

# The mystery of the foliate head in paint.

A study of the depiction of extant painted foliate heads in Dutch churches.



Figure 1: Prinsenkapel, Grote of Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk Breda

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## Abstract

Foliate heads are present in and outside of churches and secular buildings all over Europe, and after Lady Raglan coined them ‘Green Man’ in 1939, their popularity in the United Kingdom

dramatically increased. However, little to no academic literature is available about Dutch foliate heads. Various explanations of the function of these foliate heads in British churches have been discussed: some say they operated as decorative, liminal images; others that they are folkloric images that managed to find their way into church buildings. Most literature on foliate heads focuses on sculpted or carved foliate heads, which is the form in which they most commonly appear. Foliate heads, however, also exist in metalwork, tile decoration, stained glass windows, and paintings. This thesis centres on seven Dutch churches that display painted foliate heads dating from the late fifteenth century until the first half of the sixteenth century. Fieldwork has been conducted in order to analyse the foliate heads in terms of iconography, observe their type and location in the church and collect historic information and photographic documentation. In each case information gathered from the fieldwork and literature review forms the basis of a short historical overview of the church and its paintings. A detailed description and internal comparison are provided based on the following characteristics of the foliate heads: the location in the church, the date, the type, the species, the type of foliage, the use of colour and other figures nearby. Using this information a table was created and with this table comparative analysis was conducted. Throughout this study, it became clear that the foliate head is not uniform in its particulars. It has a wide variety in style, location, type, size, species and material. It seems that although the overall idea and principle of the foliate head was widespread and well known, there were no real rules about how this figure should look or how it should interact with the foliage, which accounts for its many forms.

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## List of abbreviations

NB: Church of Noordbroek  
ZW: Walburgiskerk, Zutphen  
DL: Grote or Lebuinuskerk, Deventer  
RP: Plaskerk, Raalte  
ZB: Broederenkerk, Zutphen  
GK: Church of Garmerwolde  
BG: Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk Breda

FH: foliate head  
MD: mouth-disgorger  
T: transformer  
ErD: ear-disgorger  
ND: nose-disgorger  
EyD: eye-disgorger  
WBD: whole body disgorger  
WBMD: whole body mouth-disgorger  
WBT: whole body transformer  
HM: human male  
HF: human female  
H: human

HybM: hybrid male  
G: grotesque  
Hyb: hybrid  
NP: non-painted foliate head  
NI: not identifiable  
F/F: flower/fruit

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## Introduction

“Look, there is one!” I say to my parents while visiting Schwerin Cathedral. I am talking about a foliate head, a figure who sometimes presents itself with a face made out of leaves, or with foliage protruding from its mouth, nose, or ears. If you pay close attention, you can find this figure both inside and outside churches, cathedrals and secular buildings all over Europe. Sometimes they are prominently on display in a vault painting or sculpture, and sometimes they are hidden at the end of a vault or next to a keystone.

Julia Somerset, Lady Raglan (1901-1971) coined the term ‘Green Man’ to describe these figures in 1939, and that continues to be how they are commonly known.<sup>3</sup> This description is not completely accurate, however. In one of the few systematic studies of the topic, Imogen Corrigan examined 1172 different foliate heads in churches all over England.<sup>4</sup> Corrigan found that only about two-thirds of the figures are identifiable as human; many of them are recognisable as animals, fictional beasts or grotesques.

This raises the first problem with calling the figure a ‘Green Man’: they are not all human. Secondly, it is not always possible to assign gender to these figures: many of the figures are too eroded to be able to say anything with certainty on this matter. In the cases where it is possible

to assign gender, the majority is male, however, a couple female examples have also been discovered. Calling them ‘Green Men’, would exclude these figures just like the animals, fictional beasts or grotesques. Lastly, there is also an issue with calling them ‘Green Man’: identifying them on the basis of their colour. In the carvings of the figure, which is its most common form, it is very rare for the original colour of the figures to remain, and where colour

<sup>3</sup> Julia Raglan, “The ‘Green Man’ in Church Architecture,” *Folklore* 50, no. 1 (1939): 45–57. <sup>4</sup>Imogen Jane Barbra Antonia Corrigan, “The Function and Development of The Foliate Head in English Medieval Churches.” (Master thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019)

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does remain, Corrigan mentions that it is predominantly red or gold. In other media, such as wood carvings, there is usually no colour present at all, and while in paintings and stained glass windows, the vegetation is commonly coloured green, for the figures themselves this is rarely the case. This last point is significant because multiple studies into the origin and meaning of this figure have dwelt heavily on the importance of the colour green. Therefore for the remainder of this study, these figures will be referred to as foliate heads.

A specific origin of these figures is not known. Examples are found in European folklore, classical Greco-Roman mythology, but also other cultures in for example India or South America. After Lady Raglan had given them a name, their popularity, especially in the United Kingdom, dramatically increased, and this generated diverse interpretive responses. Various explanations of the function of these foliate heads in British churches have been discussed: some say they served as decorative, liminal images; others, that they are folkloric images that managed to find their way inside church buildings. All these responses can help us to gain a deeper insight into the use and function of these mysterious figures. However, there remains very little academic literature about foliate heads, and there is a dearth of systematic studies of the phenomenon. Searches for Dutch academic literature about foliate heads yield almost no results. A possible explanation for this lack of research is that unfortunately no records or comments on the figures survive from the Middle Ages. Therefore interpretations can only be made based on



the information gathered by observing these foliate heads as they survive: the foliate heads themselves are the primary source of information.

Of the literature that does exist, British or otherwise, most of it lays its focus on sculpted or carved foliate heads, which is the form in which they most commonly appear. As we shall see, the foliate head is not limited to those materials, however. Foliate heads also exist in metalwork,

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tile decoration, stained glass windows, and wall paintings. The present study centres on a limited number of Dutch churches that contain paintings of foliate heads on their walls and ceilings. The paintings in all these churches are from the late Middle Ages, dating from the second half of the fourteenth century to the first half of the sixteenth century. This material variant of the dominant form raises the question if there is anything else that is different about the painted foliate heads in these churches.

The objective of the thesis is to gain preliminary insight into the depiction of extant painted foliate heads in Dutch churches. Painted foliate heads in Dutch churches will be analysed in terms of their iconography, location in the space, and typology<sup>5</sup>. An inventory of foliate heads will be provided, identifying typological features according to the headings listed in the section *Types of foliate heads*. The aspects that will be taken into account include but are not limited to: the location of each head in the church; the type of foliage (if identifiable); how the head engages with the foliage which determines the type of foliage head (disgorger, transformer or fruit/flower<sup>6</sup>); as well as other miscellaneous details, such as neighbouring images (if contemporary), whether only a foliate head is present or if more of the body is depicted, and, possible dates if that information is available or ascertainable.

For the purpose of this study, the image of the foliage head will be understood as a figure which either 1) has foliage protruding from its mouth, ears, nose or eyes, or the combination of these; or 2) appears to have foliage growing out of part of the head, which makes it seem like it is

transforming into foliage; or 3) appears as the fruit or flower of foliage. These three types of foliate heads will be referred to as 'disgorgers', 'transformers' and 'fruit/flower' respectively,

<sup>5</sup>This typology is heavily influenced by the typology Corrigan uses in her research, however adaptations have been made to fit the medium of paintings. See types of foliate heads for a detailed description of all types. <sup>6</sup>These are the categories used to identify the different types of foliate heads, see types of foliate heads for a detailed explanation of each type.

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which is the common terminology used in the academic literature on the topic. A more extended discussion on the academic literature and the types of foliate heads follows below. Typical examples of each type are shown in the figures below.



Figure 2. 'disgorger'  
Walburgiskerk, Zutphen. Late 15th  
century /beginning 16th century.



Figure 3. 'transformer' Onze  
Lieve Vrouwe Kerk or Grotekerk  
in Breda, 1533



Figure 4. 'fruit/flower' Church of  
Gannerwolde, c. 1530

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## Historiography

As many scholars have noted, one of the biggest challenges in researching foliate heads, is the relative lack of writing on the topic, or, more specifically, the lack of academic, objective research into foliate heads. This is, even more, the case when it comes to writing regarding foliate heads in the Netherlands, as almost all scholarship is focused on British foliate heads. This chapter will discuss some of the most influential works that have been written on the topic.

The first thing that is important to state in regard to writings on the foliate head is that no

contemporary references to this figure exist. They are not found in medieval bestiaries which is where one might expect to find them as bestiaries are collections of descriptions of animals and imaginary figures accompanied by a moral explanation.<sup>7</sup> Further, hardly any records of contracts between patrons and craftsmen remain from the medieval period; it seems to have been the norm for these arrangements to be discussed verbally.<sup>8</sup> When contracts do survive, they are not very specific. A document dated 1359 preserved from Vale Abbey, Cheshire may serve as an example: “The Prince of Wales and his Abbey of Vale Royal engage Master Williman de Helpston, mason, to build twelve chapels round the east of the quire of the abbey church. He is to have a free hand over details ...”<sup>9</sup>. Although there is not enough evidence to say anything with certainty, it is possible that the patrons did not specifically request foliate heads to be made but that the carvers chose to make them themselves. As Corrigan has observed, “It is also the case that post-medieval writers on architecture and design acknowledged the presence of such heads only in passing and without analysis, suggesting that their significance was given no more weight than other carved monsters.”<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup> This has caused comments by several people, for example, Canon Albert Radcliffe in his preface to Clive Hicks, *The Green Man: A Field Guide* (Virginia: Compass Books, 2000). Corrigan also mentions this on multiple occasions. 10 & 21.

<sup>8</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 10.

<sup>9</sup> L.F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1520: A Documentary History* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1952), 439.

<sup>10</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 10.

Until the late nineteenth century, the foliate head appears to have been consistently ignored in writing. Corrigan notes that this is in itself not very surprising as they were not treated differently than other applied decorations. She explains that there are also no distinct descriptions of the carved monsters in churches. Further what Victorians and Edwardians considered moral and appropriate decoration for churches may in part account for their turning a blind eye to seemingly “chaotic and inexplicable”<sup>11</sup> figures in Christian buildings.

A writer who was highly influential in the interpretation of the foliate heads is Sir James Frazer. Frazer’s examination of folkloric practices in his twelve-volume *The Golden Bough* (published between 1890 and 1915), discussed everything from magical control of the weather, the eating of gods and fire

festivals to the external soul in folk customs. But he was particularly interested in the spirit of trees and tree worship. His work rekindled interest in folkloric practices throughout Europe. However, as Corrigan rightly notes, Frazer wrote about folklore, not about sculpture: the link many writers have made between the folkloric practices he describes, and the foliate figures in churches is so far unproven.<sup>12</sup>

What is generally considered to be the starting point of the modern interest in the figure of the foliate head or Green Man is Lady Raglan's influential article entitled simply "The 'Green Man' in Church Architecture," published in the journal *Folklore*. According to this article, it was around 1931 when Raglan's attention was first drawn to the "Green Man", when the Reverend J. Griffith, who was a fellow folklorist, had shown Raglan a 'curious' carving. Lady Raglan wrote of the image: It is a man's face, with oak leaves growing from the mouth and ears, and completely encircling the head. Mr Griffith suggested that it was intended to symbolise the spirit of inspiration, but it seemed to me certain that it

<sup>11</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 11.

<sup>12</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 23.

was a man and not a spirit. And moreover that it was a 'Green Man'. So I named it.<sup>13</sup>

According to Raglan, the figure she found was neither a figment of the imagination nor a symbol; rather she suggests that it was taken from myths and legends. She argues that only one figure is of sufficient importance and this figure is known by many names; the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood and the King of May-day. While Raglan acknowledges that she does not know when this figure became established, she does claim that by the fifteenth century it formed an important part of the religious life of people.<sup>14</sup> Raglan quotes approvingly C. B. Lewis' argument for the persistence of paganism in Christian Europe. Lewis had argued that "it would be a mistake to think that because Christianity finally triumphed in the long struggle with its pagan rivals, that the latter disappears the moment the former

was officially recognized.”<sup>15</sup> Explaining the fact that unofficial paganism existed side by side with the official religion, Lewis’ argument served to explain to Raglan the presence of the (pagan) Green Man in (Christian) churches. The religious nature of the Green Man is thereby stressed: Raglan writes that we can only conclude that Dr Lewis is right when he observed that “the source of our folk customs is religion, turned into folklore when the religious origin of the themes was forgotten.”<sup>16</sup>

Corrigan notes that Raglan was only concerned with human foliate heads, and that this may explain her linking them to folkloric human characters. In any case, Raglan’s relatively short article exercised an enormous influence on writings on the topic. Indeed, the article has been the cause of a considerable amount of what could be called misunderstandings regarding the interpretation of the figure. Even today, many writers try to decipher the meaning of the image of the foliate head with the help of celebrations such as May Day which are much younger than surviving material evidence of

<sup>13</sup> Raglan, “The ‘Green Man’ in Church Architecture,” 45–57.

<sup>14</sup> Raglan, “The ‘Green Man’ in Church Architecture,” 51.

<sup>15</sup> Raglan, “The ‘Green Man’ in Church Architecture,” 56; citing Charles B. Lewis, “The Part of the Folk in the Making of Folklore,” *Folklore* 46, no. 1 (1935): 73, 74.

<sup>16</sup> Raglan, “The ‘Green Man’ in Church Architecture.” 56.

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foliate heads. An example of this anachronistic interpretation of the figure is the often-discussed significance of the colour green. As Corrigan has pointed out, the colour was not relevant until the figure was called the “Green Man” in 1939.<sup>17</sup>

This recent fascination with the Green Man has given rise to a number of publications on the topic. An example of this is the more systematic study of the foliage heads conducted by Carter and Carter. In their article entitled ‘*The Foliate Head in England*’<sup>18</sup> which was published in *Folklore* in 1967 attempts to reopen the subject. Even though their study was more systematic they lack rigorous fieldwork. Corrigan notes that on multiple occasions she has identified several more foliate heads in churches where Carter and Carter state that only a small number were present. This is surprising as their definition of the foliage head seems to overlap with Corrigan’s as they consider both the disgorged and the transformer as well as non-human foliate heads such as foliate animals.<sup>19</sup> More tellingly, Carter and

Carter state that “The farmer was a Christian at mass and a pagan in his fields, and no inconsistency was seen in a fertility rite conducted by the parish priest.”<sup>20</sup> The arbitrary fashion in which writers such as Millar and the Carters link the Green Man's supposed pagan or non-Christian practices can be understood as a modern response to historical anecdotes regarding the use of pagan customs to convert people to Christianity. Corrigan strongly disagrees with the idea that the farmer would have split religious loyalties. In the late Middle Ages having split religious loyalties would never have occurred to the farmer, as he would very likely been horrified to even consider something that would damn his eternal soul to everlasting suffering.<sup>21</sup>

Kathleen Basford's *The Green Man* published in 1978 was one of the earliest book-length works dedicated to this figure and is generally considered to be a foundational study of the subject as many

<sup>17</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 25.

<sup>18</sup> R. O. M., and H. M. Carter, “The Foliate Head in England.” *Folklore* 78, no. 4 (1967): 269–74. <sup>19</sup> Carter & Carter, “The Foliate Head in England,” 269-270.

<sup>20</sup> Carter & Carter, “The Foliate Head in England,” 272.

<sup>21</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 38-40.

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other authors refer to her work. Basford's is the first work to offer non-folkloric interpretations of the figure, though Basford does say that myths may play a part in the figure's development.<sup>22</sup> She devoted decades of patient research spanning much of Europe, supplying a large number of illustrations and black and white photographs.<sup>23</sup> The author traces the earliest known uses of the figure in Christian contexts and describes changes in how foliate heads are presented, from leaf masks in antiquity to demon-like figures disgorging foliage in the Middle Ages. She disagrees with the idea that there is a direct chain of transmission from antiquity to the Middle Ages. When foliate heads became common in mediaeval art, in manuscripts and churches, they bore little resemblance to the ancient leaf masks. Therefore she argues that an ancient pagan artistic motive had become part of the symbolic language of the Western Church and evolved within it.<sup>24</sup> Basford concludes that because of the number of foliate heads that survive this must have been a much-loved motive; however, she considers the figure to be unlikely to have been revered as a symbol of renewal, of life in the spring. This is mainly because she

considers the Green Man to be a dark, baleful image that may have been associated with death, as it was often displayed on tombstones as well.<sup>25</sup>

William Anderson shares his more speculative notion in *Green Man: The Archetype of our Oneness with the Earth*, (1991) the book he collaborated on with Hicks. Similar to Hicks, Anderson explores the links between the figure of the foliate head and folkloric festivals, opening his work with the description of a Jack-in-the-Green enactment at Hastings Castle. Anderson starts his account of the meaning of the Green Man in Antiquity and moves from Classical Rome to the Celts and the Middle East.<sup>26</sup> When discussing the Green Man in the Middle Ages, he discusses possible links with the Virgin

<sup>22</sup> Kathleen Basford, *The Green Man* (Ipswich: Brewer, 1978), 9.

<sup>23</sup> Ronald Hutton, "Epilogue: The Green Man," in *id.*, *Queens of the Wild: Pagan Goddesses in Christian Europe: An Investigation*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2022) 159–92, at 182.

<sup>24</sup> Hutton, "Epilogue: The Green Man." 183.

<sup>25</sup> Basford, *The Green Man*, 20.

<sup>26</sup> William Anderson and Clive Hicks, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth*. (San Francisco: Harper, 1991), 35.

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Mary and agriculture, looking for the Green Man in church carvings, folklore, drama, and following what Corrigan calls "the instincts of his own heart".<sup>27</sup> Anderson's use of all these different media and sources across a very broad geographical, cultural, and temporal spread, causes his work to appear rather chaotic at times, however, it does provide a very broad survey of the figure.<sup>28</sup> Basford admired Anderson's book, for what she saw as his inspirational approach to considering how images can have different meanings in different times, how they can evolve and diversify as they are exposed to different cultural climates, and as they catch the imagination of the particular individuals who use them.<sup>29</sup>

In his *The Green Man: A Field Guide* (2000) Clive Hicks offers what Corrigan calls "the most comprehensive guide to foliate heads in churches [...]".<sup>30</sup> However, Hicks' work has also been subject to criticism. The principal problem with the work is that Hicks does not describe the criteria he uses for his identification of foliate heads. As a consequence, it seems as though almost any figure that is remotely related to the foliate head can be included in his guide. As for the origins and significance of the figure, in his introduction, Hicks discusses the place of the Green Man in folklore and connects the figure with

other types of carvings known as woderose or wildman. This is an image which is usually a whole person with talons, covered in fur and often holding a cudgel.<sup>31</sup> He also adds some speculative reflections on the significance of the figure, on the one hand suggesting that the Green Man is an archetype of the human soul and a personal sense of being,<sup>32</sup> and on the other ascribing a function to the carvings as witnesses of divine drama and guides to help humans improve their behaviour.<sup>33</sup> This more speculative notion of the Green Man is well illustrated in Hick's concluding statement of his introduction. Here he states that the 'Green Man' is an expression of humanity's embodiment of a

<sup>27</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 29.

<sup>28</sup> Anderson & Hicks, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth*, 92.

<sup>29</sup> Kathleen Basford, "A New View of 'Green Man' Sculptures," *Folklore* 102, no. 2 (1991): 238. <sup>30</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 26.

<sup>31</sup> Clive Hicks, *The Green Man: A Field Guide* (Virginia: Compass Books, 2000), 2.

<sup>32</sup> Hicks, *The Green Man: A Field Guide*, 2.

<sup>33</sup> Hicks *The Green Man: A Field Guide*, 9-10.

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consciousness beyond that of its environment and the union of the timeless with time in a circle of birth, death and renewal. "The idea of the green man is an Archetype: it is the practical incarnation of the reality that All is One."<sup>34</sup> As Corrigan argues, "This imposition of modern sensibilities on mediaeval aesthetics and applied art is distortive and does little to convince the reader of the objectivity of his interpretations of the Green Man's original function and significance within mediaeval ecclesiastical buildings."<sup>35</sup>

Fran and Geoff Doel's *The Green Man in Britain* (2001) is one of the first works to include non-human foliate heads, including the treatment of images of foliate monsters and animals. The author's main arguments are, however, still based on the figure of the Green Man being fundamentally a male human, although they do argue that the foliage is often so stylized that no specific plant can be recognised, and similarly some of the head cannot be identified as human.<sup>36</sup> Akin to Hicks and Anderson, their argument is developed without "regard for historical or cultural context".<sup>37</sup> It seems typical of this approach to include figures which are younger than the figure of the Green Man and have no apparent connection with its mediaeval past but do provide a link with modern concerns about the



environment. As Elaine Bradtke stated in her review of the work, the appeal of writings like this does not come from their clear and accurate connections between the foliate head and documented mediaeval ideologies. Rather it stems from the appropriation of the Green Man as a powerful ecological symbol, that has been around for centuries but can now be used for the current-day fight.<sup>38</sup>

In *The Quest for the Green Man* (2001), John Matthews also argues that the Green Man is a living, supernatural being, stating that the ‘Green Man’ has proven impossible to kill, coming back again and again through the centuries, shifting in location and form. This is in line with Anderson who states

<sup>34</sup> Hicks *The Green Man: A Field Guide*, 2.

<sup>35</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 27.

<sup>36</sup> F. & G. Doel. *The Green Man In Britain* (Cheltenham: The History Press, 2001) 199.

<sup>37</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 30.

<sup>38</sup> Elaine Bradtke, “Review of *The Green Man in Britain*, by F. Doel & G. Doel” *Folklore* 114, no. 1 (2003): 133.

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“He is an image from the depths of prehistory: he appears and seems to die and then comes again after long forgetting at many periods in the past two thousand years. [...]”<sup>39</sup> Matthews goes on to call the ‘Green Man’ a shaman who travels to realms that humans can not enter, returning with knowledge vital to our survival.<sup>40</sup> Matthews does not, however, further specify however who would want to kill the Green Man or what knowledge vital to our survival he possesses. In line with the work of James Frazer, he explores humanity’s ancient interest in both the forest and the colour green. Like Anderson, Matthew also proposes that the origin of the Green Man lies in Celtic and Roman traditions.<sup>41</sup>

Instead of laying the main focus on the meaning of the Green Man, Mercia MacDermott’s *Explore Green Men* (2003) took a new approach, centring her study on the *origins* of the Green Man. Macdermott investigates the Green Man’s proposed roots in Roman myth, as we have seen with Millar and Anderson. However, after describing the characteristics of the possible Roman gods on which the Green Man could be based, the author feels obliged to dismiss this possibility.<sup>42</sup> Rather, she considers a link with the *kirttimukha* (Face of Glory) of India and Nepal to be more advantageous. The *kirttimukha*

is a disembodied head which sometimes issues leaves or flames. Besides this MacDermott also shows interest in what Corrigan calls “the paganising of a carving made for a Christian purpose and which is predominantly displayed in Christian churches,”<sup>43</sup> referring to the more recent interpretations of foliate heads which assume that all foliate heads are male and that the colour green represents new life and fertility. In addition to positing non-Christian origins, MacDermott scours biblical texts and Christian legends for descriptions of images of the Green Man. Like Anderson, she notes Jacobus de Voragine’s section on the Invention of the true Cross. According to the legend, when Adam was dying he asked his

<sup>39</sup> Anderson & Hicks, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth*, 14.

<sup>40</sup> John Matthews, *The Quest for the Green Man* (Wheaton: Quest books, 2001), 8.

<sup>41</sup> Matthews, *The Quest for the Green Man*, 24.

<sup>42</sup> Mercia MacDermott, *Explore Green Man* (Leicestershire: Heart of Albion Press, 2003), 162. <sup>43</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 33.

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son Seth to go to the Garden of Eden and ask for seeds from the tree of mercy. These seeds were laid under Adam’s tongue when he was buried and

out of his mouth grew three trees of the three grains, of which trees the cross that our Lord suffered his passion on was made, by virtue of which he gat very mercy, and was brought out of the darkness into the very light of heaven.<sup>44</sup>

MacDermott suggests that stories similar to this one, written in the thirteenth century, could have provided both a basic template and inspiration for sculptures of heads and faces with foliage protruding from their mouths. Adding that Voragine’s account of plants growing from someone’s mouth could be an inspiration for disgorgers.<sup>45</sup>

Ronald Millar’s *The Green Man: Companion and Gazetteer* (1998) and Mary Neasham’s *The Spirit of the Green Man* (2004) are quite similar in the way that they both assign a spirituality and even a sentience to the Green Man.<sup>46 47</sup> Millar argues that the masons who carved the Green Man either still had to convert to Christianity, or abandoned Christianity as a result of the inability of the Church to stop the Black Death and that one of these facts would account for the popularity of this ‘pagan’ image in

churches from the mid-fourteenth century until about 1500.<sup>48</sup>

A more recent and systematic study on the subject is the above much referenced *The Function and Development of the Foliate Head in English Medieval Churches* (2019) by Imogen J. B. Corrigan. This thesis is an investigation into how the figure of the foliate head developed and functioned. It is a quantitative study in which Corrigan examined seven hundred and ninety-eight churches throughout England.<sup>49</sup> The strength of her study lies in its extensive fieldwork. Surveys regarding the figure of the foliage head had been carried out in England before but those either target a confined geographic area or

<sup>44</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, ed. by F. S. Elliott (New York: AMS Press, 1900), 180-181. <sup>45</sup> Macdermott, *Explore Green Man*, 104 and 106.

<sup>46</sup> Ronald Miller, *The Green Man: Comparison and Gazetteer* (Santa Barbara: S.B. Publications, 1998)

<sup>47</sup> Mary Neasham, *The Spirit of the Green Man* (Somerset: Green Magic, 2004)

<sup>48</sup> Miller, *The Green Man comparison and Gazetteer*, 45.

<sup>49</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 3.

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exclude those heads which are not human, specifically listing Green Men and ignoring animals or monsters. Corrigan compiled a database including factors like; the location of each head, the type of head and foliage (where identifiable) and additional details such as the presence of teeth, clothing and the orifice from which the foliage was issued. This very detailed and extensive database is a great source of information for anyone writing on the subject of foliate heads.<sup>50</sup> The biggest issue with Corrigan's work is that although she recognizes that the foliate head is a multimedia image, the focus is almost exclusively on carved stone or wooden heads. Even though this is the most common form in which foliate heads appear, a more multimedia approach might have provided more insight.

A more folkloric and idealistic view of the foliate head has been the norm over the past century. With writers basing their theories more or less in actual evidence, the foliate head or Green Man has been seen as what Corrigan pithily described as;

a being in its own right, a throwback to an idyllic pastoral past, an ecological symbol, a symbol of sin (so, therefore, either a confessional piece or a warning), a voice from ancient religions or a record of community activities in the form of the whifflers<sup>51</sup>

If there had been any contemporary record of what the image meant in the Middle Ages, much discussion would have been saved but the image also would not have been nearly as interesting or mysterious.

Within the literature regarding the figure, there appears to be a split. One could say the split between the Green Man and the foliate head. The literature that mainly refers to the figure as a Green Man, stresses the importance of the Green aspect of the figure, connecting him with Robin Hood, Jack the Green, and the May King. Making him into an ecological figure connected to mother earth

<sup>50</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 5.

<sup>51</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 48.

and humanity's relationship with nature. And although the true meaning of the figure for the people at the time of its creation might never be known. It is surprising that many of these writers disregard the importance of Christianity for people in the Middle Ages, and even consider them to be secretly pagan. Tricking the clergy and sneaking these 'pagan' foliate heads into the churches. It cannot be disregarded that this image was made by Christian people to be placed in Christian buildings, and therefore most logically had a Christian meaning.

The other trend within scholarship that one could say was started by Basford attempted a more objective approach in the 1970s. Tries to look at the figure in its original context and uses systematic fieldwork and data collection to gain a deeper understanding of the figure. To dissociate themselves from the first group, and because the term is not accurate for the figure these scholars usually refer to foliate heads. Corrigan's work is a great example of this more modern scholarship on the topic. Providing us with a very good starting point of all the data that needs to be collected to be able to make any conclusions on the topic of the foliate head. To truly be able to understand this figure, sources about its meaning from the time it was created would need to be found. But as long as we do not possess those, documenting foliate heads in all their forms in all their locations should provide us with a better understanding of the figure.

## Approach Taken in the Present Study

The objective of the present thesis is to gain insight into the depiction of extant painted foliate heads in Dutch churches, and thereby to add to the limited literature that exists on this topic in the Netherlands. To achieve this end a corpus was selected. Within the timeframe of this thesis it has not been possible to visit all churches in the Netherlands to determine whether or not they have painted foliate heads; neither is there an existing academic source which provides an overview of all medieval wall paintings in all Dutch churches. The corpus was therefore selected on the basis of online research. From north to south, the Church of Garmerwolde, the Church of Noordbroek, the Plaskerk in Raalte, the Grote or Lebuinuskkerk Deventer, the Walburgiskerk and Broederenkerk in Zutphen and the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk Breda were selected.<sup>52</sup> The painted foliate heads in these churches all stem from the same relatively limited time period, namely the end of the 15th century until the first half of the 16th century. They also cover a wide range of geopolitical regions, providing northern, central and southern examples. It is difficult to ascertain how representative this selection is since no catalogue or even inventory has been prepared of painted foliate heads in Dutch churches; however, these seven churches are most likely not the only churches in the Netherlands with painted foliate heads. What is presented here is a starting point for research into these figures in the Netherlands, and hopefully a useful tool for further research into the topic.

Fieldwork has been conducted in all these churches in order to collect information and photographic documentation. In each case information gleaned from the fieldwork and literature review forms the basis of a short historical overview of the church and its paintings. I then

<sup>52</sup> See Map Netherlands with churches in appendix.

provide a detailed description and analysis of all foliate heads in each church, and create a database, on the basis of which comparative analysis can be conducted.

Fieldwork has been done in the same systematic way in all churches. With the data collected from the fieldwork, a table was created which includes all foliate heads in all churches for the purpose of comparative analysis. In this table, the following characteristics of the foliate heads will be considered: the location of the church (“location”), the date of the foliate head (“Date of FH”), the type of foliate head (“Type”), the species of the foliate head (“species), the type of foliage (“type foliage”), the use of colour (“colours”), other figures nearby (this could be other foliate heads in any medium or other figures altogether.); lastly a field is provided for observations on anything else that is noteworthy. An example of the table is shown below.

FH= foliate head  
 MD = mouth-disgorger  
 T = Transformer  
 ErD= ear-disgorger  
 EyD = eye-disgorger

ND =nose-disgorger  
 WBD= whole body disgorger  
 TBD= whole body transformer  
 HM = Human Male  
 HF= Human Female  
 H= Human

G = Grotesque  
 Hyb = Hybrid  
 NP= non-painted foliate head  
 NI= not identifiable  
 F/F = flower/fruit

Town	No.	Date of FH	Location	Type	Species	Type foliage	colours	Figures nearby	Other
Plaskerk Raalte	RP-FH 1	1500-1525 (beginning 16th century)	Choir	MD	HM NI	WBD flowers could be a rose	Black Green Red Orange Brown	x	Is holding on to the foliate.
Kerk van Garmerwolde	GK-FH 1	+/- 1530	Crossing	NI	Hyb NI	Green Orange	Yellow White Black	FH	Foliage is wrapped around the head.

Table 1: Example table painted foliate heads.

Some of the churches also have non-painted foliate heads (i.e., sculpted or in glass) datable to the same time period as their painted heads. A separate smaller table will be made for these foliate heads, set up in exactly the same manner as the main table, for easy comparison.

With the help of both of these tables, the foliate heads will be compared internally, i.e., within the visual context of the church itself. Six of the seven churches have more than one foliate head present which allows for the opportunity for some fruitful comparison. This internal comparison will examine typology, the use of space and iconography. In the churches with non-painted foliate heads, a comparison will also be made between the painted and non-painted foliate heads. The goal of the comparison is to determine whether the difference in medium coincides with other significant differences between the type, location, and accompanying iconography of the heads. For the analysis of the typology of the foliate heads, the typology Corrigan lays out in her research has been adopted almost completely. One additional type suggested by William Anderson and Clive Hicks was introduced, as will be explained below<sup>53</sup> in order to accommodate foliate heads identified during fieldwork that did not fit Corrigan's typology.

After this internal comparison, an external comparison between the churches will also be made. This will allow us to discover whether there are significant differences between the foliate heads with respect to their location in the Netherlands<sup>54</sup>. Lastly, a comparison will be made between the Dutch painted foliate heads discussed in this thesis and the sculpted foliate heads discussed in Corrigan's research. Here differences in medium will not be considered; rather the discussion will focus on the location of the heads within churches, the relation between spatial

<sup>53</sup> See types of foliage heads.

<sup>54</sup> A note of caution needs to be added here. Even though the sample of this thesis is varied it is also small. There might be hints at regional variance, but this would of course need to be further verified by more detailed regional studies.

position and the types of foliate heads, and relative percentages of disgorging and transforming foliate heads. This selective comparative analysis was chosen as the corpus of this study is not large enough to undertake a qualitative analysis of the kind made possible by Corrigan's more extensive research.

In this study, each foliate head is given a code for identification. This code is based on two aspects, firstly the church the foliate head is found in and secondly the number of the foliate heads in the church. Each church is given an abbreviation (see list of abbreviations). The number of foliate heads in the church is based on the order in which the heads were encountered and has no relationship to any sort of ranking. For example, NB-FH 7 is the seventh foliate head encountered in the church of Noordbroek.



# Description of painted foliate heads in Dutch churches

In this chapter, the different types of foliate heads, foliage and the importance of colour are first introduced in order to provide a framework for the descriptions that follow. Every church will be discussed individually in chronological order of when the foliate heads were painted. The order of description is as follows: some basic information on the history of the church and its paintings will first be provided; next, all foliate heads present in the church are described, taking into account, location, type of foliate head, species of foliate, use of colour and style of painting; in the churches with more than one painted foliate head the paintings will be compared to each other and in the churches that have non-painted foliate heads, these will be compared to the painted heads; after all churches have been discussed a comparative analysis will be made between the painted foliate heads in all churches; finally, this data will then be compared to Corrigan's English data on non-painted foliate heads. A summary of the descriptions can be found in the appendix.

## Types of foliate heads

As noted above, different types of foliate heads can be distinguished, and different species of foliage are represented in the heads. In order to be able to categorise foliate heads precisely the different species, types, and subtypes of heads need to be distinguished and discussed. Corrigan's typology provides a very useful instrument for this purpose and will be used in the present study to create a base understanding of the different types of the Dutch corpus of painted foliate heads.

After discussing this typology, we will consider if the medium of

ones in Corrigan's study.

Corrigan distinguishes two main categories of foliate heads: disgorgers and transformers. Disgorgers are defined as, usually, disembodied heads which have foliage protruding from the mouth, eyes, ears or nose or a combination of these orifices. In Corrigan's research, disgorgers were by far the largest group, comprising 79.67% of the whole corpus.

Transformers comprised only 14.26%<sup>55</sup> of the entire group. They are usually also disembodied heads, but instead of protruding foliage they transform into foliage: leaves seem to grow out of any part of the face so that they could be said to transform into the foliage. Their faces are either made completely out of leaves or part of their face is covered. Corrigan indicates her surprise that the transformers are the smaller group as "the transformers are certainly the more artistic of the two groups and they are also the oldest worldwide, some pre-dating Christianity."<sup>56</sup> She also raises the question of whether transformers have been overlooked and not considered to be connected to the same theme or message as the disgorgers because of their less common appearance.

The existence of foliate heads that transform as well as disgorge proves, however, the connection between the two types. These multicategory foliate heads are a small category, comprising only 6.01% of the foliate heads in Corrigan's research. However, the group is nonetheless significant, because it serves as a connection between the two other categories. Another connection between the two types is that many foliate heads are not found in isolation. Corrigan's research suggests that it is common to find foliate heads of all types in the same church all dating from the same time period.

<sup>55</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 292.

<sup>56</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 148.

Beyond these three general types, within the category of the disgorgers, Corrigan identifies many subcategories. The *mouth-disgorgers* are by far the most common form of

disgorging foliate heads, indeed, this is the most common type of foliate head in general: of all foliate heads in Corrigan's research 69% fall into this category. As the name already suggests, mouth-disgorgers have foliage issuing from their mouths. A little over half of these mouth-disgorgers have wide open mouths, the other half have their mouths closed and if this is the case the foliate is usually attached to a narrow stem. In Corrigan's data set, the heads are universally shown expelling the foliage (not ingesting or inhaling it); it is unclear whether the plants originate in the mouth or the stomach of the foliate heads, or the foliage is simply held in their mouths or being blown out of their mouths.<sup>57</sup>

*Ear-disgorgers* only make up a small percentage of the foliate heads: only 5.12% of Corrigan's dataset. She distinguishes two specific groups of ear-disgorgers. The earlier group produced up to about the year 1200 are generally linked by a continuous strand of foliage and are generally wide-mouthed, goggle-eyed, cat-like beasts. The latter group, produced after 1200, shows a wide range of styles depending on the age and location, some of these heads are much more identifiable as human. It should be noted that some ear-disgorgers do not actually have ears: a figure is considered an ear-disgorger as well when foliage is protruding from the area where ears would be if the figure had ears, whether or not the figure is actually shown with earlike protuberances.<sup>58</sup>

*Nose-disgorgers* comprise an even smaller percentage of Corrigan's corpus, only 3.92% of the disgorging foliate heads discussed.<sup>59</sup> What is noteworthy here is that the earliest known European example of the foliate head in a Christian context is a nose-disgorger. This foliate head

<sup>57</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 76-84.

<sup>58</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 87-93.

<sup>59</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 93-96.

is carved on the side of the lid of a late antique sarcophagus used as the tomb of St Abre at Saint-Hilaire le Grand in Poitiers, France. The tomb is thought to be from the fourth or fifth century.<sup>60</sup>

*Eye-disgorgers* comprise the smallest group, comprising only 1.45% of 1172 foliate heads in Corrigan's corpus. These disgorgers have foliage coming either from the border of their eyes or from the eyes themselves, blinding them, and giving the impression that the foliage is actually growing from within the skull. The eye-disgorger type of foliage head seems to have come into style later: the earliest example in Corrigan's database stems from 1290, and no examples of this particular type have been found from the Romanesque period at all.<sup>61</sup>

*Whole body disgorgers* are a variation of the foliate head in which part of the body attached to the foliate head is shown: these figures will be referred to in the present study as foliate bodies. In Corrigan's corpus, only 2.13% of the foliate heads are attached to foliate bodies: all of these foliate bodies are disgorgers. It is most common for the shoulders and/or hands of these foliate bodies to be visible; if hands are visible they usually are holding on to the stems of the foliage.<sup>62</sup> Foliate bodies are of particular interest for our research because the depiction of (part of) the body of the figure enables us to glean more information regarding the figure, such as the relationship between the type of clothes they are depicted wearing and their implied social status.

Besides the general formal distinction between transformer vs disgorgers heads, the species of foliate heads varies. The majority of the heads in the corpus (58.42%) are humanoid.<sup>63</sup> While it is not always possible to identify the sex of the foliate heads, when this is possible the

<sup>60</sup> Anderson & Hicks, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth*, 46.

<sup>61</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 96-101.

<sup>62</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 101-114.

<sup>63</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 213.

overwhelming majority appears male: only 0,17% off all foliate heads are identifiable as female.<sup>64</sup> However, humans are not the only species present in Corrigan's corpus. 39% of all foliate heads in Corrigan's research are grotesque (32,79%) or hybrid (6,23%). The hybrid forms and the grotesque are counted together in the present corpus because the two types are sometimes

difficult to distinguish.<sup>65</sup> Though some of the hybrid forms look human at first glance, they turn out to have animal ears, horns or faces that are too stylised or distorted. Corrigan notes here that the word ‘grotesque’ is used purely for convenience, as it is the most common word used for this type of figure, and without its art-historical association with the wall-paintings of monsters were found in grottos when excavations took place outside Rome in the sixteenth century.<sup>66</sup> For the same reason and with the same proviso, the present study will also use the term grotesque.

The last species of foliate heads are animal foliate heads: only 2,56% of the foliate heads discussed in Corrigan’s research are recognisable as fantastical or real animals: all of the foliate animals are disgorgers. Corrigan suggests that this is the case because in this way the carver could better show which animals he intended to depict. Like the foliate bodies, these foliate animals are of particular interest because they may provide us with more information regarding foliate heads since both fantastical beasts, as well as real animals, can hold specific symbolic meanings.<sup>67</sup>

In addition to the disgorging and the transformer that Corrigan uses to categorise her foliate heads,<sup>68</sup> a third type of foliate head has been suggested by William Anderson and Clive Hicks.

This third type of foliate head is a head or in some cases even part of a body as the fruit or

<sup>64</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 111.

<sup>65</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 140.

<sup>66</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 136.

<sup>67</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 114.

<sup>68</sup> The disgorging and transformer are the two generally accepted and used types of foliate heads. 31

flower of the foliage.<sup>69</sup> As some of the painted foliate heads do not fit in either the disgorging or the transformer category this third category of fruit/flower has proven useful in our analysis of the painted heads in the present study.

Having considered various types of heads, it is appropriate to take the foliage into account. Some foliate heads can be distinguished by a particular type of foliage. However, in Corrigan’s study only 19.3% of the foliate heads had identifiable leaves.<sup>70</sup> Unfortunately, this is

similar to the results of this thesis, the majority of the leaves are either too stylized or have too many different species of plants and trees mixed together to be able to make any identification with certainty. Therefore, only where speculations can be made will the type of foliage be mentioned in the description below.

## Church of Noordbroek (NB)

With a length of 44m and a height of 22m, the imposing cruciform church of Noordbroek is one of the largest in the province of Groningen. The building was built as a whole in the second quarter of the 14th century and represents the final phase of the late Romanesque. The vertical view, the dominance of the pointed arch, the five-sided chancel and the large, heavily profiled windows are all harbingers of the Gothic style. The interior, with its round wall arches and melon vaults, is still, however, (very late) Romanesque. The pulpit and *doophek* are adorned with carvings from the rococo style and date from 1757. The organ on the balcony in front of the west wall was built in 1695-96 by the famous organ builder Arp Schnitger. In order to accommodate the population growth in the 18th century, a tribune was added to the northern

<sup>69</sup> Anderson & Hicks, *Green Man: The Archetype of Our Oneness with the Earth*, 19.

<sup>70</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 153.

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transept. The choir is closed off with a choir screen from 1805, which at the same time forms a backdrop for the pews that were created at the same time.

The church has been nicknamed 'the Sistine chapel of Groningen' thanks to the many vault paintings preserved. The painting can be considered a summary of the bible or of salvation history<sup>71</sup> and are thought to have been painted in three different time periods. Shortly after its construction, in the middle of the fourteenth century, the vaults were painted with stones interspersed with bands, texts, and flower vines, but also with figurative representations,

including the Coronation of Mary in the northern transept, St Christopher in the southern transept, remnants of saints in the choir and the evangelists in the nave. Here the name of the presumed artist: [TH]OMAS / FECIT / DE NORDA (Thomas from Norden made this) can be found.

The second period, around 1490, produced the most important extant paintings: a second St Christopher, the Fall, the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan, and the Four Evangelists appear in the crossing vault, the Last Judgement in the choir

bay, and a Man of Sorrows in the apse. The paintings

in the church were covered by a layer of whitewash for several centuries and only reappeared after restorations in the twentieth century. When the lime layer was removed, a text also emerged which showed that the church was radically restored in 1599 by Master Gerget and his companions. The tools they used are depicted next to this text.<sup>72</sup>



Figure 5. Text and tools restoration 1599. Church of Noordbroek, 1599.

<sup>71</sup> “Noordbroek-Protestantse Kerk” Stichting Oude Groningen Kerken, accessed November 15, 2022.

<sup>72</sup> “Kerk van Noordbroek” Lexicon Kunstbus Groningen, last modified August 23, 2020.

## Foliate heads (c. 1350)

The church of Noordbroek has eight foliate heads<sup>73</sup> dating from the middle of the fourteenth century, all of which are painted and together encircle the keystone of the crossing.<sup>74</sup> No non-painted foliate heads are present within or outside the church. All eight foliate heads are very similar, indeed, they seem to be copies of each other with only slight variations. Because of the similarity between all these eight foliate heads and their close proximity, they will all be discussed together.

All of the foliate heads are mouth disgorgers<sup>75</sup>: each has a single branch coming out of the centre of their mouths. All eight also appear humanoid, although because of the sketch-like nature of the foliate heads, it is not possible to determine with certainty whether they are male or female. The form of the foliage is where the most differences lie, although the composition is the same for all of the heads: a single stem is depicted coming out of the mouth of the head, which then splits into multiple stems to which are attached leaves and flowers. The flowers are different among the foliate heads. NB-FH 7, for example, disgorges a stem which terminates in a daisy-like flower, but none of the other foliate heads has a flower like this. The stylisation of most of the flowers, while distinct, does not allow for identification as specific species. The same applies to the stems and leaves: because of the high degree of generalisation, it is not possible to identify the species. Perhaps the variation in flowers and foliage serves here not to distinguish species, but rather simply as a pleasing visual variation. The colour palette of all eight foliate heads is almost identical: all the foliage is a light green and the flowers are either yellow, red, grey or white or a combination of those colours. The paintings in close proximity to the foliate

<sup>73</sup> See Noordbroek, map of church, arrows 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 & 8 in appendix.

<sup>74</sup> A schematic plan showing the elements and orientation that are common to many churches, was used to name all the different places in all churches. See appendix.

<sup>75</sup> See Noordbroek, NB-FH 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 & 8 in appendix.

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heads are four figures representing the four evangelists: an angel (Matthew), a lion (Mark), an ox (Luke) and an eagle (John). There are no other figures in immediate proximity, but it is noteworthy that around the keystones of the other vaults, foliage is painted in a similar style to the foliage accompanying the foliate heads. This foliage does not have foliate heads however, which could suggest that the foliate head serves as an addition to accentuate the vault of the crossing.



## Walburgiskerk, Zutphen (ZW)

The church itself measures 78 x 65 x 18 metres. Until 1591 it was a collegiate church and a parish church of the old town of Zutphen. After the Reformation, it was the principal church of the Dutch Reformed Congregation and in recent years of the Protestantse Kerk Nederland (PKN) Zutphen. It is thought that there are three predecessors of the current church: a church that was destroyed by the Normans around 882, a church built after that attack, and a Romanesque church. Traces of this Romanesque church from the eleventh century are preserved and there are also written records of it. The church was of the 'Utrecht type', sharing a resemblance with Lebuïnuskerk in Deventer<sup>76</sup>. This Romanesque church probably only consisted of a choir and a transept.

In the first half of the thirteenth century, the Romanesque church was renovated in a Romanesque-Gothic transitional style, similar to the churches in Cologne. The Romanesque eleventh-century choir and transept remained in use and were renovated according to the fashion of the time. From about 1370 to 1425, the ambulatory was built. In 1446, the tower burned down,

<sup>76</sup>This church is one of the churches that are part of this thesis and is discussed below.

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destroying a part of the nave and the south aisle. New, wider and higher aisles, which are still present today, were completed in 1456, and thus a hall church was created. The tower was raised by two floors and was given a tall wooden spire so that according to some sources it was 107 metres high. At the end of the fifteenth century, the two transverse chapels were built, as well as the Mariaportaal on the north aisle (c.1500). Between 1561 and 1564, the Librije was added to the church building: this is the oldest public library in the Netherlands and one of the few remaining chain libraries in Europe. The sculptures were made by Wilhem de Beldensnijder in the summer of 1562<sup>77</sup>. From 1890 to 1925 the church was extensively restored under the supervision of Pierre Cuypers. Extensions and additions from later centuries were removed. The

Mariaportaal, where the natural stone had suffered greatly, was almost completely renovated, in accordance with Cuypers' vision of the original work.

The oldest surviving wall paintings in the church date to around 1400. However, paintings were added continually until the sixteenth century.<sup>78</sup> The vault paintings in the left transept date from 1492 and those in the right from 1499;<sup>79</sup> the paintings in the choir are from a little later. New paintings were usually added after renovations and additions to the church building. All paintings remained visible until 1820, but between 1820 and 1830 they were covered with whitewash apparently not because the images caused religious offence, but principally because white church buildings were fashionable at the time. Still, the church was never completely white, and paintings reappeared with a certain regularity. During the restoration under the supervision of Cuypers, the total number and extent of the paintings were rediscovered.

<sup>77</sup> Renaat Gaspar, "De pilaarvoorstellingen in de Librije opnieuw geïnterpreteerd I" *Zutphen, Tijdschrift over de historie van Zutphen en omgeving* 32, no. 3 (2013): 67–73.

<sup>78</sup> G. Hartman "De Sint-Walburgiskerk, het nieuwe kroonjuweel van de SOGK" *Venster, Stichting Oude Gelderse Kerken* 14, no. 3 (2016)

<sup>79</sup> "Gewelfschilderingen" *Kijk op Zutphen*, accessed December 3, 2022

During the most recent restoration of the church, the vault paintings were conserved.

Conservation of the wall and pillar paintings was undertaken from 2000 until

2003.<sup>80</sup>

### Foliate heads (1450-1525)

The Walburgiskerk has a total of twelve foliate heads dating from the 15th and 16th centuries, six of which are painted and six of which are sculpted. All but one of the sculpted heads are located on the outside of the church. The Walburgiskerk presents a variety of foliate heads, among the painted ones we can find disgorgers and transformers, although some are not the easiest to categorise. All non-painted foliate heads are transformers.

ZW-FH 6<sup>81</sup> is located in the Credokapel, which is the north transept, so named because the vault paintings represent the Apostles' Creed. <sup>82</sup> This foliate head is a nose-disgorger with three vine stems coming out of its nose. Its species is a humanoid with no specific sex identifiers. The figure seems to be wearing some sort of ruff collar, but as these were worn by both males and females<sup>83</sup> this does not help to identify the sex. The foliage is very limited: only vines with very few leaves are present. For this reason, it has not been possible to identify the species of foliage. The foliage is painted green and yellow and the face is light brown with a white collar. The whole painting is strongly outlined and very flat in appearance; the face is depicted frontally and no attempt is made to indicate perspective, depth or shadows. Although there are no paintings in the immediate proximity of the foliate head, it should be noted that at a height of only 2 metres, it is positioned much lower than the other paintings which are located on the vaults.

<sup>80</sup> Hartman, "De Sint-Walburgiskerk"

<sup>81</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 6 in appendix.

<sup>82</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 6 in appendix.

<sup>83</sup> *Encyclopedia Britannica*, s.v. "ruff." accessed November 23, 2022.

Foliate heads seven and eight are also located in the Credo chapel; they are directly across each other above the windows of the southern vault of the chapel. These two foliate heads can be discussed together because of their close proximity and similarity. The two heads (ZW-FH 7 and ZW-FH 8<sup>84</sup>) are hard to classify according to our typology. They could be the fruit/flower type, as they are both surrounded by foliage and appear to be growing out of the foliage as well as wearing a foliage hat/crown. They could also be classified as transformers, as they have foliage growing on their faces from the side of their noses to the corner of their mouths, And the hat/crown could be considered foliage hair. Because foliage appears to be growing on their faces, in this study we shall consider them transformer type foliate heads.

Both ZW-FH 7 and ZW-FH 8 are human heads with no specific sex identifiers. The

foliage consists of stylised unidentifiable leaves. The foliage has multiple colours with parts being green, red and yellow, and Z-FH 7 also employs some grey in the fabric like wrapping around the yellow spike from its hat, and some grey in the leaves of that same spike. The faces of both foliate heads are skin colour, painted with a faded pinkish colour. The painter of these foliate heads gave perspective and depth to the painting by adding shading and compositing the foliage so that it curls and twists over itself using realistic shading to emphasise the dimensionality and depth of the vegetal forms.

As noted above the vaults of the Credokapel are filled with paintings which together form a unified schema, intended to recall the Apostles' Creed. The images depict the twelve apostles, each with one of the twelve articles of the Creed depicted on a banner next to them. Each apostle also has a prophet depicted next to him, who bears a corresponding prophetic text. The Arma Christi are depicted in the keystones.<sup>85</sup> What is of particular interest here however is that all the

<sup>84</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 7, ZW-FH 8 in appendix.

<sup>85</sup> *Walburgiskerk Zutphen: Een korte beschrijving*. Zutphen: s.n., n.d.

apostles and prophets are depicted as emerging from flowers and foliage and that they are also surrounded by it. In terms of colour, size and style, ZW-FH-7 and ZW-FH-8 are very similar to the apostles and prophets: they were likely made by the same artist at the same time.

ZW-FH-9<sup>86</sup> is located in the aisle on the south side of the church next to the keystone of a vault.<sup>87</sup>

This foliage head is a transformer as the whole head appears to be one leaf with a face on it. The face is humanoid and has a beard and therefore is classified as male. The leaf is generic, and does not have any distinguishing characteristics; it is therefore classified as not identifiable. The foliate head itself is painted in only one colour yellow with the figure being outlined in black. The leaf has no depth to it and appears to be completely flat, the face and especially the beard are depicted in such a way, however, that they appear to be emerging from the leaf; shadow is used for the nose as well to increase the dimensionality of this part of the face. The face is skilfully executed.

Apart from more foliage, no other figures are found in close proximity to ZW-FH 9. ZW-FH-10 and ZW-FH-11<sup>88</sup> are located in the south aisle in the westernmost vault,<sup>89</sup> next to the keystone of the vault and above the window. These two foliate heads will be discussed together because of their close proximity and similarities: the heads are even connected. Both ZW-FH-10 and ZW-FH-11 are mouth-disgorgers as they are depicted with multiple branches with leaves coming out of their mouths. Both are humanoid although there are some differences between them: ZW-FH-10 wears a hood and has visible wrinkles which could be intended to suggest that this foliate head is old; ZW-FH 11 wears a hat and has no wrinkles, it does have quite a pronounced chin which is slightly shaded suggesting that it may be intended to represent a male.

As the two heads are connected, they could be intended to represent the connection

<sup>86</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 9 in appendix.

<sup>87</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 9 in appendix.

<sup>88</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 10, ZW-FH 11 in appendix.

<sup>89</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 10 & 11 in appendix.

between young and old. The foliage that connects and surrounds the figures is again quite stylized, in general however it resembles that of an oak. Acorns which might confirm this identification are, however, not depicted.

All the foliage that ZW-FH-10 and ZW-FH-11 disgorge is painted red as is the foliage that connects them with the exception of a single yellow circle which could be intended to represent a fruit. The foliage surrounding them is painted either red or a beige-ish grey as are their faces. ZW-FH-10 wears a red hood and ZW-FH-11 has a darker grey hat with one yellow section. Both foliate heads are rather flat: the artist did not attempt to create depth or perspective.

On the other side of the keystone two other human figures are depicted. They are surrounded by the same type of foliage as ZW-FH-10 and ZW-FH-11 but they are not foliate heads themselves as they do not interact with the foliage in any way. The one closest to the keystone is holding its chin and is wearing a turban-like headpiece; the one on the side of the

nave is pulling its mouth open by its corners and has a beard. These figures are also connected with each other like ZW-FH-10 and ZW-FH-10. What these figures represent and whether they are connected to the foliate heads is unknown.

## Internal comparison

As half of the foliate heads in the Walburgiskerk are non-painted, in order to undertake an internal comparison these non-painted heads first need to be described. ZW-FH-1 and ZW-FH-2<sup>90</sup> can be found on the facade of the church on either side of the west door.<sup>91</sup> Both sculpted heads are of the transformer type with the foliage appearing to grow like hair out of their heads. ZW-FH-1 is humanoid in appearance whereas ZW-FH-2 has more of a grotesque

<sup>90</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 1, ZW-FH 2 in appendix.

<sup>91</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 1 & 2 in appendix.

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appearance. In both cases, their foliage consists mostly of leaves but because of the weathering of the stone and the fact that the leaves were generically stylised, to begin with, it is not possible to determine the species of the leaves. ZW-FH-3<sup>92</sup> is located on the outside of the Credokapel.<sup>93</sup> This sculpted head is very similar in design to ZW-FH-1 and ZW-FH-2, the most significant difference being that ZW-FH-3 has a full moustache and beard and can therefore be identified as male. ZW-FH-4 and ZW-FH-5<sup>94</sup> are located in the Mariaportaal on the north side of the church.<sup>95</sup> These two sculpted foliate heads are also of the transformer type, but in this case, they are comprised of faces appearing out of what looks like a single leaf. These foliate heads are also humanoid but the sex can not be determined.

The last sculpted head, ZW-FH-12<sup>96</sup>, is the only sculpted head found inside the church: it is located in the Librije to be exact.<sup>97</sup> It appears on the so-called Christ pillar, the third pillar from the entrance. This head is also a transformer, though here the face appears more separate from the leaf than is the case with ZW-FH-4 and ZW-FH-5. It appears as though two five-finger leaves are

laid on top of each other, from which the face emerges so that the leaves form something like a lion's mane. The five-finger shape of the leaves could be intended to suggest fig or maple leaves. Exceptionally, this sculpted head is painted: it appears on a yellow background with green leaves and a brownish face. On each of the four pillars in the Librije eight images can be found, one on each corner and then four above this group. It is known that the figures on the pillars were sculpted and painted by a certain Master Wilhelm de Beldesnyder in 1562.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>92</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 3 in appendix.

<sup>93</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 3 in appendix.

<sup>94</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 4, ZW-FH 5 in appendix.

<sup>95</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 4 & 6 in appendix.

<sup>96</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 12 in appendix.

<sup>97</sup> See Walburgiskerk, map of church, arrow 12 in appendix.

<sup>98</sup> "Interieur" Librije, Een unieke bibliotheek. Accessed November 27, 2022.

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ZW-FH 7 and ZW-FH-8 have the most in common with the sculpted heads ZW-FH-1, ZW-FH-2, and ZW-FH-3. Both have foliage that emerges from the top of their heads: in the case of ZW-FH-7 and ZW-FH-8 it appears to serve as a kind of hat; whereas the foliage seems to be growing out of the heads in the case of ZW-FH-1, ZW-FH-2, and ZW-FH-3. The sculpted and painted foliate heads that have the most in common are the painted head ZW-FH-9 and the sculpted heads ZW-FH-4 and ZW-FH-5: in all three cases, faces emerge from the centre of a leaf.

What stands out when comparing the painted foliate heads among themselves is that three different styles of painting can be identified. The painting style of ZW-FH-6 is unlike any of the other foliate heads. One could even go as far as saying that it is unlike any other painting in the church, though it cannot be excluded that it was originally accompanied by other paintings in a similar style. As mentioned before ZW-FH-6 is only 2 metres high therefore neighbouring paintings could easily have been destroyed. The vault paintings of the Credokapel, including ZW-FH7 and ZW-FH-8, also have their own distinctive style, shared with the paintings in the southern transept. The south aisle is where ZW-FH-9, ZW-FH-10, and ZW-FH-11 are located:

this aisle also has what seems like its own painting style. Although ZW-FH-9 is very different from the other two in the south aisle, the decorative elements surrounding them are painted in the same style. They are all part of the same decorative programme and were likely executed at the same time.

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## Grote or Lebuinuskerk, Deventer (DL)

Around 768, the English missionary Lebuinus crossed the River IJssel and founded a wooden church on a river dune on the site that is now Deventer. Bisschop Balderik of Utrecht replaced this church with a stone one in the tenth century, and in 1040 Bernold (also known as Bernulfus) initiated an entirely new Roman basilica which had both an eastern and a western transept both of which had their own choir. At the end of the twelfth century, the church was further developed in line with current architectural movements, the flat wooden ceilings were replaced with stone vaults. In both 1235 and 1334, this church was damaged by fire. The church we now know, a Gothic hall church, was built between 1450-1525, and during the same period, it was richly decorated with wall paintings, and filled with statues and shrines.<sup>99</sup> During the short-lived existence of the Diocese of Deventer (1559-1580), the Lebuinuskerk served as its cathedral.<sup>100</sup> Most of the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century wall paintings and decorations were destroyed and plastered over when the church was appropriated for Protestant use in 1580, this is when the church was renamed the Grote Kerk. In 1927, restorations took place inside the church, at which



time most of the plaster was removed. Plaster remained at the west portal, however, and its paintings remained concealed; new restorations took place between 2007 and 2010.<sup>101</sup>

### Foliate heads (1450-1525)

There is only one painted foliate head present in the Grote or Lebuinuskkerk Deventer, DL-FH-1<sup>102</sup>. This foliate head dates to somewhere between 1450 and 1525, the period of the construction of the existing church. However, there are also five sculpted foliate heads: one

<sup>99</sup> Edwin van Den Brink, Restauratie-Atelier. "Gewelfschilderingen Lebuinuskkerk, Deventer" Accessed November 15.

<sup>100</sup> "Lebuinuskkerk, Deventer icoon" InDeventer VVV. Accessed November 15.

<sup>101</sup> Herman Koldewijn & Roely Oldenhuis. *Grote of Lebuinuskkerk Deventer*. Erfgoed Lebuinuskkerk Deventer: n.d. <sup>102</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, DL-FH 1 in appendix.

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inside the church and four on the outside. DL-FH-1 is located in the ambulatory of the church next to the keystone<sup>103</sup>. Its type is easily identifiable as a mouth-disgorger: two large branches are coming out of its mouth. The foliate head appears humanoid at first glance, but on closer inspection especially the eyebrows are very stylized in a non-human fashion. Further, the figure wears a hat that splits into two leaves. For this reason, we can identify the species of the creature as a hybrid.

The foliage of DL-FH-1 is almost completely composed of leaves: the two branches emerging from the mouth appear more as two sets of long leaves both splitting in two. From each of these leaves springs a stem with a flower attached at the end. The foliage is unfortunately too generic to be able to identify the species although the left flower bears some resemblance to a calla lily. In comparison with the painted heads discussed above, DL-FH-1 uses a limited colour palette, with only three colours green, red and brown. Most of the foliate head is simply outlined in black, only part of the foliage is coloured in with green and red, and the face has a very faint red colour to it. The artist made strong use of outlines for his composition: the whole image is outlined. At the same time, a clear attempt was made to give this foliate head some depth and

perspective as the foliage twists and curls over itself, which lends the painted foliage some depth.

The other linework however appears quite flat, as does the face which is drawn frontally.

All the other wall paintings directly adjacent to DL-FH-1 are foliage, painted using the same palette as the foliate head, and also of similar dimensions. Beyond the immediate proximity, however, two interesting figures appear.<sup>104</sup> Two vaults to two left of DL-FH-1 two figures<sup>105</sup>

with sticks in their mouths and a rope around their neck are visible. They are a

<sup>103</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, map of church, arrow 1 in appendix.

<sup>104</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, map of church, red dot in appendix .

<sup>105</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, Neck pullers in appendix.

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depiction of the medieval game *Strebkatzenziehen*, in which the goal is to pull your opponent toward you with the rope around your neck.<sup>106</sup>

## Internal comparison

As noted above, there is only one painted foliate head in the Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, and five sculpted heads. No exact dating is known for these sculpted foliate heads. It seems likely, however, that they were added to the church between 1450-1525 when it was turned into a Gothic hall church since this is when almost all decorations were added. They may be considered, therefore, more or less contemporary with the painted foliate head. The similarities between the painted and sculpted foliate heads are limited. The only sculpted foliate head inside the church,<sup>107</sup> DL-FH-2<sup>108</sup>, is a transformer type with hair that appears to be made out of leaves. It is found in the north aisle next to the north transept. One thing that DL-FH-2 does have in common with the painted foliate head is that it is a grotesque. This type dominates in the Lebuinuskkerk: DL-FH-3a and DL-FH-3b<sup>109</sup> are also grotesque types<sup>110</sup> The latter sculpted heads are found on the exterior of the church on the south-west corner, and are transformers like DL-FH-2 once again their hair and, in this case, also their eyebrows appear to be composed of

foliage. Sculpted heads DL-FH-4 and DL-FH-5<sup>111</sup> have even less in common with DL-FH-1: they are located outside<sup>112</sup> the church on the south side, are humanoid and belong to the fruit/flower type. Because of the significant differences and relatively widespread throughout the

<sup>106</sup> Koldewijn & Oldenhuis. *Grote of Lebuinuskerk Deventer*.

<sup>107</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, map of church, arrow 2 in appendix.

<sup>108</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, DL-FH 2 in appendix.

<sup>109</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, DL-FH 3 in appendix.

<sup>110</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, map of church, arrow 3 in appendix.

<sup>111</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, DL-FH 4 and DL-FH 5 in appendix.

<sup>112</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, map of church, arrow 4 & 5 in appendix.

church, the painted and sculpted foliate heads in the Lebuinuskerk seem unlikely to have directly influenced one another.

## Plaskerk, Raalte (RP)

The *ecclesia Lifgeri* or Church of Lifgerus<sup>113</sup>, also known as the Kerk van de Heilige Kruisverheffing (Church of the Exaltation of the Cross), was an independent parish church during the Middle Ages. The building of the first Plaskerk in Raalte took place between 1065-1123, it is thought, however, that a wooden church stood in its place before this date. In the years 1425-1434, the churchwarden sold plots of land for the construction of a new church to replace the old Romanesque church. At first, only a new choir was built. This choir is dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The Romanesque nave was only later replaced by a Gothic one, probably at the beginning of the sixteenth century. This is also the period in which the new paintings on the choir vault were completed.<sup>114</sup> This single-aisled church in late Gothic style is reasonably well preserved. In 1580, the church was plundered and burned by German knights in the hire of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces; the parish priests and their chaplains

were expelled at that time. The church then fell into Protestant hands, only to pass back into Catholic ownership again when the Spanish reconquered the area. When the Spanish troops were eventually driven away and the area came under the control of the United Provinces, in 1597 the church became definitively Protestant.<sup>115</sup> Many restorations have been undertaken over

<sup>113</sup> Lifgerus was a layman who owned the Plaskerk before a court verdict changed this. Who he was and why the church was taken from him is not known. (“De Plaskerk: Het oudste Raalter godshuis” Canon van Nederland. Accessed November 18.)

<sup>114</sup> Paul le Blanc, Aafje Bouwhuis and Wim Hoogeland. *Parels van de Plaskerk: Reis mee van het verleden naar het heden*. (Gytsjerk: Rekladruk, 2019)

<sup>115</sup> “De Plaskerk: Het oudste Raalter godshuis” Canon van Nederland. Accessed November 18. 46

the centuries notably in 1592 and 1673 when the walls needed to be reinforced to prevent them from collapsing. During the restorations in 1969-1975, the vault paintings were rediscovered, and the latest restorations were completed in 2006.<sup>116</sup>

### Foliate head (1500-1525)

The Plaskerk has a single painted foliate head (RP-FH-1<sup>117</sup>) inside the church dating from the beginning of the sixteenth century; no non-painted heads were found on the inside or outside of the church. RP-FH-1 is located on the north side of the church at the bottom of the vault in the first bay of the choir.<sup>118</sup> This placement is of particular interest because it is right at the border between the choir and the nave - a transitional space. The foliate head is also directly located above the present pulpit.<sup>119</sup> RP-FH-1 falls into the category of mouth-disgorging foliate body, as the upper half of the figure’s body is visible and foliage is protruding from the mouth. The species of the figure is human, though no specific female or male characteristics such as breasts or a beard are visible; the lack of clearly female attributes and the figure’s general appearance suggests that it is most likely male. Brown and red colours are used for the foliate head’s clothes where his body, outlined in orange paint, appears to have a similar colour to the background.

The foliage consists of one thicker stem, which splits into three leaves and multiple thinner stems which have flowers and leaves. The flowers are rose-like; the leaves of the thinner stems

could be rose leaves, but the larger leaves are definitely not. Overall the condition of the vault painting of the foliage, which has suffered some damage, makes it difficult to determine what (if any) specific foliage is intended by the artist. With respect to colour, the foliage is mainly green; flowers are painted in the same red, orange and brown used for the foliate head

<sup>116</sup> “Plaskerk” Protestantse Gemeente Raalte. Accessed November 18.

<sup>117</sup> See Plaskerk, RP-FH 1 in appendix.

<sup>118</sup> See Plaskerk, map of church, arrow in appendix.

<sup>119</sup> See Plaskerk pulpit in appendix.

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figure. Black or dark grey paint is used to outline the painting and add details such as veins on the leaves and the collar of the foliate head’s clothes. This palette is shared with all surviving paintings in the church, suggesting they were part of a single programme. Attempts have been made to give the painting some depth: shadow and twisting of the leaves are deployed. The overall dimensions of RP-FH-1 are also similar to other paintings in similar locations at the base of the vaults in other parts of the church. In direct proximity to the foliate head, the vault paintings are all flower motifs. As there are no other foliate heads present in the church so no internal comparison is possible.

## Broederenkerk, Zutphen (ZB)

The Dutch Reformed Broederenkerk is an early Gothic church with a three-aisled nave. It was built around 1306-1307 as a church for the Dominican monastery founded in Zutphen in 1293. Since its construction, the fabric of the church has not undergone many changes, except that in 1772 a new baroque roof turret was placed on the church by city architect Teunis Wittenberg, and in 1826 a neoclassical entrance portal was added on the south side of the church. After the conquest of Zutphen in 1591 by Maurice of Nassau, later Prince of Orange, the monastery became the property of the City of Zutphen and the church came into Protestant use.<sup>120</sup>In 1970, the church became vacant and in 1980 the municipality of Zutphen bought it. The

Public Library was moved there in 1983 and the building is still used as a library today.<sup>121</sup>

The choir and nave are plastered in white and decorated with paintings from the first half of the sixteenth century. However, in accordance with ideas about restoration in the early

<sup>120</sup>“Broederenkerk” Kijk op Zutphen. Accessed December 8, 2022

<sup>121</sup>“Broederenkerk en -Klooster” Inzutphen. Accessed December 8, 2022

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twentieth century the paintings were heavily restored and even added to by Jaboc Por in the 1930s.<sup>122</sup> The vault paintings were further restored during the 2001 restoration. Busts of saints important to the Dominicans are depicted in the choir. In the vault paintings, we also find coats of arms of prominent Zutphen patrician families who supported the Dominican order as 'sponsors'.<sup>123</sup>

### Foliate heads (1500-1550)

There are two foliate heads from the first half of the sixteenth-century present in the Broederenkerk, both of which are painted: ZB-FH-1 and ZB-FH-2<sup>124</sup>. No non-painted foliate heads are present within or outside the church.

ZB-FH-1 is located in the nave of the church, in the vault of the second bay from the entrance, on the east side of the vault.<sup>125</sup> This foliate head is a mouth-disgorger type: branches with leaves and flowers protrude from the right and left corners of its mouth. The foliate head appears to be a hybrid creature or a grotesque at first glance, however, on closer inspection, it appears that the figure is wearing some sort of hat or cap. This raises the question of whether the figure itself has pointed ears or only the hat/cap it is wearing. It would be most likely that the hat is made to fit the figure however and this figure would be a hybrid. The foliate head also has a beard suggesting a male gender. In addition, he has hollow cheeks and a quite well-defined and round nose. The foliage consists of vines or branches with scarce leaves and four flowers. One of the flowers somewhat resembles a calla lily but the rest of the foliage is generic, no particular

species appears to be intended.

<sup>122</sup> C. Frank & F. Haans. *Het Broederenklooster in Zutphen: Bouwhistorische analyse en Waardebepaling*, 2011. <sup>123</sup> “Broederenkerk” Kijk op Zutphen.

<sup>124</sup> See Broederenkerk, ZB-FH-1 and ZB-FH-2 in appendix.

<sup>125</sup> See Broederenkerk, map of church, arrow 1 in appendix.

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Concerning colour, the vines of the foliage are a lighter and darker green, with copper-coloured leaves. Four different flowers are depicted: the top two are painted with grey and orange paint; the bottom two flowers are coloured a combination of red and darker green, with one of them also having some grey paint. An illusion of depth is created through the use of different shades of paint in the foliage, which serves to suggest shadows and some of the flowers and foliage are deliberately overlapped and entwined by the artist. The face is depicted with the most depth as it has shadows around the eyes and in the hollow cheeks: in comparison, both the foliage and the hat/cap appear very flat. ZB-H-1 is surrounded mostly by other foliage, but it also has two interesting neighbours: two wild men or woodwose<sup>126</sup> carrying family crests.

ZB-FH-2 is located in the nave of the church, in the third bay from the entrance, on the south side of the vault.<sup>127</sup> Like ZB-FH-1, this foliate head is also a mouth-disgorger type and is shown with branches with leaves and flowers protruding from the right and left corners of its mouth. What is different is that ZB-FH-2 is a whole-body disgorger: the entire upper half of its body is portrayed. This foliate head does not appear humanoid: the figure is a hybrid or a grotesque with the paws of a lion or a dog. It has long hair and large ears; its face bears an angry or menacing expression. Corrigan describes hybrids as foliate heads that look human at first glance but on closer inspection have non-human characteristics. As foliate head three does not look human at first glance it is classified as a grotesque. The foliage is similar to that of ZB-FH-1: the branches have scarce leaves and a couple of flowers. As with ZB-FH-1, the foliage is too generic to identify the species.

The vines of the foliage are painted in lighter and darker shades of green, and the leaves

are painted red. Both the top two flowers have yellow petals with green sepals. The lower left

<sup>126</sup> See Broederenkerk, map of church, red 1&2 and 1 wildman or woodwose, 2 wildman or woodwose in appendix.

<sup>127</sup> See Broederenkerk, map of church, arrow 2 in appendix.

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flower below them is painted green and yellow, whereas the lower right flower also includes the colour red. As is the case with ZB-FH-1, the lighter and darker shades of green of the foliage help to create some sense of depth in the painting. The figure is outlined with bold black lines while the foliage has lighter linework around the flowers and occasionally employs lines on the vines or branches. The branches and flowers are overlapped and entwined which adds to a sense of depth in the foliate. Nonetheless, this painting is still relatively flat, however. ZB-FH-2 is mostly surrounded by foliage: to its right, a deer is depicted holding a family crest, but this is the only other figure in the proximity of the head.

## Internal comparison

As we have noted ZB-FH-1 and ZB-FH-2 are very similar: they are both mouth-disgorger types, with branches coming out of the corners of their mouths and their foliage is also very similar. Both are also non-human: one can be classified as a hybrid and the other one as a grotesque. The two heads use the same colour palette and are also roughly the same size, although ZB-FH-2 is slightly larger than ZB-FH-1. The only significant difference between the two is that one is a whole body disgorging, whereas the other is just a head. This variation could be due to their location: ZB-FH-2 is located above a window and therefore might have more space available for the artist to use (or to fill).



## Church of Garmerwolde (GK)

The general consensus on the age of the church of Garmerwolde is the second half of the thirteenth century. Margreet Bakker's research into the church in 2010, however, indicated a possibility that the church might have been built on turf, which would mean that it was built before 1200, before the land reclamation, before 1200. As early as 1843, Van der Aa wrote "Hare stichting dagteekent van het laatst der twaalfde tot het begin der dertiende eeuw, volgens een vroeger aanwezigen steen<sup>128</sup>".<sup>129</sup> However, Bakker was not able to find any more information or proof of an earlier stone church built on turf. For the purposes of this study, we consider the later dating (second half thirteenth century) to be more likely.<sup>130</sup> Next to the church is a freestanding tower that was built slightly earlier, in the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

On account of the extreme deterioration of the church fabric, the church was nearly entirely demolished in the 1850s: fortunately, only the nave of the church was demolished in 1859, leaving the choir, crossing and the transepts standing.<sup>131</sup> During the restoration of the church between 1941 and 1943, vault paintings were found beneath the white plaster of the vaults: these paintings have been dated to c. 1530<sup>132</sup>. In 2013, a new set of restorations were carried out on the vault paintings. At this time, restorers tried to recover as much of the original painting as possible. Sketch drawings in red fatty chalk were discovered. On the eastern side of the north transept, there is a painting, in which a man is depicted holding an open book, sitting at Mary's feet. On the pages of the book is written the text "Johannes me fecit" (Johannes made

<sup>128</sup> Translation: Its foundation dates from the end of the twelfth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, according to older stone.

<sup>129</sup> M. Ozinga, *De Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst in Oost-Groningen* (Den Haag: Algemeene Landsdrukkerij, 1940), 165.

<sup>130</sup> Margreet Bakker. *Onderzoek naar de schilderijen op de gewelven van de kerk in Garmerwolde*. Stichting Oude Groningen Kerken (Zuidhorn, 2010), 3.

<sup>131</sup> Rolf-Jürgen Grote, Kees van der Ploeg, Vera Kellner, and Susanne Stangier. *Muurschilderkunst in Nedersaksen, Bremen En Groningen: Vensters Op Het Verleden*, (Groningen: Stichting Oude Groninger Kerken, 2001), 69. <sup>132</sup> Bakker. *Onderzoek naar de schilderijen op de gewelven van de kerk in Garmerwolde*. 5.

me) The inscription has been interpreted as the artist's signature and the male figure as an artist's self-portrait. Who is this Johannes? Although other possibilities cannot be definitively excluded, the paintings are most commonly attributed to Johannes Goessens van Aken ('s-Hertogenbosch, c.1470-1537), a Dutch sculptor and painter. He was part of the renowned Van Aken family of painters, and his uncle was the famous painter Hieronymus Bosch (1450-1516).<sup>133</sup> His being primarily a sculptor could explain the more rough designs of the works.<sup>134</sup> The possibility that Johannes (Goessens) van Aken was the painter is supported by Bakker, who notes that several authors mention Johannes as the painter of the paintings in the church. It should be acknowledged, however, that some scholars question the attribution. Magreet, for example, notes that it is quite uncommon for painters of this period to sign their work let alone put in a self-portrait.<sup>135</sup>

### Foliate heads (c. 1530)

Ten painted foliate heads are present in the Church of Garmerwolde all dating from c.1530. Most of the heads are of the disgorged type, but some are a little harder to categorise. They are all located in the choir and crossing of the church, while the paintings in the northern and southern transepts present a Mary and Christ cycle respectively. No non-painted (sculpted) foliate heads are present either in the church's interior or on the exterior of the building. The first three foliate heads, GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, and GK-FH-3<sup>136</sup>, are located in the crossing of the church<sup>137</sup>, around the keystone. These three will be discussed together because of

<sup>133</sup> G. van Dijck. *Op Zoek Naar Jheronimus Van Aken Alias Bosch: De Feiten: Familie, Vrienden En Opdrachtgevers Ca. 1400-Ca. 1635* (Zaltbommel: Europese Bibliotheek, 2001)

<sup>134</sup> Christiaan de Velvis. *Rapport conservatie gewelf- en muurschilderingen Nederlands Hervormde kerk Garmerwolde* (Arnhem/Deventer, 2014), 7.

<sup>135</sup> Bakker. *Onderzoek naar de schilderijen op de gewelven van de kerk in Garmerwolde*.

9. <sup>136</sup> See Garmerwolde GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, GK-FH-3 in appendix

<sup>137</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, arrow 1,2 & 3 in appendix

their close proximity and similarities. It is difficult to distinguish exactly what type of foliate head these figures are. The foliage seems to be wrapped around their heads rather than protruding from them, as we would expect in a disgorger type. Neither are they depicted transforming into foliage, as they do not have leave masks or beards or hair made out of foliage as is usually the case. As all three foliate heads are depicted with flowers at the ends of their foliage, the figures do not represent the fruit/flower of the foliage as we would expect with the fruit/flower type. GK-FH-3 could be considered an ear-disgorger as the foliage seems to originate on the sides of the head where the ear would be. The stronger impression is, however, that all three heads are wrapped in or surrounded by foliage. GK-FH-2, in particular, seems to be wrapped in the foliage: what at first glance appears to be a hat, is in fact part of the foliage. These foliate heads are, therefore, a hitherto unidentified variant type of foliate head. Though they do not fit in with more widespread types of foliate heads, these heads can nonetheless securely be considered foliate heads as the way they interact with the foliate and the foliate themselves is very similar to different types of foliate heads present in other churches.

The species of the three foliate heads appears to be humanoid at first glance, however, Gk-FH-2 and GK-FH-1, in particular, have pointy ears. The details of the face of GK-FH-3 are much less well preserved than is the case for the other two of the group and for this reason, it is harder to distinguish its exact features. It would appear, however, that GK-FH-3 does not have any ears at all. Its general appearance is humanoid, and for this reason, it will be categorised as such in the present study. GK-FH-1 and GK-FH-2 are qualified as hybrids. All three foliate heads are depicted with foliage that has a vine-like appearance, leading from the heads to a flower. These vines however can not be identified as a specific species, the flowers are also too

generic to identify. The flowers of GK-FH-2 and GK-FH-3, in particular, are not recognizable as real species of flowers and are more likely fantastical blossoms, invented by the painter. GK-FH-1 uses green and orange for the foliage, white for the flower petals, and yellow for the calix. The head itself is more outlined than actually painted in; this is executed with an orange/brownish colour. There is also some shading on the face around the eyes with yellow. All of the foliage is outlined with a black outline. The foliage appears quite flat with minimal attempts at shading or the representation of depth. The face appears slightly more three-dimensional, as it is presented in a three-quarter profile with some shading. GK-FH-2 uses a similar palette of colours, although there are some differences. Yellow and green are used for the foliage, and the flower at the tip of the foliage has white and greyish-blue petals. Three orange and one white circle are depicted, but it is unclear what part of the flower they are intended to represent. The inside of the white petals are a brownish orange. As is the case with GK-FH-1, the head itself is composed of outlining strokes, and is not filled with colour; again the outline is in an orange/brownish colour. The foliage again seems relatively flat, however, the flower has some shading. The choice to paint the inside of the flower in a different colour lends it some dimensionality. The head is depicted with some shading, and the three-quarter profile lends some depth. The green foliage as well as the flower are outlined with a black/dark grey colour; this outline is absent for the yellow foliage however. GK-FH-3 shares a similar palette of colours to that employed in GK-FH-1 and GK-FH-2. The foliage is orange and green and the flower has a white calix and petals painted white, and lighter and darker shades of orange. The tip of the flower is yellow and is shown with green leaves sprouting from it. The head itself is again composed of outlining strokes, although this time the outline is in yellow. The orange foliage and flower are outlined with a black/dark grey,

but the green foliage is not outlined. GK-FH-3 appears the flattest out of this group: the face is portrayed frontally and there is no shading. An attempt is made at presenting some depth, by

depicting the foliage circle back over itself, but altogether this head remains quite flat in appearance.

Around the keystone of the crossing, next to foliate heads GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2 and GK-FH-3 there appears more foliage. This foliage is very similar in design to that employed in the foliate heads. It starts at the keystone and terminates with a flower. The foliage shares the colour palette and similar dimensions with the foliate head designs. Beyond the immediate proximity of the heads, three sets of figures appear. On the south side of the crossing,<sup>138</sup> St Mark is depicted with a lion and St Matthew with an angel. It is worth noting, however, that both figures appear to be emerging from flowers, much like the fruit/vegetation type of foliate head. On the north side of the crossing,<sup>139</sup> St Luke and St John are depicted in the same way. And on the west side of the crossing<sup>140</sup>, two more unidentified male figures also appear out of flowers, this time holding onto foliage.

GK-FH-4<sup>141</sup> is located in the choir of the church,<sup>142</sup> next to the keystone. The figure has a head made of leaves and appears to be growing out of another set of leaves. A stem connects to a hook shape which itself attaches to a branch. The hook-shaped stem has a flower attached to it, from which emerges a snake-like creature. GK-FH-4 falls into the fruit/flower category as the head is surrounded by leaves in such a way as to present the figure as a fruit or flower. The type of foliage is unidentifiable: the few leaves depicted are generic in design. The foliate head is humanoid, yet it is not possible to identify whether it is male or female: it is simply drawn as a

<sup>138</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, red arrow 1 in appendix

<sup>139</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, red arrow 2 in appendix

<sup>140</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, red arrow 3 in appendix

<sup>141</sup> See Garmerwolde GK-FH-4 in appendix

<sup>142</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, arrow 4 in appendix

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circle with eyes, a nose, and a mouth, without additional distinguishing features. A quite limited colour palette is employed: yellow and greyish blue. The hook of the flower is yellow and the rest of the figure is outlined with black; and some parts are infilled with greyish-blue paint. The

only parts of the image that are not completely two-dimensional are the flower where the artist employs some shading, and the branch, for which graphical projection was employed.<sup>143</sup> As we saw with GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, and GK-FH-3, the paintings in close proximity to GK-FH-4, located around the keystone of the choir, are all foliage painted in a similar style to the foliate head, in similar colours and of a similar size. The paintings beyond the close proximity are all foliate heads and will be discussed below.

GK-FH-5 and GK-FH-6<sup>144</sup> are located in the choir on the eastern side at the bottom of the easternmost bay.<sup>145</sup> These two foliate heads will be discussed together because of their close proximity and similarities. The design of both heads is exceptional, GK-FH-5 has either hair or a hat made out of leaves in addition to the foliage emerging from its mouth. It could be argued that the figure is a mixed transformer and disgorging type, though it must be acknowledged that it is not absolutely clear whether the leaves are actually part of the figure. Therefore GK-FH-5 will be categorised as a mouth-disgorging, this is also the case for GK-FH-6. Both can be identified as humanoid, however, no gender-identifying characteristics are present. In addition, the face of GK-FH-5 seems to be protruding from something, from some sort of horn, possibly a cornucopia.<sup>146</sup> The first part of the horn appears to be scaled, and the rest is more smooth; it terminates in an upwards curl. GK-FH-6 also protrudes from something, in this case, it is more

<sup>143</sup> A design technique used to display a three-dimensional object on a two-dimensional surface. This is done by showcasing more than one side of an object at the same time.

<sup>144</sup> See Garmerwolde GK-FH-5, GK-FH-6 in appendix

<sup>145</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, arrow 5&6 in appendix

<sup>146</sup> "Cornucopia: A symbol of plenty consisting of a goat's horn overflowing with flowers, fruit, and corn. The word comes (in the early 16th century) from late Latin, from Latin *cornu copiae* 'horn of plenty', a mythical horn able to provide whatever is desired." Knowles, Elizabeth. "cornucopia." In *The Oxford Dictionary of Phrase and Fable*. : Oxford University Press, 2005.

difficult to exactly identify what that something is. Though the fact that there is some sort of tail attached to it suggests that it is the body of a creature. The foliage for both GK-FH-5 and GK-FH-6 is vine-like, with various kinds of flowers; one of the flowers of GK-FH-6 resembles a rosehip. As is the case with the other foliate heads, the foliage is too generic to determine the

species. The colours for both foliate heads are quite faded and probably less bright than the original. The foliage of GK-FH-5 is green and yellow with red, orange and white flowers. The foliage as well as the flower are outlined with a black/dark grey line. The face of the foliate head is painted in an orange-pink colour. The horn is red with some green shading and has a green rim. Like the foliage, the face and horn are outlined with a black/dark grey line. The foliage of GK-FH-6 is orange and green with green, yellow, and white flowers. As is the case with that of GK-FH-5, its foliage and its flower are outlined in black/dark grey. The face of the foliate head is painted in an orange-pink colour, and the rim the face is sticking out of is yellow. The leafy hat/hair is green and adorned with a white circle. The colours of the ‘tail’ of the body from which the face emerges are, from top to bottom, red, orange, and yellow. The foliage is depicted without depth, but the horn and the faces use some perspective and employ shading. There are no other paintings in close proximity to GK-FH-5 and GK-FH-6.

GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8<sup>147</sup> are located in the choir on the northeastern side at the base of the northeastern section of the easternmost bay<sup>148</sup>. These two foliate heads will be discussed together because of their close proximity and shared characteristics. These foliate heads present features that we have not encountered previously in this study: because both figures are shown with their bodies, they can be classified as whole-body disgorgers. Interestingly, the foliage emerges not from their bodies directly but out of horns they hold in their mouths. Strictly

<sup>147</sup> See Garmerwolde GK-FH-7, GK-FH-8 in appendix

<sup>148</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, red arrow 7&8 in appendix

speaking, because the foliage is not coming directly out of their bodies one could argue that they are not foliate heads at all. Nevertheless, while they use a tool to do so, they remain figures that are protruding foliage, and for that reason, they will be considered foliate heads in this study. We may consider them a new type of disgorging, a horn-disgorging, or more precisely a full-body horn-disgorging. The species of both foliate heads is humanoid, though no specific female or male

characteristics such as breasts or a beard are present. However, the lack of female characteristics and its general appearance suggest that it is most likely male.

The foliage for both heads is highly stylised. While the form is vine-like, the leaves are generic and do not allow for the identification of a species. Different types of flowers are depicted sprouting from the vine, which would also frustrate any attempt to identify a single species for the vine, which seems to serve primarily as a vegetal connecting ornament. With respect to colour, these foliate heads appear to be opposites: GK-FH-8 wears yellow clothing, and has red hair and red foliage, whereas GK-FH-7 has red clothing, yellow hair and yellow foliage. Both wear black shoes and hold brown horns in their mouths. The flowers of both foliate heads are mostly brownish/orange in colour, although one of the flowers of GK-FH-7 has a bluish interior.

The yellow foliage of GK-FH-7 is outlined, but this does not seem to be the case for the red foliage of GK-FH-8. Both the humanoid figures and the flowers however are outlined, but the painting appears quite flat, there is little attempt to create a sense of depth in the composition. No other paintings are present in close proximity to GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8.

GK-FH-9 and GK-FH-10<sup>149</sup> are located in the choir directly across from GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8 on the southwest side at the base of the southwestern part of the western bay.<sup>150</sup> Again, the two heads form a pair and will be discussed together because of their proximity and

<sup>149</sup> See Garmerwolde GK-FH-9, GK-FH-10 in appendix

<sup>150</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, red arrow 9&10 in appendix

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similarities. Both heads are mouth-disgorgers. Their bodies have a horn or tail-like shape. They seem to be wearing jester's caps and are humanoid but it can not be specified if they are male or female. The foliage for both foliate heads is again generic: the vine-like form bears few leaves and none with identifiable characteristics. Various types of flowers are sprouting from the vine, but again the presence of different flowers on a single vine frustrates any attempt to identify the vine with a single species. The palette of colours used in GK-FH-9 and GK-FH-10 is similar to



that employed in GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8. Mostly red and yellow are used: GK-FH-10 has yellow vines with orange, white, red and brown flowers; GK-FH-9 has red vines with red, orange and yellow flowers, with some greenish-blue leaves. The faces of both foliate heads are pink, their jester's cap is yellow, and their 'bodies' are red. The foliage, flowers, and jester's caps are outlined, but this does not seem to be the case for their 'bodies'. The overall appearance of this painting is quite flat although the three-quarter profile in which the faces are painted does serve to create slightly more depth.

In the immediate vicinity of GK-FH-9 and GK-FH-10, more foliage is depicted. This foliage uses the same palette of colours as GK-FH-9 and GK-FH-10 and is about the same size. The choir does have some non-foliage paintings as well: on the north and south side dragon or griffon-like creatures can be found. Attempts to connect the figure of the foliate head or the 'Green Man' with the figure of the dragon are made by writers like William Anderson and Clive Hicks<sup>151</sup>, however, their evidence of this connection is mostly circumstantial.

<sup>151</sup> Anderson and Hicks, *Green Man*, 124.

## Internal comparison

A comparison of the foliate heads in the Church of Garmerwolde reveals different painting styles throughout the church. This is most noticeable when comparing GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, and GK-FH-3 with GK-FH-4. Here, all the foliate heads are in a similar location, arranged around a keystone, but the colour palette and painting style are completely different. Whereas green, yellow and red are the main colours for GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, and GK-FH-3 (and this

palette is largely shared by the other foliate heads in the church), GK-FH-4 is almost entirely blue. Foliate head four also appears much flatter than its neighbours GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, and GK-FH-3. Lastly, the manner in which the foliage is depicted also changes: whereas GK-FH-1, GK-FH-2, GK-FH-3, GK-FH-5, and GK-FH-6, have many leaves on their foliage, GK-FH-7, GK-FH-8, GK-FH-9, and GK-FH-10 only have vines/stems with flowers and very little leaves. This suggests that multiple artists worked on these paintings.

## Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk Breda (BG)

The Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk in Breda was built between 1410 and 1550 by the members of the House of Nassau, the ancestors of the current royal family of the Netherlands. The stone church was built in the Brabant Gothic style, reflected in the openwork gables, spires, high vestries, a large number of flying buttresses, and many decorative features.<sup>152</sup> The earliest indication of a stone church in Breda stems from a charter from 1269, in which it is stated that the existing twelfth-century church constructed of tuff was to be replaced with a new one. The present construction was begun in 1410 when the choir of the previous, late thirteenth-century

<sup>152</sup> *Grote Kerk Breda: Ontdek de verborgen schatten*. Breda

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church was replaced with the choir still in existence today. This building was completed in 1468. In 1457, during the period of construction, the old tower collapsed and between 1468 and 1509 the current tower was built. Between 1520 and 1525, the choir was extended with a new chapel, the Prinsenkapel. In 1526, the eastern wall of the choir was pierced, and work was begun on the construction of an ambulatory.<sup>153</sup> The vault paintings of the Prinsenkapel were completed in 1533 and were probably painted under the direction of Tommaso (di Andrea) Vincidor (1493-1536), an Italian Renaissance painter and pupil of Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino, better known as

Raphael.<sup>154</sup> Work on construction continued until 1547 when the church reached its current shape. In 1566, the Beeldenstorm took place in the church, damaging many of the artworks and shrines. The church changed hands between Protestants and Catholics several times before becoming definitively Protestant in 1637. The original tower spire was destroyed by fire in 1694 and the current spire was built in 1702. From 1833 the church has undergone multiple restorations, notably between 1833-1880 under the leadership of Pierre Cuypers, and, more recently, from 1993 until 1998. The Prinsenkapel was restored from 1998 until 2003, and during this time all adaptations from later periods were removed, and the original vault paintings completely restored.<sup>155</sup>

### Foliate heads (1533)

The Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk has a total of seventeen foliate heads, the most of any of the churches in the present study. The variety of materials used for the heads is also wider than is seen in any of the other churches. Eleven of the seventeen heads are located in the

<sup>153</sup> “Historie van de Grote Kerk” Grote kerk Breda. Accessed December 9, 2022.

<sup>154</sup> *Grote Kerk Breda: Ontdek de verborgen schatten*. Breda

<sup>155</sup> G.W.C. van Wezel, *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk en de grafkapel voor Oranje-Nassau te Breda*. (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, Zeist / Waanders Uitgevers: Zwolle, 2003)

Prinsenkapel, and this chapel is where all six of the church’s painted foliate heads are located.<sup>156</sup>

The other five heads located in the chapel appear in the stained glass windows which date from the same year as the paintings, 1533.<sup>157</sup> These stained glass windows were made by the painter Drick de Bruyn.<sup>158</sup> Four further foliate heads can be found in the baptistery, where they adorn the brass baptismal font (1540) made by the Antwerp artist, Joos de Backer.<sup>159</sup> Another foliate head can be found in the choir as part of the decoration of a side panel in the choir stalls which dates from the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>160</sup> Finally, one sculpted foliate head is located on the exterior of the church, on the southeast corner.<sup>161</sup>

BG-FH-1, BG-FH-2, BG-FH-3, and BG-FH-4<sup>162</sup> are all painted foliage heads and, as noted above, they are located in the Prinsenkapel. More precisely, they can be found in the bay closest to the crossing on the west side of the chapel<sup>163</sup>. Because of their close proximity and similarities, they will be discussed together. All four are transformer foliate head types. Their heads consist of a single leaf with a face; their chin curls upwards, and in the case of BG-FH-3 and BG-FH-4 it terminates in either a flame or a flower. All four foliate heads are humanoid; their upward curling chins could be interpreted as beards and therefore it could be argued that the figures are male, however not enough details are given to these faces to be able to say this with certainty. The leaves are lobed or wavy and are quite large, but because of the side profile of the figures, it is difficult to identify any particular species of foliage.

The entire Prinsenkapel uses the same colour palette: a dark greenish blue colour forms the background on which grey images are painted with reddish brown and gold details. BG-FH-1

<sup>156</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 1-6 map in appendix

<sup>157</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 7-11 map in appendix

<sup>158</sup> Wezel, *De Onze-Lieve-Vrouwekerk en de grafkapel voor Oranje-Nassau te Breda*,

19. <sup>159</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 13 map in appendix

<sup>160</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 12 map in appendix

<sup>161</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 14 map in appendix

<sup>162</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-1, BG-FH-2, BG-FH-3, and BG-FH-4 in appendix

<sup>163</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 1-4 map in appendix

and BG-FH-2 are mostly grey with golden details such as a golden band around their 'neck' and gold on the inside of the curl of some of the leaves. BG-FH-3 and BG-FH-4 employ more gold in the flower/flame attached to their chin and in the part of the leaf going up from their forehead. The figures are very clear and precisely drawn; all the details are easily recognizable. The compositions lack depth, however; shading and shadows are only employed in the human figures.

The Prinsenkapel is filled with paintings, and so all four foliate heads are located in the midst of a complex decorative programme. Indeed, the heads are connected to this programme.

BG-FH-1 and BG-FH-2 are connected to a figure shown from the waist up emerging from a flower, the foliage of which is connected to the foliage of the foliate heads. The unidentified bearded and crowned figure seems to be wearing some kind of braces and holds what appears like a cup of fire in each hand. BG-FH-3 and BG-FH-4 are connected to a very similar figure with earrings and more pronounced eyebrows.

BG-FH-5<sup>164</sup> is also a painted foliate head and can be found in the easternmost bay of the Prinsenkapel on the western side of the bay.<sup>165</sup> This is a transforming type, or, more specifically, a whole-body transformer. The image consists of a male figure depicted squatting; his face is composed of a leaf and he has two curled horns, like those of a ram. His chest and shoulders are covered with another leaf but he appears naked otherwise; his genitals are covered with something looking like a cone. He holds on to the foliage painted next to him. Due to his horns, the figure somewhat resembles depictions of the Greek god Pan. Because of these horns, he is categorised as a hybrid, and because of his moustache, he is classified as male. The leaf that is

<sup>164</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-5, in appendix

<sup>165</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 5 map in appendix

his head resembles a fig or maple leaf, but it cannot be said with certainty that this is the intended species.

BG-FH-5 has the same colour palette as the rest of the Prinsenkapel: he is mostly grey himself, reddish brown from the knee down and his horns and the cone are gold. As noted above, the figure is very clear and precisely painted; all the details are easily recognizable. The figure himself is quite flat: there is no use of shading or shadows to create a sense of depth, and the only real use of an illusion of depth is in the treatment of his hands behind the foliage he is holding. BG-FH-5 is embedded in the decorative programme of the Prinsenkapel; the paintings

in his direct surroundings are, however, foliage.

BC-FH-6<sup>166</sup> is also a painted foliate head and can be found in the easternmost bay of the Prinsenkapel on the southeastern side of the vault<sup>167</sup>. This foliate head is in design similar to BG-FH-5, there are some notable differences, however. While it too is a full-body transformer with a leaf for a face, and while it also has a moustache and appears naked, this figure has no horns. It may therefore be categorised as humanoid instead of a hybrid. The figure also is missing the lower half of his body, as he appears from the waist out of a flower. Instead of a leaf covering his shoulders and chest, he has two leaf shoulder pieces. The colour palette is similar to that seen elsewhere in the chapel: the figure itself is grey with two reddish brown curls extending from the flower where his legs would be. The treatment of depth is as with BG-FH-5: no significant use of shadow and the only sense of depth coming from his hands being depicted behind the foliage he is holding. The paintings in his direct surroundings however are foliage.

<sup>166</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-6, in appendix

<sup>167</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 6 map in appendix

## Internal comparison

As noted above there are six painted foliate heads present in the church: BG-FH-1, BG-FH-2, BG-FH-3, and BG-FH-4 form one group, and BG-FH-5 and BG-FH-6 form another. All six share significant similarities: the type of foliage of all of the heads looks very similar. All of them have fig or maple-like leaves for their faces.

These six heads are not the only foliate heads in the Prince chapel, however. A further five foliate heads appear in the stained glass. All five of these glass heads appear in the windows of the easternmost bay of the chapel. BG-FH-7<sup>168</sup> can be found on the northside.<sup>169</sup> It is very

similar to BG-FH-5 and BG-FH-6 since it is a transforming foliate head, with a fig or maple leaf-like face and a moustache. The two points of the leaf almost take an earlike quality: for this reason, this foliate head is considered a hybrid. In terms of colour, this foliate head is mostly grey with orange and yellow details around the edges of the leaf. BG-FH-8 and BG-FH-9<sup>170</sup> are also stained glass transforming foliate heads; they can be found on the northeastern side of the easternmost bay of the chapel.<sup>171</sup> They are very similar to BG-FH-7, the biggest difference being that these two do not have moustaches. Again they have fig or maple-like leaves, and the colours are the same as those used in BG-FH-7.

BG-FH-10 and BG-FH-11<sup>172</sup> are on the eastern side of the chapel.<sup>173</sup> They bear the most similarities with BG-FH-1, BG-FH-2, BG-FH-3, and BG-FH-4. Like the heads in this group, they are depicted in profile with foliage coming from their chin and forehead. However, whereas the painted heads are composed of heads alone, BG-FH-10 and BG-FH-11 are dragon-like

<sup>168</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-7, in appendix

<sup>169</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 7 map in appendix

<sup>170</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-8 and BG-FH-9, in appendix

<sup>171</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 8&9 map in appendix

<sup>172</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-10 and GB-FH-11, in appendix

<sup>173</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 10&11 map in appendix 66

creatures. They match the colour palette of the rest of the stained glass windows with their orange and red colouring. It is clear that the whole chapel was created as one work, and the fact that the paintings date from the same year as the stained glass windows further underlines the unity of the programme, despite the difference in medium.

BG-FH-12<sup>174</sup> presents clear differences, suggesting it was not part of this original decorative programme. This sculpted foliage head can be found in the choir where it forms part of the decoration of a side panel of one of the choir stalls.<sup>175</sup> This foliate head is a disgorging: it has two branches coming out of its mouth. It is a human who wears a hat and has a beard and will therefore be categorised as male. This foliate head has no similarities with the ones in the chapel.

The next four foliate heads are all exact replicas of each other, and therefore have been given only one number: BG-FH-13<sup>176</sup>. These foliate heads can be found in the baptistery, where they adorn the baptismal font.<sup>177</sup> These foliate heads share some resemblance to the painted heads in the chapel. They are also transformers and were made around the same time as the chapel foliate heads. The type of foliage employed for the font heads is different, however, being characterised by small spikes. As the baptismal font was probably ordered and not made in the church the chances that the design was influenced by the painted foliate heads are relatively small.

The last foliate head is BG-FH-14<sup>178</sup>. This sculpted head is the only head found on the outside of the church. It can be found on the southeast corner of the apse<sup>179</sup> and is a transforming head as well. It appears humanoid and male as it has a foliate moustache and beard. In the overall

<sup>174</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-12, in appendix

<sup>175</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 12 map in appendix

<sup>176</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-13, in appendix

<sup>177</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 13 map in appendix

<sup>178</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk BG-FH-14, in appendix

<sup>179</sup> See Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk, map of church, arrow 14 map in appendix

design, it is more similar to the painted foliate heads in the Prinsenkapel than the ones on the baptismal font, but the foliage is of a different type and instead of having one leaf as a face, the foliage is growing out of his face.



## Comparative analysis

A total of 56 foliate heads spread over seven churches have been discussed in this study: 34 painted foliate heads and 22 non-painted ones. Three of the churches with painted foliate heads also have non-painted foliate heads, so the 22 non-painted foliate heads are spread over about half of the churches. These heads have been compared with the other foliate heads in their churches. However, to get a better understanding of foliate heads in the Netherlands a comparison between churches is necessary. Noticeable differences and similarities between the foliate heads in different churches will be discussed in the external comparison. To understand this selection of Dutch foliate heads in a broader Northwestern European context they will also be compared with the results of Corrigan's research. As her study is focused on carved and sculpted foliate heads this comparison will also allow for more insight into the differences and similarities between painted and non-painted foliate heads.

### External Comparison

When comparing the foliate heads between the churches the first thing that draws attention is that there is a wide range in the number of foliate heads in the churches. Some churches like the Plaskerk or Broederenkerk only have one or two painted foliate heads, while others have many more, like the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk which has seventeen foliate heads, or the Walburgiskerk which has twelve foliate heads. The size of the church seems to be a factor in this quantitative variation as the Plaskerk is only about 350m<sup>2</sup><sup>180</sup> and the Broederenkerk measures about 670m<sup>2</sup>, whereas the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk is about 4600m<sup>2</sup>, and the

<sup>180</sup> All these measurements are based on the maps of the churches and are rough estimates, their purpose is to give an idea about the different sizes of the churches not to be an exact number.

Walburgiskerk as large as 5100m<sup>2</sup>. While the two largest churches also preserve the most foliate heads and the two smallest churches have the lowest number of foliate heads this does not seem to be a direct correlation. The Church of Garmerwolde for example has ten foliate heads but is only about 690m<sup>2</sup>. Further, the question arises whether the churches that have fewer foliate heads remaining now had more at the time of their creation. Thus although size seems to be a factor, since there is simply more space available to place the images, it is not indicative of the number of foliate heads in a church.

Out of the seven churches discussed in this study, three have a combination of painted and non-painted foliate heads. As already noted in the internal comparisons, the painted foliate heads do not share much in common with the non-painted heads. The only exception to this general lack of relationship across media is formed by the foliate heads in the Prinsenkapel, where the painted foliate heads and the stained glass window heads appear to be part of one bigger decorative scheme.

A significant difference between the painted and non-painted foliate heads is that the majority of the painted foliate heads are disgorgers 61,8%, while the majority of the non-painted foliate heads are transformers 86,4%. In the analysis of the non-painted foliate heads, a distinction has to be made between the different types of materials. The Walburgiskerk and the Lebuinuskerk only have sculpted stone foliate heads, whereas the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk has a wide array of different materials of which only one is a sculpted stone head. Moreover, the style of BG-FH 14 (fig. 77) in the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk is quite different from the foliate heads on the other two churches. Even though BG-FH 14 is a transformer like most of the other non-painted foliate heads, it has a leaf moustache and two branches of foliage appearing to grow out of his head, something not seen in the other foliate

heads. The foliate heads of the Walburgiskerk and the Lebuinuskerk are relatively similar

however: LD-FH 2<sup>181</sup> and ZW-FH 2<sup>182</sup> in particular a lot of similarities. Both heads are transformers and grotesque, they both are a head with multiple branches of foliage growing straight out of their heads. The most significant difference between the two is that LD-FH 2 is inside the church whereas ZW-FH 2 is on the outside. ZW-FH 1&3<sup>183</sup> are also fairly similar to these foliate heads although they are human figures and not grotesques.

As one can see in the map of the Netherlands in the appendix, the selected churches are spread all over the Netherlands. Even though the sample size is too small to truly be able to determine regional patterns, regional similarities and differences are still of interest. One could say there are three general regions, the first one being the northern region around Groningen with the churches of Noordbroek and Garmerwolde. The second one would be the central region around Apeldoorn with the Plaskerk, Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, the Broederkerk and the Walburgiskerk. The third one is the southern region with the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwekerk in Breda. What can be said if we compare our sample across these broad regions?

Something that we only see in the northern region is foliate heads in a circle around the keystone of the crossing. Even though the way the foliate head heads and the foliage itself are depicted is slightly different in these keystone heads the overall design is almost identical to other heads in the group. The head is located closest to the keystone: foliage is coming from the head and terminates in flowers.

<sup>181</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskkerk, DL-FH 2 in appendix

<sup>182</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 2 in appendix

<sup>183</sup> See Walburgiskerk, ZW-FH 1&3 in appendix

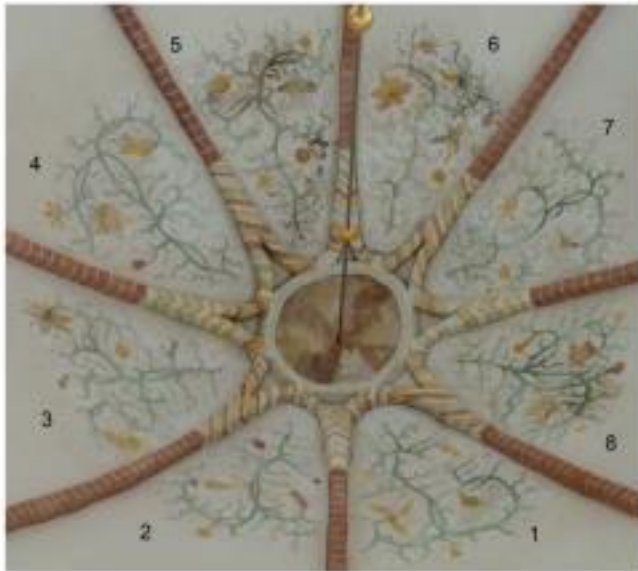


Figure 6. Foliate heads around keystone  
Noordbroek. +/- 1350. NB-FH 1,2,3,4,5,6,7 & 8  
(See appendix for close up of the foliate heads.)



Figure 7. Foliate heads around keystone  
Garmerwolde. c.1530. GK-FH 1,2&3 (See  
appendix for close up of the foliate heads.)

As the location in the church and the design are so similar in the two northern churches with keystone foliate heads, and since Garmerwolde and Noordbroek are geographically very close,<sup>184</sup> one may postulate that one could be inspired by the other. As the paintings in Noordbroek are thought to be made in the middle of the fourteenth century and those in Garmerwolde around 1530 it seems very possible that those in Noordbroek were an inspiration for those in Garmerwolde.

Alongside this slight evidence of a possible regional peculiarity, there are also some similarities between churches in the north and other regions. GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8 both in the northern church of Garmerwolde are very similar to RP-FH-1 in the Plaskerk, all three of them are full-body disgorges, but the biggest similarity is their location: RP-FH-1<sup>185</sup> is located on the north side of the church at the base of the vault<sup>186</sup> and GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8<sup>187</sup> are located at

<sup>184</sup> The two churches are only 20.8 kilometres apart.

<sup>185</sup> See Plaskerk RP-FH-1 in appendix.

<sup>186</sup> See Plaskerk, map of church arrow 1 in appendix.

<sup>187</sup> See Garmerwolde GK-FH-7, GK-FH-8 in appendix.

the base of the northeastern section of the easternmost bay.<sup>188</sup> Because of their location, their design is very similar as well, both have their heads bent upward with foliage going up, the biggest difference is that GK-FH-7 and GK-FH-8 use a horn to protrude the foliage from their

mouths.

In the central region, there is less of an immediately apparent connection between the heads. A few shared characteristics do emerge from the corpus, however. LD-FH1<sup>189</sup> and ZB-FH 1&2<sup>190</sup> all have foliage protruding from both corners of their mouths. This is something peculiar to these three foliate heads: none of the other churches has foliate heads of this type. Another stylistic similarity shared in the central region can be found not in the foliate heads themselves but rather in the paintings surrounding them. Both churches in Zutphen and the Plaskerk have a geometric pattern around some of the keystones and vaults. Although the paintings in the Plaskerk are slightly faded and a different colour, all three patterns seem almost identical. As all three paintings are dated around the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th century it is possible that this type of geometrical ornament was the regional fashion at the time. However, it is worth noting that the Grote or Lebuinuskerk in Deventer which is located between the churches in Zutphen and Raalte<sup>191</sup> and whose paintings date from the same time period does not employ the same pattern. As the Broederen Kerk and the Walburgiskerk are only 450m apart in Zutphen, there is a strong likelihood that one inspired the other. There is even the slight possibility that the same painter worked on both churches; however, because of the differences in foliage, it is unlikely that the same painter single-handedly painted both churches.

<sup>188</sup> See Garmerwolde, map of church, red arrow 7 & 8 in appendix.

<sup>189</sup> See Grote or Lebuinuskerk, LD-FH 1 in appendix.

<sup>190</sup> See Broederenkerk, ZB-FH 1&2 in appendix.

<sup>191</sup> See map of the Netherlands in the appendix.



Figure 8. Geometric decoration, Broederkerk Zutphen 1500-1550.



Figure 9. Geometric decoration, Plaskerk Raalte 1500-1525.



Figure 10. Geometric decoration, Walburgiskerk Zutphen 1450-1525.

As the Grote or Onze Lieve Vrouwe Kerk is the only church in the southern region it is not possible to determine whether the features of its foliate heads are regionally specific. Furthermore, it should be noted that not many similarities can be identified between this church and the other churches in the corpus. Even though the foliage in the church is broadly similar to that of the other churches, it differs in notable ways. More importantly, the style of painting the foliage and the use of colour in the Prinsen Kapel is completely different from that employed in the other churches in our group. The strongest and most obvious difference is the background: whereas all the other churches have white or beige backgrounds the Prinsen Kapel of the OLV has a greenish-blue background. But the background is not the only colour that is different, the whole colour palette of the Kapel is different. Where most of the churches have yellow, red and green<sup>192</sup> as their most common colours the paintings are almost completely grey with red and gold details. This is also the only church that has gold in its colour palette. Besides this, the style

<sup>192</sup> 73,5% of the churches have yellow in their paintings, 64,7% has red and 58,9% has green. 74

of the paintings is also very different from what we have seen in the other churches. This difference could be due to the painter's training in Italy: while the origins of most of the painters are not known, it is most likely that they were more local than he was. The size of the Kapel likely also played a role in the more lavish designs. Because Tommaso (di Andrea) Vincidor only had to paint the chapel instead of a whole church he could add more details to the smaller space.

Another outlier is not a church but a specific foliage head. ZW-FH-6<sup>193</sup> is the only nose-disgorging foliate head painted or non-painted present in any of the churches. As already noted in the internal comparison of the Walburgiskerk this painting is unlike any of the other paintings in the church. This means that the type of foliate head as well as the style of painting is not present in any of the other churches. As noted above, ZW-FH-6 is only 2 metres high therefore neighbouring paintings could easily have been destroyed. One wonders whether there were originally more nose-disgorgers present in de Credo chapel. Besides this, the question arises why a nose-disgorger was chosen here and nowhere else.

## Comparison with Corrigan's English data

Comparison of the data collected in this study with Corrigan's dataset enables us to examine two sets of possible similarities and differences: a regional comparison - the English foliate heads compared with the Dutch foliate heads; and a medial comparison - the painted foliate heads compared the non-painted foliate heads.

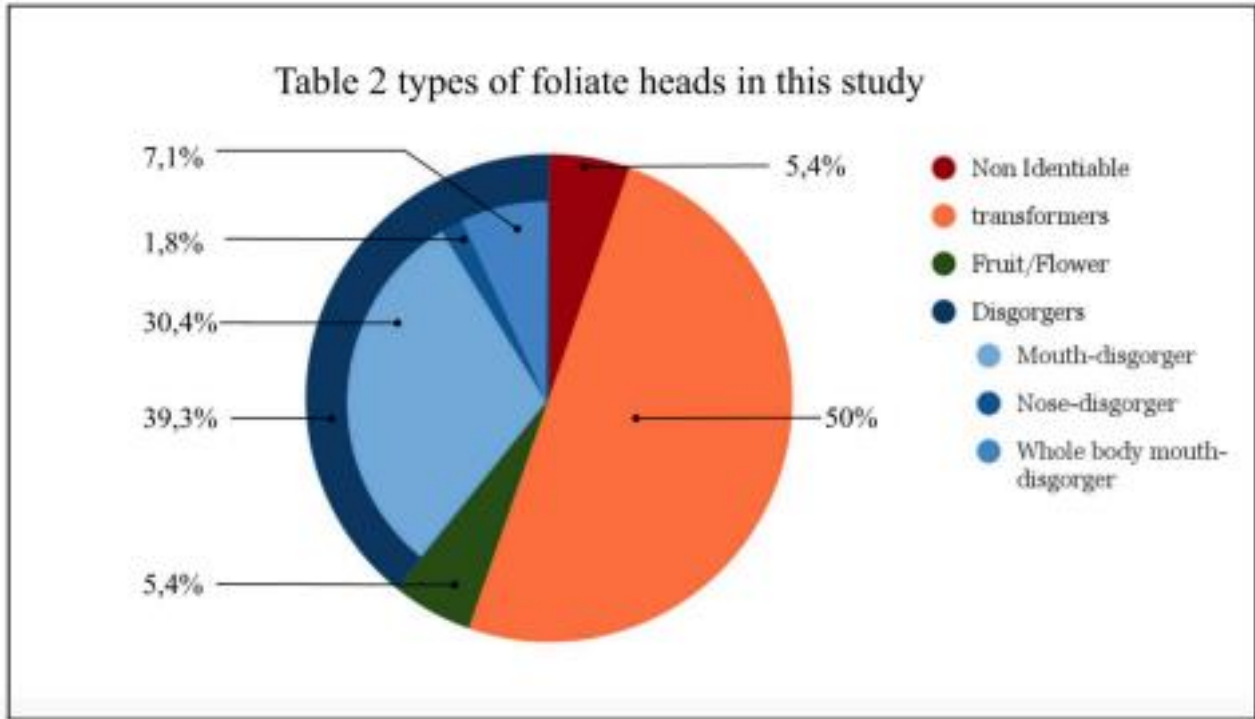
When comparing the English data with the Dutch data it is important to note that the Dutch sample size is only about 4,78<sup>194</sup> percent of the English one. Obviously, much more research still needs to be done regarding Dutch foliate heads. Further, the Dutch data is a

<sup>193</sup> See Walburgiskerk ZW-FH-6 in appendix.

<sup>194</sup> The English data regards 1172 foliate heads where the Dutch data only regards 56.

75  
combination of painted and non-painted foliate heads, whereas the English data only consists of non-painted heads. The first major difference between Corrigan's study and the results of our modest Dutch sample is that the majority of her heads were disgorgers, comprising 79,67%<sup>195</sup> of the whole corpus.<sup>196</sup> In this study, the majority of the heads are transformers, 50% of all the foliate heads (painted and non-painted) are transformers<sup>197</sup> and 86,4% of the non-painted heads are transformers<sup>198</sup>: this is a marked contrast to Corrigan's data. What is interesting however is

that the majority of the Dutch painted heads (61,8%) are disgorgers.<sup>199</sup> This means that in this respect the painted heads are more similar to the English (non-painted) heads than are the Dutch non-painted heads. This is an unexpected result, as one might expect that the non-painted foliate heads in the Netherlands would be the closest in type to the non-painted heads in England.



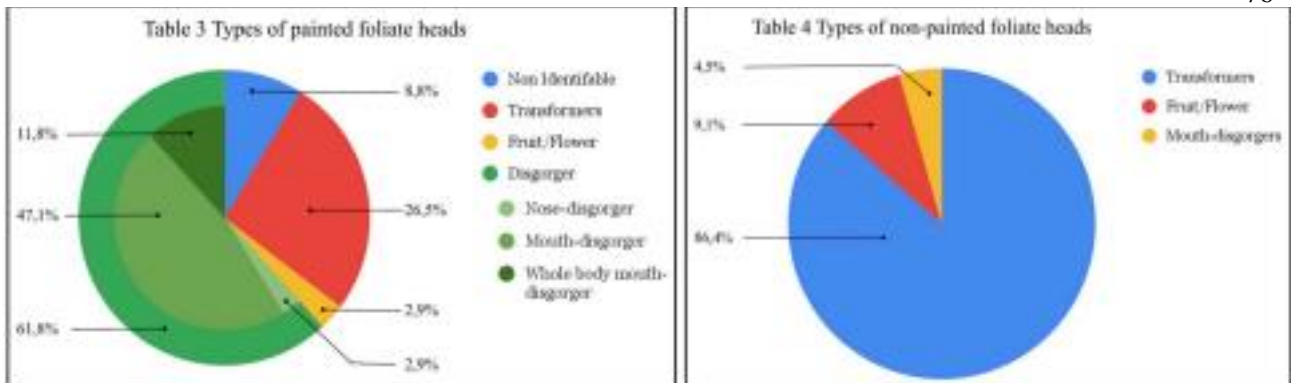
<sup>195</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 292.

<sup>196</sup> See table 5 Types of foliate heads Corrigan.

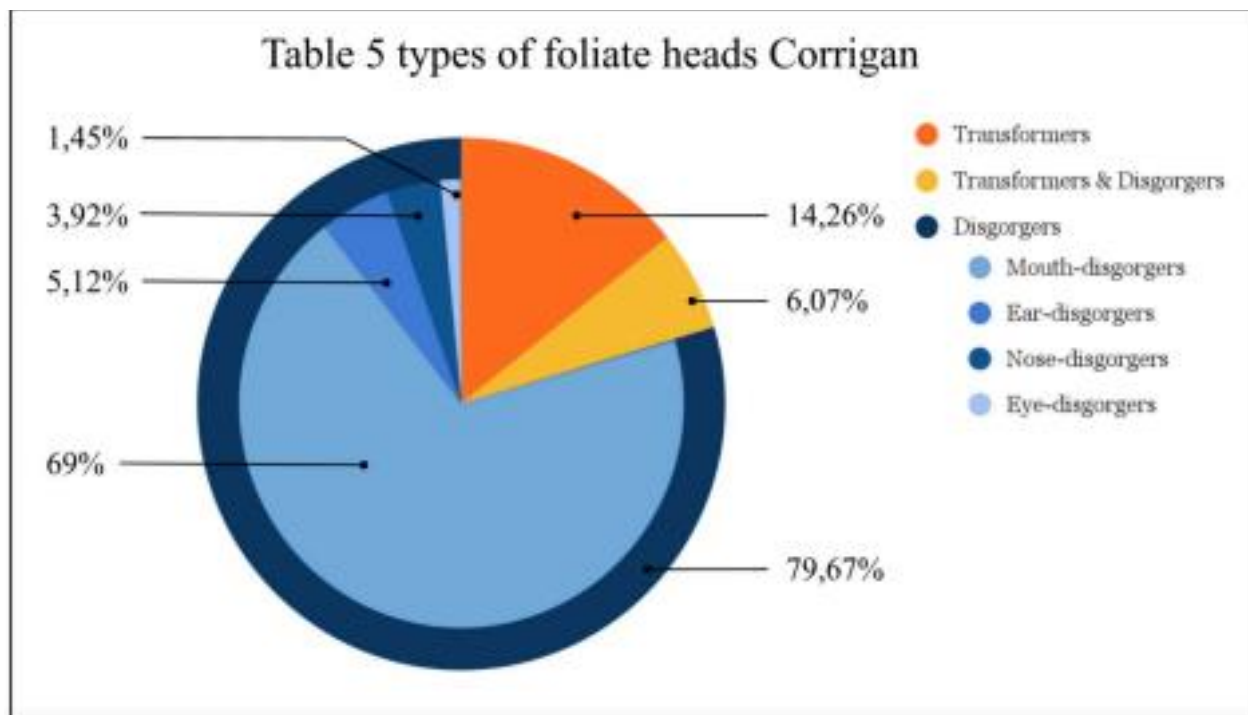
<sup>197</sup> See table 2 types of foliate heads in this study.

<sup>198</sup> See table 4 types of non-painted foliate heads.

<sup>199</sup> See table 3 types of painted foliate heads.







What is shared in both English and Dutch groups, however, is that among the disgorgers-type foliate heads, the mouth-disgorgers are the most common category. In Corrigan’s study, they make up 69%<sup>200</sup> of all foliate heads; in the present study, the mouth-disgorgers and the whole body mouth-disgorgers comprise 37,5% of all foliate heads, as there are fewer disgorgers overall. Corrigan’s study has a wider variety of other disgorgers than were found in this study. In her research, she has come across ear-disgorgers (5,12%<sup>201</sup>), nose-disgorgers

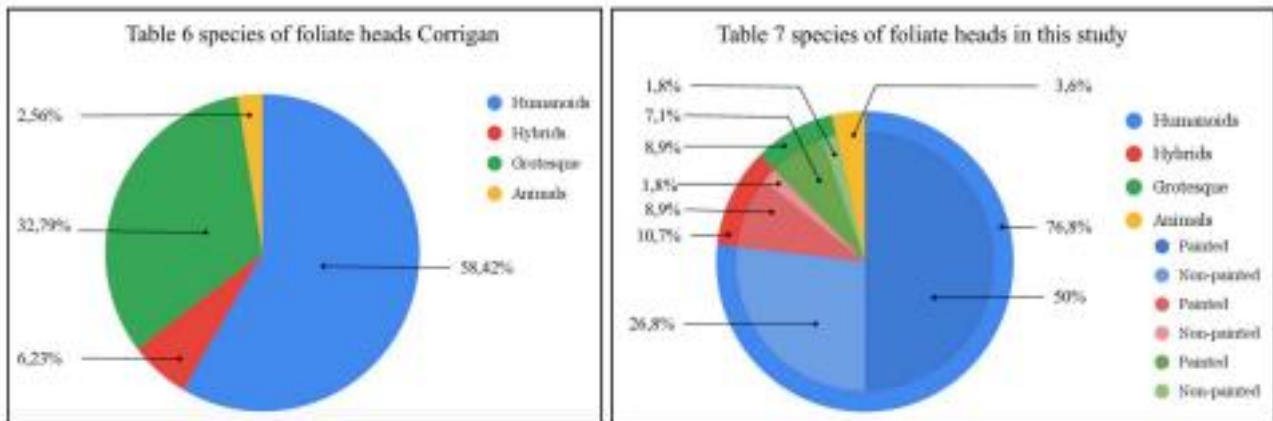
<sup>200</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 76.

<sup>201</sup> Corrigan, “Foliate Head,” 87.

(3,92%<sup>202</sup>), and eye-disgorgers (1,45%<sup>203</sup>). In the present study, only a single nose-disgorgers (1,8%) and four whole-body disgorgers (7,1%) were found. This lack of variety has most likely more to do with the small sample size than the lack of variety in Dutch foliate heads. More research with a more comprehensive corpus of Dutch examples is necessary to determine whether this is a regionally specific pattern.

It is noteworthy, however, that both the nose-disgorgers and the whole body disgorgers in our

Dutch group are painted foliate heads; all of the non-painted disgorgers in the group are of the mouth-disgorger type. Given that the percentage of whole-body disgorgers is higher among the Dutch foliate heads, the question arises whether the chosen medium has anything to do with the numbers of whole-body disgorgers. It is conceivable that it would be relatively easier to paint the body of the foliate head than it would be to sculpt or carve a body. Moreover, painted foliate heads appear to have more space available to them as they are usually painted on the vaults, whereas for the non-painted foliate heads, the roof boss is the most popular location,<sup>204</sup> which does not leave a lot of extra space and has a certain constraint in form. The limited space perhaps prompts the decision to only make a head, whereas if the artist has a whole vault to fill, the addition of a body or part of a body may help to fill more space in an ornamental fashion.



<sup>202</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 93.

<sup>203</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 96.

<sup>204</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 190.

In Corrigan's corpus, 58,42%<sup>205</sup> of the foliate heads are humanoid, the majority of the identifiable heads being male: only 0,17%<sup>206</sup> can be identified as female. In her group, 32,79%<sup>207</sup> were grotesque, 6,23%<sup>208</sup> were a hybrid, and 2,56%<sup>209</sup> are animal foliate heads. The dominance of humanoid heads is shared in both English and Dutch groups. In the present study, 76,8% of the foliate heads are humanoid. No female foliate heads appeared in the Dutch sample, but 10,7% were both humanoid and could be identified as male with certainty. That no females were identified in this relatively small study is not surprising as Corrigan herself only identified two

female heads in her whole study. Only 8,9% of the foliate heads discussed in the Dutch group are grotesque, a significantly smaller amount than found in Corrigan's study. This percentage can be further divided into 7,1% non-painted grotesque foliate heads and 1,8% painted grotesque foliate heads. Both the difference between the English and Dutch percentages and the split between painted and non-painted Dutch grotesque foliate heads suggests that grotesques are far more common in non-painted foliate heads than in painted heads, at least with the small corpus examined in the present study.

The percentage of hybrids on the other hand is higher in the Dutch group than in Corrigan's English corpus: 10,7% of the Dutch foliate heads are hybrids, split into 8,9% painted foliate heads and 1,8% non-painted. It is surprising that the number of hybrids is higher among the painted foliate heads, as the opposite pattern has been observed with respect to the grotesque type in the Dutch sample. Perhaps by adding non-human features such as pointed ears the painters had more liberty to creatively make the figure look more interesting or mysterious. It is worth noting, however, that 33,3% of the hybrids could be identified as certainly male in the

<sup>205</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 256.

<sup>206</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 111.

<sup>207</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 136.

<sup>208</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 136.

<sup>209</sup> Corrigan, "Foliate Head," 136.