



Jérôme: Saint-Denis ambulatory An1C-Cm(a+)

### ***Master Jérôme (1120-1146)***

I can identify two carvers who used a similar basic arrangement of paired legs rising from the astragal to a collar, out of which springs a posy of leaves. They seem to have formed a team in their younger years. There may be more, but the men who stand out are Jérôme and Jeremy. Though the latter split off to work separately on other buildings such as Etampes and La Ferté-Alais, they remained together for a sufficiently long time to suggest they formed a permanent team up to the later 30s, including a deal of work at Saint-Denis. I will deal with Jeremy in a later presentation.



Jérôme: Saint-Denis west portal W.sR1 1132



Jeremy: Saint-Denis west portal W.cR1 1132

In both the fronds are symmetrical and slightly languorous and fluid. Jérôme's style is large and sumptuous, with full rounded forms and well-packed foliage that gives the impression that the space is too small for it; Jeremy's is sharp-pointed and self-supporting with leaves small yet with wider spaces between the fronds. Where Jérôme's is softer and floppy, Jeremy's is harder and self-supporting. The Jérôme fronds grow out and then fall with a sense of weightiness that can best be described as 'flouncy' and the tips fall over the edge of the astragal. Jérôme's stalks supporting the collar are straight and almost vertical, Jeremy's more widespread.

I recognise Jérôme's capitals by the generous collar of three fronds separated by two large holes between them [r2]. Jeremy's are slimmer. In both the collar forms the starting line for the most active elements [r3]. For both the collar is almost always on the face of the block.

For Jérôme the abacus is almost always *énchancré*, whereas for Jeremy it is invariably straight. Jérôme never used buds where Jeremy used buds or a small leaf to fill the occasional space.

Jeremy used the same arrangement and shared many of the same foliage details as Jérôme, but with real differences in the placement and inner vigour of the fronds and their tips, as well as the minor detailing [r1,2]. Both men were members of the same team for some years [ICMA 03:8],



Jérôme: Bougival crossing EN1sw 1138



Jeremy: Saint-Loup-de-Naud portal 1124

In this discussion of Jérôme I will first concentrate on the foliate capitals and use them to form a time-line, followed by a few with dragons and other creatures with the same details. The heads and foliage then connect this carver to some of the most important figurative sculpture in the region.

### *The foliate capitals*

Jérôme's earliest foliate capital is in Saint-Martin-des-Champs where he was part of the large team that gathered to carve the capitals over the aisle piers [b]. All his elements are there, except for the increased leaf-cover that was part of the directions that were apparently given to all carvers on this campaign, as described earlier [\*\*\*].

These have his layout centralised on the face of the block with the foliage that emerges from the collar spreading up and out to support the corners of the stone. The upper fronds stick sideways or upwards providing a vertical movement to the upper zone of the carving. The ones in the middle that emerge at the sides of the collar hang down, in recognition of the weight the capitals carry. The lowest fronds by the base of the 'struts' hang gracefully to fill the space. It is a balanced combination of rising and falling.



Saint-Martin-des-Champs AN2+L(a) detail 1130



Saint-Martin-des-Champs AN2+L(a) 1130



Saint-Martin-des-Champs AN2+(a) 1130

Immediately after Saint-Martin, Jérôme joined the gangs in the nearby Saint-Denis working on the west front portals. The carving in the embrasures is his single foliate contribution to these capitals [b1]. His associate Jeremy carved one in a similar style nearby [v6:\*\*\*].

The fronds at Saint-Martin are less varied in design and fill more of the space, while those in Saint-Denis are more fluid and the branches better integrated. Nothing on this capital has been restored.<sup>1</sup> All capitals from Saint-Denis are *énchantré*, whereas Saint-Martin are not.

Over the next decade from the western end of Saint-Denis in the early 30s to the choir a dozen years later there were few developments in the style of these capitals. This is most clearly seen by comparing the portal capital to one in the ambulatory [b1,2].



Saint-Denis west portal W.sR1 1132



Saint-Denis ambulatory An1C-Cm 1143

The portal was followed by a trip to Sens to work on the ambulatory dado of the cathedral. The ‘legs’, large collar and long fronds help identify him [r1]. Notice that the tips of the lower fronds hang over the edge of the astragal as in the Saint-Denis portal capital [r2]. These two stones are the only ones with this detail, which is one reason for placing Sens and Saint-Denis close in time. As the magnificent dado capitals at Sens were carved by some of the men Suger had assembled for the Saint-Denis west portal, I would guess that following a request from the archbishop they may have moved down there as a team for this one group of carvings.

There has been a great deal of discussion on the possible dating for Sens.<sup>2</sup> I will examine this more when the chronological evidence from all the carvers has been sifted, for as I discussed in ‘ICMA 01’ the details will emerge with clarity only through a reiterative analysis of the whole. I have at this stage used an approximation: That Sens was begun around 1129 (depending on the depth of the footings) with the dado being carved in 1133 and that the aisles were vaulted in the later 30s. In chapter 15 I discuss the possibility that work stopped at the level of the gallery walkway where a temporary roof was constructed, and that work paused for a decade or more. As at Saint-Denis, the high altar, the stalls and Henry’s tomb were installed under this roof.

The fluidity expressed in the tips hanging over the astragal was, over the next years, gradually incorporated into the foliage which fill with life. The in-turning tips at Saint-Martin are not repeated afterwards as the tips of all later fronds tend to turn outwards.

One of the miniscule capitals on the Apostle’s Altar in Saint-Denis has the legs and collar, and the fronds of Jérôme [b1]. The full altar was the work of a team of men many of whom were also working on the narthex [see \*\*\*]. In the figure to the right of it I found characteristics that, as we shall see later in this section, could comfortably be ascribed to him from the detailing in the heads [b2].

The frame that surrounds the figures has the same undulating vine supporting splayed fronds with central berries as André used in the Chartres colonnettes [b3]. This is why I am going in the section on André to suggest that he was the master in charge of the relief.



Sens cathedral En3c(d)

1133



Saint-Denis west portal W.sR1 detail

1132



Saint-Denis, Apostle's Altar

1133



Saint-Denis, Apostle's Altar

1133



Saint-Denis, Apostle's Altar

1133

TAKE BETTER PHOTOS.

Jérôme seems to have returned to Saint-Denis after working at Sens, for he carved this capital alongside one of the aisle windows of the narthex in 1134 [r4]. It was hard to photograph, but the basic structure with little sprigs at the top, paired legs under the collar covered with a pair of fronds, and the little falling leaves in each side is in the same manner as the Altar, except that the collar is on the corner.

Also in the manner of the Altar, there are branches on each face that carry the fronds (arrow). They are obvious in the Altar, but not so clear in the narthex window.



Saint-Denis XS2-2R(aw)

1134

In this capital the arrangement was becoming richer and more intricate, with the additional tendrils and fronds hanging off them, and more concentrated leaf outlines.

This trend affected the next two capitals carved on a return journey to Sens. There are two under the ambulatory vaults [b1,2]. The capital on the pier was meant to be seen from all round, but on the aisle side the design was changed and the pier enlarged with unadorned ones on the eastern side [b3]. The design of the impost over the adjacent shaft was also changed.

This represented a break in the construction process. The different templates indicate the presence of another master, possibly the one who decided to use ribs in the aisle vaults instead of leaving them as groins.

In one the collar is on the face, and in the other on the corner, possibly an experiment to see how his standard template could be handled on stones as large as these, for they were the biggest capitals Jérôme had ever carved. He seems to have had problems in enlarging his design to a larger surface.



Sens cathedral En2s(a)

1137



Sens cathedral ES1s(a)

1137



Sens cathedral ES1s(a), covered details

During this time he experimented further with elongated branches in one capital at Bougival, adapting the ideas used in the large one at Sens to one of the smallest [b1]. In the same campaign he was able to use his normal template [b2]. The style is fluid though, not yet as florid as it would become. Taking into account the others working on the adjacent capitals in that crossing I would suggest a date around 1138, possibly while the upper work in the Saint-Denis narthex was being completed, or while Jeremy was working in the crypt.



Bougival EN1se

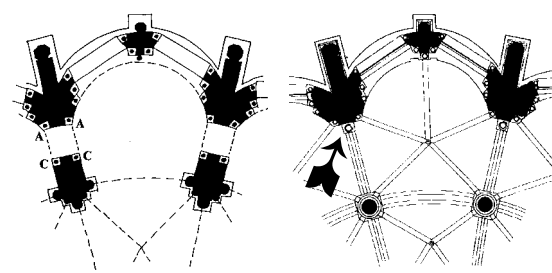
1138



Bougival EN1sw

1138

Jérôme joined the workshop during both campaigns on the Saint-Denis choir ambulatory. In the first the master intended to erect groin vaults over the chapels, while his successor made the alterations necessary to build ribs [r2]. Some of the evidence for a break in construction lies in the differences in the heights and imposts of the doubleau capitals that were clearly added after the wall had been designed.<sup>3</sup> The probable first arrangement of the chapels is shown on the left plan, and



Saint-Denis, axial chapel with probable first plan, and as built

on the right the additional shafts are indicated by the arrow on the second plan. The difference in heights and in the impostes are unique to these shafts [r1]. The 1993 analysis offers an important alternative explanation for the uniqueness of the Saint-Denis design. I have accepted it a fair record of actual events as the evidence has never been re-examined on site nor its implications considered in any recent literature. Yet the implications play an important part in this analysis.

In the campaign that built the ambulatory walls Jérôme carved one of the capitals in the first chapel on the north [b1], and in the second campaign two capitals under the doubleau of the rib vaults [b2].

Parts of the carving was buried into the walls, suggesting they were originally meant to be seen in the round. Perhaps these added shafts were first designed to be set further out from the wall, and then moved closer, perhaps to simplify the layout for the ribs. The carving may have been damaged in all six capitals while making them fit their new positions, which may be why some had to be replaced in the nineteenth century. We can trust that the designs are close to the originals for the replacements were executed with great care, as Clark confirmed.<sup>4</sup>



Saint-Denis, junction of imposts at arrow 1142/43



Saint-Denis ambulatory An1C-Cm(a) 1142



Saint-Denis ambulatory An2s(a+) 1143

Among the many implications of this 1993 study was “We have to conclude that the seminal originality of the Saint-Denis chevet lay not in the genius of one master, but in an accidental concatenation, a fluke of appointments and opinions that were influenced by Suger’s passion for light and for re-creating the past. Though his choice of masters may have been deliberate, it seems more likely that masters were chosen from whatever pool of men were currently unoccupied. In this case the greatness of Saint-Denis stems from the happy conjunction of three men: the fourth master from the south who opened the walls with gigantic windows, the fifth from the north who lightened the spaces with drum columns and covered them with a unified system of rib vaults, and their client, Abbot Suger.”<sup>5</sup>

A more universal conclusion that matters for all the arguments in this volume is that only the construction sequence is able to date the carving of any element or idea in a building, including capitals. Though some stones may have been carved earlier than its actual erection, the placement date forms a definite moment in time. It is thus crucial to understand the order of construction so that each level of capitals may be allocated a date within that sequence.

For Saint-Denis I have questioned the assumption by Crosby that Suger could have built a four-storey church in four years.<sup>6</sup> There is no evidence in the stonework itself for such a momentous campaign, while Crosby himself acknowledged “Even my own enthusiasm for Suger’s abilities questions the possibility of his erecting such a complex structure, especially one so novel, in such a short time”.<sup>7</sup> The storm described by Suger refers, I believe, to the ambulatory vaults, not the high vaults. After the storm the

cells were then laid over the ribs fairly quickly and a roof provided for the grand consecration in June. I will discuss this further in chapter 13.

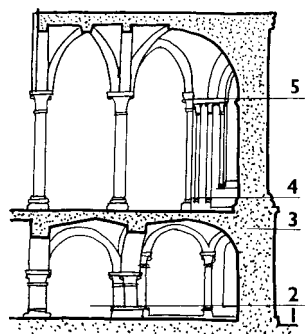
In the Crosby scheme Jérôme's two capitals would have been placed around 1141, rather than two years later. These two years matter because the firmness of these dates impacts on the chronologies of masters involved at one campaign or another in nearly every other building, not only the choir of Saint-Denis.

Jérôme continued to work in Saint-Denis on the outside over the choir windows [b1]. This is located just above the '5' in the adjacent cross-section [b2]. The section notes the five clearly visible construction breaks between the campaigns.

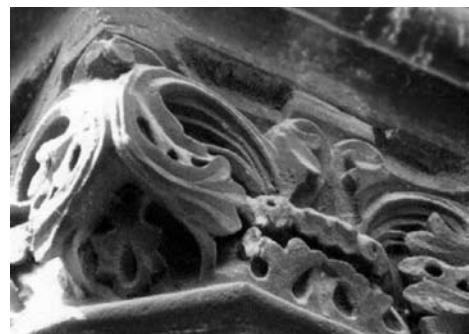
There is one capital in the cornice that has the large collar and stiff legs of Jérôme, but the details are more in the sumptuous manner of his next job in Saint-Germain-des-Prés [b3].



Saint-Denis ambulatory window 1142



Saint-Denis, section, campaigns marked



Saint-Denis, external choir cornice 1143

Probably just before carved the big overhanging corner bouquets in the Saint-Denis cornice he was engaged on the dado arcade of Saint-Germain-des-Prés with a similar massive corner, though not quite so massive [b1]. The fronds are very long with stretched lobes, and the design is elegantly flowing and dynamic. Jérôme carved two for the dado [b1,2]. From this time onwards there was a more creative approach to forms and details. The range of works suggests he was moving from site to site to work on carved work as required, and was probably not doing much if any plain ashlar work. Literally a free mason.



sGdP E(d) 1142



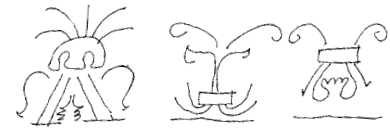
sGdP E(a) 1142

It would seem that skilled master carvers seldom worked alone. They had apprentices and probably labourers to hack and hold and make the tea. In addition, on individual jobs they seem to team up with others who are often not readily identifiable because they work in the manner of the senior carver. The work of the SS Master at Aulnay is an example: three men using the SS template in their own manner with quirks and details never used by SS himself, and not always discoverable elsewhere.<sup>8</sup>

Then some of the work could be passed over to the apprentice, or to a less skilled hand. The most obvious is in the finishing decoration along

vines and around the edges of fronds. The superficial appearance may be very different though the same template had been followed.

It is apparent in the dado that the concept in this template may have been used by other carvers, though changed to suit their own ideas [r1]. One I will refer to as Jacqui who used flared fronds with a small collar set down low, close to the astragal so there were no legs, but rather two u-shaped stalks supporting fronds [b2]. Another by Jeremy who was often associated with Jérôme [b1]. This raises one of the major problems in making identifications.



Three team templates Jérôme, Jacqui and Jeremy



Saint-Germain dado unknown carver 1142



Jacqui, Saint-Germain dado 1142



Jeremy: Saint-Germain dado 1142

There is also a considerable amount of sharing of ideas and elements. Some men who worked together often, such as the rinceau team, would exchange leaf-forms, terminals, and ways to carve collars and so on. I have had to extract these ‘common elements’ out of a campaign to get to the basic design parameters.

And then there is the level of creativity of the master carver himself. As we shall see in Saint-Germain, Jérôme was an adaptable designer though he stuck with his basic layout throughout all his work. Some, such as Grégoire and Félix were much more creative and the way to discern their work thereby more difficult.

Consequently you can see that the major problem I have had in making identifications lies in separating the core values of the master carver from the superficial intrusions borrowed from friends and associates.

Some of the capitals from the destroyed cloister are now in the Musée de Cluny. One in particular, number 18925b, has the collar on legs, the spreading upper foliage and similar entwined animals with curled tails [b1]. I will have more to say about this shortly, but for the moment notice the similarities with the ambulatory capital carved under the Rib-and-Vault Master in 1143 [b2]. In a thorough study of remnants from the destroyed cloister of Saint Denis, Léon Pressouyre wrote “the sculptors of the cloister of Saint-Denis must have worked in the choir (of Saint-Germain), analogies between motifs are numerous, technical similarities are close, and stylistic affinities disquieting”.<sup>9</sup>

From these similarities I would suggest that this part of the cloister was being erected about this time and, as will be apparent in a moment from the development of his style, before the aisles of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.<sup>10</sup>



Saint-Denis, cloister (Cluny) 1143



Saint-Denis, second stage ambulatory 1143

***Saint-Germain-des-Prés aisle walls.***

As the work at Saint-Denis finished Jérôme transferred his attention to the wall and pier capitals of Saint-Germain where he played a major part.

The homogeneity of the designs is unusual. Even the degree of control exercised at Saint-Martin was less than the uniformity imposed here. Even a quick skim through the capitals in volume 5 of *The Ark of God* will show this up.

Almost everywhere the foliage is longer than usual, almost fulsome, heavier and denser in feeling and the lobes of the fronds more uniform. It is as if the client or the capo-master of the works had provided a sample leaf and everyone working on the site was asked to follow it. The consequent surface complexity can be quite daunting when we try to analyse the layouts and the designs of the parts.

In these capitals individuality has been expressed with attributes not found in the master's normal work. Every carver in the ambulatory walls worked within a design code imposed by another, or mutually agreed to.

The designs of the nine capitals on the An2(a) pier have the forms of Jérôme, yet the overall impression is not like his earlier work as they cover more of the cone [r1]. The lobes of each leaf are incised to emphasize the surface rather than the outline. Indeed, the surface texture is more important than the silhouette.

The differences and similarities stand out when we compare the arrangement at Saint-Germain with Saint-Denis [r2]. In both, three sets of fronds emerge on each side of the collar, but at Saint-Germain the outer one has been enlarged and the little projection at the top was turned into a full frond, marked on both capitals with arrows. There is now little space between the leaves, though the curves and relationship between them has not altered. Where the upper fronds met at the corner they were widened [arrows r1,2].

The collar was enlarged, while the little sprigs between the fronds at the top and in front of the legs at the bottom were removed. Overall, the capitals on this pier are more rumbustious and vital than before, but less intimate. The main differences lie in weight and texture [r3].

He also worked on the nearby An3(a) wall pier where he enriched the layout further by emboldening the corner leaves and bunching them with a collar of its own rather like a cravat [b1,2]. Rather than sitting it on stalks, he folded two fronds underneath to create a closer relationship with the collar on the face of the block. He experimented with a number of alternative ways to detail the corner, including fuller fronds [b2].

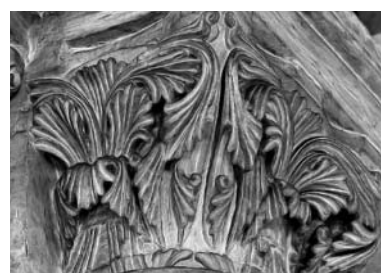
He also tried out new terminals, as in the upturned pair of fronds in the upper central space [arrow b1] and the hanging berry and adjacent foliage in the lower space [arrow b3].



Saint-Germain-des-Prés An2s(a) 1144



Saint-Denis, An1C-Cm(a) 1142



Saint-Germain An2e(a) 1143



Saint-Germain-des-Prés An3w(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés An3sw(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés An3e(a) 1144



Another example that shows that the decoration of all fronds follows a common style can be seen in The Duke's work on the As2 pier [b1-2]. Compare these with his almost contemporary capital in the Saint-Denis ambulatory [b3]. The templates are the same, but the leaves were enlarged and their number reduced, and the collars became foliate instead of rings more like Jérôme's. I have the impression that the master may have asked his carvers to share their favourite motifs to achieve greater unity.



Saint-Germain-des-Prés As2e(a)

1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés A2w(a)

1144



St Denis ambulatory En4se(a)

1142

As in Saint-Martin the differences are more in the details than the forms, which vary wildly. Both were attempts to unify the overall feeling of the capitals. This experience changed all future work by introducing the men, in a more disciplined setting than provided by the average workshop, to the ideas of others. One has to only compare the variety of carving in the Saint-Denis narthex to the surface conformity at Saint-Germain to see the difference. It seems to have made significant differences to Jérôme work, as can be seen in his last carving at Châlons-en-Champagne.

**Notre-Dame in Châlons.**

In the nave of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux Jérôme enfolded what he had learned at Saint-Germain to enrich his traditional model. The layout is recognisable, with the florid collar and long fronds, though with more space around the leaves [r1]. Even with allowances for these capitals having been replaced in modern restorations, this pier has his mark.

The character of the foliage shows that the nave in Notre-Dame and the choir of Saint-Germain are very close in time [b1-3]. We can describe the differences, but these are less striking than the similarities. As in Saint-Germain he continued to place one collar on the centre of the block and another reversed in the corner, and to experiment with different ways to arrange the foliage on each face. The design was altogether richer and looser, and we will shortly meet the dragon at the top in other churches and in the Saint-Denis cloister.



Châlons, Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, WN2(a)

1145



Châlons, Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, WN2(a)

1145



Saint-Germain-des-Prés An3s(a)

1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés An3e(a)

1144

**Creating a time-line for the foliate capitals**

In the capitals that followed, from Sens onwards, there are only small differences. This is particularly the case between those in the west portal at Saint-Denis and the ambulatory that were carved some ten years apart. The small noticeable changes are that the elements came to fill the space less completely and the fronds are not as long. More significantly, the lower fronds disappear, and turn into tiny sprigs. This change occurred while working on the Sens aisles where the demands of a larger stone and the possible influence of Long-Leaf may have brought about a change.

The other more major changes occurred during the second campaign in the Saint-Denis ambulatory, and then even more so in Saint-Germain that led to the flowery designs of Châlons.

With this sequence in place, we can insert two of his other works in relationship to it, being the Apostle's Altar and the Bougival crossing. The team spent considerable time at Saint-Denis, joining in no less than eight separate campaigns.

1130	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir inner piers (a)
1132	Saint-Denis	west portals
1133	Sens cathedral	choir (d)
1133	Saint-Denis	Apostle relief
1134	Saint-Denis	narthex (aw)
1136	Bougival	crossing
1137	Sens cathedral	choir aisles (a)
1141	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	choir (d)
1142	Saint-Denis	choir walls (a)
1142	Saint-Denis	cloister
1143	Saint-Denis	choir rib shafts (a+)
		choir window (aw)
1144	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	choir (a)
1145	Châlons Notre-Dame	navé (a)



Saint-Martin-des-Champs AN2+L(a) new 1130



Saint-Denis W.sR1 1132



Sens cathedral En3c(d) 1133



Saint-Denis, Apostle's Altar 1133



Sens cathedral ES1s(a) 1137



Bougival crossing 1136



Saint-Germain choir dado As1c(ad) 1141



Saint-Denis ambulatory An1C-C(a+) 1143



Saint-Denis ambulatory An2(a+) replaced 1143



Saint-Denis exterior choir E(aw) 1143



Saint-Germain ambulatory An2s(a) 1144



Châlons Notre-Dame navé WN2(a) 1145

DRAFT

This was the end of the journey. Not just for Jérôme or Jeremy, but for this rinceau team as a whole. At no later time do we find comparable designs. Yet Jérôme's work is among the most skilled and sophisticated of his entire *œuvre*. I would presume, therefore, that this was carved just before the king and his nobles gathered their arms and set off for the Second Crusade. Without ready cash there would be no more building. The great period of lustrous imagination and impeccable workmanship that had been ushered in with Ivry-la-Bataille and Saint-Loup ended, and ended suddenly. The feeling of loss among these great sculptors would have been intense. A host of artistic dreams and hopes disappeared in an instant. I wonder if we can fully imagine what this would have meant to them.

NOTE: I will be addressing the financial problems caused by the Second Crusade in another chapter.

**Dragons and other creatures**

The swelling collar helps to identify a few capitals with well-formed animals in other buildings, often with their heads turned backwards, wings thrust upwards encircled by fronds and branches that hold the figures in place. This is unlike Grégoire who would have enfolded them in a softer and more yielding way.

At the same time as he was carving the foliate capital in the Sens cathedral dado discussed earlier, I believe that Jérôme finished this one with two dragons [r1]. They are separated by a bouquet with the same tumbling foliage and three-part leaf-like collar resting on twin stalks. These stalks were, in fact, carved as continuations of the dragon's curled tails.

The lower two fronds hang down, the upper thrusts upwards and there is a little curled-over leaf at the top. The decoration of the dragon's plumes is extravagant, with fine hatching. There is a glorious abundance in this master's work.

The collar is on the corner, whereas for the following dozen years he placed it in the centre of the block. The collars were invariably made from three petals that look as if they were to enclose a little something, though there is nothing there.

Notice the delicate carving on the coiled tail, and the junction between the wing and the leg. It is odd, to say the least, like a 'fastening' ring that looks as if the wings had been made separately and attached later. This is one of the distinguishing motifs of his work.

The head is finely sculpted with delicate ears. The eyes are surrounded by a double line, the bony hood over the upper lid is definite and the nostrils are drilled. The ear is formed in a curious way. This way of modelling the head will be referred to later in the description of human heads.

It is this capital that provides a connection with earlier work on the portal at Saint-Loup-de-Naud. There is one dragon among the right-hand embrasure capitals with the same junction between the wing and the leg as in Sens [b1]. The sculptural qualities and



Sens cathedral An2a(d)



Saint-Loup-de-Naud left embrasure W.cL2-4

1125



Saint-Loup-de-Naud portal

1125

the delicacy of treatment of the head, its eye, nostrils and even teeth, and the overhanging eyebrow, are also alike: Jérôme's animals have vigour and naturalism [r1a].

I would say that he also carved this griffon on the opposite embrasure [r1b]. The upturned plate-like wing, with the rear wing placed at a different angle to the one in front, the twisted head and long claws hanging over the edge of the astragal, along with the fine detailing in the wings, would be his. The bird's head and wings are undercut.



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W.c.R3 1125



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W.c.L4 1125

The impostos also show his presence. The details over the left embrasure have the collar, long leaves and so on of Jérôme [b1 top arrow]. In the openness between the fronds it is not unlike the Saint-Denis altar [r2]. But I have not found anywhere else the struts under the collar being continued into vines that wander across the surface as they do to the left of this impost. The spiral to the left has different elements altogether: hanging berry and leaf, small collars and foliage with complex silhouettes. This is more in the style of Félix. Both were carved onto the one stone. How do we explain this?



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W.c.L1-2 impost 1125



Saint-Denis, Apostle's Altar 1133

To complicate it further, on the right face of this impost, to the right of the Jérôme collar, there is another different set of elements: a thin collar combined with berries and little heron-like fronds emerging from the vine is in the manner of Jeremy [arrow r3]. Jérôme never used berries.

Since the dossiers for all three identities have been assembled from works carved on many sites, their combination on this one stone suggests they were each participating on the carving as a joint exercise: Félix on the two outer faces of the impost, Jeremy over the door and Jérôme on part of one face between them. Félix may have been the senior master with the larger share of the work and Jérôme the junior being allocated the smallest panel for his ideas. Notice the long leaf from Jeremy's side that crosses over his struts, like an unconscious assertion of superiority [bottom arrow a1].

There does not seem to have been any sense of artistic ownership in the impost. Each carver expressed himself fully. Indeed, the highest development of each man's full individuality would seem to have been the underlying purpose in this jointly carved stone. Was the free expression of personal style seen as the most worthy expression of God's gift to every man?



Saint-Loup-de-Naud portal impost 1125

The close integration of carvers in one crew is hard to untangle. Did the two men work at the same time on the impost, one on one face, and the other on the adjacent face? Or did one do as much as he wanted and then pass the stone on to his mate? The amount of room each needed to swing a hammer and elbow his way into a detail would not allow all of them to have been working simultaneously on a small stone no higher than 120mm.

This problem needs closer scrutiny as it occurs in most campaigns in most churches. I will return to it on page 16.

The only foliate capital in the Saint-Loup portal lies over the right jamb [b1]. The collar and the spray of fronds is like Jérôme, though the detailing of the fronds and layout is not his when compared with later work [b2]. There are no legs under the collar, the leaves do not hang and they have a sharp, bony look, with stiff spines that grow directly out of the astragal.

Was this Jérôme's mentor, from whom he may have derived both his layout and the use of the collar? As Saint-Loup was possibly his first job in the north, he may have been working under a senior master, and reflected that in using this man's sharp-edged fronds in his adjacent capitals with the dragons [b3]. The small space allocated to him in the impost suggests he was a junior.

I find this affirms the decision described in 'ICMA 03' to place my first reliance on the template rather than the details. As a good carver can emulate the foliate design of another, what distinguishes his manner besides the aesthetic organisation of the whole? I am aware that this is tricky ground, and in its defence I can only submit that the more I observe and analyse the more apparent it becomes that this approach is justified. For further discussion see the section on this portal [v.6:\*\*\*].



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W.cR1 1125



Saint-Denis west portal W.sR1 1132



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W.cR3 detail 1125

There is a possibility that Jérôme carved one of the colonnettes in the Chartres west portal around 1138 [r2a,b]. Though very worn, certain elements can be distinguished. The posture of the bird and its long beak have a similar feel to Saint-Loup, and the claws are long and thin. The wings of the bird are upright with a possible 'fastening' between wing and leg. The vine has similar drilling as Saint-Germain, with the unusual detail that the ring around the drill hole has been raised above the spine.

No other details stand out as the stone is badly worn, so this attribution is unsure, to say the least. But when combined with the rinceau team's possibly large contribution to the sculptural program, Jérôme could easily have spent some years in Chartres between 1138 and 1141.



Chartres west colonnettes W.nL1b 1138



Chartres west colonnettes W.nL1b 1138

**The pier capitals at Saint-Germain-des-Prés**

Returning to Saint-Germain, the capitals over the choir piers are among the largest in the region. I expect they would have been carved within a few years of the dado arcade. They have been painted and gilded, and many subtleties of details have consequently been lost in the plaster and priming coats. Nevertheless the basic forms are quite clear.

Superficially the AS1 and AN1 capitals look similar, yet there are marked differences [b1,2]. I suggest that the one on the left is by Jérôme, and the other by his associate Jeremy. Both used animals and birds extensively.



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AN1(a) by Jérôme 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AS1(a) by Jeremy 1144

AN1 has a head being pecked at by two birds and the other has animals at rest. The foliage between the animals is distinctively Jérôme, consisting of a posy of five fronds held by a large foliate collar, and often with large tear-drop openings between the fronds [b1].

The tails of the dragons are twisted like serpents and are attached to the bottom of the bouquet of leaves [b2]. The spines of the foliage and the tails of the dragons have a line of drilled holes with raised frames. Often there are little ‘stitchings’ just below the junction between the lobes, though I cannot make these visible in the photos.

Where the wings curl upwards they are formed from two distinct plates, and where the wing lies along the back it looks more like a shield [b3]. The feathers are mechanical in appearance, like subdividing a surface and then drawing the lines rather than gaining the feel of overlapping feathers, as it would have been in the work of Willow (qv).



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AN1(a) by Jérôme 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AN1(a) by Jérôme 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AN1(a) by Jérôme 1144

One of the capitals on the wall of the ambulatory by Jérôme discussed earlier has the same hen-pecker motif as AN1 [r2a,b]. The pier has the same three-leaf posy at the top with twin outward pushing fronds and a single central leaf as in the wall capitals, and the same heavy drill-holes along



Saint-Germain En4w(a) wall by Jérôme 1144



Saint-Germain AN1 pier by Jérôme 1144

DRAFT

the spines. The relationship between the beaks and the hair are the same, as are the forms of the wings and the large claws that tend to lap over the edge of the astragal, in the same way as the frond tips lap over in the Saint-Denis west portal embrasure. The fingers of the claws are long and the knuckles are bony.

The somewhat similar AS1 capital on the other side of the choir was Jeremy [see later paper] who could not bring himself to carve the same creatures on every face [b1,2]. There are no drill-holes in the foliage, the lobes are scooped with incised veins and finish with rounded tips. The lions have tails swept back over the flank of the torso or between the legs. The lobes on the fronds are simple scoops that are more or less parallel.



Saint-Germain En4w(a) wall by Jérôme



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AS1(a) by Jeremy 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AS1(a) by Jeremy 1144

**Notre-Dame-en-Vaux south porch 1145**

The nave and porches of Notre-Dame in Châlons-en-Champagne are usually dated to around 1157, solely on the grounds that a lost document refers to a miracle during the construction of something unspecified at that time. There is neither rigour nor logic in adhering in this. The miracle could have been anywhere, and for the nave we could just as easily have used the post-1162 description of people dragging the carts or the consecration of 1183.<sup>11</sup> If we put this document aside, the capitals show a clear stylistic sequence from Saint-Denis through Saint-Germain to Châlons.

On the right side of the south porch the rinceau team worked on a number of capitals and the whole of the impost. One capital over the opposite left jamb has a pair of birds with up-thrusting wings and intricate feathers [r2]. The front and rear wings cross and are undercut.

Though the heads are missing on the right face of the capital, the bodies and tails are very like those in the Sens dado [b3]. The surfaces of the wings are decorated with two layers of feathers, with an edging next to the chest. The division between the larger feathers and the smaller is arranged in the same way as in earlier works. Châlons also has the same ‘fastenings’ between wing and thigh [arrow r2].

The head on the left face of the same capital is still visible though lightly damaged. It has heavy eyebrows and curly hair with beautifully carved eyes and the nostrils may have been drilled [b1,2]. The lost heads on the three other dragons on this stone may have been similar.



Châlons Notre-Dame, W-sL1 right face 1145



Châlons ND, W-sL1 left face and detail of head



1145



Sens cathedral An2a(d) 1133

Returning to the issue of sharing, there is one example on the outermost capital in the right embrasure. The south face is carved from two stones. The one on the left was by Grégoire, the right by Félix [b1]. The animal on the left has the ‘fastener’ motif similar to Jérôme [b2]. Grégoire made it more detailed so that the foot passes through a circlet like trouser cuffs, and carved fur where the trouser leg should be. Grégoire never used this motif on any other job, though this was not the only time that these two masters had worked together in the same shed [ICMA 03 page 8].



Châlons Notre-Dame W-sR6 by Grégoire on the left, and Félix

1145



Châlons Notre-Dame fastener detail

Another capital on the right embrasure looks like it was by someone on the Jérôme team. It has been damaged, and the head has been broken off [r2]. Nevertheless, the little dragon in the upper right corner is very like, in location and in its stretching movement, the dragon in the nave capital [b].

On the other hand I have not found any centaurs or similar animals that I would have accredited to Jérôme himself. One could easily presume that as the master grew older that his assistants would have contributed to more of his work.

The large capital in the nave mentioned earlier has the dragon inserted over the Jérôme foliage on one face, and on another the paired birds from another often-used motif [b]. Once again we are dealing with the problem of collaboration.



Châlons Notre-Dame W-sR2

1145



Châlons Notre-Dame, WN2(a)

1145

DRAFT

Jérôme may also have been one of the carvers who worked on the nave of Til-Châtel in northern Burgundy [r1]. Note the dragons and sirens with curled tails and the well-sculpted backward-turned heads with tiny round ears that are close to those at Sens [b1,2]. The later head at Saint-Germain follows the same format [b3]. There are also the ‘fasteners’ between the



Til-Châtel Wn5(a)

1133



up-pointing wings and the leg. As usual, he used the *énchancre*. It was probably carved while he was in the area, around the time he went to Sens in 1133.



Til-Châtel Wn5 head 1133

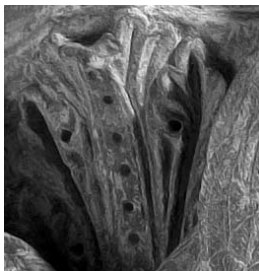


Sens cathedral An2a(d) 1133



Saint-Germain AS1(a) 1144

The foliage at Til-Châtel is like Saint-Germain and the centaur capital at Châlons. They all have simple fan-like lobes and with drill-holes along the spines like those in the tails [b]. There are common foliate details in work by different masters, though they were members of the same team: in this case Jérôme, Jeremy and the Centaur master. The issue of shared ways of designing foliage remains complex, and I do not have enough understanding of this aspect of workshop practice to disentangle - maybe after I revisit this summer of 2011. Also I have been concentrating on the rinceau capitals for the past year, and when the drafts of these twenty-one masters are complete I will move on to the foliate capitals. I hope this aspect of the study may make the issue clearer.



Til-Châtel Wn5(a) detail 1133



Saint-Germain pier AN1(a) 1144



Saint-Germain wall En4(a) 1144



Châlons Notre-Dame W-sR2 1145

**The head-pecker designs**

From the above it is easy to recognise this team among some of the remnants of the Saint-Denis cloister capitals. The collars are bulbous and the fronds elongated and pointed, and the berries have been turned to the sides [r2]. On the other faces there are pairs of well-formed animals. They are long-necked with their heads turned backwards, [b1]. Comparing this to one of the capitals in the Saint-Denis ambulatory that was replaced in the nineteenth-century we can see how true these replacements are to the original, even to the paired berries and the feathers on the birds [b2].



Saint-Denis cloister (Musée de Cluny 18925) 1143



Saint-Denis cloister (Musée de Cluny 18925) 1143



Saint-Denis An2s(a+) detail 1143

Another cloister capital has the same posture as the hen-peckers of Saint-Germain [r1,2]. Although the beaks are missing the similarities are compelling, including the ‘fixings’ to the leg, the all-too-solid heads and the long claws [b1-3].



Saint-Denis cloister (Musée de Cluny 18925) 1143



Saint-Denis cloister (Musée de Cluny 18925) 1143

The curly hair, the placement of the legs and the details are also found in a capital on the Saint-Denis west portal [r3]. The pecking gesture and the long claws with separated fingers are his [b1]. But the wing is more like a shield, looking like an awkward afterthought rather than being integrated with the body. There are many of the Jérôme details, except the head is at the corner rather than on the face. I would ascribe this to Jeremy from connections with the Saint-Germain AS1 pier [r4].

The fat lion on the left of the west portal capital has the head, ears and bulk of Jeremy [b2]. It has the bulbous expression of the lion on one of the Saint-Germain piers [b3]. The pecking bird and both lions have straps across their bodies and along the wings, which seems to have been a Jeremy feature. He also used a simplified version of the ‘fixing’, but only the concept is Jérôme’s who may have been Jeremy’s senior.



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AN1(a) 1144



Saint-Germain En4w(a) wall 1144



Saint-Denis W.sL2 head on corner 1132



Saint-Denis W.sL2 detail of claw 1132



Saint-Denis W.sL2 lion on the left 1132



Saint-Germain-des-Prés AS1(a) by Jeremy 1144

The pecker concept is old. Besides these in Châlons, Saint-Denis and Saint-Germain, the motif of twin birds pecking a berry or a head goes back two generations to Lavilletterre and Bury early in the century [b1-3]. There are exquisite examples in Chartres and Etampes, and even in the first stage of the nave at Saint-Remi [b4]. There are over 40 in the Paris Basin that I will deal with in another section, though I include a few [over the page] to show their similarity to the one at Châlons. The head-peckers were by Jérôme, the berry-peckers were by another.

DIRAFT



Châlons Notre-Dame, WN2(a) 1145



Lavilletterre inner entry 1115



Bury nave 1109



Saint-Remi nave aisle 1115



Saint-Denis shaft from W.s door (Cluny) 1132



Sens cathedral An1(d) 1133



Til-Châtel WS5w(a) 1133



Bourges south door lintel 1128



Etampes, Notre-Dame Es2nen(c) 1138

**The heads**

When seen in detail, the expression and detailing of the heads we have already identified as being by Jérôme have many similarities. The hood over the eyes is deep, the eyeballs are cut in at each corner and surrounded with a groove, the ears are covered or partly-covered, the chin well-moulded and firm, and the under-lips are full and shaped with great delicacy. Where the hair is curled there are ringlets, and where long it flows naturally along the nape of the neck. Those are arranged in chronological order.



Angers, Aubin Chapter House



Saint-Loup 1125



Saint-Loup W.cR3 1125



Saint-Loup W.cR2 1125



Saint-Denis, Apostle's Altar 1133



Saint-Denis Cloister 1143



Saint-Germain En4w(a) 1144



Saint-Germain AS1(a) 1144



Saint-Germain En4w(a) 1144

**Earlier work in Angers**

There is an old cloister to the church of Saint-Aubin in Angers. Set into this is a window with an arch placed on capitals that are higher than the arches of the entry into the Chapter House, and therefore later [b1]. One of the capitals under this arch has a pair of creatures with vertical wings. If we stretch our imagination, forget the twisted tails and feel only into the general form, this could have been a very early work by Jérôme, early enough to have the two-part division of the wings and long articulated claws hovering over the edge [b2]. Being less skilled than Saint-Loup it is earlier.



Angers, Saint-Aubin Chapter House tympanum



Angers, Saint-Aubin Chapter House

In the spandrel between the two arches is a beautiful figure of the Virgin and Child flanked by horizontal angels [b]. The evidence I am going to present over the next few pages will suggest this may have been the work of a younger Jérôme: From the flow of the hair, the softness of the garments and the solidity, and the immovable stillness of the head with drilled nostrils, lines around the eyes and a massive bone over the lids, and in particular the sensitivity of a full and generous mouth [r1].



Angers, Saint-Aubin Chapter House tympanum 1120



Angers, Saint-Aubin Chapter House tympanum

**Sculpture at Saint-Loup-de-Naud (1125)**

Jérôme seems to have arrived in the Paris Basin fully formed and already mature in his work following his sculpture south of the Loire. I am well aware that some scholars have wanted to date this porch to a much later date, but it is encased in stonework with capitals that would have been exceptional among their contemporaries if they had been carved after 1125.<sup>12</sup> See discussion in v.3:605 and v.5:1394.

It seemed logical while examining the capitals to look for possible connections higher up. The collection of heads on the previous page connects with the archivolts: In the lowest course immediately above the Jérôme capitals, are three similar heads of Herod and his advisers [r2 and next page]. The heads are round, wide-jawed, immensely secure and emanating a profound stillness. They both have thin wide moustaches stretched sideways suggesting lightly waxed ends. The eyes are delineated with emphasis on the bone over the eyeball.



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W,cR^2 and 3 archivolts 1125



Saint-Loup, Herod and advisers 1125

Different types of cloth are suggested by changes in the folds from a stiff outer material to a lighter weave underneath [r1]. The body is present in the clothing, but does not show as strongly as with the work of Félix. The hemline is complicated, and almost sways. Additional material in the sleeve is allowed to hang under the forearms.

Indeed, the more I examined the details of the clothing the more interesting it became. The movement of the cloth falling from the left arm of the adviser sways outwards as if he had just moved his arm closer to Herod. The cloth falling from Herod's knee also suggests movement, especially in the delicate folds just under the kneecap.

As I am now spreading into sculpture, I need to reiterate that my purpose is to identify the carvers of capitals and to use the information arising from that to establish a firmer chronology. To the extent that this impacts on the portals and their carved figures it seems important to illustrate possible connections between the capitals and the sculpture, if only to demonstrate that such connections do exist.

Using the evolutionary sequence in each master's capitals to establish a chronology means we also get dates for any sculpture associated with those capitals, as in this case.

Following the heads and this type of hem-line, I would ascribe the figures of the Visitation on the opposite archivolt to Jérôme [r2]. The hems, swaying cloth and the soft material hanging from the forearm could all be his. Above all I am drawn to the round heads with their air of stability. The face of the older woman on the left has a certain severity compared to the youthful innocence of Mary on the right [b]. She has the dignity of age, while Mary shows a touching vulnerability as she turns her body slightly towards Elizabeth as if seeking her support.



Saint-Loup-de-Naud W,cr^1 archivolt 1125



Saint-Loup Visitation heads by Jérôme 1125



Saint-Loup Visitation, possibly by Jérôme 1125

There is another figure on the right side of the Saint-Loup archivolt that could have been Jérôme [r1]. The toes are long and individually separated, as with some of his animals. The nostrils are lightly drilled, the lower lip protrudes, the chin is rounded and firm and the thumb is bent downwards where it grips the vase. The cloth is tight over the buttocks while at the calf sags under its own weight.

The supports for the architectural canopy are interesting. The capital on the left has a pair of fronds sprouting upwards at the centre like those on other capitals, and (hard to see) sharp little serrations on the lateral leaves [b1,2]. This may also have been by Jérôme. The opposite capital has a central leaf tucked under the flanking ones [b3].



Saint-Loup W.c.R^A^3



Saint-Denis, An1C-Cm(a)



Saint-Loup W.c.R^A^3



Saint-Loup W.c lintel capital

Saint-Loup W.c.R^A^3 archivolt

1125

The latter is like one on the lintel [a4]. Both have central leaves tucked behind the two flanking ones with similar veins and serrations as in the Sens and Saint-Denis capitals.

The adjacent apostle on the lintel stands under a similarly complex baldachino to that in the archivolt [r2]. He has curled hair and a square head rather like the others, with a protruding lower chin and deep-set eyes [b1]. The little round-faced angel to the right has similar attributes [b2].

They may all have been by Jérôme, or by his team, or maybe Jérôme was one of a team under a more senior master not yet identified.



Saint-Loup lintel, right stone

1125



Saint-Loup W.c.r1 lintel figure

1125



Saint-Loup W.c angel right of centre

1125

DRAFT

I include it here because there are elements in the treatment of these figures that have much in common that suggest a common source, be they in the team or in the individual. It shows that as early as the 1120s highly competent work of considerable artistic merit was being carved in northern France. These men may have laid the foundation for the great series of portals that were to follow.

The heads are similar to some on the Dijon cloister tympanum from around the mid-30s [b1]. The tympanum is now in the Musée Archéologique, and has only ten apostles. A couple of figures have similar heads [b2]. They could also be by Jérôme, in the solidity of the forms, the protruding lower lip, the heavy eyebrow and hair. It could be contemporary with his work at Sens, probably with the time he was working on the dado capitals. There are also common elements in the hems and feet that I will describe shortly.



Dijon cloister tympanum (Musée Archéologique)

1134



Dijon cloister tympanum (Musée Archéologique) detail of two heads

1134

***Figurative sculpture in the Saint-Denis west portal (1132).***

Over the central door the archivolt figures were carved from five courses, with the details craftily aligned across the mortar joints. There was a similar situation in the Bourges archivolts from just a few years before [v6:\*\*\*].

Two figures are supported on foliage, and though the heads have been replaced on both, the lower stones are original. What stands out in the lowest two courses of the inner figure is the hem line, the fall of the garment, and the exquisite detailing in the feet with long toes [b1]. The depth of cutting along the hem creates a certain vitality that is missing in the straight and unaccented drapery of the lowest stone of the adjacent figure [b2].

DRAFT



Saint-Denis W.cR^2 part by Jérôme

1132



Saint-Denis W.cR^2 part by Jeremy

1132

At the base of the lowest stone of the figure with the king holding the lyre, there is a bulbous, flouncy three-part collar with sprigs of foliage emerging from it [b]. As this collar with the paired fronds is a distinguishing mark of Jérôme, he would also have carved the hemline and the feet.



Saint-Denis W.cR^2 lowest course by Jérôme

1132

Note the well-cut toes and tendons on the feet, the looped cloth on the thigh and the irregular lower hems with the cloth arranged in close-packed loops that are not symmetrical, with one of the crinkles being particularly accentuated [r1]. He attempted to distinguish between materials by carving the undergarment with more folds to show it was made from a finer weave, as at Saint-Loup. The folds in the cloth are not parallel, but sway in a way that indicates movement, which is emphasised by the undercutting that separates the two layers of cloth.

Supporting the second figure of the archivolt there is different arrangement of foliage [b]. It is like a reversed version of one of the capitals in the embrasures by Jeremy, which is shown upside down to highlight the similarities [r2]. Though the middle leaf and the collar are somewhat different, the long turned-across fronds at the bottom and the central sprig link these stones to Jeremy. This course includes the feet which are shod. Thus it is possible that in 1132 these two men were carving figurative sculpture at the same time as they were carving capitals over the nearby embrasures.

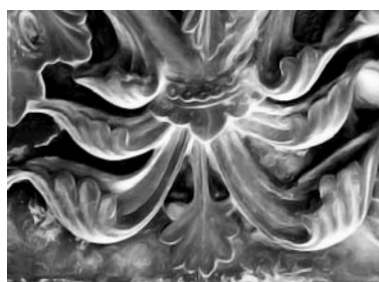


Saint-Denis W.cR^2 lower 3 courses by Jérôme



Saint-Denis W.cR^2 lower two courses by Jeremy

1132



Saint-Denis W.cR1 capital reversed by Jeremy



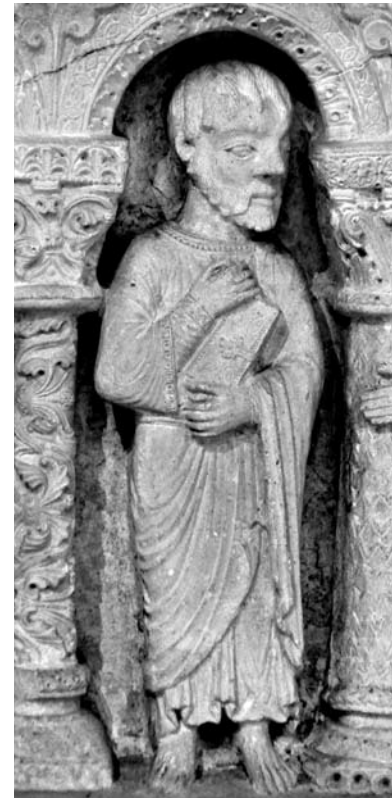
Jeremy used straight hems with little articulation, save in the raised cloth on the right. This device was so widespread that it could have been included in most carver's repertoires at this time. It is one of Jérôme's qualities that he seldom used it.

These remarks refer to only the lower two courses of both figures. The next courses with the lyre and the violin may not have been carved by either man as the topmost part of the throne has plain openings compared to the lines carved into the surround on the stones below, and the hands and clothing are relatively crude.

This level of assumption, moving admittedly more and more from the more solid identification among the capitals, leads with some trepidation to somewhat similar connections with the Saint-Denis Apostle's Altar.

It is possible that the altar was the work of a group of carvers, including some members of the rinceau team. The evidence is far from secure, but the possibility is there. One or two of the thirteen capitals could have been by Jérôme, and if so, then one or more of the figures carved on this panel could also have been carved by him [r1].

This is where the possibilities become so exciting the temptation to follow them cannot be resisted as the process offers the potential of using this information to forge links to figurative sculpture in other portals, including the western sculpture at Chartres.



Saint-Denis Apostle's Altar, figure by Jérôme 1133

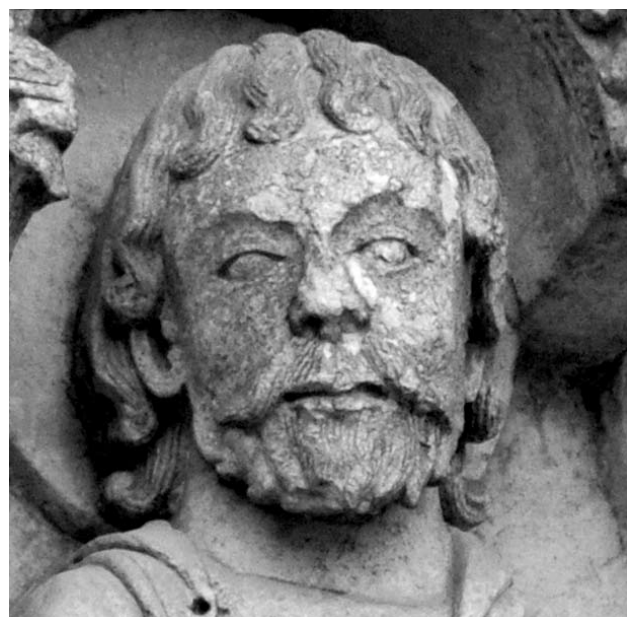
***The Royal Portal, Chartres (1138/1141)***

The Jérôme heads and the figures at Saint-Loup are similar to some in the lintel of Chartres cathedral. Scholars have noted some of these relationships before, and like them I was finding that the identifications are becoming more and more compelling. Not all the heads or figures in the Chartres lintel were like Jérôme's in Saint-Loup or Dijon, but possibly because, as in the Apostle's Altar, they were carved by different men [b1].

Yet a couple stand out, and one in particular. It had his hems, his feet, the fluid clothing and, above all, the head with its waxed moustache and dreamy stillness [b2]. The lips are complex, the nostrils drilled and the bone over the eyes slopes back. There is little or no emphasis on the tear duct and the roundness of the eye has been emphasised by the deep cutting on each side. There is a framing line around both the upper and lower lids.



Chartres west portal, part of central lintel



Chartres, an apostle in the central lintel

As this argument proceeds it should be clear that the evidence points to the great sculpture of the twelfth century portals being the work of many men, not of single individuals such as the oft-quoted Headmaster. This has been an old meme without foundation. Whether we examine the individual figures at Chartres, Saint-Loup, at Bourges or Saint-Denis, it becomes obvious that each man turned his hand to what was needed in the moment.

The left impost at Saint-Loup with the work of three carvers working on the one stone, the archivolt figures at Saint-Denis were carved from five stones possibly by as many different men, and so on. These indicate that there was little attempt to assert artistic ownership. Though individuals were well known [see v.6:ch.4] their work was seldom signed.

Again and again we find many workers restricting some measure of their own 'identity' to create an element designed by another. As I will be setting out in specific studies, seven men appear to have carved the capitals on the Apostle's Altar, six completed the drip moulds at Chartres and another six did the same at Angers. The jambs of the south porch at Bourges were the work of four major carvers and three assistants, and in every case where archivolt, lintel or even tympani were carved from separate stones more than one carver was involved with each.

As for the issue of the 'Headmaster' in the central portal, an issue so loved by an impressive line of art historians from Voge onwards, Peter Kidson rightly called it "nothing but the creation of a sustained effort of wishful thinking". He went on to clearly express the same conclusions as I have come to: "Because his superiority was transparently obvious to anyone trained to appreciate the expressive power of great art, as that was understood in the first half of the twentieth century, it was inconceivable that his contemporaries should have thought otherwise; and because Chartres stood at the hinge between romanesque and gothic he was, *ipso facto*, the key figure in deflecting the course of western sculpture into new channels. This was one of those great and splendid simplifications that everyone could understand; but it was a fiction, not history. .... There is no reason to think that at Chartres the 'headmaster' was more than a member of a team - *primus inter pares* at best; and if he contributed anything to the formation of a gothic style of sculpture a lot of hindsight is needed to spot it. The man emerged out of a romanesque milieu which can be pinpointed with precision. There was no dramatic epoch, just a sensitive artist responding to a different cultural atmosphere with an appropriate adjustment of style. The implications are far reaching, not to say daunting."<sup>12</sup>

I recognise well that this is too big a subject to confine to ears and hems. I have already stated that a full analysis of the sculpture is beyond the scope of this book, yet the connections keep pouring in and have to be acknowledged. I give them in the hope of stimulating discussion and inspiring other historians to follow the connections.

There is an extraordinary world out there of rare and creative individuals waiting to be found. The possibilities are so enormous that a few uncertainties - or even some of my wilder guesses - should not deter us. The more we collate and present and discuss the closer we will come to realising a hope that is dear to every historian's heart: to be able to present the great art of this period through the creativity of real people, as was done many years ago for the Renaissance.

1. Blum, 1986, 201.
2. Severens, 1970; Henriët, 1982.
3. James, 1993; 2007, 117-146.
4. Clark, 1994.
5. James, 2007, 147-48.
6. James, *Avista*, 1998.
7. Crosby, 1953, 217-218.
8. ICMA 02, page 6.
9. Pressouyre, 1986, 244 n29.
10. Pressouyre, 1986, 242.
11. James, 2002, 1582.
12. Kidson, 1994, 842.

*Sites with work by Jérôme (1120s-1146)*

1120	Angers, Aubin	Chapter House tympanum
1123	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir (d)
1125	Saint-Loup	nave, portal
1130	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir inner piers (a)
1132	Saint-Denis	W-w
1133	Saint-Denis	Apostle relief
1133	Sens	choir (d)
1134	Dijon museum	tympanum 1129/42
1134	Til-Châtel	nave, s door
1134	Saint-Denis	narthex (aw)
1136	Bougival	crossing
1137	Sens	choir aisles (a)
1139	Ferte-Alais	apse
1139	Chartres	colonnettes group 1
1140	Chartres	W.s column statues
1140	Saint-Denis	E(u)
1141	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	choir (d)
1141	Chartres	W.c column statues
1141	Etampes Notre-Dame	N(c+)
1142	Saint-Denis	E(a) walls
1143	Saint-Denis	cloister
1143	Saint-Denis	E piers
1143	Saint-Denis	E(aw)
1144	Saint-Denis	E(rc)
1144	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	choir piers
1144	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	choir (a)
1145	Châlons Notre-Dame	nave (a)
1145	Châlons Notre-Dame	south portal