In this case there are three columns on each side of the door, all of which have a double row of heads on the capitals which range from being identifiably human, to monsters, with one being too eroded to be certain. The top layer of heads all involve foliage, but mainly in the sense of them balancing on a nest of leaves as opposed to engaging with it. On the bottom layer, the outer images on both sides are of a bifurcated person with no additional detail. The central ones look as though they might be a dog with excessively long ears. These may be meant to be one of the Seventeen Orders of Monsters

known as the panotus which had huge ears, although there is no apparent reason why they should be present in preference to any of the other monsters.⁴¹ The figure nearest to the door on each side is a half-human. The one on the south is highly stylised and is surrounded by patterns. The one on the north side is shown above at fig. 29. The person stands upright with his arms thrown upwards and backwards almost as though tossing the fronds which disgorge from his mouth into the air. The two images are different, but both vigorous.

The Wroxham foliate head was carved about half a century before the one at Linley in Shropshire (fig. 3 and repeated below at fig. 30). The styles are different, but the general idea is not dissimilar. This time a whole person is represented, standing with his hands on his hips. An abundance of foliage exudes from his mouth, taking up the remaining space. The rest of the design on this north-facing tympanum is of a restrained nature. It is not known if there was a similar image on the other side of the church because there is too much erosion and, unfortunately, this building is not being well preserved.



Fig. 30: Linley, Shropshire c. 1150

⁴¹ Isidore of Seville, p. 245.



Fig. 31: Melbourne, Derbyshire c.1150

The last one from this early group is shown at fig. 31. The Melbourne foliate head is the only one located inside the church and is a column capital at the crossing point. It shows a cat-like beast with what could be a human torso and unpleasantly spiky, human arms. The foliage comes from each side of its closed mouth and is thought to be stylised vine because what may be bunches of grapes are visible. This clearly exemplifies the impact of Scandinavian/Viking art on the foliate head as has already been discussed. The complex pattern of convoluted, notched tendrils inter-twining with the arms is typical of two Scandinavian styles known as Borre and Ringerike, both of which travelled to England. The Borre style is the older, dating to c.850-950; evidence that it was in England is found in a pendant from this period which was discovered at Little Snoring, Norfolk in 1943.⁴² The pendant is the classic 'gripping beast' motif which consists of a barely decipherable, savage-looking beast caught up in an elaborately twisting design. Its arms and legs can be made out because the limbs end in tiny claws which grip both the outer frame of the design and itself. The joints are angular and the eyes are staring. The Ringerike Style was fashionable from 1000-75 and there is an artistic overlap between it and the Borre.⁴³ The Ringerike takes the 'gripping beast' (which also exists in the Jelling Style c.900-975) and merges it with tubular

⁴² Graham-Campbell, pp. 9, 81.

⁴³ Graham-Campbell, p. 88.

floral stems and both of these ideas are evident at Melbourne. As at Melbourne, these plants appear to grow in stages because there is often a notch on the stem as though there has been a further spurt of growth. This is evident on the early eleventh-century carved stone found in St Paul's churchyard, which sports what appears to be a foliating dragon. That has the almond eyes that were popular in Scandinavia at the time and which can also be seen at Melbourne.

Southwell Minster's Chapter House is well known for its exceptionally natural carvings of foliage, created in or around the year 1290. As innovative as they must have appeared, they drew on the realistic sculptural style introduced at Rheims and Sainte-Chapelle in the middle of the thirteenth century.⁴⁴ There are several heads in spandrels amongst a profusion of oak, bryony, vines, hawthorn, ivy, ranunculus, potentilla, roses and maple. Not all of them are foliate heads; some are heads that look out through garlands of leaves or through branches. Eight foliate heads have been identified in the Chapter House, as well as one by the south door of an earlier date (which has already been commented on and shown at fig. 11), and another on a misericord. Of the eight, two of them reveal more than just the head, but not much more. One of them disgorges ranunculus from a wide-open mouth. Two birds of an unknown species stand at the bottom right and left of the image, largely shielding the man's clothing from view. He has a thick neck as though he was a manual worker, and a short fringe of hair suggesting that he might be a tonsured monk. The other head also includes a neck and some of his upper garments are visible. Ivy exudes from the right-hand side of his mouth and he has a tortured expression. Three birds inhabit this carving - again, not identifiable - but one of them appears to be a chick being lifted by its

⁴⁴ David Watkin, *English Architecture, a Concise History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1997), p. 55. The only architectural drawings which include foliate heads found so far are from Rheims too and are by Villard de Honnecourt who was active c.1220 to c.1240. These also show heads with necks and a suggestion of clothing. Carl F. Barnes Jr, *The Portfolio of Villard De Honnecourt* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 216.

scruff by an adult bird which might indicate renewal of life as in a new generation being born.

Also at Southwell Minster, but in the main choir, is a misericord of about 1300 which shows a whole figure issuing vigorous foliage, probably a stylised acanthus, from each corner of his mouth. Unusually in England, the supporting and central images on the misericord are related; observation shows that it is common for there to be little or no narrative connection between them. In this case, however, the central figure of the man is where the corbel should be and the foliage forms the supporting images, but are directly linked to him physically and in terms of the narrative. The figure is seated. He wears a full-length robe, shoes and possibly a close-fitting cap. His knees are apart and he has his hands firmly on his knees, elbows outwards and knuckles touching. The foliage coming from both corners of his mouth is a stylised hawthorn, the two leaves of which are bigger than the figure - again, unusually, because the supporting images are normally smaller in size than the main one.

The foliate head at Elstow has already been described under ear-disgorgers. At Much Marcle there are five foliate heads on friezes round the tops of columns, four of which include a neck and a suggestion of shoulders and clothing skilfully indicated by two or three carved lines. They all disgorge stylised foliage from their mouths. At Battlefield, rich folds of cloth are gathered round the neck of the disgorging foliate head.

One of the most well-known foliate heads is in Winchester Cathedral where they have a total of fourteen, most of which are in the stalls carved by William of Lyngwode in 1308. This is one of the few times that a specific date can be attached to medieval workmanship because of a letter that exists from Bishop Woodcock of Winchester to Bishop John Salmon of Norwich, asking that Lyngwode be excused his annual duty for fear that he

would not return to finish the job he had begun in Winchester cathedral.⁴⁵ This particular carving (fig. 32) is on the screen behind the stalls and is one of a series of fighting men who fit into the spandrels of the screen on the north side of the choir. They are all armed with short swords and minute shields which could have no practical value at all, but which have the air of stage props. Centerwall's exploration of a connection between the Crowcombe bench ends and whifflers has already been considered; it may be that these figures are likewise connected to clearing a way for pageants and street drama to take place. The man is very well dressed, displaying eight small buttons on each cuff, so he is not meant to be a peasant, and he may be wearing boots in a style similar to one of the neighbouring non-foliating fighters. The shape of the spandrel has obliged the carver to put him in a semi-crouching position, as though about to spring up, which is in keeping with his eager glare. Close-by, a head with a long neck is wedged into another spandrel, the neck filling the downward point of the triangle. He has his head tipped right back with mouth wide open and some eight good teeth visible, allowing abundant foliage to flow upwards from him into the rest of the space. Both figures have luxurious, thick hair that is worn with a short fringe and a central parting. The hair falls down over their ears into large coils which could not possibly be natural. They appear to be portrayals of the same man, but it is not possible to tell if he is one and the same as the fighting non-foliolate head figures because those are wearing what may be balaclava-like head-gear.

⁴⁵ M. J. Callé, *The Misericords of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester: Friends of Winchester Cathedral, 1994), pp. 3, 31.



Fig. 32: Winchester Cathedral 1308



Fig. 33: Dennington, Suffolk c. 1330

The Dennington foliate heads are a source of fascination. There are three relevant carvings in this church, two which are foliate bodies; one of these has been discussed under ear-disgorgers. The example illustrated at fig. 33 is of definitely a woman not only because of the scene depicted, but because she is wearing a wimple, a headdress most likely to have been worn by a religious lady or one of some social status. The flowers issuing from her breasts may be peonies which, in paintings of the Virgin Mary, indicated a rose without a thorn.⁴⁶ Whether or not this image qualifies as a foliate head is debatable, although it follows the principle of plant-life being dispensed from the body, in this case in a very nurturing way as would be expected if she represents Mary.

Although the majority of foliate heads are human, it is not always possible to assign gender to them.⁴⁷ Some of the faces are very smooth such as that at Podington in Bedfordshire (c. 1250). It is the only foliate head in the church and is situated on a nave corbel. It has arched eyebrows and a small, rose-bud lipped mouth. Rope-like tendrils grow from the underside of the nose, ending in stylised leaves curling up and under the ears. It has curly hair, but it is not possible to say if it is long and drawn back or ear-length. Other heads

⁴⁶ C. Fisher, *The Medieval Flower Book* (London: British Library, 2007), p. 92.

⁴⁷ A total of 684 of the 1,172 heads are human which constitutes 58.4%.

have a feminine air about them as at Much Marcle, Herefordshire (*c.* 1300), mentioned above. One in particular has two deeply incised lines which, at first sight, might indicate breasts. Closer inspection shows that some of this is owing to the curve of the capital it decorates and some is probably to signify a high-quality tunic neckline. The face is young and smooth, but the hair forms a short fringe and then appears to hang to the shoulders which was a male style at the time, as can be seen from misericord carvings of the period, for example in Worcester cathedral, Ripple, Worcestershire and on a bench end in Ixworth Thorpe in Suffolk.

Apart from Dennington, the only other definitely female head has been found at Lansallos, Cornwall (1490) (fig. 34). This is on a bench end of a type that is typical of the west country and which has Breton influences; it is carved in low relief, the convoluted design taking up the whole of the rectangular panel that forms the end of the pew. In this case, the head is part of a male/female couple, but the male is not foliating. The couple are seen in profile, the woman facing east (the bench end is on the north side of the nave). She has a long nose and appears to be looking down it, but perhaps it is at the single, dainty stem that comes out of her mouth, the stylised leaf or bud curling up so that it is almost level with her eyes. The fact that it is heart-shaped might indicate a courtship. She has an exuberant but elegant headdress of single tendrils looped to make bow shapes and she also wears a striking necklace of large beads. Her torso below the necklace is somewhat stylised, as is the man's, but the patterns reflect those of her hat, if that is what it is meant to be. The man wears a triple-pointed foliate hat of a stylised nature and has his mouth open as though in speech.



Fig. 34: Lansallos, Cornwall, 1490



Fig. 35: Tewkesbury Abbey, c.1400

The head of around the year 1400 on a transept corbel in Tewkesbury Abbey (fig. 35) has been painted gold with some red markings. It is human and looks slightly upwards in a dynamic way. The mouth is open with teeth showing and thick stems exit from each corner. Large stylised leaves enclose the head, giving an impression of a sketchy tiara. The face is masculine having heavy features and the short fringe often found on carvings of tonsured monks, but the top part of the torso looks feminine, the light showing plainly that there is some modeling of breasts. This may be intended to show a somewhat mannish woman but it may be that the carver has merely been clumsy in the way that he has finished the bottom part of the corbel.

Two certain examples of women amongst 1,172 heads is only 0.17%, a negligible amount, even given the few borderline cases. Nonetheless they show that the name of Green Man is not appropriate since there are green women. Three hundred and eighty-four (32.79%) of the heads are grotesques, seventy-three (6.23%) are hybrid monster-people and thirty (2.56%) are identifiable animals, giving a total of four hundred and eighty-seven or 41.58% of the total where gender is not applicable. In this analysis it appears that gender can be of only minimal importance, but it is interesting that two very different carvers in

different centuries and almost in opposite parts of England chose women for a foliating role. Not one example of a foliating child or baby has been identified so far.

Other foliate heads that have been carved to show more than the head are perhaps less significant. At Broughton in Oxfordshire (*c.* 1350) there is one already noted under Mouth Disgorgers which has a single, large and droopy leaf coming out of one side of its mouth only. The other side is obscured by its right hand, index finger pointing up along its cheek. The head is tilted back so that nothing can be seen of its hair (if any) and no details of clothing have been added. Hands are also in play on a roof boss in Norwich cathedral cloisters where there are several examples of foliate heads. In this one a wide-eyed, bearded face looks out from comparatively recently restored gold foliage. The cloister bosses were repainted in the 1930s and in 1992 the Courtauld Institute reported that no original paint remains.⁴⁸ He is both a disgorging and transformer in that stems come from the corners of his open mouth and grow from his eyebrows. Two tiny hands, far too small for the size of the face, grip the lower fronds and a small amount of cuff can be seen, now painted green. Although this dates to *c.* 1400, there are elements of the Scandinavian gripping beast about it. At Lincoln cathedral a lion-like grotesque on a misericord of about the same date has two feet showing beneath its mighty head. They are not lion paws, being rather bony with distinct joints showing and nor does it have lion ears. Two stylish but stylised branches come from each corner of its mouth, the centre of which is taken up by its long, smooth tongue.

⁴⁸ Rose and Hedgecoe, p. 15.



Fig. 36: Brant Broughton, Lincolnshire, c. 1400

A last foliate body is at Brant Broughton, Lincolnshire (c. 1400) illustrated at fig. 36. This is also a one-off in that no others have yet been found playing a musical instrument. The leaves are neither being disgorged and nor is it necessarily transforming into foliage, because it is the hair that has become greenery in a symmetrical mane. The face is serene, the lips slightly parted and concentration appears to be focused on the instrument which may be some kind of truncated bagpipe which he holds at the bottom.⁴⁹ Although thin arms and a meagre upper body can be seen, there has been no attempt to indicate dress. Brant Broughton hosts eleven heads in all, seven of them are roof bosses that have been restored using gold paint. The other heads could be said to be routine in that they either disgorge or transform in a more standard manner.

Having examined this particular group of heads in some detail, it becomes clear that there is no traceable thread that connects them. Carvers seem to have been given a free hand in tackling their subject matter and, naturally, some have been more imaginative than others. Only one - at Lincoln - chose to depict a monster rather than a human being but there are other foliate heads, which will be considered next, that are wholly or partly identifiable animals. Why grotesques were overlooked in this particular genre is yet another mystery surrounding the heads in general. It would have been easy to deploy them, especially if only

⁴⁹ A similar pipe has been found on a bench end at Honington in Suffolk.

a hint of the whole beast was required, but perhaps the medieval carvers did not want to dress monsters in clothes.⁵⁰ It is noticeable that there is a lot of energy around the ones which show more than just the head; words like 'vigorous' and 'dynamic' have been used several times. It is also clear that where clothes are visible, they seem to be of good quality with buttons in rows, boots, folds in the cloth and occasionally a fancy neckline. This in turn suggests that the images are high status, an idea borne out by the fact that foliate heads in general are to be found in every cathedral that had the status of cathedral before the Reformation, which applies across Catholic Europe. If they were high status then it follows that they were important, an essential part of the Church's message. The problem lies in discovering what this message might have been.

ANIMAL DISGORGERS

Only thirty heads have been found that are reasonably identifiable animals, and these include two twelfth-century beasts on a tympanum Fritwell (Oxfordshire) where elephant-like creatures disgorge what appear to be whole palm trees. There are also a few heads, such as those at Ardington, also in Oxfordshire which share an early fourteenth-century corbel with (in this case) a lizard and lion, but it is not the animals that are foliating. All of the foliating animal heads are disgorgers, presumably so that the carver could better show which animal was being portrayed, although they did not necessarily show the whole animal.

There was both a liking for, and interest in, the symbolism of animals, whether real or imaginary as seen by the number of bestiaries that survive, the presence of figures from Aesop's fables on prestigious works such as the Bayeux Tapestry and the quantity of

⁵⁰ This is unlikely since the C14th Luttrell and Macclesfield Psalters are full of examples of clothed grotesques.

animals shown in medieval art, whether church carvings, murals or manuscripts. There was certainly an affinity between man and beast which was rightly seen as being crucial for survival, although accounts show that an animal's worth was graded according to whether it would be used in war, for farming, or only as food, with the war-horse being valued the most highly.⁵¹ Attitudes towards animals are revealed, for example, by laws going back to the ninth century which required owners to take responsibility not just for their welfare, but for controlling them. The laws of Alfred the Great decreed that an owner who fed a dog that had been defined as being vicious had to pay double the penalty if it then attacked someone.⁵² Perhaps oddly, it was believed that animals had no soul and therefore could not progress to heaven; oddly because so many animals are used to help tell the Christian story, but Thomas Aquinas had said that animals lacked intellect and therefore could not have been made in God's image, arguing that if man had that honour, then animals could not. If man achieved his place in paradise he would have no further use for food, so Aquinas said that there would be no further need for the presence of animals.⁵³

Nine different types of animals have been found amongst the foliate heads but it is not clear why these particular ones were chosen. There are no foliating apes, deer, falcons, foxes, goats, horses, rabbits or unicorns (and many others), all animals which either played an important part in survival, the economy, war or the imagination. The lack of apes is intriguing since they are the closest in form to mankind and are regularly portrayed on misericord carvings and elsewhere, usually parodying an element of society. In frequency of appearance, the foliating beasts shown are ten dragons, six dogs, four cows, three lions, two possible elephants, two weasels, one sheep, one pig and one possible wolf (see Table 5).

⁵¹ J. E. Salisbury, *The Beast Within: Animals in the Middle Ages* (London: Routledge, 1994), p. 34.

⁵² Salisbury, p. 38.

⁵³ Salisbury, p. 44 & p. 76.

The table reveals that there was no particular part of the country that preferred foliate heads to be in animal form. The ones examined for this survey are spread across twenty-one sites in fourteen counties, reasonably evenly distributed from west to east. Whilst it appears that they may have been exclusive to the southern half of England, reports have been received of sightings in the north which will be investigated at a later date. Those that date from the Romanesque period are stylised as may be expected, so that whilst the creatures at Hinton Parva and Fritwell are certainly animals, sometimes a best guess has been taken as to precisely what sort. Over a third (eleven) were found on the outside of churches ranging from string courses, to tympani and doorways, whilst the remainder were found in every part of the interior with the exception of the sanctuary. Six were found in chancels whether on a frieze or, more frequently, on misericords and one was at the chancel arch of Stoke Dry. Two of the earlier ones were found on fonts with the most recent of them being on a late-medieval font cover, showing no qualms about one of the seven sacraments being exposed to beasts. The foliating animals will be considered chronologically within species groups.

| Date | Church | County | Location | Animal |
|------|------------------|---------------|----------------------|-----------|
| 1000 | Hinton Parva | Wiltshire | Font | Wolf? |
| 1100 | Stoke Dry | Rutland | Column face | Lion |
| 1150 | Pipe Aston | Herefordshire | Exterior tympanum | Dragon |
| 1150 | Pipe Aston | Herefordshire | Exterior tympanum | Dragon |
| 1150 | Pipe Aston | Herefordshire | Exterior tympanum | Dragon |
| 1150 | Pipe Aston | Herefordshire | Font | Dragon |
| 1150 | Fritwell | Oxfordshire | Exterior tympanum | Elephant? |
| 1150 | Fritwell | Oxfordshire | Exterior tympanum | Elephant? |
| 1240 | Wenlock | Shropshire | Chapter House frieze | Dragon |
| 1240 | Wenlock | Shropshire | Chapter House frieze | Dragon |
| 1250 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Misericord | Dog |

| | | | | |
|------|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------------------|--------|
| 1260 | Stone-in-Oxney | Kent | Spandrel, choir screen | Dragon |
| 1300 | Over | Cambridgeshire | Exterior string course corbel | Dog |
| 1300 | Over | Cambridgeshire | Exterior string course corbel | Cow |
| 1300 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Crossing roof boss | Cow |
| 1350 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Nave corbel | Dog |
| 1350 | Great Waldingfield | Suffolk | Exterior west porch corbel | Dog |
| 1350 | Wye | Kent | Exterior string course corbel | Pig |
| 1397 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcestershire | Misericord | Weasel |
| 1397 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcestershire | Misericord | Weasel |
| 1397 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcestershire | Choir bench end | Sheep |
| 1400 | Southwold | Suffolk | Exterior west door spandrel | Dragon |
| 1400 | Weston Longville | Norfolk | Screen | Dragon |
| 1400 | Abbotsbury | Dorset | Nave corbel | Dog |
| 1400 | Dunchideock | Devon | Nave roof boss | Dog |
| 1400 | Bristol St Mary Redcliffe | Somerset | Frieze capital south transept | Cow |
| 1400 | Holt | Wiltshire | Exterior string course corbel | Lion |
| 1400 | Lincoln Cathedral | Lincolnshire | Misericord | Lion |
| 1450 | Sampford Courtenay | Devon | Chancel frieze | Dragon |
| 1533 | Rotherfield | Sussex | Font cover | Cow |

Table 5: Incidence of foliating animals

The most prevalent of the foliating animals is the dragon, of which ten examples were found spread across the centuries and counties. Dragons were universally popular but are also the most difficult to interpret, even given the medieval penchant for opposite meanings depending on the context and for riddles inside riddles. Rebold Benton has described them as ‘ancient creatures that could be made to serve medieval religious concepts’. No one had ever seen a dragon even though they were held to be real creatures, so carvers and artists could let their imaginations fly.⁵⁴ Dragons could be used to make dramatic points, for example when they feature in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles. The entry for the first Viking attack in Britain which was at Lindisfarne in AD793 reads:

⁵⁴ J. Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie: Animals in the Art of the Middle Ages* (London: Abbeville Press, 1992), p. 47.

There were immense flashes of lightning and fiery dragons were seen flying in the air [...] and in the same year the raiding of the heathen miserably devastated God's church in Lindisfarne island by looting and slaughter.⁵⁵

St Michael slew the seven-headed dragon in the Book of the Apocalypse whilst other dragons attacked by him were defeated and sent down to Hell.⁵⁶ St Margaret of Antioch variously hacked her way out of a dragon's stomach after it had devoured her, or used a cross which grew so large that it split the dragon's belly.⁵⁷ Beowulf defeated the dragon in its lair and there are numerous tales concerning valiant heroes conquering such threatening and ferocious animals.⁵⁸ They are supposed to be harbingers of misfortune (as in the Viking raids) but also symbols of vainglory and overweening pride.⁵⁹ It is noticeable, though, that carvings of dragons are not uncommon on corbels at archways such as at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. This is not a foliating dragon, but it appears to have been placed where it could guard the sacred end of the church which implies that they could also be seen as a force for good if harnessed. Other normal (non-foliating) dragons have been found in similar positions elsewhere in the country; they could be guardians or they could be warnings against falling into sin. Whilst doing the fieldwork for this survey and visiting numerous churches, it was noticed that of all the many general monsters seen, the dragon was omnipresent, so much so that there are even different types of dragons such as wyverns or basilisks. Perhaps it should be no surprise that there are more foliating dragons than any other species because of their popularity in medieval art.

Four mid-twelfth-century ones were found at Pipe Aston in Herefordshire, three on a split lintel supporting an exterior tympanum and one on the font. Given the way in which the

⁵⁵ Swanton, pp. 54 And 56.

⁵⁶ The Apocalypse 12:3.

⁵⁷ Metford, p. 167.

⁵⁸ *Beowulf*, trans. by Seamus Heaney (New York & London: W. W. Norton & Co., 2008), lines 2558-2706.

⁵⁹ *Bestiary*, trans. by Richard Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 183.

pattern is laid out, it is likely that there were originally four on the tympanum, but the left-hand corner is too eroded to be certain. The rest of the tympanum has been restored within the last century and shows an Agnus Dei within a circle supported by the Evangelist symbols of Ss John and Luke. Unidentifiable zoomorphic figures inhabit the border and the whole thing is enclosed by what would have been a deep chevron pattern. The dragons only appear on the left-hand side of the lintel; there may be more on the right but, again, it is too eroded for positive identification.

The three remaining dragons disgorge each other in a cheerful manner. Each serpent-like beast consists of several tight granulated coils with narrow heads and wide, snapping jaws. They have the almond-shaped, bulbous eyes often seen in Scandinavian carvings and one of them is double-headed (a head being at both front and back). The energetic way that they disgorge each other almost makes them look as though they are exuding fire, not monsters, which was probably the idea. Unfortunately no trace of colour remains but, had reds and yellows been used, it would have made an impressive and terrifying entrance, certainly showing the dragons being used to ward off any evil that might try to reach above them to the Lamb of God. That said, they have been tamed, without doubt so that they could be put to work for Christianity. The Bodleian *Bestiary* tells us that the dragon's power does not lie in its fiery breath or its teeth, but in its tail and that this is to do with deceit because it is unexpected.⁶⁰ If the dragon's tail has been looped, it can no longer use it as a weapon because it has been neutralised. A foliating dragon with a tail that has not been made safe has yet to be found, although the straight-tailed dragon associated with foliate heads at Woodbury has already been mentioned under Ear Disgorgers.

⁶⁰ Barber, p. 183.

At Pipe Aston, the dragon on the font is less aggressive in nature. Unusually for this period the font is tiny, having a diameter of approximately fifteen inches but, if it began life as a capital (which is possible), it has been skillfully hollowed. The whole design is taken up by two amiable-looking dragons, one of which disgorges a hefty tendril and leaf whilst the other looks as though it is breathing fire. The fire-breather is upside-down, denoting that it has been conquered, whilst the foliating one hovers triumphantly above it, its head hanging down low.⁶¹ Both animals have the bulbous eyes observed on the tympanum. The message conveyed by such a scene on a font seems clear: the fire-breather represents the sin within the individual that will be defeated by the foliating dragon of Christian baptism, perhaps breathing out a spirit that will engulf and convert the pagan.

Two appealing dragons are found in the ruins of the Chapter House of Wenlock Priory, a Cluniac foundation. From what remains, it appears that the Chapter House was sumptuously decorated but mainly with patterns and interlocking blind arcades; there do not seem to have been many figures included in the scheme. Both the dragons are small and are found decorating engaged capitals. They have large, somewhat serious heads with coiled, granulated bodies ending in an out-sized, stylized leaf; the whole bodies and leaves appear to issue from their mouths, so that they disgorge themselves and foliage although that may be an effect of being exposed to the elements.

The design of the beautifully-carved dragon found on the stone screen behind the choir stalls at Stone-next-Dartford in Kent is the reverse of the Wenlock Priory ones (fig. 37). It is a two-legged dragon whose body forms a circle; it looks back over its shoulder sucking on the foliage which grows from its looped tail. Elegant foliage also sprouts from its head and the far side of its mouth. The image is in the chancel, looking west although its

⁶¹ Tisdall, p. 70.

body and feet face eastwards. The stylized leaves thrive, so perhaps the once-pagan animal feeds on the Christian foliage.

A reptilian dragon climbing inside a spandrel on the west door at Southwold is less ambiguous (fig. 38). It has spiky wings, claws and scales and is in every way repellent except for the dainty tendrils coming from its open mouth. The leaves are held carefully between sharp teeth and are certainly foliage, not fire. The position of such a menacing creature would have given a message to those about to enter that they must be on their spiritual guard, and the fact that it is foliating suggests something gentle and different to be found within the building, something to be dealt with with care and respect.



Fig. 37: Stone, Kent C13th



Fig. 38: Southwold, Suffolk c.1425



Fig. 39: Weston Longville, Norfolk, C15th

An exquisite, small dragon can be found on the screen at Weston Longville, Norfolk (fig. 39). This Apostles Screen shows the twelve apostles each holding a scroll with the verse

of the Creed attributed to them, an idea which began in the fifth century and, a millennium later, was popular on screens especially in Norfolk and Devon.⁶² There is not room for the whole Creed to be broken down into twelve sections and displayed in full on the screen, so the verses have been abbreviated but some words have been placed elsewhere. Elsewhere the fillets are filled with peonies and daisies, being symbols of Mary, the dragon being the only exception to that scheme across the whole screen. Richard Lyon had this C15th screen made as we know from the inscription *Ricardi Lyon qui opus fieri fecit*: the dragon blows foliage at the word *fecit* which implies that he at least was not averse to such an image so close to what stands as his memorial. In this instance the dragon is in the fillet directly above St Matthew who holds the words: 'He descended into hell; the third day He rose again from the dead' which may be coincidence, or may reflect Richard Lyon's hopes that one day he too might rise from death.

The last and most recent foliating dragon is at Sampford Courtenay in Devon. It is not dissimilar to the Southwold one in that it holds the foliage carefully between impressively sharp teeth. It crawls along a frieze in the chancel and this time is heading eastwards without looking back unlike its counterpart at Stone-next-Dartford. The foliage is a stylized vine, complete with looping stems and grapes which the dragon could be said to be gently pushing towards the altar where it will become the Eucharistic wine. It has folded its wings down to form pleats, but that is probably a device the carver has used to make it fit the

⁶² Metford, p. 32.

long, narrow space but, even so, the impression is of a dragon which has been harnessed by Christianity, its ferocity and strength made tender.

All of the dragons have been tamed or contained and remarkably few are fierce, even though one or two sport spikes and savage-looking teeth. The ten examples are spread across three centuries but the symbolism probably remained the same which is presumed to be that even the wildest and most unlikely of the people might be saved if they turned to Christianity, that people should be on their guard against spiritual dangers at all times and that no harm could get past the dangerous guardians of the essence of Christianity. Why the foliage was needed is less clear unless it was to make the point that destructive and aggressive fire had been turned into something recognisably non-threatening which represented life.

The earliest of the six foliating dogs is on a mid-thirteenth-century misericord in Exeter cathedral. It is somewhat stylized but has pricked-up ears and an alert expression. The carver has made it appear that the animal's head is emerging from a hole in the ground, its mouth wide open to allow a thick stem of notional foliage to burst forth. The foliage breaks into additional shoots which curl over the entire space available to the carver. This is an unusual misericord design but made in the early days of the craft: the Exeter misericords are the oldest complete set in this country.⁶³ A later format in England was for the misericord to be divided into three parts with the central corbel hosting the largest and main story. Two smaller images can be found on either side of the corbel, sometimes with supporting images (hence they are known as the supporters) but more often with images that are entirely unrelated to the main narrative. This is peculiar to English misericords; on the Continent it is rare for there to be any supporting image at all.⁶⁴ The Exeter misericord in question is a

⁶³ G. L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), p. 34.

⁶⁴ Remnant, p. xx.

hybrid of two styles as the dog's head is on the bottom-left of the design, causing foliage carved in deep relief to spread across the rest of the space available. The leaves may be a stylised form of the fleur-de-lys; types of foliage will be discussed later in this thesis.



Fig. 40: Over, Cambridgeshire, c.1300

Of the six dogs, the most life-like is that at Over in Cambridgeshire where some twelve foliate heads adorn the string course that runs round the outside of the church (two more are inside) (fig. 40). They are interspersed with tightly-closed ball-flowers. The dog is seen face-on with tendrils coming from each side of its open mouth and looks similar to a modern labrador with softly drooping ears; it is assumed to be a talbot, a long-eared hunting dog known for its keen sense of smell.⁶⁵ The Great Waldingfield dog in Suffolk is also seen face-on. It has an apparently fretful expression, peering out from substantial leaves and is part of a series of corbels that decorate the outside of the west door. Two of the others in this church are also foliate heads, but human.

A rather different disgorging dog from that on the misericord is situated at the bottom of an elaborate nave corbel in Exeter cathedral. The dog is long-eared and probably another talbot. As on all of the Exeter corbels, the foliage rises vigorously and encloses other figures, in this case an angel playing a viol immediately above the dog. Directly above the angel is a man falling downwards, his arms flailing. The most plausible interpretation is that he represents Simon Magus. He was a magician who was baptized but then fell from grace by

⁶⁵ Tisdall, p. 64.

attempting to buy what he thought were magical healing powers held by the apostles.⁶⁶

Although he repented, he is usually shown in the act of falling. The dog, in this case, would represent the faithful convert who did not behave in such an unacceptable way.

The two remaining foliating dogs are both in the west country and date to *c.* 1400 and are both seen in profile. The one at Dunchideock in Devon is one of the two known examples on which the foliage rotates around the head in an anti-clockwise direction. The animal is seen looking upwards with what could be said to be a joyful expression. Were it not for the outline of the ears, the nose shape and the teeth the animal could be mistaken for a human; repainting has rendered its skin pink which confuses the image. The stylized vine coming from the centre of its mouth has been coloured a florescent jade (including the grapes) whilst one leaf has been covered in gold leaf. The Abbotsbury dog in Dorset crawls around the top of a capital in the nave whilst a quantity of stylized foliage comes from its open mouth. No colour remains on this carving and it was the only foliate head found in this church.

Whilst the dogs form the largest of the groups of known animals, six seems a low number given the close working relationship and bond between man and dog. Dogs symbolise faithfulness. They were believed to be wise, brave and faithful. The *Cambridge Bestiary* mentions a Roman dog that accompanied its master to prison and howled when he was executed, refused food but took it to his master's corpse.⁶⁷ The author of the early-thirteenth-century Bodleian *Bestiary* is full of praise for dogs, describing how they know their names and love their masters.⁶⁸ He discusses their keen sense of smell that is such a

⁶⁶ Acts 8. 9-24.

⁶⁷ H. B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art* (New York: Continuum, 2006), p. 139.

⁶⁸ Barber, p. 72.

help in hunting, and how a dog's tongue will heal a wound if it licks it.⁶⁹ This is sometimes taken to be an analogy of sinners healing their spiritual wounds when they lay them before the priest (or lick them) during confession.⁷⁰ In this context the foliage could symbolise the words of the sinner seeking salvation.

Hunting was a key part of medieval life, whether for sport or food, and it was here that the relationship between man and hound thrived whether the dogs were tracking or chasing: so much so that the Dominicans were known as the Hounds of the Lord (*Domini cane*) as a pleasing pun that also reflected their sniffing out of new recruits.⁷¹ Nonetheless, dogs were still animals, useful and faithful, but no more than that. The value of a person was far above that of any animal so that, for example, one tooth from someone of the lowest class was equal to a valuable hunting dog.⁷² They were also vilified in the Bible where fools are said to return to folly in the same way that a dog goes back to its vomit.⁷³ That being so, any dog in church art could remind the congregation of both good and bad points, and foliating ones could reinforce either vomiting folly or soothing confession.

There are four foliating cows in the survey: a clearly-defined one on the string course at Over already discussed; a recently re-painted one on a roof boss at the crossing point in Rochester Cathedral; an elegant, gilded one on a nave roof boss in St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, and a horned one on a font cover at Rotherfield in Sussex where it disgorges stylized fish in the Breton manner often found in the west country. The Rotherfield one was made at the time of the Reformation in 1533. These have all been called cows, but it may be that they were intended to be bulls or even oxen. Cows were important in the middle ages, although

⁶⁹ Barber, pp. 74, 76.

⁷⁰ Tisdall, p. 62.

⁷¹ D. Kempf & M. L. Gilbert, *Medieval Monsters* (London: British Library, 2015), p. 50.

⁷² Salisbury, p. 36.

⁷³ Proverbs 26.11.

they never gained the respect and standing found in the Hindu faith, perhaps strangely since they provided meat, milk, leather and vellum. In Europe they were used as labouring animals too.⁷⁴ Oxen had higher status, the winged ox being the symbol of St Luke and they were symbols of strength and achievement. Teams of oxen were common sights in the fields and on the numerous building projects. At Laon, the master mason and people were so impressed by the beasts toiling up the hill with countless cartloads of stone for the cathedral that they honoured them forever by making sixteen, or two teams of, life-size sculptures that look out from the towers over the plains surrounding the city to this day.

Foliating cows may, of course, be merely chewing grass but the leaves are large and sometimes stylized; at Rochester they are so large that they may be cabbage. No explanation comes to mind as to why they should be expelling foliage unless it is the whim of the carvers. It has been shown that at Over there is a life-like dog as well as a cow, and a jovial-looking animal looks down from Rochester cathedral's roof, whilst the two at Bristol and Rotherfield are much more sophisticated which perhaps reflects the worth of animals taken to market nearby.

Foliating lions may be easier to interpret, which makes it remarkable that so few have been found: three in total at Stoke Dry, Holt in Wiltshire and in Lincoln cathedral. The winged lion is the symbol of St Mark, but in this context other interpretations may be more helpful. Physiologus wrote a collection of tales about animals, not all of them real, in the third century AD and the lion was first on his list. He described it as covering its tracks by swishing its tail to mislead hunters and thus Christ hid himself until he was born to the Virgin Mary. The lion also sleeps with his eyes open so that he is ever vigilant and it was said that lion cubs were born dead until the father-lion breathed life into it on the third day, a

⁷⁴ Salisbury, p. 57.

clear reference to the Crucifixion and Resurrection.⁷⁵ The foliage coming from the lions therefore may represent the new life being breathed into the cub.

The three lions are very different from each other. The two later ones both date to about 1400; one is a corbel on the exterior of Holt and the other is a misericord in Lincoln cathedral. The corbel offers a gentle-faced lion which has sufficient foliage for it to form a head covering. The misericord reveals a lion head with a tightly-curved mane and enormous quantities of foliage coming from its mouth.

The Stoke Dry lion is the most interesting and also one of the oldest in that it was carved *c.* 1100. It is shown at fig. 41. It is on the northern column of the chancel arch, facing into the nave and it teems with carved life. Near the base, a crocodile swallows a hydrus just below the somewhat cartoon-cat lion disgorging foliage - its jaws are visible immediately underneath the lion's back paws. There is a man caught in the branches at the top and below his right hand, a second disgorging face can be seen (circled).



Fig 41: Stoke Dry, Rutland *c.* 1100

⁷⁵ *Physiologus*, trans. by M. J. Curley (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), pp. 3-4.

Because the crocodile lives both on land and in water it represents not only the dual nature of man, but also the necessity of passing through death to life.⁷⁶ The hydrus is supposed to roll itself into a ball, slip down the crocodile's throat and then eat its way out which is taken to be an analogy of Christ descending to hell and rising again.⁷⁷ The whole of the column that is not taken up with livestock or human faces is a mass of intertwined, entangled branches, showing a Scandinavian influence. The story to be read here is about Christ's Passion and ultimate resurrection, the last part being denoted by the foliating lion breathing life into the whole scene.

There is a possibility that there are two foliating elephants on a tympanum at Fritwell, Oxfordshire. This is disputed by Tisdall who thinks that they could equally be a panther and a lion but, in fact, they are not any definitely identifiable animal, although it can be said that they are four-legged beasts with heads, tails and eyes. They were carved around the year 1150 which was before any elephant was seen in England.⁷⁸ That may be germane because many animals were misrepresented in art forms because they relied on reports from those who had travelled and seen them. An animal on the upper border of the Bayeux Tapestry, for instance, is not immediately recognisable as being a camel. Curious ideas about elephant care and habits come from bestiaries, some of which likened them to Adam and Eve and others to Christ.⁷⁹ Both these ideas would make sense for having such beasts over the door of a church, not least because they are foliating branches that are nearly as large as themselves. The branches have been variously identified as palms (which they do resemble)

⁷⁶ Tisdall, p. 57.

⁷⁷ Tisdall, p. 134.

⁷⁸ An elephant arrived in England in 1255, a gift from Louis IX to Henry III. Remnant, p. 36.

⁷⁹ Barber, pp. 41-42.

or Trees of Life. Palms are symbols of victory over death and therefore of martyrdom so any figure disgorging them would be part of the Christian story.⁸⁰



Fig. 42: Wye, Kent, c.1350

One foliating pig was found, a somewhat cartoon-like representation on a string course corbel on the outside of the church in Wye in Kent a place where, coincidentally but appropriately, there was later to be a school of agriculture (fig. 42). The pig is seen face-on with thriving, stylized leaves issuing from under its snout. There is another foliate head nearby but that is a more normal head which disgorges vigorously and wears a small hat. Pigs were (and sometimes still are) associated with gluttony, lust, selfishness, obstinacy and ignorance so this head could be there to offer moral guidance to the locals; its position on the church's west end renders it visible from what is now the main road and was close to the market area then.⁸¹ Swine were both unclean in themselves and in their spirits in the Bible. The dietary laws laid down in Leviticus 11.7 and Deuteronomy 14.8 forbade the eating of pork, but that did not apply to Christians in the west; indeed pork was a more popular meat than lamb, although that may have been because it was better suited to being preserved to off-set winter hardship.⁸² Despite this potentially life-saving quality, the pig was

⁸⁰ Metford, p. 188.

⁸¹ Werness, p. 329.

⁸² Salisbury, p. 58.

occasionally despised. They like to wallow in mud, they are unlovely and their hides were too coarse and thick to be made into parchment; one of the reasons that a boar was held to have no fear of death was because they were supposed to have a natural shield of hard flesh on their right sides, which they presented to hunters.⁸³ Pigs did not get much endorsement in the New Testament either. In the Sermon on the Mount, Christ exhorted the people not to cast pearls before swine ‘lest perhaps they trample them under their feet, and turning upon you, they tear you.’⁸⁴ St Peter compared false prophets and hypocrites to sows which had been washed, but which straightaway went back to wallow in mud.⁸⁵ The gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke all tell the story of the Gadarene swine in which evil spirits were summoned from, variously, one or two possessed men and transferred to a herd of about two thousand swine which then ran down a slope to a lake or into the sea where they drowned.⁸⁶ The pig is an attribute of St Anthony Abbot, representing the temptations against which he struggled.⁸⁷ The foliage pig at Wye is much too genial to be possessed by evil spirits, even if the foliage was supposed to stand for their departure, so it may be a message about morals or a simple marker that the market was nearby, although this has not been found in any other market town so far. Tisdall notes that in medieval iconography the boar represented numerous sins, so a hunter should be read as a priest chasing out sin.⁸⁸ If that is so, then the foliage could be the pig’s confession as has been seen with the dog.

Only one foliage sheep has been found so far and this is on a bench end in the choir stalls of Worcester cathedral. Numerous farming scenes are illustrated on the cathedral’s

⁸³ Werness, p. 49.

⁸⁴ Matthew 7.6.

⁸⁵ 2 Peter 2.22.

⁸⁶ Matthew 8.28-32, Mark 5.11-13, Luke 8.32-33.

⁸⁷ Dom Basil Watkins, *The Book of Saints: A Comprehensive Biographical Dictionary* (London: A and C Black, 2002), p. 49.

⁸⁸ Tisdall, p. 35.

misericords which were made in 1397 so the sheep fits in with the overall scheme. Given the value of the sheep to the economy whether for food or milk, but more importantly for wool and parchment, one might expect more to have been found, but very few sheep of any kind, foliating or not, are in English churches. This is despite their playing a supporting role in several biblical stories connected to Christ. Shepherds were told of his birth in Bethlehem and Christ himself is referred to as the Good Shepherd.⁸⁹ Sinners are occasionally referred to as sheep (presumably because there were so many of them) but Christ rejoiced more over the one out of a hundred of them that was rescued than over the ninety-nine that did not stray in the first place.⁹⁰ A foliating sheep could well represent a sinner who has been saved, as has been seen with other animals. The foliage associated with the Worcester sheep is too abundant to be grass being chewed. The leaves reach right back behind its ears and are probably a stylised hawthorn.

Another ambiguous animal was found on the font at Hinton Parva, Wiltshire, thought to date to *c.* 1000, which would mean that it is the second-oldest foliate head in the country found so far (see figs. 43 and 44). This will be analysed on the assumption that it is a wolf.



Figs. 43 and 44: Hinton Parva, Wiltshire *c.* 1000

⁸⁹ John 10.11, Hebrews 20.13.

⁹⁰ Matthew 18.12-13.

Two views of the font have been shown and the ‘wolf’ can be seen looking back over its shoulder whilst it could be said to be walking up a vertical pole. In fact, the image has merely been turned on its side to make best use of the space available. The looking-backwards motif is not uncommon in Scandinavian art and has already been seen, for example, at Stone-in-Oxney where a dragon does the same. The wolf fascinates because it looks so like man’s best friend, but is very much more dangerous. They are reckoned to share many of a dog’s qualities being intelligent, fiercely protective and loyal to the pack, but they are also treacherous; the proverb describes someone deceptive as a wolf in sheep’s clothing. This is a biblical reference from Matthew 7:15 which shows the wolf as deceitful because we are warned to beware of false prophets ‘which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.’ Wolves are shown biting their paws on the lower border of the Bayeux Tapestry and on at least one misericord carving (in Faversham); this is thought to be to punish itself if it steps on a twig that cracks which could alert hunters to its presence.⁹¹ It is therefore indicative of their cunning. The Bodleian *Bestiary* describes their ruthless savagery and thirst for blood and, interestingly, says that they cannot bend their necks backwards (the Hinton Parva animal rotates its head, rather than bending it backwards).⁹² There are several animal-figures present, but the wolf is the only one that is foliating, the vegetation again being in a Scandinavian style. If it is a wolf, its presence on a font is probably to show how rapacious greed can be conquered by baptism, but in some traditions the wolf can act as psychopomp.⁹³ This means that - like dolphins and otters - one

⁹¹ Tisdall, p. 260

⁹² Barber, p. 69.

⁹³ Becker, p. 435.

of its roles is to guide the deceased person to the afterlife: a pagan or Classical idea adopted by Christianity.

The other figures on the font are easier to define. There are two cockerels which either represent a warning not to deny Christ as St Peter did, or signify vigilance to be awake enough to see the coming of the Messiah.⁹⁴ Indeed, the wolf looks directly down at one of the cockerels which might imply that it is a pagan is about to convert, which would make the font an appropriate place for it to be placed. It has not been possible to identify the species of the third bird, although it may be a dove which would fulfil Christ's promise in Matthew 10:16 when he says: 'Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves' which is an appropriate sentiment for a font.

The serpent has several interpretations according to context: it can be temptation because of its role in the Garden of Eden or it can be medicine because of Moses' rod.⁹⁵ It is also associated with Christ's resurrection because it sheds its skin and this is the most likely reason for its being on a font. There are fish present which are symbols of Christ, featuring in many New Testament stories, some of the apostles being actual fishermen as well as being recruited to be fishers of men.⁹⁶ The rebus ICHTHUS is the Greek word for fish, but it can be read as *Iesous Christos Theou Huios Soter* (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour), which became almost as popular an emblem as the cross, especially in years of persecution.⁹⁷

As with other foliating groups, no geographical pattern is readily identifiable; it seems that they were placed as randomly as any other carving. The fact that the later animals were easier to define than the earlier is not unexpected because of the Romanesque tendency

⁹⁴ Barber, p. 173.

⁹⁵ Exodus 4.2-7.

⁹⁶ Matthew 4.18-19, Mark 1.16-17.

⁹⁷ Metford, p. 100.

towards stylised images. Although thirty examples is a small fraction of the corpus (2.56%), the fact of choosing animals to be the foliating subjects may be significant. It certainly speaks of a close relationship between man and nature, even allowing for over a third of them to have crossed the line into what modern eyes may see as a world of fantasy, but what medieval man identified as real animals. The Bodlean *Bestiary* has one hundred-and-thirty-five sections of which twenty-eight deal with non-existent animals and birds (just over 20% of them). Bestiaries routinely dealt with monstrous and fictional creatures as though they were real.

The idea that the foliage being disgorged could represent the Word of God was held to be dubious earlier in this essay when Mouth Disgorgersd were being examined, but there may be other issues with the foliating animals. Some of the potentially savage animals hold the tendrils so gently that it seems that they might be nurturing them. This is especially noticeable with the dragons and some of the dogs and leads one to wonder if the carvers were trying to make the point that there is some essence of God within all beasts and that it must be cultivated. Aquinas' teachings disputed that animals had any soul or spirituality at all and he was influential certainly in the thirteenth century. Or it could just be the savagery of non-Christian behavior that has been tamed in some way. Or perhaps, again, this is merely the whim of the medieval carver.

GROTESQUE, MONSTROUS AND HYBRID FOLIATE HEADS

The word 'grotesque' is being used for convenience despite its being anachronistic because it was not invented until wall-paintings of monsters were found in grottos when excavations took place outside Rome in the sixteenth century.⁹⁸ Prior to that the words

⁹⁸ Onions, *Etymology*, p. 416.

'fibula', 'curiositates' or, more likely, 'babuini' might have been used. Chaucer described a building embellished with monsters as being decorated with 'subtil compassinges, pinnacles and babewyns.'⁹⁹ Hybrids have been counted with the grotesques because, whilst they may look human at first glance, they then turn out to have animal ears, inhuman eyes, horns or too stylised a face. An example is at Barnham Broom in Norfolk (fig. 45) where there is a smooth-faced head dating to about 1400. It has three separate leaves, possibly of oak, coming from the centre of its mouth. Its human identity is undermined by misplaced ears (too high up and too curly) and a pair of short, pan-like horns.



Fig. 45: Barnham Broom, Norfolk c.1400

The decision as to which group some of them belong has been subjective, some being borderline. There are three hundred and eighty-five grotesques amongst the heads plus seventy-three hybrids, making a total of four hundred and fifty-eight or 39% of the whole number, a significant proportion which adds more evidence to the submission that the name of green man is misplaced.

Much has already been said concerning grotesques, not least the Victorian difficulty with acknowledging them, but this may not have been peculiar to their time. St Bernard of

⁹⁹ From which comes the word, 'baboon'. Onions, p. 67. Camille, p. 12.

Clairvaux's wrote a well-known diatribe against any embellishment in churches that might distract a worshipper from his prayers.¹⁰⁰ In the Apologia written for Abbot William of Saint-Thierry in 1124 Bernard rails against monstrous images of all types. He asked:

'what can justify that array of grotesques in the cloister where the brothers do their reading, a fantastic conglomeration of beauty misbegotten and ugliness transmogrified? What place have obscene monkeys, savage lions, unnatural centaurs, manticores, striped tigers [...]? You can see a head with many bodies and a multi-bodied head. Here is a quadruped with a dragon's tail, there an animal's head stuck on a fish. [...] With such a bewildering array of shapes and forms on show, one would sooner read the sculptures than the books, and spend the whole day gawking at this wonderland rather than meditating on the law of God. Ah, Lord! If the folly of it all does not shame us, surely the expense might stick in our throats?'

Aelred of Rivaulx (1110-67), another Cistercian monk, took up St Bernard's point, adding 'So it is that even in cloisters of monks you find cranes and hares, does and stags, magpies and ravens [...] None of these things are at all expedient for the poverty of monks, but feed the eyes of the curious.'¹⁰¹ He added that people felt they had been 'banished from paradise' if there were 'no awe-inspiring candles, no splendour of gleaming metal' which he felt demonstrated weakness of mind although this was a Cistercian tenet. The first monks of Cîteaux laid down that God's house should be 'empty of anything redolent of pomp or superfluity', eschewing vestments and ornamentation on altar cloths.¹⁰² Their opinion was not universally shared. St Bernard's friend, Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis, believed that a church should be gorgeously decorated to the glory of God using as many precious metals as possible.¹⁰³ This was anathema to St Bernard who observed that the richer a place appeared, the more likely people were to donate to it; his focus was on monastic personal poverty

¹⁰⁰ *The Cistercian World: Monastic Writings of the Twelfth Century* ed. and trans. by Pauline Matarasso (London: Penguin, 1993), p. 57.

¹⁰¹ Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Mirror of Charity*, trans. by Elizabeth Connor OCSC (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications Inc, 1990), Book II.24, p. 212.

¹⁰² *Cistercian World*, p. 8.

¹⁰³ Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: Longman, 1988), pp. 24-26.

whilst Suger sought to raise funds in order to raise a church.¹⁰⁴ Abbot Suger was the prime mover behind the re-working of the choir of the abbey church which includes at least one foliate head on the west façade. The consecration of this building in 1144 was a catalyst in the spreading of Gothic architecture, a ceremony attended by many churchmen including St Bernard.

There are regional differences in the interpretation of Bernard's idea but it is unusual to find human faces, animals or monsters in Cistercian churches, an exception being at Abbey Dore (Herefordshire). It is normal for Mary to be the only saint to be commemorated in stone or other carvings because their churches were routinely dedicated to her. The Rules of St Augustine and St Benedict which are the mainstay of these monastic Orders do not give any advice or ruling on the decoration of buildings and nor do they comment on the making of images. They are both concerned with how the individual monk presents himself in terms of dress and demeanour, and they both state that the purpose of the oratory should be respected and that it should be frequented only by those who wish to pray, rather than by those whose presence is distracting because they are not there to pray.¹⁰⁵ St Bernard would not permit any such disruption, whether human or artistic, but it went deeper than that. St Bernard's correspondent, William of Saint Thierry, suggested that the act of seeing changed the inner person so that the sight of something monstrous might put his spirituality at risk. This takes the inclusion of the monstrous in carvings or holy books to a different intellectual plane. It is presumed that that level of thinking was not common amongst clerics because the presence of multitudes of monsters is testimony to their general acceptance, although it could equally indicate the daily spiritual battle joined by holy men such as St Anthony

¹⁰⁴ Bernard of Clairvaux, p. 65.

¹⁰⁵ *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, p. 86 and *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, trans. by R. Canning (New York: Image Books, 1986), p. 15. Parry, pp. 21-29, 82, and Canning, pp. 16, 13.

Abbot, a fourth-century ascetic who lived largely in self-imposed solitude. He endured physical assaults by the devil who appeared in monstrous form, along with other fiends.¹⁰⁶ This is a scene much depicted in paint and carving, whether on a capital at Vézelay (c.1100) or by Michelangelo c.1487, although none of the protagonists are foliating.

It is hard to know the effect the medieval carvers sought when they created monstrous images, foliate head or otherwise. They may have wanted to horrify which must be the case at Tilton-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire or at Moulton in Lincolnshire where all the heads date from around 1400. At Tilton-on-the-Hill the image is the more horrible because it sports a mirthless grin which reveals fourteen slab-like, splayed teeth. It transforms into foliage and disgorges an incongruously dainty leaf from the centre of its mouth. The whole image has been rendered within a lozenge shape (it is a roof boss) and whilst, in many ways, it is similar to the head at Ashton Keynes (see fig. 48 below), there is nothing affectionate or inviting about it. Other heads, such as the Moulton one, have been made all the more repulsive by repainting in scarlet and gold so that its two sharp fangs seem to drip blood. It is not known when this was done or if it reflects medieval paint found in situ.

Some of the most uncomfortable grotesques to encounter are the hybrids, possibly because they can be recognisably human in part; this type of monster was held to be particularly abhorrent by Isidore of Seville who declared a human with deformities that are not at first apparent to be underhand.¹⁰⁷ The sinister example on the Goddard family tomb (c.1450) at Aldbourne in Wiltshire is a case in point. Here the head looks human at first sight (fig. 46). A second look reveals two horn-like attachments which grow from furrows on his forehead. His trumpet-like ears are too high and too round for a human. Parts of his

¹⁰⁶ Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Michael Walsh, 2nd Edn. (Tunbridge Wells: Burns and Oates, 1956), p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ 'But an unnatural being strictly speaking takes the form of a slight mutation, as for instance in the case of someone born with six fingers.' Isidore of Seville, XI.iii.6, p. 244.

complexion are deeply pitted as though it should sprout whiskers, but this includes his bulbous lips. The effect has been enhanced in the last century by the judicious adding of painted eye make-up, but he looks ferocious and as though he has had to be tied to the wall by the sturdy stylised foliage which leaves the corners of his closed mouth.



Fig. 46: Aldbourne, Wiltshire c.1450



Fig. 47: Newark, Nottinghamshire 1524

The hybrids are an interesting, albeit small, group comprising 6.23% of the whole number. It is possible that the hybrid is supposed to combine the powers associated with their various parts.¹⁰⁸ In this way a monster that is made up of several elements might have, if appropriate, the courage of a lion and the strength of a bull and sometimes artists used joint figures so that they could express two contrasting themes.¹⁰⁹ One of the Bestiaries describes a creature called a leucrota which is an amalgamation of a stag, a lion and a horse but, instead of teeth, it has a continuous bone.¹¹⁰ This particular book does not go on to explain the animal's use or to make moral points about it, but the type of description would allow later writers to use it as an exemplar if they wished to talk about something being as fleet as a stag, as brave as a lion and as strong as a horse. Composite creatures could also

¹⁰⁸ H. B. Werness, p. 230.

¹⁰⁹ Tisdall, p. 47.

¹¹⁰ Barber, p. 61.

represent opposite sides of an argument.¹¹¹ Again, it is not thought that this is part of the foliate-head-story because the majority of the hybrids are merely men with animal ears. One of these, a 1524 misericord carving at Newark, Nottinghamshire (fig. 47) could equally be a court jester because the ears may be part of a costume and not relevant in which case he should not be classified as a hybrid. Perhaps it is surprising that there are not more foliating hybrids as Rebold Benton notes that western artists were the most inventive of any individual or group of artists in the middle ages - as chief witness she particularly cites the extraordinary, not to say crazy, beasts that inhabit the voussoirs surrounding twelfth-century tympani.¹¹² It is also true that although there are some half-man, half-beast heads that interact with foliage, no cases have been found of foliating whole hybrid creatures: for example no foliating unicorns, mermaids, harpies, satyrs, tritons or centaurs have yet been found.¹¹³

Monsters in general were held to have been created by God, as opposed to having been solely the product of carvers' imaginations. Medieval man had an ambivalent relationship with monsters which often stood for what endangered stability and security. If they represented one's innermost thoughts, the carving of a monster could be a way of controlling that thought by bringing it out into the open. The thought/carving could be placed in the care of God by situating it in or on a church.¹¹⁴ On the other hand, they could look very charming. Their significance and nature were debated, some deciding that they showed God's endless diversity and others saying that they were against nature.¹¹⁵ The idea that the

¹¹¹ Rebold Benton, p. 18.

¹¹² Rebold Benton, p. 20.

¹¹³ Given the quantity and range of monsters in general, it is unlikely that the medieval carvers would have had a rush of realism. Instead they may have decided that those creatures would be unsustainable because one half of a centaur would have died of old age long before the other half, even though this had been pointed out by Lucretius in the first-century BC. Rebold Benton, p. 26.

¹¹⁴ T.K. Beal, *Religion and its Monsters*, p. 5.

¹¹⁵ Kempf & Gilbert, p. 5.

grotesque had God's approval made the debate sensitive; if you dismissed them as figments of imagination, would you be offending God? On the other hand, perhaps they were warnings from God as to what might happen if you went against His word? Or were they meant to invoke compassion, a very real possibility since not all grotesques or monsters are repulsive. A child that was born deformed was sometimes held to have been the result of hybridisation but, St Augustine of Hippo argued, even if that monstrous behaviour had occurred, if God allowed the birth then the infant must be descended from Adam and was therefore valid.¹¹⁶ A monstrous birth might also be the result of other socially unacceptable behaviour; for instance, the Beowulf monsters, Grendel and his mother, were described as being descended from Cain, a man who killed his own brother.¹¹⁷ The range of these debates is the more intriguing because none of the carvers can possibly have met the monsters they made in real life, but only seen them in their imagination or in other people's work and yet, as Woodcock points out, monsters are set into the very fabric of the church via architectural sculpture.¹¹⁸

It is true that encountering grotesques can produce strong emotions, so that people might react with laughter when they feel shocked by a physical deformity or something that disgusts them.¹¹⁹ Or perhaps they wanted to make a moral point; part of the medieval artist's job was to influence public behaviour, hence the themes on the church of St John the Baptist in Cirencester or in Chester cathedral, for example, where repulsive, reptilian animals eat wrong-doers.¹²⁰ It has been suggested that the grotesque can be used to control or exorcise demonic elements in the world.¹²¹ It is not thought that this is the specific function of

¹¹⁶ Salisbury, p. 148.

¹¹⁷ *Beowulf*, lines 102-107 and 1260-1263.

¹¹⁸ Woodcock, p. 69.

¹¹⁹ Thomson, p. 9.

¹²⁰ Rebold Benton, p. 59.

¹²¹ W. Kayser, *The Grottesque in Art and Literature* (Indiana: Bloomington Press, 1963), p. 18.

monstrous foliate heads simply because there are too many that are either passive, benign, cheerful or sometimes, rather beautiful. Human nature being what it is, it seems possible that the more horrible the grotesque, the more the carver enjoyed experimenting with his work.

There again, perhaps they hoped to amuse as may be the case at Ashton Keynes in Wiltshire where there is a transforming head dating to about the year 1400 on a string-course on the outside of the building.¹²² (fig. 48)



Fig. 48: Ashton Keynes, Wiltshire c.1400

It has bulging eyes and a snub nose, but any unpleasantness is reduced by a ridiculous clown-like grin and cumbersome stylised foliage, the overall effect of which is rather endearing. The fashion for this entertaining type of grotesque may have come from the artists who worked on manuscripts such as the Luttrell or Macclesfield Psalters, both of which were created in the first half of the fourteenth century. The Luttrell Psalter in particular offers a seemingly endless procession of increasing bizarre, but often engaging monsters, some of which are foliating.

Assessing depictions of medieval monsters makes it apparent that the artists and carvers were conscious of the dichotomy: monsters were bad, sometimes representing the devil, but could be charming and mischievous too. A manuscript held by the J. Paul Getty

¹²² A decorative, horizontal course, usually projecting from the facade. Lucie-Smith, p. 35.

Museum shows St John trying to write the Book of Revelation whilst a distinctly non-threatening devil-monster teases him by trying to steal the ink-pot.¹²³ This, again, brings us to the conclusion that nothing specific can be learned by trying to interpret the grotesqueness of foliate heads. Assessing them by degree or style of monstrosity does not help to explain the genre and foliating grotesques form a minority within the overall group.

BLOOD-SUCKER FOLIATE HEADS

A survey was made of foliate heads by date. It has already been observed that precise dating is often impossible so where a head is thought to have been, say, *c.*1500, it has been counted with those of the sixteenth century. The results can be seen at Table 6 and in more detail at Appendices B and C.

| Years | Number of foliate heads |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1000-1099 ¹²⁴ | 12 |
| 1100-1199 | 206 |
| 1200-1299 | 65 |
| 1300-1349 | 164 |
| 1350-1399 | 149 |
| 1400-1499 | 436 |
| 1500-1534 | 140 |

Table 6: Incidence of foliate heads by date

The numbers have been shown for whole centuries except for the fourteenth which has been split to indicate the numbers before and after the arrival of Black Death; it may appear that more were carved in the earlier fourteenth century than later, and it also seems that the fifteenth century saw their peak. They went out of favour as an art-form in the thirteenth century having enjoyed a brief surge in the twelfth. The liking for them did not

¹²³ Kempf & Gilbert, p. 62.

¹²⁴ The head at Dolton has been counted as being *c.*1000, although it may be as old as *c.*800.

abate in the early-sixteenth century since - on the face of it - there are proportionally more from those thirty-four years than there are from 1350-99. A problem with this type of assessment is not being able to be specific about the dates. Two hundred and fifty-two were listed as being *c.*1400. Were it possible to prove that they were carved just before the turn of the century the statistics would look very different. There would then be four hundred and seven made between 1350 and 1399 and only one hundred and eighty-four between 1400 and 1499 and that could lead to very different assumptions about what triggered their creation. It can be said that a total of four hundred and forty-seven came from the three hundred and fifty years leading up to plague, whereas seven hundred and twenty-five were made in the one hundred and eighty-six years after it, which is a significant increase. It can also be said that they were coming back as an art form at the same time that the population was suffering disastrous reverses, whether through famine or a general insufficiency of food. In the face of this misery, comfort of a sort may have been found in foliate head carvings.

A particular group known as blood-suckers exists within the corpus which constitutes only 0.68% of the whole.¹²⁵ These are shown at Table 7 and they are all disgorging heads which issue foliage from their eyes along with at least one other orifice, usually the mouth but, in the case of Ottery St Mary, the nose as well (fig. 49). Although disgorging from the eyes has been discussed, the blood-suckers are distinct because the foliage blinds them, giving an impression that it is actually growing from within the skull. Only one of them (Spreyton. fig. 50) is a stand-alone foliate head; the others all have at least one foliating companion, albeit not necessarily a blood-sucker.

¹²⁵ It is not clear when and how this term was coined. Several church guardians used it in conversation but were unable to say when and where they first heard it. The guide book to Ottery St Mary refers to the image as having all senses dulled in sleep on p. 14.



Fig.49: Ottery St Mary, Devon 1345 onwards



Fig.50: Spreyton, Devon 1471

Peter Tavy is the only place where there are two along with nine normal foliate heads. They are a phenomenon found predominantly in the south-west and west whilst two are in Lincolnshire (it is understood that more can be found in other Devon and some Cornish churches). No explanation has been found for this other than local fashion. They cannot have been carved by one person and nor are they similar enough to have come from the same workshop. The heads are all human and in varying stages of decay ranging from the cadaver-like ones at Ottery St Mary and Axbridge to the apparently healthy at Crediton and Spreyton. The two examples at Peter Tavy are highly stylised.

| Date | Church | County | Location | |
|------|----------------|--------------|---------------------------------|---------|
| 1345 | Ottery St Mary | Devon | Lady Chapel corbel | Fruit |
| 1400 | Crediton | Devon | Nave corbel | |
| 1400 | Marston | Lincolnshire | Nave screen corbel | |
| 1450 | Axbridge | Somerset | Nave roof-boss | Painted |
| 1471 | Spreyton | Devon | Chancel roof-boss | Crown |
| 1484 | Stamford | Lincolnshire | Corpus Christi Chapel roof-boss | |
| 1500 | Peter Tavy x 2 | Devon | Screen | |

Table 7: Incidence of blood-sucker heads

An earliest-possible date of 1345 has been assigned to Ottery St Mary because the main building of the church was completed in 1342 with the Lady Chapel - the site of the

foliate head - being added a few years later.¹²⁶ It is likely that it was made c.1350. This head was repainted in the twentieth century and it is not known if any original colour remained to guide the restorer's hand. It is currently cadaver-white and issuing gold stylised leaves from all orifices. The leaves are accompanied by equally stylised fruit which is taken to symbolise the culmination of life. A similar fate befell the roof-boss at Axbridge although there the restoration occurred in the 1880s. At Crediton a comparatively young face seems almost to be slumbering on a nave corbel whilst a haggard, elderly head is part of a stone screen in Marston. Stamford hosts a gilded blood-sucker roof-boss in the Corpus Christi chapel whilst the crowned head at Spreyton is found on a roof-boss in the chancel. The remaining ones are on a wooden screen at Peter Tavy. In common with other aspects of foliate head-carvings, there is no obvious pattern in their position or style. Their date is of interest if the Ottery St Mary example was made after 1348 because that means that they all post-date the arrival of the plague commonly known as Black Death in England when there was inevitably an increased interest in portraying death, perhaps as a way of coming to terms with it. Hayman believes that Green Men are 'the medieval equivalent of dead men pushing up daisies', which is especially graphically illustrated by the cadaverous heads sprouting what he sees as a ghastly foliage.¹²⁷

These few heads may help with an overall interpretation simply because they are cadavers which exude life. It has been noted before that no matter what the date, style or situation of the head, the foliage is always living and indeed, it is often vigorous. No example has been found where that is not the case and they are sometimes accompanied by fruit, new leaves or berries. It may be that the increase in numbers of them in churches indicates that they served as counselling tools in the face of sudden death: whoever looked at

¹²⁶ Whitham, p. 4.

¹²⁷ Hayman, 'The Green Man' in *British Archaeology*, p. 17.

them might understand that, whatever their short-term fate, in the long-term life (eternal life) would come out of them just as the leaves issue from the heads.

TRANSFORMERS

A last group to be considered contains heads where leaves seem to grow out of any part of the face so that they could be said to transform into foliage. The split between disgorging and transforming foliate heads is very roughly four-fifths versus one-sixth, the shortfall being taken up by those which both disgorge and transform. Only one hundred and sixty-seven (14.26%) of the 1,172 heads transform into foliage with seventy-one (6.01%) doing both. This is surprising because the transformers are certainly the more artistic of the two groups and they are also the oldest world-wide, some pre-dating Christianity.

A cast taken from the leaf mask of one of the capitals now walled up in Trier cathedral reveals what would now be known as a transforming foliate head. This is one of the Roman capitals salvaged by Bishop Nicetius for the cathedral of Trier in the sixth century, but the head originally dates from the first half of the second century AD. In her book, *The Green Man*, Basford illustrates a further eight examples geographically as far apart as the Lebanon and Mesopotamia and the south of France, and dating from the second and third centuries AD; there are no disgorgers amongst them. Early foliate heads have been seen by the author in Odessa, Amasya and Istanbul. The very oldest found was at Amasya (fig. 7) and, if that is a true example, it is also the only one that is disgorging. A good transformer was found in the same museum, this time dating to BC 30-AD 395 which was used as a theatrical mask, although no further information was forthcoming. Two were found on coins in Odessa in the Ukraine, both around the fourth century BC and several in the

Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, Turkey of *c.*500. These last ones were a group of four decorating the top of a pillar, the original context of which is not known. A large mask with an acanthus beard was found amongst the mid-sixth-century mosaics in the Great Palace, also in Istanbul, and a mosaic was found on a gable at Herculaneum where it appears to have been placed by restorers (fig. 8). This city was founded in the sixth-century BC and destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in AD79 so its dating is imprecise, but these images show that the foliating and transforming head was current in what would now be termed the Middle East and Europe.

It might have been expected therefore that the earliest foliate heads in England would be transformers, but this is not the case. The two oldest heads of any type found so far are both on fonts and are disgorgers. One is a crude, goggle-eyed head which spews clumsy branches in Dolton, Devon (possibly as early as 800, but 1000 at the latest).

The other is at Hinton Parva in Wiltshire (*c.*1000) and is an animal, already considered. Heads that survive from the Romanesque period are all disgorgers with the exception of a corbel in the nave of Stanton Harcourt in Oxfordshire where there is a single head shown at fig. 51. It has been substantially whitewashed, but it is still clearly a round-eyed face which has a discreet leaf leaving its mouth whilst also growing foliage from its forehead and under his nose - possibly this is meant to be a transforming moustache and this is also the oldest example found so far of a head that is both disgorging and transforming, a fashion which did not otherwise come into being until the early fourteenth century.



Fig. 51: Stanton Harcourt, Oxfordshire *c.*1150

Unexpectedly, only fourteen of the transformers have identifiable leaves, most of which were on misericords as at Winchester and Over and almost half were oak. They tend to have artistic, usually lobed leaves as might be expected to make a pleasing image. Many of them transform into stylised geometric shapes, as on the *c.*1400 roof bosses in Durham cathedral cloisters or morph into an overall mask with lobed edges as on the roof bosses at Quethiock in Cornwall (1500) which is a very common pattern.

The transformers form such a small group that it is possible that, when they were carved, they were not considered to be connected to the theme or message attached to the disgorgers (whatever that may have been). The reason for thinking that the two types of heads might be linked is that seventy-one both disgorge and transform. These are not found in isolated cases and nor are transformers: it is common to find foliate heads of all types under the same roof and of the same date, such as at Bristol, Chester, Durham, Exeter Hereford and Norwich cathedrals, or in the parish churches of Handley in Cheshire, High Bickington in Devon, Pinchbeck in Lincolnshire and Clare in Suffolk, to name but a few.



Fig. 52: Winchester Cathedral 1308 Fig. 53: Norwich Cathedral Cloisters C14th

Despite the small numbers of transformers compared to disgorgers, it is almost always this type that is found on modern pub signs, presumably because they are attractive (see figs. 52 and 53). As some of them have striking, distinctly male faces, these may well have helped spread the stories already discussed about Jacks-in-the-Green and May Day festivities connected to trees. The Norwich boss has been recently restored which may account for his slightly cross-eyed appearance, but it is this intent stare from an apparently real person hidden in leaves which may be read as a visualising of the soul of the tree that often appeals to the more romantic writers. Despite the greater numbers of disgorging heads, it is the transformers that come most readily to mind when the subject of Green Men comes up in conversation. None of the transforming heads have any other clues attached to them. They do not appear as part of a scheme or suite of images on a font or tympanum, for example and it may be that they represent the carvers' desire merely to create an artwork. An artist-acquaintance of the author once commented that if he drew a lobed leaf, the temptation to include a face within it is very great.

CONCLUSION TO CHAPTER TWO

In this section an investigation of the various types of foliate heads has been undertaken. They have been found to be mainly disgorgers with about a fifth of them being

transformers or a combination of disgorgers and transformers. Nearly two thirds have been human, but it is not thought that gender is relevant to the discussion. The disgorgers have foliage of all types coming mainly from the mouth, but also from the eyes, nose and ears and sometimes a combination of those places. There are twenty-five cases where the whole body, or part of the body, is included and thirty which are animals. Some of them display teeth and tongues, but every single one of them interacts with foliage to some extent.

In a limited number of cases the foliating head belongs to an identifiable animal and it seems that these might offer useful interpretive clues because the symbolism of the specific creature might influence the overall meaning. These animals have ranged from dragons and a pig to dogs, a wolf and a cow. In some places such as Stoke Dry and Hinton Parva, there have been associated images which have helped to construe possible meaning. It is noticeable that each of these has reaped a positive interpretation in terms of eternal life and the resurrection of the body, which could also apply to the so-called blood-sucker heads.

The variation of design of the 1,172 foliate heads under discussion is remarkable. Some may be lifelike, if not actual portraits, whilst the majority are non-specific, monstrous or abstract. It was not uncommon for ideas to travel via carvers or pattern templates, but there are such differences that this does not seem to have happened as often as one might expect. It has not been obvious, for example, that a particular carver with a distinctive style has worked in a particular area. What must be important is the fact that so many images have been found (and there are hundreds more not included in this study) that feature a disgorging or transforming head. Therefore it mattered to whoever commissioned them, and therefore they must have been held to be for their own good and the good of all the Church and people. It is further assumed that an interpretation connected to resurrection and eternal life is likely to be correct.

CHAPTER 3: TYPES OF FOLIAGE ASSOCIATED WITH FOLIATE HEADS

PLANT TYPES

Having considered various types of head, it is appropriate to take the foliage into account. Some of the heads are distinguished by particular types of foliage and/or headdresses. Out of 1,172 foliating heads only two hundred and twenty-six (19.3%) have identifiable leaves, but these constitute the main variations on the theme of a disembodied head interacting with usually stylised foliage. There are some other exceptions, such as the head that plays pipes at Brant Broughton and the animal and whole-body-disgorgers which have been discussed. It would be natural to assume that the particular species of leaf would be significant in the interpretation of the heads and there may be cases where this is true. This chapter will examine the types of foliage and its possible symbolism, but it should be born in mind that four fifths of the heads are adorned with stylised greenery of no recognisable species.

Twenty-eight varieties of plants have been identified: a list of them is at Appendix F which has been organised alphabetically by plant type. It also shows dates, churches and sites within the church. Identification cannot always be made with confidence because the carvers seemed to enjoy adding decorative features that make no sense within species type. For instance, there are distinct rose-hips on the bench end at Bicknoller (Somerset), but the leaf that accompanies them is not that of the dog-rose, and is closer in kind to ivy - it does not seem to be hawthorn which also bears hips, but of a more rounded type. In this case the carver, Simon Werman, signed his work. Werman's work can be found in several Somerset churches, usually depicting everyday farming scenes as at Bicknoller and Kingston. None of

the animals in these scenes were rendered correct in every particular and there is no reason to suppose that his plants were either, indeed an unidentifiable bird dines off one of the hips. There are other places, such as in the Chapter House of Southwell Minster, where it has been possible to be specific and where leaves belonging to maple, bryony and potentilla have been recognised by Pevsner, although they are not all on foliate heads.¹ A note of caution has to be sounded about the naming of leaves in this survey because it has not been possible to take substantiating factors into account such as the bark or height of the tree and Pevsner warns that although the leaves are accurate portrayals, this does not apply to scale since they have all been carved to the same size; they are therefore decorative and not a scientific record.² It seems that the Southwell carvers were not working from nature, but copying from a pattern book - the composition of one of the capitals is exactly the same as another, albeit a mirror image whilst the rose is not a true wild-rose from the hedgerows, but cultivated and less natural.³ There is a much stylisation in their craft, so it has often been hard to decide if a leaf was intended to be hawthorn, mugwort or acanthus, for example. Some maple leaves have been rounded in their finish so that they look more like that of the guelder rose or even a single ivy leaf, so it appears that many carvers simply decided to create artistic leaves, recognisable as foliage, but not of any specific type. These have been listed on the database as 'stylised' and are not included on the list at Appendix F.

Medieval carvers recognised the artistic potential of deeply dissected leaves and there are very few that are not lobed, the most notable example being on a misericord carving in Beverley, St Mary (shown at Fig. 58 under Headdress). Here a youthful man wearing a distinctive hat looks downwards as though in thought. Two large, single leaves exit the

¹ N. Pevsner, *The Leaves of Southwell*, p. 22.

² Pevsner, p. 20.

³ Pevsner, pp. 30, 34.

corners of his mouth. The leaves are straight with pointed tips and smooth edges, the veins clearly marked. In the absence of further evidence, it has been decided that they are rose bay. Other leaves match more exactly, but they belong to plants that would not have been known in the north of England in 1445 when the head was carved. This may not matter if the carver was working from a pattern book. It is worth noting that the two supporting images on this misericord are also foliate heads whose leaves are completely stylised, as are the grotesque-like heads that expel them, an example of the medieval ability to mix reality with the fantastic.

Of the 1,172 examples, nine hundred and forty-five (80.7%) of them are impossible to categorise. This is not because of absent corroborating evidence, but because they are of a completely fictional type. Of those two hundred and twenty-six heads with foliage that could be identified, eighty-six were also in a stylised form, most commonly the vine. Thirty-two examples of vines were found, of which twenty-five were stylised and only identifiable because they were accompanied by somewhat chunky and unrealistic-looking grapes. Therefore the most popular plant-type to be found associated with hundreds of heads across England is stylised. It is not unusual for specific plants to be in the same location as stylised ones. Attempts to carve plants from life - or close to it - were made across England, probably depending more on individual skill than on commission. The earliest recognizable plant type on a foliate head was a stylised vine with grapes discovered at Rous Lench, Worcestershire and carved *c.* 1140. Only five heads with discernible leaf-types dated to the Romanesque period, three of them being vines at Rous Lench (just mentioned), Kilpeck, Herefordshire (1150) and Brabourne, Kent (1150). The remaining two are both on a tympanum at Fritwell, Oxfordshire (1150) which are believed to be palms issuing from the mouth of two monstrous, elephant-like beasts which have already been discussed. It is not surprising that

the majority of distinguishable leaves are after the year 1200 because of the Romanesque and Scandinavian enjoyment of stylised forms with elongated figures, exaggerated outlines and features that are out of proportion. Even moving into the Early English period, plants tended to be shown in what is termed ‘stiff leaf’.⁴ This type of carving is characterised by plant heads that look like buds, sometimes with petals curled around them.⁵ They generally droop from thick vertical stems as though they have heavy heads, or they might be scattered liberally along exterior string courses as at Over in Cambridgeshire where these ballflowers are the link between numerous corbels. It was not until the Decorated period that a liking for naturalism appeared, probably first seen in quantity at Rheims cathedral which influenced others right across Europe, not least Westminster abbey, then being rebuilt at the behest of Henry III. The work on this church was crucial in spreading the new style in England; not only was it exquisite in its form, but it had the favour of the king.⁶ That said, there had long been an interest in compilations of material on herbs and other plants going back to Dioscorides, a Greek military physician of the first century AD. His work was routinely copied by writers across the Catholic west.⁷ During the thirteenth century there was an increased awareness of natural history which manifested itself in the production of herbals: books that gave pictorial and written information about plants and their uses, predominantly in medicine.⁸ An impetus for this was the interest shown by the Emperor Frederick II in the mid-thirteenth century who wished to show things as they are. Described as being ‘a man of extraordinary culture, energy and ability’, Frederick encouraged the development of

⁴ Alex Woodcock, *Of Sirens and Centaurs: Medieval Sculpture at Exeter Cathedral* (Exeter: Impress Books, 2013), p. 23.

⁵ N. Pevsner, *Pevsner's Architectural Glossary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), p. 120.

⁶ Woodcock, *Of Sirens and Centaurs*, p. 25.

⁷ Minta Collins, *A Medieval Herbal, a Facsimile of British Library Egerton MS 747* (London: The British Library, 2003), p. 7

⁸ Collins, p. 11

scientific interest in Sicily and southern Italy, an area which produced several herbals, not least one created *circa*. 1300 and now held by the British Library.⁹ This lists four hundred and ninety-two plants with their variations, with only eighty-six of them not being illustrated as well as a plethora of insects, fish and even an elephant on folio 9^r. Many of the illustrations (especially that of the elephant) are not accurate in every detail, but the majority of plants are nonetheless largely recognisable, for example the prickly lettuce on folio 56^r and the peonies on 72^v.¹⁰ These manuscripts were widely circulated and it is unlikely to be a coincidence that some of the more realistic and accurate representations of plants began to appear at sites such as Southwell at the end of the thirteenth century (fig. 54).

The five most popular identifiable plants are:

| | | |
|----------|----|---------------|
| Oak | 58 | (1250 - 1524) |
| Hawthorn | 54 | (1200 - 1500) |
| Vine | 32 | (1150 - 1534) |
| Maple | 15 | (1290 - 1400) |
| Acanthus | 10 | (1300 - 1484) |

(The dates indicate the earliest and latest examples found).

Some of these were stylised, nonetheless. No correlation has been found between the plant type and the geographical area. Some examples were accompanied by the fruit, whether acorns, haws or grapes. In some cases plant types will have been chosen for symbolic reasons. The oak is the most common tree in England, so its leaf would be the best known and it is often taken to be a sign of strength and steadfastness. The Latin word *robur* can be translated as any hard wood, oak, strength, power, courage or resolve.¹¹ Twelve of the examples of oak included acorns which indicates a renewal of life and could be taken to stand for resurrection and, indeed, some authorities claim that the Cross was made from

⁹ Detwiler, Donald S., *Germany, a Short History* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1999), p. 43

¹⁰ None of the illustrations reveal a foliating head.

¹¹ *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, ed. by J. Morwood (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 120.

oak.¹² The oak is more likely to remind the viewer of the potency of the Church and Christianity in general.

The hawthorn is more problematic. On one hand it was a symbol of virginity because of the pure white may-flowers.¹³ On the other hand the flowers' putrefaction-like scent made it a symbol of death. Folk-lore used it to warn against sorcery and licentious behaviour, but Church leaders suggested that it was used to make the Crown of Thorns.¹⁴ The nature of its thorns make it difficult to pluck, so it could be used as an allegory about caution.¹⁵ It is one of the earliest three types of plant that have been identified, along with vines and palms. A grimacing head with recognisable hawthorn was found on a corbel in the sanctuary of Dorchester abbey, dating to around 1200 (fig. 55).



Fig. 54: Southwell Minster, Nottinghamshire 1290s Fig. 55: Dorchester Abbey, Oxfordshire c.1200

Acanthus is also often found decorating capitals in churches because it symbolises renewal. The Greek architect Callimachus is supposed to have noticed acanthus growing from under a tombstone which gave him the idea of new life coming from death. Although he died in 240 BC the idea lingered and, in the Christian context, came to represent

¹² This is not impossible: oaks do grow in the Holy Land and are mentioned in the Bible, albeit not in the New Testament. For example: 'And an angel of the Lord came, and sat under an oak, that was in Ephra [...]' Judges 6.11.

¹³ Cooper, p. 80.

¹⁴ Fisher, p. 50.

¹⁵ Becker, p. 138.

resurrection.¹⁶ The notion was reinforced by a belief that the acanthus flourishes in paradise.¹⁷ The maple is the most enigmatic of the frequently-found leaves. No reference to it has been discovered that sheds light on any symbolism that might have been attached to it, and yet fifteen examples were located. It has an artistic leaf which was important for overall design; its five lobes could be said to represent the wounds of Christ, but this may be stretching analysis too far. It is the comparatively frequent use of this leaf that undermines a precise reading of other ones. The use of palms to denote martyrdom and victory has already been discussed, but they were only found in two places (Fritwell and Thompson in Norfolk (1350)).

An interesting group amongst the stylised are sixteen that consist of a treble-leaf as at Monksilver in Somerset, Gedney in Lincolnshire and Ottery St Mary (Devon) which is also a blood-sucker. Although Romanesque carvers favoured stylised plants, this particular variety was not seen before approximately 1300, which is also the time that bestiaries were enjoyed and used as a way of exploring God's purpose through nature. The natural world was held to be an open book in which God revealed both himself and his message.¹⁸ This had long been the case as the works of Dioscorides have indicated. The Bodleian *Bestiary* and *Physiologus* have already been mentioned: both texts describe the peredens or peredexion tree, which was an analogy for God, the Holy Spirit and the importance of not wavering in one's Christian belief.¹⁹ The Bodleian *Bestiary* says:

The peridens tree is a tree found in India: the fruit of this tree is very sweet and pleasant, and doves delight in its fruit and live in the tree, feeding on it. The dragon, which is the enemy of doves, fears the tree, because of the shade in which the doves rest, and it can approach neither the tree nor its shadow. If the shadow of the tree falls

¹⁶ Fisher, p. 18.

¹⁷ Metford, p. 16.

¹⁸ W. Telesco, *The Wisdom of Nature: The Healing Powers and Symbolism of Plants and Animals in the Middle Ages* (Munich: Prestel, 2001), p. 7.

¹⁹ *Physiologus* on p. 126 and the *Bestiary* on pp. 117, 124, 131 and 133

to the west, the dragon flies to the east, and if the shadow is in the east, the dragon flies to the west. If it finds a dove outside the shadow of the tree, it kills it. The tree is God the Father, the shadow God the Son; in Gabriel's words to Mary: 'The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee'; [Luke 1:25] the wisdom of the Lord is a heavenly fruit, that is, the dove or Holy Ghost. Watch therefore, O man, that you do not escape from eternal life after you have received the Holy Ghost, the spiritual dove of reason; and that, as a stranger to Father, Son and Holy Ghost, the dragon who is the devil does not kill you. Beware, O man, and dwell in the Catholic faith, and hold fast to the Catholic Church.²⁰

What is intriguing about this bestiary is that the illustration of the *peredens* tree on f.91^v shows stylised three-lobed leaves (presumably representing Trinity) which are similar to those carved on the sixteen heads. The bestiary's tree also has the notched stem that was popular in Scandinavian art. The temptation to connect the carvers' work to this document is beguiling and may not be unrealistic. It is not proposed that every carver would have seen the manuscript, but that the story of the *peredens* tree would have moved into the public imagination, as would the notion of concurrently representing Trinity. If this is so, then the overall interpretation of those foliate heads would be positive in theological terms.

There does not appear to be a link between the species preferred by carvers and medical use and some, such as ivy found in five different places, can be harmful. No definite examples of herbs were established other than the possibility of rue in Warwick cathedral. Other trees are noticeable by their absence, most obviously the ash which is indigenous to England and which has attractive foliage, albeit not lobed leaves. Holly is also absent, possibly because of the challenge of carving the extremely sharp points on the leaves. It may be that some attempts at holly were made and that these have been misidentified as stylised oak.

²⁰ Barber, pp. 180-181.

Although oak was found the most frequently, it is the vine that is ubiquitous across the centuries; the earliest and latest entries on the database were both stylised vine, with grapes, the first was an exterior door column face at Rous Lench and the last was on a bench end at Crowcombe, Somerset in 1534. The symbolic significance of the vine is obvious, being the plant that bears the grapes used in Eucharistic wine, it therefore represents the blood that Christ shed. This is a biblical reference, not only to the Last Supper but to Christ's statement: 'I am the true vine'.²¹ The vine has therefore been a consistently popular symbol of Christ, but it also features in Ezekiel 18:2 where sour grapes will set the children's teeth on edge. Psalm 104, however, reveals that wine maketh glad the heart of man although Noah discovered the dangers of drinking too much. Elsewhere a good wife is described as being like a fruitful vine to her husband.²² St John reminds us that a branch of the vine can only bear fruit as long as it is attached to the main plant, a reference to the need to stay attached to the teachings of Christ. If one does, then one is granted eternal life.

Viticulture was practised over much of Europe and even in England the climate in the eleventh century allowed for thirty-eight vineyards to be listed in the *Domesday Book*.²³ Bede mentions that vines were produced in certain districts on the first page of his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* written around 700. Trampling grapes is routinely found as the Labour of the Month in stone and misericord carvings. The vine is so much a part of western culture that the word 'vignette' derives from the frequency of vine motifs being used to fill a blank space on a manuscript.²⁴

A survey was made of where types of foliage were found to see if any part of the church building was especially favoured with hawthorn or vine, for instance, and this

²¹ John 15.1

²² Psalm 128.3

²³ Fisher, p. 118

²⁴ Onions, *Etymology*, p. 980

produced a negative outcome. Medieval carvers did not feel more drawn to putting tree leaves in the roof than on misericords and nor did they feel that non-tree foliage should be placed lower down. Buttercup leaves were found on roof bosses in Norwich and Ugborough in Devon, mugwort at Pershore in Worcestershire, and cinquefoil at Warmington in Northamptonshire, to name a few.

This section of the essay only involves about a fifth (19.3%) of the entire corpus. Nonetheless this is a greater proportion than that devoted to animals or whole people, but similarly one cannot draw any clear conclusions. Where the foliage type can be analysed, it seems that there is the potential for Christian symbolism; there are pointers towards resurrection, steadfastness and the blood of Christ but the majority of identifiable vegetation has no particular symbolism attached to it at all and the great majority of plants overall are stylised. It must therefore be assumed that the type of leaf is seldom of great import. The exquisite, natural leaves in the Chapter House at Southwell Minster may rather have been the result of the carver wanting to emulate God's work in creating the natural world. That he was an exceptionally talented craftsman is plain, and perhaps he wished (not unreasonably) to use his gift to decorate the Chapter House as beautifully as possible to the glory of God.

What is true and without exception is that every single example of foliage is thriving. There are no cases of withered or fading leaves and some are accompanied by fruit or seeds. The plant life might sometimes be beautiful, but it is always vigorous even in the case of the so-called blood-sucker heads already discussed. More tellingly, the vine is an integral part of thirty-two heads and possibly more, given that some are so stylised it is hard to be certain. As the vine is closely associated with the pleasant side of life and also with Christ and therefore with immortality, it may be another indication that foliate heads should be interpreted as positive symbols of eternal life.

CHAPTER 4: HEADDRESS ASSOCIATED WITH FOLIATE HEADS

It was noticed that ninety-four (8%) of the foliate heads have a headdress, some more distinctive than others. The breakdown that follows at Table 8 reveals that fifty-two wear hats or caps which is more than half, twenty-one are crowned (about a fifth), fourteen have headbands, five are cowled whilst one has a wimple and another a mitre. These range in date from *c.*1100 (Sutton Coldfield and Holt, Worcestershire) to 1532 (Boxgrove Priory, Sussex) and 1534 (Crowcombe, Somerset) and have a wide, apparently random geographical spread with seventeen counties not hosting any hatted foliate heads at all.



Fig. 56: Boxgrove Priory, Sussex 1532 Fig. 57: Bovey Tracey, Devon *c.*1500



Fig. 58: Beverley, St Mary, Yorkshire 1145¹

¹ This misericord also hosts two tongue-pulling, transforming heads and is the only example thus far of foliage which is not lobed.

The fashion for creating foliate heads with headdress peaked in the sixteenth century: thirty-one of the ninety-four (or almost a third) were carved between 1500 and 1534, although again the date of 1500 is an approximate one. The eight caps have been counted in with the hats, even though the caps are of a specific, close-fitting type and the hats could be very varied (figs. 56, 57 and 58).

| Date | Church | County | Headdress | Location | Detail |
|------|----------------------|------------------|-----------|-----------------|------------|
| 1200 | Grafton Regis | Northamptonshire | Cap | Porch | Corbel |
| 1275 | Crosby Garret | Cumbria | Cap | Nave | Capital |
| 1340 | Ely Cathedral | Cambridgeshire | Cap | Choir | Bench-end |
| 1400 | Capel St Mary | Suffolk | Cap | Exterior window | Corbel |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Cap | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1524 | Newark | Nottinghamshire | Cap | Choir | Misericord |
| 1532 | Boxgrove | Sussex | Cap | Chantry | Frieze |
| 1532 | Boxgrove | Sussex | Cap | Chantry | Frieze |
| 1200 | Kirby Lonsdale | Cumbria | Cowl | Nave | Capital |
| 1340 | Ely Cathedral | Cambridgeshire | Cowl | Choir | Bench-end |
| 1350 | Cley | Norfolk | Cowl | Choir | Bench-end |
| 1400 | Hoo St Werburgh | Kent | Cowl | Nave | Beam |
| 1500 | Bovey Tracey | Devon | Cowl | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1100 | Holt | Worcestershire | Crown | Porch door | Capital |
| 1175 | St Nicholas-at-Wade | Kent | Crown | Nave | Capital |
| 1200 | Boughton-under-Blean | Kent | Crown | Crossing | Capital |
| 1300 | Desborough | Northamptonshire | Crown | Aisle | Corbel |
| 1300 | Edstaston | Shropshire | Crown | Exterior window | Spandrel |
| 1300 | Hereford, All Saints | Herefordshire | Crown | Aisle | Corbel |
| 1330 | Irnham | Lincolnshire | Crown | Choir | Sepulchre |
| 1350 | Coventry St JB | Warwickshire | Crown | Nave window | Corbel |
| 1375 | Heckington | Lincolnshire | Crown | Exterior | Corbel |
| 1400 | Bloxham | Oxfordshire | Crown | Exterior | Corbel |
| 1400 | Faringdon | Oxfordshire | Crown | Exterior | Corbel |
| 1400 | Sudbury | Suffolk | Crown | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1400 | Withycombe | Somerset | Crown | Nave | Beam |
| 1400 | Woolpit | Suffolk | Crown | Exterior door | Voussoir |
| 1430 | Bradninch | Devon | Crown | Nave | Capital |
| 1445 | Beverley St Mary | Yorkshire | Crown | Choir | Misericord |
| 1450 | Cartmel | Cumbria | Crown | Choir | Misericord |

| | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|------------|
| 1471 | Spreyton | Devon | Crown | Chancel | Roof boss |
| 1500 | Hacheston | Suffolk | Crown | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Crown of leaves | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1160 | Riccall | Yorkshire | Crown with crosses | Exterior porch door | Capital |
| 1100 | Sutton Coldfield | Warwickshire | Hat | Nave | Font |
| 1100 | Sutton Coldfield | Warwickshire | Hat | Nave | Font |
| 1290 | Southwell | Nottinghamshire | Hat | Chapter House | Corbel |
| 1350 | Coventry St JB | Warwickshire | Hat | Nave | Corbel |
| 1350 | Stokeinteignhead | Devon | Hat | Exterior door | Corbel |
| 1350 | Wye | Kent | Hat | Exterior | Corbel |
| 1400 | Beverley St Mary | Yorkshire | Hat | Exterior door | Capital |
| 1400 | Beverley St Mary | Yorkshire | Hat | Choir | Misericord |
| 1400 | Brabourne | Kent | Hat | Choir | Spandrel |
| 1400 | Little Horstead | Sussex | Hat | Exterior door | Spandrel |
| 1400 | Withycombe | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Beam |
| 1445 | Beverley St Mary | Yorkshire | Hat | Choir | Misericord |
| 1445 | Beverley St Mary | Yorkshire | Hat | Choir | Misericord |
| 1450 | Brent Knoll | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1450 | Brent Knoll | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1450 | Brent Knoll | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1450 | Brent Knoll | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1450 | Milton Abbey | Dorset | Hat | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1450 | Weston in Gordano | Somerset | Hat | Choir | Misericord |
| 1470 | York, All Saints | Yorkshire | Hat | Chancel | Roof boss |
| 1480 | Dartmouth | Devon | Hat | Nave | Screen |
| 1500 | Alford | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1500 | Bovey Travey | Devon | Hat | Porch | Roof boss |
| 1500 | Cheddar | Somerset | Hat | Choir | Misericord |
| 1500 | Christchurch Priory | Dorset | Hat | Choir | Stalls |
| 1500 | Christchurch Priory | Dorset | Hat | Choir | Stalls |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1500 | Mappowder | Dorset | Hat | Nave | Corbel |
| 1500 | Peter Tavy | Devon | Hat | Nave | Panels |
| 1500 | Peter Tavy | Devon | Hat | Nave | Panels |
| 1520 | Beverley Minster | Yorkshire | Hat | Choir | Stalls |
| 1520 | Beverley Minster | Yorkshire | Hat | Nave | Spandrel |
| 1520 | Beverley Minster | Yorkshire | Hat | Nave | Capital |
| 1520 | Bristol Cathedral | Somerset | Hat | Choir | Misericord |

| | | | | | |
|------|---------------------|-----------------|----------|----------------|---------------|
| 1520 | Monksilver | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1520 | Sheffield Cathedral | Yorkshire | Hat | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1520 | Sheffield Cathedral | Yorkshire | Hat | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1520 | Sheffield Cathedral | Yorkshire | Hat | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1520 | Sheffield Cathedral | Yorkshire | Hat | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1534 | Crowcombe | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1534 | Crowcombe | Somerset | Hat | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1120 | Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | Headband | Exterior porch | Voussoirs |
| 1120 | Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | Headband | Exterior porch | Voussoirs |
| 1200 | Sutterton | Lincolnshire | Headband | Nave | Corbel frieze |
| 1290 | Southwell | Nottinghamshire | Headband | Chapter House | Corbel |
| 1300 | Gedney | Lincolnshire | Headband | Nave | Roof boss |
| 1300 | Helmingham | Suffolk | Headband | Exterior | Corbel |
| 1300 | Much Marcle | Herefordshire | Headband | Nave | Capital |
| 1300 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Headband | Nave | Corbel |
| 1300 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Headband | Nave | Corbel |
| 1350 | Lichfield Cathedral | Staffordshire | Headband | Chapel | Capital |
| 1400 | Pickhill | Yorkshire | Headband | Nave | Beam |
| 1450 | Ripon Cathedral | Yorkshire | Headband | Nave | Corbel |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Headband | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1500 | High Bickington | Devon | Headband | Nave | Bench-end |
| 1400 | Lostwithiel | Cornwall | Mitre | Nave | Font |
| 1330 | Dennington | Suffolk | Whimble | Chancel | Window Corbel |
| 94 | 8% of total | | | | |

Table 8: Incidence of Headdress

The geographical distribution of types of headdress is equally arbitrary. Other counties such as Devon appear to have a high density of headdress-wearing foliate heads (62.5% of their heads) but the figures are skewed by a large number (eight, of several types) in one church at High Bickington. Both of the identifiable foliating women have headdresses, this being one of the ways that identification could be made, and these cases have already been discussed. If one looks at a small group such as the cowled heads of which there are five, they are equally randomly spread with dates ranging from 1200 to 1500 and being in the counties of Cambridgeshire, Cumbria, Devon, Kent and Norfolk. They are

also found in a range of locations within the churches: three in the naves (capital, beam and roof boss) and two in choirs, both on bench-ends in the stalls.

Only seventeen were found on the exteriors of churches and these have been repeated at Table 9, but in chronological order. Those enclosed in porches at Charney Bassett and Riccall have been counted as being on the exterior as it is thought that is how they were when they were first placed. The presence of headdress on exterior heads at Charney Bassett, Riccall and in London (shown at fig. 62) indicates that there may have been others which have become too eroded to be identified. Again there is nothing to be learned from their geographical spread which ranges from Devon to Yorkshire and from Shropshire to Suffolk. There is also a noticeable range of types of headdress across both counties and centuries.

| Date | Church | County | Headdress | Location |
|------|------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1120 | Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | Headband | Porch voussoirs |
| 1120 | Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | Headband | Porch voussoirs |
| 1160 | Riccall | Yorkshire | Crown with crosses | Porch capital |
| 1185 | London, Temple | London | Hat | West door voussoirs |
| 1185 | London, Temple | London | Hat | West door voussoirs |
| 1185 | London, Temple | London | Hat | West door voussoirs |
| 1300 | Edstaton | Shropshire | Crown | Window spandrel |
| 1300 | Helmingham | Suffolk | Headband | Corbel |
| 1350 | Stokeinteignhead | Devon | Hat | Door corbel |
| 1350 | Wye | Kent | Hat | Corbel |
| 1375 | Heckington | Lincolnshire | Crown | Corbel |
| 1400 | Capel St Mary | Suffolk | Cap | Window corbel |
| 1400 | Bloxham | Oxfordshire | Crown | Corbel |
| 1400 | Faringdon | Oxfordshire | Crown | Corbel |
| 1400 | Woolpit | Suffolk | Crown | Door voussoir |
| 1400 | Little Horstead | Sussex | Hat | Door spandrel |
| 1400 | Beverley St Mary | Yorkshire | Hat | Door capital |

Table 9: Incidence of headdress wearing heads on the exterior of buildings.

The range of headdress up to and including the year 1200 appears as eclectic as later. Their distribution is in Table 10. Two hundred and twenty-one foliate heads date to the Romanesque period which constitutes 18.85% of the corpus. Fourteen (6.33%) of them wear a headdress, whereas 8.5% of later carvings do. The numbers are not great enough to show a trend and it is assumed that the inclusion and style of hats was the preference of the carver.

| Date | Church | County | Headdress |
|------|----------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 1100 | Holt | Worcestershire | Crown |
| 1100 | Sutton Coldfield | Warwickshire | Hat |
| 1100 | Sutton Coldfield | Warwickshire | Hat |
| 1120 | Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | Headband |
| 1120 | Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | Headband |
| 1160 | Riccall | Yorkshire | Crown with crosses |
| 1175 | St Nicholas-at-Wade | Kent | Crown |
| 1185 | London, Temple | London | Hat |
| 1185 | London, Temple | London | Hat |
| 1185 | London, Temple | London | Hat |
| 1200 | Boughton-under-Blean | Kent | Crown |
| 1200 | Grafton Regis | Northamptonshire | Cap |
| 1200 | Kirkby Lonsdale | Cumbria | Cowl |
| 1200 | Sutterton | Lincolnshire | Hat |

Table 10: Distribution of headdress up to the year 1200.

Only two of the cases have occupation-specific headgear: the *c.*1330 wimple mentioned already (on pp. 107 and 161) and a mitre on the *c.*1400 font at Lothwithiel (Cornwall), although cowls were normally monastic wear. Mitres were well-established at this time, but were originally a simple linen cap, the division of the cap into two horns being recorded in the tenth century when it was still only worn by bishops.² In 1088 Hugh of Cluny became the first mitred abbot, having been granted the right by Urban II. After the twelfth century mitres became common amongst abbots, so much so that they could not be distinguished from bishops at Synods, causing Clement IV to order that they should use

² Guilielmus Durandus, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, trans. by T. H. Passmore (1899) (Louisville: Fons Vitae, 2007), pp. 192 & 413.

orphreyed mitres.³ This may be what is shown on the Lostwithiel font because the mitre is low in height (had a taller mitre been required, presumably the carver would have made a smaller head) and it has a double-band around the base and up the centre, possibly indicating gold embroidery. Pevsner's comment on this aspect of the font's design is restricted to 'a head with leaves sprouting from the mouth'.⁴

The crowned foliate heads represent an intriguing group. Of the eleven Romanesque foliate heads in Table 6, four of them are crowned (36.36%). Nine hundred and fifty-one heads post-date the Romanesque period, but only sixteen of them have royal insignia making up 1.68% of those surveyed. That said, crowns appear steadily throughout the years from 1200-1500, the most modern adorning a roof-boss at Hacheston (Suffolk) where a head sports a discreet coronet together with an abundance of fruit. During the fieldwork a note was made of contemporary images in close proximity to the foliate head.⁵ Although a comparatively low number of foliate heads are crowned, four hundred and ninety-three of them (42.06%) were adjacent to heads with crowns or coronets whilst twenty-six (2.22%) also neighboured a mitre which contributes to the earlier-expressed notion that they have high status.⁶ Observation shows that it is common for there to be a non-foliating head on either side of a porch door, especially from the fourteenth century onwards. These carvings usually depict a king or queen and an abbot or bishop which is presumed to be connected to prestige, perhaps a decorative stamp of authority from church and state. This elevates a crowned foliate head from commonplace decoration to something of significance. This is certainly true of the example at Battlefield (Shropshire) which can be dated to 1404-05

³ Pugin, p. 175.

⁴ Pevsner, Nikolaus, *The Buildings of England: Cornwall* rev. by Enid Radcliffe, 2nd Edn. (London: Penguin, 1951), p. 107.

⁵ Specifically, any carvings immediately to the left, right or directly opposite the foliate head.

⁶ Some of the 26 are also included amongst the 493.

because the church was commissioned by Henry IV to commemorate the Battle of Shrewsbury in 1403. Although there are no crowns inside this church, the richly-dressed foliate head is surrounded by the regalia of Henry IV, Henry, Prince of Wales, the Earls of Dunbar and Stafford and sixteen noblemen and gentry who supported the king on that day. There is no record extant explaining why the king favoured those particular men over others, or why a foliate head was included in the scheme.

The early crowns include Holt (Worcestershire) which has been discussed and is the earliest example. The carving at Riccall (Yorkshire 1160) is a capital on a doorway now enclosed by a porch. The face is eroded, but stylised foliage of a Scandinavian type comes from the ears. The crown is not only in good condition, but comprises three crosses set on a band representing Trinity. It is in company with non-foliating heads which are also much worn. St Nicholas-at-Wade (Kent *c.*1175) offers the earliest realistic human faces on an aisle capital (one is shown at fig. 59). There are two foliate heads that face each other, both having bulbous, almond-shaped eyes, smooth faces and both disgorge stylised foliage, the stems of which are granulated in the Scandinavian style. One of them wears a coronet decorated with three triple-lobed leaves. The example at Boughton-under-Blean (Kent *c.*1200) is on a chancel arch corbel and is less easy to distinguish because of its eroded state. Only four foliate heads with crowns come from the early fourteenth century. Desborough (Northamptonshire) has a fine example of a thoughtful head glancing to his right (fig. 60).



Fig. 59: St Nicholas-at-Wade, Kent *c.*1175 Fig. 60: Desborough, Northamptonshire *c.*1300

He disgorges oak leaves and wears a substantial crown with five sections. Edstaston (Shropshire) is also a tongue-puller, the nave corbel in All Saints, Hereford is a king who looks to his left towards the altar, whilst a tiny crowned foliate head is found on the Easter Sepulchre at Irnham which will be discussed later. Those which are exterior heads are often eroded or damaged as in the case of Heckington (Lincolnshire 1375), Bloxham (Oxfordshire 1400) and Faringdon (Oxfordshire 1400) whilst the one at Withycombe (Somerset 1400) has been moved from its original setting. Outstanding examples are found at Bradninch (Devon 1430) where a nave capital wears a crown of five crosses on a thin band and a nave roof-boss at Sudbury (Suffolk 1400) where a delicate head is set against a background four fronds, one of which he disgorges. He has neat hair and a dainty crown.



Fig. 61: Cartmel Priory, Cumbria c.1450

Two misericords reveal crowned foliate heads at Beverley, St Mary (Yorkshire 1445) and Cartmell Priory (Cumbria 1450) (fig. 61). Both kings disgorge stylised foliage although it is of two different types at Cartmel. Beverley's head is simply carved with a five-pointed crown of the type that can be made from paper. Cartmel's head has a complex crown and is a triple Janus image of which only the two outer heads disgorge. The original Janus had two faces, looking backwards and forwards and gave his name to January.⁷ A Roman god, he symbolised transition especially of time, he ruled the birth of gods and also represented

⁷ Chevalier & Gheerbrandt, p. 552.

vigilance. His use as a foliate head is intriguing especially as he has been crowned, perhaps as king of change. Whilst the foliage appears to be of two different types, it may be intended to indicate the same plant species but at different times of the year. Cartmel Priory is not the only venue that hosts polycephalic heads although the others do not wear a headdress. A roof-boss in Boxgrove Priory (Sussex c.1200) comprises eight heads which share eight eyes - four of the heads disgorge leaves. Another roof-boss in Chichester Cathedral made at the same time and probably by the same craftsman boasts six heads sharing six eyes in which all the heads are disgorging.

There are numerous biblical references to crowns. The foliate heads do not appear to be wearing crowns of thorns but diadems, which can be interpreted as symbols of kingship, pride, victory, justice and endurance; indeed, St Benedict remarks in his Rule that endurance brings forth a crown.⁸ He may have taken his theme from James 1.12: 'Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he hath been proved, he shall receive the crown of life, which God hath promised to them that love him.' In the Book of Proverbs it is noted that children's children are the crown of old men, which implies a different kind of endurance, that of continued existence through future generations.⁹ This theme is repeated later in Proverbs 27.24: 'For thou shalt not always have power; but a crown shall be given to generation and generation.' In this context the foliage disgorged by a crowned foliate head could represent new life and creation. Isaiah warns against the crown of pride but says that the Lord of hosts shall be a crown of glory.¹⁰ St Paul, writing to Timothy, refers to a crown of justice which is laid up for those that love the Lord.¹¹ Both of these references align with the idea of just desserts at last being attained and therefore of endurance.

⁸ *Rule of St Benedict*, p. 26

⁹ Proverbs 17.6.

¹⁰ Isaiah 28.1, 28.5 & 62.3.

¹¹ 2 Timothy 4.8.

Although those foliate heads which wear hats and caps form a large group (fifty-two 4.43%) it has not been possible to further understanding of the genre by examining them. These headdresses are too varied in style for useful analysis even though the ones in profile at Christchurch (Dorset 1500) and on the roof boss in Bovey Tracey (Devon 1500) are particularly ornate and must have been copied from styles worn by the more prosperous members of society such as merchants. Given their comparatively late date this chimes with the rise of the merchant class and guilds following the plague of the fourteenth century. Perhaps it may seem strange to have male characters wearing hats since a man would normally remove any head covering in church although, when the images were carved, a woman would do the opposite, however this cannot be relevant since the majority of foliate heads have no headdress at all and fourteen of them merely have a decorative headband. By coincidence, the foliate head on a bench end at Ilketshall St Andrew (Suffolk 1500) is situated above and close to hat-band maker's symbols' this has also been noted in Champeaux, Brittany where the image is explained on a notice. One of the two symbols in Suffolk is inscribed 'IOHN boNGEY' (Bungay is the nearest town); it is assumed that he belonged to a family of local hatters. No further information has been found concerning him but one Cornelius Bungey, a Capper, was burned for his beliefs with ten others in Coventry in 1555.¹² It is worth noting that headdress is not exclusive to human heads: eight examples were found where a hybrid or monster had a hat, headband or even at crown as at Woolpit, Suffolk and Edstaton, Shropshire. The other instances were discovered at Brabourne and Wye in Kent, Kilpeck in Herefordshire, Boxgrove Priory, Sussex (where there were two) and one in Sheffield.

¹² George Townsend, *The Acts and Monuments of John Foxe with a Life and Defence of the Martyrologist*, 3rd Edn. (London: George Seeley, 1870), p. 399.

It may be that significance can be attached to foliating crowned heads which variously could refer to status or to the spiritually positive outcome of endurance, but unlikely that anything can be gained from an analysis of hats and caps in general. The five which appear to be cowled are not tonsured, nor do they show any other signs of monasticism, so it is assumed that they represent working men or peasants - the reverse of high status. It seems that the majority were created at the whim of the carver and that they became more sophisticated in style as time passed. The prosaic analysis of the be-hatted foliate heads is, again, that there is no specific significance to be attached to them.

CHAPTER 4: LOCATION

GEOGRAPHIC LOCATION

Extensive fieldwork carried out across England confirms that foliate heads are found in quantity across the nation which in itself suggests that they were of import when they were carved. Nearly eight hundred churches were visited, revealing heads in approximately half of them. The definition of the foliate head outlined in the introduction was rigorously applied and all heads not meeting the criteria (heads with garlands around them or heads looking out from the branches of trees and so on) were discounted. The key factor is that foliage has to be issuing from the head, or the subject of the carving must transform into foliage, or both. It is inevitable that there are some borderline cases and these have been disregarded even where some of these examples, such as those at Cholsey (Oxfordshire), are likely to have been foliate heads, but are now so degraded that certain identification is impossible. Likewise the image on the font at Idsworth (Hampshire) could be transforming into foliage or it may just have strange hair, and so is not helpful to the analysis.

Foliate heads of the medieval period were most commonly found in small towns or rural parishes with the notable exception that they have been found in all nineteen churches that had the status of cathedral before the Reformation. They have also been found in current cathedrals which did not hold that rank pre-Reformation and these include Coventry Old Cathedral which was granted cathedral status in 1928, Derby (1928), Manchester (1847), Newcastle (1882), Oxford (1546), Peterborough (1541), Sheffield (1914), Southwark (1905), St Albans (1877) and Wakefield (1888). Some of these churches are comparatively new-builds, but the ones that pre-date the Reformation were already churches of some standing.

Although they are far from being in every parish church, the fact that they are in high-status religious buildings must be relevant to their interpretation. It has also been shown that a significant number of foliate heads wear recognisable headdress or crowns and that, in the few cases where more of their body is shown than just their head, they tend to be well-dressed. This also indicates rank within society. Hayman suggests that the earlier foliate heads are only to be found in churches which were of high status or patronage such as Melbourne (Derbyshire) or Kilpeck (Herefordshire).¹ This may be true. Foliate heads have been found on elaborate tympani, chancel arches and fonts in many twelfth-century churches where it has not always been possible to discover patronage, but the fact of the expensive carving indicates wealthy sponsors.

The greatest number of foliate heads was found in Norfolk which had thirty churches containing them, followed by the counties shown in Table 11. The putative highest percentage, however, was in Cornwall (Table 12).

| | |
|------------------|----|
| Norfolk | 30 |
| Yorkshire | 26 |
| Northamptonshire | 25 |
| Somerset | 25 |
| Devon | 24 |
| Lincolnshire | 24 |
| Kent | 22 |
| Suffolk | 20 |
| Yorkshire | 20 |

Table 11: Counties with the highest number of churches housing foliate heads

An attempt was made to establish the percentage of churches per diocese or county that these ones represent. As stated in the Introduction (p. 7), the 2005 Church Census revealed a total of 16,247 churches that are part of the Church of England. It proved impossible to break this number down into specific counties or dioceses. Telephone calls

¹ Richard Hayman, 'Green Men and the Way of all Flesh', *British Archaeology*, 100 (May/June 2008), 12-17 (p. 15).

were made to the administrators and archivists of the archdioceses of Canterbury and York as well as to Lambeth Palace. Some dioceses have overall registers, but most do not record a date of origin for individual buildings, the seven exceptions being those of Canterbury, Derby, Hereford, Lichfield, Norwich, Rochester and Truro. *Crockford's Clerical Directory* was consulted which contains one hundred and seventy-eight pages listing all the churches of England in alphabetical order with their associated Dioceses, but with no indication of age. If the seven registers examined have figures typical of the rest, then it is calculated that perhaps 9,748 (60%) of parish churches date to before the Reformation, but this has not been proved. Numbers and percentages can be calculated for the areas listed above as shown in Table 12.

| County | Total number of churches | Total founded pre-Reformation | % of total | Number hosting FHs | % of pre-Reformation churches |
|--|--------------------------|-------------------------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|
| Cornwall | 299 | 192 | 64 | 10 | 6.5 |
| Derbyshire | 322 | 128 | 40 | 7 | 5.5 |
| Herefordshire | 265 | 186 | 67 | 12 | 6.5 |
| Kent (Canterbury and Rochester together) | 582 | 345 | 59 | 22 | 6.5 |
| Norfolk | 981 | 659 | 67 | 30 | 4.5 |
| Shropshire | 329 | 161 | 49 | 9 | 5.5 |
| Totals | 2,778 | 1,670 | 60 | 90 | 5.4 |

Table 12: Numbers and percentages of churches in six counties

It is worth noting that the counties of Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Suffolk and Kent very roughly correspond to the area which became known as the Dane Law in the ninth century as a result of Viking settlement and conquest.² The counties missing from the Dane Law swathe are Cambridgeshire and Essex which have nine and twelve churches with foliate heads respectively. This may be coincidental since two mid-England counties, as well as two

² *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* ed. by M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes, D. Scragg (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999) p. 136.

south-western ones, also have a high foliate-head population. Nonetheless there are Scandinavian artistic influences in the earlier heads.



Map of Traditional English Counties³

This shows the approximate density of foliate heads by county

The shaded counties have the most and the hatched counties the least.

The numbers indicate the number of churches in each county where foliate heads were found.

R5 = five churches in Rutland

M1 = one church in Middlesex

The map indicates the density of foliate heads and the number of churches where they were found. They were found in every county, but counties that have been shaded had

³ Original outline map taken from *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England until 1516*,
<<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/counties.html>> [accessed 26 March 2015]

the highest number of twenty or more. The hatched areas revealed five or fewer whilst those left blank had between six and eighteen (none had nineteen). The precise numbers found in each county are listed at Appendix D which shows a further breakdown of how many heads were found in each church. It cannot be a surprise that the more churches visited, the higher the number of foliate heads found. The reasons for selecting these churches were detailed in the Introduction: they were predominantly buildings where there was an expectation of finding heads in or on them. Many churches were visited speculatively or for other research reasons, but it proved to be very rare to find that they hosted heads which indicates that current gazetteers such as that compiled by Clive Hicks are comprehensive. Indeed, only nine churches were found to have heads that had not been listed by him, although some were not agreed to be foliating in accordance with the definition on page one.

Counties with the lowest incidence of foliate heads are more scattered: in the far north and north-west there is a paucity of heads, although they do exist and some fine examples are to be found, notably one on the outside of a now-deconsecrated church in the centre of Durham (fig. 20), a capital at Kirkby Lonsdale and a now free-standing sculpture at St Bees (Cumbria) as well as a misericord carving in Cartmell Priory (Lancashire) (fig. 58). Nonetheless Northumberland, County Durham, Cumbria and Lancashire yield only eleven between them. Two midland counties (Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire) have five and six respectively, Rutland, being a very small county, only has five relevant churches and it is noticeable that what came to be termed the Home Counties (Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Surrey) have only sixteen between them. This might be because building flourished in the Victorian period when rail travel allowed workers to live outside the capital. The development and expansion of the railways also meant that seaside towns within striking distance of London underwent rebuilding to allow for holiday-makers.

This in turn meant that many churches were newly built or much adapted and therefore cannot host any foliate heads from the medieval period.

There are only ten surviving churches of medieval origin in central London, presumably because of the damage done by the Great Fire of 1666, a fire in which the heat was so intense that church bells were found to have melted.⁴ In addition to St Paul's cathedral, eighty-seven parish churches and six consecrated chapels were either destroyed or had to be demolished later.⁵ The Rebuilding Acts of 1667 and 1670 decided that only fifty-one of the original eighty-seven churches were to be replaced, the work being given to Christopher Wren.⁶ Although information survives about these lost churches largely because of John Stow's 1598 Survey of London, it seems that his interest was piqued more by historical figures buried inside them than by their art and architecture. Where there is a description of the building, it is a general one with no specific details about any sculpture or adornment.⁷ Nonetheless, it is important to look at the remaining churches in detail because they can indicate the density or otherwise of foliate heads in the capital which is likely to have influenced decoration in lesser cities.

The ten City churches are:

1. St John's Chapel in White Tower C12th
2. St Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield 1123
3. Temple Church, Fleet Street 1185
4. St Helen Bishopsgate C13th - C15th
5. St Etheldreda, Ely Place, Holborn c.1300
6. St Olave, Hart Street C14th
7. St Sepulchre, Giltspur (south porch) mid C15th
8. Savoy Chapel 1512
9. St Andrew Undershaft, Leadenhall Street founded 1532

⁴ Stephen Porter, *The Great Fire of London* (Thrupp: Sutton, 1996), p. 61.

⁵ Porter, p. 72.

⁶ Porter, pp. 114, 140.

⁷ Stow, p. 207. For example, he writes of St Michael-upon-Cornhill: 'This parish church hath on the south side thereof a proper cloister, and a fair churchyard, with a pulpit cross, not much unlike to that in Paul's churchyard.' He might note, for example, that Jane, wife of Edward Gray, Viscount Lisle, 'gave ninety pounds in money to the beautifying of that church' but he does not comment further on that beautification, p. 205.

10. St Giles Cripplegate, Fore Street early C16th

In addition there are the churches of St Dunstan's, Stepney founded in the mid-fifteenth century, St Margaret's, Westminster c.1100 and Westminster Abbey. Of all these buildings, foliate heads have only been found in Westminster Abbey and the Temple Church although a fragment was found in the Museum of London. This foliate head came from the Friary church of the Dominican Blackfriars, a church which was closed in 1538 as part of the Dissolution of the Monasteries and which finally collapsed in the Great Fire. Where it was originally placed within the church is not known, but it is a wide-eyed and vacantly beaming example with three large leaves protruding from its mouth.



Fig. 62: Temple Church, 1185+

The oldest foliate heads found in London are in the vousoirs of the west door of the Temple Church, off Fleet Street (fig. 62). This church is best known for its rounded shape, a reference to the shape of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem built on the spot where Christ is believed to have been crucified.⁸ The western, rounded end which hosts the foliate heads was consecrated in 1185 with the rest following in 1240.⁹ Inside there is a

⁸ Robert Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 11. The Temple Church is a church of some status and also the burial place of Templar knights including William Marshal, 1st Earl of Pembroke (1146/47-1219), who served four kings and was Regent of England for the last of them (Henry III).

⁹ R. Griffiths-Jones, *The Temple Church: Mother-Church of the Common Law* (Norwich: Jarrold, 2009), p. 1.

group of three cats which strenuously disgorge what appears to be stylised vegetation, but these have been extensively reworked so their original form is not clear. There are at least twelve other foliate heads forming a continuous band on the inner voussoir on the outside of the west door. These are more-or-less identical and are distinct humanoid heads with open eyes. The foliage is exuberantly leafy, surprisingly so because the fashion of the time was for it to be highly stylized, although there are similarities with one of the two heads at Quenington (Gloucestershire) which date to *c.*1140. The foliage all but encloses most of the heads which are disgorgers. The remaining three layers of voussoirs are decorated with plant life set in clumps of four leaves, each layer being divided from the others by a plain band of stone. The springing points for the arched decoration are a set of three capitals on each side of the door which do not have foliate heads, but have small human figures separated by stylized acanthus leaves.

No other foliate heads have been discovered so far in the City of London but a total of eight were found in Westminster Abbey: one on a roof boss, one on a chapel door, two in Henry VII's chapel and four on misericords in the same place. The roof boss in the north aisle is entirely taken up with the foliate head carved on it; a transforming, somewhat louring face whose eyebrows meet in the middle becoming fronds. It has three large, slab-like teeth, staring eyes and is situated next to a boss adorned with a skull. Another transforming foliate head was found in the spandrel of a fourteenth-century wooden door leading into the Chapel of Our Lady of the Pew on the north side of the ambulatory. It is not an uncommon type for that period in that it resembles a cat mask whose features are distinguished by two round protruding eyes, a short nose and mouth. The leaves emerge from the eyebrows and cheeks, close to the nose and end on a pattern of balls carved in half relief. The motif is on the right-hand door and is not repeated on the one opposite.

In the south aisle of the Henry VII Chapel, built in 1520, there are two heads in the stone frieze which runs at shoulder-height along the south wall. This is where Mary, Queen of Scots is buried. Both of the heads disgorge foliage from the right-hand side of their mouths, the leaves being about the same size as the heads, but one of them is a grotesque and the other a human; they are both very small, being no more than two inches high. The rest of the frieze is made up of vegetation and monstrous animals, also diminutive. There are thirty-four misericords in Henry VII's Chapel on which four heads were found, but only one of these can definitely be dated to the medieval period, being placed there in 1509. Subsequent alterations to the chapel meant that other stalls and misericords were added, possibly as late as the eighteenth century.¹⁰ The one certain medieval foliate head is a vigorous disgorging, a human head with leaves that spring up around the face, almost meeting at the top. The supporting images on this misericord are foliage, although many others show contemporary scenes of daily life.

As London spread into its own suburbs in the Victorian age, so new churches appeared, most commonly as entire new-builds rather than expanding and adapting existing buildings. L. A. J. Baker made a survey of the churches to the south and east of the city in 1961 and his findings are telling. Of the nineteen churches he found in the Borough of Deptford, all were nineteenth-century except for that of St Paul in the High Street which dated to 1712.¹¹ The Borough of Greenwich had thirty-one churches, the oldest of which were Morden College chapel (1700) and the fifteenth-century Chapel Royal of the Palace of Placentia which was in ruins by 1694.¹² Of the Borough of Lewisham's thirty-eight churches, only that of St Mary the Virgin in the High Street had medieval origins, but it was

¹⁰ J. Wilkinson, *Henry VII's Lady Chapel* (London: Tudsbury Press, 2007), p. 28.

¹¹ L. A. J. Baker, *Churches in the Hundred of Blackheath* (Greenwich: Greenwich & Lewisham Antiquarian Society, 1961), p. 19.

¹² Baker, p. 23.

much built over in 1777, a similar fate being in store for St John the Baptist's in Eltham and St Mary Magdalene's, Woolwich, in the Borough of Woolwich.¹³ No medieval foliate heads have been found so far in the churches of London's suburbs. Industrial cities such as Manchester, Leeds and Birmingham also underwent major development, leading to churches being completely remodelled or built from scratch and so no medieval heads have yet been found.

The fact that foliate heads have been found in very small parish churches, not just the larger ones that would have attracted larger congregations and people of substance implies that whatever their meaning was, it was either momentous or commonplace enough to be disseminated not just to the least of the land, but also to the geographically isolated. If it is true that it was important then one would expect to find foliate heads in churches in market towns, although perhaps visitors to the towns were more likely to be concerned with barter than with worship which would have taken place in their own parish church. Using the Institute of Historical Research's Market Project which lists those towns that were granted a licence for a market, it was possible to check the counties of Norfolk, Devon, Somerset and Kent.¹⁴ There is unlikely to be a connection between the status of these towns and the placing of heads in their churches. Of the one hundred and thirty towns listed for Kent, only one hundred and twenty-one have survived, the other nine are not listed in any modern atlas. Only nineteen of the remaining market towns – many now reduced to village status – have foliate heads in their churches. In Norfolk the proportion was considerably smaller: out of one hundred and forty-seven remaining market towns only seven have churches which

¹³ Baker, pp. 47, 66 & 67.

¹⁴ Institute of Historical Research <<http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/counties.html>> [accessed 26 May 2014] This hosts a gazetteer of markets and fairs in England and Wales up to the year 1516 and is the first comprehensive national survey. Its aim is to provide systematic information regarding the establishment and operation of markets and fairs whether prescriptive or granted.

contained foliate heads. Devon had one hundred and twenty-one market towns, of which one hundred and twelve survive and of which twenty-four have foliate heads. Somerset only retains eighty-nine of its original ninety-six market towns and, of those, eighteen host foliate heads. It is possible to refute a definite link because the heads at St Nicholas-at-Wade in Kent date to *c.*1175, but their licence to hold a market was not granted until 1336. Likewise the heads in St Clement, Sandwich were made *c.*1100, well before the licence was granted in 1252 and those at St Dunstan, Cranbrook are *c.*1300, ninety-six years before their market licence was issued.

Of the Cinque Ports (Dover, Hastings, Hythe, New Romney and Sandwich), only those churches at Hythe and Sandwich were decorated with foliate heads. The Cinque Ports are a federation of maritime towns first given this name in 1161 and it was their duty to provide vessels for the king in exchange for special privileges.¹⁵ The foliate heads in question date to *c.*1120 and *c.*1175 respectively, and no particular significance can be attached to them in terms of the status of their towns.

Likewise it has not been possible to gain useful data from foliate heads in churches that now seem isolated, such as Pipe Aston and St Margaret's (Herefordshire), Warfield (Berkshire), Linley (Shropshire) and Sharrington (Norfolk). These churches were the centre of thriving communities when they were founded, not least because they are well-made buildings and, at Warfield in particular, richly adorned. Some churches are now situated some distance from their modern communities, but usually as a result of fire destroying mainly wooden secular buildings which were reconstructed away from the damaged area as is the case at Cley (Norfolk).

¹⁵ Bartlett, p. 259.

LOCATION WITHIN CHURCHES

| Church | County | No. |
|--------------------------|----------------|-----|
| Beverley, St Mary | Yorkshire | 22 |
| Exeter Cathedral | Devon | 22 |
| Beverley Minster | Yorkshire | 18 |
| High Bickington | Devon | 18 |
| Rochester Cathedral | Kent | 18 |
| Gundrada's tomb | Sussex | 17 |
| Kilpeck | Herefordshire | 14 |
| Over | Cambridgeshire | 14 |
| Worcestershire Cathedral | Worcestershire | 14 |
| Winchester Cathedral | Hampshire | 13 |
| Boxgrove Priory | Sussex | 12 |
| Canterbury Cathedral | Kent | 12 |
| Charney Bassett | Oxfordshire | 12 |
| Felixkirk | Yorkshire | 12 |
| Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | 12 |
| Tewkesbury Abbey | Somerset | 12 |
| Brant Broughton | Lincolnshire | 11 |
| Lichfield Cathedral | Staffordshire | 11 |
| Stoke-by-Nayland | Suffolk | 11 |
| Woolpit | Suffolk | 10 |

Table 13: Churches with 10 or more foliate heads.
The heads are not necessarily all of the same date.

The largest quantity found in one church was twenty-two, in St Mary's, Beverley and in Exeter cathedral. Out of the four hundred churches, only twenty (5%) have ten or more foliate heads and these churches are spread reasonably evenly throughout England as shown at Table 13.

It is noticeable that of the twenty churches, seven are cathedrals and another three are an abbey, a priory and a minster, but this reflects funds being available to spend on decoration rather than the status of the foliate head. Norwich cathedral, for example, has three hundred and eighty-four lavishly decorated roof bosses in the cloister alone of which eight or just over 2% host foliate heads. There are hundreds more bosses inside, but here the

heads are restricted to misericords and bench ends. The boss decorations inside and out are predominantly Old and New Testament stories, although there is occasional social comment such as the tumbler and domestic violence in the east walk. Ninety-four of the interior bosses are gold wells, a rebus on Bishop James Goldwell's name (1472-99).¹⁶ Out of two hundred and eighty-eight cloister roof bosses at Worcester cathedral, only eight (2.77%) are foliate heads and a similar calculation can be made at Winchester cathedral where sixty-six medieval misericords survive from 1308. Each misericord provides a central corbel with two supporters, making a total of a hundred and ninety-seven images (one supporter is missing). Of these, eleven are foliate heads (5.58%) whereas the others are foliage, people and domestic animals. At Beverley Minster, sixty-eight medieval misericords are extant from 1520. Out of two hundred and four opportunities, only one is taken by a foliate head (0.49%). These four examples are typical of other multi-head sites, so it can be gauged that on average only approximately 2.5% of images are foliate heads. As a balance, there are a few churches such as Barham Broom (Norfolk) where the foliate head is almost the only decoration. In this church there are two corbels, one a foliate head and the other a bizarre image of a single head which has small dragons clinging to each side, their mouths attempting to touch his. There is an apostle screen revealing six figures which means that the foliate head constitutes 12.5% of the imagery, but this is unusual. Whilst these statistics do not necessarily prove anything, they do put the carvings into perspective. They may be present in every cathedral and many churches, but they are neither in great numbers, nor are they a majority image. Surrounding designs might not mimic each other's themes, but they often act as scenes in a story and so can be counted as multiple depictions of the Passion or Nativity which also helps to set the proportion of foliate heads against any narrative scheme.

¹⁶ Rose and Hedgecoe, p. 14.

Foliate heads have been located in every part of church buildings, both inside and out. A breakdown of the numbers and locations is at Tables 14 and 15. Three hundred and forty (29%) are exterior motifs, a figure which includes one hundred and thirty-seven in porches and cloisters. Other exterior foliate heads were predominantly string-course and window corbels with some individual corbels on walls and towers. With the exception of nine examples in Southwell's Chapter House and a tomb at Winchelsea, those heads on tympani and voussairs surrounding a tympanum have also been counted as exterior images but, even so, the foliate head is more usually employed as an interior motif even in its early use in English churches. In the twelfth century the ratio of foliate heads inside and outside was roughly 60:40 whereas later it became about 70:30, which is not a significant difference. Hayman's contention that in Norman architecture foliate heads are only found at points where a transition is made from the secular to the spiritual world is therefore contested.¹⁷ The fact that the majority are inside further confounds any suspicion that they were viewed at the time as being latent pagan images because overtly pagan references would not have been approved by the Church.

The most common place for heads to be found is in the nave, although that is a broad term. The nave, to some extent, acted as a village hall where it was common for secular events to take place especially when rood screens offered greater demarcation between the sanctity of the east end and the presence of the people. Forty-one percent of interior heads may be placed in the nave but that in turn is usually the largest section of the church. As the design and space allocated to different parts of the building varies widely, it is not possible to categorise how densely or otherwise foliate heads are clustered.

¹⁷ Hayman, 'Green Men and the Way of all Flesh', p. 16.

| Location | Number of Total 1,172 | % | Remarks |
|---------------|-----------------------|------|--|
| Exterior | 340 | 29 | |
| Interior | 832 | 71 | |
| Nave | 329 | 28.0 | Not including fonts |
| Porches | 103 | 8.8 | |
| Chancel | 79 | 6.7 | Not including choir bench-ends, misericords or sanctuary |
| Chapels | 46 | 3.9 | Including 2 chantry chapels |
| Towers | 40 | 3.4 | 11 inside, 29 outside. Some inside ones at the crossing |
| Ambulatory | 35 | 3 | |
| Windows | 35 | 3 | 17 on exterior, 18 in interior including 6 in sanctuary |
| Cloisters | 34 | 2.9 | |
| Sanctuary | 34 | 2.9 | Includes 2 on tombs and 2 on Easter Sepulchres |
| Crossing | 22 | 1.9 | |
| Transepts | 15 | 1.3 | Interior only |
| Chapter house | 10 | 0.85 | |
| Crypt | 4 | 0.34 | |

Table 14: Locations of foliate heads in relation to church buildings

| Location | Number of Total 1,172 | % | Details |
|------------------|-----------------------|------|---|
| Corbels | 265 | 22.6 | Exterior string-course 78, nave 74, exterior general 26, porch 22, chancel 18, doorway 15, tower interior 9, sanctuary 9, chapel 7, transept 3, sedilia 1 |
| Roof-bosses | 254 | 21.7 | Nave 112, cloisters 33, chancel 27, porch 19, chapel 17, crossing 15, ambulatory 11, transept 6, sanctuary 5, tower interior 3, screen canopy 3, doorway apex 1 |
| Capitals | 158 | 13.5 | Nave 44, chancel arch 32, doorway 30, porch 18, crossing 7, transept 7, chapel 5, crypt 4, window 4, chancel 4, cloister 1, sanctuary 1, tower interior 1 |
| Doors | 142 | 12.1 | Including 5 actually on a door (Higham) |
| Bench ends | 94 | 8 | 37 in choir, 57 in nave |
| String-courses | 87 | 7.4 | Exterior 82, nave 3, chancel 2 |
| Misericords | 75 | 6.4 | |
| Voussoirs | 73 | 6.2 | |
| Chancel arches | 49 | 4.2 | |
| Tombs | 41 | 3.5 | Found on 14 tombs ranging from 1160 to 1451 |
| Choir bench ends | 37 | 3.15 | |
| Fonts | 37 | 3.15 | 37 heads on 18 fonts |
| Screens | 30 | 2.6 | |
| Beam | 15 | 1.3 | |
| Tympani | 13 | 1.1 | In main picture of tympanum, not in voussoirs |

| | | | |
|----------------------|----|------|--|
| Column faces | 11 | 0.94 | |
| Archivolts | 8 | 0.68 | |
| Sedilia | 6 | 0.5 | |
| Plinth | 3 | 0.26 | |
| Easter Sepulchres | 2 | 0.17 | |

Table 15: Locations of foliate heads in relation to church fittings

ROOF-BOSSSES

There are writers who analyse grotesques and foliate heads as purely liminal images (Camille and Woodcock) but that seems to limit their use and significance. Foliate heads in particular, whether in human or grotesque form, are often not on the threshold but at the heart of a building.

Although corbels are natural places to carve a head, inside the church the most popular place is on a roof-boss, which also reflects the later increase in the fashion for them since no roof-bosses survive from the twelfth century in this country. Over a fifth of all the examples fall into this category, placing them a long way ahead even of capitals - there are nearly a hundred more on roof-bosses. Even subtracting the fifty-two that are technically outside, being in cloisters or porches, there are still two hundred and two (17.23%) inside. There is no obvious reason why roof-bosses should be so popular a method of display, other than to cite the amount of church roof refurbishment that occurred in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the English predilection for bosses in parishes and cathedrals. The bosses are spread throughout the church, predominantly in the nave, but also in the sacred spaces of the sanctuary and chancel as well as inside towers. They are in transepts, chapels, ambulatories and in a screen canopy (St Margaret's, Herefordshire) and this in turn means that they are sometimes the most elusive to find. It is commonly remarked that medieval craftsmen had no interest in anyone seeing their work except for God, but this seems

unlikely - that being so, one would expect to find them in roof cavities where there is no decoration, or perhaps on a weather vane or at the base of a spire cross being the highest points but, again, this is not the case. They are not stowed in hidden places as though an amulet.

Roof-bosses can be difficult to find today, often being wooden and blending with the roof material, but that will not have been the case when they were created. Many carvings bear traces of colour, predominantly red and with gold leaf which would have gleamed in candlelight. The churches seen today have been subjected to so many alterations and additions that it is easy to forget that the original buildings were designed as a piece with the aim of providing a safe, dry place to worship where respect could be shown to the holy mysteries as well as to showcase them, rather in the manner of a stage set. Colour and position would have been an important part of the visual experience and much enhanced by the use of candles. Benefactors often left money for candles which could be relatively modest endowments which, in turn, allowed people of lesser wealth to contribute.¹⁸ Light - in the form of candles - was and is used as part of the choreography of the Mass as well as to escort the host should it be taken to the sick.¹⁹ More importantly for this study, it will have illuminated what seem to modern eyes to be hidden images, bringing them to the fore and thereby making them no longer images around the edges, but right in the midst of both people and devotion. The need for less-accessible carvings to be visible accounts for the use of gold for foliage as opposed to the colour green which would be more logical. Camille and Woodcock both present grotesques as designs which are either pushed to the edge of a building or manuscript or appear at thresholds, but this does not hold true for foliate heads,

¹⁸ David Postles, 'Lamps, lights and layfolk; 'popular' devotion before the Black Death', *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), 97-114, p. 98.

¹⁹ Postles, p. 99.

the majority of which are not in grotesque form anyway. Whilst an assessment can be made of images in manuscripts, it is not so clear-cut for buildings because of numerous alterations which render original thresholds meaningless and change perspectives. An image only found at a threshold (which foliate heads are not) implies functions of guarding or repelling, but this may be too simplistic. Narrative themes rarely apply to roof-boss schemes where (as also in misericords) the design of individual bosses appears to be entirely at the whim of the craftsman without regard to those surrounding it. The deployment of many bosses in one roof is peculiarly English, allowing plenty of scope. As seen at Norwich it is common for there to be a mixture of biblical scenes and local patronage in the form of coats of arms, but also hagiography, fantasy and foliage, but they are all exhibited in the same way; therefore if a foliate head on a roof-boss is a liminal image, then so are the others that accompany it.

CAPITALS

Capitals comprise the next largest group with one hundred and fifty-eight examples, nineteen of which are in cloisters or porches. As with roof-bosses, heads on capitals can be found in the nave, chancel, sanctuary, chapels, on windows and at crossing points and also in a crypt. The only four heads in a crypt were all on capitals in Canterbury cathedral dating to about 1076 which makes them the oldest heads that are affixed to the building as opposed to being on fonts. They are all disgorging grotesques and hybrids, their influence being Scandinavian as can be seen in the granulation and tendrils and also perhaps manuscripts since one is the cat mask so often seen in the capital letter of Beatus opening Psalm 1. Otherwise there is nothing particular to be inferred from the assortment of foliating humans and monsters on capitals across the country.

Whilst nave heads which are chiefly roof-bosses, corbels and capitals engage with the congregation, almost a fifth were for the benefit of the clergy. Two hundred and twenty-five (19.2%) were found in the chancel, choir and sanctuary, a figure which includes misericords and bench ends on stalls. Although thirty-four are located within the sanctuary itself, no medieval examples are on exposed altars.²⁰ At first sight it is interesting that only one of these dates to *c.*1200 (Easton, Hampshire) and that very few early ones are to be found in the chancel at all, an exception being the two of *c.*1150 at Stafford. They may not have been so rare because of the number of chancels that were re-worked, especially when the fashion for Lady Chapels arose in the fourteenth century.

FONTS

Both fonts and tombs host foliate heads: a breakdown of their distribution is shown at Table 16. The Church observes Seven Sacraments, but baptism and communion are the major ones because they are the two sacraments ordained by God, hence the importance of the font in church life.²¹ Some fonts such as the ones at Hinton Parva and Pipe Aston, have been discussed already under different headings. Apart from the font cover at Rotherfield, all the multiple examples hail from the Romanesque period where, without exception, they are linked by granulated strands. They are all beast-like creatures, although the heads at Sutton Coldfield are nearer to being human than the rest. The earliest definitely human head is at West Hanningfield dating from 1350.

²⁰ A Victorian set of thirty-two are on the main altar of Rous Lench, Worcestershire.

²¹ Matthew 28.19, 26.26-29. *Oxford Dictionary of Christian Church*, p. 1198. The full list comprises baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination and matrimony.

| Date | Church | County | |
|----------|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|
| 800-1000 | Dolton | Devon | |
| 1000 | Hinton Parva | Wiltshire | |
| 1075 | Luppitt | Devon | |
| 1100 | Alne | Yorkshire | |
| 1100 | Pipe Aston | Herefordshire | |
| 1100 | Sutton Coldfield | Warwickshire | x 4 fh |
| 1118+ | Morville | Shropshire | x 4 fh |
| 1150 | Bridekirk | Cumbria | |
| 1150 | Castle Rising | Norfolk | x 3 fh |
| 1150 | Lullington | Somerset | x 6. Inscription |
| 1160 | Stottesdon | Shropshire | x 4 fh |
| 1350 | Bluntisham | Cambridgeshire | |
| 1350 | West Hanningfield | Essex | Eroded |
| 1400 | Ashill | Norfolk | |
| 1400 | Bulmer | Essex | |
| 1400 | Harlaxton | Lincolnshire | |
| 1400 | Lostwithiel | Cornwall | |
| 1533 | Rotherfield | Sussex | x 3 fh. Font cover |

Table 16: Foliate heads on fonts

If the notes in Dolton church are correct, the head on their font is the oldest found so far, possibly having been made as early as 800 and by 1000 at the latest (fig. 63). The head is a semi-human, goggle-eyed design which disgorges foliage from its nose in a manner not dissimilar to the oldest one known in a Christian context at Poitiers. It is difficult to see because it is upside-down, not having been designed to be a font originally. It is thought to have been made from blocks from two different Saxon crosses, possibly using stone from Italy. The stonework was restored in 1997 when the upper one was inverted to make a larger and more secure area for the base. Perhaps therefore this should not be counted amongst the fonts, but as a preaching cross in its own right which makes the head even more intriguing especially as the surrounding images are interlinked circles and tendrils as opposed to specific pictures. Preaching crosses were widespread in Anglo-Saxon England and a number of examples survive. They were deeply incised usually with biblical stories as well as some symbolism. It is not uncommon for a preaching cross to have foliate design, sometimes

combined with birds and figures on the reverse face and sides, although none of this foliage was found to be issuing from any type of head. Some were used to mark sacred spots, places of prayer and boundaries, whilst a few acted as memorials and it is thought that the custom began in the early eighth century.²² It implies that the head is being used to impart a Christian message, even if its precise nature may not now be obvious. It has already been suggested that where heads are associated with other images that can be interpreted, the outcome is positive in terms of resurrection and the next life and this may have been what the preacher wished to convey. It was not uncommon for a preaching cross to have intricate foliage - often vines - decorating the sides, but this is the only instance found so far of one where the foliage engages with a head.



Fig 63: Dolton, Devon AD 800-1000

Lullington (Somerset, fig.64) offers a mid-twelfth-century specimen in good condition. It hosts six charming beast-heads resting above a wide band encircling the font a third of the way from the top and which is deeply inscribed: *Hoc fontis sacro pereunt delicta lavabo.*²³ This is the not only inscription associated with a foliate head, but it is specific to

²² *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 129-130

²³ In this holy font sins are washed away.

the function of the vessel. The heads are not uniform in that some have distinct teeth whilst others look more cat-like, but they all disgorge similar chunky stems in a Scandinavian style. A band of rosettes appears below the inscription with the rest of the font being taken up by interlinked blind arcade-work of a type reminiscent of canon table pages in manuscripts. This has not been well executed.



Fig. 64: Lullington, Somerset c.1150

Fig. 65: Font cover at Rotherfield, Sussex 1533

The font cover at Rotherfield comprises a series of panels which box-in the stone font, one of which is shown at fig. 65. It is not known why it was done, but the style of the three disgorging heads is similar to that found in the west country, notably at High Bickington and Crowcombe, and is likely in turn to have come from Brittany where it is common in many churches.

From about 1100 the font was a cherished item which began to be routinely placed in parish churches which may explain the general similarity of the eleven fonts made before 1200. It seems that fonts were not widely installed prior to 1100 which is why there are so

few instances before that date.²⁴ Morris suggests that this was not because of a lack of interest in baptism, but rather a shortage of men qualified to baptise along with a reduction in the time-limit by which it had to have been carried out.²⁵ It may also be that a portable bowl had been used, although no references to one survive. The water embodies a number of ideas: cleansing, the crossing of a boundary (in the sense of crossing a river), exchange of earthly life and family for a heavenly one, death and rebirth. For these reasons churches were sometimes built near to or even above a spring - Kilpeck has a watercourse running beneath it - and St Paul's idea that baptism was part of a burial with Christ grew, which in turn led to a perceived symmetry of death and rebirth with the font acting as both womb and tomb.²⁶ None of this helps explain why and how foliate heads were depicted on fonts other than to note that the foliage presumably needed water but, more importantly, it thrives as though part of a new life, an idea that has been considered with the blood-sucker heads. It should also be noted that the majority of baptismal candidates were newborn babies which indicates a positive interpretation of font illustrations in Christian iconography as has already been noted at Hinton Parva: no parents then or now would deliberately place their children in peril.

²⁴ Deerhurst, Gloucestershire C9th and Potterne, Wiltshire C10th are examples, but they do not have foliate heads.

²⁵ Richard Morris, 'Baptismal Places: 600-800', *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500-1600, Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1991), pp. 16-17. The period in question had been thirty days, but was reduced to seven.

²⁶ Morris, p. 18. Colossians 2.12.

TOMBS

Although thirty-seven heads have been found on eighteen fonts, forty-one have been found on only fourteen tombs although the figure is inflated by the seventeen on Gundrada's grave-slab. In addition there are two Easter Sepulchres which will be discussed in this section. The Middle Ages were a time when planning a funeral was more important than a wedding. Huizinga remarks that no other epoch laid so much emphasis as the late Middle Ages on the thought of death (perhaps not unreasonably, given the ravages plague had made).²⁷ There was a sense that an individual's main purpose in life was to ensure that he got not only himself into paradise, but his family too so there was a strong element of responsibility in his piety. It is telling that traditional pre-Reformation religious practices died hard as was found frequently on Episcopal visitations when it was discovered that the people cleaved to the use of candles and the ringing of bells before the funeral to elicit prayers for the dead.²⁸ There was an aspirational element to one's funeral since burial within the parish church was both socially prestigious and expensive, costing as much as £1 or £2 to carry out the work involved.²⁹ The number of chantry chapels built and other costly donations to churches evident to this day were all made, not so much to be remembered by future generations, but in the hope that it would help their transition to heaven and to remind those still living to pray for them.

Fourteen tombs bearing foliate heads is not an impressive number, but it is enough to show that the image was not thought to damage the occupant's chances of reaching the next world. It should also be noted that tombs were occasionally designed by the future

²⁷ Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* reissued (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1955), p. 134.

²⁸ Duffy, p. 577.

²⁹ Heath, p. 215.

inhabitant, which refutes any notion that they were held to be displeasing to God in any way. Four of the tombs house holy men, one of them a bishop. Table 17 lists these tombs and indicates how many heads are found on each one.

| Date | No | Church | County | Details |
|------|----|----------------------|-----------------|--|
| 1160 | 17 | Lewes | Sussex | Gundrada d.1085. Wife of William de Warenne |
| 1254 | 1 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucestershire | Abbot Robert Forthington |
| 1258 | 1 | Enville | Staffordshire | Roger de Bermingham, Priest |
| 1300 | 1 | Bredon | Worcestershire | Reede family |
| 1300 | 1 | Sparsholt | Oxfordshire | Unknown Crusader knight |
| 1312 | 1 | Winchelsea | Sussex | Gervase Alard |
| 1350 | 1 | Harpwell | Lincolnshire | William Harrington, Priest |
| 1352 | 6 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Bishop Hamo |
| 1368 | 1 | Bristol Cathedral | Somerset | Maurice, 9 th Lord Berkeley |
| 1397 | 2 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucestershire | Robert fitzHamon |
| 1400 | 1 | Brabourne | Kent | Unknown |
| 1430 | 5 | St Alban's Cathedral | Hertfordshire | Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester d.1447 |
| 1450 | 1 | Aldbourne | Wiltshire | Goddard family |
| 1451 | 2 | Crowhurst | Sussex | John Gainsford |
| 1330 | 2 | Little Leighs | Essex | Easter Sepulchre |
| 1330 | 1 | Irnham | Lincolnshire | Easter Sepulchre |

Table 17: Foliate heads on tombs

The oldest example is not the original tomb of Gundrada who died in 1085. No details of her first tomb survive and this slab was made some seventy-five years later. She was the wife of the wealthy and influent William Warenne (staunch supporter of William I) who fought at Hastings and was rewarded with extensive lands.³⁰ Gundrada died in childbirth at Castle Acre (Norfolk) and was taken for burial at Lewes Priory, which she had co-founded with William I. It is not known why a new grave slab was created in the 1160s although the building of the new priory church of St Pancras is likely to have been a trigger. It may have had political connotations because Warenne descendants were obliged to campaign to prevent

³⁰ Christopher Tyerman, *Who's Who in Early Medieval England (1066-1272)* (London: Shephard-Walwyn, 1996), p. 36.

Henry II from redistributing lands granted after the Conquest, so this helped bring their family prestige to the fore. The black Tournai marble stone is now in Southover church. The design comprises two equal strips of interlinked small beast-heads which connect to each other by granulated stems and interspersed with stylised foliage, a style seen on fonts of the same period. A lengthy Latin inscription runs around the edges and down the centre, some of which has been lost.³¹

Gundrada, distinguished offspring of dukes, noble shoot in her own time, brought to the churches of the English the balms of the martyrs' tradition [...] to those in misery she was in her piety a Mary. The part of Martha [in her] died, the greater part of Mary survives. O, pious Pancras, witness of purity and justice, she makes you her heir, may you in clemency accept the Mother. Her light faded on the 23rd of May when she took the alabaster [vase] [...].

The fact that her tomb is adorned with at least seventeen linked heads is interesting. The quote refers to the part of her that was Marian surviving after death which would tie into the notion of resurrection being part of the foliate head's meaning. Mary survives eternally as Queen of Heaven, but she was a mother. Sadly Gundrada died in the act of becoming a mother and thereby gave her life for another, which makes her a martyr as well.

Gundrada's is not the most prestigious of the foliate-head tombs since there is a lord and a duke amongst their number and, as mentioned on p. 181 above, there are two heads in the chapel where Mary, Queen of Scots lies, although they are not part of her tomb.³² The ninth Lord Berkeley rests in the Elder Chapel, Bristol cathedral with his mother where a fine foliate head adorns a roof boss directly above their burial places: a young, male face who disgorges vine leaves whilst grapes are draped around his head. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester and youngest brother of Henry V, resides in St Albans cathedral in a tomb made

³¹ Andreas Bihrer & Elisabeth Stein, *Nove De Veteribus* (Leipzig: K.G. Saur, 2004), p. 389.

³¹ Susan Saygin, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1390-1447) The Italian Humanist* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: Brill, 2002), p. 113.

³² See p. 178.

when he was alive. In 1442, five years before his death, he donated £433 6s 8d to establish the chantry chapel in St Albans abbey and gave £142 13s 4d annually to the monks to pray for his soul and £60 to the monastery kitchens.³³ His tomb bears his arms as might be expected, along with figures of other royal benefactors, but it also has five leonine heads which disgorge stylised vines.

The most senior of the priests is Hamo de Hethe, bishop of Rochester for over thirty years (1319-1352) until he retired in his eighties because of ill-health. He had distinguished himself in his career by being one of a few who defended Edward II at the Parliamentary session that deposed him.³⁴ The date of his death appears uncertain but was no later than 1358, so it is possible that this tomb was designed in his lifetime. His seemingly empty tomb is in the ambulatory of Rochester cathedral. His effigy would have lain under a single arch with a quatrefoil apex. The lower border of the arch is decorated with four spandrels containing six foliate heads, five disgorging and one transforming. They are delicately carved and are a mixture of grotesques and humans and one engages with leaves that have been identified as oak. The overall scheme sweeps the heads in an upwards direction, as though travelling heavenwards. There is little other decoration apart from some interlinked blind arcades below where the effigy rested.

Abbot Robert Forthington of Tewkesbury was known for his ability to cast out devils. Information in the abbey describes the sequence of images on his tomb in the south aisle as him meeting a devil, the devil breathing fire, the abbot triumphing over him and trampling him underfoot. This sequence is contested because the second in the sequence is in a different style from the narrative and is a grotesque head disgorging quantities of what is certainly foliage, not fire; however, it is not clear what purpose it serves on the tomb. Little

³³ Saygin, p. 113.

³⁴ May Mckisack, *The Fourteenth Century: 1307-1399* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 93.

is known of Roger de Bermingham (d.1258) who rests in the sanctuary of Enville (Staffordshire). The effigy is dressed as a priest and, when the coffin was opened during restoration work, the remains of a chalice and paten were found near his right hand.³⁵ The disgorging foliate head stares south-west and is clumsily worked, vigorous stylised leaves streaming back toward the occupant. It may be that he sponsored the building as he is in a prestigious place, normally reserved for an Easter Sepulchre. The last priest is at Harpswell (Leicestershire). Nothing is known about the rector, William Harrington, other than that he died in 1350 and has an over-sized foliate head at the base of his effigy with no further embellishment.

The early fourteenth-century memorial now in the sanctuary of Bredon church was perhaps a tomb cover for members of the Reede family. It was found, face-down, on the floor of the south chapel where it had been used as a paving stone.³⁶ It features two portraits, presumably of the occupants, above now-empty niches. The figure of Christ crucified is between them and above that are two doves ascending towards a miniature foliate head which disgorges hawthorn. The doves are taken to be the souls of the Reedes in which case the head acts as a repository for them.

A well-crafted head adorns the tomb of Gervase Alard at Winchelsea, the Admiral of the Western Fleet who died in 1312.³⁷ The head is a young male who disgorges oak leaves, set in a trefoil within the apex of an arch above the tomb, which is elaborate but has no other specific images. In 1397 a chantry chapel was built for Robert Fitzhamon, a cousin of

³⁵ Geoffrey C. Smith, *A Short History and Guide of the Church of St Mary the Virgin, Enville* (Kempsey: Hughes, 2000), pp. 14-15.

³⁶ J. F. Taylor, *The Story of St Giles Church, Bredon* (Gloucester: The British Publishing Company, undated), p. 12.

³⁷ Malcolm Saville, *The Story of Winchelsea Church*, rev. and ed. by Robert Hargreaves, 23rd edn. (Hastings: Broker & How, 2009), p. 31.

William I, who died from wounds received at the siege of Falaise in 1107.³⁸ He had founded Tewkesbury abbey in 1092 and the abbey church in 1102. He was originally buried in the Chapter House but moved to his present location in 1241 where the chapel was erected over him in 1397. In this late fourteenth-century build there are two amiable disgorging beasts of a bull-like nature. They both disgorge stylised leaves from the very corners of their mouths, giving them a stretched, contented appearance. Although the chapel is finely-worked and has an early example of fan tracery in the ceiling, there is no other figurative decoration on it. The tomb was made when foliate heads were popular but can have no relation to the wishes of fitzHamon.

The 1450 head in the Goddard chapel, Aldbourne is arguably the most repellent of them all, having pocked, reptilian features on a human face. Notes in the church say that the six figures on the tomb were probably brought from elsewhere. A floor-brass commemorates Richard Goddard as a benefactor. John Gainsford was also a benefactor but at Crowhurst, dying in 1451. A memorial brass reveals him as a knight, his feet resting on a dog with a Latin inscription stating that he, his wife Anna and son Richard are buried there. Two heads of an unusual type are on this tomb. One is human and the other a hybrid - the human's mouth is stuffed with stylised grapes which also are disgorged on straight stems. The remaining two tomb foliate heads are at Sparsholt (Oxfordshire) and Brabourne (Kent). The former is a Crusader knight, but nothing more is known about either occupant. The tomb at Sparsholt is not dated but the style of the foliate heads is so similar to some found in Beverley Minster and Lichfield cathedral that a contemporaneous date of *c.*1300 has been assigned.

³⁸ Arnold Porter and Sam Birch, *Tewkesbury Abbey* (Norwich: Jarrold, 2005), p. 4.

EASTER SEPULCHRES

Two Easter Sepulchres bearing foliate heads were found, which is of particular interest because of their function.³⁹ The sepulchres take the form of a canopied recess, usually in the north wall of the sanctuary or chancel which is often ornately decorated and used to safeguard the consecrated Host, held to be the actual body of Christ, from Maundy Thursday until the First Mass of Easter. Their nature makes them high status items, but they are rare because they were often made of wood and installed for the occasion. That they were in regular use is evident from church wardens' accounts such as at St Mary Redcliffe, Bristol in the 1470s where a new one was ordered which had plenty of gold leaf along with images of the risen Christ, the sleeping soldiers, a model of hell, four angels with wooden wings and God the Father and the Holy Ghost coming from Heaven down to the sepulchre.⁴⁰ Good Friday being a day of great mourning, the people would often approach the revealed Cross bare-foot and on their knees to venerate it, a practice known as creeping to the Cross which was scorned post-Reformation.⁴¹ Early on Easter Morning the clergy processed to the Easter Sepulchre from whence the Host was taken and placed in the pyx or on the high altar. The point is that the body of Christ was not only placed in the Sepulchre, but housed there

³⁹ A third was found at Hawton (Nottinghamshire) after the fieldwork had been completed.

⁴⁰ Duffy, pp. 31-32.

⁴¹ This is a practice continued to this day in Anglo-Catholic churches, although it is rare to approach the cross on knees.

and guarded. It is therefore remarkable to find three such tombs with foliate heads, the most interesting being at Little Leighs (Essex) (figs. 66 and 67).



Figs. 66 and 67: Easter Sepulchre at Little Leighs, Essex c.1330

The c.1300 effigy in this Sepulchre is interesting in itself being the only known wooden one of a priest in this country.⁴² It is currently stored in what may appear to be a convenient place, but one which would be of some embarrassment to the occupant. There are two foliate heads on this tomb, the other being in the opposing spandrel and being a tongue-pulling, leonine hybrid which disgorges peonies, already shown to be a symbol of Mary on pages 107 and 120. Trails of over-sized oak leaves with acorns are draped along the top of the ogee-shaped canopy with a discreet, dragon-like monster at each end. In the centre-right spandrel (the one the occupant would see if he opened his eyes) is a head of a bearded man with strong-looking, wavy hair. He disgorges hawthorn, some of the leaves still curled in bud form, suggesting a new growth. The man looks to be about thirty-three, the age it is believed Christ was when he was crucified. It is possible - indeed likely - that the carver intended to portray Christ as a foliate head which makes any interpretation of the image extremely positive; pre-Reformation religious practice would not have tolerated any

⁴² Charles Grigg Tait, *Little Leighs, Essex* (no place, no publisher, 2007), p. 2.

ambiguity about Christ's sacrifice and resurrection. The significance of the lion has already been discussed under the heading of 'Animal Disgorgers' on page 203, but the Little Leighs carving is a somewhat stylized example (see figure 68). If one examines this sepulchre with the aid of a torch and a magnifying glass, it is possible to detect traces of what is presumed to be the original colour which is predominantly red, not green.



Fig. 68: Easter Sepulchre at Little Leighs, Essex c.1330 leonine disgorging head

This section has considered the spread of the 1,172 heads both across the country and the churches, although neither examination has been able to elicit any definite information about their interpretation. Although they are in positions of some prestige and in high status buildings they are also a minority image, possibly only constituting two or three in every hundred carvings. They have been found in two leading churches in the capital: Westminster Abbey and Temple Church having been made at times when there was interest in establishing new religious buildings and so they would have been influential designs. Heads have been found in every cathedral and some monastic buildings as well as in small parishes but there does not appear to be any association with town business since no link could be established to markets, for example. It cannot be said that foliate heads were for the benefit of the people because of the number that are in chancels and sanctuaries and, likewise, they are not there solely to enlighten the clergy. Only a third are on the exterior of the buildings

where they are seemingly randomly placed amongst other carvings of monsters, foliage, saints, biblical stories, Last Judgements and occasional social comment. This apparent scattering holds true for those heads that are on roof bosses and misericords. The location of some in specific sites such as fonts and tombs indicates a positive interpretation for the reasons given, especially those on an Easter Sepulchre.

Whilst about a quarter are at doorways, associated with tympani, or at chancel arches, it is not felt that they are typically at thresholds. Where they are thus situated, an aspect of guardianship is apparent in some (but not all) of the earlier examples, but not the later ones. Indeed the two instances on the twelfth-century tympanum at Elkstone could be seen to be endorsing the Christ-in-Majesty with Evangelists scene on the tympanum, or vice versa. As was mentioned on page 5, a problem with this type of assessment occurs because of the numerous additions made to the original buildings. It is also not thought that the original carvers intended them to be liminal images any more than they intended any of the numerous other carvings in the same area to be regarded in that light. This would not make sense given that they are in almost every position possible in and on the churches, not merely on the edge. The case of roof bosses has been examined and it has been shown that they would have been more a part of the proceedings than they are now. On the other hand it is true that misericords are often out of sight, depending on the position of the seat although, in the up-position, again, they are right at the heart of the chancel and intermingled with the holy men themselves. The only firm conclusion to be reached is that studying foliate heads by location does not bring definite explanation of their meaning, but it does draw yet nearer to a positive interpretation in terms of Christian iconography.

CONCLUSION

In trying to understand the meaning of the foliate head carvings, it might be useful to assess their proliferation against events of European rather than merely national significance, such as famine and plague. The general population of England had peaked around the year 1300 and was already in decline when plague arrived. The reasons for this are twofold: years of a mainly stable climate had led to over-population which in turn led to an inadequacy of food supply, which pushed up the death rates.¹ In addition, gradual deterioration in climate caused widespread famine in 1315-17 which may have killed as many as 15%, while having a serious impact on the survivors.² Further harvest failure in 1321 brought about more famine, with consequences for prices and mortality. There was also widespread disease amongst sheep, sometimes killing as many as half of a flock which, again, added to a general failure of food supply and prosperity.³ It has been said that the early fourteenth-century population was not just malnourished but 'calamity sensitive' so that by the time plague reached England, the physical and mental state of the people was significantly less robust than it had been half a century earlier.⁴

Whilst the Middle Ages were disease-ridden years, the impact of plague can be judged from the many texts that are extant, inscriptions on walls in churches such as Ashwell (Hertfordshire) and Acle (Norfolk), a fashion for cadaver tombs and in a re-kindling of interest in images such as the foliate head.⁵ Texts survive in the form of chronicles and

¹ M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 38.

² Colin Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and its Aftermath in Late-Medieval England*, 3rd edn. (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 14.

³ Nigel Saul, 'Britain 1400', *History Today*, 50 (July 2000), 38-43 (pp. 38-39).

⁴ Saul, p. 39.

⁵ At Ashwell there are several inscriptions in the belfry referring to outbreaks of plague in 1349 and 1350 e.g. *Expente miseranda ferox, violenta superest plebs testis* - miserable, wild, distracted, the dregs of the people alone survive to witness. At Acle, Norfolk, there is an inscription below the north chancel window sill written after 1362 which refers to the 'brute beast plague.'

letters from across Europe, not only from England, many of them describing both the actual disease and its ferocity. Geoffrey le Baker of Swinbrook in Oxfordshire reported a pestilence that caused 'fierce destruction' amongst Indian, Turks, Syrians, Palestinians and finally Greeks, gradually arriving in France, Germany and England, completely emptying many rural settlements of human beings.⁶ It is generally held to have killed half the population in twelve to eighteen months, although the ratio of deaths varied across the country and according to how densely populated a town or monastery was. Benedictow's extensive survey which tracks Black Death and its consequences across Europe concludes that whilst the death rate could be as low as 10% on Willington Manor (Northumberland), it was as high as 78% in the same county at Jarrow.⁷ Over the whole of Europe he suggests a mortality rate of 60% with a possible 62.5% of the population perishing in England.⁸ The relentless nature of the disease is revealed by the speed at which it travelled which is thought to have been perhaps 1-1.5 kilometres a day in England.⁹ The terror it inspired may be judged by the response, whether in terms of increased numbers going on pilgrimage, processions against the plague, or the call for additional Masses to be said and the invoking of particular saints such as St Sebastian.¹⁰ It is plain from surviving texts that individuals believed that plague was God's vengeance on them for their sins. Amongst them, for instance, is an anonymous poet who stated that vice ruled unchallenged, causing children to die for the sins of their fathers, and there was anxiety about inappropriate behaviour such as enjoying tournaments, excessively vain or indecent dress and disobedient children.¹¹ The disease was cyclical,

⁶ *The Black Death*, trans. and ed. by Rosemary Horrox (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 80-81.

⁷ Ole Benedictow, *The Black Death 1346-1353: A Complete History* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), p. 367.

⁸ Benedictow, p. 383.

⁹ Benedictow, p. 142.

¹⁰ Horrox, pp. 119-24.

¹¹ Horrox, pp. 126, 130-35.

further outbreaks being recorded in 1361, 1369, 1375, 1390.¹² Obituary lists at Christ Church Priory, Canterbury show that plague continued into the fifteenth century, occurring in every decade except for the 1490s, but recurring in 1501, 1504 and 1507.¹³ The effect of this shocking disease on public and individual psyche can only be imagined, but it is against this background that there appears to have been a proliferation of foliate-head carving and the introduction of those known as blood-suckers. There may be no connection: Tisdall interprets the crowned blood-sucker at Spreyton as 'The Green Man creates His visual world' whilst the church guide to Ottery St Mary says that the leaves coming from all orifices implies that all senses are dulled, although that could mean that they have been dulled by death.¹⁴ An association with impending death is enhanced at Peter Tavy where there are not only eleven foliate heads in total, but they are surrounded by merchants seen in profile and cherubs perhaps indicating that death befalls all, even the most affluent. A *vanitas* theme was not uncommon, being found, for example, on a misericord in Ludlow (Shropshire) which dates to 1435 and which depicts a well-dressed merchant surrounded by the accoutrements of a funeral.

This thesis is the result of considerable fieldwork which revealed 1,172 foliate heads in four hundred churches across every English county, each of which was recorded on a database from which all the information and statistics have been drawn. Previous studies of foliate heads have variously postulated that they operated as decorative, liminal images or that they are folkloric images somehow found in Christian buildings. Whilst recognising the usefulness, to a point, of these responses, this thesis analyses them in terms of iconography

¹² Platt, p. 15.

¹³ John Hatcher, *Plague, Population and the English Economy 1348-1530* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1977), p. 17.

¹⁴ Tisdall, p. 105. John A. Whitham, *The Church of St Mary of Ottery; A Short History and Guide* (no place, no publisher, undated), p. 14.

and by observation of their type and location. It was anticipated that consistencies would be found that would help identify the function of the foliate head but, although the image is omnipresent, it became clear early on that it is not uniform in its particulars. One of the pleasures of exploring these carvings has been the variety both in style, location and type; it seems that the overall principle that the foliate head should either disgorge or transform into foliage was widely known, but that no set rules were laid down around it. This need not surprise since biblical and hagiographic stories were also well-known, and they are depicted in numerous ways and media across the country too.

The fact that Lady Raglan named them Green Men in 1939 had an impact on the image in terms of art history; one result is that they are alive in public imagination in England to a more marked extent than anywhere else in Europe. Many people know what a Green Man looks like, but they have a skewed understanding of its history and possible meaning. There has been, and continues to be, confusion with Green Men from folklore, Jacks-in-the-Green and characters connected with May Day festivities that mark the beginning of spring or summer and which are sometimes associated with pre-Christian fertility rites. This has caused more misunderstanding as questions are asked as to why seemingly non-Christian activities should be so celebrated in churches and why some of the heads look so unappealing. An answer supplied by many was that foliate heads somehow represented latent paganism within a Christian setting, that they appealed to some other form of spirituality deep within medieval man and that they were a thorn in the side of the clergy. It has been suggested by Millar, Grundie and the Carters that many ordinary people remained pagan throughout the Middle Ages, but paid lip-service to Christianity and this accounts for the number of non-Christian images in Christian buildings because it was a way of keeping the old religions going. It has been shown that this does not stand up to scrutiny.

Investigation reveals a steadfastly Christian population whose duty was to take their place in paradise on the Day of Judgement and, as Tisdall has remarked, the heads are so numerous and varied that they cannot be pagan images 'slipped in while the patron was out for the day.'¹⁵ Their origins may be pagan, but their context in churches is Christian and is comparable to many other decorative features whether labyrinths, monsters or angels. What is unusual about foliate heads is that modern enthusiasts appear to want to reclaim this undeniably Christian carving to some kind of unspecified, undated and nebulous paganism.

Historiography surrounding foliate heads is interesting both because of an early absence of comment and, later, an often idealistic view predicated more on the name of Green Man rather than on any robust research. MacDermott notes that 'Green Men are there, all right, multiplying and mutating, but nobody makes any comment or displays any curiosity about their meaning or origin.'¹⁶ The reasons for this have been discussed but are impossible to verify. It can only be said that it is likely that Victorian and Edwardian writers favoured order, having a set view about how Christianity should be practised and may not have wished to engage with seemingly savage, inexplicable images that might challenge these mores. It is noticeable that Victorian foliate head carvings are usually identifiably human with bland, non-threatening expressions. Later writers, often inspired by Frazer's interest in folklore, explore the foliate head in a more romanticised fashion. Some, notably Anderson, Hicks and the Doels, see the carvings as sentient beings, placed to send an unfathomable message to humankind, but one based variously on inner spirituality or ecology. The flaws in their research are firstly that they set ancient images against modern ideals and secondly that they overlook the fact that foliate heads were not called Green Men until 1939 and are not called that anywhere other than in Britain. The name of Green Man is

¹⁵ Tisdall, p. 105.

¹⁶ Macdermott, p. 24.

not relevant to discussion about the green man and this further breaks any link to drama such as *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* who was coloured green, but was not leafy. Where colour remains, it is more likely to be red or gold; if it is green it has invariably proved to be the result of comparatively recent restoration. It has also been shown that gender is not important since only six hundred and eighty-four (58.42%) of the 1,172 examples are identifiably human although, out of those, only two are definitely women. If they are human, they are adult, not children.

Their origins have been sought extensively, not only in folklore but in hagiography and in other cultures. *The Golden Legend* appears to offer the most promising lead in its description of Seth bringing seeds from the Garden of Eden's tree of mercy, placing them in the dying Adam's mouth which brought forth a tree later to be used to make the Cross on which Christ was crucified. Unfortunately this work was not written until the thirteenth century which does not account for foliate heads created before then. Although Jacobus de Voragine compiled stories already in circulation, many were from obscure sources and would not have been widely known until they were produced as a collection.¹⁷ Biblical sources have been examined such as Ezekiel 8.17 and, again, found to be too obscure a reference to have triggered an abundance of foliate head carvings. The origins of the foliate head could lie in cultures as diverse as Indian and Scandinavian. It has been shown that leaf-masks and garlanded heads were enjoyed in ancient Greece and Rome along with stories about people turning into trees, such as Apollo and Daphne, whilst Oceanus was depicted with seaweed and gulls growing from his beard and eyebrows. Some of these images were in turn shown on theatre masks and may have made their way west with the Roman army or travellers' tales. The same could apply to the Indian *kirttimukha* image that derives from a

¹⁷ Voragine, trans. by Stace, p. xv.

story of Shiva - similarities here are especially marked in the earlier heads such as the twelfth-century corbels at Southwell and Sandwich. Another strand comes from the Celts whose imagery focussed on heads, often mask-like. The La Tène style of *c.*500-100 BC was a particularly influential art form using almond-shaped eyes, pointed bestial ears, delicate tendrils and granulation which, in turn, influenced Scandinavian art. The latter employed disgorging beasts caught up in intricate notched foliage which can be seen at Sutton Hoo (*c.*615) and in such English works as the Lindisfarne Gospels (*c.*700). Geographically and in terms of probability it seems that foliate heads in Britain took their cue from art imported by Viking invaders and settlers. The earliest-known head in a Christian context is on St Abre's fourth-century tomb at Poitiers, but the very earliest so far (if it is one) was found in north Turkey at Amasya, dating to around 1900 BC, although if and how the image travelled two thousand two hundred miles in almost the same number of years remains unknown.

This thesis offers detailed examination not just of the differences between disgorging and transforming heads, but of different types within those categories: how and from whence the foliage is disgorged, if the tongue can be seen or if the head reveals more of the body, perhaps even the whole person. Thirty disgorging animals are also discussed. A similar treatment was applied to grotesques and hybrids which constitute a fifth of the corpus. Biblical references and Christian symbolism were deployed to search for an interpretation but, although there are numerous Old and New Testament passages that mention mouths, ears, noses and eyes, nothing was found that matches the church carvings exactly enough to be taken as an authority. A similar test was applied to the nine different types of foliating animals, all of which were real given that the medieval mindset accepted dragons as living beings, not as legend. Unicorns and mermaids make frequent appearances in medieval art, but not one of these was found. This does not imply that foliate heads are typically living

beings because of the number of grotesques. It was noticed that the animals, even fierce ones, hold the foliage tenderly implying that it is not to be destroyed and this is also true of humans and monsters. It is not thought that any of the foliage is being ingested, but it is not possible to state categorically if it is being blown out of the mouth or is growing deep within the host. The idea of it being wafted on the breath has been dismissed because it could only apply to those disgorging heads that issue it from the mouth. The symbolism of the chosen animals was examined and here it was found that they tend to have a positive interpretation in terms of Christian symbolism; the fidelity of dogs for example, or the lion whose cubs are not alive until the father-lion breathes life into them on the third day, a reference to new life on resurrection. They also were held to sleep with their eyes open, thus symbolising the watchfulness of Christ in the tomb as he awaited resurrection.

The foliage itself is a key diagnostic feature. Twenty-eight plant varieties have been identified with the caveat that the carvings are not to scale and lack corroborative evidence such as the tree's bark. The most common leaves are oak, hawthorn, vine, maple and acanthus and these were tested for their symbolism where any is known. Again positive theological interpretations were found, the steadfastness of the oak for instance, of which the Cross may have been made. Acanthus is a symbol of eternal life and the vine represents Christ, the church and is manifested in the Eucharist. That said, the most prevalent leaf by far (80.7%) is stylised and indeed, many of the identifiable leaves are in a stylised form, especially the vine. Within the stylised group there are sixteen which are treble-lobed and which fit a description of the peridens tree which is an analogy for Trinity and for holding a steadfast faith. Flowers are also found, again with a positive interpretation, such as the peony which is a symbol of Mary (a rose without a thorn). Some leaf-types are conspicuous by their absence but, in general, it can be said that the leaves are artistic, often deeply dissected

or multi-lobed and it is important to note that it is always living: not one example exists where the foliage does not thrive. This must be of great significance and indicative of life. In many cases the fruit or seeds are incorporated in the design and occasionally curled leaves in bud form.

A small proportion (8.02%) have some form of headdress whether a cap, cowl or crown. The preference for hatted foliate heads was in the sixteenth century although fourteen examples were made before 1200. Two foliate heads wear headgear associated with the wearer's role, but otherwise the distribution of headbands and hats seems random. Although only twenty-one (1.8%) wear crowns, they are held to be the most important especially when it was noted that 42.06% of them are adjacent to non-foliating heads wearing crowns. This might be a reference to crowns of justice in Heaven and/or endurance bringing forth the crown of eternal life, another resurrection reference. Headdresses and crowns in particular are indicative of high status, which was an unexpected connection between the heads. It is also the case that although foliate heads are found in fewer than 7% of parish churches, they are in every cathedral that held that status before the Reformation, and this applies across Europe. The fact that they are associated with status may also indicate that their interpretation is positive in Christian terms.

Close attention has been paid to position, both geographical and spatial, but it has not been possible to draw conclusions from the density of foliate-head population. They were in use in London from the twelfth-century which must have influenced the provinces, but unfortunately the Great Fire destroyed valuable evidence. Nor has it been possible to link them specifically to market towns or to groups of towns such as the Cinque Ports. The same applies to monastic foundations, largely because so many are now in ruins. Foliate heads inhabit every part of their host churches, two thirds of them being inside. This raises the

question of for whom they were made since it was plainly not only for the clergy or the people. Approximately a fifth of them are in chancels which laymen would not have entered. The fact that therefore four-fifths are in the nave is not thought significant since some naves are at least four times as big as the chancel. No pattern has been spotted in adjoining images for example on misericords or roof-bosses. Romanesque foliate heads are usually found on tympani, corbels or fonts whereas later ones are predominantly on roof-bosses but this may be a false figure since very few roofs survive from the twelfth century.¹⁸

Woodcock describes foliate heads as liminal images which is contested for two reasons. Churches undergo frequent amendment interfering with the original impact of the location and the use of colour brought them into the heart of proceedings. Where colour survives it is most likely to be gold or red, not the more natural green, and it is contended that this was deliberate to make them stand out in flickering candlelight, causing the congregation to notice them. This in turn indicates that they have a function. That said, it should be remembered that they are minority images; there might only be one or two heads amongst scores of other carvings. If the other carvings are biblical stories, which they often are, then it again suggests that they had a theologically positive reading.

Particular locations within the church space were considered, especially fonts and tombs, because they represent the entrance of new life into the world and Christian faith and the end of earthly life and start of the eternal. If foliate heads have a sinister interpretation one would have to ask why they are found on eighteen fonts, sometime in multiple forms, on fourteen tombs (some of them containing clergy) and on two Easter Sepulchres. The idea that anyone in those God-fearing days would do anything to jeopardise the spiritual life of their child or their own access to Paradise is not tenable. Fonts such as Hinton Parva's bear

¹⁸ It may be worth mentioning that the C12th painted ceiling at Zillis, Switzerland reveals many monsters, but no foliating heads.

other details which symbolise Christ and resurrection such as serpents and fish, whilst a cockerel's presence speaks of being careful not to deny Him. The Easter Sepulchres are of considerable interest, especially the example at Little Leighs which may depict a foliating Christ. If that is so, as seems likely, then the heads must be positive and be linked to resurrection. The earliest-known foliate head in England at Dolton was originally on a preaching cross, an ecclesiastically important item not just for preaching, but for converting people so that they could look forward to their own resurrection.

The group known as blood-suckers were considered. These were first seen when catastrophic pestilence halved Europe's population. Their cadaverous appearance is shocking but, again, the foliage thrives, pushing out of the cavities with vigour and sometimes with the buds of new life as at Ottery St Mary. Foliate heads continued in popularity up till the Reformation, as did plague to some extent; its effects were reducing but it should not be assumed that people were aware of that at the time. Woodcock is right to describe them as reflecting temporal disaster, but it is posited that foliate heads were used to encourage the congregation in the face of this frightening disease: from common death comes life in the sense of eternal life.

Most foliate heads do not assist with their own interpretation, hence much has to be gleaned from their position and from carvings that have additional details or images. It is apparent from those images coupled with the symbolism of foliating animals, types of leaf, the use of crowns and the typical use of gold (making them high-status) that they were both valued and had a part to play in telling the Christian story. The conclusion is that foliate heads are symbols of eternal life particularly demonstrated by the thriving leaves. Perhaps the carver at Weston Longville was trying to state that clearly when he placed a delicate foliating dragon (fig. 39) on the apostle screen directly above the image of St Matthew who bears the verse from the Creed that reads '*ascendit in caelum*': ascended into heaven.

DATABASE HEADINGS

| | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| Dedication of church | Archivolt | Type - disgorging |
| Status of church | Beam | Type - transforming |
| Town | Bench end | Type - both |
| County | Capital | Human |
| Earliest date of church | Column face | Grotesque |
| Date of foliate head | Corbel | Hybrid |
| Total number found | Door boss | Eyes closed |
| Number found outside | Dossier | Eyes staring |
| Number found inside | Font | Eyes bulging |
| Located in porch | Frieze | Eyes closed |
| Archway | Furniture | Eyes normal |
| Chapter House | Lintel | Eyebrows |
| Cloister | Memorial | Teeth clenched |
| Crypt | Misericord | Teeth number |
| Doorway | Other | Mouth closed |
| Aisle | Plinth | Mouth open |
| Ambulatory | Roof-boss | Tongue |
| Nave | Screen | Headdress |
| Chancel | Sedilia | Headdress nearby |
| Choir | Springing point | Exit eyes |
| Sanctuary | String course | Exit ears |
| Tower | Tomb | Exit nose |
| Transept | Tympanum | Exit mouth |
| Window | | Foliage stylised |
| | | Foliage species |
| | | Line of sight |
| | | Image nearby |
| | | Photo reference |
| | | Remarks |

SUMMARY OF DATABASE (ALPHABETICAL)

D = Disgorging T = Transforming H = Human G = Grotesque Hyb = Hybrid TP =
Tongue-puller BS = Blood-sucker

If Headdress is annotated 'Yes', it is a non-specific headdress or perhaps only a head-band.

| Town | No | Date of FH | Location | Type | Species | Head-dress | Head-dress nearby | Other |
|---------------------|----|------------|--------------------------------------|------|---------|------------|-------------------|----------|
| Abbotsbury Dorset | 1 | 1400 | Nave, corbel | D | Dog | | | |
| Abingdon Oxon | 1 | 1300 | Exterior tower. String course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Acton Cheshire | 1 | 1300 | Exterior corbel | T | H | Yes | | |
| Adstock Bucks | 6 | 1100 | Exterior Porch capitals | T | Gs | | | |
| Advent Cornwall | 1 | 1450 | Chancel Aisle roof boss | D | H | | | |
| Aldbourne Wilts | 1 | 1450 | Chapel, tomb | D | H | | | Goddards |
| Aldwincle Northants | 6 | 1190 x 4 | Nave Aisle, capitals | D | H | Yes x 2 | Yes | |
| - | | 1375 x 2 | Chancel String course corbels | D | H | Yes x 2 | | |
| Alford Somerset | 1 | 1500 | Nave Bench end spandrel | D | H | Hat | | |
| Alne Yorks | 2 | 1150 | Exterior Porch, capital | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1100 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Alrewas Staffs | 3 | 1500 | Nave Screen | T | G | | | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Roof boss | D | H | Cap | | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Roof boss | T | G | | Yes | |
| Alton Hants | 2 | 1070 | Nave, Archway capitals | D | H | | | |
| Ancaster Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Nave South aisle capital | D&T | H | | Crowns | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|---|------|---|-----|----------------|-----|--------------|------------------|
| | | | | | | | | |
| Ardington Oxon | 1 | 1400 | South aisle corbel at archway springing point | D&T | H | | | Lion and monster |
| Ashby St Ledger Northants | 1 | 1510 | Nave Screen | D | H | | | |
| Ashill Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Font | D | H | | | |
| Ashton Keynes Wilts | 1 | 1400 | Exterior String course | T | G | | | |
| Avening Gloucs | 1 | 1400 | Chancel Roof boss | D | H | | | |
| Somerset Axbridge | 2 | 1400 | Nave North aisle roof boss | D | H | | Crown, Mitre | BS |
| - | | 1400 | Transept crossing Chancel capital | D | H | | | |
| Aylsham Norfolk | 2 | 1300 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Chancel choir Bench end | D | H | Yes | | |
| Backford Cheshire | 4 | 1500 | Exterior tower String course corbels | T | H x 2 G x 2 | | | |
| Barcheston Warwicks | 1 | 1250 | Doorway capital | D | H | | | |
| Barfrestone Kent | 3 | 1175 | Exterior Doorway capitals x 2 | D | Gs | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1175 | Exterior String course corbel | D | G | | Yes | |
| Barnham Broom Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Chancel Corbel | D | G | | | |
| Barnwell Northants | 1 | 1300 | Exterior doorway frieze | D | H | | | |

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|-------------------------|----|-----------|--|-----------------|----------------------------|----------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Barton on Humber Lincs | 2 | 1350 | Capitals on stone chapel | D | H x 1 G x 1 | | Crowns | |
| Battlefield Shrops | 1 | 1404 | South Nave corbel | D | H | Yes | Crowns | |
| Beccles Suffolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof boss | D | H | | | |
| Beckley Sussex | 2 | 1250 | Nave Corbels | D | H | | | |
| Belaugh Norfolk | 2 | 1400 | Nave Screen spandrels | D | Gs | | Haloes | Apostles on panels |
| Beverley, St Mary Yorks | 22 | 1400 x 4 | Exterior Door corbels and capitals x 4 | D | H | Yes, one | Yes, 3 | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1445 x 18 | Nave Screen x 2 | T | Hyb | | | |
| - | | | Misericords x 15 | D x 3 T x 12 | H x 3 G x 10 Hyb x 2 | | Yes | TPs x 8 |
| - | | | Chancel Choir bench-end x 1 | D | H | | | |
| Beverley Minster Yorks | 18 | 1325 x 12 | Nave capitals x 3 | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| - | | | Nave North aisle stone spandrels x 9 | D x 8 T x 1 | H x 7 G x 2 | Yes x 3 | Yes | TP x 2 |
| - | | 1400 x 3 | Ambulatory Roof bosses | D | H x 2 G x 1 | | Yes | |
| - | | 1520 | Misericords x 2 | D | H | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1520 | Nave Screen | D | H | | | |
| Bicknoller Somerset | 1 | 1520 | Nave Aisle bench-end | D | H | | Yes | Simon Werman |
| Bloxham Oxon | 3 | 1200 | Chancel Window | T | Hyb | | | Originally probably outside |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior door corbel | D | H | Crown | | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave screen | T | Hyb | | | |
| Blunham Beds | 1 | 1350 | Chancel roof-boss | D | H | | Horned veil | Tonsure |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|--------------|--|----------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-----------|
| Bluntisham Cams | 1 | 1350 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Bolton Percy Yorks | 1 | 1475 | Nave roof- boss | D&T | Hyb | | | |
| Boston Lincs | 6 | 1390 | Choir bench-end | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1390 | Misericord | D | G | | Yes | TP |
| - | | 1350 | Tower interior corbel | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1350 x 3 | Exterior string- course corbels x 3 | D x 2 T | Hyb H H | | | |
| Boughton under Blean Kent | 1 | 1200 | Chancel arch corbel | D | H | Coro net | | |
| Bovey Tracey Devon | 2 | 1500 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Boxgrove Priory Sussex | 14 | 1200 x 4 | Choir Roof-bosses | D | H | | | Conjoined |
| - | | 1532 x 10 | Tomb adornments | D | H x 4 G x 6 | Caps | Crowns | Flowers |
| Brabourne Kent | 2 | 1150 x 1 | Chancel Arch capital | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 x 1 | Chancel tomb spandrel | D | G | Hat | Yes | |
| Bradninch Devon | 4 | 1430 | Nave Capital frieze | D | H | Crown x 1 | Yes x 3 | |
| Brant Broughton Lincs | 11 | 1350 x 4 | Exterior corbel x 1 Exterior porch corbels x 3 | D D x 2 T x 1 | G G x 2 G | | | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1400 x 7 | Nave Roof-bosses x 7 | D x 2 T x 2 T x 1 T x 1 | H x 2 G x 2 H H | Yes | Yes Yes Yes Yes | TP x 2 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------------|---|----------|---|------------------|-------------------|---------|-----------|-------------------|
| | | | | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Bredon Worcs | 1 | 1300 | Sanctuary tomb | D | H | | Yes | Reede. Moved |
| Brent Knoll Somerset | 4 | 1450 | Nave south aisle bench-end spandrels | D | H | | Yes | |
| Bridekirk Cumbria | 1 | 1150 | Font | D | H | | | Inscription |
| Brigstock Northants | 3 | 1400 | Chapel Screen | T x 2 D&T x 1 | G x 2 G | | | Pipewell TP x 1 |
| Bristol Cathedral Somerset | 7 | 1270 x 4 | Chapel Capital frieze x 2 | D | H G | | Yes | Elder Lady Chapel |
| - | | 1325 | Chapel Corbels x 2 | D | G H | | Yes | Fruit |
| - | | 1300 x 1 | Chancel tomb roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | Berkeley |
| - | | 1520 x 2 | Misericords | D | H | Hat x 1 | Yes | TP |
| Bristol St Mary Redcliffe Somerset | 5 | 1300 | Exterior North porch frieze x 1 | T | Hyb | | | + 1 in glass |
| - | | 1400 x 4 | Chapel corbel South transept capital frieze Nave roof-bosses x 2 | D D D | H Cow H x 2 | | | |
| Bristol, St Mark Somerset | 1 | 1450 | Exterior West window corbel | D | G | | Whimplete | |
| Brixworth Abbey Northants | 1 | 1300 | Lady chapel Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Broadclyst Devon | 5 | 1400 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | | TPs x 4 |
| Broomfield Somerset | 1 | 1300 | Nave aisle capital frieze | D | G | | | |
| Brough Cumbria | 5 | 1160 | Exterior door voussoirs | D | G | | | |
| Broughton Oxon | 2 | 1350 | Nave south aisle corbels | D | H | | Yes | Right hand |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----|----------|--|------------------|------------------|-------|------------|-----------------|
| Buckminster Leics | 2 | 1400 | Nave north aisle corbel Exterior plinth | D D&T | H H | Hat | | St Luke's ox |
| Bucknall Lincs | 1 | 1300 | Exterior doorway corbel | D | H | | | |
| Bulmer Essex | 1 | 1400 | Font | D | H | | | |
| Bunbury Cheshire | 3 | 1300 | Nave South aisle corbels x 2 Nave frieze | D T D | H | | Yes Yes | TPs x 2 |
| Burton Bradstock Dorset | 1 | 1400 | Nave North aisle roof-boss | D&T | H | | | |
| Burton Latimer Northants | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch capital | T | H | | | Hair transforms |
| Bythorn Cambs | 1 | 1345 | Exterior tower string course | D | G | | | |
| Canterbury Cathedral Kent | 12 | 1076 x 4 | Crypt Capitals | D | G x 3 Hyb x 1 | | | |
| - | | 1100 | Exterior South transept capital | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1377 x 6 | Exterior Cloister south walk Capital x 1 Exterior roof-bosses x 5 | D x 5 D&T x 1 | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1400 | Roof-boss, Huguenot Chapel | T | H | | | |
| Capel St Mary Suffolk | 2 | 1400 | Exterior Chancel window corbel x 1 | D | H | | Yes | Fruit |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior Sanctuary east window corbel x 1 | D | H | Hat | | |
| Cartmel Priory Lancs | 2 | 1450 | Misericords | D | H x 1 G x 1 | Crown | Crowns | Triple / Janus |
| Castle Hedingham | 2 | 1400 | Misericords | T | Hybs | | Crowns | |

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|----------------------------|----|------|---|------------------|-------------------------|----------------|--------------|-------------------------------|
| Essex | | | | | | | | |
| Castle Rising Norfolk | 4 | 1150 | Font x 3 | D | Hybs | | | TPs x 3 |
| - | | 1150 | Exterior West window capital | D | H | | | |
| Castor Cambs | 4 | 1120 | Exterior Porch door capitals x 2 | D | H x 1 G x 1 | | | TPs x 2 |
| - | | 1120 | Tower crossing capitals x 2 | D | G x 2 | | | |
| Cavendish Suffolk | 1 | 1380 | Sanctuary Roof-boss | T | Hyb | | Crown, mitre | |
| Cawston Norfolk | 4 | 1400 | Choir Bench-end | D | H | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1400 | South transept roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave bosses x 2 | D | G x 2 | | Yes | |
| Chadlington Oxon | 1 | 1400 | Exterior porch door string course | T | H | | Crown | |
| Charney Basset Oxon | 12 | 1120 | Exterior Porch door voussoirs on tympanum | D | H x 10 G x 1 Hyb | Head-bands x 2 | Head bands | TP x 1 |
| Cheddar Somerset | 2 | 1500 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | | Yes | Dogs |
| - | | | Nave Bench-end | D | H | Hat | | Arrow Riddle |
| Chelveston Northants | 1 | 1250 | Nave south aisle corbel | D | H | | | |
| Chester Cathedral Cheshire | 8 | 1380 | Choir Bench-ends x 4 | D D D T | H G G H | | | Tonsure |
| - | | 1380 | Misericords x 4 | T x 2 D x 2 | G x 2 H x 1 G x 1 | | | Supporters Janus Corbel |
| Chetwode Bucks | 2 | 1480 | Nave Corbels | D | H | | | |

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|---------------------------------|---|----------|---|---------------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------|---------------|
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| Chichester Cathedral Sussex | 8 | 1198 x 6 | Chancel Ambulatory roof-bosses | D | H | | | Conjoined |
| - | | 1338 | Misericord | T | H | | | |
| - | | 1475 | Nave screen canopy boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Chipping Norton Oxon | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Chittlehampton Devon | 1 | 1400 | South chapel roof-boss | D | H | Head-band | | |
| Christchurch Priory Dorset | 3 | 1500 | Chancel Dossier x 2 Chancel chapel bench-end | D D | H x 2 G | Hats x 2 | Yes Yes | Whole monster |
| Church Langton Leics | 1 | 1250 | Exterior String course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Clare Suffolk | 8 | 1380 | Exterior String course corbel x 1 | T | G | | | |
| - | | 1380 | Exterior Porch door voussoirs x 7 | T D&T D&T x 5 | G Hyb H x 5 | | Yes x 7 | TP x 1 |
| Claypole Lincs | 4 | 1300 | Nave Capital frieze | D | H | | Yes | |
| Cley Norfolk | 1 | 1350 | Choir Bench-end | D | H | Yes | | |
| Cliffe-at-Hoo Kent | 2 | 1325 | Choir Bench-ends | D | H | | Helmet, crown, mitre | |
| Clifford Chambers Warwicks | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Corbel | D | G | | | TP |
| Congresbury Somerset | 1 | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Coventry, Holy Trinity Warwicks | 2 | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | Crown | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Window boss | D | H | | Hat | Hair |

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|--------------------------------|---|-------------------|--|-------|-------|-------|--------------|-------------------|
| Coventry, St JB Warwicks | 5 | 1350 | Tower Crossing corbel x 2 | D | H | | Crown x 1 | |
| - | | 1350 | Nave window corbels x 2 | D | H | Hat | Crown | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1350 | Nave Window voussoir | D | H | Crown | | |
| Cowden Sussex | 1 | 1300 | Sanctuary Beam corbel | D | H | Hat | | |
| Cranbrook Kent | 1 | 1300 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | Coronet | |
| Cranleigh Surrey | 1 | 1400 | Sanctuary Corbel | T | H | | Crown | |
| Crediton Devon | 1 | 1400 | South nave Corbel | D | H | | | BS |
| Crich Derbs | 1 | 1200 | Nave North aisle capital frieze | D | G | | | Upside down |
| Crick Northants | 1 | 1320 - 1400 | Chancel Window corbel | D | H | | | Beard |
| Crosby Garrett Cumbria | 1 | 1275 | Nave Capital | D | H | Cap | | Beard |
| Crowcombe Somerset | 3 | 1534 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1534 | Nave bench-end | D | H | Yes | Yes | Mermen |
| - | | 1534 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | Yes | Yes | Fish & men |
| Crowhurst Surrey | 2 | 1451 | Sanctuary tomb spandrels | D x 2 | H Hyb | | | John Gainsford |
| Croxton Kerrial Leics | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Croyland Abbey Lincs | 2 | 1427 | Choir Roof-bosses | D | H | | | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1430 | Exterior Tower boss | D | G | | | |
| Dartmouth Devon | 1 | 1480 | Nave Screen | D | H | Hat | | |
| Dennington Suffolk | 3 | 1330 | Nave Capital | D&T | H | | | |

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|-------------------------|----|------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------|---------|-------------------|
| - | | 1330 | Choir Window capital | D | H | | Crowns | Tonsure Hands. TP |
| - | | 1330 | Choir Window capital | D | H | | Crowns | Breasts |
| Derby Cathedral Derbs | 1 | 1520 | Exterior West tower corbel | D | H | | | Acorns Restored |
| Desborough Northants | 2 | 1300 | North transept Corbel | D | H | Crown | Yes | |
| - | | 1300 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Dolton Devon | 1 | 800 | Font | D | H | | | Preaching cross |
| Dorchester Abbey Oxon | 1 | 1200 | Sanctuary Chapel corbel | D | H | | | |
| Dorchester Dorset | 2 | 1450 | North nave roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Roof-boss | D | G | | Yes | TP |
| Down St Mary Devon | 11 | 1520 | Nave Bench-ends | T x 4 | H x 4 | Yes | Yes | Simon Werman |
| - | | 1520 | Nave Bench-ends | D x 7 | G x 7 | | Yes | Simon Werman |
| Dumbleton Gloucs | 1 | 1100 | Exterior North door tympanum | D | G | | | |
| Dunchideock Devon | 4 | 1400 | Nave roof-bosses x 3 | D | H x 2 Dog | | Yes x 3 | |
| - | | 1400 | Sanctuary Chapel roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Durham Durham | 1 | 1300 | Exterior Corbel north wall | D | G | | | |
| Durham Cathedral Durham | 5 | 1400 | Exterior Cloister roof-bosses | D&T T D T D | G G Hyb Hyb G | | | TP x 1 |
| Earl Soham Suffolk | 1 | 1400 | Nave Roof-beam spandrel | T | G | | | |
| East Brent Somerset | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Tower plinth | D | H | | Tiara | Supports V&C |
| East | 4 | 1400 | Exterior | T | G | | Hats | TP x 1 |

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|----------------------------------|---|------|---|----------------|--------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| Hagbourne Oxon | | | String course corbels | | | | | Hair trans former x 1 |
| Eastleach Gloucs | 3 | 1300 | Sanctuary East window corbels | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Easton Hants | 2 | 1200 | Sanctuary Capitals | D | G | | | |
| Eastwell Leics | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Window corbel | D | G | | | |
| Eaton under Heywood Shrops | 2 | 1500 | Nave Wooden roundel Sanctuary roof-boss | D D&T | H H | | Crowns Yes | |
| Edstaston Shrops | 2 | 1300 | Exterior Window spandrels | D | G | Crown x 1 | Yes | TP |
| Elkstone Gloucs | 2 | 1160 | Exterior south tympanum | D | G | | Yes | Tetramorp h |
| Elstow Abbey Beds | 1 | 1300 | Chancel Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Ely Cathedral Cams | 9 | 1340 | Chapel Roof-boss | T | G | | | |
| - | | 1340 | Lady Chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1340 | Misericord | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1340 | Choir Bench-ends x 6 | D x 5 T x 1 | H | Yes x 2 | Yes x 2 | |
| Enville Staffs | 1 | 1258 | Sanctuary Tomb | D | H | | | Roger de Berm- ingham |
| Evesham Worcs | 1 | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | Repainted TP |
| Ewelme Oxon | 2 | 1450 | Exterior | D&T D | H G | | Yes x 2 | |

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|------------------------|----|-----------|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------|---------|---------|-------------------------------------|
| | | | String course corbels | | | | | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 1250 x 6 | Misericords | D | H x 1 G x 4 Dog x 1 | | Yes | TP |
| - | | 1309 x 3 | Chancel Choir corbels | D | H | | Crowns | V&C, Assumption |
| - | | 1350 x 13 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| - | | - | Lady Chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | Crowns | |
| - | | - | Ambulatory roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | Yes | BS |
| - | | - | Sanctuary Roof-boss | T | H | | Crown | |
| - | | - | Choir roof bosses x 2 | D | H | | | |
| - | | - | Ambulatory Roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | | |
| - | | - | Nave corbel x 3 | D | H | | | Dog |
| - | | - | Transept corbel | D | G | | | Cripple |
| Eynsford Kent | 1 | 1400 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | H | | | |
| Faringdon Oxon | 2 | 1400 | Exterior West door corbels | T | H | Coronet | Coronet | Eroded |
| Felixkirk Yorks | 12 | 1100 | Chancel arch Capital frieze | D | G | | | Templar church. Some cat mask types |
| Finchingfield Essex | 1 | 1400 | Nave Screen spandrel | T | H | | | |
| Finedon Northants | 1 | 1200 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Foston Yorks | 1 | 1400 | Exterior string course corbel | D | G | | | |

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|-----------------------------|---|------|----------------------------------|----------|---------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| Fountains Abbey Yorks | 1 | 1500 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | | | Cistercian |
| Fownhope Herefords | 1 | 1300 | Sanctuary Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Fritwell Oxon | 2 | 1150 | Exterior Tympanum | D | Animals | | | Animals and trees |
| Gaddesby Leics | 2 | 1300 | Exterior string course corbels | D&T D | H G | | Mitre | |
| Garway Herefords | 1 | 1200 | Chancel arch Capital | D | Hyb | | | Templar church |
| Gedney Lincs | 1 | 1300 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | Head-band | | Beard foliage |
| Goodworth Clatford Hants | 1 | 1340 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | H | | Hat | |
| Gosforth Cumbria | 4 | 1100 | Chancel arch Capitals | D | H | | Yes | |
| Gotham Notts | 4 | 1190 | Nave South aisle capitals | D | H | | | |
| Grafton Regis Northants | 1 | 1200 | Exterior Porch doorway corbel | D | H | Cap | | |
| Grafton Underwood Northants | 1 | 1300 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | Hat | Supporting empty niche |
| Granby Notts | 2 | 1300 | Nave Bench-end double poppy-head | D | H | | | |
| Grantham Lincs | 2 | 1250 | Exterior string course corbels | D | H | | Yes | |
| Great Budworth Cheshire | 3 | 1450 | Nave arch corbels | D | Hyb | | Yes | TP |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Capitals x 2 | D&T T | H H | | Yes x 2 | |
| Great Canfield Essex | 1 | 1100 | Exterior Porch doorway capital | D | H | | | |

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|----------------------------|---|------|-------------------------------------|--------|--------|---------|--------------|----------|
| Great Coxwell Oxon | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | D | H | | | |
| Great Cransley Northants | 1 | 1400 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | G | | Yes | |
| Great Moulton Norfolk | 1 | 1450 | Exterior Porch doorway spandrel | D&T | G | | | |
| Great Oakley Essex | 2 | 1400 | Chancel doorway Corbels | D | H | | Strange hats | |
| Great Shelford Cambs | 2 | 1400 | Nave Choir screen | D | H | | Yes x 1 | TP |
| Great Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 1350 | Exterior West porch doorway corbel | D | H | | Crown, mitre | |
| - | | 1350 | Exterior West porch doorway corbel | D | Animal | | Crown, mitre | Dog |
| - | | 1350 | Exterior West porch doorway corbel | T | H | | Crown, mitre | |
| Greatford Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Porch archway capital | D | H | | | Tonsure? |
| Grundisburgh Suffolk | 1 | 1400 | Nave Screen spandrel | D | G | | | |
| Guildford Surrey | 1 | 1300 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | G | | | |
| Guiting Power Gloucs | 1 | 1400 | Nave corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| Hacheston Suffolk | 1 | 1500 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | H | Coronet | | Fruit |
| Hallaton Leics | 2 | 1300 | Nave Corbels | D T | H H | | Coronet | |
| Halse Somerset | 2 | 1300 | Nave Roundel/ plaque | D&T | H | | | |

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|-------------------------|---|------|--|-----|----------------|--|-----------------|-----------------------------------|
| - | | 1300 | Nave Capital frieze | D | H | | | TP |
| Handley Cheshire | 4 | 1512 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | T | G | | Yes | |
| - | | 1512 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | D | G | | Yes | |
| - | | 1512 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | T | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1512 | Exterior As above | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Hapton Norfolk | 1 | 1310 | Chancel Capital frieze | D | H | | | Flowers |
| Harlaxton Lincs | 3 | 1250 | Nave South aisle corbel | D | H | | Crown, mitre | Acorns Fruit |
| - | | 1250 | Chancel Corbel | D | H | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1250 | Font | D | H | | Crown | |
| Harlestone Northants | 3 | 1350 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | D | Hyb | | | |
| - | | 1350 | Exterior String course corbel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1350 | Exterior String course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Harpwell Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Tomb base | T | G | | | William Harrington , Rector |
| Healaugh Yorks | 8 | 1150 | Exterior Door archway capital frieze x 4 | D | H x 3 G x 1 | | | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1150 | Exterior door | D | G | | | |

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|--------------------------------------|----|------|--|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| | | | archway voussoir x 4 | | | | | |
| Heckington Lincs | 1 | 1375 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | Coro net | | |
| Helmingham Suffolk | 1 | 1480 | Exterior West door corbel below niche | D | H | Yes | Crown | |
| Hemel Hempstead Herts | 2 | 1160 | Chancel Arch capitals | D | H x1 Hyb x 1 | | | |
| Henham Essex | 4 | 1475 | Exterior Porch spandrels | D x 3 D&T x 1 | G | | | TP x 1 |
| Hereford, All Saints Herefords | 3 | 1300 | Misericord | D | Hyb | | Crown | TP |
| - | | 1300 | Chancel Roof-boss | T | G | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave window corbel | D | H | Crown | | |
| Hereford Cathedral Herefords | 1 | 1300 | Corbel | D | Hyb | | | Free- standing |
| Hexham Abbey Northumb | 3 | 1450 | Misericord | T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| - | | 1450 | Misericords x 2 | D | H | | | |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 1500 | Nave Bench ends x 5 | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Bench end x 1 | D | H | Coro net | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Bench ends x 4 | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Bench ends x 4 | D | H | Hat x 2 | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Bench ends x 2 | D&T | H | Hat x 2 | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave Bench end x 1 | T | G | | Yes | |
| - | | 1500 | Nave | T | H | Yes | | |

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|----------------------------|---|------|--|----------------------|------------------------|-------|-------|--------|
| | | | Bench end x 1 | | | | | |
| Higham Kent | 5 | 1400 | Exterior Door x 5 | D D T T x 2 | Hyb H G H x 2 | | Cowl | |
| Hinton Parva Wilts | 1 | 1000 | Font | D | Animal | | | Wolf |
| Hitchin Herts | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Holt Wilts | 2 | 1400 | Exterior String course corbel | T | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior String course corbel | D | Animal | | Mitre | Lion |
| Holt Worcs | 8 | 1200 | Exterior South door capital | D | H | Crown | | Hands |
| - | | 1200 | Exterior Window capital frieze | T | Hyb | | | |
| - | | 1100 | Font x 6 | D | G | | | |
| Holybourne Hants | 1 | 1400 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | Hat | |
| Hoo St Werburgh Kent | 1 | 1400 | Nave Archway corbel | D | H | Yes | Cowl | |
| Horninghold Leics | 3 | 1130 | Exterior Door capital frieze | D | Hyb | | | |
| Hornsea Yorks | 1 | 1300 | Exterior String course corbel | T | G | | | Eroded |
| Huntingdon Cambs | 3 | 1400 | Exterior West door frieze | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior South tower corbels x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Hythe Kent | 1 | 1120 | Transept Door archway capital frieze | D | G | | | |

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|------------------------------|----|------|---|-----|-----|-------|------------------|----------------------|
| Iffley Oxon | 14 | 1175 | Exterior Door column face x 1 | D | G | | Crown | Fruit |
| - | | 1175 | Chancel arch Boss x 4 | D | G | | | Inter linked |
| | | 1175 | Voussoirs | D | G | | | Inter linked |
| Ilketshall St Andrew Suffolk | 1 | 1500 | Nave Pew beam | T | G | | Hat-maker symbol | TP |
| Ilminster Minster Somerset | 1 | 1400 | Inside tower roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Irnham Lincs | 1 | 1330 | Sanctuary Easter Sepulchre | D | H | Crown | Crown | |
| Ivinghoe Bucks | 1 | 1400 | Nave Bench end | D | H | | | Strange |
| Kettering Northants | 1 | 1500 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | Badly over-painted |
| Ketton Rutland | 4 | 1300 | Exterior North tower corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1400 | Choir Bench end poppy-head | D&T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| - | | 1400 | Choir Bench end poppy-head x 2 | D&T | G | | Yes | Back-to-back Flowers |
| Kilpeck Herefords | 14 | 1170 | Exterior Door capitals x 2 | D | Hyb | | | Fruit |
| - | | 1170 | Exterior Window capitals x 2 | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1170 | Exterior Door voussoirs x 2 | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1170 | Exterior Door voussoir outer fillet x 8 | D | G | | | Upside-down |

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|---------------------------------------|---|------|--|----------|--------|------|----------------|--------------------------|
| Kings Lynn Norfolk | 3 | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | Crown mitre | |
| - | | 1400 | Choir Bench ends x 2 | D D&T | H H | | Crown mitre | |
| King's Nympton Devon | 9 | 1400 | Nave Screen | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1475 | Nave Roof-bosses x 8 | D | H | | | |
| Kirkby Lonsdale Cumbria | 1 | 1200 | Nave Capital | D | H | Cowl | | Animal being eaten |
| Lacock Abbey Wilts | 2 | 1400 | Exterior Cloister roof-bosses x 2 | D D | H G | | Yes | Green face |
| Ladbroke Warwicks | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | | | |
| Landbeach Cams | 5 | 1450 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | Hyb | | | Fruit TP |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Beam corbel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Roof-boss | D&T | G | | | |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Roof-boss | D&T | H | | | |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Lansallos Cornwall | 7 | 1490 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | | | Female |
| - | | 1490 | Nave bench-ends x 4 | T | H | | | |
| - | | 1490 | Nave Bench-end | T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| - | | 1490 | Nave Bench-end | T | G | | Yes | |
| Laughton en le Morthen Yorks | 1 | 1500 | Exterior Chapel window corbel | D | G | | Crown | Dragon |
| Launcells Cornwall | 1 | 1450 | Nave Bench end | T | H | | | Profile |
| Leamington Hastings Warwicks | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Archway frieze | D | H | | | |
| Lechlade | 1 | 1400 | Nave | D | G | | | |

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| Gloucs | | | Roof-boss | | | | | |
| Leominster Priory Herefords | 3 | 1150 | West doorway Capital | D | H | | | Fruit |
| - | | 1150 | West Doorway capital x 2 | D | G | | | |
| Leverington Cams | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | G | | | |
| Leverton Lincs | 2 | 1300 | Exterior String course corbels | D | G | | | TP x 1 |
| Lewes Sussex | 17 | 1160 | Tomb | D | G | | | Gundrada, wife of William Warrenne d.1085 |
| Lezant Cornwall | 1 | 1500 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 1250 | South Transept corbel | T | H | | Crowns | TP |
| - | | 1250 | Ambulatory Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Ambulatory Spandrels x 4 | D | G | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1300 | Ambulatory Spandrels x 2 | T | G | | Crowns | TPs x 5 |
| - | | 1300 | Ambulatory Spandrel | D | G | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1350 | Chapel capital | D | H | Head band | | |
| - | | 1350 | Sanctuary Chapel capital | D | H | | Head band | |
| Lincoln Cathedral Lincs | 6 | 1400 | Choir bench end | D | H | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1400 | Misericord | D&T | Lion | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | Crowns | Acorns |
| - | | 1400 | Misericords x 2 | D | G | | Crowns | TP x 1 Feet |

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| Linley on the Green Shrops | 1 | 1150 | Exterior North tympanum | D | Hyb | | | Whole person. |
| Little Harrowden Northants | 1 | 1100 | Exterior Door capital | D | H | | | Eroded |
| Little Horstead Sussex | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Door spandrel | D | H | Hat | | |
| Little Leighs Essex | 1 | 1300 | Sanctuary Easter Sepulchre | D | H | | | |
| Little Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 1400 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | H | | | Fruit TP |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior Porch voussoirs x 2 | D&T D | G G | Crown Crown | | TP |
| Long Sutton Somerset | 1 | 1500 | Nave Roof-boss | D | Hyb | | | TP |
| Longdon Staffs | 1 | 1150 | Exterior Porch doorway corbel | D | H | Coronet | | |
| Lostwithiel Cornwall | 1 | 1400 | Font | D | H | Mitre | | Abbot |
| Lower Benefield Northants | 1 | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | | Moved from Fotheringhay |
| Ludlow Shrops | 2 | 1435 | Misericord supporters x 2 | D | H | | Crown Mitre | |
| Lullington Somerset | 6 | 1150 | Chancel arch Capital | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1150 | Font x 5 | D | G | | | Inscription |
| Luppitt Devon | 1 | 1075 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Lydd Kent | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Mappowder Dorset | 1 | 1500 | Nave corbel | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Market Deeping Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Tower corbel plinth | D | G | | | |
| Marston Lincs | 3 | 1400 | Nave Corbel frieze | D | H | | | BS x 1 TP x 1 |

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|----------------------------------|---|------|---|-----|---|------|-------|------------------------|
| - | | 1400 | Nave Corbel frieze | T | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Corbel frieze | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Melbourne Derbs | 1 | 1150 | Tower crossing Corbel frieze | D | G | | | Arms. Fruit |
| Metfield Suffolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | Crown | |
| Middleton Cheney Northants | 1 | 1300 | Nave corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| Middlezoy Somerset | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Chancel window corbel | D | H | | | |
| Milton Abbey Dorset | 1 | 1450 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | Yes | Mitre | |
| Milborne Port Somerset | 1 | 1070 | Exterior Porch doorway capital | D | G | | | Cat |
| Minster in Thanet Kent | 1 | 1415 | Misericord | D | H | | | |
| Monks Eleigh Suffolk | 2 | 1400 | Exterior West door voussoirs | D&T | G | | | |
| Monksilver Somerset | 1 | 1520 | Nave Bench end | D | H | Hat | | TP |
| Morville Shrops | 3 | 1118 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Moulton Lincs | 2 | 1400 | Tower Interior roof-boss | D | G | | | TP. Badly repainted |
| - | | 1400 | Chancel screen | D | H | | | Stone |
| Much Marcle Herefords | 5 | 1300 | Nave Frieze capital | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | H | Band | | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave | D | H | | Yes | |

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| | | | String course corbel | | | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave String course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave String course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Mundham Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | G | | | |
| Nantwich Cheshire | 5 | 1300 | North transept Capital | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Choir Bench-end poppy-heads x 4 | D | H H G x 2 | Yes | Yes Yes | + 2 glass ones |
| Nayland Suffolk | 2 | 1400 | Nave Tie-beam boss | D | H | | | Fruit |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior Porch door corbel | D | H | | | |
| Necton Norfolk | 2 | 1410 | Nave Corbel x 2 | T | H | | | |
| Newark Notts | 3 | 1300 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Capital | T | Hyb | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1524 | Misericord | D | H | Cap | | |
| Newnham Hants | 1 | 1130 | Exterior Door corbel | D | G | | | Eroded |
| North Elmham Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch frieze | D&T | G | | | |
| North Newbald Yorks | 2 | 1140 | Exterior Porch frieze capitals | D | G | | | |
| North Nibley Gloucs | 1 | 1400 | | D | H | | | Fruit |
| North Walsham Norfolk | 2 | 1362-99 | Exterior Porch corbels | D D | G H | | | |
| Northleach Gloucs | 1 | 1450 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | | | TP |

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| Norwich Cathedral Norfolk | 12 | 1400 | Exterior cloister roof-bosses x 8 | D x 2 D T x 4 D&T | H H H H | | Yes Yes Yes Yes | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1420 | Choir Bench-end Choir Bench-end Misericord | D D&T T | H H H | | Yes Yes Yes | |
| - | | 1480 | Misericord | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Norwich, St Andrew Norfolk | 2 | 1450 | Exterior Window corbels x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Nymet Tracey Devon | 1 | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Old Brampton Derbs | 1 | 1200 | Exterior (of chantry) Corbel | D | G | | | |
| Old Leake Lincs | 1 | 1300 | Exterior String-course corbel | D | G | | | Eroded |
| Othery Somerset | 2 | 1450 | Nave Roof-bosses x 2 | D T | H G | | Yes | TP |
| Ottery St Mary Devon | 3 | 1340 | Lady chapel Corbel | D | H | | Crowns Mitres | BS x 1 Fruit x 1 |
| - | | 1340 | Nave Corbels x 2 | D x 2 | H | | Crowns Mitres | |
| Ottringham Yorks | 2 | 1400 | Nave Roof-bosses x 2 | D D | H H | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| Oundle Northants | 3 | 1300 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave Roof-bosses x 2 | T | H | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| Over Cambs | 14 | 1300 | Exterior String-course corbels x 6 | D D D D D | H H Cow Dog Hyb Hyb | | | TPs x 2 |
| - | | 1300 | Exterior String-course porch corbels x 6 | D | G x 4 H x 2 | | | |
| - | | 1450 | Misericord x 2 | D T | G H | | Yes | TP x 1 |

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| Oxford Cathedral Oxon | 5 | 1350 | Exterior Cloister roof-bosses x 5 | D x 4 D&T | H H | | Yes Yes | |
| Oxhill Worcs | 3 | 1150 | Exterior Porch corbel x 2 Exterior porch door corbel | D D | G G | | | |
| Patrington Yorks | 2 | 1400 | Lady chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | Crowns | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave South aisle/transept roof-boss | D&T | H | | Crowns | |
| Patricbourne Kent | 1 | 1170 | Exterior Tympanum | D | H | | | |
| Pershore Abbey Worcs | 3 | 1350 | Nave Roof-bosses x 3 | D x 2 T | H H | | Crowns Crowns | Hair transforms |
| Peter Tavy Devon | 11 | 1500 | Panel board (moved from elsewhere) | D D | H x 8 G x 3 | Hat x 1 | Yes | Cherub x 1 BS x 2 |
| Pickhill Yorks | 1 | 1400 | Beam (moved from elsewhere) | D | H | Head-band | | |
| Pilton Somerset | 2 | 1300 | Exterior Porch roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | Coronet | |
| Pinchbeck Lincs | 2 | 1400 | Nave Corbels x 2 | T D | H H | | Crown | Fruit |
| Pipe Aston Herefords | 4 | 1100 | Exterior Doorway frieze x 3 | D | G | | | Dragons |
| - | | 1100 | Font (tiny) | D | G | | | Dragon |
| Pocklington Yorks | 3 | 1300 | Tower Interior frieze corbels x 3 | D | Hyb | | | |
| Podington Beds | 1 | 1220 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Preston-by-Faversham Kent | 1 | 1310 | Sanctuary Sedilia corbel | T | H | | | Sunflower |
| Pulham St Mary Suffolk | 1 | 1350 | Nave Nench-end poppy-head | D&T | G | | | |

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| Pythchley Northants | 2 | 1200 | Nave capitals x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Quenington Gloucs | 2 | 1140 | Exterior Porch capitals | D | Hyb | | | |
| Quethiock Cornwall | 6 | 1500 | Nave Roof-bosses x 6 | T | Hybs | | | |
| Quidenham Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Tower corbel | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Redenhall Norfolk | 4 | 1400 | Exterior Doorway frieze corbels x 3 | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | TP |
| Ribbesford Worcs | 3 | 1150 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Screen x 2 | D&T D | G Hyb | | Yes Yes | TP x 1 |
| Riccall Yorks | 1 | 1160 | Exterior Door capital | D | H | Crown | | Crosses on crown |
| Richmond Yorks | 2 | 1511 | Choir Bench-ends x 2 | D | Hyb | | Yes | Originally at Easby. Upside down TPs x 2 |
| Ripon Cathedral Yorks | 2 | 1450 | Nave Corbel | D | H | Head-band | | Fruit |
| - | | 1450 | Misericord | D | G | | | Upside down. Fruit |
| Ripple Worcs | 1 | 1350 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Rochester Cathedral Kent | 18 | 1300 | Crossing Roof-bosses x 12 | D&T D x 2 D x 8 D | H H x 2 G x 8 Animal | | Yes Yes Yes Yes | Fruit x 2 Cow |
| - | | 1352 | Ambulatory Tomb x 6 | D x 2 D D x 2 T | H x 2 H G x 2 H | | Yes Yes Yes | Bishop Hamo de Hethe |
| Rock Worcs | 2 | 1150 | Chancel arch Frieze x 2 | D | H | | | |

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| Romsey Abbey Hants | 1 | 1130 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| Rotherfield Sussex | 3 | 1533 | Font cover x 3 | D | Animals | | | Cow & fish |
| Rous Lench Worcs | 3 | 1140 | Exterior Doorway column face | D | G | | | Tree of Life |
| | | | Exterior doorway capitals x 2 | D | G | | | |
| Rowlstone Herefords | 1 | 1130 | Exterior Porch doorway corbel | D | H | | | Monk |
| Ruislip Middx | 2 | 1400 | Nave Tie-beam spandrel | D&T | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | North chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Ryhall Rutland | 2 | 1350 | Exterior String-course corbels x 2 | D D | H G | | | |
| Salhouse Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | | | |
| Salle Norfolk | 3 | 1300 | Exterior Porch roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Choir Bench-end | D | H | | | |
| Sampford Courtney Devon | 5 | 1450 | Chancel Roof-boss x 1 | D | H | | | Beard |
| - | | 1450 | Nave Roof-bosses x 3 | D x 2 D | H x 2 G x 1 | | | BS |
| - | | 1450 | Chancel Frieze | D | G | | | Dragon Fruit |
| Sandwich Kent | 4 | 1130 | Crossing Capitals x 4 | D | G | | Band | |
| Saxilby Lincs | 5 | 1300 | Lady Chapel Beam | D&T | H | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave Roof-bosses x 4 | T x 3 D&T | H H | | | TP x 1 |
| Saxthorpe Norfolk | 2 | 1500 | Nave Screen spandrel x 2 | D | G | | | |

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| Scottow Norfolk | 2 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof- bosses x 2 | D D&T | H H | | Yes Yes | |
| Seaton Rutland | 3 | 1150 | Nave Chancel arch frieze capitals | D | G H x 2 | | Crown | |
| Selham Sussex | 2 | 1050 | Nave Chancel arch capitals x 2 | D | G | | | Serpent |
| Selston Notts | 2 | 1500 | Exterior Porch doorway capitals | D | H | | | Fruit x 2 |
| Sharrington Norfolk | 6 | 1300 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | Bands | |
| - | | 1300 | Nave corbels x 5 | T D&T D&T D D | G G G H H | Band Band | Bands Bands Bands | TP x 1 |
| Sheffield Cathedral Yorks | 7 | 1520 | Lady chapel Roof-bosses | D | H | Hat x 4 | Hats | |
| Sherborne Abbey Dorset | 1 | 1500 | Transept Corbel | D | H | | Crown | Over painted |
| Shobdon Herefords | 9 | 1130 -70 | Chancel arch Column face | D | G | | | Folly |
| Shurdington Gloucs | 1 | 1400 | Nave Beam | D | H | | | |
| South Marston Wilts | 2 | 1450 | Exterior Tower string- course corbels | D | H G | | | |
| South Ockendon Essex | 1 | 1400 | Exterior String- course corbel | D | H | | | |
| Southam Warwicks | 4 | 1350 | Nave Corbels | D | H | | Yes x 3 | |
| South Tawton Devon | 8 | 1450 | Nave Roof-bosses | D x 5 D&T x 2 T x 1 | H H H | | | TP x 1 |

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| Southwell Notts | 10 | 1290 | Chapter House Tympanum x 8 | D&T D x 7 | H H | Band x 1 Hat x 1 | Yes | Fruit x 2 |
| - | | 1290 | Nave Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Misericord | D | H | | | Man |
| Southwold Suffolk | 3 | 1400 | Exterior West door spandrel | D x 2 D | G x 2 Animal x 1 | | | Dragon |
| - | | 1413 | Nave beam spandrels x 2 | D | Hyb | | | |
| Sparsholt Oxon | 1 | 1300 | Chancel Tomb spandrel | D | G | | | Crusader knight |
| Spreyton Priory Devon | 1 | 1471 | Chancel Roof-boss | D | H | Coronet | | BS Beard |
| St Albans Cathedral Herts | 5 | 1430 | Ambulatory Tomb frieze | D | G | | Crowns | Humphrey, Duke of Gloucs d.1447 Fruit |
| St Bee's Priory Cumbria | 1 | 1300 | Corbel (moved from elsewhere) | D | H | | | Monk |
| St Eval Cornwall | 4 | 1500 | Nave Roof-bosses | T | H x 2 G x 2 | | | |
| St Ewe Cornwall | 1 | 1500 | Chancel Screen | D | H | | | On reverse of screen |
| St Margaret at Cliffe Kent | 1 | 1150 | Chancel arch Frieze capital | D | G | | | |
| St Margaret's Herefords | 2 | 1520 | Nave Screen canopy bosses | T | H | | Yes x 1 | TP x 1 |
| St Mellion Cornwall | 1 | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| St Merryn Cornwall | 4 | 1442 | Chancel Roof-boss | T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| - | | 1442 | Nave roof-bosses x 3 | D&T D&T T | Hyb G G | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| St Nicholas at Wade Kent | 2 | 1175 | Nave Frieze capitals | D | H | Crown x 1 | Yes | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------|----|------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Stafford Staffs | 2 | 1150 | Chancel Capital | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1150 | Tower Capital | D | H | | | |
| Stamford Lincs | 4 | 1484 | Nave Roof-boss | D&T | H | | Crowns Mitres | BS x 1 |
| - | | 1484 | Corpus Christi chapel Roof-bosses x 3 | D x 3 | H H G | | Yes Crowns Mitres Yes | |
| Stanton Harcourt Oxon | 1 | 1150 | Nave Corbel | T | H | | Yes | |
| Steeley Notts | 1 | 1120 | Exterior Doorway capital | T | H | | | |
| Stewkley Bucks | 2 | 1150 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1150 | Crossing Archway voussoir | D | G | | | |
| Stillingfleet Yorks | 2 | 1430 | Nave Frieze capitals | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Stinsford Dorset | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Corner corbel | T | G | | | |
| Stock Harvard Essex | 1 | 1400 | Tower Roof boss | D | H | | | Painted recently TP |
| Stoke by Nayland Suffolk | 11 | 1300 | Exterior Door voussoirs | D x 10 D&T x 1 | H x 10 Hyb x 1 | | Yes | TPs x 2 |
| Stoke Dry Rutland | 2 | 1100 | Nave Chancel arch column face | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1100 | | D | Animal | | | Lion |
| Stokeinteignhead Devon | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Window corbel | D | H | Hat | Yes | |
| Stone in Oxney Kent | 1 | 1260 | Choir Dossier spandrel | T | Animal | | | Foliating tail on dragon |
| Stottesdon Shrops | 4 | 1160 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Stratford Warwicks | 4 | 1480 | Crossing Roof-bosses x 3 | D T T | H H H | | Yes | Hair transforms |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|------|--|---|-----|-------------|------------------|--|
| - | | 1480 | Misericord | D | H | | Yes | |
| Sudbury Suffolk | 2 | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | Coronet | | |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior String- course corbel | T | G | | | |
| Sutterton Lincs | 1 | 1200 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | H | Band | | |
| Sutton Benger Wilts | 3 | 1350 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | | | Moved inside Birds, fruit |
| - | | 1350 | Exterior String- course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1350 | Exterior Window apex corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Sutton Coldfield Warwicks | 4 | 1100 | Font | D | H | Hats x 2 | Yes | |
| Sydling St Nicholas Dorset | 1 | 1480 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | Recently painted |
| Taunton Somerset | 1 | 1308 | Exterior porch doorway spandrel | D | G | | | |
| Temple London | 12 | 1185 | Exterior Porch voussoirs | D | Hyb | | | |
| Temple Balsall Warwicks | 1 | 1330 | | | | | | |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 1254 | Tomb | D | G | | Abbot's mitre | d.1254 Abbot Forthington |
| - | | 1397 | Chantry Chapel x 2 | D | G | | | Robert FitzHamon d.1107, new tomb 1395 |
| - | | 1400 | Chapel Frieze corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| - | | 1400 | Ambulatory Roof-bosses x 3 | D | H | | Yes | Fruit x 2 |
| - | | 1400 | Nave | D | H | | Crown | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---|------|--|---------------------|------------|--|----------------|-----------------------|
| | | | Roof-boss | | | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Transept roof-bosses x 4 | D x 2 D&T x 2 | H H | | Crown Crown | |
| Thaxted Essex | 3 | 1360 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| - | | 1360 | Exterior String- course corbels x 2 | D x 2 | H | | | |
| Thompson Norfolk | 4 | 1350 | Chancel Window corbel | D | H | | Crown | Fruit x 1 |
| - | | 1350 | Sanctuary Sedilia spandrels x 3 | D | H | | | |
| Thorpe Abbey Leics | 1 | 1400 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | Animals |
| Tichfield Hants | 1 | 1150 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| Tickencote Rutland | 4 | 1130 | Nave Chancel arch voussoirs x 3 | D | H G x 2 | | | |
| - | | 1350 | Sanctuary Window corbel | D | H | | | |
| Tilton on the Hill Leics | 2 | 1400 | Chancel Roof-bosses | D&T T | G Hyb | | | TP x 1 |
| Tiverton Devon | 1 | 1400 | Exterior string- course corbel | D | H | | | Ships |
| Tong Shrops | 2 | 1415 | Misericord | D | G | | | Fruit |
| - | | 1415 | Screen door | T | G | | | Cat mask |
| Tysoe Oxon | 2 | 1340 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | | |
| Ugborough Devon | 3 | 1500 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | Yes | |
| Upwey Dorset | 1 | 1400 | Nave Capital | D | H | | | |
| Wadenhoe Northants | 3 | 1200 | Chancel Corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| - | | 1300 | Exterior Porch corbels x 2 | D | H | | Yes | Fruit – acorns x 1 |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------|-----|---------------|--|
| Walgrave Northants | 1 | 1300 | Nave Window corbel | D | H | | Crowns Mitres | |
| Walpole St Peter Norfolk | 2 | 1400 | Chapel Corbel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Warfield Berks | 2 | 1350 | Sanctuary Reredos spandrels | D | H | | Crowns Mitres | |
| Warmington Northants | 4 | 1290 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | Mitres | |
| Weasenham St Peter Norfolk | 5 | 1300 | Exterior String-course corbels | T x 2 D x 2 D | H x 2 G x 2 Hyb x 1 | | | Fruit x 1 |
| Wenlock Priory Shrops | 2 | 1240 | Chapter House Frieze | D | G | | | Dragons Also on lectern frieze, now in V&A |
| Weobley Herefords | 1 | 1250 | Nave Corbel | D | G | | Hats | |
| West Hanningfield Essex | 1 | 1350 | Font | D | H | | | |
| Westminster Abbey London | 5 | 1300 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Chapel door Spandrel | T | G | | | Cat mask |
| - | | 1509 | Misericord Henry VII's chapel | D | H | | | |
| - | | 1520 | Henry VII's chapel String-course x 2 | D D | H G | | | |
| Weston in Gordano Somerset | 1 | 1450 | Misericord | D | H | Hat | | |
| Weston Longville Norfolk | 2 | 1400 | Sanctuary Sedilia spandrel | D | G | | Crown | |
| - | | 1400 | Nave Screen | D | Animal | | | Dragon |
| Wetwang Yorks | 2 | 1400 | Exterior Tower string-course corbels | D | H | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|------|---|------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| Widdington Essex | 1 | 1350 | Sanctuary Window frieze | D | G | | | |
| Wilbarston Northants | 3 | 1250 | Nave Corbels | T | H | | Yes | |
| Wimborne Minster Dorset | 1 | 1450 | Chancel Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Winchelsea Sussex | 1 | 1312 | Tomb | D | H | | Coronet | Gervase Alard Fruit |
| Winchester Cathedral Hants | 14 | 1308 | Choir Bench-ends x 4 | D x 2 T x 1 D&T x 1 | H H H | | Yes Yes Yes | |
| - | | 1308 | Misericords x 7 | T x 5 D&T x 2 | H H | | Yes Yes | TP x 2 |
| - | | | Chancel stalls Screen spandrel | D | H | | | Neck |
| - | | 1308 | Chancel stalls Screen spandrel | D | H | | | Whole person with sword |
| | | 1400 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | H | | | |
| Winchester, St Cross Hants | 1 | 1400 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Wingerwort h Derbs | 1 | 1350 | Sanctuary Beam above window | D | H | | | |
| Wingham Kent | 3 | 1350 | Misericord | D | H | | | TP |
| - | | 1350 | Misericord | D | G | | | Donkey |
| - | | 1350 | Misericord | D | G | | | Sheep |
| Withycombe Somerset | 5 | 1300 | Candle holder x 2 | D D | H G | | | |
| - | | 1300 | Reredos frieze x 3 | D D D | H H G | Corone t Hat | Yes Yes Yes | Fruit x 3 TP |
| Wood Dalling Norfolk | 1 | 1400 | Nave Corbel | T | H | | | |
| Woodbury Devon | 4 | 1300 | Nave Frieze capitals | D | H | | | Fruit |
| Woolpit | 10 | 1400 | Choir | T | G | | | Poppyhead |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|------|--|--------------|--------------------------|---------|--------|--------------------------|
| Suffolk | | | Bbench-end | | | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior Door apex boss | D | G | | | |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior Door archivolts x 8 | D D | H x 1 G x 7 | Crown | | Some lion- like heads |
| Woolstone Berks | 1 | 1450 | Chancel Beam corbel | D | H | | | |
| Worcester Cathedral Worcs | 14 | 1370 | Cloister Roof-bosses x 8 | D | H x 8 | | | TP x 1 |
| - | | 1397 | Choir Bench-ends x 3 | D D | H x 1 G x 1 Animal | Cowl | Crowns | TP x1 Sheep |
| - | | 1397 | Misericords x 3 | D x 2 T | Animal s x 2 G | | Crowns | Weasels |
| Worstead Norfolk | 8 | 1400 | Nave Roof-bosses x 4 | T x 3 D&T | G x 3 G | | Crown | TP x 2 |
| - | | 1400 | Chancel Corbels x 4 | D&T | H x 4 | | Yes | |
| Wroxham Norfolk | 1 | 1100 | Exterior Door capital | D | H | | | Half a person |
| Wye Kent | 2 | 1350 | Exterior String- course corbels | D | G x 1 Animal | Hat x 1 | Yes | Pig x 1 |
| Wymington Beds | 10 | 1380 | Exterior String- course corbels x 9 | D | G x 8 H x 1 | | | Flowers |
| - | | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof- boss x 1 | D&T | H | | | |
| Yardley Hastings Northants | 1 | 1400 | Nave Window corbel | D | H | | Crown | Defaced Acorns |
| Yatton Somerset | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Yeldon Beds | 1 | 1325 | Exterior Tower string- course corbel | D | H | | | Flowers |
| Yelverton Norfolk | 2 | 1400 | Choir Poppy head | D | H x 2 | | Yes | |

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|--|---|------|--------------------------------|---|--|------------------------|--|---|
| York, All Saints North Street Yorks | 3 | 1470 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H x 3 | Hat x 1 Coronet x 1 | Yes | Imp |
| York, St Denys Yorks | 2 | 1150 | Exterior Doorway corbels | D | G | | | TP x 1 |
| York, St Margaret Yorks | 3 | 1160 | Exterior Door voussoirs | D D | H G x 2 | | | |
| York, St Mary Yorks | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| Youlgreave Derbs | 3 | 1150 | Nave Capital frieze | D | G | | | TP |
| - | | 1400 | Choir Beam corbels x 2 | D | G | | | TP x 1 |
| | | | 1,172 | D = 934 (79.67%) T = 167 (14.26%) D&T = 71 (6.07%) Total 1172 | H = 684 58.42% G = 385 32.79% Hyb = 73 (6.23%) Animals = 30 (2.56%) | | Animals x 30 10 dragons 6 dogs 4 cows, 3 lions | 2 beasts 2 weasels 1 pig 1 sheep 1 wolf |

SUMMARY OF DATABASE (CHRONOLOGICAL)

D = Disgorging T = Transforming H = Human G = Grotesque Hyb = Hybrid TP =
Tongue-puller BS = Blood-sucker

If Headdress is annotated 'Yes', it is a non-specific headdress or perhaps only a head-band.

| Town | No | Date of FH | Location | Type | Species | Head-dress | Head-dress nearby | Other |
|---------------------------------|----|------------|--|------|---------------------|------------|-------------------|--|
| Dolton Devon | 1 | 800 | Font | D | H | | | Preaching cross |
| Hinton Parva Wilts | 1 | 1000 | Font | D | Animal | | | Wolf |
| Selham Sussex | 2 | 1050 | Nave Chancel arch capitals x 2 | D | G | | | Serpent |
| Alton Hants | 2 | 1070 | Nave, Archway capitals | D | H | | | |
| Milborne Port Somerset | 1 | 1070 | Exterior Porch doorway capital | D | G | | | Cat |
| Luppitt Devon | 1 | 1075 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Canterbury Cathedral Kent | 12 | 1076 x 4 | Crypt Capitals | D | G x 3 Hyb x 1 | | | |
| Adstock Bucks | 6 | 1100 | Exterior Porch capitals | T | Gs | | | |
| Alne Yorks | 2 | 1100 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Canterbury Cathedral Kent | 12 | 1100 | Exterior South transept capital | D | H | | | |
| Dumbleton Gloucs | 1 | 1100 | Exterior North door tympanum | D | G | | | |
| Felixkirk Yorks | 12 | 1100 | Chancel arch Capital frieze | D | G | | | Templar church. Some cat mask types |
| Gosforth Cumbria | 4 | 1100 | Chancel arch Capitals | D | H | | Yes | |
| Great Canfield Essex | 1 | 1100 | Exterior | D | H | | | |

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|----------------------------|----|------|---|---|------------------------|----------------|------------|---------------|
| | | | Porch doorway capital | | | | | |
| Holt Worcs | 8 | 1100 | Font x 6 | D | G | | | |
| Little Harrowden Northants | 1 | 1100 | Exterior Door capital | D | H | | | Eroded |
| Pipe Aston Herefords | 4 | 1100 | Exterior Doorway frieze x 3 | D | G | | | Dragons |
| Pipe Aston Herefords | 4 | 1100 | Font (tiny) | D | G | | | Dragon |
| Stoke Dry Rutland | 2 | 1100 | Nave Chancel arch column face | D | G | | | |
| Stoke Dry Rutland | 2 | 1100 | | D | Animal | | | Lion |
| Sutton Coldfield Warwicks | 4 | 1100 | Font | D | H | Hats x 2 | Yes | |
| Wroxham Norfolk | 1 | 1100 | Exterior Door capital | D | H | | | Half a person |
| Morville Shrops | 3 | 1118 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Castor Cambs | 4 | 1120 | Exterior Porch door capitals x 2 | D | H x 1 G x 1 | | | TPs x 2 |
| Castor Cambs | 4 | 1120 | Tower crossing capitals x 2 | D | G x 2 | | | |
| Charney Basset Oxon | 12 | 1120 | Exterior Porch door voussoirs on tympanum | D | H x 10 G x 1 Hyb | Head-bands x 2 | Head bands | TP x 1 |
| Hythe Kent | 1 | 1120 | Transept Door archway capital frieze | D | G | | | |
| Steeley Notts | 1 | 1120 | Exterior Doorway capital | T | H | | | |
| Horninghold Leics | 3 | 1130 | Exterior Door capital frieze | D | Hyb | | | |
| Newnham Hants | 1 | 1130 | Exterior Door corbel | D | G | | | Eroded |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|---|-----------|---|--------|----------------|--|------|-------------------|
| Romsey Abbey Hants | 1 | 1130 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| Rowlstone Herefords | 1 | 1130 | Exterior Porch doorway corbel | D | H | | | Monk |
| Sandwich Kent | 4 | 1130 | Crossing Capitals x 4 | D | G | | Band | |
| Tickencote Rutland | 4 | 1130 | Nave Chancel arch voussoirs x 3 | D | H G x 2 | | | |
| Shobdon Herefords | 9 | 1130 - 70 | Chancel arch Column face | D | G | | | Folly |
| North Newbald Yorks | 2 | 1140 | Exterior Porch frieze capitals | D | G | | | |
| Quenington Gloucs | 2 | 1140 | Exterior Porch capitals | D | Hyb | | | |
| Rous Lench Worcs | 3 | 1140 | Exterior Doorway column face Exterior doorway capitals x 2 | D D | G G | | | Tree of Life |
| Alne Yorks | 2 | 1150 | Exterior Porch, capital | D | G | | | |
| Bridekirk Cumbria | 1 | 1150 | Font | D | H | | | Inscription |
| Castle Rising Norfolk | 4 | 1150 | Font x 3 | D | Hybs | | | TPs x 3 |
| Castle Rising Norfolk | 4 | 1150 | Exterior West window capital | D | H | | | |
| Fritwell Oxon | 2 | 1150 | Exterior Tympanum | D | Animal s | | | Animals and trees |
| Healaugh Yorks | 8 | 1150 | Exterior Door archway capital frieze x 4 | D | H x 3 G x 1 | | | TP x 1 |
| Healaugh Yorks | 8 | 1150 | Exterior door | D | G | | | |

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|-----------------------------------|---|----------|---|--------|------------|-------------|-------|------------------|
| | | | archway voussoir x 4 | | | | | |
| Leominster Priory Herefords | 3 | 115 0 | West doorway Capital | D | H | | | Fruit |
| Leominster Priory Herefords | 3 | 115 0 | West Doorway capital x 2 | D | G | | | |
| Linley on the Green Shrops | 1 | 115 0 | Exterior North tympanum | D | Hyb | | | Whole person. |
| Longdon Staffs | 1 | 115 0 | Exterior Porch doorway corbel | D | H | Corone t | | |
| Lullington Somerset | 6 | 115 0 | Chancel arch Capital | D | G | | | |
| Lullington Somerset | 6 | 115 0 | Font x 5 | D | G | | | Inscription |
| Melbourne Derbs | 1 | 115 0 | Tower crossing Corbel frieze | D | G | | | Arms. Fruit |
| Oxhill Worcs | 3 | 115 0 | Exterior Porch corbel x 2 Exterior porch door corbel | D D | G G | | | |
| Ribbesford Worcs | 3 | 115 0 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| Rock Worcs | 2 | 115 0 | Chancel arch Frieze x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Seaton Rutland | 3 | 115 0 | Nave Chancel arch frieze capitals | D | G H x 2 | | Crown | |
| St Margaret at Cliffe Kent | 1 | 115 0 | Chancel arch Frieze capital | D | G | | | |
| Stafford Staffs | 2 | 115 0 | Chancel Capital | D | H | | | |
| Stafford Staffs | 2 | 115 0 | Tower Capital | D | H | | | |
| Stanton Harcourt Oxon | 1 | 115 0 | Nave Corbel | T | H | | Yes | |
| Stewkley Bucks | 2 | 115 0 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |

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|-------------------------------|----|-----------------|---|--------|-----------------|-------|-----|--|
| Stewkley Bucks | 2 | 115 0 | Crossing Archway voussoir | D | G | | | |
| Tichfield Hants | 1 | 115 0 | Exterior Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| York, St Denys Yorks | 2 | 115 0 | Exterior Doorway corbels | D | G | | | TP x 1 |
| Youlgreave Derbs | 3 | 115 0 | Nave Capital frieze | D | G | | | TP |
| Brabourne Kent | 2 | 115 0 x 1 | Chancel Arch capital | D | H | | | |
| Brough Cumbria | 5 | 116 0 | Exterior door voussoirs | D | G | | | |
| Elkstone Gloucs | 2 | 116 0 | Exterior south tympanum | D | G | | Yes | Tetramorp h |
| Hemel Hempstead Herts | 2 | 116 0 | Chancel Arch capitals | D | H x1 Hyb x 1 | | | |
| Lewes Sussex | 17 | 116 0 | Tomb | D | G | | | Gundrada, wife of William Warrene d.1085 |
| Riccall Yorks | 1 | 116 0 | Exterior Door capital | D | H | Crown | | Crosses on crown |
| Stottesdon Shrops | 4 | 116 0 | Font | D | G | | | |
| York, St Margaret Yorks | 3 | 116 0 | Exterior Door voussoirs | D D | H G x 2 | | | |
| Kilpeck Herefords | 14 | 117 0 | Exterior Door capitals x 2 | D | Hyb | | | Fruit |
| Kilpeck Herefords | 14 | 117 0 | Exterior Window capitals x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Kilpeck Herefords | 14 | 117 0 | Exterior Door voussoirs x 2 | D | G | | | |
| Kilpeck Herefords | 14 | 117 0 | Exterior Door voussoir outer fillet x 8 | D | G | | | Upside- down |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----|----------|---------------------------------|---|-----|-----------|--------|-----------------------------|
| Patricbourne Kent | 1 | 1170 | Exterior Tympanum | D | H | | | |
| Barfrestone Kent | 3 | 1175 | Exterior Doorway capitals x 2 | D | Gs | | Crowns | |
| Barfrestone Kent | 3 | 1175 | Exterior String course corbel | D | G | | Yes | |
| Iffley Oxon | 14 | 1175 | Exterior Door column face x 1 | D | G | | Crown | Fruit |
| Iffley Oxon | 14 | 1175 | Chancel arch Boss x 4 | D | G | | | Inter linked |
| Iffley Oxon | 14 | 1175 | Voussoirs | D | G | | | Inter linked |
| St Nicholas at Wade Kent | 2 | 1175 | Nave Frieze capitals | D | H | Crown x 1 | Yes | |
| Temple London | 12 | 1185 | Exterior Porch voussoirs | D | Hyb | | | |
| Gotham Notts | 4 | 1190 | Nave South aisle capitals | D | H | | | |
| Aldwincle Northants | 6 | 1190 x 4 | Nave Aisle, capitals | D | H | Yes x 2 | Yes | |
| Bloxham Oxon | 3 | 1200 | Chancel Window | T | Hyb | | | Originally probably outside |
| Boughton under Blean Kent | 1 | 1200 | Chancel arch corbel | D | H | Coronet | | |
| Crich Derbs | 1 | 1200 | Nave North aisle capital frieze | D | G | | | Upside down |
| Dorchester Abbey Oxon | 1 | 1200 | Sanctuary Chapel corbel | D | H | | | |
| Easton Hants | 2 | 1200 | Sanctuary Capitals | D | G | | | |
| Finedon Northants | 1 | 1200 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Garway Herefords | 1 | 1200 | Chancel arch Capital | D | Hyb | | | Templar church |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|----|----------|--------------------------------|---|-----|-------|--------|--|
| Grafton Regis Northants | 1 | 1200 | Exterior Porch doorway corbel | D | H | Cap | | |
| Holt Worcs | 8 | 1200 | Exterior South door capital | D | H | Crown | | Hands |
| Holt Worcs | 8 | 1200 | Exterior Window capital frieze | T | Hyb | | | |
| Kirkby Lonsdale Cumbria | 1 | 1200 | Nave Capital | D | H | Cowl | | Animal being eaten |
| Old Brampton Derbs | 1 | 1200 | Exterior (of chantry) Corbel | D | G | | | |
| Pytchley Northants | 2 | 1200 | Nave capitals x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Sutterton Lincs | 1 | 1200 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | H | Band | | |
| Wadenhoe Northants | 3 | 1200 | Chancel Corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Boxgrove Priory Sussex | 14 | 1200 x 4 | Choir Roof-bosses | D | H | | | Conjoined |
| Chichester Cathedral Sussex | 8 | 1198 x 6 | Chancel Ambulatory roof-bosses | D | H | | | Conjoined |
| Podington Beds | 1 | 1220 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Wenlock Priory Shrops | 2 | 1240 | Chapter House Frieze | D | G | | | Dragons Also on lectern frieze, now in V&A |
| Barcheston Warwicks | 1 | 1250 | Doorway capital | D | H | | | |
| Beckley Sussex | 2 | 1250 | Nave Corbels | D | H | | | |
| Chelveston Northants | 1 | 1250 | Nave south aisle corbel | D | H | | | |
| Church Langton Leics | 1 | 1250 | Exterior String course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Grantham Lincs | 2 | 1250 | Exterior string course corbels | D | H | | Yes | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|----|-----------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------------------------|
| Harlaxton Lincs | 3 | 125 0 | Nave South aisle corbel | D | H | | Crown, mitre | Acorns Fruit |
| Harlaxton Lincs | 3 | 125 0 | Chancel Corbel | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Harlaxton Lincs | 3 | 125 0 | Font | D | H | | Crown | |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 125 0 | South Transept corbel | T | H | | Crowns | TP |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 125 0 | Ambulatory Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Weobley Herefords | 1 | 125 0 | Nave Corbel | D | G | | Hats | |
| Wilbarston Northants | 3 | 125 0 | Nave Corbels | T | H | | Yes | |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 125 4 | Tomb | D | G | | Abbot's mitre | d.1254 Abbot Forthingto n |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 125 0 x 6 | Misericords | D | H x 1 G x 4 Dog x 1 | | Yes | TP |
| Enville Staffs | 1 | 125 8 | Sanctuary Tomb | D | H | | | Roger de Berm- ingham |
| Stone in Oxney Kent | 1 | 126 0 | Choir Dossier spandrel | T | Animal | | | Foliating tail on dragon |
| Bristol Cathedral Somerset | 7 | 127 0 | Chapel Corbels x 2 | D | G H | | Yes | Fruit |
| Bristol Cathedral Somerset | 7 | 127 0 x 4 | Chapel Capital frieze x 2 | D | H G | | Yes | Elder Lady Chapel |
| Crosby Garrett Cumbria | 1 | 127 5 | Nave Capital | D | H | Cap | | Beard |
| Southwell Notts | 10 | 129 0 | Chapter House Tympanum x 8 | D&T D x 7 | H H | Band x 1 Hat x 1 | Yes | Fruit x 2 |
| Southwell Notts | 10 | 129 0 | Nave Doorway capital | D | G | | | |
| Warmington Northants | 4 | 129 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | Mitres | |
| | | 130 0 | Misericord | D | H | | | Man |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|----------|---|-------------|-----|-------|------------|-----------------|
| Abingdon Oxon | 1 | 130 0 | Exterior tower. String course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Acton Cheshire | 1 | 130 0 | Exterior corbel | T | H | Yes | | |
| Aylsham Norfolk | 2 | 130 0 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | H | | | |
| Barnwell Northants | 1 | 130 0 | Exterior doorway frieze | D | H | | | |
| Bredon Worcs | 1 | 130 0 | Sanctuary tomb | D | H | | Yes | Reede. Moved |
| Bristol St Mary Redcliffe Somerset | 5 | 130 0 | Exterior North porch frieze x 1 | T | Hyb | | | + 1 in glass |
| Brixworth Abbey Northants | 1 | 130 0 | Lady chapel Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Broomfield Somerset | 1 | 130 0 | Nave aisle capital frieze | D | G | | | |
| Bucknall Lincs | 1 | 130 0 | Exterior doorway corbel | D | H | | | |
| Bunbury Cheshire | 3 | 130 0 | Nave South aisle corbels x 2 Nave frieze | D T D | H | | Yes Yes | TPs x 2 |
| Claypole Lincs | 4 | 130 0 | Nave Capital frieze | D | H | | Yes | |
| Cowden Sussex | 1 | 130 0 | Sanctuary Beam corbel | D | H | Hat | | |
| Cranbrook Kent | 1 | 130 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | Coronet | |
| Desborough Northants | 2 | 130 0 | North transept Corbel | D | H | Crown | Yes | |
| Desborough Northants | 2 | 130 0 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Durham Durham | 1 | 130 0 | Exterior Corbel north wall | D | G | | | |
| Eastleach Gloucs | 3 | 130 0 | Sanctuary East window corbels | D | H | | Crowns | |

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|--------------------------------|---|----------|----------------------------------|----------|--------|-----------|---------|------------------------|
| Edstaston Shrops | 2 | 130 0 | Exterior Window spandrels | D | G | Crown x 1 | Yes | TP |
| Elstow Abbey Beds | 1 | 130 0 | Chancel Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Fownhope Herefords | 1 | 130 0 | Sanctuary Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Gaddesby Leics | 2 | 130 0 | Exterior string course corbels | D&T D | H G | | Mitre | |
| Gedney Lincs | 1 | 130 0 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | Head-band | | Beard foliage |
| Grafton Underwood Northants | 1 | 130 0 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | Hat | Supporting empty niche |
| Granby Notts | 2 | 130 0 | Nave Bench-end double poppy-head | D | H | | | |
| Guildford Surrey | 1 | 130 0 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | G | | | |
| Hallaton Leics | 2 | 130 0 | Nave Corbels | D T | H H | | Coronet | |
| Halse Somerset | 2 | 130 0 | Nave Roundel/ plaque | D&T | H | | | |
| Halse Somerset | 2 | 130 0 | Nave Capital frieze | D | H | | | TP |
| Hereford Cathedral Herefords | 1 | 130 0 | Corbel | D | Hyb | | | Free-standing |
| Hereford, All Saints Herefords | 3 | 130 0 | Misericord | D | Hyb | | Crown | TP |
| Hereford, All Saints Herefords | 3 | 130 0 | Chancel Roof-boss | T | G | | | |
| Hereford, All Saints Herefords | 3 | 130 0 | Nave window corbel | D | H | Crown | | |
| Hornsea Yorks | 1 | 130 0 | Exterior String course corbel | T | G | | | Eroded |
| Ketton Rutland | 4 | 130 0 | Exterior North tower corbel | D | H | | Yes | |

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|----------------------------|----|------|--------------------------------|---|---|------|--------|---------|
| Leverton Lincs | 2 | 1300 | Exterior String course corbels | D | G | | | TP x 1 |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 1300 | Ambulatory Spandrels x 4 | D | G | | Crowns | |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 1300 | Ambulatory Spandrels x 2 | T | G | | Crowns | TPs x 5 |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 1300 | Ambulatory Spandrel | D | G | | Crowns | |
| Little Leighs Essex | 1 | 1300 | Sanctuary Easter Sepulchre | D | H | | | |
| Middleton Cheney Northants | 1 | 1300 | Nave corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| Much Marcle Herefords | 5 | 1300 | Nave Frieze capital | D | H | | Yes | |
| Much Marcle Herefords | 5 | 1300 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | H | Band | | |
| Much Marcle Herefords | 5 | 1300 | Nave String course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Much Marcle Herefords | 5 | 1300 | Nave String course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Much Marcle Herefords | 5 | 1300 | Nave String course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Nantwich Cheshire | 5 | 1300 | North transept Capital | D | H | | | |
| Newark Notts | 3 | 1300 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Old Leake Lincs | 1 | 1300 | Exterior String-course corbel | D | G | | | Eroded |
| Oundle Northants | 3 | 1300 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Oundle Northants | 3 | 1300 | Nave Roof-bosses x 2 | T | H | | Yes | TP x 1 |

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|--------------------------|----|------|--|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|----------------------|
| Over Cambs | 14 | 1300 | Exterior String-course corbels x 6 | D D D D D | H H Cow Dog Hyb Hyb | | | TPs x 2 |
| Over Cambs | 14 | 1300 | Exterior String-course porch corbels x 6 | D | G x 4 H x 2 | | | |
| Pilton Somerset | 2 | 1300 | Exterior Porch roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | Coronet | |
| Pocklington Yorks | 3 | 1300 | Tower Interior frieze corbels x 3 | D | Hyb | | | |
| Rochester Cathedral Kent | 18 | 1300 | Crossing Roof-bosses x 12 | D&T D x 2 D x 8 D | H H x 2 G x 8 Animal | | Yes Yes Yes Yes | Fruit x 2 Cow |
| Salle Norfolk | 3 | 1300 | Exterior Porch roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Saxilby Lincs | 5 | 1300 | Lady Chapel Beam | D&T | H | | | |
| Saxilby Lincs | 5 | 1300 | Nave Roof-bosses x 4 | T x 3 D&T | H H | | | TP x 1 |
| Sharrington Norfolk | 6 | 1300 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | Bands | |
| Sharrington Norfolk | 6 | 1300 | Nave corbels x 5 | T D&T D&T D D | G G G H H | Band Band | Bands Bands Bands | TP x 1 |
| Sparsholt Oxon | 1 | 1300 | Chancel Tomb spandrel | D | G | | | Crusader knight |
| St Bee's Priory Cumbria | 1 | 1300 | Corbel (moved from elsewhere) | D | H | | | Monk |
| Stoke by Nayland Suffolk | 11 | 1300 | Exterior Door voussoirs | D x 10 D&T x 1 | H x 10 Hyb x 1 | | Yes | TPs x 2 |
| Wadenhoe Northants | 3 | 1300 | Exterior Porch corbels x 2 | D | H | | Yes | Fruit – acorns x 1 |

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|----------------------------|----|----------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Walgrave Northants | 1 | 1300 | Nave Window corbel | D | H | | Crowns Mitres | |
| Weasenham St Peter Norfolk | 5 | 1300 | Exterior String-course corbels | T x 2 D x 2 D | H x 2 G x 2 Hyb x 1 | | | Fruit x 1 |
| Westminster Abbey London | 5 | 1300 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Westminster Abbey London | 5 | 1300 | Chapel door Spandrel | T | G | | | Cat mask |
| Withycombe Somerset | 5 | 1300 | Candle holder x 2 | D D | H G | | | |
| Withycombe Somerset | 5 | 1300 | Reredos frieze x 3 | D D D | H H G | Coronet Hat | Yes Yes Yes | Fruit x 3 TP |
| Woodbury Devon | 4 | 1300 | Nave Frieze capitals | D | H | | | Fruit |
| Bristol Cathedral Somerset | 7 | 1300 x 1 | Chancel tomb roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | Berkeley |
| Taunton Somerset | 1 | 1308 | Exterior porch doorway spandrel | D | G | | | |
| Winchester Cathedral Hants | 14 | 1308 | Chancel stalls Screen spandrel | D | H | | | Neck |
| Winchester Cathedral Hants | 14 | 1308 | Choir Bench-ends x 4 | D x 2 T x 1 D&T x 1 | H H H | | Yes Yes Yes | |
| Winchester Cathedral Hants | 14 | 1308 | Misericords x 7 | T x 5 D&T x 2 | H H | | Yes Yes | TP x 2 |
| Winchester Cathedral Hants | 14 | 1308 | Chancel stalls Screen spandrel | D | H | | | Whole person with sword |
| Hapton Norfolk | 1 | 1310 | Chancel Capital frieze | D | H | | | Flowers |
| Preston-by-Faversham Kent | 1 | 1310 | Sanctuary Sedilia corbel | T | H | | | Sunflower |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 1309 x 3 | Chancel Choir corbels | D | H | | Crowns | V&C, Assumption |

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|-----------------------------------|----|---------------------------|--|----------------|----------------|------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| Winchelsea Sussex | 1 | 131 2 | Tomb | D | H | | Coronet | Gervase Alard Fruit |
| Crick Northants | 1 | 132 0 - 140 0 | Chancel Window corbel | D | H | | | Beard |
| Beverley Minster Yorks | 18 | 132 5 | Nave North aisle stone spandrels x 9 | D x 8 T x 1 | H x 7 G x 2 | Yes x 3 | Yes | TP x 2 |
| Cliffe- at-Hoo Kent | 2 | 132 5 | Choir Bench-ends | D | H | | Helmet, crown, mitre | |
| Yeldon Beds | 1 | 132 5 | Exterior Tower string- course corbel | D | H | | | Flowers |
| Dennington Suffolk | 3 | 133 0 | Nave Capital | D&T | H | | | |
| Dennington Suffolk | 3 | 133 0 | Choir Window capital | D | H | | Crowns | Tonsure Hands. TP |
| Dennington Suffolk | 3 | 133 0 | Choir Window capital | D | H | | Crowns | Breasts |
| Irnham Lincs | 1 | 133 0 | Sanctuary Easter Sepulchre | D | H | Crown | Crown | |
| Temple Balsall Warwicks | 1 | 133 0 | | | | | | |
| Beverley Minster Yorks | 18 | 132 5 x 12 | Nave capitals x 3 | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Chichester Cathedral Sussex | 8 | 133 8 | Misericord | T | H | | | |
| Ely Cathedral Cams | 9 | 134 0 | Chapel Roof-boss | T | G | | | |
| Ely Cathedral Cams | 9 | 134 0 | Lady Chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Ely Cathedral Cams | 9 | 134 0 | Misericord | D | H | | Yes | |
| Ely Cathedral | 9 | 134 0 | Choir Bench-ends | D x 5 T x 1 | H | Yes x 2 | Yes x 2 | |

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|----------------------------------|---|----------|---|-------|----------------|-------|------------------|---------------------|
| Cambs | | | x 6 | | | | | |
| Goodworth Clatford Hants | 1 | 134 0 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | H | | Hat | |
| Ottery St Mary Devon | 3 | 134 0 | Lady chapel Corbel | D | H | | Crowns Mitres | BS x 1 Fruit x 1 |
| Ottery St Mary Devon | 3 | 134 0 | Nave Corbels x 2 | D x 2 | H | | Crowns Mitres | |
| Tysoe Oxon | 2 | 134 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | | |
| Bythorn Cambs | 1 | 134 5 | Exterior tower string course | D | G | | | |
| Ancaster Lincs | 1 | 135 0 | Nave South aisle capital | D&T | H | | Crowns | |
| Barton on Humber Lincs | 2 | 135 0 | Capitals on stone chapel | D | H x 1 G x 1 | | Crowns | |
| Blunham Beds | 1 | 135 0 | Chancel roof-boss | D | H | | Horned veil | Tonsure |
| Bluntisham Cambs | 1 | 135 0 | Font | D | G | | | |
| Boston Lincs | 6 | 135 0 | Tower interior corbel | D | G | | | |
| Broughton Oxon | 2 | 135 0 | Nave south aisle corbels | D | H | | Yes | Right hand |
| Cley Norfolk | 1 | 135 0 | Choir Bench-end | D | H | Yes | | |
| Clifford Chambers Warwicks | 1 | 135 0 | Exterior Corbel | D | G | | | TP |
| Coventry, St JB Warwicks | 5 | 135 0 | Tower Crossing corbel x 2 | D | H | | Crown x 1 | |
| Coventry, St JB Warwicks | 5 | 135 0 | Nave window corbels x 2 | D | H | Hat | Crown | TP x 1 |
| Coventry, St JB Warwicks | 5 | 135 0 | Nave Window voussoir | D | H | Crown | | |
| Great Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 135 0 | Exterior West porch doorway corbel | D | H | | Crown, mitre | |
| Great Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 135 0 | Exterior | D | Animal | | Crown, mitre | Dog |

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|------------------------------|----|------|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----|-----------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | West porch doorway corbel | | | | | |
| Great Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 1350 | Exterior West porch doorway corbel | T | H | | Crown, mitre | |
| Greatford Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Porch archway capital | D | H | | | Tonsure? |
| Harlestone Northants | 3 | 1350 | Exterior Ttower string course corbel | D | Hyb | | | |
| Harlestone Northants | 3 | 1350 | Exterior String course corbel | D | H | | | |
| Harlestone Northants | 3 | 1350 | Exterior String course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Harpwell Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Tomb base | T | G | | | William Harrington , Rector |
| Ladbroke Warwicks | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | | | |
| Leamington Hastings Warwicks | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Archway frieze | D | H | | | |
| Leverington Cambs | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | G | | | |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 1350 | Chapel capital | D | H | Head band | | |
| Lichfield Cathedral Staffs | 11 | 1350 | Sanctuary Chapel capital | D | H | | Head band | |
| Market Deeping Lincs | 1 | 1350 | Exterior Tower corbel plinth | D | G | | | |
| Oxford Cathedral Oxon | 5 | 1350 | Exterior Cloister roof-bosses x 5 | D x 4 D&T | H H | | Yes Yes | |
| Pershore Abbey Worcs | 3 | 1350 | Nave Roof-bosses x 3 | D x 2 T | H H | | Crowns Crowns | Hair transforms |

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| Pulham St Mary Suffolk | 1 | 135 0 | Nave Nench-end poppy-head | D&T | G | | | |
| Ripple Worcs | 1 | 135 0 | Sanctuary Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Ryhall Rutland | 2 | 135 0 | Exterior String- course corbels x 2 | D D | H G | | | |
| Southam Warwicks | 4 | 135 0 | Nave Corbels | D | H | | Yes x 3 | |
| Stokein- teignhead Devon | 1 | 135 0 | Exterior Window corbel | D | H | Hat | Yes | |
| Sutton Benger Wilts | 3 | 135 0 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | | | Moved inside Birds, fruit |
| Sutton Benger Wilts | 3 | 135 0 | Exterior String- course corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Sutton Benger Wilts | 3 | 135 0 | Exterior Window apex corbel | D | H | | Yes | |
| Thompson Norfolk | 4 | 135 0 | Chancel Window corbel | D | H | | Crown | Fruit x 1 |
| Thompson Norfolk | 4 | 135 0 | Sanctuary Sedilia spandrels x 3 | D | H | | | |
| Tickencote Rutland | 4 | 135 0 | Sanctuary Window corbel | D | H | | | |
| Warfield Berks | 2 | 135 0 | Sanctuary Reredos spandrels | D | H | | Crowns Mitres | |
| West Hanningfield Essex | 1 | 135 0 | Font | D | H | | | |
| Widdington Essex | 1 | 135 0 | Sanctuary Window frieze | D | G | | | |
| Wingerworth Derbs | 1 | 135 0 | Sanctuary Beam above window | D | H | | | |
| Wingham Kent | 3 | 135 0 | Misericord | D | H | | | TP |
| Wingham Kent | 3 | 135 0 | Misericord | D | G | | | Donkey |
| Wingham Kent | 3 | 135 0 | Misericord | D | G | | | Sheep |

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|--------------------------------|----|------------------|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| Wye Kent | 2 | 135 0 | Exterior String- course corbels | D | G x 1 Animal | Hat x 1 | Yes | Pig x 1 |
| Rochester Cathedral Kent | 18 | 135 2 | Ambulatory Tomb x 6 | D x 2 D D x 2 T | H x 2 H G x 2 H | | Yes Yes Yes | Bishop Hamo de Hethe |
| Boston Lincs | 6 | 135 0 x 3 | Exterior string- course corbels x 3 | D x 2 T | Hyb H H | | | |
| Brant Broughton Lincs | 11 | 135 0 x 4 | Exterior corbel x 1 Exterior porch corbels x 3 | D D x 2 T x 1 | G G x 2 G | | | TP x 1 |
| Thaxted Essex | 3 | 136 0 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Thaxted Essex | 3 | 136 0 | Exterior String- course corbels x 2 | D x 2 | H | | | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Lady Chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Ambulatory roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | Yes | BS |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Sanctuary Roof-boss | T | H | | Crown | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Choir roof bosses x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Ambulatory Roof-bosses x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Nave corbel x 3 | D | H | | | Dog |
| Exeter Cathedral Devon | 22 | 135 0 x 13 | Transept corbel | D | G | | | Cripple |
| North Walsham Norfolk | 2 | 136 2 - 99 | Exterior Porch corbels | D D | G H | | | |

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|----------------------------|----|----------|--|---------------------|--------------------------|---------|--------------|--|
| Worcester Cathedral Worcs | 14 | 1370 | Cloister Roof-bosses x 8 | D | H x 8 | | | TP x 1 |
| Heckington Lincs | 1 | 1375 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | Coronet | | |
| Aldwincle Northants | 6 | 1375 x 2 | Chancel String course corbels | D | H | Yes x 2 | | |
| Cavendish Suffolk | 1 | 1380 | Sanctuary Roof-boss | T | Hyb | | Crown, mitre | |
| Chester Cathedral Cheshire | 8 | 1380 | Choir Bench-ends x 4 | D D D T | H G G H | | | Tonsure |
| Chester Cathedral Cheshire | 8 | 1380 | Misericords x 4 | T x 2 D x 2 | G x 2 H x 1 G x 1 | | | Supporters Janus Corbel |
| Clare Suffolk | 8 | 1380 | Exterior String course corbel x 1 | T | G | | | |
| Clare Suffolk | 8 | 1380 | Exterior Porch door voussoirs x 7 | T D&T D&T x 5 | G Hyb H x 5 | | Yes x 7 | TP x 1 |
| Wymington Beds | 10 | 1380 | Exterior String-course corbels x 9 | D | G x 8 H x 1 | | | Flowers |
| Canterbury Cathedral Kent | 12 | 1377 x 6 | Exterior Cloister south walk Capital x 1 Exterior roof-bosses x 5 | D x 5 D&T x 1 | H | | Yes | |
| Boston Lincs | 6 | 1390 | Choir bench-end | D | H | | Yes | |
| Boston Lincs | 6 | 1390 | Misericord | D | G | | Yes | TP |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 1397 | Chantry Chapel x 2 | D | G | | | Robert FitzHamon d.1107, new tomb 1395 |
| Worcester Cathedral Worcs | 14 | 1397 | Choir Bench-ends x 3 | D D | H x 1 G x 1 Animal | Cowl | Crowns | TP x1 Sheep |
| Worcester Cathedral | 14 | 1397 | Misericords x 3 | D x 2 T | Animal s x 2 | | Crowns | Weasels |

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|---------------------------------|----|----------|---|---------------------|------------|-------|--------|-----------------------|
| Worcs | | | | | G | | | |
| Abbotsbury Dorset | 1 | 140 0 | Nave, corbel | D | Dog | | | |
| Ardington Oxon | 1 | 140 0 | South aisle corbel at archway springing point | D&T | H | | | Lion and monster |
| Ashill Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Font | D | H | | | |
| Ashton Keynes Wilts | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior String course | T | G | | | |
| Avening Gloucs | 1 | 140 0 | Chancel Roof boss | D | H | | | |
| Aylsham Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Chancel choir Bench end | D | H | Yes | | |
| Barnham Broom Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Chancel Corbel | D | G | | | |
| Beccles Suffolk | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof boss | D | H | | | |
| Belaugh Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Screen spandrels | D | Gs | | Haloes | Apostles on panels |
| Bloxham Oxon | 3 | 140 0 | Exterior door corbel | D | H | Crown | | |
| Bloxham Oxon | 3 | 140 0 | Nave screen | T | Hyb | | | |
| Brigstock Northants | 3 | 140 0 | Chapel Screen | T x 2 D&T x 1 | G x 2 G | | | Pipewell TP x 1 |
| Broadclyst Devon | 5 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | | TPs x 4 |
| Buckminster Leics | 2 | 140 0 | Nave north aisle corbel Exterior plinth | D D&T | H H | Hat | | St Luke's ox |
| Bulmer Essex | 1 | 140 0 | Font | D | H | | | |
| Burton Bradstock Dorset | 1 | 140 0 | Nave North aisle roof-boss | D&T | H | | | |
| Burton Latimer Northants | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch capital | T | H | | | Hair transforms |
| Canterbury Cathedral Kent | 12 | 140 0 | Roof-boss, Huguenot Chapel | T | H | | | |

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|---------------------------------------|---|----------|--|---------------|---------------|---------------|------------|--------|
| Capel St Mary Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior Chancel window corbel x 1 | D | H | | Yes | Fruit |
| Capel St Mary Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior Sanctuary east window corbel x 1 | D | H | Hat | | |
| Castle Hedingham Essex | 2 | 140 0 | Misericords | T | Hybs | | Crowns | |
| Cawston Norfolk | 4 | 140 0 | Choir Bench-end | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Cawston Norfolk | 4 | 140 0 | South transept roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Cawston Norfolk | 4 | 140 0 | Nave bosses x 2 | D | G x 2 | | Yes | |
| Chadlington Oxon | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior porch door string course | T | H | | Crown | |
| Chipping Norton Oxon | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Chittel- hampton Devon | 1 | 140 0 | South chapel roof- boss | D | H | Head- band | | |
| Congresbury Somerset | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Coventry, Holy Trinity Warwicks | 2 | 140 0 | Misericord | D | H | | Crown | |
| Coventry, Holy Trinity Warwicks | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Window boss | D | H | | Hat | Hair |
| Cranleigh Surrey | 1 | 140 0 | Sanctuary Corbel | T | H | | Crown | |
| Crediton Devon | 1 | 140 0 | South nave Corbel | D | H | | | BS |
| Croxton Kerrial Leics | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Dunchideock Devon | 4 | 140 0 | Nave roof-bosses x 3 | D | H x 2 Dog | | Yes x 3 | |
| Dunchideock Devon | 4 | 140 0 | Sanctuary Chapel roof- boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Durham Cathedral Durham | 5 | 140 0 | Exterior Cloister roof-bosses | D&T T D | G G Hyb | | | TP x 1 |

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|--------------------------------|---|----------|---|--------|----------|-------------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | | T D | Hyb G | | | |
| Earl Soham Suffolk | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-beam spandrel | T | G | | | |
| East Hagbourne Oxon | 4 | 140 0 | Exterior String course corbels | T | G | | Hats | TP x 1 Hair trans former x 1 |
| East Brent Somerset | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Tower plinth | D | H | | Tiara | Supports V&C |
| Eastwell Leics | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Window corbel | D | G | | | |
| Evesham Worcs | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | Repainted TP |
| Eynsford Kent | 1 | 140 0 | Nave North aisle corbel | D | H | | | |
| Faringdon Oxon | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior West door corbels | T | H | Coro net | Coronet | Eroded |
| Finching- field Essex | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Screen spandrel | T | H | | | |
| Foston Yorks | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior string course corbel | D | G | | | |
| Great Coxwell Oxon | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | D | H | | | |
| Great Cransley Northants | 1 | 140 0 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | G | | Yes | |
| Great Oakley Essex | 2 | 140 0 | Chancel doorway Corbels | D | H | | Strange hats | |
| Great Shelford Cambs | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Choir screen | D | H | | Yes x 1 | TP |
| Grundisburg h Suffolk | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Screen spandrel | D | G | | | |
| Guiting Power Gloucs | 1 | 140 0 | Nave corbel | D | H | | Crown | |

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| Higham Kent | 5 | 140 0 | Exterior Door x 5 | D D T T x 2 | Hyb H G H x 2 | | Cowl | |
| Hitchin Herts | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Holt Wilts | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior String course corbel | T | H | | | |
| Holt Wilts | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior String course corbel | D | Animal | | Mitre | Lion |
| Holybourne Hants | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | Hat | |
| Hoo St Werburgh Kent | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Archway corbel | D | H | Yes | Cowl | |
| Huntingdon Cambs | 3 | 140 0 | Exterior West door frieze | D | H | | | |
| Huntingdon Cambs | 3 | 140 0 | Exterior South tower corbels x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Ilminster Minster Somerset | 1 | 140 0 | Inside tower roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Ivinghoe Bucks | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Bench end | D | H | | | Strange |
| Ketton Rutland | 4 | 140 0 | Choir Bench end poppy-head | D&T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| Ketton Rutland | 4 | 140 0 | Choir Bench end poppy-head x 2 | D&T | G | | Yes | Back-to- back Flowers |
| King's Nympton Devon | 9 | 140 0 | Nave Screen | D | H | | Yes | |
| Kings Lynn Norfolk | 3 | 140 0 | Misericord | D | H | | Crown mitre | |
| Kings Lynn Norfolk | 3 | 140 0 | Choir Bench ends x 2 | D D&T | H H | | Crown mitre | |
| Lacock Abbey Wilts | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior Cloister roof-bosses x 2 | D D | H G | | Yes | Green face |
| Lechlade Gloucs | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | G | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------------|---|------|--------------------------------|----------|--------|----------------|--------|-------------------------|
| Lincoln Cathedral Lincs | 6 | 1400 | Choir bench end | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Lincoln Cathedral Lincs | 6 | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Lincoln Cathedral Lincs | 6 | 1400 | Misericord | D&T | Lion | | Crowns | |
| Lincoln Cathedral Lincs | 6 | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | Crowns | Acorns |
| Lincoln Cathedral Lincs | 6 | 1400 | Misericords x 2 | D | G | | Crowns | TP x 1 Feet |
| Little Horstead Sussex | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Door spandrel | D | H | Hat | | |
| Little Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 1400 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | H | | | Fruit TP |
| Little Waldingfield Suffolk | 3 | 1400 | Exterior Porch voussoirs x 2 | D&T D | G G | Crown Crown | | TP |
| Lostwithiel Cornwall | 1 | 1400 | Font | D | H | Mitre | | Abbot |
| Lower Benefield Northants | 1 | 1400 | Misericord | D | H | | | Moved from Fotheringhay |
| Lydd Kent | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Marston Lincs | 3 | 1400 | Nave Corbel frieze | D | H | | | BS x 1 TP x 1 |
| Marston Lincs | 3 | 1400 | Nave Corbel frieze | T | H | | Yes | |
| Marston Lincs | 3 | 1400 | Nave Corbel frieze | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Metfield Suffolk | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | | Crown | |
| Middlezoy Somerset | 1 | 1400 | Exterior Chancel window corbel | D | H | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|----|----------|---|----------------------------|------------------|---------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| Monks Eleigh Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior West door voussoirs | D&T | G | | | |
| Moulton Lincs | 2 | 140 0 | Tower Interior roof-boss | D | G | | | TP. Badly repainted |
| Moulton Lincs | 2 | 140 0 | Chancel screen | D | H | | | Stone |
| Mundham Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | G | | | |
| Nantwich Cheshire | 5 | 140 0 | Choir Bench-end poppy- heads x 4 | D | H H G x 2 | Yes | Yes Yes | + 2 glass ones |
| Nayland Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Tie-beam boss | D | H | | | Fruit |
| Nayland Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch door corbel | D | H | | | |
| Newark Notts | 3 | 140 0 | Nave Capital | T | Hyb | | Crowns | |
| North Elmham Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch frieze | D&T | G | | | |
| North Nibley Gloucs | 1 | 140 0 | | D | H | | | Fruit |
| Norwich Cathedral Norfolk | 12 | 140 0 | Exterior cloister roof-bosses x 8 | D x 2 D T x 4 D&T | H H H H | | Yes Yes Yes Yes | TP x 1 |
| Nymet Tracey Devon | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Ottringham Yorks | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-bosses x 2 | D D | H H | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| Patrington Yorks | 2 | 140 0 | Lady chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Patrington Yorks | 2 | 140 0 | Nave South aisle/transep t roof-boss | D&T | H | | Crowns | |
| Pickhill Yorks | 1 | 140 0 | Beam (moved from elsewhere) | D | H | Head- band | | |
| Pinchbeck Lincs | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Corbels x 2 | T D | H H | | Crown | Fruit |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|----------|--|------------|------------------------|-------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| Quidenham Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Tower corbel | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Redenhall Norfolk | 4 | 140 0 | Exterior Doorway frieze corbels x 3 | D | H | | | |
| Redenhall Norfolk | 4 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | TP |
| Ribbesford Worcs | 3 | 140 0 | Nave Screen x 2 | D&T D | G Hyb | | Yes Yes | TP x 1 |
| Ruislip Middx | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Tie-beam spandrel | D&T | H | | | |
| Ruislip Middx | 2 | 140 0 | North chapel Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Salhouse Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | | | |
| Salle Norfolk | 3 | 140 0 | Choir Bench-end | D | H | | | |
| Scottow Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof- bosses x 2 | D D&T | H H | | Yes Yes | |
| Shurdington Gloucs | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Beam | D | H | | | |
| Somerset Axbridge | 2 | 140 0 | Nave North aisle roof boss | D | H | | Crown, Mitre | BS |
| Somerset Axbridge | 2 | 140 0 | Transept crossing Chancel capital | D | H | | | |
| South Ockendon Essex | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior String- course corbel | D | H | | | |
| Southwold Suffolk | 3 | 140 0 | Exterior West door spandrel | D x 2 D | G x 2 Animal x 1 | | | Dragon |
| St Mellion Cornwall | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Stinsford Dorset | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Corner corbel | T | G | | | |
| Stock Harvard Essex | 1 | 140 0 | Tower Roof boss | D | H | | | Painted recently TP |
| Sudbury Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | Corone t | | |
| Sudbury Suffolk | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior String- | T | G | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------------|----|----------|---|------------------|----------|--|----------------|-----------|
| | | | course corbel | | | | | |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 140 0 | Chapel Frieze corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 140 0 | Ambulatory Roof-bosses x 3 | D | H | | Yes | Fruit x 2 |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | Crown | |
| Tewkesbury Abbey Gloucs | 12 | 140 0 | Transept roof-bosses x 4 | D x 2 D&T x 2 | H H | | Crown Crown | |
| Thorpe Abbey Leics | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | Animals |
| Tilton on the Hill Leics | 2 | 140 0 | Chancel Roof-bosses | D&T T | G Hyb | | | TP x 1 |
| Tiverton Devon | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior string- course corbel | D | H | | | Ships |
| Upwey Dorset | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Capital | D | H | | | |
| Walpole St Peter Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Chapel Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Walpole St Peter Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Corbel | D | H | | | |
| Weston Longville Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Sanctuary Sedilia spandrel | D | G | | Crown | |
| Weston Longville Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Nave Screen | D | Animal | | | Dragon |
| Wetwang Yorks | 2 | 140 0 | Exterior Tower string- course corbels | D | H | | | |
| Winchester Cathedral Hants | 14 | 140 0 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | H | | | |
| Winchester, St Cross Hants | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Wood Dalling Norfolk | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Corbel | T | H | | | |

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|---|----|-----------------|--|--------------|-------------------|-------------|--------|--------------------------|
| Woolpit Suffolk | 10 | 140 0 | Choir Bbench-end | T | G | | | Poppyhead |
| Woolpit Suffolk | 10 | 140 0 | Exterior Door apex boss | D | G | | | |
| Woolpit Suffolk | 10 | 140 0 | Exterior Door archivolts x 8 | D D | H x 1 G x 7 | Crown | | Some lion- like heads |
| Worstead Norfolk | 8 | 140 0 | Nave Roof-bosses x 4 | T x 3 D&T | G x 3 G | | Crown | TP x 2 |
| Worstead Norfolk | 8 | 140 0 | Chancel Corbels x 4 | D&T | H x 4 | | Yes | |
| Wymington Beds | 10 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof- boss x 1 | D&T | H | | | |
| Yardley Hastings Northants | 1 | 140 0 | Nave Window corbel | D | H | | Crown | Defaced Acorns |
| Yatton Somerset | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Yelverton Norfolk | 2 | 140 0 | Choir Poppy head | D | H x 2 | | Yes | |
| York, St Mary Yorks | 1 | 140 0 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | | Crown | |
| Youlgreave Derbs | 3 | 140 0 | Choir Beam corbels x 2 | D | G | | | TP x 1 |
| Brabourne Kent | 2 | 140 0 x 1 | Chancel tomb spandrel | D | G | Hat | Yes | |
| Beverley Minster Yorks | 18 | 140 0 x 3 | Ambulatory Roof bosses | D | H x 2 G x 1 | | Yes | |
| Battlefield Shrops | 1 | 140 4 | South Nave corbel | D | H | Yes | Crowns | |
| Beverley, St Mary Yorks | 22 | 140 0 x 4 | Exterior Door corbels and capitals x 4 | D | H | Yes, one | Yes, 3 | TP x 1 |
| Bristol St Mary Redcliffe Somerset | 5 | 140 0 x 4 | Chapel corbel South transept capital frieze Nave roof- bosses x 2 | D D D | H Cow H x 2 | | | |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----|-----------------|--|---|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|---|
| Brant Broughton Lincs | 11 | 140 0 x 7 | Nave Roof-bosses x 7 | D x 2 T x 2 T x 1 T x 1 D&T | H x 2 G x 2 H H H | Yes | Yes Yes Yes Yes | TP x 2 |
| Necton Norfolk | 2 | 141 0 | Nave Corbel x 2 | T | H | | | |
| Southwold Suffolk | 3 | 141 3 | Nave beam spandrels x 2 | D | Hyb | | | |
| Minster in Thanet Kent | 1 | 141 5 | Misericord | D | H | | | |
| Tong Shrops | 2 | 141 5 | Misericord | D | G | | | Fruit |
| Tong Shrops | 2 | 141 5 | Screen door | T | G | | | Cat mask |
| Norwich Cathedral Norfolk | 12 | 142 0 | Choir Bench-end Choir Bench-end Misericord | D D&T T | H H H | | Yes Yes Yes | |
| Croyland Abbey Lincs | 2 | 142 7 | Choir Roof-bosses | D | H | | | TP x 1 |
| Bradninch Devon | 4 | 143 0 | Nave Capital frieze | D | H | Crown x 1 | Yes x 3 | |
| Croyland Abbey Lincs | 2 | 143 0 | Exterior Tower boss | D | G | | | |
| St Albans Cathedral Herts | 5 | 143 0 | Ambulatory Tomb frieze | D | G | | Crowns | Humphrey, Duke of Gloucs d.1447 Fruit |
| Stillingfleet Yorks | 2 | 143 0 | Nave Frieze capitals | D | H | | Crowns | |
| Ludlow Shrops | 2 | 143 5 | Misericord supporters x 2 | D | H | | Crown Mitre | |
| St Merryn Cornwall | 4 | 144 2 | Chancel Roof-boss | T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| St Merryn Cornwall | 4 | 144 2 | Nave roof- bosses x 3 | D&T D&T T | Hyb G G | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| Beverley, St Mary Yorks | 22 | 144 5 | Misericords x 15 | D x 3 T x 12 | H x 3 G x 10 Hyb x 2 | | Yes | TPs x 8 |
| Beverley, St Mary | 22 | 144 5 | Chancel | D | H | | | |

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|---------------------------------|---|----------|--|----------|----------------|-------|-------------|-------------------|
| Yorks | | | Choir bench-end x 1 | | | | | |
| Advent Cornwall | 1 | 145 0 | Chancel Aisle roof boss | D | H | | | |
| Aldbourne Wilts | 1 | 145 0 | Chapel, tomb | D | H | | | Goddards |
| Brent Knoll Somerset | 4 | 145 0 | Nave south aisle bench- end spandrels | D | H | | Yes | |
| Bristol, St Mark Somerset | 1 | 145 0 | Exterior West window corbel | D | G | | Whimpl e | |
| Cartmel Priory Lancs | 2 | 145 0 | Misericords | D | H x 1 G x 1 | Crown | Crowns | Triple / Janus |
| Dorchester Dorset | 2 | 145 0 | North nave roof-boss | D | H | | | |
| Dorchester Dorset | 2 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | G | | Yes | TP |
| Ewelme Oxon | 2 | 145 0 | Exterior String course corbels | D&T D | H G | | Yes x 2 | |
| Great Budworth Cheshire | 3 | 145 0 | Nave arch corbels | D | Hyb | | Yes | TP |
| Great Budworth Cheshire | 3 | 145 0 | Nave Capitals x 2 | D&T T | H H | | Yes x 2 | |
| Great Moulton Norfolk | 1 | 145 0 | Exterior Porch doorway spandrel | D&T | G | | | |
| Hexham Abbey Northumb | 3 | 145 0 | Misericord | T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| Hexham Abbey Northumb | 3 | 145 0 | Misericords x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Landbeach Cams | 5 | 145 0 | Nave Frieze corbel | D | Hyb | | | Fruit TP |
| Landbeach Cams | 5 | 145 0 | Nave Beam corbel | D | H | | | |
| Landbeach Cams | 5 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D&T | G | | | |
| Landbeach Cams | 5 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D&T | H | | | |

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|----------------------------------|----|----------|---|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Landbeach Cambs | 5 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Launcells Cornwall | 1 | 145 0 | Nave Bench end | T | H | | | Profile |
| Milton Abbey Dorset | 1 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | Yes | Mitre | |
| Northleach Gloucs | 1 | 145 0 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | | | TP |
| Norwich, St Andrew Norfolk | 2 | 145 0 | Exterior Window corbels x 2 | D | H | | | |
| Othery Somerset | 2 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-bosses x 2 | D T | H G | | Yes | TP |
| Over Cambs | 14 | 145 0 | Misericord x 2 | D T | G H | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| Ripon Cathedral Yorks | 2 | 145 0 | Nave Corbel | D | H | Head- band | | Fruit |
| Ripon Cathedral Yorks | 2 | 145 0 | Misericord | D | G | | | Upside down. Fruit |
| Sampford Courtney Devon | 5 | 145 0 | Chancel Roof-boss x 1 | D | H | | | Beard |
| Sampford Courtney Devon | 5 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-bosses x 3 | D x 2 D | H x 2 G x 1 | | | BS |
| Sampford Courtney Devon | 5 | 145 0 | Chancel Frieze | D | G | | | Dragon Fruit |
| South Marston Wilts | 2 | 145 0 | Exterior Tower string- course corbels | D | H G | | | |
| South Tawton Devon | 8 | 145 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | D x 5 D&T x 2 T x 1 | H H H | | | TP x 1 |
| Weston in Gordano Somerset | 1 | 145 0 | Misericord | D | H | Hat | | |
| Wimborne Minster Dorset | 1 | 145 0 | Chancel Roof-boss | T | H | | | |
| Woolstone Berks | 1 | 145 0 | Chancel Beam corbel | D | H | | | |
| Crowhurst Surrey | 2 | 145 1 | Sanctuary tomb spandrels | D x 2 | H Hyb | | | John Gainsford |

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|--|----|------------------|---|------------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Beverley, St Mary Yorks | 22 | 144 5 x 18 | Nave Screen x 2 | T | Hyb | | | |
| York, All Saints North Street Yorks | 3 | 147 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H x 3 | Hat x 1 Coronet x 1 | Yes | Imp |
| Spreyton Priory Devon | 1 | 147 1 | Chancel Roof-boss | D | H | Coronet | | BS Beard |
| Bolton Percy Yorks | 1 | 147 5 | Nave roof- boss | D&T | Hyb | | | |
| Chichester Cathedral Sussex | 8 | 147 5 | Nave screen canopy boss | D | H | | Yes | |
| Henham Essex | 4 | 147 5 | Exterior Porch spandrels | D x 3 D&T x 1 | G | | | TP x 1 |
| King's Nympton Devon | 9 | 147 5 | Nave Roof-bosses x 8 | D | H | | | |
| Chetwode Bucks | 2 | 148 0 | Nave Corbels | D | H | | | |
| Dartmouth Devon | 1 | 148 0 | Nave Screen | D | H | Hat | | |
| Helmingham Suffolk | 1 | 148 0 | Exterior West door corbel below niche | D | H | Yes | Crown | |
| Norwich Cathedral Norfolk | 12 | 148 0 | Misericord | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Stratford Warwicks | 4 | 148 0 | Crossing Roof-bosses x 3 | D T T | H H H | | Yes | Hair transforms |
| Stratford Warwicks | 4 | 148 0 | Misericord | D | H | | Yes | |
| Sydling St Nicholas Dorset | 1 | 148 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | Recently painted |
| Stamford Lincs | 4 | 148 4 | Nave Roof-boss | D&T | H | | Crowns Mitres | BS x 1 |
| Stamford Lincs | 4 | 148 4 | Corpus Christi chapel Roof-bosses x 3 | D x 3 | H H G | | Yes Crowns Mitres Yes | |
| Lansallos Cornwall | 7 | 149 0 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | | | Female |
| Lansallos Cornwall | 7 | 149 0 | Nave bench- ends x 4 | T | H | | | |

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|----------------------------------|----|----------|--|----------|----------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|
| Lansallos Cornwall | 7 | 149 0 | Nave Bench-end | T | Hyb | | Yes | |
| Lansallos Cornwall | 7 | 149 0 | Nave Bench-end | T | G | | Yes | |
| Alford Somerset | 1 | 150 0 | Nave Bench end spandrel | D | H | Hat | | |
| Alrewas Staffs | 3 | 150 0 | Nave Screen | T | G | | | |
| Alrewas Staffs | 3 | 150 0 | Nave Roof boss | D | H | Cap | | |
| Alrewas Staffs | 3 | 150 0 | Nave Roof boss | T | G | | Yes | |
| Backford Cheshire | 4 | 150 0 | Exterior tower String course corbels | T | H x 2 G x 2 | | | |
| Bovey Tracey Devon | 2 | 150 0 | Exterior Porch roof-boss | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Bovey Tracey Devon | 2 | 150 0 | Exterior Porch corbel | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Cheddar Somerset | 2 | 150 0 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | | Yes | Dogs |
| Cheddar Somerset | 2 | 150 0 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | Hat | | Arrow Riddle |
| Christchurch Priory Dorset | 3 | 150 0 | Chancel Dossier x 2 Chancel chapel bench-end | D D | H x 2 G | Hats x 2 | Yes Yes | Whole monster |
| Eaton under Heywood Shrops | 2 | 150 0 | Nave Wooden roundel Sanctuary roof-boss | D D&T | H H | | Crowns Yes | |
| Fountains Abbey Yorks | 1 | 150 0 | Exterior Corbel | D | H | | | Cistercian |
| Hacheston Suffolk | 1 | 150 0 | Nave South aisle roof-boss | D | H | Coro net | | Fruit |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 150 0 | Nave Bench ends x 5 | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 150 0 | Nave Bench end x 1 | D | H | Coro net | Yes | |
| High Bickington | 18 | 150 0 | Nave | D | H | | Yes | |

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|---------------------------------------|----|----------|---|--------|----------------|---------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| Devon | | | Bench ends x 4 | | | | | |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 150 0 | Nave Bench ends x 4 | D | H | Hat x 2 | Yes | |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 150 0 | Nave Bench ends x 2 | D&T | H | Hat x 2 | Yes | |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 150 0 | Nave Bench end x 1 | T | G | | Yes | |
| High Bickington Devon | 18 | 150 0 | Nave Bench end x 1 | T | H | Yes | | |
| Ilketshall St Andrew Suffolk | 1 | 150 0 | Nave Pew beam | T | G | | Hat- maker symbol | TP |
| Kettering Northants | 1 | 150 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | H | | | Badly over- painted |
| Laughton en le Morthen Yorks | 1 | 150 0 | Exterior Chapel window corbel | D | G | | Crown | Dragon |
| Lezant Cornwall | 1 | 150 0 | Exterior Porch roof- boss | D | H | | | |
| Long Sutton Somerset | 1 | 150 0 | Nave Roof-boss | D | Hyb | | | TP |
| Mappowder Dorset | 1 | 150 0 | Nave corbel | D | H | Yes | Yes | |
| Peter Tavy Devon | 11 | 150 0 | Panel board (moved from elsewhere) | D D | H x 8 G x 3 | Hat x 1 | Yes | Cherub x 1 BS x 2 |
| Quethiock Cornwall | 6 | 150 0 | Nave Roof-bosses x 6 | T | Hybs | | | |
| Saxthorpe Norfolk | 2 | 150 0 | Nave Screen spandrel x 2 | D | G | | | |
| Selston Notts | 2 | 150 0 | Exterior Porch doorway capitals | D | H | | | Fruit x 2 |
| Sherborne Abbey Dorset | 1 | 150 0 | Transept Corbel | D | H | | Crown | Over painted |
| St Eval Cornwall | 4 | 150 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | T | H x 2 G x 2 | | | |

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|---------------------------------|----|----------|---|-------|-------|-----|-----|--|
| St Ewe Cornwall | 1 | 150 0 | Chancel Screen | D | H | | | On reverse of screen |
| Ugborough Devon | 3 | 150 0 | Nave Roof-bosses | D | H | | Yes | |
| Westminster Abbey London | 5 | 150 9 | Misericord Henry VII's chapel | D | H | | | |
| Ashby St Ledger Northants | 1 | 151 0 | Nave Screen | D | H | | | |
| Richmond Yorks | 2 | 151 1 | Choir Bench-ends x 2 | D | Hyb | | Yes | Originally at Easby. Upside down TPs x 2 |
| Handley Cheshire | 4 | 151 2 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | T | G | | Yes | |
| Handley Cheshire | 4 | 151 2 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | D | G | | Yes | |
| Handley Cheshire | 4 | 151 2 | Exterior Tower string course corbel | T | H | | Yes | |
| Handley Cheshire | 4 | 151 2 | Exterior As above | D&T | H | | Yes | |
| Beverley Minster Yorks | 18 | 152 0 | Misericords x 2 | D | H | | Yes | TP x 1 |
| Beverley Minster Yorks | 18 | 152 0 | Nave Screen | D | H | | | |
| Bicknoller Somerset | 1 | 152 0 | Nave Aisle bench- end | D | H | | Yes | Simon Werman |
| Derby Cathedral Derbs | 1 | 152 0 | Exterior West tower corbel | D | H | | | Acorns Restored |
| Down St Mary Devon | 11 | 152 0 | Nave Bench-ends | T x 4 | H x 4 | Yes | Yes | Simon Werman |
| Down St Mary Devon | 11 | 152 0 | Nave Bench-ends | D x 7 | G x 7 | | Yes | Simon Werman |
| Monksilver Somerset | 1 | 152 0 | Nave Bench end | D | H | Hat | | TP |

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|----------------------------------|----|------------------|--|---|---|------------|--|---|
| Sheffield Cathedral Yorks | 7 | 152 0 | Lady chapel Roof-bosses | D | H | Hat x 4 | Hats | |
| St Margaret's Herefords | 2 | 152 0 | Nave Screen canopy bosses | T | H | | Yes x 1 | TP x 1 |
| Westminster Abbey London | 5 | 152 0 | Henry VII's chapel String- course x 2 | D D | H G | | | |
| Bristol Cathedral Somerset | 7 | 152 0 x 2 | Misericords | D | H | Hat x 1 | Yes | TP |
| Newark Notts | 3 | 152 4 | Misericord | D | H | Cap | | |
| Rotherfield Sussex | 3 | 153 3 | Font cover x 3 | D | Animal s | | | Cow & fish |
| Crowcombe Somerset | 3 | 153 4 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | | Yes | |
| Crowcombe Somerset | 3 | 153 4 | Nave bench- end | D | H | Yes | Yes | Mermen |
| Crowcombe Somerset | 3 | 153 4 | Nave Bench-end | D | H | Yes | Yes | Fish & men |
| Boxgrove Priory Sussex | 14 | 153 2 x 10 | Tomb adornments | D | H x 4 G x 6 | Caps | Crowns | Flowers |
| | | | 1,172 | D = 934 (79.67%) T = 167 (14.26%) D&T = 71 (6.07%) Total 1172 | H = 684 58.42% G = 385 32.79% Hyb = 73 (6.23%) Animal s = 30 (2.56%) | | Animals x 30 10 dragons 6 dogs 4 cows, 3 lions | 2 beasts 2 weasels 1 pig 1 sheep 1 wolf |

Appendix D

CHURCHES CONTAINING FOLIATE HEADS

| County/Churches (*number of foliate heads at each site) | * | Total number of churches visited which had foliate heads (400) | Highest number of foliate heads found in one church in each county |
|---|---|--|--|
| Bedfordshire | | | |
| Blunham | 1 | 5 | 9 |
| Elstow Abbey | 1 | | |
| Podington | 1 | | |
| Wymington | 9 | | |
| Yeldon | 1 | | |
| Berkshire | | | |
| Warfield | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Woolstone | 1 | | |
| Buckinghamshire | | | |
| Adstock | 6 | 4 | 6 |
| Chetwode | 2 | | |
| Ivinghoe | 2 | | |
| Stewkley | 2 | | |
| Cambridgeshire | | | |
| Bluntisham | 1 | 9 | 14 |
| Bythorn | 2 | | |
| Castor | 4 | | |
| Ely Cathedral | 9 | | |

| | | | |
|-------------------|----|----|----|
| Great Shelford | 2 | | |
| Huntingdon | 3 | | |
| Landbeach | 5 | | |
| Leverington | 1 | | |
| Over | 14 | | |
| Cheshire | | | |
| Acton | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Backford | 4 | | |
| Bunbury | 3 | | |
| Chester Cathedral | 8 | | |
| Great Budworth | 4 | | |
| Handley | 4 | | |
| Nantwich | 5 | | |
| Cornwall | | | |
| Advent | 1 | 10 | 7 |
| Lansallos | 7 | | |
| Launcells | 1 | | |
| Lezant | 1 | | |
| Lostwithiel | 1 | | |
| Quethiock | 6 | | |
| St Eval | 4 | | |
| St Ewe | 1 | | |
| St Mellion | 1 | | |
| St Merryn | 4 | | |
| Cumbria | | | |
| Bridekirk | 1 | 6 | 5 |
| Brough | 5 | | |
| Crosby Garrett | 1 | | |
| Gosforth | 4 | | |
| Kirkby Lonsdale | 1 | | |
| St Bee | 1 | | |
| Derbyshire | | | |
| Bakewell | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| Crich | 1 | | |
| Derby | 1 | | |
| Melbourne | 1 | | |
| Old Brampton | 1 | | |
| Wingerworth | 1 | | |
| Youlgreave | 3 | | |
| Devon | | | |
| Bovey Tracey | 2 | 24 | 22 |
| Bradinch | 4 | | |
| Broad Clyst | 5 | | |
| Chittelhampton | 1 | | |
| Crediton | 1 | | |
| Dartmouth | 1 | | |
| Dolton | 1 | | |
| Down St Mary | 8 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|----|
| Dunchideock | 4 | | |
| Exeter Cathedral | 22 | | |
| High Bickington | 18 | | |
| King's Nympton | 9 | | |
| Luppitt | 1 | | |
| Nymet Tracey | 1 | | |
| Peter Tavy | 11 | | |
| Ottery St Mary | 3 | | |
| Sampford Courtenay | 5 | | |
| South Tawton | 8 | | |
| Spreyton | 1 | | |
| Stoke Gabriel | 1 | | |
| Stokeinteignhead | 1 | | |
| Tiverton | 1 | | |
| Ugborough | 3 | | |
| Woodbury | 4 | | |
| Dorset | | | |
| Abbotsbury | 1 | 9 | 3 |
| Christchurch Priory | 3 | | |
| Dorchester | 2 | | |
| Mappowder | 1 | | |
| Milton Abbey | 1 | | |
| Sherborne Abbey | 1 | | |
| Sydling St Nicholas | 1 | | |
| Upwey | 1 | | |
| Wimborne Minster | 1 | | |
| Durham | | | |
| Durham Cathedral | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Durham (town) | 1 | | |
| Essex | | | |
| Bulmer | 1 | 12 | 4 |
| Castle Hedingham | 2 | | |
| Finchingfield | 1 | | |
| Great Canfield | 1 | | |
| Great Oakley | 2 | | |
| Henham | 4 | | |
| Little Leighs | 1 | | |
| South Ockendon | 1 | | |
| Stock Harvard | 1 | | |
| Thaxted | 3 | | |
| West Hanningfield | 1 | | |
| Widdington | 1 | | |
| Gloucestershire | | | |
| Avening | 1 | 11 | 12 |
| Dumbleton | 1 | | |
| Eastleach | 3 | | |
| Elkstone | 1 | | |
| Guiting Power | 1 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|----|
| Lechlade | 1 | | |
| North Nibley | 1 | | |
| Northleach | 1 | | |
| Quenington | 1 | | |
| Shurdington | 1 | | |
| Tewkesbury Abbey | 12 | | |
| Hampshire | | | |
| Alton | 2 | 10 | 13 |
| Breamore | 1 | | |
| Easton | 2 | | |
| Goodworth Clatford | 1 | | |
| Holybourne | 1 | | |
| Newnham | 1 | | |
| Romsey | 1 | | |
| Tichfield | 1 | | |
| Winchester Cathedral | 13 | | |
| Winchester, St Cross | 1 | | |
| Herefordshire | | | |
| Fownhope | 1 | 12 | 14 |
| Garway | 1 | | |
| Hereford, All Saints | 3 | | |
| Hereford Cathedral | 2 | | |
| Kilpeck | 14 | | |
| Leominster | 3 | | |
| Much Marcle | 5 | | |
| Pipe Aston | 2 | | |
| Rowlstone | 1 | | |
| Shobdon (folly arches) | 9 | | |
| St Margaret's | 2 | | |
| Weobley | 1 | | |
| Hertfordshire | | | |
| Hemel Hempstead | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| Hitchin | 1 | | |
| St Alban's Cathedral | 5 | | |
| Kent | | | |
| Barfrestone | 2 | 22 | 18 |
| Boughton under Blean | 1 | | |
| Brabourne | 2 | | |
| Canterbury Cathedral | 12 | | |
| Cliffe at Hoo | 2 | | |
| Cranbrook | 1 | | |
| Eynsford | 1 | | |
| Higham | 5 | | |
| Hoo St Werburgh | 1 | | |
| Hythe | 1 | | |
| Lydd | 1 | | |
| Minster in Thanet | 1 | | |
| Old Romney | 1 | | |

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| Patricbourne | 1 | | |
| Preston-next- Faversham | 1 | | |
| Rochester Cathedral | 18 | | |
| Sandwich | 4 | | |
| St Margaret at Cliffe | 1 | | |
| St Nicholas at Wade | 2 | | |
| Stone in Oxney | 1 | | |
| Wingham | 1 | | |
| Wye | 2 | | |
| Lancashire | | | |
| Cartmel Priory | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Leicestershire | | | |
| Buckminster | 2 | 10 | 3 |
| Church Langton | 1 | | |
| Croxton Kerrial | 1 | | |
| Eastwell | 1 | | |
| Gaddesby | 2 | | |
| Hallaton | 2 | | |
| Horninghold | 3 | | |
| Leicester | 2 | | |
| Thorpe Abbey | 2 | | |
| Tilton on the Hill | 2 | | |
| Lincolnshire | | | |
| Ancaster | 1 | 24 | 11 |
| Barton upon Humber | 2 | | |
| Boston | 7 | | |
| Brant Broughton | 11 | | |
| Bucknall | 1 | | |
| Claypole | 4 | | |
| Croyland Abbey | 2 | | |
| Gedney | 1 | | |
| Grantham | 2 | | |
| Greatford | 1 | | |
| Harlaxton | 3 | | |
| Harpswell | 1 | | |
| Heckington | 1 | | |
| Irnham | 1 | | |
| Leverton | 2 | | |
| Lincoln Cathedral | 6 | | |
| Market Deeping | 1 | | |
| Marston | 3 | | |
| Moulton | 2 | | |
| Old Leake | 1 | | |
| Pinchbeck | 2 | | |
| Saxilby | 5 | | |
| Stamford | 4 | | |
| Sutterton | 1 | | |
| Middlesex | | | |

| Ruislip | | 1 | 1 |
|-------------------------|----|----|----|
| Norfolk | | | |
| Ashill | 1 | 30 | 12 |
| Aylsham | 2 | | |
| Barnham Broom | 1 | | |
| Belaugh | 2 | | |
| Cawston | 4 | | |
| Cley | 1 | | |
| Great Moulton | 1 | | |
| Hapton | 1 | | |
| King's Lynn | 3 | | |
| Mundham | 1 | | |
| Necton | 2 | | |
| North Elmham | 1 | | |
| North Walsham | 3 | | |
| Norwich Cathedral | 12 | | |
| Norwich, St Andrew | 2 | | |
| Quidenham | 1 | | |
| Redenhall | 4 | | |
| Salhouse | 1 | | |
| Salle | 3 | | |
| Saxthorpe | 2 | | |
| Scottow | 2 | | |
| Sharrington | 6 | | |
| Thompson | 4 | | |
| Walpole St Peter | 2 | | |
| Weasenham St Peter | 5 | | |
| Weston Longville | 2 | | |
| Wood Dalling | 1 | | |
| Worstead | 8 | | |
| Wroxham | 1 | | |
| Yelverton | 2 | | |
| Northamptonshire | | | |
| Aldwinckle | 6 | 25 | 6 |
| Ashby St Ledger | 1 | | |
| Barnwell | 1 | | |
| Brigstock | 3 | | |
| Brixworth | 1 | | |
| Burton Latimer | 1 | | |
| Chelveston | 1 | | |
| Crick | 1 | | |
| Desborough | 2 | | |
| Finedon | 1 | | |
| Grafton Regis | 1 | | |
| Grafton Underwood | 1 | | |
| Great Cransley | 1 | | |
| Harlestone | 3 | | |
| Kettering | 1 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|----|
| Little Harrowden | 1 | | |
| Lower Benefield | 1 | | |
| Middleton Cheney | 1 | | |
| Oundle | 3 | | |
| Pytchley | 2 | | |
| Wadenhoe | 3 | | |
| Walgrave | 1 | | |
| Warmington | 4 | | |
| Wilbarston | 3 | | |
| Yardley Hastings | 1 | | |
| Northumberland | | | |
| Hexham Abbey | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| Nottinghamshire | | | |
| Gotham | 4 | 6 | 9 |
| Granby | 1 | | |
| Newark | 3 | | |
| Selston | 2 | | |
| Southwell Minster | 9 | | |
| Steetley | 1 | | |
| Oxfordshire | | 18 | 12 |
| Abingdon | 1 | | |
| Ardington | 1 | | |
| Bloxham | 3 | | |
| Broughton | 2 | | |
| Chadlington | 1 | | |
| Charney Bassett | 12 | | |
| Chipping Norton | 1 | | |
| Dorchester Abbey | 1 | | |
| East Hagbourne | 4 | | |
| Ewelme | 2 | | |
| Faringdon | 2 | | |
| Fritwell | 2 | | |
| Great Coxwell | 1 | | |
| Iffley | 5 | | |
| Oxford | 6 | | |
| Sparsholt | 1 | | |
| Stanton Harcourt | 1 | | |
| Tysoe | 2 | | |
| Rutland | | | |
| Ketton | 3 | 5 | 4 |
| Ryhall | 2 | | |
| Seaton | 3 | | |
| Stoke Dry | 1 | | |
| Tickencote | 4 | | |
| Shropshire | | | |
| Battlefield | 1 | 9 | 4 |
| Eaton under Heywood | 2 | | |
| Edstaston | 2 | | |

| | | | |
|----------------------------|----|----|----|
| Linley on the Green | 1 | | |
| Ludlow | 2 | | |
| Morville | 3 | | |
| Stottesdon | 4 | | |
| Tong | 2 | | |
| Wenlock Priory | 2 | | |
| Somerset | | | |
| Alford | 1 | 25 | 7 |
| Axbridge | 2 | | |
| Bicknoller | 1 | | |
| Brent Knoll | 4 | | |
| Bristol Cathedral | 7 | | |
| Bristol, St Mark | 1 | | |
| Bristol, St Mary Redcliffe | 5 | | |
| Broomfield | 1 | | |
| Cheddar | 1 | | |
| Congresbury | 1 | | |
| Crowcombe | 3 | | |
| East Brent | 1 | | |
| Halse | 2 | | |
| Ilminster | 1 | | |
| Long Sutton | 1 | | |
| Lullington | 6 | | |
| Middlezoy | 1 | | |
| Milborne Port | 1 | | |
| Monksilver | 1 | | |
| Othery | 2 | | |
| Pilton | 2 | | |
| Taunton | 1 | | |
| Weston in Gordano | 1 | | |
| Withycombe | 5 | | |
| Yatton | 1 | | |
| Staffordshire | | | |
| Alrewas | 3 | 5 | 11 |
| Enville | 1 | | |
| Lichfield Cathedral | 11 | | |
| Longdon | 1 | | |
| Stafford | 2 | | |
| Suffolk | | | |
| Beccles | 1 | 20 | 11 |
| Capel St Mary | 2 | | |
| Cavendish | 1 | | |
| Clare | 8 | | |
| Dennington | 3 | | |
| Earl Soham | 1 | | |
| Great Waldingfield | 3 | | |
| Grundisburgh | 1 | | |
| Hacheston | 1 | | |

| | | | |
|------------------------|----|----|----|
| Helmingham | 1 | | |
| Ilketshall St Andrew | 1 | | |
| Little Waldingfield | 3 | | |
| Metfield | 1 | | |
| Monks Eleigh | 2 | | |
| Nayland | 2 | | |
| Pulham St Mary | 1 | | |
| Southwold | 1 | | |
| Stoke by Nayland | 11 | | |
| Sudbury | 2 | | |
| Woolpit | 10 | | |
| Surrey | | | |
| Cranleigh | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Crowhurst | 2 | | |
| Guildford, St Mary | 1 | | |
| Sussex | | | |
| Beckley | 2 | 9 | 17 |
| Boxgrove Priory | 12 | | |
| Chichester Cathedral | 8 | | |
| Cowden | 1 | | |
| Lewes | 17 | | |
| Little Horstead | 1 | | |
| Rotherfield | 5 | | |
| Selham | 2 | | |
| Winchelsea | 1 | | |
| Warwickshire | | | |
| Barcheston | 1 | 10 | 8 |
| Clifford Chambers | 1 | | |
| Coventry, St JB | 5 | | |
| Coventry, Holy Trinity | 2 | | |
| Ladbroke | 1 | | |
| Leamington Hastings | 1 | | |
| Southam | 4 | | |
| Stratford upon Avon | 4 | | |
| Sutton Coldfield | 4 | | |
| Temple Balsall | 1 | | |
| Wiltshire | | | |
| Aldbourne | 1 | 7 | 3 |
| Ashton Keynes | 1 | | |
| Hinton Parva | 1 | | |
| Holt | 2 | | |
| Lacock Abbey | 2 | | |
| South Marston | 2 | | |
| Sutton Benger | 3 | | |
| Worcestershire | | | |
| Bredon | 1 | 10 | 14 |
| Evesham | 1 | | |
| Holt | 2 | | |

| | | | |
|---------------------|----|----|----|
| Oxhill | 3 | | |
| Pershore Abbey | 3 | | |
| Ribbesford | 3 | | |
| Ripple | 1 | | |
| Rock | 2 | | |
| Rous Lench | 3 | | |
| Worcester Cathedral | 14 | | |
| Yorkshire | | | |
| Alne | 2 | 26 | 22 |
| Beverley Minster | 18 | | |
| Beverley, St Mary | 22 | | |
| Bolton Percy | 1 | | |
| Felixkirk | 12 | | |
| Foston | 1 | | |
| Fountains Abbey | 1 | | |
| Healaugh | 8 | | |
| Hornsea | 1 | | |
| Laughton | 1 | | |
| North Newbald | 2 | | |
| Ottringham | 2 | | |
| Patrington | 2 | | |
| Pickhill | 1 | | |
| Pocklington | 2 | | |
| Riccall | 1 | | |
| Richmond | 2 | | |
| Ripon Cathedral | 2 | | |
| Sheffield | 7 | | |
| Stillingfleet | 2 | | |
| Wetwang | 2 | | |
| Wintringham | 2 | | |
| York, All Saints | 3 | | |
| York, St Denys | 2 | | |
| York, St Margaret | 3 | | |
| York, St Mary | 1 | | |

FOLIATE HEADS WITH ADDITIONAL FEATURES

| | Headdress | | Tongue pullers | | Fruit | More than head |
|---|---------------------|-------|---------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Alford | Hat | Alrewas | Frieze | Beverley St Mary Grapes | Brant Broughton Pipes |
| 2 | Beverley St Mary | Hat | Beverley Minster | Spandrel | Beverley St Mary Acorns | Christchurch Priory Monster |
| 3 | Beverley St Mary | Hat | Beverley Minster | Spandrel | Beverley Minster Acorns | Crowcombe Mermen |
| 4 | Beverley St Mary | Hat | Beverley Minster | Misericord | Bicknoller Hips | Dennington Woman |
| 5 | Beverley St Mary | Hat | Beverley St Mary | Exterior Corbel | Boxgrove Berries/Hips | Dennington Arms |
| 6 | Beverley St Mary | Crown | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Boxgrove Flowers | Elstow Torso |
| 7 | Beverley Minster | Hat | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Boxgrove Flowers | Fritwell Whole animal |
| 8 | Beverley Minster | Hat | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Boxgrove Flowers | Fritwell Whole animal |
| 9 | Beverley Minster | Hat | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Bristol Cathedral | Holt, Worcs Arms |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|---------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 10 | Bloxham | Crown | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Bristol St MR Flowers | Llansallos Shoulders |
| 11 | Boughton – u- Blean | Crown | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Buckminster Berries | Woman |
| 12 | Bovey Tracy | Cowl | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Bulmer Grapes | Lincoln Cathedral Feet |
| 13 | Boxgrove | Cap | Beverley St Mary | Misericord | Capel St Mary | Linley-on-the-Green Whole person |
| 14 | Boxgrove | Cap | Beverley St Mary | Screen | Christchurch Flower | Melbourne Arms |
| 15 | Brabourne | Hat | Beverley St Mary | Screen | Christchurch Flower | Much Marcle Shoulders |
| 16 | Bradninch | Crown | Boston | Corbel | Crowcombe Vines | Much Marcle Shoulders |
| 17 | Brent Knoll | Hat | Boston | Misericord | Crowcombe Vines | Much Marcle Shoulders |
| 18 | Brent Knoll | Hat | Boxgrove | Frieze corbel | Crowcombe Vines | Much Marcle Shoulders |
| 19 | Brent Knoll | Hat | Brant Broughton | Roof-boss | Crowhurst Grapes | Much Marcle Shoulders |
| 20 | Brent Knoll | Hat | Brant Broughton | Roof-boss | Dennington Flowers | Norwich Cathedral Hands |
| 21 | Bristol Cathedral | Hat | Brant Broughton | Corbel | Dennington Flowers | Peter Tavy Monster |
| 22 | Capel St Mary | Cap | Brigstock | Roof-boss | Derby Acorns | Peter Tavy Monster |
| 23 | Cartmell | Crown | Bristol Cathedral | Misericord | Durham Cathedral Flower | Pipe Aston Monster |
| 24 | Charney Bassett | Head band | Broadclyst | Roof-boss | Durham Cathedral Flowers | Pipe Aston Monster |
| 25 | Charney Bassett | Head Band | Broadclyst | Roof-boss | Durham Cathedral Flowers | Sampford Courtenay Dragon |
| 26 | Cheddar | Hat | Broadclyst | Roof-boss | Exeter Acorns | Selham Serpent |
| 27 | Christchurch Priory | Hat | Broadclyst | Roof-boss | Hacheston Fruit | Southwell Shoulders |
| 28 | Christchurch Priory | Hat | Bunbury | Corbel | Hapton Peonies | Southwell Whole person |
| 29 | Cley | Cowl | Bunbury | Frieze | Harlaxton Acorns | Southwold Dragon |
| 30 | Coventry | Crown | Castle Rising | Font | Harlaxton | Stoke Dry |

| | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| | St JB | | | | Flowers | Lion |
| 31 | Coventry St JB | Hat | Castle Rising | Font | Iffley Grapes | Stone in Oxney Dragon |
| 32 | Crosby Garret | Cap | Castle Rising | Font | Iffley Grapes | Tewkesbury Abbey Half torso |
| 33 | Crowcombe | Hat | Castor | Corbel | Iffley Grapes | Wenlock Dragon |
| 34 | Crowcombe | Hat | Castor | Corbel | Iffley Grapes | Wenlock Dragon |
| 35 | Dartmouth | Hat | Charney Basset | Exterior Voussoir | Ketton Flowers | Weston Longville Dragon |
| 36 | Dennington | Whimble | Clare | Exterior Archivolt | Kilpeck Grapes | Winchester Cathedral Whole man |
| 37 | Edstaton | Crown | Clifford Chambers | Exterior Corbel | Kilpeck Grapes | Winchester Cathedral Neck |
| 38 | Ely Cathedral | Cap | Coventry St John the Baptist | Corbel | Landbeach Berries | Worcester Cathedral Weasel |
| 39 | Ely Cathedral | Cowl | Croyland Abbey | Roof-boss | Leominster Grapes | Worcester Cathedral Weasel |
| 40 | Faringdon | Crown | Dennington | Capital | Leominster Grapes | Wroxham Half a person |
| 41 | Gedney | Head band | Dorchester | Roof-boss | Lincoln Cathedral Acorns | |
| 42 | Grafton Regis | Cap with Fleur de Lys | Durham Cathedral | Exterior Roof-boss | Lincoln Cathedral Berries | |
| 43 | Hacheston | Crown | East Hagbourne | Exterior Corbel | Little Waldingfield Grapes | |
| 44 | Heckington | Crown | Edstaton | Window Spandrel | Melbourne Berries | |
| 45 | Helmingham | Head band | Evesham | Roof-boss | Much Marcle Berries | |
| 46 | Hereford All Saints | Crown | Exeter Cathedral | Misericord | Nayland Grapes | |
| 47 | High Bickington | Crown of leaves | Great Budworth | Corbel | North Nibley Grapes | |
| 48 | High Bickington | Hat | Great Shelford | Screen Spandrel | Ottery St Mary Berries (on blood- sucker) | |
| 49 | High Bickington | Hat | Halse | Frieze Capital | Pinchbeck Fruit | |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 50 | High Bickington | Hat | Healaugh | Exterior Door Capital | Ripon Cathedral Fruit | |
| 51 | High Bickington | Hat | Henham | Exterior Porch Spandrel | Ripon Cathedral Fruit | |
| 52 | High Bickington | Cap | Hereford All Saints | Misericord | Rochester Cathedral Acorns | |
| 53 | High Bickington | Head band | Ilketshall St Andrew | Bench-end | Rochester Cathedral Acorns | |
| 54 | High Bickington | Head band | Landbeach | Frieze | Rous Lench Tree of Life | |
| 55 | Holt, Worcs | Crown | Leverton | Exterior Corbel | Selston Fruit | |
| 56 | Hoo St Werburgh | Cowl | Lichfield Cathedral | Transept corbel | Selston Fruit | |
| 57 | Irnham | Crown | Lichfield Cathedral | Spandrel | Southwell Flowers | |
| 58 | Kirby Lonsdale | Cowl | Lichfield Cathedral | Spandrel | Southwell Flowers | |
| 59 | Lichfield Cathedral | Head band | Lichfield Cathedral | Spandrel | St Albans Grapes | |
| 60 | Little Horstead | Hat | Lichfield Cathedral | Spandrel | St Albans Grapes | |
| 61 | Lostwithiel | Mitre | Lichfield Cathedral | Spandrel | St Albans Grapes | |
| 62 | Mappowder | Hat | Lincoln Cathedral | Misericord | St Albans Grapes | |
| 63 | Milton Abbey | Hat | Little Waldingfield | Exterior Door Corbel | St Albans Grapes | |
| 64 | Monksilver | Hat | Little Waldingfield | Roof-boss | Sutton Benger Fruit | |
| 65 | Much Marcle | Head band | Long Sutton | Roof-boss | Tewkesbury Abbey Fruit | |
| 66 | Newark | Cap | Marston | Screen corbel | Tewkesbury Abbey Fruit | |
| 67 | Peter Tavy | Hat | Monksilver | Bench-end | Thompson Fruit | |
| 68 | Peter Tavy | Hat | Moulton | Roof-boss | Tong Fruit | |
| 69 | Pickhill | Head band | Northleach | Exterior porch corbel | Weasenham Fruit | |
| 70 | Riccall | Crown with crosses | Norwich Cathedral | Exterior cloister roof-boss | Winchelsea Acorns | |

| | | | | | | |
|----|---------------------|-----------|----------------------|----------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| 71 | Ripon Cathedral | Head band | Othery | Roof-boss | Withycombe Fruit | |
| 72 | Sharrington | Head band | Ottringham | Roof-boss | Woodbury Fruit | |
| 73 | Sharrington | Head band | Oundle | Roof-boss | Yardley Hastings Acorns | |
| 74 | Sheffield Cathedral | Hat | Redenhall | Roof-boss | | |
| 75 | Sheffield Cathedral | Hat | Richmond | Bench-end | | |
| 76 | Sheffield Cathedral | Hat | Richmond | Bench-end | | |
| 77 | Sheffield Cathedral | Hat | Saxilby | Roof-boss | | |
| 78 | Southwell | Hat | Sharrington | Corbel | | |
| 79 | Southwell | Head band | South Tawton | Roof-boss | | |
| 80 | Spreyton | Crown | St Margaret's | Screen canopy boss | | |
| 81 | St Nicholas at Wade | Crown | St Merryn | Roof-boss | | |
| 82 | Stokein Teignhead | Hat | Stock Harvard | Roof-boss | | |
| 83 | Sudbury | Crown | Stoke by Nayland | Door panel | | |
| 84 | Sutterton | Head band | Stoke by Nayland | Door panel | | |
| 85 | Sutton Coldfield | Hat | Tilton on the Hill | Roof-boss | | |
| 86 | Sutton Coldfield | Hat | Winchester Cathedral | Misericord | | |
| 87 | Weston in Gordano | Hat | Winchester Cathedral | Misericord | | |
| 88 | Withycombe | Hat | Worstead | Roof-boss | | |
| 89 | Withycombe | Crown | Worstead | Roof-boss | | |
| 90 | Woolpit | Crown | York, St Denys | Exterior Door Corbel | | |
| 91 | Wye | Crown | Youlgreave | Frieze Capital | | |
| 92 | York, All Saints | Hat | Youlgreave | Beam Corbel | | |
| | 7.85% | | 7.85% | | 6.23% | 3.41% |

| | Animals | Blood Suckers | Birds | Hair Transformers |
|---|-------------------|---------------|------------------|-------------------|
| 1 | Pipe Aston Dragon | Axbridge | Bicknoller | Burton Latimer |
| 2 | Pipe Aston | Crediton | Beverley Minster | East Hagbourne |

| | | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------|
| | Dragon | | | |
| 3 | Pipe Aston Dragon | Grantham | Iffley | Pershore Abbey |
| 4 | Pipe Aston Dragon | Marston | Southwell | Stratford-upon-Avon |
| 5 | Sampford Courtenay Dragon | Ottery St Mary | Southwell | |
| 6 | Southwold Dragon | Peter Tavy | Sutton Benger | |
| 7 | Stone in Oxney Dragon | Peter Tavy | | |
| 8 | Wenlock Dragon | Spreyton | | |
| 9 | Wenlock Dragon | | | |
| 10 | Weston Longville Dragon | | | |
| 11 | Abbotsbury Dog | | | |
| 12 | Dunchideock Dog | | | |
| 13 | Exeter Cathedral Dog | | | |
| 14 | Exeter Cathedral Dog | | | |
| 15 | Great Waldingfield Dog | | | |
| 16 | Over Dog | | | |
| 17 | Bristol St Mary Redcliffe Cow | | | |
| 18 | Over Cow | | | |
| 19 | Rochester Cathedral Cow | | | |
| 20 | Rotherfield Cow | | | |
| 21 | Holt, Wilts Lion | | | |
| 22 | Lincoln Cathedral Lion | | | |
| 23 | Stoke Dry Lion | | | |
| 24 | Fritwell Elephant? | | | |
| 25 | Fritwell Elephant? | | | |
| 26 | Worcester Cathedral Weasel | | | |
| 27 | Worcester Cathedral Weasel | | | |
| 28 | Worcester Cathedral Sheep | | | |

| | | | | |
|----|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|
| 29 | Wye Pig | | | |
| 30 | Hinton Parva Wolf | | | |
| | 2.56% | 0.77% | 0.51% | 0.34% |

Appendix F

FOLIAGE TYPES ON FOLIATE HEADS

| Species | Date of Head | Church | County | Location | |
|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------|----------|----------------|
| Acanthus | 1300 | Wadenhoe | Northants | Porch | Corbel |
| Acanthus | 1350 | Warfield | Berkshire | | Reredos |
| Acanthus | 1350 | Warfield | Berkshire | | Reredos |
| Acanthus | 1400 | Newark | Notts | Nave | Frieze capital |
| Acanthus | 1400 | Patrington | Yorks | Chapel | Roof boss |
| Acanthus | 1400 | Patrington | Yorks | Transept | Roof boss |
| Acanthus, stylised | 1300 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Choir | Misericord |
| Acanthus, stylised | 1400 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucs | Chantry | Frieze |
| Acanthus, stylised | 1400 | Lower Benefield | Northants | Choir | Misericord |
| Acanthus, stylised | 1484 | Stamford | Lincs | Nave | Roof boss |
| Bramble + fruit | 1450 | Ripon Cathedral | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Bryony | 1400 | Little Horstead | Suffolk | Exterior | Door spandrel |

| | | | | | |
|--------------------|------|---------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------------|
| Bryony, wild apple | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Buttercup | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Buttercup | 1300 | Bunbury | Cheshire | | Frieze |
| Buttercup | 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Buttercup | 1500 | Ugborough | Devon | Nave | Roof boss |
| Cabbage | 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Cinquefoil | 1290 | Warmington | Northants | Nave | Roof boss |
| Cranesbill | 1500 | Alrewas | Staffs | Nave | Screen |
| Daisies, stylised | 1500 | Christchurch | Dorset | Choir | Screen |
| Daisy, stylised | 1532 | Boxgrove Priory | Sussex | | De la Warr tomb |
| Daisy, stylised | 1532 | Boxgrove Priory | Sussex | | De la Warr tomb |
| Dog rose | 1520 | Bicknoller | Somerset | Nave | Bench end |
| Elder | 1300 | Halse | Somerset | Nave | Roundel |
| Elder | 1330 | Wingham | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Elder | 1400 | Lincoln Cathedral | Lincs | Choir | Misericord |
| Elder, stylised | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Elder, stylised | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Elder, stylised | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Elm | 1500 | Bovey Tracy | Devon | Porch | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1200 | Dorchester Abbey | Oxon | Sanctuary | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1290 | Warmington | Northants | Nave | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Weasenham | Norfolk | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Weasenham | Norfolk | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Weasenham | Norfolk | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Bunbury | Cheshire | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Oundle | Northants | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Claypole | Lincs | Nave | Frieze corbels |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Claypole | Lincs | Nave | Frieze corbels |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Claypole | Lincs | Nave | Frieze corbels |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Claypole | Lincs | Nave | Frieze corbels |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Lichfield Cathedral | Staffs | Ambulatory | Spandrel |

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|---------------------------|------|----------------------|-----------|------------|------------------|
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Bredin | Worcs | Choir | Tomb |
| Hawthorn | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Hawthorn | 1325 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Aisle | Spandrel |
| Hawthorn | 1325 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Aisle | Spandrel |
| Hawthorn | 1330 | Dennington | Suffolk | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1340 | Ely Cathedral | Cambs | | Bench end |
| Hawthorn | 1340 | Ely Cathedral | Cambs | | Bench end |
| Hawthorn | 1350 | Sutton Benger | Wilts | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1350 | Sutton Benger | Wilts | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1350 | Sutton Benger | Wilts | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1350 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Ambulatory | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1350 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Sanctuary | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Buckminster | Leics | Aisle | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Ardington | Oxon | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Salhouse | Norfolk | | Plinth corbel |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Avening | Gloucs | Chancel | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Sudbury | Suffolk | Nave | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Weston Longville | Norfolk | Sanctuary | Sedilia |
| Hawthorn | 1400 | Taunton | Somerset | Porch | Spandrel |
| Hawthorn | 1427 | Croyland Abbey | Lincs | Chancel | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn | 1520 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Hawthorn + hips | 1300 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn + hips | 1300 | Sharrington | Norfolk | Sanctuary | Corbel |
| Hawthorn + hips, stylised | 1450 | Landbeach | Cambs | Nave | Frieze |
| Hawthorn | 1300 | Little Leighs | Essex | Sanctuary | Easter Sepulchre |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1300 | Bristol, St MR | Somerset | Porch | Frieze |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1300 | Pocklington | Yorks | Tower | Frieze capital |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1300 | Gedney | Lincs | Nave | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1300 | Cranbrook | Kent | Nave | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1300 | Fownhope | Herefords | Sanctuary | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Screen |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1350 | Pulham St Mary | Suffolk | | Poppy-head |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1397 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcs | | Bench end |

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|------------------------------|------|----------------------|----------|---------------|----------------------|
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1400 | Holt | Wilts | Exterior | Corbel |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1400 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1400 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucs | Ambulatory | Roof boss |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1430 | Bradninch | Devon | Nave | Capital |
| Hawthorn, stylised | 1500 | Mappowder | Dorset | Nave | Corbel |
| Hawthorn, stylised + berries | 1340 | Ottery St Mary | Dorset | Chapel | Corbel |
| Hornbeam | 1450 | Over | Cambs | Choir | Misericord |
| Ivy | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Ivy | 1330 | Temple Balsall | Warwicks | Exterior | Window capital |
| Ivy | 1350 | Coventry, St JB | Warwicks | Nave | Corbel |
| Ivy | 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Ivy | 1400 | Congresbury | Somerset | Nave | Roof boss |
| Laurel | 1400 | Holybourne | Hants | Nave | Corbel |
| Maple | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Maple | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Maple | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Maple | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Maple | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Maple | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Maple | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Maple | 1325 | Cliffe at Hoo | Kent | | Bench end |
| Maple | 1325 | Cliffe at Hoo | Kent | | Bench end |
| Maple | 1325 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Nave | Capital |
| Maple | 1350 | Wye | Kent | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Maple | 1400 | South Ockendon | Essex | Exterior | Corbel |
| Maple | 1400 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucs | Aisle | Roof boss |
| Maple | 1400 | Tiverton | Devon | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Maple, birds | 1400 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Ambulatory | Roof boss |
| Mugwort | 1300 | Sparsholt | Oxon | | Tomb spandrel |

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|---------|------|----------------------|-----------|----------------|----------------------|
| Mugwort | 1350 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | North transept | Corbel |
| Mugwort | 1350 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Chapel | Roof boss |
| Mugwort | 1350 | Pershore Abbey | Worcs | Nave | Roof boss |
| Mugwort | 1380 | Chester Cathedral | Cheshire | | Bench end |
| Mugwort | 1390 | Boston | Lincs | Choir | Misericord |
| Mugwort | 1400 | Cawston | Norfolk | | Bench end |
| Oak | 1250 | Chelveston | Northants | Nave | Corbel |
| Oak | 1300 | Weasenham | Norfolk | Exterior | Corbel |
| Oak | 1300 | Desborough | Northants | Nave | Corbel |
| Oak | 1300 | Newark | Notts | Nave | Corbel |
| Oak | 1300 | Elstow | Beds | Sanctuary | Corbel |
| Oak | 1300 | Barnwell | Northants | | Frieze capital |
| Oak | 1300 | Hereford, All Sts | Herefords | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak | 1300 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Crossing | Roof boss |
| Oak | 1300 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Crossing | Roof boss |
| Oak | 1300 | Lichfield Cathedral | Staffs | Ambulatory | Spandrel |
| Oak | 1300 | Lichfield Cathedral | Staffs | Ambulatory | Spandrel |
| Oak | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | | Bench end |
| Oak | 1308 | Winchester Cathedral | Hants | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak | 1350 | Thompson | Norfolk | Sanctuary | Sedilia |
| Oak | 1350 | Market Deeping | Lincs | | Statue plinth |
| Oak | 1350 | Boston | Lincs | | String course corbel |
| Oak | 1352 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | | Tomb spandrel |
| Oak | 1360 | Thaxted | Essex | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Oak | 1375 | Heckington | Lincs | Exterior | Corbel |
| Oak | 1400 | Nantwich | Cheshire | Transept | Capital |
| Oak | 1400 | Yardley Hastings | Northants | Chapel | Corbel |
| Oak | 1400 | Ashill | Norfolk | Nave | Font |
| Oak | 1400 | Coventry, HT | Warwicks | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak | 1400 | King's Lynn | Norfolk | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak | 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Oak | 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Oak | 1400 | Norwich Cathedral | Norfolk | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Oak | 1400 | Stock Harvard | Essex | Tower | Roof boss |
| Oak | 1404 | Battlefield | Shrops | Nave | Capital |
| Oak | 1435 | Ludlow | Shrops | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak | 1435 | Ludlow | Shrops | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | | Bench end |
| Oak | 1450 | Ewelme | Oxon | Exterior | Corbel |

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|-------------------|------|---------------------|-----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| Oak | 1450 | Great Moulton | Norfolk | Exterior | Spandrel |
| Oak | 1520 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak + grapes | 1350 | Thompson | Norfolk | Sanctuary | Sedilia |
| Oak, acorn | 1250 | Harlaxton | Lincs | Chancel | Corbel |
| Oak, acorns | 1250 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak, acorns | 1300 | Wadenhoe | Northants | Porch | Corbel |
| Oak, acorns | 1300 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Crossing | Roof boss |
| Oak, acorns | 1300 | Rochester Cathedral | Kent | Crossing | Roof boss |
| Oak, acorns | 1312 | Winchelsea | Sussex | Choir | Tomb |
| Oak, acorns | 1325 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Nave | Capital |
| Oak, acorns | 1400 | Lincoln Cathedral | Lincs | Choir | Misericord |
| Oak, acorns | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | | Poppyhead |
| Oak, acorns | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | | Poppyhead |
| Oak, acorns | 1520 | Derby | Derbs | Exterior | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1300 | Helmingham | Suffolk | Exterior | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1300 | St Bee | Cumbria | | Corbel – moved |
| Oak, stylised | 1340 | Ottery St Mary | Dorset | Nave | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1340 | Ottery St Mary | Dorset | Nave | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1350 | Clifford Chambers | Warwicks | Exterior | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1350 | Ryhall | Rutland | Exterior | String course |
| Oak, stylised | 1400 | Barnham Broom | Norfolk | Aisle | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1400 | Holt | Wilts | Exterior | Corbel |
| Oak, stylised | 1400 | Lechlade | Gloucs | Nave | Roof boss |
| Oak, stylised | 1450 | Milton Abbey | Dorset | Nave | Roof boss |
| Oak, stylised | 1524 | Newark | Notts | Choir | Misericord |
| Palm, stylised | 1350 | Thompson | Norfolk | Sanctuary | Sedilia |
| Palms | 1150 | Fritwell | Oxon | Exterior | Tympanum |
| Palms | 1150 | Fritwell | Oxon | Exterior | Tympanum |
| Peonies | 1330 | Dennington | Suffolk | Chancel | Corbel |
| Peony | 1310 | Hapton | Norfolk | Chancel | Frieze |
| Peony | 1380 | Wymington | Beds | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Peony | 1380 | Wymington | Beds | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Peony | 1380 | Wymington | Beds | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Peony | 1380 | Wymington | Beds | Exterior | String course corbel |

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|------------------------|------|---------------------|-----------|---------------|----------------------|
| Peony | 1380 | Wymington | Beds | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Peony | 1380 | Wymington | Beds | Exterior | String course corbel |
| Peony, stylised | 1450 | Aldbourn | Wilts | Transept | Tomb |
| Potentilla | 1290 | Southwell Minster | Notts | Chapter House | Corbel |
| Rose bay | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |
| Rose, stylised | 1400 | Durham Cathedral | Co Durham | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Rose, stylised | 1400 | Durham Cathedral | Co Durham | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Rose, stylised | 1400 | Durham Cathedral | Co Durham | Cloister | Roof boss |
| Rowan | 1325 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Aisle | Spandrel |
| Rowan | 1325 | Beverley Minster | Yorks | Aisle | Spandrel |
| Rue | 1397 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcs | Choir | Misericord |
| Rue | 1397 | Worcester Cathedral | Worcs | Choir | Misericord |
| Sycamore | 1330 | Dennington | Suffolk | Chancel | Corbel |
| Vine | 1300 | Withycombe | Somerset | Nave | Candle-holder |
| Vine, grapes | 1250 | Harlaxton | Lincs | Nave | Corbel |
| Vine, grapes | 1300 | Withycombe | Somerset | Nave | Candle-holder |
| Vine, grapes | 1300 | Weasenham | Norfolk | Exterior | Corbel |
| Vine, grapes | 1300 | Bristol Cathedral | Somerset | Chapel | Tomb boss |
| Vine, grapes | 1400 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucs | Ambulatory | Roof boss |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1140 | Rous Lench | Worcs | Exterior | Door column face |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1150 | Kilpeck | Herefords | Exterior | Door capital |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1250 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Choir | Misericord |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1350 | Exeter Cathedral | Devon | Choir | Roof boss |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Withycombe | Somerset | Nave | Beam |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Withycombe | Somerset | Nave | Beam |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Withycombe | Somerset | Nave | Beam |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Bulmer | Essex | | Font |

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|--------------------------------|------|---------------------|----------|--------------|---------------|
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Tewkesbury Abbey | Gloucs | Chapel | Roof boss |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Little Waldingfield | Suffolk | Nave | Roof boss |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Nayland | Suffolk | Nave | Tie beam boss |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1400 | Capel St Mary | Suffolk | | Window corbel |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1415 | Tong | Shrops | Choir | Misericord |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1430 | St Albans Cathedral | Herts | | Tomb frieze |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1430 | St Albans Cathedral | Herts | | Tomb frieze |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1430 | St Albans Cathedral | Herts | | Tomb frieze |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1430 | St Albans Cathedral | Herts | | Tomb frieze |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1430 | St Albans Cathedral | Herts | | Tomb frieze |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1451 | Crowhurst | Surrey | Nave | Tomb |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1500 | Selston | Notts | Porch | Capital |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1500 | Selston | Notts | Porch | Capital |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1534 | Crowcombe | Somerset | | Bench end |
| Vine, grapes, stylised | 1534 | Crowcombe | Somerset | | Bench end |
| Vine, grapes, stylised + other | 1400 | North Nibley | Gloucs | Nave | Corbel |
| Vine, stylised | 1150 | Brabourne | Kent | Chancel arch | Capital |
| Vine, stylised | 1445 | Beverley, St Mary | Yorks | Choir | Misericord |

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