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NOTES ON THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF ROCHESTER CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

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[I have endeavoured in the following pages to put together a few notes on the architectural history of the cathedral church of Rochester -- a building which has not received the attention it deserves at the hands of archaeologists. It is much to be regretted that the late Professor Willis never completed his projected monograph on Rochester, and unfortunately the manuscript cannot be found amongst his papers. After diligent search through the whole of his collections I have only succeeded in finding block ground-plans of the church and crypt. These, however, add nothing to what is already known. I am much indebted to Mr. J. T. Irvine, who was clerk of the works during part of Sir G. G. Scott's restoration, for the loan of his most valuable notes on the fabric, taken while the building was under repair.

With regard to the references, I have as far as possible consulted the original manuscripts, for the printed versions given by Wharton and others are often not to be relied on.]

"In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 604, Augustine, the archbishop of the Britons, ordained two bishops, namely, Mellitus and Justus;" Mellitus was sent to London, "but Justus Augustine ordained bishop in the city of Dorubreve (that is, Rochester), in which king Æthelbert made the church of the blessed Andrew the apostle. He also presented many gifts to the bishops of each church, and added lands and possessions for the use of those who were with the bishops."/1

"In this church the holy Justus was the first bishop, and he ordained priests to serve God in it, for whose sustenance king Æthelbert gave a portion of land, which he called Priestfield, to the end that the priests serving God might have and hold it for ever. He added also, to endow the said church, Doddingherne, and the land which extends from the Medway to the east gate of the city of Rochester on the south part, and other lands without the city walls to the north."/2

"In the year of the Incarnation of our Lord 644, the very reverend father Paulinus, formerly bishop of York, but then bishop of the city of Rochester, passed away to the Lord on the 6th of the Ides of October, and was buried in the church of the blessed apostle Andrew, which king Æthelbert built in the same city from the foundations."/3

From these entries we learn (1) that king Æthelbert was the founder and builder of the cathedral church of St. Andrew; (2) that it was of stone, for Baeda distinctly says he built it *a fundamentis*, an expression which would hardly apply to a wooden structure; (3) that bishop Justus, himself a monk, placed the church in the hands of secular priests; (4) that the king endowed it with land (which furnished the site of the cathedral church); and (5) that the early

/1 "Anno Dominicae incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Brittaniarum archiepiscopus, ordinavit duos episcopos, Mellitum videlicet et Justum. ... Justum vero in ipsa Cantia Augustinus episcopum ordinavit in civitate Dorubrevi ... in qua rex Ædilberct ecclesiam beati Andreae apostoli fecit, qui etiam episcopis utriusque ecclesiae dona multa obtulit; sed et territoria ac possessiones in usum eorum qui erant cum episcopis adjecit." *Baedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, II. 3.

/2 "In hac ecclesia Roffe. sanctus Justus episcopus sedit primus. et presbiteros ad serviendum deo in ea ordinavit. ad quorum victum presbiterorum. Rex Ethelbertus unam porcionem terrae dedit. quam vocavit Prestefeld. eo quod presbiteri deo servientes jure perpetuo eam possiderent. Addidit eciam ecclesiam dotare cum Doddyng-

herne et cum terra que est a Medewaye usque ad orientalem portam Civitatis Roffe in australi parte et aliis terris extra murum civitatis versus partem aquilonem." *E. Registro Temporalium Ecclesie et Episcopatus Roffensis*, f. 4, and Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense* (London, 1769), page 1.

/3 "Ab incarnatione Dominica anno sexcentesimo quadragesimo quarto, reverentissimus pater Paulinus, quondam quidem Eburacensis, sed tunc Hrofensis episcopus civitatis, transivit ad Dominum sexto iduum Octobrium die ... sepultusque est in secretario beati apostoli Andreae, quod rex Ædilberct a fundamentis in eadem Hrofi civitate construxit." Baeda, III. 14.

bishops were buried in the church at least as early as 644, whereas the metropolitan church of Canterbury did not obtain such a privilege until 740, a century later.

In 676, Æthelred, king of the Mercians, laid waste Kent, and defiled the churches and monasteries. The city of Rochester did not escape the common slaughter, and Baeda/1 relates that when bishop Putta, who was absent at the time, heard that his church was depopulated and robbed, he refused to return, and betook himself to Sexwulf, bishop of the Mercians, in whose diocese he spent the rest of his days without taking any steps to recover his own see. His successor, Cuichelm, according to the same authority, also left Rochester after a short time, because of the lack of things (*prae inopia rerum*). There is, however, no statement as to the destruction of Æthelbert's church, and, if it had been fired, a stone structure would not be likely to sustain much further damage than the loss of its wooden roof and furniture. Moreover, we find that four hundred years afterwards the site of the grave of bishop Paulinus, who was buried before the sacking of the city, was perfectly well known.

In 726, bishop Tobias died and was buried in the apse (*porticu*) of St. Paul the apostle, which, within the church of St. Andrew, he had made into a place of sepulture for himself./2 This is the only passage in history which gives us any sort of clue to the plan of the old church, but slight as it is, we are able to glean something from it. Since Æthelbert had been converted to Christianity by foreigners, one of whom was the first bishop of Rochester, it seems probable that the first church would be built in the Roman manner, that is, on the basilican plan, and, as was the case at Lyminge (which was founded by a daughter of Æthelbert), with an apse at each end -- the high altar being in the western one, which would be the apse of St. Andrew. The apse of St. Paul was therefore at the east end, and in it bishop Tobias made for himself a burying place. Of course, this is pure conjecture, but I shall cite evidence further on that seems somewhat to confirm such a view.

For the next three hundred and fifty years the history of the fabric is a blank. It must, however, be noted that several charters of the kings of Mercia and Kent granted during this long interval, speak of lands *ad augmentum monasterii*. These words were taken by the mediaeval chroniclers to imply the introduction of monks before the Norman Conquest, but the phrase is evidently loosely used to denote the college of the seculars, of whose non-removal in Norman times we have ample evidence.

In 1075, Siward, bishop of Rochester, died and was succeeded by Arnost, a monk of Bec. When the new bishop came to the see, the church appears to have been in a most deplorable condition, much of its property had been alienated, and the college of seculars was reduced to four canons. Before, however, Arnost, who had been specially appointed by Lanfranc to correct this state of things, could carry out the necessary reforms, he died, having been bishop only half a year.

Lanfranc now determined to convert the ancient secular foundation into one of regulars. But he was at a loss for some time to find a suitable agent, and it was not until 1077 that he bestowed the vacant see on another of the monks of Bec, Gundulf by name. Owing to the poverty-stricken condition of the church, the new bishop was unable at first to carry out the archbishop's design. But the latter having by the king's aid recovered the possessions that had so long been alienated, Gundulf was able, in 1082, to introduce, in lieu of the four seculars, twenty Benedictine monks./3

The old church, apparently that of Æthelbert, was by this time almost ruined by age, and, moreover, too small for the new convent. The bishop accordingly set to work to pull it down, or, at any rate, so much of it as was in his way, and build an entirely new one. By Lanfranc's aid,

this is said to have been finished within a few years. A "circuit of offices" was also built for the monks./4 When these things had been done in the presence of a great concourse of ecclesiastics and layfolk, Gundulf "with great solemnity approached the sepulchre of the most holy confessor Paulinus, who had been buried in the old church," and translated the treasure of his holy relics into the new building, where they were placed in a silver shrine given by the archbishop./5

/1 Baeda, IV. 12.

/2 "Sepultus vero est in porticu sancti Pauli apostoli, quam intra ecclesiam sancti Andreae sibi ipse in locum sepulchri fecerat." Baeda, V. 23.

For the reasons for translating *porticus* by apse, see Willis's Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral, p. 39, note m.

/3 Cotton, MS. Nero, D. ii. fol. 103 b and 104 a.

/4 "Tempore ergo brevi elapso ecclesia nova veteri destructa incipitur. officinarum ambitus convenienter disponuntur. opus omne intra paucos annos Lanfranco pecunias sumministrante multas perficitur." Cott. MS. Nero, A. 8, f. 52.

/5 "Perfectis igitur omnibus; sicut dictum est que servis dei apud rovecestriam manentibus poterant esse sufficientia. habito cum sapientibus consilio idem venerabilis pater collecto monachorum et clericorum conventu. necnon et copiosa multitudine plebis. cum magna solennitate accessit ad sepulchrum sanctissimi confessoris Paulini. qui in veteri ecclesia reconditus fuerat; et thesaurum sanctarum reliquiarum eius in novam ecclesiam transferri. et in loco decenter ad hoc preparato reponi fecit." Ibid. f. 53.

The entire credit is elsewhere given to Lanfranc: --

"Lanfrancus archiepiscopus .... fecit etiam levari corpus sancti Paulini et in feretro argenteo quod ipse fieri fecit poni." Cotton MS. Vesp. A. 22.

The plan of the new church comprised a nave and aisles intended to be at least nine bays long, a transept 120 feet long but only 14 feet wide, and an eastern arm with aisles of the unusual number for a Norman church, of six bays in length, which terminated in a square, instead of a round end, with a small square chapel projecting from the centre of the front. The four easternmost bays were raised upon an undercroft, or crypt. In the angle formed by the north transept and eastern arm was a massive tower, but detached; and this was balanced on the south side of the church by a corresponding one, but of less size and an integral portion of the fabric. There was no tower over the crossing. This singular arrangement, which differs most markedly from the usual Norman type, was evidently planned on the English model. It appears also to have been necessitated by several considerations, of which the chief were (1) the existence of earlier buildings; (2) the division of the church into (a) the monks' portion, and (b) that pertaining to the ancient parish altar of St. Nicholas, which seems to have stood in the nave;/1 (3) the possession of relics.

Before Gundulf commenced his new church, he erected to the eastward of the old one a massive tower, probably for defensive purposes. This is the structure whose ruins still remain on the north side of the church. It is now a mere shell, stripped of its ashlar lining, and reduced in height to about forty feet. Originally it was much higher, for there are no windows in the bays of the triforium of the north transept opposite its west side, and from the top of the Early English turret at the north-west angle of the choir transept a flying buttress was thrown, which also served as a bridge from turret to tower, for the convenience of the sacrist probably. The north-east angle was strengthened in the thirteenth century by two very massive buttresses, rising from Purbeck marble plinths, and the upper story enlarged in area by being carried on projecting arches resembling machicolations./2 As has been said, this tower is detached from the main walls, with which, too, it is not in the same plane./3 That it was erected previous to the Norman church is evident from the fact of its having a long narrow window on each side of the ground floor, two of which became practically useless when Gundulf built his church. Where the original entrance was is doubtful. On the north and west sides are two comparatively recent holes punched through the walls, and in the south-west corner a small recess which is original, though now with the back knocked out to convert into a door. The date of the erection of this tower must fall between 1077 and 1080, as we shall shortly see. At a very early period it was converted into a campanile, and in the sixteenth century was still known as "three-bell steeple."

The new church was commenced, as was customary, at the east end -- the object being to prepare as quickly as possible a place for the altar and for the choir. The crypt was entered from the north choir-aisle, which was divided lengthwise -- one side with a flight of steps to the upper church, the other with a descent to the crypt, whose earthen floor was six feet below the level of the aisle pavement. Curiously enough, there is no evidence of a southern entrance, though from analogy we should expect one. The western half of Gundulf's crypt still exists in a very perfect condition, though much blocked up by modern brick walls and the organ bellows; the eastern portion was removed when the Early English extension was added *circa* 1205. The original crypt, which was characterized by extreme plainness, was four bays long, divided longitudinally into three portions, corresponding to the presbytery and its aisles of the upper church, by massive piers six feet square, each with an engaged vaulting respond on the north and south faces. The central portion was 26¾ feet wide by 46½ feet long, sub-divided into three alleys by two rows of columns sustaining the roof -- a plain rubble vault without ribs. The two remaining columns are of very early character, each consisting of a circular monolithic shaft of Barnack stone, with a rude and heavy square cushion cap and plainly moulded base, set on a square plinth, also of Northamptonshire stone. The responds have similar caps and bases; but the semi-circular shaft is formed of tufa blocks bonded into the wall. Projecting from the middle alley was a small rectangular chapel measuring internally about 9 by 6½ feet. The existence of this singular appendage, the earliest instance of the eastern adjunct that culminated in such glorious structures as the Lady chapels of Gloucester, Westminster, and Wells, was discovered by myself in October, 1881, during excavations made in the crypt to discover the foundations of the original east end. The result of my diggings was to verify Mr. Ashpitel's borings made thirty years ago,/4 when he ascertained that the end was square and not apsidal; but, in addition, I found the aisles were of equal length with the presbytery, and that east of all was this curious chapel, whose existence I most carefully assured

/1 A charter of Gundulf between 1100 and 1107 confirms to the monks, amongst sundry advowsons, that of the altar of St. Nicholas, "quod est parochiale in ecclesia beate Andree." *Reg. Roff.* 6.

/2 These various peculiarities are all shown in engravings of earlier date than a hundred years ago -- the best being one of 1783.

/3 Its plane agreed with that of Gundulf's church, but the builders of the Early English presbytery got the east end out of line, and their successors endeavoured to pull all the later additions straight with the newer work. Consequently, when the centre of the church was reached, the result was a clumsy join. The building has, therefore, two axes, one of the Norman church, the other of the later rebuilds.

It is necessary to point out that, for convenience, the different parts of the fabric are spoken of in this paper as if the main axis stood east and west -- really it points almost exactly due south-east.

/4 *Journal of Britt. Arch. Ass.* IX. pp. 271-285.

myself of by personal excavation all round to its junctions with the main walls. I presume it was open to the rest of the crypt, but what its use was downstairs I do not know. The crypt aisles were 10¾ feet wide and of equal length with the central portion. The vaulting shafts differ from those above described in being flat pilasters. The crypt was lighted by four plain round-headed windows on each side,/1 and perhaps three on the east. Externally, between each, was a flat pilaster buttress. The whole of Gundulf's dressings, both here and in the upper church, are of tufa, a circumstance of value in tracing his work.

In the upper church the eastern arm measured about 76 feet long by 60 feet wide. It was of the unusual number of six bays long, with the eastern three-fifths of its length raised upon the crypt. The choir of the monks occupied the lower, and the presbytery the upper, level. They appear to have been completely shut off from the aisles by solid walls, as the present choir is, with the *ostia presbyterii* in the fourth bay, and perhaps another pair of doors, to form a processional path, in the first bay also. Light was obtained from the clerestory and east end. The high altar would stand on the line between the first and second bays. Behind it was a clear space for processions, and beyond that the upper story of the curious eastern chapel, which would reach probably only two-thirds of the total height of the front, leaving room for an upper range of windows over it

to light the presbytery. Many suggestions have been made as to the use of this chapel; but in the absence of a parallel example, it is difficult to find a valid one. My own idea is that here Gundulf placed the tomb of St. Paulinus, whose relics he had preconceived the notion of placing in his new church, for the account of their translation concludes with the statement that *thesaurum sanctarum reliquiarum eius in novam ecclesiam transferri. et in loco decenter ad hoc praeparato reponi fecit.*/2

The plaster floor of Gundulf's choir was accidentally come upon in 1872 during the piercing of a tunnel from the west end of the crypt to the pulpitum at the entrance of the choir, through which to convey the wind-trunk from the bellows in the crypt to the organ. This floor varied in level. At its east end, where it abuts against the west wall of the crypt, it was 5{1/2} feet below the original floor-line of the presbytery. It then gradually descended westward for some 15 feet, where a low step was placed. Thence it was level for another 10 feet, when another step brought it down to the plane of the nave floor, which remains 20 inches below the present one. At the entrance of the choir was a screen of some sort against which, as the pavement showed, the monks' stalls were returned. The monastic choir did not, therefore, as was usual in Norman churches, extend down into the nave. There must have been a flight of steps at the east end of the stalls up to the presbytery, but nothing is known of their arrangement./3

Of the transept nothing remains above ground; but we know that it was equal in length to the present one from the foundation of the east and south walls of the south wing. These were found during the under-pinning of the gable in 1872. The narrow width -- only 14 feet -- is also fixed by the existence *in situ* (underground) of the footings of Gundulf's clasping pilaster buttress of the old south-west angle. Also by a straight joint with tufa quoin stones in the wall above; though this pertains to a later rebuild.

The east side of each wing, had the normal plan been followed as at York, Chichester, Southwell, and other churches with apteral transepts, would probably have opened into an apsidal chapel. Here, however, the pre-existence of the great campanile prevented such a design being carried out on the north; while on the south it was deemed more symmetrical to build another tower to balance its fellow. The south tower,/4 being a contemporary building, was not detached, but an integral part of the fabric. Though no portion remains above ground, except perhaps a fragmental section of its east side, there is no lack of proof, both architectural and documentary, of its existence. Its foundations remain on the south and east; and in the present aisle wall, beside the cloister door, the quoins in the masonry show how the aisle wall was built up against the east side of the tower before its removal. We have also one of the jambs left of the arch which spanned the eastern end of the aisle between it and the choir. In the documents, too, at a period considerably anterior to the building of the central campanile, we read of a greater and a lesser tower in terms which leave no doubt as to the identity of each./5 There is nothing to show how this south campanile opened into the church.

Of the nave we still have five bays of the south arcade up to the triforium level, but with the outer order on the nave side altered and the piers recased; also five bays of the south, and three of the north, aisle wall, as high as the window-sills. The south wall has been recased outside, but

/1 One remains on the south, now cut down to form a doorway into the vaulted space beneath the steps to the upper church from the choir aisle. Beside it is part of the external pilaster buttress. Two of the north windows exist, though obscured by later insertions.

/2 See note *ante*.

/3 For this most valuable information I am indebted to Mr. J. T. Irvine, clerk of the works under Sir G. G. Scott, under whose superintendence and direction the work of the tunnel was carried out.

/4 The entire credit of identifying this south tower (which had not been noticed by any previous writer) is due to Mr. Irvine, who deduced its existence from the alterations and rebuildings in this part of the church. As these chiefly concern later works, they need not be discussed before their proper place.

/5 Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, 31.

on the north the lower portions of Gundulf's original flat pilaster buttresses may still be seen below two of the present ones -- which are late Norman insertions. They were discovered during

the under-pinning of the aisle walls in 1875-6. At the same time the more curious discovery was made from peculiar differences in the foundations, that Gundulf did not finish his nave westward. On the south, his wall stops short in the middle of the last bay, while on the north it only extends to the west side of the third buttress from the present transept. If, therefore, as is probable, from the narrow width of the first transept, the nave arcades were carried right across up to the choir arch, Gundulf's bays on the south side were nine in number, and on the north only five. I suppose the reason of this incompletion was that the church being partly parochial, the bishop built the monastic half and left the rest for the parishioners to do; but this does not explain why one side was carried four bays farther west than the other. Doubtless this was due to the desire to obtain a wall against which to place the north alley of the cloister, for we have already seen that Gundulf built a circuit of offices for the monks. As regards the parochial division, I venture to suggest that the bishop had left part of the old church standing, on the site between the present south arcade and north aisle wall, for the use of the parishioners, and that these remains included the apse within which had stood the original high altar. For observe, that the part of the church where St. Paulinus' tomb stood was evidently standing at the time of his translation, and the place of his burial was well known; and the usual place for the burial of a confessor was near the high altar.

With respect to the design of Gundulf's nave, we are only able to ascertain positively, from the existing remains, that the arcade consisted of semi-circular arches of two plain, square-edged orders. They probably rested on square piers with re-entering angles, having a semi-circular vaulting shaft on the nave side, and a flat pilaster one to the aisle. The original piers have been recased. I do not think the triforium was ever built, nor the aisle walls carried above the level of the (now) first string-course.

I have dwelt at some length on the plan and extent of Gundulf's church, because many of the later changes owe their disposition to the manner in which the builders were obliged to incorporate with them portions of the first Norman work. The remarkably English look about the ground-plan of the church seems to prove that the builders were not Normans, but our own countrymen. This explains the rude character of much of the work.

The date of Gundulf's building seems to lie wholly between 1080 (for the monks were introduced in 1082) and 1087, in which year certain ornaments were given to the church by William the Conqueror/1 -- certainly before Lanfranc's death in 1089.

About 1115, the nave was taken in hand, and given much its present form. The north arcade was carried on five bays westward, and the eastern portion of it, as well as Gundulf's work on the south side, altered to harmonize with the more enriched style of the new work. This alteration involved the recasing of the piers and of the outer orders of the arches, but the southern arches were left untouched on the aisle side. Gundulf's original work may, therefore, here be seen unaltered up to the triforium level. Singular to say, the arches of the new triforium passage are not circular, but pointed. I think we may claim for these the earliest undoubted examples of the use of the pointed arch in actual construction. The clerestory, which was built at the same time, has been replaced by a later one, but no doubt its wall passage was also spanned by pointed arches. The aisle walls were completed from the ornamental string-course below the windows upwards, and more ornate buttresses inserted, externally and internally. Unfortunately only the three easternmost bays of the north aisle now exhibit these changes unaltered by subsequent repairs. The aisles were never vaulted, but ceiled at the triforium level. The experiment of filling the spandrels of the arcade with a circular panel edged with the chevron moulding has been made in one bay on the south side.

The west front is a little later in date than the arcades,/2 though a continuation of the same work. When the north wall was under-pinned, it was found that foundations had been laid for towers to the front. Such a design was, however, soon abandoned; for the last pair of piers are not strong enough to carry the extra weight. Coeval with the front are the curious ornamental diapers filling the tympana of the triforium. A very slight examination will show the difficulty experienced in inserting the blocks, many of them being chopped up to fit -- necessities which would not have arisen had the superincumbent arches been built with them.

From fragments of later Norman mouldings found from time to time, we know that the choir

and presbytery received alterations at this time.

These alterations to the church are ascribed by writers of its history to bishop Ernulf, who held the see from 1115 to 1124. That he did some of the work is proved by the existence of fragments in the north aisle with the curious diagonal diaper pattern which distinguishes his

/1 1087. "Idem vero rex (William I.) Roffensem ecclesiam beati Andree in tantum dilexit: ut imminente articulo mortis sue centum ei libras donaret regiam quoque tunicam propriumque cornu eborneum. dorsale etiam unum cum feretro de argentato dimittetur." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. f. 105.

/2 The labels of the west windows of the aisles furnish us with a very early instance of true dog-tooth moulding.

work at Canterbury, and the front of his chapter-house at Rochester. It seems to me, that owing to the monks having trebled in number by the time of Gundulf's death in 1108, the increased accommodation necessary for them in the choir was obtained by extending the stalls westward -- for the floor was certainly raised; and that these fragments of Ernulf's formed the back of the rood-loft west of the *pulpitum*. The diaper would then cover the whole wall surface, as it still does in the passage to the crypt at Canterbury.

We must not, however, attribute all the later Norman work to Ernulf. The west front is certainly after his time, and I think due to his successor, bishop John de Canterbury (1125-1137). This prelate is recorded to have translated the body of bishop Ythamar, who died in 644, and was buried in the old church. Does not this point to the final demolition of Æthelbert's church, including the apse with the original high altar, near which the bishop's body, like Paulinus', had been entombed?

The whole of the later work appears to have been executed by 1130, for on Ascension Day in that year the church was dedicated by archbishop William de Corbeuil in the presence of eleven English and two Norman bishops.

Before proceeding with the architectural history, a digression is necessary to record a work which largely influenced the remodelling of the eastern half of the church.

This was the removal of the conventual buildings to an entirely new site. The buildings erected by Gundulf for his monks would seem to have been of a temporary character only, but occupying a normal position south of the nave. The first record of permanent structures is that bishop Ernulf (whose great works at Canterbury, while he was prior there, had already made him famous as an architect), between 1115 and 1124, built a new dormitory, chapter-house, and fratry./1

Now the cloister of which the church formed the north side and Ernulf's buildings the east and south, was on the south side of the choir; consequently it became necessary to provide more convenient access from the various conventual buildings to the church. Such of these as affect the plan of the church will be mentioned as we go on, the others will be described in another place.

To resume the architectural history of the church.

In 1138, "the city and church of Rochester were consumed by fire, together with all the offices of the monks."/2

No traces of this fire are visible in any portion of the existing church, and the damage must have been confined to the new conventual buildings and those parts of the church immediately in contact with them. It is possible that the outer wall of the north choir aisle may be of this date, for the lower portion of its length has a pair of round-headed windows in each bay -- now blocked and only visible externally -- and, moreover, as I ascertained by excavation, it stands upon the base of Gundulf's wall, from which it differs in plane and thickness./3

Forty-one years later, on April 11th, 1179, "the church of Rochester, with all its offices, and the whole city within and without the walls, was burnt a second time,"/4 and, according to Gervase,/5 "reduced to a cinder."

No traces of this fire are visible in the nave, and the remainder of the church is of later date. We have, however, traces of some repairs. They occur in the south transept, which was immediately contiguous to a range of the conventual buildings, and point to the remarkable fact

that this part of the church was rebuilt by either William of Sens or one of his school; for when the transept was under repair, about ten years ago, there were taken out of the wall sundry fragments of mouldings identical in section with those known to be the work of the great architect at Canterbury./6 Curiously enough, as may be seen externally from the straight joint of the angle quoins in the south wall, though the transept was rebuilt, its previous narrow width was not increased. When, therefore, at a yet later period in the reconstruction of the church, it was deemed necessary to widen the transept, the Canterbury architect's work gave place to a new design.

There are no other notices of repairs after the second fire which can be proved to refer to the church, but many in connection with the priory buildings. These will be dealt with elsewhere. We may mention, however, that bishop Gilbert de Glanville (1185--1215) is recorded to have "caused our stone cloister to be finished."/7 This was before 1199. Part of his work still remains in the lower half of the outer wall of the south choir aisle.

/1 "Fecit etiam dormitorium. capitulum. Refectorium." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. i. 109 b.

/2 "Anno m/o.c/o.xxxviij. Eodem anno ecclesia Roffensis et tota civitas combusta est. cum omnibus officinis monachorum." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. f. < >.

/3 The junction has since been opened out, and is to be seen in the space between the aisle and the old north campanile.

/4 1179. "Rofensis ecclesia cum omnibus officinis & tota urbe infra & extra muros secundo conbusta est, iii. Iduum. Aprilis. Anno Nonagesimo septimo. ex quo Monachi in eadem ecclesia instituti sunt." Cott. MS. Vesp. A. 22, f. 30, & Nero, D. ii. f. 117.

/5 "In cinerem redacta." *Decem. Scriptores*, c. 1456.

/6 These fragments are now preserved in the crypt. I am indebted to Mr. Irvine for drawing my attention to them.

/7 "Gilbertus Roffensis Episcopus ... fecit claustrum nostrum perfici lapideum." *Reg. Roff.* 633.

Whether the monks found that the fire of 1179 had left their part of the church in a ruinous condition, or whether they were imbued with grand ideas, is difficult to say. But we have distinct evidence that at the commencement of the Early English period they began to reconstruct the building from the nave eastward.

The church must up to this time have been much lacking in dignity externally, for the north and south towers were no higher than the transept walls, and the sky line was only relieved by turrets at the west front and elsewhere. The new scheme, therefore, commenced with the setting out the lines of a central tower. The two first bays of the Norman nave were cleared away to obtain the necessary area, and then the bases were laid of the four piers, as well as of the arches on each side of them opening from the transepts into the aisles. For some reason, after the new piers had been carried up a few feet/1 the work came to a stop, and they were left in that condition while the choir aisles were proceeded with.

Respecting these aisles we are informed: "Richard de Eastgate, monk and sacrist of Rochester, began the north aisle of the new work towards the gate of the blessed William -- which brother Thomas de Mepeham almost completed." "Richard de Waldene, monk and sacrist (built) the south aisle towards the (cloister) court."/2

Simple as these statements appear, it is nevertheless a most difficult matter to reconcile them with the architecture. The difficulty is increased through the walls being plastered; hence we cannot deduce any evidence from the jointing of the masonry. In the north aisle there is a slight difference in section between the bases of the vaulting shafts and those at the west end, but the caps are similar. The upper part of the outer wall was rebuilt when the present vaulting was inserted, it is therefore possible that some of the work of one of the two monks has been destroyed.

Of the south aisle -- which separated the south tower from the choir -- only the north side of the western one-third remains. The south side of this portion was swept away when the tower was finally removed at a later period, and the eastern two-thirds of the aisle is a subsequent rebuild. What remains of the original aisle is of the same work as the bases of the arch at its west end.

That the two entries quoted above refer to the choir aisles and not the transepts is certain from

the entry that immediately follows them:

"William de Hoo, sacrist, built the whole choir from the aforesaid aisles out of the offerings (at the shrine) of St. William." The undoubted work of William de Hoo comprises all that part of the building east of the choir-aisles; viz. the choir transept and presbytery, with the extension of the crypt beneath them, but not the choir proper, which is distinctly a later work.

The good saint, through whose merits this important addition to the church was erected, was a native of Perth, who was murdered outside the city of Rochester while on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1201. "At that time, St. William of Perth is martyred outside the city of Rochester, and buried in the cathedral church of Rochester, with glistening of miracles."/2 It is possible that the increasing fame of Canterbury's murdered archbishop and the miracles worked at his tomb, were looked upon with envious eyes by the monks of Rochester. Certain it is that they made the most of the murder of a pious person; and in 1256, bishop Laurence de St. Martin went to Rome and obtained tho canonization of the holy St. William of Perth./4

From differences observable in the masonry of the crypt piers it is evident that the new work was built up around the east end of the Norman presbytery, that no interruption of the services might ensue. When William de Hoo's building was sufficiently completed to receive a wooden ceiling -- of which traces are visible in the north east transept -- the first two bays of the old work, with the chapel of St. Paulinus, were removed and the transepts and presbytery provided with floors by vaulting the crypt. Instead, however, of placing the shrine of the new saint in the place of honour behind the high altar, it was set up in the north choir transept,/5 where it remained until the destruction of such ornaments by Henry VIII. Perhaps the superior dignity of a bishop of Rochester in his own cathedral church led the monks to reinstate the shrine of St. Paulinus behind the high altar. The new work was sufficiently finished by 1214 to allow of the burial

/1 The exact height is shown by a difference in the colour of the stonework.

/2 "Ricardus de Eastgate monachus et sacrista Roffensis incepit alam borialem novi operis versus portam beati Willelmi, quam frater Thomas de Mepeham fere consumavit.

Ricardus de Waldene monachus et sacrista alam australem versus curiam.

Willelmus de Hoo sacrista fecit totum chorum a predictis alis de oblacionibus sancti Willelmi." Cott. MS. Vesp. A. 22. f. and *Reg. Roff.* 125.

William de Hoo was elected Prior in 1239.

Thomas de Meopham was sacrist in 1255, but it does not follow that he was the monk of the same name mentioned above.

/3 "In illo tempore Sanctus Willelmus de Pert martirizatur extra civitatem Roffensem. et in ecclesia cathedrali Roffensi sepelitur miraculis choruscando (sic)." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. f. 123.

/4 Anno 1256. "Laurentius de Sancto Martino Roffensis episcopus transfretavit ad curiam romanam. ubi impetravit canonizationem beati Willelmi martyris qui in ecclesia Roffensi requiescit." Ibid.

/5 This site is positively fixed by the record of bishop Walter de Merton's burial in 1278 "in parte boriali juxta sepulchrum sancti Willelmi." Ibid.

therein of bishop Gilbert de Glanville. The completion of the walls and temporary roofing in of the new extension enabled the monks to transfer the services into it while they set about the reconstruction of the Norman choir -- which had remained until now -- in a style corresponding to the work to the east of it. From lack of funds, perhaps, this was not at once proceeded with, and before the treasury was again replenished, a new style came into fashion. The result is, that in place of the coarse workmanship and extravagant use of marble columns which characterize William de Hoo's work, we have in the choir work of much better execution and superior design. It was evidently William de Hoo's intention to pierce the solid walls of the Norman choir with an arcade, and thus make the aisles available for other purposes than mere passages, but his successor in the works retained the solid walling, refacing it with a series of blind arches, which possibly supersedes a Norman arcade in the same position. He also completed the eastern piers of the great crossing, with the arch above and the arches at the west ends of the choir aisles. One bay of the triforium of each transept was erected at the same time, and the whole of the new work covered in with a sexpartite vault. To carry the thrust of this vault at the middle of the choir, a flying buttress was

thrown over the north aisle from a great buttress built outside it. On the south the extra-width of the aisle and the existence of the cloister forbade such an arrangement, so the difficulty was got over by building a buttress in the aisle against the choir wall. This is the meaning of the singular projection at the top of the steps down to the crypt.

Near the west end of the south aisle, at about eight feet from the pavement, is a narrow tube running through the choir wall. The same peculiarity exists on the north, though blocked externally by bishop Hamo's tomb. The object of these is a puzzle. They open in the choir at about the level of a man's ear when sitting, but are now hidden by the stalls.

To this period belong the massive buttresses added at the north-east angle of Gundulf's north tower.

The whole of these last recorded works date from just after the murder of St. William in 1201 to 1227, when we find the new choir was entered./1 An examination of the external turrets shows an alteration in the design, for the bases are provided for angle shafts which were never built, and the summits are most awkwardly finished off.

As a pause was now made in the great rebuilding scheme it will be convenient to describe various changes that had taken place in the south choir aisle.

In the Norman church this aisle was merely a narrow passage at the back of the choir: its south side being formed partly by the wall of the south tower. But at the end of the twelfth century it was doubled in width east of the tower. This was effected in a somewhat complicated manner. When Ernulf erected new conventual buildings, the eastern arm of the church was only half as long as the alley of the cloister which the bishop built against it, and the necessary length must have been obtained by building a wall in continuation of the outer wall of the church. But the new chapter-house did not abut against any building on the north, and there was a space twelve feet wide between its north wall and the line of the church produced. Now, we should naturally expect to find that this width was filled up by a wall in line with the west front of the chapter-house, but the north wall of the latter shows most clearly that nothing has ever been built against it, and as we have apparently a portion remaining of the plaster floor of Ernulf's cloister, I do not see how the north-east angle was managed. Whatever difficulty existed was, at any rate, got over when the cloister was made anew after the fire of 1179, by building a wall in continuation of the north side of the chapter-house to the centre of the east front of the south tower, and against this wall the north cloister alley was placed. At the same time, that part of the site of the old cloister immediately adjoining the church was taken into the choir aisle, which thus became double its former width. This was done anterior to the erection of the choir transept. I think, however, that at first it was merely a sort of outer aisle or lobby between cloister and aisle, the final throwing down of the dividing wall taking place when the eastern extension was built. The necessity of the alteration was evidently felt when the cloister was first removed to the south of the choir, for the aisle was partly filled with the stairs to the upper church, and there was but little space for the marshalling of processions and other ceremonies. Another consideration was the roundabout way to the crypt; and a third, the narrowness of the steps in the north aisle, up which pilgrims and devotees crowded to St. William's shrine. As soon, therefore, as the south aisle could be widened, the north crypt entrance was blocked up, and the stairs carried right across the north aisle, while a new descent to the undercroft was made in the last bay of its south aisle, and the stairs to the upper church moved farther east. These operations were carried out not later than 1227, for the builders of the choir contemplated vaulting the enlarged aisle in four large compartments springing from a lofty detached central column. This fine design was never carried out, but the vaulting shafts remain *in situ*, as do the wall ribs, ornamented with the billet moulding, above the present ceiling.

In the year 1240 the church was dedicated by bishop Richard de Wendover, and Richard, bishop of Bangor, on the Nones of November./2

/1 "Introitus in novum chorum Roffensem." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii.

/2 "Eodem anno (1240) dedicata est ecclesia Roffensis a Domino. R. episcopo ejusdem loci et episcopo de Bangor. Nonis Novembris." Ibid.

As soon after the completion of the choir as the state of the treasury permitted, the great north transept was taken in hand. There is no evidence of any alteration having been made to this part of the church since Gundulf built it, and it is more than probable that his work had remained intact until now, especially if we consider that the rebuilders of the south transept after the fire of 1179 thought fit to retain the original width. The lines of the new work were set out according to the bases of the tower piers laid down some time before, and thus, while retaining the original length, the transept now became one-third wider. On its east side the space intervening between it and the great north tower was utilized to form a recess for an altar./1 We have seen that one compartment of the east side, that next to the choir, had been finished when the latter was built. This was incorporated with the new work, but the builders of the transept thought fit, while preserving and following the character of the clerestory, to alter the curved head of the rear-arch into the stiffer and more angular outline which characterizes the upper story of this part of the church. The partly-built arch leading into the nave aisle was also completed, and the north-west tower pier run up to its full height. The north transept appears to date from *circa* 1250.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, when the Early English style began to develop into the Geometrical Decorated, the south wing of the transept, although it had been apparently rebuilt after the fire of 1179, was again altered, to make it correspond with the north transept. It was increased in width one-third by rebuilding the west wall entirely, and lengthening the south one to meet it. The whole of the upper two-thirds of the existing work was then removed, and a series of tall arches built round the sides, reaching nearly up to the clerestory string-course -- three on the south and two on the west pierced with windows, and two on the east forming recesses for altars. The remaining tower-pier, and the north, west, and south arches of the crossing were completed at the same time. It seems, too, that the north transept was now vaulted, but I am not sure about the south wing. Another work of great importance was also commenced -- the rebuilding of the nave. Fortunately for admirers of the beautiful Norman work, the state of the funds did not permit of more than the two first bays on each side being tampered with. In proof of this, if the shafts of the piers are examined closely, it will be seen that those of the first bay are detached and of marble, but in the next bay they form part of the pier itself, and are of stone, painted to imitate the more costly material, which could not be afforded. The first north bay is filled up in part by a remarkable projection -- quite plain on the nave side, but with an arch of construction at the back. It cannot be a buttress, for the central tower was not built at the time any higher than the crowns of the arches, and no dangerous thrust could have been feared. It has been suggested that it was erected as a sedile for an altar in the aisle, but the absurdity of piling up so solid a mass for so simple a purpose is obvious. It is more possible that it contained a staircase to the rood-loft, which stood at the east end of the nave, forming the reredos of St. Nicholas' altar. Modern repairs have, however, obliterated all traces of an entrance below, and a coating of plaster may conceal the upper door. The arch at the back, as may be seen from the blocks out of which the caps of the jamb-shafts are cut, is simply ornamental architecture, and was never pierced.

Shortly after the rebuilding of the south transept, sundry alterations were made in and around it. The two arches in its east side were replaced by one of twice their span; the south tower was divided by a wall built in line with that of the aisle; its southern half rebuilt in a different form, and the northern pulled down to the ground and the area thrown into the aisle, which thus attained its present dimensions. The singular lop-sided wooden ceiling dates from this enlargement, as does the upper half of the outer wall of the aisle, with the lancet windows in it, which lancets have Decorated mouldings. The rebuilding of the nave having been abandoned, the junction between the early Decorated and Norman work was made good in the singular way we see. It will be observed that one half of each Norman arch has been reset with the original voussoirs. The sculptured cap of the southern bay is a beautiful specimen of Decorated carving, and probably unique in having a square instead of an octagonal or circular abacus.

Some rebuilding also appears to have been effected in the south transept clerestory not easy to follow out. If the east and west clerestories be divided along the centre line of the wall passage, the inner walls of each will be found to be of different date, not only from each

other, but from the outer walls, which again are not coeval. The wooden vaulting belongs to these alterations, and may replace a stone one, of which only the springers remain.

The monks, having now reconstructed the whole of the fabric east of the nave, seem to have found it advisable to screen off their portion of the church as much as possible; both for the sake of privacy, and the greater safety of their valuable shrines and ornaments. In the north choir-aisle, at the top of the steps to the upper church, was built a solid stone screen with a doorway in the centre, and similar screens were erected in the two arches on the west side of the south choir transept. The west side of the old wooden pulpitum at the choir

/1 The jamb-shafts of the small window in the north wall of this recess are remarkable as furnishing the only examples (except a later one in the nave) of foliated capitals in the church.

entrance was also replaced by a solid stone wall, with the "quire door" in the midst. The arch opening from the transept into the south choir aisle was filled by a screen, and a small door from the aisle pierced in the thin wall at the back of the altar recess in the south transept. The cloister door is also of this date.

There now follows a period of comparative quietude in alterations to the church -- the monks being occupied with urgent repairs to the conventual buildings -- and the only works of the Decorated period proper are a few inserted doors and windows.

The most noteworthy is the very beautiful door now forming the entrance into the chapter-room. It was built about 1330 to afford easier communication with the monastic buildings. The two principal figures represent the Christian and Jewish Dispensations, but the female figure of the former has been restored with a bearded bishop's head!! To the same period belongs the small door in the west front. This was inserted in 1327 by agreement between the priory and the parishioners of St. Nicholas to admit the latter into a small chapel, where the reserved Sacrament was kept for the sick and infirm./1 A door was also built in the west wall of the north choir transept to give access to certain chambers, situated between the transept and the old north campanile, which pertained to the Sacrist and other officers. The corbels still remain to show the levels.

During the episcopate of Haymo de Heythe, in 1343, "the bishop caused the new campanile of the church of Rochester to be carried up higher with stone and wood, and to be covered with lead. He also placed in it four new bells, whose names are Dunstan, Paulinus, Ythamar, and Lanfranc."/2

I take it that the tower was now built from the crowns of the arches one stage upwards above the roofs, and capped by a wooden spire covered with lead. The latter was several times rebuilt, but the tower appears to have remained until Mr. Cottingham cased and otherwise transformed it into the present feeble structure in 1826.

In the year 1344, bishop Haymo de Heythe "caused the shrines of SS. Paulinus and Ythamar to be made anew of marble and alabaster, towards which renewal he gave two hundred marks."/3 These shrines most likely stood behind the high altar. Possibly the increased importance such elaborate ornaments gave to the east end, caused the plainer Early English windows at the sides to be replaced by more elegant ones of the prevailing fashion.

During the fifteenth century the alteration of doors and windows still went on. The outer wall of the north choir aisle was heightened to form a clerestory, and the present groined vault erected. The Norman windows of the nave aisles were next replaced by two-light Perpendicular ones, and the north door renewed. Still later, the Norman clerestory of the nave was taken down and rebuilt in the new manner, and a large eight-light window inserted in the west front. The Norman pinnacle at the north-west angle was removed with the clerestory, and a plain octagonal turret set up in its stead. This is a clear case of fifteenth century "restoration."

Lastly, the final step that produced the singular ground-plan of the church, was the enlargement of the Lady Chapel westward, by adding to it a nave of three bays. That the south transept was the chapel of Our Lady is a fact about which there is no doubt, both from documents and

other reliable sources. It is also equally certain that the Perpendicular extension was never called the Lady Chapel until modern times; nor could it have been, as some writers assert, the chapel of the *infirmitorium* of the priory.

The last addition to the church brings us within a few years of the suppression of the priory and the refoundation of the cathedral church in 1541, with, for the second time, a body of secular canons. By the refoundation charter, the whole of the church, with its chapels, bells, campaniles, cloisters, roofs, cemeteries, &c., was made over to the new chapter; but, excepting the changes necessitated by the revised order of things in the ritual arrangements, no important alterations were made to the fabric. During the next three centuries the church suffered very much at the hands of "restorers" and others, but it is not my intention to describe their vagaries.

I may, however, state that the south aisle of the nave was recased and otherwise disfigured in

/1 I lately discovered the original indenture amongst the chapter muniments. The agreement is: --

"Quod dicti Religiosi facient dictis parochianis unum Oratorium in angulo dictae navis ecclesiae juxta hostium boriale *cum hostio et fenestra. ex parte exteriore dictae ecclesiae* ad reponendum corpus domini pro infirmis l nocturnis horis l futuris temporibus ministrandis cum libero introitu et exitu ad dictum Oratorium."

The window cannot now be traced, owing to alterations and recasing. The north door was altered in Perpendicular times: but the inner arch appears to be earlier, though now blocked.

/2 "Anno xviij. regni Regis Edwardi III. Episcopus campanile novum Ecclesiae Roffensis petris atque lignis altius fecit levare, et illud plumbo cooperire, necnon et quatuor campanas novas in eodem ponere, quarum nomina sunt haec, Dunstanus, Paulinus, Ithamarus atque Lanfrancus." *Angl. Sac.* i. 375.

/3 "Episcopus circa Festum Sancti Michaelis feretra SS. Paulini et Ythamari de marmore et alabastro fecit renovare: pro qua quidem renovatione cc. marcas dedit." Ibid.

1664; and that in 1670 the north aisle shared the same fate. We have also lost the two outer turrets of the west front, as well as Haymo de Heythe's tower and its "extinguisher" covering.

I have purposely left to the last a matter of great interest, viz. the history of the altar of St. Nicholas. I will endeavour to put it as briefly as possible. The altar of St. Nicholas is first named in a confirmation charter of bishop Gundulf which must date between 1100 and 1108, as being "parochial in the church of the blessed Andrew."/1 I am not certain that the parish altar was actually in the present church before the time of bishop John de Canterbury (1125-1137), and where it was at first placed is not known. Analogy would point to the east end of the nave beneath the rood-loft, against the solid wall I have supposed to have been there built by Ernulf. No record of its exact site occurs until 1312, in connection with one of the quarrels that always occurred in churches partly conventual or collegiate and partly parochial. It appears from a document dated April 6th of that year, that the parish altar had been removed by the monks, against the will of the parishioners, to another part of the church. The reason is not given, but methinks it had to do with the rebuilding of the eastern bays of the nave.

It was, however, now arranged that the parish mass should be sung "in altari existente in corpore ecclesie anteriori sub pulpito," on the feasts of All Saints, St. Nicholas, the Nativity, and the Purification, and on all Sundays, but on ordinary days no mass might be said "in altari sub praefato pulpito," nor the divine offices be performed "in parte anteriori sive in navi dicte ecclesie," except without musical accompaniment. Moreover, the deed of 1327,/2 in enumerating the parties describes "the parishioners of the altar of Saint Nicholas, situated in the nave of the said church." We have, therefore, contemporary evidence to prove that in the fourteenth century the parish altar stood, not in an aisle or transept, but in the nave, and at the east end thereof, below the *pulpitum*. The 1312 agreement concludes with a proviso to the effect that if at any time the monks would build them a separate church outside the cathedral church, the parishioners would remove into it, and resign all claims to an altar in the cathedral church. We hear nothing further till a century later, when bishop Richard Yong, in May, 1418, grants to the

parishioners of the altar of St. Nicholas, "siti in nave ecclesie nostre Roffen," licence to continue and complete the building of the work there begun, for making a church in the cemetery on the north of the cathedral church. On completion of which they were to remove into it. Various objections and hindrances were raised by the monks, and the building got on slowly. However, in 1421, a composition was drawn up between the monks and citizens, withdrawing all opposition to the completion of the still unfinished structure, which was to be ready for occupation in three years./3 And on December 18th, 1423, the new church of St. Nicholas, "in the cemetery commonly called Green Church Hawe," was consecrated by John, bishop of Dromore (*in absentia episcopi Roff.*), and a solemn renunciation made by the parishioners, "in the nave of the cathedral church of Rochester, before the altar, which was anciently called the altar of St. Nicholas, lying and situate in the said cathedral church," of all their rights to the same altar./4 One more dispute occurred in 1447, owing to the parishioners having commenced to build a porch at the west end of their church, which the monks maintained was an infringement on their right of way, but the citizens removed the obstruction, and peace was restored. With the further history of St. Nicholas' church I have here nothing to do, but I should like to point out one thing before finally taking leave of the parishioners. In the nave of the cathedral church, it will be noticed that there is a difference in the corbels that carry the roof, the eastern half having angels with expanded wings, while the angels on the remainder have folded wings. Moreover, the line of separation occurs over the fifth bay. Now, I do not think this was accidental, but that it had something to do with the division of the nave between the monks and parishioners; in short, after looking at the previous evidence, that the parochial part of the nave may be localized in the first five bays. This was an old boundary, for the three remaining bays show certain richer features in the Norman work than the portion east of them.

It only remains to say a few words (1) on the antiquities and ritual arrangements; (2) on the monuments. Externally the cathedral church is uninteresting, and nearly all the ancient features have disappeared, beneath the hands of successive "restorers." The west front retains much of its rich Norman work untouched, especially in the lower half. The great door is an exceedingly fine specimen, and has a curiously joggled lintel carved with figures of the apostles, with a representation in the tympanum above of our Lord in Majesty, between the emblems of the four evangelists. Projecting from a jamb-shaft on either side are figures of a king and queen, probably two of the oldest statues now in England. They represent Henry I. and his consort. Another figure of almost equal antiquity, of a bishop, is placed in a niche on the north turret. It is greatly to be regretted that so venerable a piece of sculpture should be permitted to crumble away in a position to which it does not belong, as it evidently formed the recumbent effigy on a tomb.

/1 "Altare sancti Nicholai quod est parochiale in ecclesia beati Andree." *Reg. Roff.* 6.
/2 See Note 1 on preceding page. For the 1312 agreement, see *Reg. Roff.* 545.
/3 Ibid. 561.
/4 Ibid. 568.

With regard to the internal features, it will be observed that the bases of the tower arch at the east end of the nave do not come down to the floor. This is on account of the former existence here of the rood-loft, or westernmost of the two screens usually found in conventual and collegiate churches. It served as the reredos of St. Nicholas altar until the removal of the latter in 1423. Beneath the eastern tower arch, raised on ten steps, stands the *pulpitum*. Its plainness is remarkable, but satisfactorily explained when the existence of the rood-loft to the west is taken into account. Previous to the beginning of the fourteenth century, the *pulpitum* was of wood, as the original eastern side shows. I have not been able to recover the dedication of the north transept altar, neither can I find any authority for the south choir aisle being called St. Edmund's chapel. In the choir may be seen much of the original woodwork put in before 1227, probably the earliest remains of wooden choir fittings in England. There was only one row, each side being divided into three lengths. No portion has been preserved of the returned stalls. Of the side

ones, the whole of the misericords have disappeared, and of the actual stalls only the brackets which carried the divisions between the seats remain. In front of the seats was a low bench, supported by a series of trefoil-headed arches./1 This bench, which still exists almost in its original state, even to the old colouring, was used, not as a book-desk, for the good monks had no books, but for the brethren to rest their elbows on when kneeling prostrate "supra formas." On the reintroduction of the seculars in 1541, the old bench was boxed in, as it were, by panelled desks of the ordinary height, and turned into a shelf. Under Sir G. G. Scott, the later panelling was advanced to form a new row of desks, and the old bench again opened out; new book-boards being fixed above them on light iron standards. The restored stalls and misericords are exactly on the old lines. The heraldic diaper on the walls above is in part ancient -- showing there were no canopies to the stalls -- the rest is a faithful copy of the original, with the exception of the charges on the shields, which are modern.

Opposite the bishop's seat is the greater part of a curious representation of the Wheel of Fortune. Before 1541, the bishop's seat was the first stall on the right of the choir door; the prior's stall being the corresponding one on the left.

The choir transepts were screened off from the presbytery. The northern one was the chapel of St. William, whose shrine stood in the centre -- a supposed portion of it is preserved in the aisle to the east. The south transept was used as a lobby by the monks. In both transepts are some interesting remains of geometrical paving. The south transept has two narrow, round-headed archways at the south end, which communicated, the one with a stair down to the crypt, the other with a stair to a chamber over the transept aisle. Both stairs are now blocked. The north transept has two larger doors, also round-headed; one at the north-west angle opening into a stair turret to the roof and wall passages; the other at the north-east angle, giving access to a similar turret leading to the ancient Treasury over the transept aisle, and continuing thence to the roof. The transept aisles are each of two bays, with quadripartite groining. The sides remote from the presbytery have a wall arcade of three arches, carried by twin shafts, but the northern arcade is nearly hidden by bishop Warner's tomb. The high altar now stands on the line between the first and second bays; but the walls built in the crypt below to sustain the extra weight of the reredos, as well as the position of the sedilia, show that it has been removed a bay east of its first site. The three sedilia are of poor and late Perpendicular character. In the first bay on the north side is a singular lavatory, and below it a small square recess, provided with a flue. The crypt contains a number of very beautiful specimens of carving and moulded stonework, found at different times. There are also a number of monumental slabs and matrices of brasses brought from the upper church. One huge slab bears the indent of a head and hands, which were of brass, the rest of the figure being formed by incised lines. The whole is now worn so smooth that not a vestige is traceable. There lies here, too, a beautiful coped coffin-lid of Purbeck marble; it has a semi-circular piece cut out of its narrow end, showing it was originally made to stand against a circular or semi-circular pier, probably in the nave. There were at least six altars in the crypt, dedicated to SS. Michael, Katherine, Mary Magdalene, Edmund, Denis, and the Holy Trinity. Numerous traces of frescoes are to be found on the walls and vaulting, but not in a condition sufficiently perfect to enable us to recover from their designs the sites of any of the altars.

At least seventeen bishops of Rochester were interred in their cathedral church. Paulinus (*ob.* 644), Ythamar (*ob. circa* 655), and Tobias (*ob.* 726) were buried in the Old English church. Of Gundulf, it is recorded that archbishop Anselm, in 1108, "buried him before the altar of the crucifix of the church which he himself had built from the foundations."/1 I am unable to fix with certainty the site of this altar. Normally it would stand outside the west end of the monks' choir, against the rood loft; but at Rochester this position seems to have been occupied by

/1 Whoever designed these wooden benches, also designed the marble sarcophagus attributed to bishop G. de Glanville.

/2 "Eum ante altare crucifixi ecclesie quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat tumulavit." Cott. MS. Nero, A. 8, f. 80, and *Angl. Sac.* ii. 291.

St. Nicholas' altar. A plain sarcophagus in the first bay on the south side of the presbytery, is traditionally ascribed to Gundulf, but I know not on what authority. Besides this there remain in the church eleven other tombs. The earliest is a stone coffin covered with a marble slab, on which is carved in low relief a cross with floriated stem. It stands at the south end of the choir transept, but whom it commemorates is not known. At the opposite end of the transept is another coffin with a cross carved on the lid, the whole being of marble. The wall behind is covered with an elegant vine pattern, with white birds on the branches, painted on a red ground. Thorpe/1 calls this the tomb of St. William, but adds that it "makes so mean an appearance as not to have been worth" engraving in his volume. St. William's tomb it certainly is not, and from the crutch-headed staff below the cross on the lid, is doubtless that of one of the priors. Of about the same date is the tomb generally ascribed to bishop Gilbert de Glanville, standing in the third bay on the north side of the presbytery. It is a marble sarcophagus with an arcade of seven arches filled with foliage in front, and a sloping roof, now sadly mutilated and restored with rough stone, but which was originally adorned with seven busts. Four of these issued from lozenge-shaped openings, and the other three were set in bold quatre-foils, the openings and quatre-foils being placed alternately. The existence of this tomb, if it is *in situ*, shows that the presbytery was completed before 1214, the date of the bishop's death. He appears to have been continually quarrelling with the prior and convent, and the chronicler, in recording his death, adds with uncharitable glee, that he was buried like Jews and heretics, without the Divine offices, because he died during the Interdict, and that as soon as he was dead and buried the Interdict was removed./2

The next bay to the east contains the tomb of bishop Laurence de St. Martin,/3 who died in 1274. The effigy is a very fine one with a magnificent canopy above the head.

The next tomb in point of date is that of bishop Walter de Merton, who was drowned in 1277, and "honourably buried in the same church (of Rochester) in the north part beside the sepulchre of St. William."/4 His tomb is placed in the centre arch of the north wall of the choir transept. The effigy of Limoges enamel,/5 which once surmounted it, disappeared in the sixteenth century, and was replaced in 1598 by an alabaster figure in cope and mitre at the cost of Merton College, Oxford. This in turn was unjustifiably displaced in 1852 in favour of a flat slab of inferior design -- the effigy being placed in the next compartment. At the same time the fine lofty canopy, which retained some curious specimens of Elizabethan restoration, was "restored" to its original state, and the contemporary double window behind opened out and filled with very hideous glass.

At the top of the stairs in the south choir-aisle descending to the crypt is a recessed tomb, bearing a mutilated effigy in a chasuble, holding a book in the right hand and staff in the left. The head and lower part of the figure are missing, but the sleeves of the albe tunic and dalmatic appear at the wrists, and prove that it represents a bishop. It is usually ascribed to John de Bradfield who died in 1283, and was buried in the south part of the church "*juxta ostium crubitorum.*"/6 So the MS. plainly has it, but what does the last word mean? Mr. Micklethwaite suggests "crypts" which fits very well, only the effigy, which is executed in very low relief, seems earlier than 1283. It is surmounted by a straight-sided pedimental canopy with remarkable cusps. The style of this agrees better with the date of the bishop's decease.

In the bay of the presbytery opposite bishop L. de St. Martin's tomb is the monument of bishop Thomas de Ynglesthorp, who died 1291./7 It consists of a marble coffin surmounted by an effigy of

/1 *Cust Roff,* 170.

/2 1214 "Defunctus est predictus. G. primus ecclesie Roffensis perturbator et sepultus a parte borial< > predicte basilice inter fundatores confundator sic saul inter prophetas. cujus sepulchro titulum satis e< > competentem patres predecessores imposuerunt. qui sic incipit.

Laude Dei clausa fuit hic hac clausus in aula
Luce Jovis lux septima mesta silencia fregit.

Congrue laude dei clausa moritur. cujus vitam laudem canentium ora conclusit plurimorum. Et ut aperte

dicamus: in tantum in eum ut creditur ulcio divina excrevit. ut sancta ecclesia qui pro hereticis et perfidis Judeis exorat: in transitu istius nequaquam divina celebrare permitteretur. Quia ipso vivente per septennium duravit tocius anglie Interdictum. Quo defuncto et tumulato. statim solutum est Interdictum." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. and *Ang. Sac.* i. 347.

/3 Anno 1274. "Obiit Laurentius Roffensis episcopus in crastino sanctorum marcellini et Petri. et sepultus honorifice in basilica sedis sue juxta majus altare a parte boriali." Ibid.

/4 "Sepultus honorifice in ecclesia eadem in parte boriali juxta sepulchrum Sancti Willelmi." Ibid.

/5 Vide the original account in *Cust. Roff.* p. 193.

/6 "Anno 1283 obiit Johannes episcopus Roffensis in die S. Georgij martyris. et sepultus est in ecclesia eadem a parte australi juxta ostium crubitorum." So Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. but Wharton in *Angl. Sac.* ii. 350 prints the last word *excubitorum*.

/7 Anno 1291. "Obiit bone memorie magister Thomas de Ynglesthorp episcopus Roffensis. videlicet in festo sanctorum Nerei achillei atque pancratii. cujus corpus. xvj./o kl. Julii videlicet die Jovis proxima ante festum Sancti Dunstani archiepiscopi traditum fuit sepulture cum solempnitate debita in eadem ecclesia juxta magnum altare ex parte australi." Cott. MS. Nero, D. ii. Compare above from the original with the version printed by Wharton. *Angl. Sac.* i. 350.

the deceased with a canopy above the head. This was evidently executed by the same artist who carved bishop Laurence's effigy, though in a plainer style.

Tradition ascribes the tomb in the north choir to bishop Hamo de Heythe, who died 1352. It has unfortunately lost the effigy, and nothing remains to show whose memorial it is. The details of the canopy much resemble those of the chapter-room door.

The most beautiful effigy in the church is that of bishop John de Sheppey (1353-1360). It lies under a restored canopy, though on its original tomb, in the arch between the aisle of the north choir transept and the presbytery. This monument was discovered walled up in 1826. Amongst the fragments that covered it were many portions of a most sumptuous reredos, carved in clunch and painted and gilded./1 The effigy is of the same material also elaborately painted and gilded. The original colouring has been singularly well preserved. The bishop is represented in amice and alb with brown and gold apparels, pink dalmatic diapered with black flowers, and red chasuble lined with green and powdered with a gold cruciform device. His gloves are white with jewelled backs, and from the left wrist hangs a golden fanon set with crystals. The tunicle and stole are not shown. The pastoral staff has a napkin twisted round it; but we must deplore the loss of the crook which, judging from the knop, was a glorious one. It was fixed into the staff by a peg, and may therefore have been of precious metal. The face, contrary to mediaeval usage, appears to be a likeness. The mitre is richly gilt and jewelled, and beneath the head are two oblong cushions of different design. Mr. Micklethwaite suggests from their foreign character that they were copied from the Limoges effigy of Walter de Merton. The feet rest on two dogs, each adorned with a red collar with gold bells. Bishop John de Sheppey's tomb lies on the south side of the chapel where he founded a chantry of St. John Baptist. He inserted above the altar a three-light Decorated window now removed all but the jambs.

In the same corner of the church may be seen a panelled altar-tomb standing north and south. This is the monument of bishop John Lowe, who died 1467. It has been removed from its original site south of St. William's shrine. Behind it, in the eastern aisle, are the monuments of bishop Warner, 1666; archdeacon John Lee Warner, 1679; and John Warner, Esq., 1698.

The only other monuments in the eastern half of the church are two large slabs with matrices of brasses. One lies behind the high altar, and bears the indent of a knight and his lady. It covers the grave of Sir William Arundel, K.G., governor of the castle and city of Rochester, who died August, 1400, and Agnes his wife./2 The other slab lies in the midst of the presbytery, and once contained the brass of a bishop with a representation of the soul being borne to heaven. Most probably it commemorated bishop John de Bottlesham, 1400-1404. Two other matrices of brasses of bishops, with figures of saints at the sides of the canopies, remain in the church -- one in the south transept and the other in the north choir-aisle. The latter has been removed from the side of the other in the Lady Chapel, where several of the bishops desired to be buried. Other brassless slabs remain in the north choir-aisle and the north transept. The only post-suppression

monuments worthy of notice are that of Wm. Streaton and wife, 1609, opposite Hamo de Heythe's; that of Sir Richard Head (1689) on the east wall of the south transept, the work of Grinling Gibbons; and a singular mural one with a bust of Richard Watts, who died 1579, erected in the south transept by the mayor and citizens in 1736.

/1 These splendid fragments are now preserved in the crypt. Among them are part of a Virgin and Child, and of the Coronation of the Virgin; angels with scrolls, thuribles, and musical instruments; and small figures under canopies -- one being "Moyses" with the tables of the Law. They date from the middle of the Decorated period. See also *Archaeologia*, xxv. 122, where the effigy is described and illustrated.

/2 *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xiii. 141.