Ashpitel 1853 A. Ashpitel, 'Rochester Cathedral', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 9 (1853–4), 271–85.

This is the written-up version of a lecture delivered by the architect Arthur Ashpitel at the BAA congress in Rochester, 26 July 1853. It is a slapdash piece of work, not reflecting much credit on either the author or the BAA. Though Ashpitel's plan of the crypt (plate 30) was a step in the right direction, his conjectural plan of the Norman church (plate 29) was not. (These plates, by the way, are referred to in the text as plates 31 and 30 respectively.)

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ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL.

BY ARTHUR ASHPITEL, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE architect and antiguary has great difficulties in treating of this most interesting cathedral. First, from the paucity of the records concerning its history, compared with the stores of leiger books, chartularies, and chronicles possessed by some collegiate bodies; and secondly, from the numerous alterations and restorations. - attempted with the best motives it is true, but executed at a time when the subject was not at all understood. From this cause the external character of the work is often entirely changed; and those indications of additions to, or alterations from, the original designs - those slight matters which in an untouched building catch the eye, and guide the observer to such important results, are here quite obscured or obliterated - those tests which have been so successfully applied elsewhere are here entirely lost. It is then with considerable diffidence the following remarks are offered. However defective they may be, the building itself is of such great interest, that any attempt, however imperfect, to throw light on its foundation and history, must necessarily be of some value.

The authorities I have consulted on the subject, besides the Textus Roffensis, as published by Hearne, and the Registrum Roffense, published by Thorpe, are chiefly the following MSS. in the British Museum – a Registrum Roffense, marked Faustina B.V.; another Registrum, marked Vespasian A. cxxii; and a Chronicon Roffense, marked Nero D. ii. There are a few notices in the Cole MSS. 28, but of little importance. I have also gone through all the collected materials, and the sketch books, of the late Mr. Essex, who was employed, about sixty years back, in executing some repairs to the cathedral, but have found nothing in them worthy of notice. By far the most curious of the manuscripts is that marked Nero D. ii, which I shall call "the Rochester Chronicle". It is a most beautiful MS. of the time of Edward III, and contains a complete history of the world from the earliest period down to those

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times. The early part is taken from Scripture, the later compiled from various sources with great care, while the latest is evidently the work of the monks of the time, who recorded the events of the day, particularly anything that bore on the town and cathedral itself. Strange to state, this manuscript seems to have escaped the vigilant eye of Thorpe. The first foundation of the see of Rochester is recorded by Bede, Eccl. Hist ii, cap. 3, sub anno 604, who says – "As for Justus, Augustine ordained him bishop in Kent, at the city which the English nation named Rhofescester, from one that was formerly the chief man of it, called Rhof. It contains a church dedicated to St. Andrew the Apostle. King Ethelbert, who built it, bestowed many gifts on both these churches."

The Textus Roffensis, cap. 92 (p. 152, in Hearne's edition, 1720), says, "in the six hundredth year from the incarnation of our Lord, king Æthelbert founded the church of St. Andrew the Apostle at Rofi, and gave to it Prestefeld, and all the land which is from the Medu Waie, even unto the eastern gate of the city in the south part, and other land beyond the wall of the city to the north part."

We now lose all mention of a church till the year 725, when Bede (lib. v, c. 22), who describes in very feeling terms the death of bishop Tobias, and praises him as a great scholar, not only in the Saxon and Latin tongues, but (which was rare indeed in those times) in the Greek language, says, "he was buried in the porch (porticus or aisle) of St. Paul the Apostle, which he built within the church of St. Andrew for his own place of burial." This is but scanty notice of a church of which we hear no more for centuries. It is true there are a great many grants of land during this time to the see, but no mention of the cathedral is at all made. In 991, Ethelred thought proper to commit some serious inroads on the property of the church. Leland says (Collectanea i, 260), "Æthelred, king of the Mercians, incensed by I know not what insolent reply of the king of Canterbury, oppressed the whole of Kent with fire and sword, and doomed to destruction the whole lands of the bishopric of Rochester."

From 1014 to 1058 the great antiquary Dugdale tells us he could not even find a word of who was bishop through this long period. According to the chronicler, Edmund de Hadenham (Annal. Eccles. Roffen. apud Angl. Sac. i, 342), anno 1075, things were in a most deplorable condition. The bishop Sigward died almost suddenly, "leaving the church", says the annalist, "in a miserable and empty condition, in want of everything within and without. In it were only four canons, living in a low state, and dressed in plebeian garments." "To correct these miseries, the wisest bishop Lanfranc", says the chronicler, "gave the see to Arnost, a monk of Bec. He only remained there half a year." "Lanfranc then appointed that most worthy man Gundulph." Of this great and good bishop so admirable a paper /1 has been already given, that it would be superfluous to say more. He is, however, described by Ernulphus (De Rebus Eccl. Roff. apud Angl. Sacr.) "as a man most knowing and capable (sciens et efficax) in building work" (opere cæmentario); and he adds, "he built for himself the stone castle at Rochester" (Castrum sibi Hrofense lapideum de suo construxit); and a little further on he says, "Gundulph the bishop made the castle at Rochester the whole from his own [purse] entirely (de suo ex integro totum), at a cost, as I think, of sixty pounds".

In Domesday we are told, "The bishop [of Rochester] had in Rochester, and hath yet, 20 mansures of land, which belong to Frandesberie and Borestele, as his own manors; in the time of king Edward, and afterwards, they were worth 3 pounds, then 8 pounds, and now they return by the year 11 pounds 13 shills. and 4 pence." It is very singular there is no mention in Domesday of any church at Rochester, although they are enumerated at Southfleet, Estanes (Stone), Fachesham, Oldeham, Mellingetes, Totesclive, Snodland, Coclestane, Danetone, Hallinges, Frandesberie, and Estoches (Stoke). It seems very probable that the old building was in a sad state of dilapidation. The following account of its rebuilding is given by the monk of Rochester in the singularly interesting life of Gundulph. printed in the first volume of the Anglia Sacra. He says: -"A very short time having elapsed, a new church, the old being destroyed, is begun, a circle of offices are conveniently disposed. The whole work in a few years, Lanfranc providing much money, was carried out. Therefore, all being finished, and from only five canons who were found there,

/1 By the Rev. Thomas Hugo, M.A., Hon. Sec.

many others being associated, and flowing to the religious garb, the monks increased to the number of sixty and more, under the doctrine of the father Gundulph." Tradition and later historians have stated he never lived to complete the cathedral, but that it was done by Ernulphus. There seems to be some probability in this. The latter, according to the Rochester chronicle, and to Edmund de Hadenham, built the dormitory, infirmary, and chapter house. The fronts of these latter remain, and they partake of the style of the west front, rather than of that of Gundulph. The latter are decidedly of the later Norman. The former of the simpler and earlier. One of the best tests is perhaps to compare this work with still earlier work and catch such points as are common to both. Thus, as Byzantine or Romanesque sprang from Roman work, as Norman sprang from the former, and the pointed styles followed in slow succession these last, so any decided deviation in principle should be considered a probable test of their respective periods. In all Roman or classic architecture, the edge of the arch, the intersection of the face and the soffit is an arris, or intersection of two plain faces. So it is in older Norman. In the later style it begins to be moulded, till at last there is no flat soffit, but the whole forms an aggregate of massive mouldings. This difference will be clearly apparent on inspecting the two fronts. Not only is this so, but the last pier to the westward in the interior is of larger dimension, and in the triforium there is clearly found the indication of a junction of new work with old. The presumption therefore is, that the tradition is correct, and that Ernulph altered the last bay, or rather lengthened the nave one bay, and erected the splendid west front. This is still further strengthened by the fact that no consecration took place till 1133, when, according to Gervase (Decem Scriptores, fo. 1664), this office was performed by John, bishop of Canterbury. "On the third of the nones of May, the same archbishop dedicated the new church of St. Andrew, at Rochester." Had it been finished in Gundulph's time, it surely would have been consecrated then, instead of waiting for eighteen years after his death.

Let us now consider what the old Norman church really consisted of. (See plate 30.) The existing nave is clearly that of Gundulph, till within two arches of the transepts.

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A little to the eastward of the north transept is a fine massive tower – called Gundulph's tower – and this is clearly Norman. We must now descend into the crypt (see plate 31), and there we find work of two periods –

one evidently early English. The other consists of very rude early groins, supported by small plain cylindrical shafts, and heavy cushion-like capitals. So early does this work seem that it has often been called Saxon. The east end of this work is evidently mixed with the early English – in fact the extreme east column seems to have been cased within the new pier. My first idea was, that there had been a circular or octagonal apsis, but, on setting out the lines, and probing the ground with a borer down to the maiden earth, nothing of the kind was found. However, on proceeding eastward, the distance of two bays more, the foundations of a huge rubble wall were found upwards of eight feet thick. This wall appeared, as far as could be discovered (as there was no opportunity for digging – not to mention a thorough excavation), to form the straight or flat end of the old church – shewing the probability that there had been no apsis.

All the Norman work is shewn in the plan (see plate 30) by a black tint. The early English work is in outline. The later Norman, of Ernulphus' time, is cross-hatched. The caps of the columns in the crypt are very singular. They are "cushion" caps, without any portion being cut off, by a flat vertical plane, as in almost all Norman work. They differ both from those at Worcester, and those at Repton. Our examples are too few for us to pronounce with any certainty; still, from their look (and here I am borne out by the testimonies of Mr. Baily and Mr. Duesbury), they have every appearance of Saxon work. That the Saxons had crypts, and large ones too, we have the often-cited authority of Wulstan's Life of St. Swithin, where he describes the cathedral at Winchester, built by Athelwold, only eighty-six years before the conquest. The great probability that they are not Saxon, however, may be deduced from the fact that the termination is not apsidal. Every building known or supposed to be Saxon (except Repton) appears to have had an apsidal termination. In fact, this was the plan of the early Christian churches.

Plate 30 exhibits the probable plan of the original

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edifice. I have drawn the choir as standing over the original Norman crypt, and of course of exactly the same size. This would in fact be large for a Norman choir. The nave, as it exists, on the other hand, would be too short for a Norman nave, as will be hereafter shewn. Reference has already been made to the Norman tower called Gundulph's Tower, on the north side of the choir. On looking to the Registrum Spirituale, of Rochester, as given by Thorpe, page 118, we find "Reginald the prior made two bells and placed them in the greater tower; one being broken was appropriated (apposita) to making another bell." Reginald, from the authorities (in the Anglia Sacra, "de successu priorum Roffens."), was prior from 1146 to 1154. In his time it was clear there were two towers. One, it is true, might have been a central tower; but it is scarcely probable, if the choir existed as I have drawn it, that two towers would have been built almost touching each other. If, however, the second tower stood on the south side, in a position exactly corresponding to the Gundulph tower, then it is probable that the lower part of these towers would form transepts; just, in fact, as they do at Exeter. Unfortunately the Gundulph tower has been sadly mutilated, all its freestone lining has gone, and all the lower openings have been filled up with rubble; but on close inspection there are vestiges of a large circular arch on its north side - the side adjoining the church. If this has been so, it must have opened into the nave itself, and my conjecture must be correct. The plate (30) shows the existing tower and its probable companion. If I am right the nave would then bear a proper proportion to others of the same period. Thus in the naves at

Winchester, we have 13 piers, and the length is 250 ft. Ely 12 250 Peterborough 11 266 Norwich 14 255 while at Rochester only 8 130

but if my conjecture be correct, we get the better proportion of 12 piers, and the length about 200 feet.

As to the west front, I have already stated my reasons for conjecturing it to be the work of Ernulphus; and I would add to these the similarity to that of the front of the

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chapter house, and other work in the cloister. We have the distinct authority of Edmund de Hadenham that Ernulph built the dormitory, chapter house, and refectory (ut supra, sub anno 1115.) These are in a most unusual position: they are most commonly on the south side of the nave; in some instances, on the north; but, except at Lincoln, no other cloister in England is attached to the choir; and in this last instance it is on the north side, while at Rochester it is on the south side of the choir. The west front of the chapter house is of singular beauty, enriched with the most elaborate carving. There are three doors, over one of which is sculptured the sacrifice of Abraham. I conjecture these doors to have been those of the slype, infirmary, and dormitory. On the other side I suppose the refectory to have been situate. The old Norman one was pulled down, and another erected by Hamo de Hethe (vide William de Dene, apud Aug. Sac., sub anno 1331); and I conjecture the south wall of the cloister to be that of this building, as there is a passage in its thickness like those leading to the place where the monk stood who read to the rest of the convent while at their meals; and that at Chester will be remembered as about the same date. The fourth side was probably occupied by the hospitium, etc. A curious mistake has crept into some books, and that is that prior Silvester built the refectory, the dormitory, and the hostelry; and nothing can show in a stronger light the necessity of going to the fountain head, and consulting the original documents themselves. Only two words are omitted; but those make all the difference. Silvester did erect the buildings as stated, but the MS. adds "at Waletune". It goes on, however, to say, "and at Rochester he removed the private house which formerly was attached (adhæsit) to the dormitory, and he made two windows in the chapter house, towards the east."

In plate 30, showing the supposed plan of the original Norman building, the black is the earlier work, or that of Gundulph; that hatched over, the work of Ernulph, or his immediate successors. Plate 31 shows the plan of the present crypt. The early work is black; that of William de Hoo, hatched over; and the old foundations, recently excavated, are hatched with dots.

The cathedral seems to have been doomed to all sorts of

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trouble for the next century. Only four years after its consecration, according to Gervase the monk (Decem Scriptores, p. 1456), "On the 3rd of the nones of June, the church of St. Andrew at Rochester, and the whole city, with the offices of the bishops and monks, were burnt." Edmund de Hadenham (Annal. Eccl. Roff. apud Angl. Sac. sub anno 1138) records this catastrophe, "but places it a year later." The same author states in 1142 that "Asclin the bishop assiduously remained at Rochester on account of the burning of the offices"; and shortly after he says: "The offices being finished, Herebert the baker retired with the bishop." From this notice it seems probable that the offices suffered the most, and that the damage to the church was comparatively slight. Be this as it may, the unfortunate edifice was fated to a second trial by fire. In 1179, according to Gervase, "on the fourth of the ides of April, a sad accident (incommodum) happened to the church at Rochester. For the church itself of St. Andrew, with the offices, was consumed by fire, and reduced to a cinder (in cinerem redacta)." This second catastrophe de Hedenham places two years earlier, in 1177. The existence of the west portion of the nave shows these injuries to have extended only to its eastern portion and to the choir.

The various statements of the chroniclers, however, should now be collected in order. They are either from the Registrum, or the Rochester Chronicle, or very often word for word in both. "Alured (Alfred) the prior", says the Registrum, "afterwards abbot of Abingdon, gave a most excellent cope, and made a window in the dormitory beyond the bed of the prior." From the succession of priors (apud Ang. Sac.), and from the Abingdon records, it seems he was prior from 1185 to 1189, of course after the second fire. It is then stated that "Thalebot (perhaps Talbot) the sacrist, made the old lavatory, and a great cross with Mary and John, and a great 'clocca', which to this day bears the name of Thalebot." Whether by "clocca" is meant a "clock" in our sense of the word, or only a bell, seems uncertain. The annalist always uses the word "campana" to signify the latter. He continues: "In 1199, Radulphus the prior made the brewery, and the great and less chambers of the prior, and the stone houses

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in the cemetery, and the hostelry, and the grange in the vineyard and the grange at Stoke, and the stable, and he caused the great church to be roofed and the greater part covered with lead. – Helyas the prior leaded the great church, and that part of the cloister next the dormitory, and he made the lavatory and the guests' refectory. – Heymeric de Tunebregge, the monk, made the cloister towards the infirmary; Roger de Saunford, monk and cellarer, made the brewhouse of stone and lime and tiles." It may, perhaps, be wondered at why such buildings as the brewery should be attended to before the church; but there was, as appears at the present day, quite sufficient of the nave left for the sacred offices, and it was natural for homeless men to think of their dormitories and hostelries before they went further.

A number of gifts of windows are then recorded, but without dates: one of Robt. de Hecham, one of William Potin by the great altar, one of Durandus Wisdom, and one somewhat singularly described. "Theodoric the monk", says the Registrum, (acquisivit) literally "got out of a certain woman of Halling as much money whence a window, a chasuble, and an alb were made, and many other things done in the crypt at the altar of St. Magdalen. He also acquired the half of one window in the crypt against Alured Cook." These gifts were, however, probably after the rebuilding.

In 1215 there was another calamity: king John besieged the castle, in which were "quidam barones strenuissimi," the powerful barons William de Albinet, and many others. Through some strange neglect or cowardice, Robert Fitz Walter, who laid with the army at London, refused to march to their assistance, and the castle was miserably taken, says Edmund de Hadenham, and the church at Rochester so plundered, that there was not a pix left. The church seems now to have been in the depth of trouble. Fire, sword, and pillage, had done their work, when in the midst of their despair a most singular event took place, which not only enabled the monks to rebuild the portions of the church which had been burnt, but enriched them for some time after. It occurred that a baker of Perth, who had attained a character for piety and charity, and who was said to give every tenth loaf to the

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poor, resolved on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He sold all he had for that purpose, and set off for the continent; passing through Rochester, he stopt there some days, and by his pleasing manners, won the good opinion of every one. On his departure his servant, tempted by the money he carried, attacked him as soon as he went out of the town, and murdered him. His fate caused great sympathy, and his remains were interred in the cathedral. Shortly after, reports of miracles done at his tomb were spread abroad, and increased to that degree that shoals of pilgrims from all parts of the country flocked to his shrine with offerings.

The Registrum records the progress of the building thus: "Richard de Eastgate, monk and sacrist of Rochester, began the north aisle (alam borealem) of the new work opposite the gate of St. William, which friar Thomas de Mepeham at length finished." "Richard de Waledene, monk and sacrist, [made] the south aisle towards the [cloister] court." "William de Hoo, sacrist, made the whole choir from the aforesaid aisles from the offerings of St. William's shrine." Now these statements seem to be very discrepant – first, that Richard Eastgate built the

north aisle opposite the gate of St. William. That Richard de Waledene built the south aisle. That William de Hoo built the whole of the choir. That aisles of such a construction could be built without a choir between them seems impossible. It is equally impossible that the choir with its arches and clerestory could stand without aisles, especially with a groined roof. But if we reflect that "ala" in its primitive form signifies a transept, and that transepts are very often called cross aisles, the matter seems intelligible./1 Not only so, it explains a thing which has not been done as yet. The two transepts differ in design - one is at least forty years later than the other. The north transept is of very early English work with billeted mouldings here and there; it is composed entirely of lancet lights, and in purity of design and beauty has been compared with even the work of the same period at Salisbury. Much of the same character, but little later, if any, is the beautiful choir. Its aisles, eastern transepts,

/1 Mr. Black fully concurred in this opinion, and gave his reasons at length in a most lucid way.

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lady chapel, and crypt, are evidently all of one date, all from one plan, all erected at the same time, and all the production of one hand and mind. But the south transept differs greatly; the lights are divided by large mullions, which fly off to the right and left in the head of the window, exhibiting the first departure from the style of separate windows or lancets, and shewing the first step which led to the development of tracery. Now, if this interpretation be allowed, the whole is clear. Richard Eastgate, the sacrist, began the north aisle, which was finished by Thomas de Mepeham, probably another sacrist; and then, after an interval, we can readily conceive how a third sacrist (or probably a fourth, for William de Hoo was sacrist ere he was prior) erected the other transept in a different style at a later period. This also explains the phrase that William de Hoo built the whole choir. It was finished in 1227, sufficiently to commence the performance of divine worship therein, when the "Introitus" took place. In 1240 (continues the annalist) the altar in the chapel of the infirmary was dedicated in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary. In the same year (he continues) the church at Rochester was dedicated by the lord Richard, its bishop, and the bishop of Bangor, on the nones of November.

One great peculiarity and object of admiration in the

work of William de Hoo is the spacious crypt. It is composed of seven aisles, divided by light columns, with elegantly moulded early English caps and bases. The groins are very singular; they are pointed in one direction, and circular in the other, to accommodate themselves to the early circular groining. The crypt seems to have been full of chapels, and probably from the situation of the windows, was nearly as light as the upper church. From old recollections associated with the days of the persecutions, when they were compelled to seek for refuge in the catacombs of Rome, the early Christians continued to build crypts to their churches, and they are general in Lombardic, Romanesque, and Norman churches. That at Canterbury is a very noble specimen - the largest in the kingdom. They seem to have been used latterly for burial and other solemn services, till they gradually fell into disuse. Though not so spacious as that at Can-

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terbury, this crypt possesses features of peculiar beauty. The rows of columns seen in perspective, and the streaming light playing between and flickering upon the floor, reimnd one of the mosques of the Saracens, from whom indeed it seems highly probable that the Crusaders borrowed the idea of the style called Early English, and changed, in so short a time, the massive cylindrical column, and the ponderous semicircular arch, for the slender Purbeck marble shaft and the aspiring lancet. This is probably the latest crypt in the kingdom, as the other part is probably the earliest, except that at Repton. It is of highly finished work, and has been coloured in fresco to a very great extent, as large traces now show. There were several chapels and altars here, as the piscinæ evidence. At one corner is a small, groined cell, perfectly dark, and receiving air from above by a small sort of flue; it is approached from the church by a stair in the thickness of the wall. This was the dreaded penance chamber. Another stair ascends, also in the thickness of the wall, and leads to a large apartment above, which bears the name of the indulgence chamber.

The choir, including the lady chapel, is considerably longer than the present nave. Its eastern transepts are exceedingly beautiful.

To give an idea of the crowds of pilgrims who flocked to the shrine of St. William, it will be sufficient to state that the north aisle of the cathedral had always been used by the citizens of Rochester as a parish church, but such was the concourse of people entering by St. William's gate, and proceeding through the transept by the north aisle of the choir to the shrine of the saint, that the parochial worship was constantly interrupted, and after some considerable bickering and litigation, the monks and townspeople agreed together, and the little decorated church of St. Andrew, which stands northward of the transept, was built for the especial use of the parishioners.

In 1264, the city and castle were again besieged by the famous Simon de Montfort,earl of Leicester, and the barons. They were defended by John de Warren and sir R. de Leybourn. The first day the besiegers burnt the barns and out-buildings belonging to the cathedral which were outside the walls. The next day they burnt the bridge and

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outer work, as has been so well described by Mr. Adams./1 They then stormed the city, and the annalist says – "These satellites of the devil entered the church of the blessed St. Andrew with drawn swords, violently took away the gold and the silver, destroyed the charters and the muniments, imprisoned the monks all night; armed knights on their horses coursed round the altars, and dragged away with wicked hands those who clung to them. Oh, mournful! oh, funereal day! in which the noble church of St. Andrew, with all its contents, was made a prey to the vilest of men, who had no more reverence for it than for a shop or pothouse. Its doors on every side were burned, the guire changed into mourning, and its organs raised in the voice of weeping. What more shall I say, but that the oratories, cloisters, chapter-house, infirmary, and even the Divine oracles are turned into stables, and filled with the dung of animals and the pollution of dead bodies." Neither Walter de Merton, the next bishop, nor John de Bradfield, his successor, seemed to have done anything for the cathedral. The annalist complains of the former, contrasting his conduct to Rochester with his liberality in founding Merton College, Oxford. But his premature death may account for the omission - he was drowned attempting to cross the river on horseback. He was succeeded by the famous Hamo de Hethe, who was scarcely inducted to his see before we find him in trouble and litigation. Some charges were brought against him to the king, in 1329, all of which appear to have been groundless. In 1331 the bishop visited Rochester, and found the church and buildings to want great repair, and a new refectory and long bakehouse to be built. William de Dene says he gave from his own purse £200 for this purpose, besides four hundred marks he had formerly given towards the reparation of the manor and grange houses. In 1343 he caused the new tower of the church at Rochester to be raised with stone and timber, and to be covered with lead. He also gave four new bells to place in the same, whose names are Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc. In the ensuing year he renovated the shrines of SS. Paulinus and Ithamar, at the expense of two hundred marks. This is the last mention we have in the chronicles of any building

/1 See Proceedings July 25.

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at Rochester. This prelate was forced by trouble and persecution to resign his see to the pope, who refused to accept it, and supported him with all his power. It was, however, in vain, and he sank and died a few years after. His works are probably the magnificent doorway into the present chapter house, and the walls of its lower part; the few decorated windows there are about the south-west transept. and probably the old refectory, with its internal passage. This doorway is perhaps the most beautiful piece of Gothic carving in England. The main subject is stated to be intended to represent the two dispensations, the Mosaic and Christian./1 The figure to the left is said to represent Judæa: the eyes are blinded, she leans on a broken reed, and the tables of the law are held in her hand in a reverent position. On the other side is a bishop holding a model of a church; probably it is intended for Gundulph himself./2 Above are four figures, said to be the four principal bishops, Dunstan, Paulinus, Ithamar, and Lanfranc; but as they have no mitres, or other marks of episcopal dignity, I think it is more likely they are intended for the four great doctors of the church, Ambrose, Augustin, Gregory, and Jerome. A branch of ivy is represented as creeping behind the tracery, and puts forth its leaves and tendrils from the openings in a most exquisite way. One part of the subject seems to have escaped general notice. In the inner moulding are numerous heads, the lowest of which exhibit the most dreadful anguish in their features. This is softened as the heads approach the top, where the faces become guite calm and placid. At the top of all, angels are lifting a naked figure to the clouds. The whole probably represents the gradual delivery of souls from Purgatory to Paradise.

The work of the perpendicular period consists of a chapel called by tradition St. Mary's chapel, the great west window, some alterations at the east window, the windows of the clerestory of the nave, and some minor

matters. It is reported that at the time of the Reformation the Lady chapel was thrown into the choir, and the new chapel built "in vice ejus". If this be so, it must have

/1 Exactly the same subject is painted in fresco at York Minster.

/2 It is to be regretted that, in restoring some of the figures, a few solecisms in costume have been committed, as was ably pointed out by Mr. Planché.

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been done by Fisher, but there is no record of any such thing; we have only oral tradition. In fact, any removal of a lady chapel must have taken place at a time when any rededication to the blessed Virgin would have been extremely improbable. The great west window was probably of the time of Henry the Seventh. We find alterations of this kind in many churches and cathedrals, without name or notice of those who executed them. It seems to have originated thus: - As soon as it was evident that Henry the Eighth intended to confiscate the property of the church, it was immediately determined to repair the buildings in every way they could. The monks considered that there probably would be no funds to keep them up, and so they resolved they would ward off the tooth of time as long as possible; and besides, it lightened the store of money in the treasury, and made every see seem poorer than it was.

The present ground plan of the cathedral, see Plate 31.

The Norman work – That of Gundulph and Ernulph (the differences of which are explained in plate 29, the former being black, the latter cross hatched). It is coloured black.

The Early English – The whole choir – eastern transepts of William de Hoo – the north transept, begun by Richard de Eastgate, and finished by Thomas de Mepeham; and the south transept of Richard de Waledene, are in outline.

The Decorated work – Of this there are some walls under the present library, the beautiful gate into the same, and perhaps some original windows, the work of Hamo de Hethe. It is marked by cross hatching.

The Perpendicular – The chapel of St. Mary (query of the infirmary), and a few insertions, are shewn by hatched lines.

- A. Is the chapel of St. Mary, last named.
- B. St. Edmund's chapel.
- C. Chapels attached to St. William's shrine.
- D. Stairs down to the crypt. The minor canons' vestry is over.
- E. Stairs to S.E. transept and chapter-house.
- F. Stairs to N.B. transept and St. William's shrine.
- G.G. Open yards.

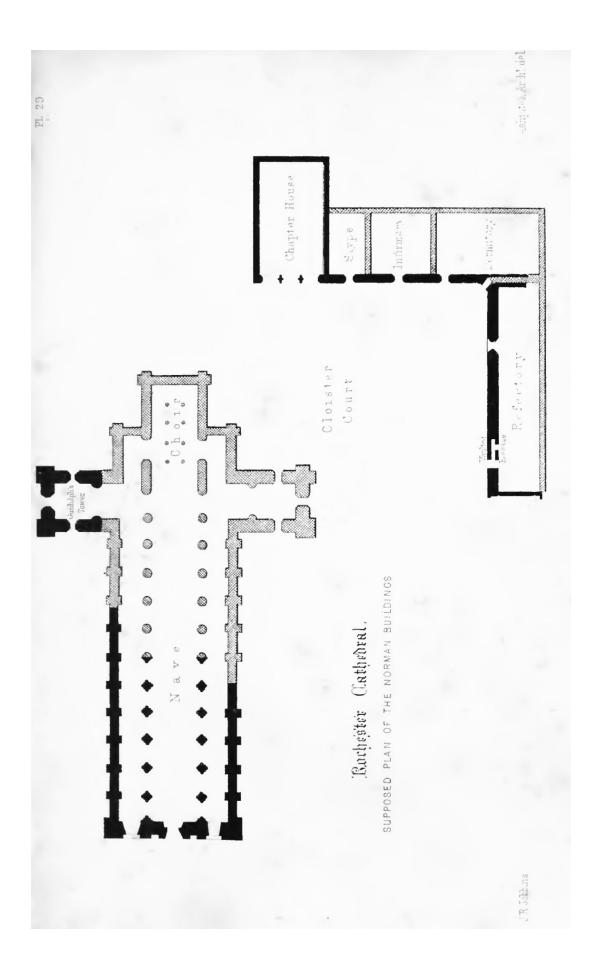
H. Library and chapter-house.

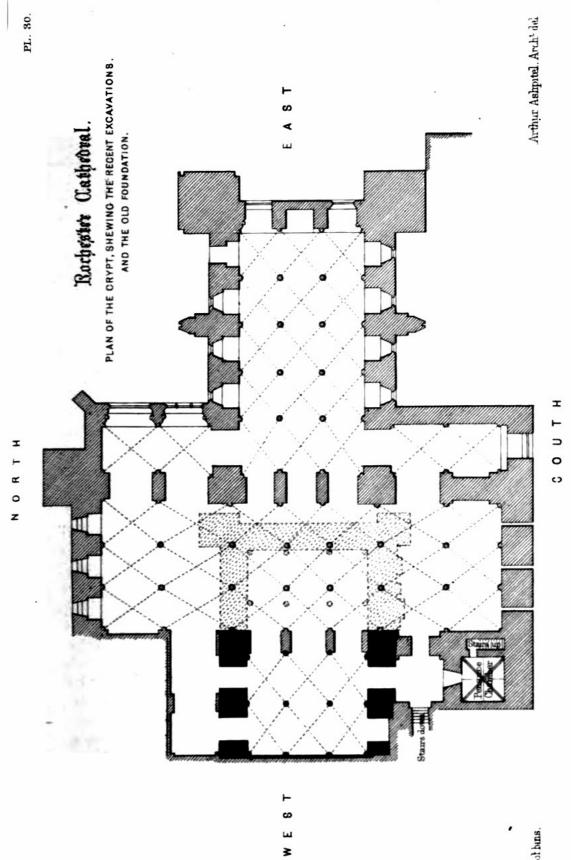
I. Stairs down to penance chamber, in the thickness of the wall, now blocked up.

K. Ditto up to the indulgence chamber ditto ditto.

THE BISHOPS' TOMBS.

- 1. Gundulph obiit 1107.
- 2. Gilbert de Glanvill 1214.
- 3. Lawrence de St. Martin 1274.
- 4. Walter de Merton 1277.
- 5. John de Bradfield 1283.
- 6. Thomas de Ingelthorp 1291.
- 7. Hamo de Hethe 1352.
- 8. John de Sheppy 1360.
- 9. John Lowe 1467.
- 10. St. William's Tomb.





J h Job buns.

