

ICMA Master Carvers Series

These are drafts for vols. 6 and 7 of *The Ark of God*.

A resource for discussion and information.

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21 *Laon gallery and the Cog Masters (1160-1180)*

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The capitals discussed here may be examined in larger format in vols. 3-5 of *The Ark of God*, and when completed and professionally edited these draft studies will be published in volumes 6 and 7.

This is number 21 of an on-going series describing Early Gothic carving masters for discussion and comment

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DRAFT - REVISION 1



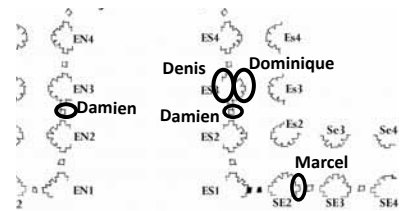
Laon gallery ES3e by Dominique

Laon gallery and the Cog Masters

The cog-motif is rare and distinctive, and a glance is enough to show that though the nine capitals on the ES3 pier in the choir gallery at Laon cathedral came from the same template, they were carved by two men. I have named them Denis and Dominique [r]. The ribs are strongly curved, and the junctions between the fronds and the main leaf are generously waisted. The surfaces undulate and yet feels solid. It is smooth, almost planar. The tips are stubby and rounded. The basket is visible from top to bottom giving the impression that the leaves were moulded out of a single sheet. The edges are not undercut. We are not invited to move below the surface. They all have the *énchancre* set over a prominent curved upper edge to the cone.

The differences between these men lie in the detailing and outlines of the fronds as well as small changes to the templates. They stand out in the smaller capitals, especially in the outlines of the fronds and the treatment of the spines [b]. The fronds by Denis fill the space, while those of Dominique are relatively truncated, exposing more of the basket underneath. The lobes are scooped more in one, and the spine more deeply excavated in the other.

Both used terminals that are turned back and over, but while Denis used fronds with long thin tips Dominique finished his with spiral crockets. This backwards turn is an uncommon motif compared to being turned down and under.



Location of the Cog Masters' works

Carver	Location	Days to carve
Denis	ES3ese	4.20
	ES3e	9.60
	ES3s	9.60
	ES3nw	7.20
Dominique	ES3wsw	4.20
	ES3ene	4.20
	ES3se	7.20
	ES3w	9.60
Damien	ES3wnw	4.20
	ES2+	15.40
	EN2+	14.30
Marcel	SE2s	12.00

DRAFT - revision 1



Denis ES3ene



Dominique ES3sw

NB: In volume 4 of The Ark the photos have been arranged in the reverse, and incorrect, order.

There is one shaft cap with the same cog-like template, EN2+ on the other side of the choir [r1]. There are differences in the detailing from both the other carvers, and I have called this master Damien. The terminals do not turn back, but over in the more common way [r2], and the fronds cover a ball like a sheath with a single drill-hole in the centre. The fronds are more even and regular than either of the others. Damien's are stubby, Denis' are full and rounded and wide-spread while Dominique's are short, more compact and slightly sharper [b]. The divisions between the tips are quite different as are the spaces between them. The miniscule overlapping of the tips in Denis is not found in Dominique.

The evidence presented in the earlier piece on "Time to Carve" indicates that all three men needed about 30 days to complete their work on the same template. The variations between the idealised template and the actual carving lay in the details, being no more than one would expect from the outline of a template scratched onto the stone at the initial stage. If filling in the details with the final outlines of fronds and spines are the characteristics that define a sculptor, then who was responsible for creating the template?



Laon gallery EN2+ by Damien



Laon gallery Damien terminal detail EN2+



Details of fronds in EN2+ by Damien, ES3nww by Denis and ES3s by Dominique.

I had thought that Damien was the more skilled sculptor of the Cog Masters' Team as he had been given two of the shaft caps. From that I assumed that Damien would have issued the templates to the others. The reason I was about to come to an untenable conclusion was that I lacked a broad spectrum of his work from other churches, or for the others two carvers. Without that important data I was going to miss what has turned out to be a much more lively story.

The first surprise was that I have not been able to find any other cog designs by Damien in other buildings. The second was that I then thought that Denis, the carver of the more complex ES3 capitals that are visible from the choir, may have been the template-master. This too turned out to have no support for the same reason. It would seem that both these highly skilled men had been co-opted to use the template of another.

I think the template-maker was Dominique as there is a long trail of similar carvings with cog-like designs that were carved in the same manner. As neither of the other two carvers left such a trail I came to believe that the template had been created by Dominique [r3]. I had presumed he was the least important as he was the least intricate carver, yet not only was his template chosen for all the stones of the ES3 pier, but for some reason he was assisted by two better carvers who followed his template rather than their own. An intriguing scenario.

Dominique (1160-1180)

I have placed the many similar capitals in approximate carving order determined from the gradual changes to the compaction of the design and reduction in surface details. The earliest may have been one in the Saint-



Laon gallery ES3e by Dominique,

Germer-de-Fly nave clerestory with a crude design in which he seems to have been working out the idea [r]. The fronds are horizontally placed and the division between the cogs is vertical and looks like a set of ratchets. The Ivros apse may have come next where the design is still pretty rudimentary, but the fronds tip upwards as they will from here on, and the foliage lies flat on the basket.

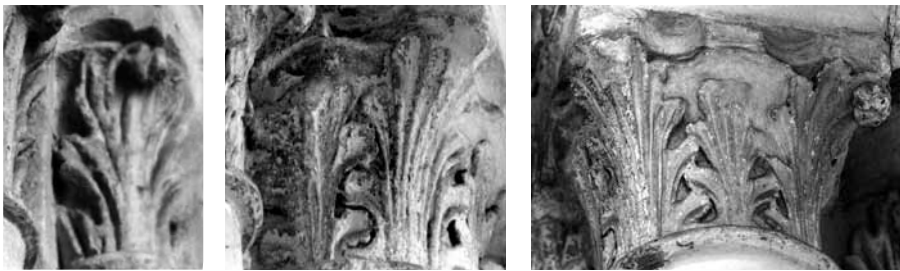
The Noyon cathedral ambulatory may have been next [b]. These were large capitals over the aisle piers where he was working alongside some powerful sculptors and seems to have been influenced by them. In the earlier piece on construction timetables I suggested this would have been carved in about 1164.^{ICMA#08}



Saint-Germer-de-Fly WN3sw(c)



Ivros apse En1



Noyon cathedral ambulatory wall piers, three stones En3(a)

His extensive effort on four stones at Laon followed, and one virtually identical in the Notre-Dame cloister in Châlons-en-Champagne [b].

From the arrangement he may have carved one capital in the Guignicourt north chapel [b3]. The north chapel should have been carved at the same time as the south chapel as both have capitals by Igor-the-Mad (to be discussed on pages 11-13). It looks like Dominique's terminals and outlines were strongly affected by the unconventionality of his coworker.



Guignicourt north chapel NCnw(a)



Laon gallery ES3e



Châlons Notre-Dame cloister

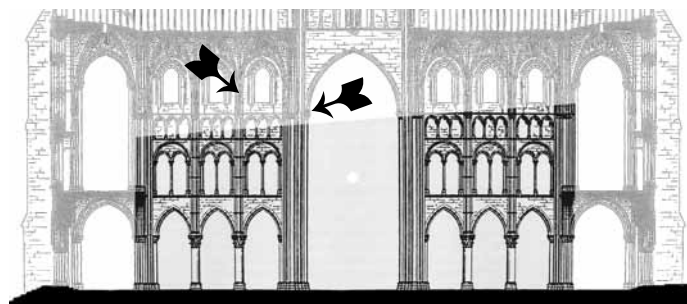
The tilt in the work at Laon shows that EN4(t) is not on the same level as NE2(c), shown in the section through the transept [b]. Nevertheless the clerestory capital could have been carved in preparation for the place being ready for it just after the triforium capital was being installed.



Laon triforium EN4b(t)



Laon clerestory NE2(c)



Laon transept section with tilt. Arrows to capitals by Dominique

Then one in the Glennes south chapel is small [b1]. It looks like it was carved about the same time as the wall capitals in the Noyon gallery [b2]. With an increasing simplification that is in tune with the changes of the 1170s, the lower Guignicourt apse windows and one in the south chapel dado at Laon fit snugly into this period of change [b3,4].



Glennes south chapel SE2



Noyon gallery wall Es2(g)



Guignicourt apse window (aw)



Laon south chapel dado SC(d)

There is one capital among the remnants from the Vailly nave [b]. The detail shows the deep grooves that form the stalks that rise from the astragal and are only lightly joined to the little fronds on each side.



Vailly nave spolia



Vailly nave spolia

There was a gap of six or more years to possible later work in the Laon nave gallery and in the Saint-Quentin choir that shows a carver adapting to the simplifying mood of the times.



Saint-Quentin ambulatory skylights



Laon east nave gallery WS1(g)

The little fronds turned, step by step, into leaves [b]. The last two may not have been by Dominique. We can of course invent possible scenarios involving students or friends, but I prefer to see this as a skilled carver adjusting to a new way. The large leaf that occupied the corner in all earlier capitals is still present as a plate behind the sprig. The very uncertainty in the design confirms, for me, that pressure may have been applied to confirm to the new foliate standard. One wonders if this happened everywhere?



Laon west nave gallery WS11(g)



Laon nave gallery WN10nw(g)

Chronology for Dominique

- 1160 Saint-Germer-de-Fly nave clerestory
- 1161 Ivors apse
- 1163 Noyon ambulatory piers
- 1164 Laon choir gallery
- 1165 Châlons Notre-Dame cloister
- 1165 Guignicourt north chapel
- 1166 Glennes south chapel
- 1166 Laon choir triforium
- 1167 Vailly nave spolia
- 1168 Noyon choir gallery wall
- 1169 Guignicourt apse windows
- 1171 Laon south chapel dado
- 1177 Laon west transept gallery
- 1178 Saint-Quentin choir chapels
- 1180 Laon nave gallery

DRAFT - revision II



Arrangement of the nine capitals on the ES3 pier and to the left Damien's first shaft cap.



Damien ES2+



Denis ES3s



Dominique ES3e

Damien (1164)

The ES2+ next to the pier with the cog-masters is not a bit like them (as you can see in the opening page) for it is symmetrical in design and has large projecting terminals with flowers on the ends [r1]. However, the pier capitals do have much in common with a capital on the other side of the choir that does have the cog-design [r2]. In it the fronds are not placed symmetrically, but fold into and over one another like those in the ES3 pier [r3].

Superficially the two shaft caps are totally different. When the cutting details are placed alongside one another the foliage is identical, as are the tiny tips to the fronds [b1,2]. The small lobes on the leaves, the very long stalks that spring from the astragal and the corner branches that are decorated with drill holes bespeak the one hand. The spines are indented and the tips of the fronds are squat and rounded with long triangular grooves under the junctions in both. There is considerable of creativity in the way the leaves interlock and in the handling of the pendulous flowers on the corners.

In all of them these corner buds dominate by stretching the weighty terminals beyond the frame of the abacus. This was a new and quite a rare device at this time. [v.4:732, 758].



Laon gallery ES2+ by Damien



Laon gallery EN2+ by Damien



Comparison of leaf details in the two shaft caps EN2+ and ES2+ (both by Damien) and SE2s by Marcel

I fantasise that the story may have gone like this: On arrival Damien is asked to carve the shaft cap on the south. He did so to his usual symmetrical design with flowered terminals. His bench was next to Dominique's and to that of his very skilled assistant Denis. No doubt they talked and



Denis ES3w

shared ideas. Damien asked Dominique how could he so completely ignore traditional ways of setting out. Dominique was eager, prepared to proselytise, maybe even took a bet that Damien could not improve on his layout. Whatever, while the other two men are completing the nine stones on their pier Damien had finished work on his adjacent shaft cap, and when asked to carve another on the north side (then presumably ready for another shaft cap) and decided to carve it in the Dominican manner. It is a fantastic piece of work, by far the most competent of them all. He has won his dare or bet or whatever, left the proof of his superiority, and never touched that template again.

Marcel (1163-1180)

There was one other capital with cogs. It is on the SE2 pier. I called this carver Marcel. Unlike Damien and Denis who did not use the cog template elsewhere, Marcel used it on other sites. His design is more emphatic, more three-dimensional, than Dominique's because the fronds lap over each other and project beyond the form of the cone [r]. They are more sharply carved with deep grooves along the veins. The terminals do not project beyond the abacus, and are large in scale with bent-back lateral fronds and a long point on the lower one [b1].

Before listing his campaigns elsewhere, I suggest that from the manner of carving Marcel was also the author of the shaft cap NE3+ [r2]. It is from a completely different design, being mainly in three things: Only two plates with a small central leaf; fronds that follow the cone and do not lean outwards; and the corner stem being a raised band without taper and feather decor. Otherwise all the detailing is the same: The same five-lobed leaflets that are trapezoid in shape; the thin waist so the veins extend full width; long lobes with soft outlines and gouged fronds. The tips of opposing leaves touch, stalks are deeply 'v' grooved and either decorated or covered in a thin leaf. The *énchancre* is unusually tall with curved scoops separated by a narrow projection: a rare detail. In all, a graceful, sparkling design.

The terminals in both the Marcel capitals are large, hollowed and flamboyant [b]. The lower leaf points sharply downwards while the laterals twist back and over [arrow]. The lead frond is undercut to leave a delicate space behind it. A rather gymnastic display accentuated by the deep holes between the leaves and the firm edging to the petals. No other carver dared put so much effort into the terminals, and none made them so large.

I do not intend to follow this second template elsewhere as it will take us too far from the issues being raised by the cog masters on their own.



Laon gallery SE2s(g) by Marcel



Laon gallery NE3+ probably also Marcel



Marcel terminal detail SE2s



Marcel terminal detail NE3+

Chronology for Marcel

- 1161 Laon choir gallery
- 1162 Nouvion north chapel
- 1163 Laon choir triforium
- 1165 Noyon choir chapel
- 1166 Athies (Somme) west portal
- 1167 Nouvion west crossing (c+)
- 1167 Vailly nave *spolia*
- 1168 Paris, Notre-Dame choir gallery I
- 1168 Noyon choir gallery wall
- 1169 Lhuys apse
- 1174 Canterbury aisle piers
- 1176 Canterbury gallery
- 1180 Laon nave gallery

Before Laon there is one in the clerestory at Sens. The use of crossed cogs starts at Laon, presumably after meeting Dominique. The next could have been the north chapel of Noyon. There are two in the north chapel at Noyon that were carved just as the ambulatory capitals were being placed, and two more in the north triforium at Laon.



Sens ES2n(c) <1160



Noyon north chapel NCse



Noyon chapels En2Cnw(a)



Laon triforium SE2a(t)



Laon triforium EN4b(t)



Noyon WN1s(c+)

These are fairly contemporary from the sharpness of the detailing and the aggressive posture of the fronds. The outlines became rounder and surfaces more detailed over the next decade, as in the west portal at Athies in the Somme and the *spolia* from the rebuilt nave at Vailly.



Athies (Somme) W.c



Vailly nave spolia

There is another in the gallery of Notre-Dame in Paris and on the wall of the Noyon gallery where the foliage is miniscule, almost effacing. Certainly very different to the vigour shown in the three from the last campaign in the Lhuys crossing.



Paris Notre-Dame EN(g)



Noyon gallery EN1s(g)

In the cathedral of Canterbury there is one pier capital from the first campaign. The strongly-projecting fronds have connections with his earlier work, as do the junctions between them and the rounded tips.



Lhuys south-east crossing ES1ne



Canterbury choir aisle EN3(a)

I can also link Marcel with one lovely capital in the gallery. It is softer-edged and mellifluous. His terminals are huge and hold berries.



Canterbury choir gallery ES4(g)



Laon nave gallery WS2(g)

The last I can find is in the Laon nave gallery just west of the crossing. The changes being wrought in that decade are shown in the simplified stalks and lack of veins. The fronds still thrust outwards and overlap, but without the sharpness found in his earliest designs that was gradually being lessened, and may have disappeared altogether in later work.

DRAFT - REVISION 1

Igor-the-Mad (1161-1170)

In the Dominique group the leaves are arranged around the curve of the basket. In the Marcel group the fronds stick out and lap over the adjacent foliage. One is like cogs in a gear, the other like interlaced fingers. There is a third group, unique in the annals of medieval carving, in replacing order with dramatic, even violent emphasis, and by vigorous three-dimensionality in fronds and lobes [r1]. It seems surprising that this man was offered work anywhere, though perhaps to be expected that he was not employed in Laon which demonstrated a more conservative choice of sculptors.

His work is more like El Greco and Goya than Bernini, closer to Kandinsky in emotionalism and, on the spiritual plane, closer to the Saint-Theresa than any conventional model. The designs are untamed, and orderliness has been abandoned in favour of fervour. I have called him, perhaps for obvious reasons, Igor-the-Mad.

He may not always have been so eccentric. For instance there is a capital in the ambulatory in Orbais that could have been his from the wide-angled leaf, massive terminals and heaviness [b1]. The church in Ivors may have been next with a small capital with a slightly fan-shaped leaf and stubby fronds and a terminal with turned-back tips that are reminiscent of what is to come. It lies next to a twisted animal which shows damage to the inner corner. It has a sharply projecting vertebrae - of which more anon [b2].



Glennes apse



Orbais choir chapels AcCd



Orbais choir axial chapel



Ivors crossing WS1ne

Nearly every capital on one pier on the north side of the Noyon ambulatory has been the main identifier for the work of Igor, and it is from these that I have surmised the possible connections backwards to Orbais and Lhuys. They are wild, and immensely fascinating [b]. The passageway on the south side of the ambulatory is dark and I have not been successful in photographing them in the best manner.

The designs are like the spume of a tumultuous ocean beating against the seawall. Twisted and irregular, symmetry has been thrown to the wind.



Noyon ambulatory En3sw(a)



Noyon ambulatory En2nw(a)

DRAFT - revision 1

The fronds writhe and swirl, and the tips are stubby knobs that meet the next with characteristic curves. The stalks are deeply cut and, I want to say, brook no argument in their definiteness.

Besides the buildings discussed here, there is nothing else like them in the Paris Basin from this time. They are unique in their wilful confusion. One wonders how such an unconventional layout was permitted in a cathedral. He was not employed in nearby Laon, on any level, one suspects for obvious reasons of appropriateness and rectitude.

In the Glennes apse he executed the first campaign of capitals [r,b]. They show the same rumbustious neglect of tradition as in Noyon. The fronds on either side of the main leaf are of different heights, and when they meet they look like cogs, though I believe that cogging them would not have been his primary objective. This was just a way of irritating formality.

At Ivors he worked with Damien and at Noyon with Marcel in the same pier. They may have influenced him to develop this eccentric placement of cogs. The paired animals on the adjacent capital with the tooth-like spine rests on the same type of frenetic foliage [b3].



Glennes apse



Glennes apse, six capitals altogether in the EN1 pier. The twisted animals are on the same block of stone, and attributed to Igor.

He also left a few capitals in the north chapel of Guignicourt with the same powerful detailing. The whole church was badly damaged in 1918, and in the almost complete restoration most of the capitals were reused. Where replaced the carvers seem to have tried to emulate the originals.

As mentioned, one may have been by Dominique [r1]. Notice the new device of projecting the terminals beyond the abacus. It had often been used in smaller corner capitals, but in the larger, where the technical procedure is much more demanding, it was much rarer. There were only nine in the Laon gallery.^{v.4:725} It may have been gradually coming into use for the past



Guignicourt north chapel NCnw by Dominique?



Guignicourt north



Guignicourt north

decade. If the capital was by Dominique then he used the projecting terminal only once at Guignicourt, possibly influenced by Igor, and having tried it once he never used it again over the following ten years.

There is no sign of the projecting terminal in Orbais, Ivors or Noyon. Igor began the idea at Glennes and Lhuys. I have used this important detail to locate these works in relative time. Its first appearance in a man's work can help to divide an *œuvre* into phases. For example, Marcel did not use it at Nouvion, Noyon or in the Laon gallery. But he did in the Laon triforium and elsewhere, and I used its introduction to build a time-line for his campaigns.

At Lhuys there were many small building campaigns. The lower courses of the walls of the east and south arms were built together. Later three of the crossing piers were completed, but not that on the south-east. Only after the north arm was added did they erect the last crossing pier and the adjoining upper walls of the apse. Igor worked on the latter [b], but also, as I will show, may have carved the animals in the earlier campaign.

Though he kept the plates symmetrical there are no lateral fronds, but instead amputated projections, flattened off, with the veins coursing through with one thickness and with little relationship between the form and its earlier vegetal function [b]. Was his 'madness' declining here, or is this an unfair comment? Though we legally define 'mad' as being out of step with the times and community, there is something deeply unsettling in this work that would force a profound redefinition of medieval aesthetics were we to take it as in any way normal.



Lhuys crossing ES1w



Lhuys apse ES2-sL(aw)



Lhuys apse EN2-nL(aw)

I consider it is likely that some of the shafts were by Marcel from the clarity of the cog design [r1]. However, since Igor had used cogs in other places they could have been his in a less confusing mode. I have noted it as Marcel's in the chronology, but omitting his presence alters nothing.

The Glennes tower would have been some years after the apse as the lateral chapels and the western crossing piers had to be constructed before there was support for the tower. The one small capital in the tower may have been his last work. It has projecting terminals [r2].

What did medieval patrons do with a delusional zealot or psychopathic tradesman? Perhaps his fantasies were taken for more than they were, and he was encouraged in his work. There were no psychiatric hospitals nor drugs nor procedures for such an aberration. It is an interesting commentary on medieval practices that he was allowed to work on a major cathedral and to produce challenging work without correction.

His designs at Noyon are more irrational than those at Glennes or Guignicourt, which suggests that he most probably suffered a psychotic episode that grew in intensity for a while and then diminished over time. Though he was not really a cog-master (for I think he used cogs to dissolve the traditional requirement for symmetry) including him in the cog group



Lhuys crossing ES1ne probably by Marcel



Glennes tower

has enabled me to chronologically clump together these three most extreme campaigns into the one time-frame.

My interpretation is that between Igor's campaigns at Ivors and Noyon he became massively disturbed, maybe a personal loss, maybe a mental breakdown. The disturbance lasted for some years. During that time he carved most of the capitals in the apse at Glennes, nearly all of one of the gigantic piers in the Noyon ambulatory and one of the chapels in Guignicourt.

The animals bear this out. There is a strange amphibious creature in Guignicourt that slithers down the capital, with rudimentary Igor-style fronds behind it [r]. At Glennes and Noyon he created paired animals that almost double back on themselves as they pounce across the corners [b]. Spines and teeth are sharpened for emphasis. From the earlier period there are two similar ones at Ivors and at Lhuys from the earlier crossing campaign. The most contorted at Noyon, Glennes and Guignicourt would seem to reflect whatever it was that affected Igor's life.



Guignicourt north chapel



Lhuys crossing EN1s



Lhuys crossing EN1w



Ivors apse E2



Ivors crossing WN1



Noyon ambulatory En2s



Glennes apse

Chronology

The list has been ordered through the points I have made above. I have followed the earlier practice of giving one year to each master's campaigns, knowing this is only an early attempt at precision, but needful if any sense of order is to be established. The chronology is backed up by the work of other masters, such as Gaston and Strapper at Laon, and the rinceau masters and Palmier in many buildings.

The works in this article were carved after the Second Crusade which had a momentous impact on sculpture and the designs used on capitals. Besides studying the lack of funding in the years immediately afterwards I have not yet published any analysis of the consequences on individuals except for GrippleSon.^{ICMA#6} The cog-work considered here spans some 20 years and includes the massive transition between formal designs and foliate that occurred during the 1170s, and was discussed in volume 1 of *The Ark*.

In the adjacent list the capitals by Marcel and Igor with projecting terminals are shown circled.

Chronology for the Cog-Masters

	Damien	Dominique	Igor
1160	Orbais ambulatory wall		60
1160	Saint-Germer-de-Fly nave clerestory	60	
1161	Ivors apse	61	61
1162	Lhuys crossing, three piers		62
1163	Nouvion north chapel	63	
1163	Noyon ambulatory piers	63	63
1164	Glennes apse		64
1164	Noyon choir chapels	64	
1164	Laon choir gallery	64	64
1165	Châlons Notre-Dame cloister	65	
1165	Guignicourt north chapel	65	65
1166	Glennes south chapel	66	
1166	Laon choir triforium	66	66
1167	Athies (Somme) west portal	67	
1167	Vailly nave <i>spolia</i>	67	67
1168	Noyon choir gallery wall	68	68
1169	Guignicourt apse windows	69	
1169	Lhuys apse	69	
1170	Glennes tower		70
1171	Laon south chapel dado	71	
1174	Canterbury aisle piers	74	
1176	Canterbury gallery	76	
1177	Laon west transept gallery	77	
1178	Saint-Quentin choir chapels	78	
1180	Laon nave gallery	80	

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