

ICMA Master Carvers Series

A resource for discussion and information.

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09 The Duke (1101-1145)

John James

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

This is number 9 of an on-going series describing Early Gothic carving masters for discussion and comments

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DR A F T



Nasher Museum, Duke University, corner D 1121

The Duke Master (1101-1145)

There is a capital in the Nasher Museum of Art at Duke University that was probably intended for a cloister as it is carved on all four sides. I have called him The Duke in gratitude for these photographs of item 1966.63 organised by Prof. Caroline Bruzelius and the university museum.

The Duke's work is akin to other Greenman sculptures in Europe, with tendrils and leaves emerging from the mouth. It consists of four heads under each corner with branches issuing from them. These descend towards the astragal where they turn back to support upward-growing foliage. Where the adjacent branches touch they are joined with a small buckle. The head is pressed up against the astragal. The axes of symmetry lie at the corners.

The designs are not symmetrical, especially in corners A and B, for there are small errors in axes and curves that show the carver's greater reliance on the eye than on templates [r2,3].

There are two distinct layouts for the tendrils. On the two adjacent corners A and B the branches terminate in a tripartite leaf that sits under the head. The branches rise to the top of the capital on the other two faces, cross over, and finish in a curled leaf next to the ears. On these corners the head and tendrils form a self-contained envelope, while in C and D the intersecting branches link one corner with the next [r1,4].

The four heads are not the same, with differing details in the teeth, drilled eyes, hair sharpened or rounded or gathered into tufts, with or without jaws and with different ways for joining the hair-line to the foliage. Yet they have the same proportion to the block, similar connections to the vines and delineate facial forms with sharp edges to cheeks and eyebrows.

But for this being one small stone it would have been tempting to attribute such diversity to different masters. There are many details that indicate that all faces were the work of one man: scooped fronds, plates under leaves marked with an arrow [r4], rounded vines, the changes to the curvature and the uneven gaps between the tendrils and the astragal. This capital shows the variety of designs that could be accomplished by the one man.



Nasher Museum, Duke University, corner A



Nasher Museum, Duke University, corner B



Nasher Museum, Duke University, corner C

DRAFT

Over the years The Duke learned to control the curves and symmetry of the elements, and his detailing became more delicate. His most common characteristic is experimentation and variety within a single form. This is well-illustrated in one buckle that, unlike the others, is tied with an intricate knot instead of being a drilled collar [r1].

He increasingly complicated the arrangements and enriched the foliage. Three of the leaf arrangements that appear in later capitals were used here: a three-fold bouquet on the corner under the head, encasing the fronds within a plate-like frame on each side of the head in corner D, and the third has a five-frond arrangement that was to develop into the *fleur-de-lis*. In time these three forms became more intricate, and though the outlines become more sharply delineated the decoration of the veins remained superficial. He enjoyed curves, and entwined more than he wove.

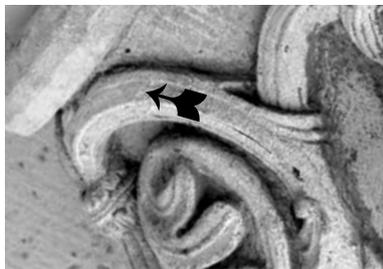
There is another carver whom I called The Duchess. He has many similarities though had different ways of handling the tendrils. I intend to discuss them as separate individuals, though when published you may accept my conclusion that they were both senior members of the one team who inducted and trained younger men to continue in the same mode.

Altogether, I have found work by The Duke and his men in 38 campaigns over some 45 years. The evolution of his ideas and the consolidation of his techniques will help to place their works in chronological order.

There is another detail in his capitals. It is the socket on the vine with two finger-like lines that create a little opening out of which a lateral tendril emerges. Unlike the sockets used by André and others of the Rinceau team, this socket does not block the flow around the curved vine. Compare the arrows at Saint-Martin with André in Bourges [b1,2] The socket does not appear in all his work, and tends to fade in importance in time.



Nasher Museum, Duke University, detail



Saint-Martin-des-Champs E(d) by the Duke 1123



Bourges south portal W-sR1(d) by André 1128

1123

Shortly after the Nasher capital the Duke worked on the dado of Saint-Martin-des-Champs where the layout is more accurate and the leaves more substantial. The head has a regality not in evidence before. He experimented with foliage, elongated the leaves and their fronds, with a range of heads.

He may have gained these skills by working before this at some other place under the direction of a senior carver, or by being in the company of the highly skilled men who were with him at Saint-Martin.

The chronological evidence from The Duke and Jérôme and Félix who all worked on the dado of Saint Martin shows that it and the lower walls were erected some time before the rest of the church. Their personal timelines in tandem with the following construction history of Saint-Martin help to determine the date. By disentangling Saint-Martin we can see that it has great bearing not only on the work of The Duke, but on all those other great carvers who worked in the Paris Basin at this time.

With so many highly skilled men already working in Paris in the same year as Saint-Denis was begun shows there was no need for Suger to look far for the men he needed.



Saint-Martin-des-Champs eastern dado 1123

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Construction analysis of Saint-Martin-des-Champs

To speak of Saint-Martin-des-Champs as being dated to “just before 1135”, as do most commentators, is misleading.¹ There were at least eighteen building campaigns, possibly spread over perhaps twenty years, so that no one date will do. The simplest illustration of the complexity of these campaigns is to examine the templates prepared for the piers [r1].

In those under the arcade arches there are three arrangements executed in pairs, so that the two nearest the eastern chapel used the same template, the next pair similarly and those nearest the crossing used a third. That is, three campaigns in, at the very least, the lowest stones of the inner six piers.

It is unlikely that an entire pier would have been erected in one campaign. One pause between masters is indicated in the changes to the template just above the torus mould in the second pair.

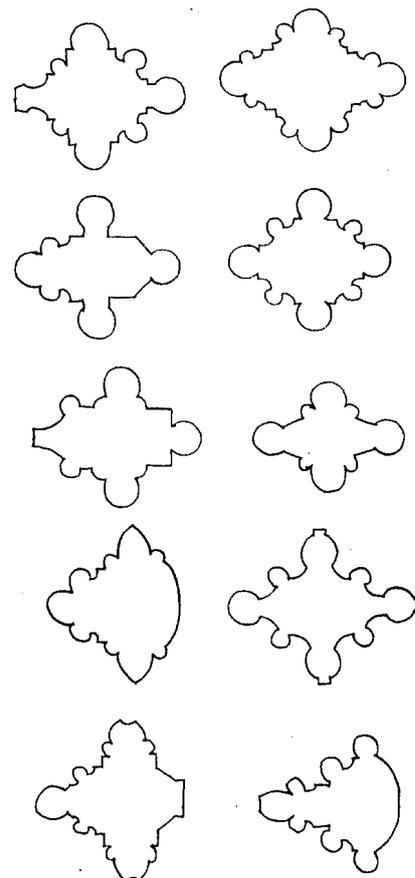
The intermediate piers in the aisles are even more varied. Only the second on the north and the third on the south are in any way similar. As I wrote many years ago “some have curved backs, some are square, some have keel shafts and some chamfers and none are drums”.² They were set out from eight different templates, and therefore by eight different masters. It would be hard to argue that all these men were working at the same time, or were under the control of a single person.

After pondering this for some time I concluded that the scenario that made sense was that the walls of the earlier church were sited more or less along the line of the present arcade piers, and that the first step in extending the church was to build the perimeter walls [left column next page]. If built to the level of the sills a roof could have been erected between the two for the next five years [marked 1]. This would have allowed a great deal to be built without interfering with services in the existing building.

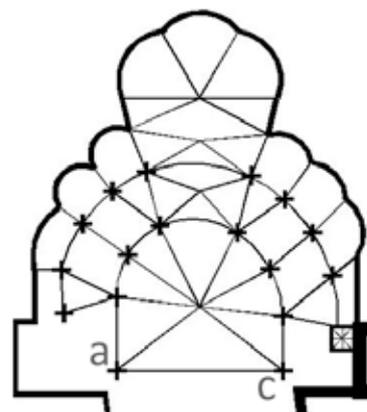
If money was short it would have been reasonable to lay the lowest courses for the piers one at a time. On that way most of the interior could be kept free of workmen and their tools. A small *chantier* just large enough to erect one pier could be moved as needed and would not have taken up too much space. In the initial stage the piers may have been built only to the height of the temporary roof.

The last act would have been to set up the arcade piers in three stages until finally the original church could be demolished [marked 2, next page]. At this point services would have been transferred to the nave so that the builders could be given free access across the site for the next ten years.

The two salient observations at this point are a couple of capitals by the SS Master and the incredible complexity in the vaults. The capitals are unique and against all convention [b]. They are too unusual not to have been carved within a very short time of one another. Though restored, the original in the Musée de Cluny shows that the new work was faithful to the old [b3]. As one is in the aisles and the other in the clerestory (marked a and c on plan) we have to visualise some way in which this may have happened.



Plans of the piers of the Saint-Martin choir



Plan of Saint-Martin with SS capitals marked



Saint-Martin-des-Champs aisle, capitals by the SS Master AN1R(a) and AS1(c) marked a and c on the plan, and the remnant in the Musée de Cluny

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In a tentative way at this stage (and subject to my visit to Saint-Martin in May) I would surmise that the capitals for both the arcade piers and at least the western end of the clerestory were built in the one campaign. In the next the rest of the wall over the arcade arches were erected up to the clerestory window sills.

While this was happening the vaults with their many profiles were built (discussed on the next page). I would therefore propose that the arcade caps were carved around 1129, all the freestanding aisle capitals in the next year while the arcade arches were going up, and then the clerestory capitals in the westernmost part of the wall in the year after. This would have been a large campaign, and these caps will be analysed in a moment.

At this point the clerestory inner arcade and wall to the clerestory windows could have been built and the clergy could have moved back into the central vessel. It seems there was then a pause while the aisle vaults were laid up [marked 3].

The many designs for piers and the many profiles for vaults lead to the conclusion that at no point was money plentiful. Such a complex scenario would have been a natural solution where there was little funding.

Higher up there is evidence for more breaks in construction and changes in masters, as well as the most common interruptions while the mortar in the arches set. For example, the arch over the aisle windows forced a pause

		Intermediate piers	
			50
	Exterior wall		48
1131	50 aisle cornice	1131	46
			44
			42
			40
			38
1130	42 vault springing	1130	36
	40 wall (a) capitals		34 pier (a) caps
			32
			30
1129	34 (aw) capitals	1129	28
			26
			24
			22 bases J
1128	26	1128	20
	24		18
			16 bases I 2
			14
1127	-		12
			10 bases H
			8
			6
1126	-		4 bases G
			2
			0
			-2 bases F
1125	-		-4
			bases E
	22 window sill		bases D
1124	20 window string		bases C
	18 dado		bases B
	16		bases A
1123	12		
	10		
	8		
	6		
1122	4 plinth		
	2		
	0		
	-2		
1121	-4		
	-6		
1120	-8 footings ??		

1 Philippe Plagnieux, 2009.
2 James, 200**, 127.

Arcade piers and clerestory wall

1138	100 cornice		
	98		
	96		
	94		
1137	92		
	90		
	88 window capitals		
	86		
1136	84		
	82		
	80		
1135	78 window sill		
	76		
	74		VAULTS
	-		
1134	- pause to build mid arch 3		
	- aisle vaults		
	-		
	-		
1133	- 3 mid arch 2		
	-		
	72		chapel vault 3
1132	70		mid arch 1
	68 (c) capitals		
	66		
	64		upper vault 2
1131	62		doubleaux 2
	60		
	58 pier (a+) caps		chapel vault
	56		axial arcade arch
1130	54		doubleaux 1
	52		
	50		
	48 central chapel capitals		
1129	46 arcade pier caps (a) arcade arch		
	44		
	42		
	40		



Saint-Martin clerestory from the north

DRAFT

between carving the capitals under the arch for the windows and those above for the vaults. There are altogether five different levels of capitals between the aisles and the entry to the eastern chapel. Above them there are three groups of impost. Some have small squared divisions between each capital, and others have angled indents that twist the carvings into most unusual shapes that would have made them particularly difficult to design.

Finally in the lower aisle vaults there are six sets of profiles for the ribs and doubleaux. The outer aisle was set up with rectangular profiles and for groin vaults. The shapes of the arches are usually determined in the lowest few courses, which are those that could be laid without using formwork, and then that profile was usually continued in whichever later campaigns were concerned with completing the vaults. Therefore the simpler profiles and the groin vaults suggests that the outer walls were ready for vaults before the piers. This procedure was usually the other way round, but here was consistent with the intention of preserving services in the old church for as long as possible.

This may also explain why the aisle vaults were constructed as groins and not with ribs, for groins would have been quicker to erect, needed less formwork, and were able to ensure the stability of the clerestory.

In addition, and at a later time to any of these, the higher vaults over the three bays of the axial chapel were constructed in three campaigns in which the eastern one was first, possibly at the same time as the doubleaux to the inner aisles.

Now, we do not know whether any of these operations could have been merged into a smaller number of campaigns, such as the capitals along the walls being placed at the same time as the bases to the inner piers. But, no matter how we reconstitute or compress the details, **we have to deal with eleven templates in the pier bases, three in the imposts, six in the aisle groin vaults and a further five in the eastern bays.** Assuming that the footings and the walling were erected while some of these other distinct campaigns were being executed, that is a total of eighteen campaigns, even after compressing them as much as possible.

The campaigns could have been at intervals of six months or eighteen, or even every two or three years. To provide a working figure I have assumed they were annual [r1]. In *The Template-makers* I suggested Saint-Martin was an Add-a-Chapel project in which the chapel walls were built first and the rest added some time later.TM This fits with the time-lines of the carvers of the capitals and suggests 1123 for the dado capitals and 1130 to 1133 for those over the aisles.

Approximate as this schedule may be, it indicates that we should look to some time around 1120 for the start of the works, and around 1138 for the completion. Even within the inevitable inaccuracies this is a more meaningful assessment than any single arbitrary date. It means we may start reconsidering the dates for those elements in Saint-Martin that are important for art history from another perspective with different dates.

The capitals at Saint-Martin

The many plans for the piers has distorted the shapes of the capitals so often massive adjustments were needed to accommodate them to the ribs and arches. Some are splayed and some time divided into many parts and some are *bec*. The complexity placed unusual demands on the carvers.

Most of the stones on which the capitals are carved are original, though there has been a great deal of patching and plastering. The state of each is noted in the pages on Saint-Martin in vol. 5.

Simplified construction schedule

1138	completion		
1137		ribs 5	
1136	chapel roof	ribs 4	
1135		ribs 3	
1134	ambulatory roof	ribs 2	arches 5
1133	capitals (a+)	ribs 1	arches 4
1132	capitals (a) impost 3	high roof	arches 3
1131	capitals (a) impost 2	capitals (c)	arches 2
1130	capitals (a) impost 1		arches 1
1129	Piers L		
1128	Piers K		
1127	Piers J		
1126	Piers G	capitals (aw)	capitals external
1125	Piers F		
1124	Piers E		
1123	Piers D	capitals (d)	
1122	piers C		
1121	piers B	external walls	
1120	piers A	external walls	
1119		wall footings	



Saint-Martin showing different levels of capitals

There is an unexpected uniformity among the aisle level capitals from only one campaign, that of 1130/31. In no other building from this period are there so many different layouts yet with such uniformity in the foliage. The many layouts were derived from each carver's personal templates, and though it is not unusual for carvers to take ideas from one another, what is unusual at Saint-Martin is that the sharing went further than this. They are nearly all rinceau arrangements, though still carved around templates typical of André and Félix, the SS Master and Apple, of Jérôme and Héron and Complexitus. There are very few purely foliate designs.

The foliage in these rinceaux capitals have fairly similar leaves that are undercut, have two or three fronds to each leaf and generous gaps between them. They combine sharpness and spreadingness, and fill the whole space, without gaps. How was this unique degree of uniformity achieved among such individual carvers? What control was there over the site that they laid aside part of their individuality and came to a common agreement on tendrils, fronds and berries?

It is extraordinary, and unique for a larger building. One only has to examine diversity in the Chartres and Saint-Denis narthexes to see the 'normal' situation. My impression is that the master mason in charge of this one campaign, or perhaps the master carver, determined on a common program, both in design motifs and in quality, and imposed it on everyone who worked there. Perhaps he even went as far as selecting who would carve so that foliate carvers would be excluded.

Suppose that those who had been working in the south, in Bourges and Languedoc and Lombardy, and who may have visited the fabulous carving at Moissac and Cluny, suppose that on returning home they recognised that the design standards of their stay-at-home fellow carvers needed improvement. Suppose they recognised that the design standards were embarrassingly woeful for the royal centre of France, and that they now had the skills to change that, in the same way theirs had been changed by working in other regions? Suppose it was decided to let the better carvers inspire their less sophisticated colleagues to work as they had learned? What better way to stimulate a more rigorous level of design than to impose it on all who were working on the one shed? If so, we can date this decision to 1130 when the younger men had come back from Bourges and further south.

Improved quality is exemplified in the detailing: compare the SS Master's work in the 20s at Châteaudun with his at Saint-Martin, especially in the outlines of the fronds and the small decoration along the vine [r1,2].

The sharing of motifs may be compared in these capitals by Héron and Jérôme [r3,4]. The heron-leaf had been developed by the former, but used here by the latter, where it was the first and only time he used it. On the other hand, the decorated collar favoured by Jérôme was adopted by Héron and was continuously used by him thereafter.

If the master at Saint-Martin had imposed a design code on the carvers who worked under him, and inspired them to share their ideas, then he had a profound influence on the variety and quality of all later work in the Paris Basin. The enormous impact of this agreement to share and learn may have profoundly altered all that was to come.

Half the carving masters were, at that time, quite young, the other half near the end of their working lives. I can determine age only from their earliest recognisable jobs, but this does give some idea of where these men were on their life's journey. Jérôme, André and Grégoire were around 30, Félix and Willow a little older and Héron nearly 40. The others, Apple, Duke and Gripple were all in their 50s.



Châteaudun dado, by the SS Master

1124



Saint-Martin EN2+(a) 1130, by the SS Master 1130



Saint-Martin An1R(a) by Héron

1130



Saint-Martin AN2+L(a) by Jérôme

1130

1120

Saint-Aubin cloister, Angers

Before returning to the Duke's first work at Saint-Martin he joined a large crew at the Saint-Aubin cloister in Angers. They were working on the entry and north wall to the chapter house. On one voussoir the tendrils emerge out of the ears and the long wavy fronds have balls on the tips [b1]. In the other two the arrangement is not structural in the sense that the elements would not be visually self-supporting, but in spite of their being no head, the fronds, the decoration along the vine and wandering floppiness may possibly have been the Duke.



Angers, Saint-Aubin cloister, voussoirs to arch over chapter house entry lower arch Lh, lower arch Lp and upper arch Up

1120

Buildings between 1123 and 1138

1123

In the dado of Saint-Martin shortly afterwards the fronds have an unstructured shape [b1]. The the long leaves have little balls on the ends and rest on 'plates' that frame the leaf. Tendrils emerge out of the ears as at Saint-Aubin. The free-form indents between the lobes are aesthetically a little disturbing factor.

1124

The one in the south wall of the Etampes nave is probably very close in time, for though worn it has similar character [b2]. There is a head on the face of the block as well as the corner. He did this again a few years later in the Saint-Martin aisles. It would seem he did not like the result as he never used it again, but continued to place the head on the upper corner



Saint-Martin-des-Champs eastern dado 1123



Etampes Notre-Dame Ws2(a) 1124



Foulanges crossing WS1sw(a) 1114

DRAFT

under the abacus. What he did like was the plates under the leaves, and though worn they are visible in the lower pair.

This wandering quality is present in all of his earlier work, as will be discussed at the end of this piece. I give here one example in the crossing of Foulangues [b3 previous page]. It is only in the later 1120s that he demonstrated in the aisle capitals of Saint-Martin that he had learned the artistic control that was to remain with him for the rest of his life.

1125

From the ‘ferocity’ in the head the capital from Sainte-Geneviève in the Cluny Museum may be a little later than the Saint-Martin dado. The curled vines emerge from the dog’s ear, like the upper fronds at Saint-Martin. The leaf tips are rounded and have become more fanciful. In both Saint-Martin, the Nasher capital and here he placed plates under the leaves so that the tips are framed. In all of them there is a powerful control over the corner symmetry in vines and tendrils.

Ferocity does not appear again in his heads, which become smaller and more tame in later years.

There is a gap of a few years between Etampes and the Saint-Martin aisles. Did he travel during that time, and perhaps improve his skills ready for the magnificent carving he achieved later? I have searched but not yet found any evidence for him in more distant parts of France.

By the time he was carving aisle capitals in Saint-Martin around 1130 he was using sockets from which the leaves extended across the tendrils to make their wind-blown appearance more important than the ring structure of the vines. He tightened the design of every part considerably, so that from here on the freedom this level of control brought is apparent in all his work.

This was a key moment of transition for this master, when he expanded his vision and entered into a new and more opulent stage of creativity. The number of fronds in a bouquet vary from three to five, foliage was altered so it stretched down and across the capital in ways that suggest (as I discussed above) that he was under instruction to share in the modes of others.

The tips of the leaves turn down, and he began to experiment with three- and five-lobed foliage. As his techniques were developing the detailing became more delicate. The Duke was gradually learning to control the curves and symmetrical placement of the elements so that from here on the illustrations show that he increasingly complicated the arrangements and enriched the foliage.

1130

Consequently, Saint-Martin represents a precious phase in his development in which he tried out new ideas for tendril arrangements, for foliage and on utilising the ring of vines to contain the forms.

The one on the apse exterior is very like work at Angers, and was probably in an earlier campaign around 1124, just after the dado arcade [r1]. The capitals in the aisles would have been 1130 including one we discussed earlier [r4,b1,2]. There is a small capital in which the elements are weighted differently, and so possibly by an assistant [r3]. And two in the south pier of the clerestory, probably in the year after [b3].



Saint-Geneviève, Musée de Cluny 1125



Saint-Martin apse exterior 1124



Saint-Martin AS3(a) 1130



Saint-Martin-des-Champs AN3+(a) 1130



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



Saint-Martin-des-Champs An1r(a) 1130



Saint-Martin-des-Champs AS1(c) 1131

DRAFT

1132

The capital in the Saint-Denis portal follows this trend, though the tendrils are hidden by the overlapping fronds, as are those in the Saint-Martin clerestory [r1]. This is visible even though one is disguised under corrosion and the other by paint. Fronds emerge from the ears as well as the mouth, the nostrils are drilled as in Saint-Martin and given a slightly animal-like form. He was again using motifs from other people, such as the large collar from Jérôme and the upturned tips of Gripple. The leaves are stretched and the plate has disappeared, perhaps abandoned to allow the fronds to speak for themselves. Its short life links the earlier buildings.



Saint-Denis west portal W.nL3 1132

1133

There are twenty capitals in the portal embrasures, each by a different artist. I am aware from the studies of other masters that those engaged on the sculpture were accorded the right to carve the capitals, like a signature of recognition. We have already seen this in earlier ICMA pieces on Jérôme and Palmier. If this turns out to be a common practice it will make it easier to link the figurative work with the capitals, and as the changes to the capitals are capable of being ordered in time, could open up many interesting lines of investigation.



Pontoise choir Es1nw(a) 1133

The Pontoise ambulatory would have been a little later. [r2] In fact, the entire series between the portals of Saint-Denis and the choir in 1142 can be ordered chronologically in an approximate way, which I have done here on an arbitrary annualised basis.

1135

These heads are as varied as those in the Nasher, but his work is showing a growing interest in drilled eyes and sharp-pointed hair, sharp leaves and the teeth.



Santeuil west triforium 1135

The broken capitals from the west end of the triforium at Santeuil would have been from this period, from comparison of vigour and facial features [r3]. They are buried on the wall a western construction, perhaps in preparation for a gallery over the nave that was never achieved.

1136

He has cleverly used his experiences at Saint-Martin to find ways to control the design without relying on the dominance of the tendrils, but in a much more organic way with overlapping leaves that diminish the importance of the vines without losing their ability to hold the geometry of the design together.



Bougival crossing EN1sw 1136

The tips of the leaves turn down, and he began to experiment with three- and five-lobed foliage. This process can be followed in the Bougival crossing where a number of the Saint-Denis narthex carvers gathered for a outstanding campaign of carving [r4], and in the royal castle at Senlis with magnificent bulbous heads [r5]. Senlis has a ring holding the vines that you will notice on most of his works, and additional fronds emerging from the sides of the looped vines [b].



Senlis castle chapel 1137



Senlis castle chapel 1137

DRAFT

The Chartres portal colonnettes

One of the last colonnettes placed in the Royal Portal at Chartres were those in the third group, on the southern embrasure of the central door [r]. In the portal elevation and in the diagram of the shafts an arrow marks this one by the Duke [b]. All the carvers of shafts that have been identified so far are noted on the drawing and will be discussed in vol. 6.

The heads have big eyes and noses, the vines come sideways out of the mouths and do not cross over one another. The little leaves that cover the genitals can be found in his other work, though there is nothing particularly distinctive about them. The whorls alongside the heads are like those in the royal castle at Senlis and later in the Châlons nave. It lacks his longer leaves and collars, but instead the entrapped figures hold the vines.

The top of the shaft was chopped back to fit into the available height, and so it may have been carved in or after 1138 when the first group of colonnettes were carved for the north door, this being a time when the height of the embrasure had not been fixed. When installed in the 1140 campaign (at which time the heights of the capitals had been determined) all the adjoining shafts had been carved for the correct height except this one.

If he was not carving with the first group he could have been in Chartres at the same time as the men who carved the tympani, and so may have carved some of the upper archivolts, though he cannot be picked out individually. He was not, as far as I can tell, involved with the drip moulds, and so would have definitely left in or before 1141.

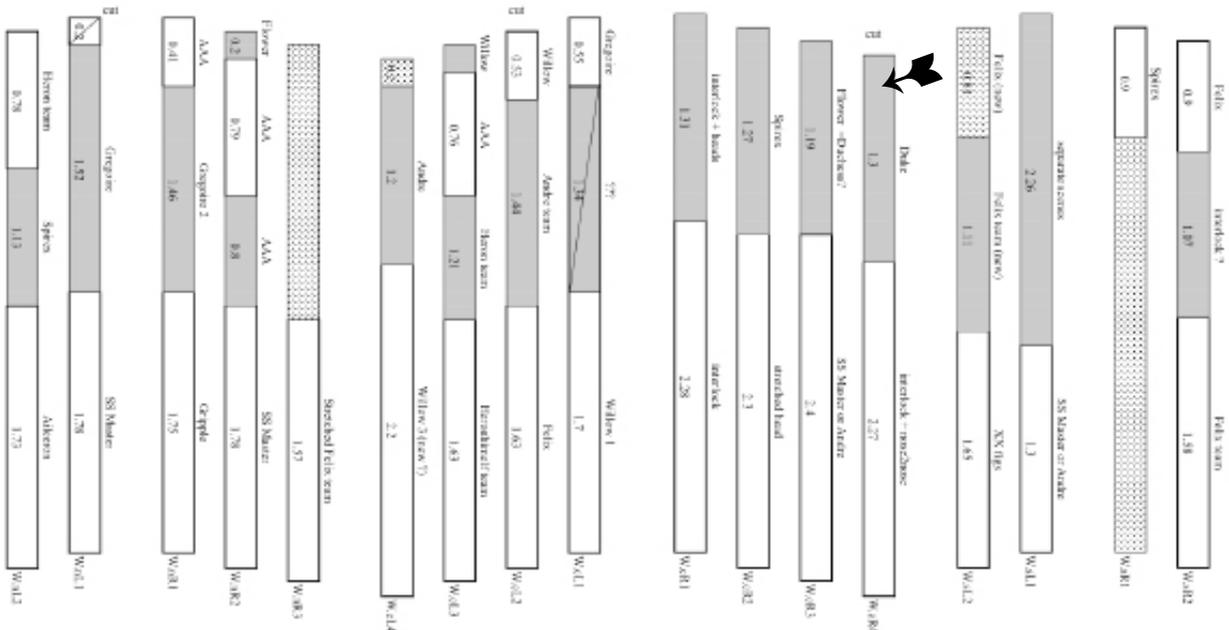


Chartres west portal W.cR4t

1138



Chartres cathedral west portal embrasures above, and below colonnettes with some of the carvers noted and new stones stippled.



DRAFT

Buildings between 1140 and 1145

1140

Ully is, in layout, closest to the Saint-Denis and Paris ambulatories, and so may have been carved some time in the 1140s [r1]. The head is as usual, though the tendrils have been flattened. The vines descend from the mouth and turn back and under in the typical Duke manner.

1140

He joined the Saint-Denis team and remained there for a number of years. There is one easily recognisable one in the crypt [b1]. There is a growing richness in workmanship and complexity in design. The hair has been gathered into tufts, the eyes are occasionally drilled, and the underside of the cheeks emphasised. He has learned how to handle the lateral foliage and has developed ways to organise the tendrils in close formation. Observe how complex the many-lobed sprouts of leaves have become over these 15 years.

I have placed the capital by a co-worker called the Duchess next to his to display the slight details that differentiate these two men [b2]. Where the Duke's vines descend from the mouth and move outwards before turning in at the astragal to grow into fronds, those of the Duchess descend joined together and then spread outwards. There are also small but significant differences in the foliage.

The Duke's growing maturity is illustrated in another capital with no heads [b3]. Though the foliage is a little differently organised the arrangement follows logically from the right face of [b1] and [r3], the capital he carved in the ambulatory.



Ullly-Saint-Georges WN1e 1140+



Saint-Denis crypt As2Cd(u) by the Duke 1140



Saint-Denis crypt AS3Ce(u) by the Duchess 1140



Saint-Denis crypt AcCa(u) 1140

1142

This one in the ambulatory chapels was erected some 18 months later and the design has been further developed [r3]. In all the Duke's later work the heads are fairly square with a prominent nose that projects over the upper lips while the hair in various ways expresses an inner energy. The outlines of the fronds are clearly delineated with deep cutting, while the decoration of the veins is relatively superficial. He enjoyed curves, and entwined more than he wove.

1143

He was present twice in the Paris Notre-Dame ambulatory, quite unmistakably so [b]. Once again it is possible that an assistant was present to carve the one on the right. From here on all capitals employed the *énchancré*.

1146

Half the capitals at Notre-Dame are, as mentioned before,^{ICMA 08} from



Saint-Denis ambulatory En4se(a) 1142



Paris Notre-Dame An1sw(a) 1143



Paris Notre-Dame En6se(a) 1143

D R A F T

the 40s, and the other half from the 60s. This suggests that only half the capitals had been carved when works stopped. Since there was a twenty year gap work must have been halted for a serious reason, and this is where I suggested that the privations caused by the Second Crusade had an impact.

However, the style of the Duke's work changed significantly in his next two jobs, Saint-Germain and Notre-Dame-en-Vaux, and I therefore have to place this work in Paris before them. The time-lines of all the masters working in these three places give little room for manoeuvre, so it would seem that work at Paris was halted for some other reason than the Crusade.

It would be reasonable to argue that the capitals were being prepared for the wall piers while the wall was being erected, and that they lay in the shed until work resumed under Eudes de Sully in '63.

1144

The Duke's work is also found in two piers at Saint-Germain-des-Prés from a little later. This is one of those situations where the master mason on the job, or someone with sufficient authority, insisted that all the foliage follow a similar pattern. Saint-Martin-des-Champs piers was one of these, and the Saint-Germain ambulatory walls was another. In them one frond or leaf form was applied nearly everywhere, even in work by people who would normally have done something very different.

Someone dictated the presenting plenitude in these works, both on the walls and in the piers, in which every inch of the surface was detailed and incised, fronds were stretched and the grooves more deeply incised. Fortunately, the conformity has not hidden the origins of the form-maker, each of whom was given a whole pier to carve.

One consequence was to retrain the carvers in different methods that they would occasionally carry with them to the next job. This was one way in which ideas were diffused, and templates modified. Carvers may or may not have welcomed this opportunity, depending on character.

In the Duke's work in Saint-Germain he would seem to have been instructed to use the longer and more florid leaves of Jérôme [r1]. He had to alter his template slightly compared with, say Saint-Denis, by reducing the number of leaves in order to fit the larger fronds. Some of the corner animals developed a beak. As the small collars from Saint-Denis became large and florid in the manner of Jérôme, I think he may have been the master who called the tune.



Saint-Germain-des-Prés As2sw(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés As2e(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés As2nw(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés As2sw(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés En2s(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés En2ne(a) 1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés En2nw(a) 1144

DRAFT

1145

Just afterwards the Duke joined the team at Châlons-en-Champagne on the abbey of Notre-Dame-en-Vaux when the piers in the nave were being inserted inside the older walls, the western enclosure was being completed with its portal and the south porch added.

These capitals are richly decorated, and all have been replaced. If we presume they were constructed as fair if not modest facsimiles, then two could have been by the Duke [b] in the forms of the fronds, the location and bulbous shape of the head and the vines that turn up into a pair of peaked fronds [b+]. Compare them with the capitals of Saint-Denis and Paris underneath. All were carved within a few years of one another. The collar is still being used, but in the two-layered mode of Saint-Germain.

The comparison is more marked when the Saint-Denis capital is seen from the same corner direction as the one from Châlons. The latter was carved onto a taller stone, which provided more room for the collar at the base and the whorls on the sides. All of them have the *énchancré* at the top.



Châlons Notre-Dame nave Ws8(a) 1145



Châlons Notre-Dame nave WS4(a) 1145



Saint-Denis ambulatory En4se(a) 1142



Paris Notre-Dame An1sw(a) 1143

On the right embrasure of the western portal at Châlons is a group that are worn would have been the Duke in his most mature mode. Enormous skill was required in all these capitals to set out the spatial interrelationships. Only from great experience could they have been completed so expertly. The capitals on the opposite side were all by Willow.



Châlons Notre-Dame west portal right capitals 1145

DRAFT

In these notice the birds [r1]. They are encased in delicate tendrils in the manner of many of the Rinceau carvers. However, unlike Willow's capitals on the opposite embrasure, the Duke's wings are not separated from the body with a frame of some sort, as was more common, but merge into body plumage. The feathers are fine short strokes arranged in layers where other birds have rounded feathers set in lines or overlapping [b].



Châlons N-D W.c.R2 right face



Châlons N-D W.c.R1 right face



Châlons N-D W.c.R2 left face



Châlons Notre-Dame west portal W.c.R3 1145

1144

The only other building with birds like this is in the western door of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. The outer capital on the left has similar parallel feathers and stiffened posture [b1]. Both he and Willow worked on the wall and pier capitals in the choir, probably at this same time, and I would think that this is where the Duke picked up this motif.

Paired birds pecking at either side of a berry was a popular motif used by many carvers, and when all forty-odd examples are collected the differences in the manner of handling stand out. Compare the Duke's birds at Notre-Dame and Saint-Germain with this capital by Willow to see the differences in posture and handling [b2].



Saint-Germain-des-Prés W.c.L7

1144



Saint-Germain-des-Prés W.c.R3

1144

Most scholars have accepted a date of the later 1150s for the nave piers and the south portal that comes off it, mainly based on the 1157 document that refers to the cult of the carts. This has always been a tenuous basis, for the document does not describe which work was being erected nor how long it took. If the Crusade did not truncate most construction in 1146 we could move this work onwards a little, but each year adds to the age of the older sculptors and reduces the likelihood that they still lived.

I have so far identified the work of five masters on this phase of Notre-Dame: the Duke, Félix, Grégoire, Willow and one of the Apple masters. From the range of carving produced by these men, and considering their other work and how much could be achieved in a lifetime, it is hard to see them working much after 1145. This was a period of sustained and intense productivity all over the region in which construction reached a crescendo as temperatures were increasing to support increased construction. However, the evidence suggests there was not enough capacity in the medieval economy to support both great architecture and a crusade. It is disconcerting that the passion for one disabled the passion for the other.

D R A F T

The Duke's earlier work.

Working backwards from the Nasher Museum capital and the characteristics of his mature work we begin to trace some of his earliest: For example, the Greenman head and wavy vines in the Ansacq west porch and the Bury nave, though the head has been damaged. He is considerably less confident in handling the forms as we go back in time.



Ansacq west portal W.cL3,2 1105



Bury nave WN1sw(a) 1106

On capital in the Ennery tower and another in the north range of the Saint-Aubin cloister may be his first recognisable works. The arrangement is simplified and naive [b1,2]. Both have his laterals coming out of the lower branches. One capital is more like him with typical long fronds and a central lower bouquet, except for the massive corner crockets and with body attached to the a head [b3]. It is quite unlike these others, and may have been carved after a severe training by one of the other masters on the site [b3].



Ennery tower level 2 1101



Angers, Saint-Aubin left cloister range 1101



Angers Saint-Aubin cloister north range 1102

Afterwards he began to play with a festoon of uncoordinated branches, a play that reached a climax in Cambronne and Ansacq. Gradually over the next few jobs he began to pull his designs together, and sought a more satisfying order in the arrangement. Without having so many examples to examine I would not have connected these ragged works with his later designs.



Nouvion tower level 1 1103



Nouvion tower level 1 1103



Nouvion tower level 1 1103



Nouvion tower level 2 1104



Fitz-James crossing ES1ne 1106



Cambronne south SW1s(a-) 1107

Earlier work The Duke Master

1101	Ennery	tower level 2
1102	Angers, Aubin cloister	north range
1103	Nouvion	tower level 1
1104	Nouvion	tower level 2
1105	Ansacq	west door
1106	Fitz-James	crossing
1106	Bury	nave N (a)
1107	Cambronne	south
1111	Foulangues	west crossing
1112	Labruyères	tower
1113	Etavingy	west portal
1114	Auvers-sur-Oise	apse
1115	Saint-Leu-d'Esserent	narthex (g)
1116	Bury	nave west portal
1117	Bruyères-sur-Oise	tower level 2
1118	Bruyères-et-Montbérault	choir exterior
1119	Crouy-en-Thiele	apse
1120	Angers, Aubin cloister	chapter house arch
1121	Nasser Museum	cloister?

DRAFT

1111+

One in the Foulangues crossing is more accurately laid out and comparatively delicate in movement [b1]. There is still some confusion in the branching, as with one tendril that has no clear origin, but sneaks out from behind the major branch. The Labruyères tower is in the same mode [b2].

There is one very worn stone in the Auvers apse and a replaced head in Saint-Leu-d'Esserent that could also have been his [b+1,2] as well as a recognisable capital next to one of the Saint-Leu windows [b+3].



Foulangues crossng WS1sw(a)

1111



Labruyères tower

1112



Etavigny west door W.cL2

1113



Auvers-sur-Oise apse AN1sw

1114



Saint-Leu-d'Esserent gallery (re carved)

1115



Saint-Leu-d'Esserent gallery window

1115

1116+

The heads have been growing to occupy almost half the height of the capital. The Bury west portal, the external apse sculpture at Bruyères-et-Montbérault and Crouy all show this [r3-5]. Vines are still wandering in a slightly unkempt way. The capital at Crouy is massive and somewhat brutal. Adjacent is a head by Aviateur that helps to confirm the date. By the time of Bruyères he has started to scale down the size of the heads [b].



Bruyères-sur-Oise, The Duke on the left with the impost, Gripple on the right

1119



Bury nave W-wR3(a)

1116



Bruyères-et-Montbérault apsidiole window

1117

Because of the growing maturity, and the introduction of collars, sockets and plates, I would think that the order of carving would be as in the list. The Nasher Museum capital seems to have been carved after all these and before the one capital he carved for the dado of Saint-Martin-des-Champs.

Altogether, I have found work by the Duke in some 38 campaigns over forty-five years. The evolution of his ideas and the consolidation of his techniques will, of course, help to place his works in chronological order. When combined with the work of many more carvers their combined personal orders are producing an increasingly precise dating.



Crouy-en-Thiele apse ES1n

1118

DRAFT

List of work by The Duke

1101	Ennery	tower level 2
1102	Angers, Aubin cloister	cloister north range
1103	Nouvion	tower level 1
1104	Nouvion	tower level 2
1105	Ansacq	west door
1106	Fitz-James	crossing
1106	Bury	nave north aisle (a)
1107	Cambronne	south
1111	Foulangues	west crossing
1112	Labruyères	tower
1113	Etavingy	west portal
1114	Auvers-sur-Oise	apse
1115	Saint-Leu-d'Esserent	narthex (g)
1116	Bury	nave west portal
1117	Bruyères-sur-Oise	tower level 2
1118	Bruyères-et-Montbérault	choir external apse
1119	Crouy-en-Thiele	apse
1120	Angers, Aubin cloister	chapter house south range
1121	Duke University Museum	cloister?
1123	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir (d)
1124	Etampes Notre-Dame	nave wall
1124	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir (aw) external
1125	Paris, Sainte-Geneviève	Cluny museum WB114-2
1130	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir inner piers (a)
1131	Saint-Martin-des-Champs	choir (c)
1132	Saint-Denis	west portals
1133	Pontoise	ambulatory walls
1135	Santeuil	west (t)
1136	Bougival	crossing
1137	Senlis castle	chapel
1139	Chartres	colonnets group 1
1140	Ully	crossing
1140	Saint-Denis	choir (u)
1142	Saint-Denis	ambulatory (a) walls
1143	Paris Notre-Dame	choir (a) walls
1144	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	choir (a)
1144	Saint-Germain-des-Prés	west portal
1145	Châlons Notre-Dame	nave (a)
1150	Bourg-Argental	portal, upper