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THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF THE  
CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND MONAS-  
TERY OF ST. ANDREW AT ROCHESTER./\*

BY W. H. ST. JOHN HOPE, M.A.

The buildings of the Benedictine Priory attached to the cathedral church of Rochester are remarkable for their unusual position on the south side of the presbytery, an arrangement almost unique in this country, where the monastic cloister and its surrounding buildings are generally placed north or south of the nave. So singular a departure from the normal plan involved, in some measure, a disposition of the claustral buildings different from that usually met with, and this in turn exercised a noteworthy influence on the reconstruction of the church, so far as the monastic half of it is concerned.

Why so unusual a site was chosen is not quite clear, especially as there are reasons for supposing that the first cloister occupied the normal position south of the nave. The question has been obscured, too, through the alterations that have been made in the precinct of the priory since the suppression. So much of the buildings, also, has been destroyed that the sites of some of them are now uncertain or unknown.

/\* Continued from *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. XXIII., p. 328.

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During a residence of four years in Rochester, from 1881 to 1885, I spent much of my leisure time in endeavouring to work out the history of the priory buildings, and by the kind leave of the Dean and Canons, and other occupiers of houses in the precinct, I was allowed not only to examine many important fragments now built up or concealed by later structures, but to make excavations wherever I thought fit. I was also allowed to go through the whole of the ancient documents in the muniment room, and, although the search was not very fruitful, I was fortunate in lighting upon sundry useful pieces of information. From these, and the valuable entries printed in Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense* and Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, most of which I have collated with the original MSS. (in Wharton's case a very necessary proceeding), it is possible to make out a great deal. I have therefore thought

it well to put on record the results of my investigations, incomplete as they are, in the hope that they may be of some use to future investigators.

It has already been pointed out, in connexion with the history of the church, that Æthelbert's endowment included "Doddyngherne, and all the land from the Medway to the east gate of the city of Roffa on the south part," or all that part of the city within the walls south of what is still the "High" or chief street./<sup>\*</sup> It has also been suggested that inasmuch as this area was traversed by the street joining the north and south gates, the two sections were granted by separate charters, of which there has been preserved only the text of that granting the western section, now mainly occupied by the castle. The eastern section is that upon which, first the church, and afterwards the monastery also, was built. Other gifts of land than that by Æthelbert, within the walls of the city, were made by Sigared in 762 (confirmed by Offa in 789), Ecgbert in 765, Æthelbert in 781 and 790, and Æthelred

<sup>/\*</sup> The earliest documentary evidence of this gift, apart from Æthelbert's charter granting the western section, is the statement in the *Textus Roffensis*: "Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo. Rex Æthelbertus fundavit ecclesiam sancti Andreae apostoli rofi. et dedit ei Prestefeld. et omnem terram que est a meduwaie usque ad orientalem portam civitatis in australi parte et alias terras extra murum civitatis versus partem aquilonalem." f. 177; ed. Hearne, 152.

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in 868, but none of these made any addition to the site of the monastery.

At the time of Æthelbert's foundation of the church in 604 the city was still enclosed on the south by the Roman wall,<sup>/\*</sup> as it is yet on the east and north. Owing to the divergence westwards of the north and south walls, and the parallel lines of the High street and north wall, the section on which church and monastery were built was a wedge-shaped area, roughly 800 feet long, about 480 feet wide on the west, and 150 feet on the east, containing some 5¾ acres./<sup>†</sup> Near the middle of the western side, and abutting upon the street, was built the church.

Owing, no doubt, to the direction of the street leading from the south gate, the axis of the first church deviated southwards 27 degrees from the true east and west line, but in the case of Gundulf's church the deviation was as much as 38 degrees, so that its axis pointed nearly due south-east. This increase was partly necessitated by the position of the north tower, which was built before the church, but it was also due to a desire to avoid a too near approach to the houses that must always, as now, have fringed the main street through the city.

The Priory of Rochester owes its origin, according to some authorities, to archbishop Lanfranc, but it is usually ascribed to bishop Gundulf, who, shortly after his appointment to the

see in 1076-7, displaced the secular priests who then served the church, and set up in their stead a convent of Benedictine monks. The regulars appear to have been introduced in 1082 or 1083.

According to the *Textus Roffensis*, bishop Gundulf, besides building anew the cathedral church of St. Andrew, "also constructed all the necessary offices for monks, as far as the capacity of the site allowed." The number of the monks, we are told, was twenty-two, but at Gundulf's death in 1107-8 there were more than sixty.<sup>†‡</sup>

<sup>/\*</sup> For the story of Mr. George Payne's identification of the Roman wall, a most important discovery, see *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXI. 1-16.

<sup>†</sup> As Leland not untruly remarks: "The Cathedral Church and the Palace with the other Buildings there occupiith half the Space of the Cumpace within the Walles of Rofecestre." *The Itinerary of John Leland the Antiquary*, edited by Thomas Hearne, M.A. (Oxford, 1744), vi. 9.

<sup>‡</sup> *Textus Roffensis*, f. 172; ed. Hearne, 143.

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It will be seen from the plan (Plate V.) that although Gundulf's church was built parallel to the then existing (Roman) city wall, the space available for the monastic buildings fully justified the use of the phrase *prout loci capacitas pati potuit*. In fact, had a cloister of average size been set out in the more usual position on the south side of the nave, there would not have been any room for the necessary buildings that were generally disposed round the *curia* or outer court. It is true that a somewhat later account speaks of "circuits of offices" being "conveniently disposed," but the straitness of the place must have rendered this difficult.

The desirability of enlarging the site no doubt soon suggested itself to Gundulf, and with that object he had, as we learn from the Domesday Survey, parted with the western section of the lands within the city wall given by Æthelbert in 604. "The bishop of Rochester," says the Survey, "also holds of this land (i.e. in the manor of Aylesford) for the exchange of the land in which the castle stands, as much as is worth seventeen shillings and four pence."<sup>/\*</sup> This exchange was apparently made with Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, in return for an important piece of land outside the city. The possession of this was confirmed to the monks by a charter of William Rufus,<sup>†</sup> the date of which, from its being witnessed by "Robert the chancellor,"<sup>‡</sup> must lie between 1090 and 1093.

The tract of land in question and its former connexion with bishop Odo are further referred to in a quit-claim of Gundulf transcribed in the *Textus Roffensis*,<sup>§</sup> which, though

<sup>/\*</sup> "Episcopus etiam de Rovecestre pro excambio terre in qua castellum sedet tantum de hac terra tenet quod xvii/em solidos et iiiii/or denarios valet."

<sup>†</sup> "Willelmus rex Anglorum Haimoni vicecomiti et omnibus ministris suis de Hou salutem Sciatis me concessisse monachis sancti Andreae Rofensis aecclesiae

terram illam quae pertinet ad praeposituram de Ceteham et quam ipsi monachi infra ortum suum habent inclusam ea conventionem quod ipsi monachi pro anima patris mei ducentas missas cantare debent et episcopus Gundulfus pro illa terra debet dare de alia terra sua quae valeat quantum ipsa valebat tempore quo episcopus Baiocensis concessit eam eisdem monachis Testibus Walchelino episcopo et Rodberto cancellario et Rannulfo capellano apud Bricestoc." *Textus Roffensis*, f. 211/b; ed. Hearne, 214.

/‡ Robert Bloet was chancellor from 1090 to 1093, when he was consecrated bishop of Lincoln.

/§ "Gundulfus Rofensium gracia Dei episcopus Haimoni vicecomiti et omnibus baronibus regis de Cænt Francigenis et Anglis salutem et benedictionem Dei et suam quantum potest. Volo vos omnes scire me jam quietum esse adversus regem de illa cambitione terrae quam ei promisi post Waerram Rofe pro illis

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undated, must be later than the foregoing charter. It may be thus translated:

Gundulf, by the grace of God, bishop of the men of Rochester, to Hamo the sheriff and all the King's barons of Kent, both French and English, grace and God's blessing, and as much of his own as can be. I will you all to know that I am quit against the King of that exchange of land which I promised him after the war of Rochester for those three acres that Odo, bishop of Bayeux, gave to the church of St. Andrew and our monks to make there their garden beside the wall outside the gate towards the south part of the city outwards, which they have now enclosed with a wall on every side. And those three acres of land which for these three I gave the King in exchange I have delivered to the sheriff's servants, Robert of St. Amand and Robert Latimer and Ælfwin his brother, reeve of Chatham, and Grenton of Rochester, from our demesne land of Borstal. These witnesses being present, Ansgot of Rochester, etc.

The Ansgot who appears among the witnesses to this quit-claim is mentioned in Domesday Book, in an entry immediately preceding that quoted concerning Gundulf, as holding "of the manor of Aylesford as much land beside Rochester as is appraised at seven pounds." Part, if not all, of this seems to have passed into the possession of the monastery, for the *Textus Roffensis* records that: "Ansgot of Rochester accepted the association of the benefices of the church of St. Andrew and the monks in Gundulf's time, and gave the same church and monks all his tithe of Delce, and likewise all the tithe of the mill which he afterwards made, and a certain little piece of land which has been enclosed within the monks' wall towards the south; he also gave them five acres of land beside Priestfield, and they, according to

tribus acris quos Odo Baiocensis episcopus dedit aecclesiae Sancti Andreae et monachis nostris ad faciendum ibi ortum suum juxta murum de foris versus australem partem civitatis forinsecus qui jam inclusi sunt muro circumquaque. Et illos tres acras terrae quos pro illis tribus dedi regi in cambitionem liberavi

jam ministris vicecomitis Rodberto scilicet de Sancto Amando et Rodberto Latimier et Ælfwino fratre [*sic*] suo praeposito de Cetham et Grentoni de Rovecestra de nostra dominica terra de Burchestealla praesentibus testibus istis Ansgoto de Rovecestra, etc." *Textus Roffensis*, f. 211/b; ed. Hearne, 214.

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his request, gave him the monastic habit at his last end and made service for him as for a monk."/\*

What were the bounds of the area thus added to the monastic precinct by Gundulf and Ansgot it is not easy to define. The land is clearly described as forming the monks' garden, and as being "beside the wall outside the gate towards the south part of the city outwards," and to have been itself enclosed by a wall. The addition would seem to have absorbed, at any rate part of, the Roman city ditch, then probably filled up, or nearly so, but the boundaries of the land south of the Roman wall have so many times been altered and effaced that the precise site of Gundulf's addition and of Ansgot's "little piece," the area of which is not given, must always be more or less conjectural. Odo's "gift," in exchange for the castle area, is twice referred to in later lists of benefactions as *terram in vinea Roffe*/† and *terram ubi vinea est*./‡

Of the nature of the monastic buildings erected by Gundulf, and their size and extent, we have no record. The completion of the south side of the nave of his new church points to an intention to place the cloister against it, and the later history of the buildings seems to shew that this was done. There is room for a cloister in this position covering seven or eight bays of the nave, with the usual buildings arranged round it, that is, the chapter-house and the dorter with its sub-vaults on the east, the frater and kitchen on the south, and the cellarer's hall and lodging on the west. But this would not leave much space for the outer court, nor for the bishop's lodging, both of which would be west of the cloister. The infirmary would be placed east of it. Not improbably most of Gundulf's buildings were temporary wooden structures.

That the bishop had a separate dwelling apart from the monks is not only likely from analogy with the arrangements

/\* "Ansgotus de Rovecestra accepit societatem beneficiorum ecclesie Sancti Andree et monachorum tempore Gundulfi episcopi et dedit eidem ecclesie et monachis totam decimam suam de Deltza et de molendino similiter quod postea fecit totam decimam et quandam particulam terre que inclusa est infra murum monachorum versus austrum et quinque acros terre juxta Prestefelde dedit eis et ipsi juxta petitionem suam dederunt ei pannos monachicos in articulo mortis sue et fecerunt servitium pro eo sicuti pro monacho." *Textus Roffensis*, ff. 197 and 197/b; ed. Hearne, 193, 194.

/† See Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 2. /‡ Ibid. 116.

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planned by Lanfranc at Canterbury, but it is clearly indicated

in the anonymous Life of Gundulf, which mentions his hall (*aula*). The same authority also tells us that when Gundulf, during his last illness, felt his end approaching "he wished rather to die, not as a bishop in the house of the more exalted, but as a monk and among monks in a more humble place." He was accordingly carried first to the church and afterwards to the infirmary (*in domum Infirmorum*). While there he heard mass in the chapel (*in capella Infirmorum*), and it was in the infirmary that he died on the 7th March 1107-8.<sup>/\*</sup>

Ralph, abbot of Seez, who succeeded Gundulf, is not recorded to have done any building at Rochester during the six years that he held the see. He was translated to Canterbury in 1114.

Ernulf, who succeeded Ralph, is significantly described as "our father after bishop Gundulf," and of him it is said that "he built the dorter, the chapter-house, and the frater."<sup>/†</sup> From the existing remains of these buildings there can be no question as to their site. They formed two sides of a new cloister laid out by Ernulf between the church and the Roman city wall, to the east of the supposed place of Gundulf's cloister.<sup>/‡</sup> This new cloister seems to have been planned by laying out an area about 130 feet square in the angle formed by the eastern range of Gundulf's buildings and the Roman wall. On the north it was apparently closed by a wall at a distance of 12 feet from the church, beyond which the cloister projected considerably eastwards. On the east were the new chapter-house, and the dorter with its sub-vault. On the south the Roman wall formed the party-wall between the cloister and the new frater, which was built outside and against it. As Ernulf is not credited with the building of the cellarer's lodging on the west, Gundulf's eastern range may have been utilized as such.

<sup>/\*</sup> Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (London, 1691), ii. 290, 291; from Cott. MS. Nero A. 8.

<sup>/†</sup> "Ernulfus episcopus pater noster post episcopum Gundulfum. fecit dormitorium capitulum refectorium." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 88; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 120. This does not necessarily imply that these were now built for the first time, but that Ernulf's work alone was known to the chronicler.

<sup>/‡</sup> So far as I am aware, the only parallel in this country was at Waltham, where the cloister and its surrounding buildings lay on the north side of the quire und presbytery.

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The expansion of the buildings thus effected by or under Ernulf could not have been made without a previous re-arrangement of the monastic precinct and its boundaries; and, indeed, there are a number of interesting documents, all of about the same date, which are evidently connected with it.

The first is a charter of Ernulf himself granting certain offerings "for building and maintaining the houses of the monks":

Notum sit omnibus tam posteris quam presentibus sancte Rofensis aecclesie fidelibus quod ego Ernulfus ejusdem aecclesie episcopus concessi inperpetuum ad edificandas et sustentandas domos monachorum denarios quos presbyteri parochiani solent reddere vel quando crisma accipiunt vel ad synodum conveniunt. Teste Herviso archidiacono, etc./<sup>\*</sup>

As the new monastic buildings were extended eastwards and southwards the other documents naturally refer to gifts in those directions. Thus for the enlargement of the cemetery, rendered necessary by the encroachment on it of the cloister and chapter-house, we have first a grant by Goldwin the Greek:

Goldwinus cognomento Grecus dedit aecclesie sancti Andree et monachis pro filio suo ibidem facto monacho duas hagas terre in Rovecestra pertinentes ad Frenesberiam et partem terre regis que est juxta ipsas hagas. Preter hac autem hagas dedit et dimidiam hagam juxta cimiterium appendentem ad Borchstellam sed istam dimidiam hac convencione dedit quod eam tenebit donec monachi alias hagas hinc et inde habeant et domos auferant ad ampliandum cimiterium suum et tunc sine omni mora vel contradicione tradet eam in manus monachorum vel ipse si vixerit vel uxor et filii ejus si mortuus fuerit Hujus conventionis testes sunt Hervisus archidiaconus, Radulfus clericus et Rodbertus filius ejus Goldwinus presbiter Geldwinus et Rodbertus monetarii, etc./<sup>†</sup>

By another charter Geldwin the moneyer, a witness to the preceding deed, gave to bishop Ernulf and the monks of St. Andrew the apostle, *mansionem suam, que juxta cimiterium monachorum*./<sup>‡</sup> A precisely similar gift was made by Ralph

<sup>\*</sup> *Textus Roffensis*, f. 197; ed. Hearne, 192.

<sup>†</sup> *Textus Roffensis*, f. 191/b; ed. Hearne, 183. The half-hag, or another, was confirmed to the church of St. Andrew by Goldwin the priest of Rochester. Ibid. f. 199/b; ed. Hearne, 197.

<sup>‡</sup> *Textus Roffensis*, f. 193; ed. Hearne, 186; Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 118.

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the clerk (who witnessed both the foregoing deeds) as well as a number of small rents, amongst which was one of three shillings *de haga ante novum pistrinum*./<sup>\*</sup>

The "new bakehouse" was one of the buildings added by Ernulf on the south, for in another grant Fulk of Newenham remits to the monks a rent of 12d. which they paid him yearly *de terra de Sudgate que muro illorum inclusa est. juxta vineam suam. ubi et pistrinum eorum positum est*./<sup>†</sup>

This land had previously been granted to the monks by the following deed:

Ego Hugo filius Fulconis assensu uxoris meae Emmae et filiorum meorum .... Fulcous et aliorum concessi Deo et

sancto Andreaa et monachis ejus terram meam de Sutgate  
quae est juxta horreum eorum solidam et quietum pro xii.  
denariis unoquoque anno in festivitate sancti Michaelis pro  
ipsa terra michi vel ministro meo repetenti reddendis Testibus  
Herviso archidiacono et Albano et Warnerio monachis  
Cantuariensibus, etc./‡

Unfortunately none of these documents can be dated, but they must all fall between 1115 and 1123, inasmuch as they are witnessed by the archdeacon.

One other document in the *Textus Roffensis* mentions an addition to the precinct, but whether in Gundulf's or Ernulf's time is doubtful, made by Cocland of Nashenden (*de Escedene*), who in consideration of the monks having honourably buried his three sons, all of whom died within a short time of each other, *venit in capitulum nostrum cum uxore sua et plurimis amicis suis et dedit nobis in eternum possidendam quandam terram juxta murum vinee nostre ad orientalem plagam.*/§

It has been shewn by Mr. Livett in his paper on "Mediaeval Rochester"/|| that an area forming roughly a square of about 120 feet, immediately adjoining the east side of the Roman south gate, was enclosed by a wall by bishop Gundulf, probably to find room for the episcopal residence. This may have

/\* *Textus Roffensis*, f. 199; ed. Hearne, 196.

/† Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 531. The original deed is among the Chapter muniments. <DRc/T310/2>

/‡ From the original penes Dec. et Cap.; also *Textus Roffensis*, f. 191/b; ed. Hearne, 183. <DRc/T310/1>

/§ *Textus Roffensis*, f. 202; ed. Hearne, 202.

/|| *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXI. 17-72.

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formed part of the three acres which Gundulf received from Odo in exchange for the castle area. From the south-east angle of this enclosure a wall, 3 feet thick, extended in a south-easterly direction towards the angle of the Roman city wall. This was first discovered and laid open in July 1886, near its eastern extremity, against the visit of the Kent Archaeological Society, in compliance with a suggestion of mine that search should be made for a later city wall, but it has since been further traced by Messrs. Payne and Livett, and its line carefully laid down. I see no reason why this wall, as suggested by Mr. Livett, should not be the work of Ernulf to obtain more space for his monastic buildings than was afforded by the limited area within the old Roman line of defence, which was then partly destroyed. At the point where Ernulf's wall joined Gundulf's palace area there was no doubt a gateway on the site of the existing one.

Within the enlarged area thus obtained there was sufficient room for all the usual buildings of the monastery. To those which were constructed in Ernulf's time, though not necessarily at his expense, must be added the infirmary, the chapel



of which was built by Hugh of Trottescliffe, monk, who became abbot of the monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul at Canterbury in 1124. The (principal) gatehouse was the work of Luke the cellarer, but the date of its erection cannot be fixed.

In 1137, and again in 1179, the church and the whole of the monastic buildings were burnt. It is impossible now to estimate the extent of the damage to the buildings, but the stonework of the chapter-house still bears traces of the fire, and Norman stones reddened from the like cause were dug up on the west of the cloister so lately as January of the present year (1898). The only historical reference to the repairs following such a calamity is a statement that "Thomas of Nasshenden the elder, after the burning of our church and offices, gave all the stuff wherewith the chapter-house was covered and 100/s in money and 40 seams of corn."/\* The particular fire referred to cannot be fixed.

/\* "Thomas de Nessendene senior, post combustionem ecclesie nostre et officinarum. dedit totem materiem unde capitulum coopertum est. et C solidos in denarijs. et quadraginta summas de blado. Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 87/b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 120.

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During the interval between the death of Ernulf in 1124 and the fire of 1179 there is no record of any addition to or alteration in the monastic buildings. But this silence is followed by a succession of entries, covering a period of at least 80 years, which tell of the replacement of inflammable wooden structures by permanent buildings of stone, and of various additions to the monastery. These works may here be conveniently summarized in an English form, and be further dealt with in detail later:

Prior Sylvester [who held office in 1177] removed the privy that formerly adjoined the dorter, and made three windows in the chapter-house towards the east.

Prior Alured [1182 to 1186, when he became abbot of Abingdon] made a window in the dorter beyond the prior's bed.

Bishop Gilbert of Glanville [1185—1215] "caused our cloister to be finished in stone."

Thalebot the sacrist made the old lavatory, etc.

Osbern of Sheppey, sacrist, afterwards prior [?1186--1199], made for himself a lodging (*camera*) beside the infirmary.

Ralph the Breton [during the sextonship of Ralph de Ros] made the laundry of stone which before was of wood, and "King Arthur's window" in the dorter, and the mill.

Prior Ralph de Ros [who held office in 1199 and 1202] made the

brewhouse, and the prior's greater and lesser *camera*, and the stone houses in the cemetery, and the hostelry, the grange in the vineyard, the grange at Stokes, and the stable.

Prior Helias [between 1202 and 1222] made a stone stable for himself and his successors. He caused to be leaded the part of the cloister towards the dorter. He caused the lavatory and the frater door to be made. He bought the tile wherewith the cloister towards the frater was covered.

Heymeric of Tonbridge, monk [while the crypt was building], made the cloister (*claustrum*) towards the infirmary.

In 1215 "King John besieged the castle of Rochester from 3rd <5th> October to 3rd December. And on the day he began to besiege the castle he so pillaged the church of Rochester, and the whole city, that not even the pix with the Body of Christ was left over the high altar of the monks."/\*

/\* "MCCXV. Rex Johannes obsedit castellum Rofe. a. iii. Non. Octobris usque ad iii. Non. Decembris. Et eo die quo cepit obsidere castellum depredata ecclesia Roff. et tota Civitas. adeo ut nec busta cum corpore domini super magnum altare monachorum remaneret." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 31/b.

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The eventual capture of the castle by John and the repairs made by Henry III. between 1221 and 1227 have already been dealt with by Mr. Livett and other writers, and do not further concern us. There is, however, one matter upon which something must be said. In the year 1225, according to the Rochester chronicler, "The great ditch about the city of Rochester was begun."/\*

It has hitherto been overlooked by the various writers on the defences of Rochester that besides being protected by a wall the Roman town was in all probability also defended by a ditch, in accordance with the usual practice of the Roman engineers. In course of time no doubt the ditch would gradually become more or less filled up, and even encroached upon here and there, but the traces of it would be left. It has already been shewn that in the time of bishop Ernulf the Roman wall was in part destroyed and superseded by a thinner wall built a little to the south of it. This, which was a mere boundary wall, must have gradually traversed diagonally the old line of the Roman ditch, starting on its south slope and eventually terminating with a new angle on its medial line, where the filling-in would be firmer than at the sides, close to the south-west <-east> corner of the city. When therefore the "great ditch" was begun in 1225, this must have followed an entirely new line on the south side of the monastery, where both the old Roman wall and probably its ditch were alike largely obliterated.

Reference has already been made by Mr. Hartshorne/† and Mr. Livett to certain entries on the Close Rolls, but neither

writer has noticed the important light they throw on the question before us. These commands on the part of the king are to the following effect:

15 February 1224-5. To the Sheriff of Kent:

We command you that by the view and testimony of William Potin and two other upright and lawful men of the town of Rochester, you cause their wages to be paid to the labourers of the ditch of the city of Rochester every week.

/\* "M/oCC/oXXV/o. Item magnum fossatum circa civitatem Roffensem inceptum est." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 132. <Luard 1890 2:183>

/† See a paper on "Rochester Castle," by the Rev. Charles Henry Harts-horne, M.A., *Archaeological Journal*, xx. 205-223.

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20 February 1224-5. To the Sheriffs of London:

We command you that you cause 96 pickaxes which the Constable of the Tower has handed over to you to be carried to Rochester without delay, and delivered to the Constable of Rochester. <? will hand over>

26 February 1224-5. To Alexander of Dorset and Henry of St. Albans:

We command you that from the outgoings of our mint which is in your keeping by our order you pay by the hands of Roger of Grimston, our sheriff of Kent, to William Potin, Thurstan of Strood, and John the Englishmen, clerks of the work of the town of Rochester, £100 for the works of the same town.

13 April 1225. To the Sheriff of Kent:

We command you to pay to William Potin and his fellows, clerks of the work of enclosing our town of Rochester, £40 to make the same work.

11 May 1225. To the Sheriff of Kent:

We command you that of our monies for which you ought to answer to our exchequer you cause to be delivered to William Potin and his fellows, clerks of the work of the town of Rochester, £40.

9 August 1225. To the Barons of the Exchequer:

The Sheriff of Kent accounts for four score and ten pounds (£90), which he placed by our order to the strengthening of the town of Rochester. <Credit the sheriff of Kent with ...>

20 August 1225. To E[ustace] the Treasurer and his chamberlains:

Deliver from our treasurer to our Sheriff of Kent or his known messenger bearing these our letters 100 marks for the work of the town of Rochester.

14 February 1225-6. To the Barons of the Exchequer:

There is accounted to our Sheriff of Kent £30 9s. which he spent by our command in the ninth year of our reign [1224-5] on the carpenters who made the mangonells and engines in our castle of Rochester, and in making the limekilns for the work of the aforesaid castle and of our town of Rochester. <Credit the sheriff of Kent with ...>

There is also accounted to the same Sheriff £4 7s. 10½d. which he spent by our command in the aforesaid year in

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making a brattice and drawbridge towards the south of the same castle./\* <Also credit the same sheriff with ...>

/\* The actual entries on the Close Rolls, which I have collated with the originals, are as follows:

9 Henry III. (1224-5).

[Part i. m. 12] Rex Vicecomiti Kancie Salutem.

Precipimus tibi quod per visum et testimonium Willelmi Potin et duorum aliorum proborum et legalium hominum de villa Roff. pacari facias operatoribus fossati civitatis Roff. stipendia sua singulis septimanis. Et custum quod ad hoc posueris per visum eorundem comp. etc.

T. R. apud Westm. xv. die Febr. anno nono per Justiciariis.

Contrabreve.

[m. 10] Rex vicecomitibus London salutem.

Mandamus vobis quod iiiij/xx et xvj. picos' quos Constabularius Turris London' vobis liberavit sine dilacione cariari faciatis usque Roffam et eos liberari Constabulario Roff. et comp/r vobis ad scaccarium.

T. R. ut supra [20 Feb.] anno ix<sup>o</sup>. Contrabreve.

[m. 9] Rex Alexandro de Dors' et Henrico de Sancto Albano salutem.

Mandamus vobis quod de exitibus cambii nostri quod est in custodia vestra per preceptum nostrum habere faciatis per manus Rogeri de Grimston Vicecomitis nostri Kancie. Willelmo Potin. Thurstano de Strode et Johanni Anglico custodibus operacionis ville Roffensis C. libras ad operaciones ejusdem ville. et comp/r vobis ad scaccarium.

T. ut supra [26 Feb.] anno ix<sup>o</sup>.

[m. 6] Rex Vicecomiti Kancie salutem.

Precipimus tibi quod habere facias Willelmo Potyn et sociis suis custodibus operacionis ville nostre de Roff. claudende xl. libras ad eandem operacionem faciendam et computabitur tibi ad scaccarium.

T. R. apud Westm. xiiij. die Aprilis anno nono.

[The counter-brief is also entered on the second part of the Roll, m. 17.]

[Part ii. m. 13] Rex Vicecomiti Kancie salutem.

Precipimus tibi quod de denariis nostris de quibus respondere debes ad scaccarium nostrum liberari facias Willelmo Potyn et sociis suis custodibus operacionis ville Roff. xl. li. et comp/r tibi ad scaccarium.

[Date 11 May.] Contrabreve.

[m. 6] Comp. Rex Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem.

Computat Vicecomes Kancie quater xx. et decem libras quas posuit per preceptum nostrum in [operacione erased] firmacione ville Roff.

Teste me ipso apud Westm. ix. die Aug. anno nono. Coram Justic. et Bath. et Saris. Episcopis.

[m. 5] Liberate ad operacionem Roffe. Rex E[ustachio] Thesaurario et Camerariis suis.

Liberate de thesaurario nostro Vicecomiti nostro Kancie vel ejus certo nuncio has litteras nostras deferenti centum marcas ad operacionem ville de Roffa.

T. ut supra anno etc. nono [20 Aug.].

10 Henry III. (1225-6).

[m. 23] Computus de operacione Roffe. Rex Baronibus suis de Scaccario salutem.

Computatur Vicecomiti nostro Kancie xxx. libras et novem solidos quos posuit per preceptum nostrum a. r. n. ix<sup>o</sup> in carpentariis qui fecerunt mangonellos et petrarias in castro nostro Roff. et in rogis faciendis ad operacionem castri predicti et ville nostre Roff.

Computatur eciam eidem Vicecomiti iiii/or libras septem solidos et decem denarios et obolum quos posuit per preceptum nostrum anno predicto in j. brutesch. et j. ponte turnecc'o faciendis versus austrum ejusdem castri.

T. ut supra [14 Feb.].

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From these entries it is clear (1) that a large number of men were engaged in digging the new ditch, (2) that the work was an *enclosing* of the city, (3) that masonry was used in its construction, as shewn by the building of the lime-kilns, and (4) that a large sum was spent upon the work./\*

Since the Roman wall of the city was intact on the east and north, and probably on the west also, the new defences must have been confined to the south side, where the Roman wall had been largely destroyed and its ditch encroached upon by the monks. The new ditch must also have been for the most part restricted to the same side of the city, for the river on the west and the marshes on the north rendered unnecessary any such defence there. That the new ditch traversed the south side of the monastery there can be no question, for its traces are still evident. And inasmuch as the ditch would by itself be useless, there can be little doubt that after it was made a new city wall was built on the inner margin, parallel to and about 120 feet distant from the line of the old Roman wall; it thus cleared the Roman ditch and stood upon undisturbed instead of made ground. The excavated material was most likely used to fill up and complete the obliteration of the Roman ditch. The new wall, of which the foundations still remain underground,/† was 5½ feet thick. It probably terminated eastwards in a drum-tower, since destroyed, from which a short length of new wall extended northwards as far as the return piece of Ernulf's wall. Its extension westwards was regulated by the line of the south wall of the early-Norman addition to the precinct, and at the junction of the two walls was the outer gate of the monastery. The new ditch seems to have been continued further westwards to join the old ditch round the mound named Boley Hill,/‡ which was probably thrown up by the Danes in 885.

/\* The sums actually ordered to be paid by the King were £100, £40, £40, and 100 marks (£66 13s. 4d.) = £246 13s. 4d., equivalent to at least £5000 at present value.

/† See Mr. Livett's account of its discovery in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXI.

Mr. Livett considers the wall to be that built by royal licence in 1344, but for the reasons stated here and elsewhere I am compelled to adopt a different view.

/‡ There must always have been a broad ditch round Boley Hill, formed by the excavation of the material from which it was made.

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There is nothing to shew how far the monks themselves were concerned in the changes above noted, but it cannot be supposed that they acquiesced in the driving of a broad ditch through their property, and the restriction of it by a new and strongly-built wall, without receiving a *quid pro quo*. It is therefore not without significance that in the same entry in the MS. which records the beginning of the great ditch there should be special mention of the gift of the church of Hartlip by the king to the monastery. The date of the letters patent is 13th February 1224-5,/\* so that the grant of the church and the beginning of the ditch were practically coincident.

During the remainder of the thirteenth century there are hardly any references to the monastic buildings, but a few documents shew that the monks continued to enlarge their boundaries, chiefly by the acquisition of small properties adjoining the vineyard.

The early part of the fourteenth century is likewise barren of notices, but under date 1331 we read of bishop Hamo journeying to view the defects and ruinous condition of the buildings of the church of Rochester, and of his subscribing handsomely to their repair and to the rebuilding of the frater, etc./†

In 1344 a further addition was made to the monastic precinct through the grant to the prior and convent by the king of all that part of the city ditch which extended from the prior's gate to the east gate of the city. On 28th April of the year in question the king directed an inquisition *ad quod damnum* to be made, of which the following is a translation:

Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France and lord of Ireland, to his beloved and faithful John of Cobham, constable of his castle of Rochester, greeting. Our beloved in Christ the Prior of Rochester has besought us that since the wall of the city of Rochester which extends from the east gate of the same city towards Canterbury to

/\* See the text of it in Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 411. According to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, temp. Henry VIII., the annual value of the rectory of Hartlip, which still belongs to the Dean and Chapter of Rochester, was then £19, or at least £380 at present value.

/† See *post*.

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the gate of the said Prior towards the south in divers places

has been destroyed and prostrated to the ground, and in some places for defect of mending and repair threatens ruin, and very great damage can easily happen to the same City and Priory through enemies and other evil doers unless the wall be speedily mended and repaired, we will grant to the same Prior and the Convent of the same place that they may fill up the ditch outside the said wall between the gates aforesaid with rubbish and earth, and may hold it when so filled up for themselves and their successors in pure and perpetual alms for their convenience then made for ever, on condition that in place of the same wall the same Prior and Convent at their own costs make (1) a new wall of stone, sufficiently embattled, of the height of 16 feet, outside the said old ditch, and (2) a ditch on the ground of the same Prior and Convent in the same place sufficient in length, breadth, and depth outside the wall by them so to be made anew, and that wall by them so made they are at all times to keep up and maintain. We desiring to be more fully informed if it be to the hurt or prejudice of us or any one else if we accede to the prayer of the said Prior on this part or not, and if it be, then to what hurt and what prejudice of us, and to what hurt and what prejudice of others and of whom, and how, and in what way, and how much the ditch so to be filled up contains in length and width by the number of perches or feet of ground: we command you, by the oath of upright and lawful men of the City aforesaid, through whom the truth of the matter can be the better known, to make careful inquisition upon the premises, it to be both distinctly and openly made to us in our Chancellery under your seal and the seals of them by whom it shall be done, without delay, and urged thereto by this writ. Witness me myself at Westminster the 28th day of April in the 18th year of our reign of England and our 5th of France.

By writ of privy seal.

This endorsement truly states that "The answer of this writ appears sewn to this inquisition," and it is as follows:

An Inquisition taken in the City of Rochester before John of Cobham, constable of Rochester Castle, on Wednesday on the vigil of the Lord's Ascension, in the year of the reign of King Edward of England the third after the Conquest

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the 18th, but of his reign of France the 5th, by virtue of a certain writ of the same lord King directed to the aforesaid John and sewn to this inquisition, by the oath of John Potyn, John St. Denys, Henry Newman, Henry Taylor, Roger Perewich, John Nasshenden, Robert Corby, Thomas atte Warde, John Legh, Adam Chaundler, John Hampton, and Thomas the Taverner. Who say upon their oath that it is not to the hurt nor prejudice of the lord the King, or of the

said City, or of others, if the same lord King accedes to the prayer of the Prior of Rochester, that he grant to the said Prior and the Convent of the same place, and their successors, that ditch which is between the east gate of the aforesaid City towards Canterbury as far as the gate of the aforesaid Prior and Convent towards the south. To have for themselves and their successors in pure and perpetual alms for ever, and to fill up the said ditch with rubbish and earth, and to make their convenience of the said ditch as is more fully contained in the aforesaid writ. Moreover they say upon their oath that it is to the very great convenience of the lord the King and of the aforesaid City, as it seems to them, if the aforesaid Prior and Convent make, at their own costs, a new wall of stone sufficient as to the height contained in the said writ, and a sufficient ditch in the same place outside the aforesaid wall on the land of the same Prior and Convent of sufficient length, breadth, and depth, and cause the wall and ditch to be made anew by them to be kept up and maintained for ever, as in the said writ is more fully contained. They say also upon their oath that the aforesaid old ditch to be filled up by the said Prior and Convent as is said before contains in length 54 perches and 144 feet, and in breadth 5 perches and 4 feet. In witness of which thing the seals of the aforesaid jurors have been appended to this inquisition on the day, place, and year abovesaid./\*

*/\* Inquisitio ad quod damnum, 18 Edward III. No. 43.*

1. "Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie dilecto et fideli suo Johanni de Cobham Constabulario Castri sui Roffensis: Salutem. Supplicavit nobis dilectus nobis in Christo Prior Roffensis quod cum murus Civitatis Roffensis qui se extendit a porta orientali ejusdem Civitatis versus Cantuar. usque portam dicti Prioris versus austrum in diversis locis dirutus sit et ad terram prostratus et in aliquibus locis pro defectu emendacionis et reparacionis minatur ruinam ac maxima dampna de facili evenire potuerint eidem Civitati et Prioratui per inimicos et alios malefactores. nisi dictus murus cicius emendetur et reparetur; velimus concedere eidem Priori et Conventui ejusdem loci quod ipsi fossatum extra dictum murum inter portas predictas

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The King accordingly issued letters patent granting the ditch, in the following terms:

Edward, by the grace of God King of England and France and Lord of Ireland, to all to whom the present letters may come, greeting. Inasmuch as we have learned

fimis et terra implere et illud sic impletum tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro commodo suo inde faciendo imperpetuum. ita quod loco ejusdem muri: ijdem Prior et Conventus sumptibus suis unum novum murum de petra competenter kirnelatum altitudinis sexdecim pedum extra dictum antiquum fossatum et unum fossatum in solo ipsorum Prioris et Conventus ibidem competens in longitudine latitudine et profunditate extra murum per ipsos sic de novo faciendum murumque illum per ipsos sic factum perpetuis temporibus sustentare faciant et manutenerent. Nos volentes



plenius cerciorari si sit ad dampnum vel prejudicium nostrum aut aliorum si supplicacioni prefati Prioris annuamus in hac parte necne et si sit: tunc ad quod dampnum et quod prejudicium nostrum et ad quod dampnum et quod prejudicium aliorum et quorum et qualiter et quo modo et quantum fossatum sic implendum tam in longitudine quam latitudine contineat per numerum partiarum sive pedum terre: vobis mandamus quod per sacramentum proborum et legalium hominum Civitatis predicte per quos rei veritas melius sciri poterit: diligentem super premissis facere inquisitionem et eam distincte et aperte factam nobis in Cancellaria nostra sub sigillo vestro et sigillis eorum per quos factam fuerit: sine dilacione incitatis et hoc breve. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium xxviii die Aprilis anno regni nostri Anglie decimo octavo regni vero nostri Francie quinto. Per breve de private sigillo."

Endorsed: "Responsio hujus breve patet huic Inquisitioni consuata."

2. "Inquisicio capta in Civitate Roffensis coram Johanne de Cobeham Constabulario Castri Roffensis die mercurij in vigilia Ascencionis domini Anno regni Regis Edwardi Anglie tercij post conquestum decimo octavo regni vero sui Francie quinto. Virtute cujusdam brevis ejusdem domini Regis predicto Johanni directi et huic Inquisitioni consuati per sacramentum Johannis Potyn. Johannis Seyntdenys. Henrici Neweman. Henrici Taillour. Rogeri Perewich. Johannis Nesshendenne. Roberti Corby. Thome atte Warde. Johannis Leghe. Ade Chaundeler. Johannis Hamptone et Thome le Taverner. Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod non est ad dampnum ne prejudicium domini Regis vel dicte Civitatis aut aliorum si idem dominus Rex annuat supplicacioni Prioris Roffensis videlicet quod concedat eidem Priori et Conventui ejusdem loci et successoribus eorum illud fossatum quod est inter portam orientalem predicte Civitatis versus Cantuar. usque portam predictorum Prioris et Conventus versus austrum. Habendum sibi et successoribus eorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum et ad dictum fossatum firmis et terra implendum et ad comodum illorum de dicto fossato faciendum prout in predicto brevi plenius continetur. Set dicunt super sacramentum suum quod hoc est ad comodum maximum domini Regis et Civitatis predicte ut videtur si predicti Prior et Conventus faciant sumptibus suis unum Murum novum de petra competentem altitudinis in dicto brevi contente et unum fossatum ibidem competens extra murum predictum in solo ipsorum Prioris et Conventus longitudinis latitudinis et profunditatis competencium et Murum ac fossatum per ipsos faciend. de novo sustentari faciant et manuteneant imperpetuum prout in dicto brevi plenius continetur. Dicunt eciam super sacramentum suum quod predictum antiquum fossatum per dictos Priorem et Conventum implendum ut premittatur continet in longitudine quinquaginta et quatuor particas et quatuordecim pedes hominum et dimidium pedis hominum et in latitudine quinque particas et quatuor pedes hominum. In cujus rei testimonium sigilla predictorum Juratorum huic Inquisitioni sunt appensa. die loco et anno supradictis." Transcribed from the original in the Public Record Office, 30th April 1895. [W. H. St. J. H.] <C 143/274/16>

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by an inquisition which we have caused to be made by our beloved and faithful John of Cobham, our Constable of Rochester Castle, that it is not to the hurt or prejudice of us or of any other if we grant to our beloved in Christ the Prior and Convent of Rochester our ditch without the wall of the City of Rochester, which extends from the east gate of the same City towards Canterbury to the gate of the said Prior towards the south. To have and to hold for themselves and their successors in free, pure, and perpetual alms for ever, on condition that the same Prior and Convent fill up that ditch with rubbish and earth, and thenceforth make

their convenience for ever, and that in place of the same wall they make a new wall of stone sufficiently embattled of the height of 16 feet outside the said ditch, and a new ditch outside the same wall so to be made anew on the soil of the same Prior and Convent in the same place sufficient in length and breadth to be maintained and sustained at their costs for ever; which said ditch so to be filled up contains within itself 54 perches and 14½ feet of earth and 5 perches and 5½ feet of earth in breadth. We willing to do special favour to the same Prior and Convent in this part have given and granted for us and our heirs as far as in us is to the same Prior and Convent the said ditch between the aforesaid gates, to have and to hold for themselves and their successors in free, pure, and perpetual alms, for their convenience thenceforth for ever, on condition that the same Prior and Convent cause a new wall of stone of the aforesaid height, sufficiently embattled, outside the said ditch so to be filled up, and a certain ditch of the aforesaid length and breadth outside the same wall in the same place to be made anew on the soil of the Prior and Convent, to be made, maintained, and sustained at their own costs for ever as has been aforesaid. In token of which thing we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness me myself at Westminster the 23rd day of April in the year of our reign of England the 18th, but of France the 5th. By writ of privy seal.

Grymesby./\*

\* "Edwardus dei gracia Rex Anglie et Francie et Dominus Hibernie Omnibus ad quos presentes littere pervenerint salutem. Quia accepimus per inquisitionem quam per dilectum et fidelem nostrum Johannem de Cobeham Constabularium nostrum Castri Roffensis fieri fecimus quod non est ad dampnum vel prejudicium nostrum seu alicujus alterius si concedamus dilectis nobis in Christo. Priori et Conventui Roffensis fossatum nostrum extra murum Civitatis Roffensis qui se

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It is quite clear from this series of documents that the monks were empowered to take possession of and fill up the ditch dug in 1225 on the east and south parts of their precinct, on condition that they made beyond it a new ditch, with a new wall on the solid ground between the two, which was to again complete the defences of the city. Nothing is said as to the demolition of the "city wall," described in the king's writ as ruinous, and, as will be seen below, it was probably allowed to remain in part until a comparatively late date. The length of the ditch to be filled up by the monks is given as 54 perches 14½ feet, or 905½ feet, a dimension which, as pointed out by Mr. Livett, exactly tallies with the length of the wall extending from the Prior's gate eastwards to the supposed angle bastion and thence northwards to the east gate of the city, and there is no other line to which these dimensions can be applied. (See Plan, Plate V.)

extendit a porta orientali ejusdem Civitatis versus Cantuariensem usque portam dicti Prioris versus austrum. Habendum et tenendum sibi et successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam imperpetuum ita quod ijdem Prior et Conventus fossatum illud firmis et terra implere et commodum suum inde facere possint imperpetuum et quod loco ejusdem muri unum novum murum de petra sufficienter kernelatum altitudinis sexdecim pedum extra dictum fossatum et unum novum fossatum extra eundem murum sicut de novo faciendum in solo ipsorum Prioris et Conventus ibidem in longitudine et latitudine competens faciant suis sumptibus perpetuis temporibus mantendum et sustentandum I quodque dictum fossatum sicut implendum continet in se quinquaginta et quatuor particas et quatuordecim pedes terre et dimidium in longitudine et quinque particas et quinque pedes terre in latitudine. Nos volentes eidem Priori et Conventui gratiam in hac parte facere specialem. dedimus et concessimus pro nobis et heredibus nostris quantum in nobis est eidem Priori et Conventui dictum fossatum inter portas predictas habendum et tenendum sibi et successoribus suis in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro commodo suo inde faciendum imperpetuum I ita quod ijdem Prior et Conventus unum novum murum de petra altitudinis predictae sufficienter kernelatum extra dictum fossatum sic implendum ac quoddam fossatum longitudinis et latitudinis predictarum extra eundem murum ibidem de novo faciendum in solo ipsorum Prioris et Conventus sumptibus suis fieri manteneri et sustentari faciant imperpetuum sicut predictum est. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tercio die Aprilis anno regni nostri Anglie decimo octavo regni vero nostre Francie quinto. Per breve de privato sigillo.

Grymesby."

The great seal (Willis, F.) in green wax, but much broken, is appended by red and blue silk cord. <DRc/T62>

The above transcript has been made by myself from the original charter in the possession of the Dean and Chapter. I am unable to explain how it is that the letters patent are dated five days earlier than the inquisition referred to therein.

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The "city wall" referred to in the documents above cited must therefore be that I have assumed to have been built by the king's command in 1225. The monks apparently did not interfere with the length of ditch on the east, but the part outside the south wall was filled up and included in their precinct. They then took down whatever bastion stood at the angle of the old wall and continued Henry III.'s line southward for nearly 200 feet as far as a new circular bastion. Here the wall was turned northwards with a sharp angle, and continued up to St. Margaret's Street, a distance of nearly 700 feet. At this point all trace of it is now lost, but there can be no doubt that it again turned at a sharp angle and was continued as far as the priory gate, which was at the same time rebuilt. The four successive lengths of wall on the east side of the precinct and their different characteristics may be well seen from the gardens in the city ditch behind the houses on the west side of Crow Lane. The junction of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century walls is marked by a breach in the line, and just to the left of this the site of Henry III.'s ditch is indicated by a pointed archway thrown across it to carry the 1344 wall. The ditch which the monks

were to excavate outside the new wall seems to have partly cut on the east side, and there are signs of its having been begun along the south side, but it was apparently never finished, and not improbably the work was put a stop to by the Black Death in 1349./\*

In addition to the charter granting to the monks the city ditch on the south side, Edward III. granted another to the Prior and Convent the following year, empowering them to build and crenellate a stone wall from the east gate of the

/\* The above views as to the successive lines of wall and their dates are somewhat at variance with those adopted by Mr. Livett in his paper on "Mediaeval Rochester" in *Archaeologia Cantiana* (XXI. 17-72), but I am unable to interpret otherwise the documents cited, some of which Mr. Livett appears not to have seen. So far as the early and later Norman boundaries are concerned we are in agreement, but the rejection by Mr. Livett of all idea of a Henry III. wall involves the building of the 1344 wall upon the newly filled-up ditch, which is certainly contrary to practice. Again, Mr. Livett finds a confusion of description in Edward III.'s charter, but there is no confusion if the existence of the Henry III. wall is admitted, for the length of the 1344 wall is almost exactly the same as that of the ditch given to the monks, and so is in agreement with the king's condition that the new wall shall be of the same length as the old.

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city as far as St. William's Gate, between the city and their garden./\* This wall has been destroyed along its whole course, but the base of it was partly laid open in 1887, immediately north of the presbytery of the cathedral church, and further portions were uncovered in 1889 and later. It was five feet in thickness and set back about 15 feet from the present street line. (See Plan, Plate V.)†

For the two succeeding centuries there are no chronicles of the priory, nor are there any documents that throw light on the history or arrangements of the buildings until we come to those following upon the suppression of the monastery. These will, however, be dealt with in their place.

The monastery was entered from the High Street through a gatehouse known as the cemetery gate, owing to its opening directly into the lay-folk's cemetery called Greenchurchhaw. For a long time this cemetery filled up almost all the space between the High Street and the cathedral church, and extended from a street (Doddingherne Lane) on the west to a wall on the east, which extended from the north-east corner of the north transept to High Street. A gateway in this wall, called the sextry gate, led into the monks' garden and their cemetery, which also extended round the east end of the cathedral church. At the junction of the wall with the street was a postern or doorway, as in the corresponding position at Gloucester, known as St. William's gate, now destroyed. Not improbably it was built early in the thirteenth century to afford more direct access to St. William's shrine by way of the north transept. It is first mentioned in the

record of the building of the transept by Richard of Eastgate, and again in the letters patent of Edward III. granted in 1345 for the building of a stone wall from the east gate of

*/\** "Quod ipsi quendam murum de petra et calce, a porta Orientali civitatis Roff. usque ad portum sancti Gwillelmi, inter dictam civitatem et gardinum eorundem prioris et conventus facere, et murum illum firmare et kinnellare, et kinnellatum tenere possint sibi et successoribus suis imperpetuum." For the full text of the charter, which is dated 5th August 19 Edward III. (1345), see Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 552. The original does not appear to be now amongst the muniments of the Dean and Chapter.

*/†* See a paper by Mr. A. A. Arnold in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XVIII. 201.

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the city *usque ad portam sancti Gwillelmi.**/\** Of its destruction there seems to be no record.

The present cemetery gatehouse dates from the earlier part of the fifteenth century. It has a wide four-centred arch to the street, originally furnished with double doors, and a similar arch on the inner face, but the lower parts of the inner orders of both arches have been cut away for the freer passage of vehicles. The passage is ceiled and not vaulted, and has on each side a wide pointed arch or recess, now walled up. In the south-west corner is a doorway into an octagonal vice leading to the upper floor, which is an overhanging structure of timber. The gatehouse, both within and without, is faced with alternating bands of ashlar and flintwork. Through the recent removal of the buildings on the west that side is now clear, and shews a large and a small round-headed archway, both blocked, perhaps parts of an older gatehouse.

The buildings until lately within the gate on the west side were made over to the Prior and Convent as late as 1475 by William Bamme, William Mungeham, and William Testewode, and are described as

quoddam tenementum cum superedificiis et suis pertinenciis quibus cumque prout situatur in civitate predicta inter cimiterium Ecclesie Cathedralis predicte versus Orientem et Austrum ac Mesuagium dictorum Prioris et Conventus versus Borium et quendam venellam vocatam Dodyngesherne lane versus Occidentem.*/†* <DRc/T281>

From these boundaries there can be no difficulty in placing the tenement in question. Moreover the grant bears a later endorsement: "The howse nexte the grete gate leased to Mr. John Simkins nuper prebend. in quo Syr Martin Cotys Inhabit."*/†* On the opposite side of the roadway is an old half-timbered house, with carved cornice, etc. temp. Henry VIII.

*/\** The will of Henry Hubbard, 1540, desires that he "be buried in the churchyarde of Seynt Nicholas of Rochester at the northe dore of the colledge called Seynt Willyams dore" (ix. 374). I am indebted to Mr. Leland L.

Duncan for this reference.

/† *Ex orig. penes Dec. et Cap. Roffen.*; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 584.

/‡ John Simkins was the first prebend of the 4th Stall elected in 1541; he died in 1576. Martin Cotes was appointed chapter clerk in 1575.

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Between the cemetery gatehouse and St. William's gate were other buildings bordering the street. Next the gatehouse was a messuage which is apparently identical with that referred to in a grant to the monastery about 1220 by Henry of Cobham of a payment of 2s. in perpetuity from Godfrey the Cook and his heirs "de quodam mesuagio in Rofa ad Dodingherne quod est proximum terre Secretani apud <DRc/T278> Orientem;" it was 52 feet long and 18 feet broad./\* Another document seems to refer to the property east of this. It is a lease by Eustace fitz-Reiner to Richard the prior (1225--1238) and convent of a piece of land

que jacet in longum cimiterii juxta vicum regium. Que habet a magno domo lapidea que est Godefridi Coci in longitudine versus orientem sexaginta et octo pedes cum latitudine sua a vico regio usque ad Cimiterium Beati Andree.† <DRc/T289>

An ancient but not original endorsement reads: "de terra ad portam sancti Willelmi quam W. de Hoy‡ emit et inedicavit."

Shortly before 1418, as we have already seen,§ the parish church of St. Nicholas was begun in the layfolk's cemetery. A composition concerning the church, drawn up between the monks and the citizens in 1421, refers to its having a detached bell-tower on the north-west, with a lane between, through which processions were to go.¶ From the directions laid down for these processions we learn that from the east end of the church two walls, each pierced with doorways, extended respectively to St. William's gate towards the street, and up to the transept of the cathedral church. Another wall extended from the north doorway of the cathedral church to the south doorway of the church of St. Nicholas.¶¶

/\* *Ex orig. penes Dec. et Cap. Roffen.*; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 531.

/† *Ex orig. penes Dec. et Cap. Roffen.* Three shops on the west side of St. William's gate and five on the east side of it belonged to the *camerarius*, and are mentioned in the chamberlain's accounts for 1385-6 and 1396-7.

/‡ Probably William of Hoo, who succeeded Richard of Darent as prior in 1239. He resigned in 1241 and became a monk of Woburn.

/§ *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXIII. 273.

/¶ "Unum campanile ad finem Occidentalem dicte ecclesie sive capelle ex parte videlicet Boriali ejusdem finis Occidentalis ultra quandam venellam per quam processio transibit." Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 564.

/¶¶ These walls are thus described in the composition referred to: "Item dictus vicarius et parochiani suas processiones solempnes quociens ipsas velint circa ecclesiam sive capellam parochialem predictam ac cimiteria predicta facere possint incipiendo videlicet processionem hujusmodi in cancella dicte ecclesie sive

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The sextry gate appears to be first referred to by name in certain regulations drawn up in the latter half of the fourteenth century "De installatione episcopi, electione prioris, et nominatione officialium." According to these, when the bishop arrives at his cathedral church, "extento tentoriolo *juxta portam sacristie, per quam in cimiterium ingreditur*, residuebit idem dominus ut disalciet se, etc."/\* The existing gatehouse is contemporary with the cemetery gate. It has a four-centred outer archway, which retains its original wooden doors, and an inner arch of the same form, plainly chamfered. The passage is ceiled only, and has on the right a small four-centred doorway, now blocked, into the porter's lodge. There is a half-timbered upper story. Adjoining the gateway on the north is a modern house which occupies the site of the old residence of the third Prebend.

The sextry gate now serves as the entrance to the Deanery, but, as already stated, it originally led to the monks' cemetery and their garden. Certain documents relating to this part of the precinct in the twelfth century have been cited above,† but there are a few others of later date that ought not to be passed over. Thus about 1220 Gilbert Fitz-Eustace demised to the monks certain land 22 feet long and 17 feet wide "sub muro cimiterii predictorum monachorum juxta terram Willielmi Kebbel versus Orientem."/‡ Some seventy years

capelle parochialis et sic procedendo per ostium Occidentale ejusdem ecclesie sive capelle et tunc vertendo dextraliter extra ostium Occidentale hujusmodi per quandam venellam ex parte Boriali ejusdem ecclesie sive capelle et deinde vertendo per portam Orientalem dicte ecclesie sive capelle versus ostium Boriale dicte ecclesie cathedralis et sic per portam sive murum Borialem ejusdem ecclesie cathedralis versus Occidentem per dictum cimiterium vulgariter vocatum *le Grenechurchehawe* et per quandam novam portam sumptibus parochianorum predictorum in muro qui inter portam Borialem dicte ecclesie cathedralis et portam Australem prefate ecclesie sive capelle se extendit construendam et quociens opus fuerit reparandam et manutenendam cujus porte nove claves per parochianos predictos pro ipsorum libero introitu ad libitum volumus custodiri et sic transeat processio predicta per novam portam hujusmodi in aliud cimiterium superius designatum ad portam Occidentale ecclesie cathedralis predicte et deinde vertendo per cimiterium hujusmodi in ecclesiam sive capellam antedictam." Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 565. A further clause in the composition enacts that the prior and convent shall retain full control of the cemetery gate, and keep open or closed as they will "ipsam portam que est ad orientalem partem dicte ecclesie sive capelle parochialis vulgariter dictam portam Sancti Willelmi." Ibid.

/\* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 131.

† Pp. 8, 9.

‡ Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 533. <from BL Cott Dom x, f 198v>

later Richard of Rochester, clerk, quitclaimed to prior Thomas (1283--1292) and the convent his right in a piece of ground lying "sub muro gardini" of the prior and convent on the north part, with the High Street on the other side, 42 feet



long and 17 feet wide; according to the endorsement the deed refers to land "sub giardino versus Cimiterium."/\* These and other properties, of which the grants cannot be found or identified, were cut off from the cemetery and garden by the wall built towards the street in 1345. This wall is described in the king's grant as between the city and "the garden of the prior and convent," but whether the garden extended so far westwards as St. William's gate is uncertain. In 1887 the houses lining the street for some distance east of the site of the gate were demolished, and the open ground behind them continued up to the street. The foundation of the 1345 wall was then uncovered parallel to and at a distance of nearly 17 feet from the street for a length of over 80 feet./†

The principal or great gatehouse, which led into the outer court or *curia* of the monastery, was attached to and extended westwards from the southern of the two turrets of the west front of the cathedral church. The earliest notice of it is an undated one, probably *temp.* bishop Ernulf, that "Lucas cellerarius .... portam fecit."/‡ In the patent of incorporation of the Dean and Chapter in 1541 it is described as "a certain house called Le Porter's Lodge lying towards the south and west parts from the west door of the church aforesaid,"/§ and it is shewn with a single archway and apparently an upper story in Russell's map of the Rochester Bridge property, made in 1717./|| Practically nothing more is recorded of it until 1740, when the following appears in the Chapter Act Book under date 4th December:

The Porter's lodge & the Gatehouse adjoining having been surveyd by Workmen [at y/e Desire of the Porter *struck through*] and found to be in a very Dangerous & Ruinous

/\* *Ex orig. penes Dec. et Cap.* <DRc/T290>

/† See Mr. A. A. Arnold's note in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XVIII. 201.

/‡ Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 22b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 118.

/§ See *post*, p. 67.

/|| See Mr. A. A. Arnold's note in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XVIII. 200.

Oddly enough it is not shewn in the view of Rochester published in John Harris's *History of Kent* (London, 1719), 251.

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Condition. Resolvd That One Gate be shutt up and the Taking down of y/e Building be referr'd to the Chapter next Midsummer, etc. (Book xx. f. 18.)

A year later, on 9th December, the following occurs:

Mem. The Archdeacon read to the Dean and Chapter an Extract of a Letter from Mr. Provost of Oriell Colledge in Oxford in y/e Words following: At a Meeting of my ffellows I mentiond the Ruinous state of the Gate [house *altered to*] way adjoining to my Prebendal House and that it would be expedient to take down that Part of the House



which is built upon the Gate which may be very well lost. We are willing that you may proceed to Demolish it accordingly but it will be Necessary for You to build a Good Strong Brick Wall at the West End of the House to secure it from those strong Gusts of Wind and Storms to which That Part is more particularly exposed. Dated from Oriel October 2/d 1741 and signed W. Hodges. (Book xx. f. 27b.)

No action seems, however, to have been taken until three and a half years later, when we find under date 5th July 1744:

Orderd also That the Old Gate House & Porters Lodge adjoining being both very Ruinous & Dangerous be taken down, and that the Provost's House be made Good at the West End thereof by a Strong & Substantial Wall and that the Area thereof be Paved and the Limetts of the Precincts there be marked out and preserved with Posts. (Book xxi. f. 3.)

The gatehouse was not entirely destroyed, inasmuch as a three-storied chamber that formed its eastern end, with a recessed seat in the gate-passage, is shewn attached to the front in Schnebbelie's etching of the north-west view of the cathedral church published by Thorpe in 1788.<sup>/\*</sup> Before Buckler published his view from the same point in 1810 even this fragment had been cleared away.<sup>/†</sup> A row of posts remained to mark the site, as directed by the Chapter in 1744, until 1887, when they too were removed.

<sup>/\*</sup> *Custumale Roffense*, plate xxxv. p. 165.

<sup>/†</sup> It is also not shewn in Storer's view, published in 1816.

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Near to, or perhaps forming part of, the gate was the almonry, but nothing definite about it is known. The prior's court, called "Celeres Court," was held "apud le Ameribenche" within the priory.<sup>/\*</sup>

The outer court occupied so much of the area south of the nave of the cathedral church as was not covered by the bishop's palace and precinct, and extended from the street on the west, where it was bounded by a wall, to the monastic buildings on the east. It also no doubt extended to the southern side of the frater and kitchen.

Of the buildings that stood in it there are now no remains. The cellarer's account for 1384-5 contains a payment of 2s. 2d. "in uno homine cooperatore domum superioris curie," and the same account mentions both a *serviens* and a *janitor superioris curie*.

According to the directions in the Custumal, *De Janitore quid facere debeat*, it was the porter's duty "always at night to lie at the gate." He had under him a sub-porter and a boy, both of whom also slept in the gatehouse. It was one

of the boy's duties to carry the key every night to the cellarer's bed after curfew (*post sonitum qui dicitur cooperifocum*) and fetch it in the morning./†

The cloister occupied an area about 130 feet square between the presbytery of the church and the Roman city wall, and was here placed by bishop Ernulf (1114--1124), who also built the chapter-house and dorter on its east side, and the frater on the south.

The central area or garth was a grass plot, which the few remaining account-rolls shew to have been regularly mown/‡ and kept in order. The covered passages or alleys that extended round the four sides of the cloister were apparently at first of wood, and so liable to destruction in the fires that

/\* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 585.

/† Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 29.

/‡ In the chamberlain's account for 1385-6 is: "Pro falcacione claustri pro iij vices [*sic*] xijd," and in that for 1396-7: "Pro falcacione claustri ij vicibus vijd." In the account of William Freselle the prior and Robert Pilton the sacrist for 1512-13 is: "Pro falcacione prati claustri iijbus vicibus vjd." The garth seems to have been used for beating carpets in, for, according to the *Custumale*, the *famuli ecclesiae* "Post octabas pentecostes pro cortinis et dorsalibus et bancalibus contra solem in claustro excutiendis habent quatuor denarios ad potandum." Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 31.

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ravaged the monastery in 1137 and again in 1179. According to a charter of Ralph (de Ros), who was prior in 1199 and in 1202, bishop Gilbert of Glanville (1185--1214) "fecit claustrum nostrum perfici lapideum."/\* This statement that the <DRc/T572/14> bishop "caused our cloister to be finished in stone" certainly points to a reconstruction of the cloister after the second fire, and of a substitution of stone for wood. This benefaction is followed by the record of a threefold one by Helias, who was prior during the first twenty years of the thirteenth century: (1) "he caused part of the cloister towards the dorter to be leaded"; (2) "he caused the lavatory and the frater door to be made"; (3) "he bought the shingle where-with the cloister towards the frater was covered."/† Nearly two centuries later one side of the cloister was still covered with shingles, for the cellarer's account for 1384-5 contains a payment of 77s. 9d. spent "in iij M.CCC schinglys cubandis super panam claustri." At the suppression of the monastery the cloister was among the buildings reserved for the king, and as will be seen, from the subsequent accounts, the east and south sides, at any rate, were then covered with lead.

The north alley of the cloister, as already suggested, would appear to have been at first built parallel to the church at a distance of 12 feet from it. This seems to be borne out (1) by the fact that the area of the cloister was always a square, and (2) that there are no signs of any wall extending northwards from the north-west angle of the chapter-house.

As there are also no traces of any wall having been bonded into the west face of this same angle, it is possible that at first the closing in of the cloister on the north was only of a temporary character, in view of other changes. But after the fire of 1179, if not before, the cloister was certainly closed by a wall of a more durable kind. Nearly half this wall was destroyed when the new quire transept was built out early in the thirteenth century, and what was left east of that seems

*/\* Charter penes Dec. et Cap.; and Thorpe, Registrum Roffense, 633.*

*† "Helyas prior .... partem claustrum versus dormitorium plumbare fecit. .... Lavatorium et hostium refectorii fieri fecit. .... Cendulam unde claustrum versus refectorium coopertum est emit." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22 f 90; and Thorpe, Registrum Roffense, 122.*

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to have been rebuilt in the fourteenth, century. But the section west of the transept has escaped through later work having been built upon it.*/\** This section is 32 feet long. At a height of about 16 feet from the ground it is crossed by

Fig. 39. -- Doorway from the Cloister into the Church.

the original string-course, above which the wall is continued 2 feet higher. Just below the string-course are the remains of the corbels that carried the wall-plate of the cloister roof. The lower part of the wall has in its western end an inserted

*/\* See Archaeologia Cantiana, XXIII. 252.*

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doorway of the beginning of the fourteenth century, which was the usual way by which the monks had access to the church by day. The doorway is of the same date as the quire door, etc. but has the hood-mold ornamented with four-leaved flowers (Fig. 39). To the east of the doorway there is now visible only a rubble wall, but closer examination shews traces of two large openings, now blocked, with depressed pointed heads. The westernmost is backed within the church by a trefoil-headed recess (see Fig. 28), and the easternmost<sup>*/\**</sup> by two round-headed recesses, now blocked, but at a much higher level. The top of a similar blocked recess exists over the cloister door. Whether these internal features had any connection with the external is doubtful, and it is most likely that the openings outside, now blocked, were originally sunk recesses with trefoil heads like the recess within. From centre to centre these recesses measure exactly 12 feet, a dimension which would allow of ten such between the cloister door and the eastern extremity of the wall. It is possible that the whole of this side of the cloister was the work of bishop Gilbert de Glanville (1185--1214). The south end of the quire transept was entirely refaced by Mr. Cottingham

between 1825 and 1830. As may be seen from Fig. 34 its ground story was then in a very dilapidated condition, but it contained as now three central wide arched recesses flanked by two others of lesser span. Two of the large recesses were pierced with windows, but the easternmost was a doorway with flat lintel and a double door, which gave access to the crypt from the cloister./† The corbels for the cloister roof are shewn in the engraving (Fig. 34). The south end of the transept aisle now contains a modern window, inserted by Cottingham and since "beautified" by Pearson. It no doubt replaced an old one in the same position. The remainder of the wall on this side is a rebuilding of the fourteenth century, and has in the middle

/\* A window has recently been pierced in this to light the hitherto dark vault beneath the stairs from the south quire aisle up to the transept.

/† The original doorway was until lately concealed by a blocking within and by a copy by Cottingham on the outside. During recent alterations by the late Mr. J. L. Pearson the blocking was taken out and the old work exposed to view but Cottingham's copy of the doorway was needlessly destroyed and the opening converted into a window.

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a tall archway with a small and narrow doorway beside it on the east. The archway was originally sub-divided by a mullion into acutely-pointed openings with cinquefoiled heads, with a quatrefoiled opening above. The openings were each 22¾ inches wide, and were carried down to a sill on a level with the cloister alley floor. They were rebated for doors behind and had not been glazed. The total height of the archway from the ground was about 9 feet. Until lately it was walled up to the springing and the head filled with an iron grate in place of the tracery, which had been long destroyed. It has since been opened out, and "restored" by being converted into a window. The small doorway beside it has also been opened out. It is only 5 feet 9 inches high and 25¼ inches wide, and of plain design with continuous mouldings.

Despite the narrowness of the openings there can be little doubt that the traceried archway formed a double entrance to some chamber or recess beneath the vestry, of which all traces have been obliterated. Such a recess might very well have formed the *armarium* or closet in which were kept such books as were used in cloister by the monks at reading times, and it is of interest to note that the book-closets in the Cistercian abbeys of Furness, Tintern, and Beaulieu were entered from the cloister by similar traceried double doorways. A place of this kind certainly existed at Rochester, for it is recorded of Robert of Higham, who was a benefactor to the new works of the early part of the thirteenth century, that "librum Ysidori ethimologiarum posuit *in armarium claustris*."/\*

There is also other evidence of an interesting character. Among the manuscripts of the old Royal Library now in the

British Museum there are at least ninety volumes which can be identified as having once formed part of the monastic library at Rochester which was dispersed at the Suppression, from their bearing the inscription *Liber de Claustro Roffensi*, often with the addition of the name of the donor or former owner.<sup>/†</sup> Further, one of these volumes, a copy of Augustine's

<sup>/\*</sup> Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 90b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 123.

<sup>/†</sup> See David Casley, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts of the King's Library, etc.* (London, 1734), 3, etc.

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*De doctrina Christiana* (MS. 5 B. 12), has inserted at the beginning a catalogue of the library itself, headed *Anno ab incarnatione Domini M.CC.II. hoc est scrutinium librarii nostri.*<sup>/\*</sup>

It enumerates some three hundred volumes, which were divided into six sections. The first is headed *Librarium beati Andree*, and contains about sixty volumes of the works of St. Augustine, Pope Gregory, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and the Venerable Bede. Fully a third of these exist among the royal manuscripts, and the inscription shews that they were kept in the cloister. The second section is headed *Comune Librarium*, and contained ninety volumes of a miscellaneous character,<sup>/†</sup> of which nearly a score have survived. The third section has the heading *Item Aliud Librarium in Archa Cantoris*, and enumerates over one hundred miscellaneous volumes, of which about half-a-dozen are preserved in the British Museum and at Cambridge and Oxford. The other three sections were evidently the collections of the respective donors. Thus we have *Librarium Magistri Hamonis* containing eighteen volumes, that of Alexander the chanter (who also as librarian drew up the catalogue under notice) containing a score volumes, and six volumes described *Hii sunt Libri Prioris Rodberti de Waletune*. The last two sections are, however, additions to the original list.

At the time when the "scrutiny" of the library was made the books were probably kept in presses against the cloister wall, and it is possible that the building out of the quire transept led to the stock-taking and the removal of the books elsewhere. As the room beneath the vestry is of later date we cannot tell whether the library was put there as early as 1202, but no more convenient place in the cloister could be found for it, and there can be little doubt that from at least the middle of the fourteenth century down to the Suppression it occupied the position suggested above.

In a view of the cloister engraved by Thorpe in *Custumale Roffense* the library door is described as "Entrance from the

<sup>/\*</sup> The entire list is printed in an interesting paper by Mr. W. B. Rye in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, III, 47-64.

<sup>/†</sup> One of them is the very book noted above as the gift of Robert of Higham.

Cloyster to the steps of ascent to the door of the present Chapter room."/\*

The little doorway next the library entrance is of the same date, and would therefore appear to have had a separate use. Most likely it led into another portion of the space under the vestry which perhaps served as the parlour, or place where such conversation might be carried on as was forbidden in the cloister.

At the Suppression "the vault .... lying under the vestrie" was gutted of its contents and allotted "for the Deanes woodehowse."/† In the Latin text the "vault" is described as *solarium*, which points to its having been more than a mere cellar.

The east side of the cloister, so far as the ground story is concerned, retains unaltered, and to a large extent uninjured, the original work of bishop Ernulf. About one-fourth of it, at the north end, is taken up by the front of the chapter-house. This exhibits the usual arrangement of a central doorway between two wide window openings, with three large windows above./‡

The chapter-house doorway is of two orders. The inner is carried by pairs of large semi-circular shafts, each with a small triple shaft between, and is decorated with a zigzag ornament. Next to this is a flat member covered with elegant interlaced work. The outer order has a roll moulding decorated with a zigzag pattern with billets and the trowel-point ornament. Beyond this is a second flat member with twelve carved panels filled with various devices, and arranged in two series of six on either side of a central panel of larger size with a semi-circular top. This contains a crowned figure standing in front of two beasts. The side openings have unfortunately lost their jamb shafts, as well as the inner order, but the engraving in the *Custumale Roffense*, taken before their destruction, shews that this was

/\* Plate xxxiii. p. 151. † See *post*.

‡ In Thorpe's *Custumale Roffense*, plate xxvii. p. 161, is a view of the front of the chapter-house and of the adjoining work to the south, taken in 1769. The carvings round the doorway are shewn on a large scale in the succeeding plate. Another view of the front is given as a vignette on the title-page of Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*. It shews the doorway and flanking windows as then unblocked.

like the corresponding order of the doorway. The flat member beyond is carved with large square four-leaved flowers. The outer order is ornamented with a zigzag pattern, beyond which is a flat band covered with a chevrony pattern. All three openings have both the capitals and their continuous impostes elaborately carved, and have labels decorated with billets and the trowel-point ornament, with

sculptured heads at the points. Both the doorway and the side openings are now walled up. Above them is a broad belt of ashlar, the plainness of which is relieved by the singular lattice diaper/\* characteristic of certain portions of Ernulf's work at Canterbury, of which fragments also remain in the later work of the nave at Rochester.† (Fig. 40.) The whole of the work about the chapter-house entrance is of very rich character, now in a most woeful condition and utterly uncared for by its cus-

Fig. 40. -- Lattice Diaper on Ernulf's Work at Canterbury and Rochester.

todians. Such splendid work ought at the least to be sheltered from the weather by a wooden pentice.

The windows above are large and round-headed, with jamb shafts carrying a plain roll moulding. Between and beyond the windows are four tall and shallow niches decorated round the edge with a bold single zigzag line. The gable has been destroyed. Below the windows are the remains of the corbels upon which rested the cloister roof.

The chapter-house, which was so called because in it was daily read a chapter (*capitulum*) from the Rule of St. Bene-

/\* This is not shewn in Thorpe's engraving.

† *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXIII. 218.

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diet, was a fine room, 64 feet long and 32½ feet wide, but it is now a roofless and uncared-for ruin, stripped of all its wall-arcading and laid out as a garden belonging to the Deanery. About 20 feet of its length is also curtailed by the intrusion of part of the Deanery itself, built within it about the middle of the eighteenth century, and it has been further encroached on in recent years. The west end was occupied by the doorway and other openings described above, decorated as richly as without, and with the lattice diaper on the wall surface. The whole bears strong marks of fire. The side walls and east end were of plain stonework up to a height of about 6 feet, on account of the benches upon which the monks sat in chapter being built against them. Above this height the wall was

set back 7 inches to form a ledge, on which stood a continuous arcade of twenty-four arches on each side, and thirteen across the end. This arcade has now disappeared, with the exception of two arches at the north end of the east wall that have escaped through being covered up by the Deanery encroachment. (Fig. 41.) This would point to the remainder having been destroyed since that was erected. The arches were semi-circular, wrought with zigzag mouldings, and carried by detached shafts, apparently alternately octagonal and round, with scolloped capitals. From every alternate shaft sprang a large arch decorated with the billet moulding, and forming an interlacing series along the wall. The total height of the arcade was 8½ feet. Over the arcade was a plain belt of two courses of ashlar, above which the wall was of rubble. The chapter-house was not vaulted, but covered from the first by a wooden roof. According to the list of benefactions, "Thomas of Nashenden the elder, after the burning of our church and offices, gave all the material wherewith the chapter-house was covered,"/\* but it is uncertain whether the fire referred to is that of 1137 or 1179. Certain repairs must have been necessitated by both, and it was probably on that account that prior Silvester (in 1177 and 1178) "made three windows in the chapter-house towards the

/\* "Thomas de Nessendene senior post combustionem ecclesie nostri et officinarum: dedit totam materiem unde capitulum coopertum est, etc." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 87b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 120.

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Fig. 41. -- Elevation of the remaining fragment of the Chapter-house wall arcade.

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east."/\* It may be that some day when the Deanery encroachment is removed, prior Silvester's windows will be again brought to light. At some time during the fourteenth century a new roof of six bays was put upon the chapter-house, the tie beams of which rested on corbels in the form of angels holding shields. The weather-beaten remains of these still exist. The former pitch of the roof and the two gables were probably lowered when the new roof was put on. Much about the same time the westernmost bay of the chapter-house was cut off by a stone arcade and vaulted in three bays to carry a low bridge or gallery about 7½ feet wide. This was built to allow of direct access from the dorter to the church without going through the cloister. The southern respond and the springer of the vault in the south-west corner are all that is now left of this. Under the northern end of the bridge a narrow doorway was made in the fourteenth century to the space under the vestry.† From excavations made in 1884 I found that from the top of the capitals of the entrance



doorway to the tiled floor was 9 feet 2½ inches.

The chapter-house was in all probability the burying-place of the priors. A skeleton was dug up in it in 1766 and a stone coffin in 1770./‡

After the suppression of the monastery the chapter-house passed, with the rest of the monastic buildings, into the king's hands, and the old vestry north of it, which was at the same time despoiled of its contents, became the new chapter-house for the new Dean and Chapter. The treasurer's account for 1591 contains divers entries as to its repair, and the mention of the "vaute" in connection with it shews that the room still used for the purpose is the chapter-house referred to. The entries are as follows:

January 16.

Item to Page for laying 3000 single in the Chapter howse & for j m. single & ij bundell lathes, solut. per Mr. Hayt. xliij/s viij/d.

/\* "Silvester prior .... fecit tres fenestras in capitulo versus orientem." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

/† This is of the same date, and has the same section as the small doorway next the book-closet entrance.

/‡ Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 187.

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Fig. 42. -- View of the North-east Corner of the Cloister.

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Item to Waller the Smith for nayles, prygges &c. about the Chapterhowse & vaute, ut patet per billam et solut. per Mr. Hayt. xxj/s.

Item to Antho. Corbyt & his man for ij dayes tiling the Chapter howse. Solut. per Mr. Hayte. iiij/s.

An account for 1621 for "work upon the Chapter house" also has *inter alia*:

To Yeamans for boarding the Chapter house. xxxvij/s.

In 1675 sums of £10 and £8 10s. were paid to Thomas Hayes, carpenter, "for work done about the Chapterhouse."

Two other entries in the accounts may here be noticed. In that for Michaelmas 4 Edward VI. to Michaelmas 5 Edward VI. is:

It. xx<sup>o</sup> Novembris for a yron Ring & a stapull for the lybrary door. iij/d.

And in that for 1621, among charges for ironwork, is a charge of 10s. 8d. for fittings bought "for the presse in the librarie."

Since there can be little doubt that the books in the old monastic library passed into the possession of the king at the Suppression, it would seem that the old vestry, besides serving as the chapter-house, was partly fitted up as a library also at least as early as 1550. Here the library has since remained./\*

Next to the southern of the old chapter-house window openings, on the cloister side, is a small niche with richly-moulded head, formerly supported by jamb shafts, now gone. Next to this to the south is an elaborate doorway of two orders. The outer has a roll moulding with broad zigzag ornament beyond, carried by octagonal shafts with carved capitals. The inner order has a horizontal lintel with a sculptured tympanum, now in a sad state of decay. The sculpture represents the Sacrifice of Isaac, and encircling it was an inscription of which there can still be read: ". . . ARIES PER CORNVA . . ." Were this and the other sculptured work of

/\* For an account of its present contents see Beriah Botfield, *Notes on the Cathedral Libraries of England* (London, 1849), 390-404.

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this side of the cloister covered by a judiciously applied coat of limewash, their continuance would be ensured for at any rate a further number of years.

The doorway just described, which was 5¼ feet wide, has long been walled up, but from analogy with others in a similar position with respect to the chapter-house there can be no doubt that it opened on to a flight of steps up to the monks' dormitory or dorter. The site of the steps is now covered by a modern building, which prevented my making excavations to confirm the point.

The rest of this side of the cloister from the dorter door southwards was covered by a simple wall-arcade of intersecting arches carried by detached shafts alternately round and octagonal, most of which remains. The arcade was not continuous, but interrupted in two places by doorways, and in three others by windows. The first doorway, which comes beyond the first two arches, was 5 feet 2 inches wide, and of two orders, carried by detached jamb shafts. The inner order is decorated with the zigzag, and the outer with a rich diaper, added after the building of the doorway. The second doorway, which is near the southern end of the wall, is of the same size and design, but the ornamental detail has never been carved. Between the doorways the wall-arcade appears originally to have formed four groups of as many arches alternating with the three window openings, but the northernmost window and the arch next it on the north have been destroyed and the place made up with brickwork. The windows were of unequal widths and a little taller than the arcade, and opened into the dorter sub-vault. All these doorways and openings are now walled up.

Beyond the southern doorway the arcade has been destroyed and the wall tampered with.

The area east of the work just described now forms the kitchen-yard of the Deanery, and at first sight contains no ancient remains. But further examination shews that the north end, beyond the building there, is ancient; it forms, in fact, the south side of the chapter-house. A short length of old work also adjoins it on the east with the head of a doorway, now a window, and beside it, just above the ground

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level, the abacus of a respond. The top of another respond is visible at the south end. Shortly before my beginning residence at Rochester in 1881 a complete respond had been uncovered against the west wall when making an ash-pit, wherein it may still be seen. During the summer of 1884, by the kindness of the late Dean Scott, I was allowed to make such excavations as I pleased in the yard, and with the assistance of my friend Mr. John Langhorne was able to recover a great deal of the plan of the building that once occupied the site. It was 91 feet in length by 41 feet 7½ inches in width, and divided by two rows of columns into three alleys, the central of which was somewhat wider than the others. The whole was seven bays long and was vaulted throughout. The vault consisted of unribbed quadripartite cells, divided by plain transverse arches crossing from pillar to pillar, and from them to responds against the walls. The responds were massive

Fig. 43. -- Elevation and plan of a respond of the dorter sub-vault.

semi-circular shafts with scalloped capitals, and moulded bases resting on a plinth, the whole being 4 feet 10 inches high./\* (Fig. 43.) This dimension represents the depth of rubbish which now covers the original floor level. We did

/\* The height of the transverse arches must have been about 11 feet. The

respond visible in the ash-pit is that between the fourth and fifth bays. The next one to the south has been excavated and built round, and covered with a trap-door so that it can at any time be seen.

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not excavate for any of the pillars, as it was doubtful if more than their plinths or bases would be found, but they were probably circular, like the responds. The diameter of the shafts in that case would be 22 inches; the capitals and bases, which were square, had a total width of 2 feet 7 inches. The first or northernmost bay was narrower than the rest. It probably contained the stair to the dorter, and would therefore most likely be cut off by a wall. For reasons already stated we could not excavate for this. The second bay was the passage from the cloister to the infirmary and cemetery, and besides the wide doorway on the west had another on the east, part of which exists as a window to the Deanery kitchen. The third bay was open to the second, and with it probably served as the regular parlour, where such conversation might be carried on as was forbidden in the cloister. The division between the third and fourth bays was different from the others, if we may judge by the eastern respond. This was a broad and flat pilaster with re-entering angles, having a total width of 29 inches, instead of a semi-circular shaft. Unhappily, a modern building prevented a search for the corresponding western respond. Probably a partition wall ranged between them, or piers and arches of more massive character than the rest to carry a subdivision on the floor above. The remaining four bays seem to have formed one apartment, with a doorway and two windows towards the cloister. This would probably be, as at Durham, the common house, "the house being to this end, to have a fyre kept in yt all winter, for the Monnckes to cume and warme themselves at, being allowed no fyre but that onely, except the Masters and Officers of the House, who had there severall fyres."/\*

Above the whole of the sub-vault just described was the monks' *dormitorium* or dorter. Unhappily the whole of it has been destroyed, except a window-jamb at the north end of the west wall. From this it may be conjectured that the dorter was lighted throughout on each side by windows similar to those of the chapter-house, one to each bay, and

/\* *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 15), 75.

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probably with similar ornamental panels between. It was covered at the Suppression with an open wooden roof overlaid with lead.

Although the dorter itself has gone, a few documentary references to it have been preserved. That it was built by bishop Ernulf (1114--1124) has already been stated. Accord-

ing to the list of benefactions:

Prior Silvester (in 1177 and 1178) .... at Rochester removed the privy which formerly adjoined the dorter.

Prior Alured (1182--1186), afterwards abbot of Abingdon (1186--1189), .... made a window in the dorter beyond the prior's bed.

Ralph Bretun (*temp.* R. de Ros, sacrist) .... made a window of King Arthur in the dorter.<sup>/\*</sup>

Where these windows were it is useless to speculate. The record concerning prior Alured is of value in shewing that the prior still slept in dorter at the close of the twelfth century.

From one of the notices of the misdoings of bishop Gilbert of Glanville, who, as already stated,<sup>/†</sup> was always quarrelling with the monks, we find that for some time the muniments of the prior and convent were kept in the dorter:

Anno MCCXLV. Eodem in anno durante adhuc interdicto: obiit Gilbertus Roffensis episcopus qui . xxx/a annis Episcopatum tenuit. Hic cum consilio suo faventibus quibusdam ecclesie sue Monachis: accessit *ad dormitorium* . et fracta magna cista tulit magnum Sigillum . necnon et cartas regum . privilegia Pontificum . non obstante sententia prius lata a Summis Pontificibus . Archiepiscopis . Episcopis predecesoribus suis.<sup>/‡</sup> <MCCXIV.> <Luard 1890 2:149>

After this the muniments seem to have been kept for greater safety in the prior's chapel, as may be gathered from

<sup>/\*</sup> "Silvester prior .... apud Rofam amovit privatam domum que olim adherebat dormitorio. Aluredus prior . postea Abbas Abendonie .... fecit fenestram in dormitorio ultra lectum prioris. Radulfus Bretun fecit fenestram de arturo Rege in dormitorio." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, ff. 89, 89b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121, 122.

<sup>/†</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXIII. 313.

<sup>/‡</sup> Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 127; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 346.

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the long account of the sacking of the monastery in 1264, when

Multe etiam inter alia regum carte et munimenta alia ecclesie Roffensis necessaria *in capella prioris* extiterunt deperdita ac dilacerata.<sup>/\*</sup> <Luard 1890 2:490>

The dorter was among the buildings repaired, mainly at the cost of bishop Hamo of Hythe, in 1342.<sup>/†</sup> The following also occurs in the chamberlain's accounts for 1385-6<sup>/‡</sup>:

Item solut Galfrido atte Doune pro L. pedibus de cresta super capellam dormitorij imponenda in grosso viz. precium

pedis x/d. xl/s viij/d.

Item in calce vivo empto ad idem opus. ij/s vj/d.

As no other records occur of a chape] attached to the dorter, it is possible that for *dormitorij* the scribe should have written *infirmitorij*.

No records have come to light concerning the rere-dorter, nor is anything known as to its position or dimensions.

The south side of the cloister is formed by a length of the Roman city wall, but its eastern half has been stripped of its ashlar facing and any architectural features, and only the rough concrete core is now visible. The western half is for the most part overlapped by the offices of the ugly yellow brick house of the Third Prebend, which has been so unluckily intruded into the cloister area, and behind this several interesting features have been allowed to remain. These consist of the frater doorway, with the lavatory on the left hand and the towel-place on the right, all of good work of the beginning of the thirteenth century. (Plate VI.)

Since the *refectorium* or frater which formed the chief part of the southern range of buildings was the recorded work of bishop Ernulf, the first doorway to it must also have been his work. By or near it, at the end of the twelfth century, "Thalebot the sacrist made the old lavatory."/§ It has already been noted that prior Helias bought the

/\* Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 173; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 351.

/† See page 50.

/‡ Soc. Antiq. Lond. MS. 178, f. 118.

/§ "Thalebot sacrista fecit lavatorium vetus." Cott. MS. Vespasian A 22 f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

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shingles wherewith the cloister towards the frater was covered, and it is further recorded of him that "he caused to be made the lavatory and the frater door."//\* As Helias held office during the first twenty years of the thirteenth century we can have no hesitation in identifying the existing remains with those recorded to have been made by his direction, which of course replaced the older works of Ernulf and Thalebot. The doorway, which is 5 feet 2 inches wide, is of three orders, of which the innermost is trefoiled and cut out of two pieces of Purbeek marble, and the two outer are pointed and formed of stone voussoirs decorated with the dog-tooth ornament. All three orders are carried by detached marble shafts, with capitals and bases of the same material, resting on a moulded plinth of Caen stone. The original step remains in place, and as it is more worn on the left-hand half than on the other, it is clear that the door was double, and that only one leaf was generally used.

In line with the bases of the doorway is a fourth of somewhat larger size, which has lost its shaft, projecting into the cloister; and at a distance of 7 feet to the east, embedded in

a rough rubble wall, is the greater part of a marble shaft standing on a similar base. An examination of the work behind, which can be entered by a rough hole cut in the jamb of the frater doorway, shews that these two shafts and a third one beyond, now walled up or destroyed, carried two trefoiled arches opening into the lavatory. The arches themselves are gone, and their place supplied by a rough rubble wall, but their form is indicated by the inner wall rib of the vault, most of which remains. The vault was a simple one with transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs, resting on the inner side on marble corbels, the abacus moulding of which is continued along the side and across the ends of the lavatory as a string-course, also of marble. Below this string-course there is good ashlar walling for 2 feet 4½ inches, and then the wall is rough as if the cistern had been fixed against this. As this line is nearly 5 feet above the old level of the cloister there was ample space below for the stone trough which

/\* "Helyas prior .... lavatorium et hostium refectorii fieri fecit." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 90; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 122.

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received and carried away the water when the monks used the lavatory. The lavatory recess was 14 feet long and 4 feet 9 inches wide, and its height about 11 feet.

The west side of the frater doorway had a fourth pillar like that opposite, and 6½ feet to the right of it is a projection, edged with a hollow chamfer, in front of which, stood another pillar. Upon them rested a trefoiled arch, opening into a recess, 14 inches deep, now blocked. The back of this, although of fine ashlar work, was plastered over and painted red. Doubtless, as at Durham, this was "the place wherein did hinge .... cleane towels for the Monncks to drie there hands on, when they washed and went to dynner."/\*

It will be noticed that both the lavatory and the towel-place projected further into the cloister than did the frater doorway.

The *refectorium* or frater was raised, like the dorter, over a sub-vault, the area of which is now filled with a deep deposit of rubbish, upon which has lately <1887> been built the choir school.

The sub-vault seems to have been about 30 feet wide and at least 124 feet long. At its west end a space 13 feet wide was cut off by a thick wall, part of which, with a doorway through its south end, remained until lately. This wall probably carried a wall or partition on the frater level. The excavations for the new choir school brought to light the bases of seven buttresses along the south wall, and the foundation of another cross-wall near the east end of the sub-vault.† The part thus cut off formed the usual passage or "dark entry" from the cloister, and the traditional right of way through it is still kept up by a modern passage across

the dean's premises to the east and through a hole roughly forced into the angle of the cloister. Of the other divisions of the sub-vault we know nothing, and my excavations on the site were fruitless.

The frater itself, which occupied the story above the sub-vault, has been utterly destroyed. That the *refectorium* was the work of bishop Ernulf has already been noted, but

*/\* Rites of Durham* (Surtees Society, 15), 67.

/† I am indebted to Mr. J. A. Reeve for particulars and the plan of these.

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beyond the making of the new *hostium refectorii* by prior Helias nothing further is recorded of it until the episcopate of Hamo of Hythe (1319--1352). Both the church and the monastic buildings, and the frater especially, seem to have been then in a parlous state. According to an anonymous chronicler of the works of bishop Hamo, in 1331 "in the first week of Lent (the bishop) went to see the defects and ruins of the buildings of the church of Rochester, and finding all the houses, both in the church and in all the offices, to need great repair, he handed over £200 to the Chapter for repairing the houses and rebuilding the frater and long bakehouse, in addition to 400 marks which he gave them before for repairing the buildings of the Chapter manors and filling them with stock."/\*

The old frater seems to have been taken down, and in 1336 "on Saturday the morrow of St. James the apostle the bishop was invited to Rochester to lay the foundation of the new frater, for the founding and making of which and of other offices, although he had at another time given 1000 marks to the prior, yet now specially to begin the new frater, he gave the prior and convent 100 marks, otherwise it would not have been begun."/†

Despite these large sums, a good deal more seems to have been spent on the new frater, for in the joint agreement of the bishop and of the prior and convent headed *Ordinatio prima ad Tumbam Sancti Willelmi*, and dated the feast of SS. Simon and Jude 1341, is this clause:

Dedit nos insuper remisit et relaxavit predictus Hamo  
Roffensis episcopus sex centas libras sterlingorum quas frater

*/\** Anno regni regis E. quinto incipiente. "In prima septimana quadragesime [Episcopus] perrexit videre defectus et ruinas edificiorum ecclesie Roffensis . et inveniens tam in ecclesia quam in Officijs omnibus domos omnes reparacione magna indigere . pro domibus reparandis . Refectorio . et longo pistrino . noviter edificandis . ducentas libras Capitulo tradidit . ultra quadringentas marcas quas eis antea dedit. ad edificia maneriorum capituli reparanda et stauro instauranda." Cott. MS. Faustina B. 5, f. 56b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 371.

/† "Die Veneris videlicet in crastino sancti Jacobi apostoli Episcopus apud Roffam fuit invitatus ad ponendum fundamentum novi Refectorii . pro cujus fundacione et factura et aliorum edificiorum licet alias Priori . mille marcas



tradidisset . nunc tamen specialiter ad inchoandum novum Refectorium Priori et Conventui tradidit . C. marcas. alioquin inchoatum non fuisset." Ibid. f. 77b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 373.

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Johannes de Speldherst . quondam prior Roffensis et dicti loci capitulum pro reparacione refectorii et aliorum edificiorum suorum a dicto domino Hamone episcopo Roffensi mutuo receperunt./\*

Bishop Hamo appears to have done yet more in the following year, 1342, since it is recorded that "in the 16th year of the reign of king Edward he caused to be repaired, for the most part at his own cost, the frater, the dorter, and some defects in the church."/†

The new frater, like that built by Ernulf, was reached by a flight of steps from the doorway in the cloister, but of its extent and subdivisions there is no record. The staircase no doubt opened into the usual narrow passage called the screens, with the buttery and serving-place on the west and the frater itself on the east.

The great kitchen seems to have adjoined the frater at its south-west corner. The only mention of it is a payment in the cellarer's account for 1384-5 of 3s. 1d. "pro tegulacione coquine." The *magister cocus* is also named in the same account, and a payment of 3s. 4d. "eidem pro lardere." The latter was probably in the sub-vault of the frater, which also served as cellarage.

The western side of the cloister and the buildings covering it have utterly disappeared, with the exception of a small porch of late date which once abutted against the southern end. This porch is faced with ashlar, with bands of flint below the embattled parapet, which is original, and has a pointed entrance doorway, now considerably buried. Within, on either hand, is a small window. Some remains of foundations have been laid open at the northern end of the range, but there is still considerable doubt as to the plan and extent of the buildings. According to a usual Benedictine arrangement, such as existed at Canterbury and elsewhere, the western range was in charge of the cellarer, who kept his stores in the basement or ground story, and entertained such

/\* Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 551.

† "Anno regni regis Edwardi xvj/o Refectorium . Dormitorium . et alios defectus in ecclesia sumptibus suis pro majori parte fecit reparare." Cott MS Faustina B. 5, f. 88b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 375.

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guests as he was responsible for on the first floor. No doubt a similar arrangement existed at Rochester, and the cellarer's account for 1384-5 contains a payment of 4d. "in ij tankards pro aula hospitem."//\* The same account mentions the *claviger*

*aule hospitum*, who seems also to have acted as hosteller (*hostiliarius*). Attached to the hall was a chapel, which is described in a decree of 1425 as "capella sita in parte Orientali majoris aule prioris et capituli ecclesie cathedralis Roffensis."/‡ A second decree of the same date gives practically the same words, with the addition "infra ambitum sive precinctum monasterii Roffen."/‡

The existing remains of the cellarer's building unfortunately give but little help in disposing of the above. It will be seen on reference to the plan how the range abutted against the church so as to avoid blocking any windows. That it was a two-storied structure, the roof corbels on the east wall of the south transept clearly indicate. At the north end there was a narrow chamber on the cloister level, against the building on the site of Gundulf's lesser tower. This chamber in the first state of the transept, as reconstructed in the fourteenth century, had a small square window opening into it (see Plan, Plates II. and VII.), but in the subsequent alterations it was blocked up. The splayed recess, which has imitation masonry lines and red flowers painted on the blocking, was opened out by Sir Gilbert Scott, and is now protected by a door. In the south wall of the chamber was a doorway, but a deep deposit of rubbish covering the rest of the site precludes all further speculation as to the arrangements or subdivisions of the basement. The porch at the opposite end no doubt opened into the passage or entry into the cloister from the outer court. This perhaps also formed the outer parlour (*locutorium*) which was one of the places for which the cellarer was bound to provide tallow,§ but it may have been elsewhere in the range. In January 1898 Mr. George Payne and I were able, by the courtesy of Canon Jelf, to excavate in his garden just outside the transept for a wall seen there by

/\* MS. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 178, f. 112.

/† Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 571. /‡ Ibid. 587.

/§ Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 20.

Mr. J. T. Irvine in 1872. This was found at a distance of 13 feet from the transept, and extended westwards from the outer wall of the cellarer's building for about 47 feet. It was built of Kentish rag with some tufa, and was pierced below by a series of five semi-circular arches, of which the third and fourth were blocked. On the north the faces of these were rough, and the upper parts had been removed, but on the south the face was good and plastered above the arches. The western end of the wall was much obscured by the later brick walls of a destroyed prebendal house. All further arrangements for the elucidation of these remains were annulled by a peremptory order of Dean Hole for the immediate stoppage of the work, on the ground that the remains were within the boundary of the Dean and Chapter. The

wall uncovered formed one side of a court outside the transept, but its thickness, which is barely 3 feet, seems to preclude its having been carried up any height or having supported an upper floor. Otherwise it might have been suggested that the convent hall here projected westwards from the rest of the range, in which case the placing of a chapel on the east side of it would have been easy. If on the other hand the hall stood north and south, it is not easy to see where the chapel could have stood with respect to it. For other chambers forming part of the range there was plenty of room.

Concerning the other domestic offices, such as the bakehouse, brewhouse, stable, hostelry, laundry, etc. there are various notices, but no remains of them exist above ground, and their very sites are uncertain or unknown.

It has already been shewn/\* that a "new bakehouse" was among the buildings added by bishop Ernulf on the south, and not improbably this was the "long bakehouse" towards the re-erection of which bishop Hamo so handsomely contributed in 1331 when he rebuilt the frater./† It possibly stood upon part of the site now occupied by Minor Canon Row.

The brewhouse was one of the buildings erected by prior Ralph [de Ros],/‡ but was apparently only a wooden or

/\* See *ante*, p. 9. /† See above, p. 49.

/‡ "Radulfus prior fecit bracinum .... et hosteleriam .... et stabulum." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 89/b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 122.

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temporary structure, for a later and added entry in the list of benefactions records that Roger of Saunford, monk and cellarer, made the brewhouse of stone and lime and tiles./\*

To prior Ralph is also attributed the building of the hostelry (*hosteleriam*) and the stable./†

It is not known where they stood, but the former was most likely in that part of the outer court which lay south of the frater. The stable seems to have been near the infirmary.

Many curious particulars of the duties of the bakers, the brewers, and the cooks are given in the *Custumal*./‡

As the cellarer was bound to provide fuel (*buscam*) in the bakehouse, kitchen, brewhouse, hostelry, and larder, these buildings were evidently in his department./§

Since the south-west angle of the precinct was occupied by the bishop's palace, there could not have been any other buildings of importance in this part of the priory, for although the monks had leave by the grant in 1344 of the city ditch to extend their boundaries, they do not appear to have taken advantage of it to enlarge the outer court. This continued as heretofore to be entered by its own gateway, the *porta Prioris*, on the south, and when it was subsequently thought necessary to rebuild this, the new one occupied the site of the old. It is in the form of a square tower, with a vaulted passage through the basement and a chamber of the same

over. The whole is built of rubble with ashlar dressings, and the passage has at each end a wide and depressed archway with continuous mouldings. The vault has transverse, diagonal, and wall ribs, springing from carved heads, one of which is mitred. In the north-west corner a small three-centred doorway opens into an external square turret leading up to the chamber above and the roof. The chamber has a small window on the <south> west and an ugly modern one of some size on the <north> east. Opposite the door from the vice is another, now blocked, that opened on to the <foot-walk> parapet of the thirteenth-century city wall, which must have remained standing long

/\* "Rogerus de Saunford monachus Celerarius fecit Brasinum de petra et calce et tegulis." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 92; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 125.

/† See note /‡, preceding page.

/‡ See Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 28, 29, 31. /§ Ibid. 20.

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after the rebuilding of the gatehouse in the earlier half of the fifteenth century.

Somewhere to the east of the buildings surrounding the cloister were the *infirmitorium* or "farmery," the prior's lodging, and apparently a lodging for the use of the king. Nothing of them, however, remains above ground, and our only information respecting them is derived from a few scattered documentary notices.

An infirmary was certainly included in the monastic buildings erected by Gundulf, for it was *in domum Infirmorum* that he was carried during his last illness, and it was there he died on the 7th March 1107-8. To it there was attached a chapel, as was usual./\*

If, as we may suppose, this first infirmary stood eastwards of the cloister, it must have been removed when bishop Ernulf began his monastic buildings, and been replaced by a new one, also built to the east of the cloister.

The normal Benedictine infirmary at this period consisted of a large hall which served for exercise and as a dining chamber, with aisles wherein were placed the beds of the inmates. To it were attached a kitchen and offices, and the chapel.

Nothing is recorded as to the rebuilding of the hall at Rochester, but "Hugh of Trottescliffe, our monk, afterwards abbot of St. Augustine's," *inter alia*, "made also the infirmary chapel and placed in it a very good psalter."/† Since Hugh became abbot of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1124, he was directing the building of the infirmary chapel at the same time that Ernulf was at work on the claustral buildings. He was also the builder of St. Bartholomew's chapel for lepers, which may still be seen beside the High Street as one goes from Rochester to Chatham./†

About the same time "a certain great messuage towards Eastgate, which extended from the king's highway towards

/\* See *ante*, p. 7.

/† "Hugo de Trotesclive monachus noster . postea autem abbas sancti Augustini .... fecit eciam capellam infirmatorii . et optimum psalterium imposuit. Fecit autem fieri leprosis ecclesiam . et in honorem sancti Bartholomei apostoli dedicari." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 87; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 119.

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the chapel of the infirmary, was given with Peter the chanter by Goldwin the Greek. The elm is still standing under which was his well."/\* William of Allington, son of Ansfrid the sheriff, was also a benefactor to the new chapel./†

The next entry as to the infirmary records how Heymeric of Tonbridge, who was also engaged upon work about the crypt altars, "made the cloister towards the infirmary."/‡ This was probably a garden or grass plat between the dorter and the infirmary, surrounded by covered alleys connecting the buildings, as at Canterbury and Gloucester.

In 1240, either on account of a rebuilding or because it had not hitherto been hallowed, "the altar in the chapel of the infirmary of Rochester was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary on 29th February by Dan John, suffragan bishop of Dan Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury."/§ <Luard 1890 2:243>

A few later notices occur in the remaining account rolls. Thus the chamberlain's account for 1385-6 contains a payment of 16d., "Pro j bokkete pro puteo infirmarii," perhaps the well referred to above. The account for 1415-16 has: " In emendacione campane infirmarii et eadem pendenda, xd."

/\* "Quoddam magnum masagium versus Estgate quod extendit se [a via regia *written in*] versus capellam infirmorum : datum fuit cum Petro cantore . a Goldwino . cognomento greco . Adhuc stat ulmus subtus qua fuit puteus ejus." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 86; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 118. See also the document from *Textus Roffensis* printed above, on p. 8.

/† Ibid. 119.

/‡ "Heymericus de Tunebregge monachus fecit claustum versus infirmatorium." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 87; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 119.

/§ " Anno M/oCC/oXL/o. Dedicatum est altare in capella infirmarie Roffen. in honore beate virginis Marie . ij . kl . marcij . a domino Johanne episcopo suffragario domini Eadmundi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi." Cott. MS. Nero D. 2, f. 142b; and Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 349. Among the muniments of the Dean and Chapter are several contemporary but undated documents relating to the infirmary chapel. Thus Alan, son of Benedict the cook, grants to God and the church of St. Andrew, *et precipue monachis ibidem in infirmaria residentibus ad luminaria altaris beate Marie quod est in eadem infirmaria*, a rent of 14d. from a messuage in Rochester. William and John, sons of John "le fur-bissur" of Rochester, quit-claim to the infirmary chapel a rent of 5d. which the *monachi custodes prefate capelle* are wont to pay from a certain tenement which lies outside the east gate of the city *contra puteum qui vocatur Eastpette*. A third grant of a 15d. rent was also made by Elyas Bateman, son of Simon

Trenthevent of Rochester, *capelle beate Marie de infirmaria* from a message in Southgate. <DRc/T296, DRc/T284, DRc/T312>

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The "fermerer's" account for the same year also contains the following entries:

Solut. lotrici pro lavacione vestimentorum in capella infirmarii. iij/d.  
Pro lavacione mapparum et manutergiorum camerarum infirmarii. ij/d.

The chamberlain's account for 1396-7 has an entry among the receipts: "de xls. receptis de dono Domini Prioris ad novam latrinam faciendam pro infirmis fratribus in infirmatorio." As the payments include the charges for the new building it may be of interest to give them in full:

Custus nove latrine.

In iij chaldres carbonum marinorum xxij/s. precium chaldre v/s vj/d.  
Item solut. Johanni Hoppere pro ustione centerie et dimidie calcis vive xv/s pro C. x/s.  
In xxiiij ponderibus doleis petre emptis cum Johanne Mabbe precium dolei ponderis viij/d. xvj/s.  
In v ponderibus doleis petre emptis cum Galfrido atte Doune ij/s iiiij/d.  
In xl quarteriis zabuli emptis vj/s viij/d precium quarterii ij/d.  
Item solut. Laurencio Rokesacre et Thome Roger positoribus pro iij perticatis muri faciendis xvj/s vj/d.  
Item dat. eisdem in potum ij/d.  
Item solut. Roberto Rokesacre et Thome Roger pro alio muro dicte latrine faciendo per xix dies et dimidium quilibet capiens per diem vj/d. xix/s vj/d.  
Item solut. duobus laborariis servientibus dictis positoribus et pro fundamentis dictorum murorum fodiendis per xxij dies et dimidium quilibet capiens per diem iiiij/d. xv/s.  
Item dat. eisdem ad potum per vices iiiij/d.  
Item solut. Galfrido clerico Sancte Margarete fodienti calcem per duos dies viij/d.  
Item solut. Johanni Skynnere laboranti in officio per unum diem eodem tempore iiiij/d.  
Item solut. pro xxiiij carectatis calcis fodiendis xij/d.  
Item solut. Johanni Chownynge et Richardo Brewere carpentariis pro tectura dicte latrine facienda per xv dies quilibet capiens per diem v/d. xij/s vj/d.

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Item dat. eisdem ad potum ij/d.  
In D. okenlathe emptis pro dicta domo iij/s x/d precium C. ix/d.

In solut. pro C. clavorum vj/d.  
 In M. tegularum planarum emptarum vj/s.  
 Item in iij M. tegularum emptarum xv/s precium M. v/s.  
 In iij M. tegheleprig emptis iij/s.  
 Item solut. Rogero tegulatori tegulanti dictam domum per  
 viij dies et dimidium capiendo per diem pro se et garcione  
 ix/d. vj/s viij/d ob.  
 Item solut. Johanni Southereye pro ragg calce viva zabulo et  
 aliis cariandis per xvij dies et dimidium xvij/s vj/d.  
 Item dat. eidem ad potum per vices iij/d.  
 Item solut. Johanni Bate pro robouse et aliis abducendis de  
 dicto officio ex convencione in grosso iij/s.  
 Summa ix/li vij/s vij/d ob.

It will be seen that we have here the complete story of the building, from the burning of the lime with sea-coals to the final tiling of the roof and the carrying away of the rubbish. As usual, each man employed had his allowance for drink. The total cost, equal to about £200 at present value, and the time occupied, shew that the new latrine was of no great size.

Somewhere near the infirmary was the laundry. Like other of the buildings it was at first a wooden structure, but the table of benefactions records:

Fecit iste Radulfus Bertun [*sic* for Breton] lavendriam  
 lapideam que ante fuit lignea./\*

From other entries we know that Ralph Breton's benefactions were made while Ralph (de Ros) was prior, and about the same time that Heymeric of Tonbridge was building the farmery cloister. It is possible therefore that the two works may have gone on together. The only other entry as to the laundry is a payment of 8d. in the chamberlain's account for 1385-6, "pro diversis reparandis in Lavendria." The close connexion between the laundry and the infirmary is shewn not only by both being within the chamberlain's department,

/\* Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 23, f. 89b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 122.

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but from some of the directions in the Customal *De Lavatoribus et quid facere debeant*: "When the brethren go to bathe, they ought to have ready everything that is necessary. They serve out soap to the brethren for shaving. To the boy belongs the making of the lye. It is his duty to make the fire beside which the brethren ought to be bled, and to summon the bleeder, that he may be ready to bleed the brethren."/\*

The prior of Rochester at first lived with the brethren and slept in the dorter. This arrangement certainly existed until late in the twelfth century, for it is recorded that

Aluredus prior [1182--1186] postea Abbas Abbendonie [1186--1189] .... fecit fenestram in dormitorio ultra lectum prioris./†

But Alured's successor, Osbern of Sheppey, *fecit sibi cameram juxta infirmitariam*./‡ The next prior, Ralph (de Ros), appears to have been the first to build a separate lodging, for among his works we find that *fecit .... cameram prioris majorem et minorem, et domos lapideas in cimiterio .... et stabulum*./§ The last-named building was apparently a wooden structure, for it is recorded of prior Helyas, who succeeded Ralph, that *stabulum fecit sibi et successoribus suis lapideum*. The chamberlain's accounts mention the retiling of the prior's stable in 1396-7, and in 1385-6 the purchase of rushes for the prior's chamber on three principal feasts. The prior's lodging also included a chapel, to which Asketill the monk, early in the thirteenth century, gave a chasuble;/|| it had also a little garden attached to it.

The existence of a royal lodging in the precinct is proved by the mention in the incorporation charter of the new Dean, and Chapter in 1541 (see *post*) of "a certain chamber called

/\* "Et quando fratres vadunt balneare, debent habere presto omnia que ad hoc necessaria. Saponem ministrant fratribus ad rasturam. Ad garcionem pertinet lixivam facere. Ejus est focum facere contra quod fratres minuere debent, et minutorem summonere, ut paratus sit fratres minuere." Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 32.

/† Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 89; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 121.

/‡ Ibid.

/§ Ibid. f. 89b; and *Reg. Roff.* 122.

/|| "Asketillus monachus casulam que est in capella prioris .... dedit." Cott. MS. Vespasian A. 22, f. 91b; and Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 124.

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*the Kynges Chamber* together with a chapel called *the Kynges Chappell* with a certain garden adjoining the same." Although it was distinct from the prior's lodging and "le ffermory," both of which are mentioned in the same document, it probably formed part of the same group of buildings, and the Close Roll for 1321 speaks of the queen being at Rochester "in her chamber in the infirmary of the Priory of Rochester."/\*

The chamberlain seems also to have had a separate dwelling near the infirmary, for the incorporation charter mentions "a certain house called *Le Chambers Lodging* with a certain garden and a certain little orchard likewise adjoining the same."

Unfortunately we have no record as to the position of any of the buildings described above, and we can only conjecture, from analogy with the arrangements elsewhere, that the infirmary lay to the east of the dorter, with the prior's house and royal lodging somewhere to the north of



the infirmary, and the chamberlain's lodging on the south.

The ground beyond these buildings, as far as the city wall on the east and the 1344 wall on the south, was divided into gardens and orchards. Those appended to the prior's, the king's, and the chamberlain's lodgings have already been noted; but there were in addition, at the Suppression, an orchard called "Le Covent gardeyn," a garden belonging to the infirmary, and the land called "Le Uppdyche," with an orchard there enclosed. The approximate sites of them are laid down on Plate V.

Although the bishop's palace does not form one of the buildings belonging to the monastery, its inclusion within the precinct, and its position with regard to the outer court, alike call for some notice of it here.

The bishop's palace has already formed the subject of a separate memoir by Mr. W. B. Rye,<sup>/†</sup> and the existing remains of it, as well as the history of the site, have been dealt with by the Rev. G. M. Livett in his Paper on "Mediaeval

<sup>/\*</sup> *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, Edward II., A.D. 1318--1323 (London, 1895), 478.

<sup>/†</sup> *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XVII. 66-76.

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Rochester."<sup>/\*</sup> But inasmuch as documentary references to it of some importance have escaped the notice of both writers, no apology is necessary for their introduction here.

On comparing the plan of Lanfranc's monastery at Canterbury<sup>/†</sup> with the arrangements at Rochester, it will be seen that in both cases provision was made in early-Norman times for a separate dwelling for the bishop in the western part of the precinct. At Rochester we have definite mention during Gundulf's episcopate of his hall (*aula*),<sup>/‡</sup> but the references to the bishop's lodgings are all of meagre character. The buildings probably shared the fate of others in the precinct in the fires of 1137 and 1179, and it is just after the latter event that they again emerge from obscurity. In 1185, on Gilbert of Glanville becoming bishop, "he found the bishopric very ill furnished, with mean and destroyed buildings; he shewed the sollicitude of a Martha, and in the first place erected the cathedral buildings which had perished in the fire," etc.<sup>/§</sup> Possibly part of the work should be ascribed to his successor Benedict (1215--1226), *qui fecit omnes aulas episcopatus*.<sup>/||</sup> The buildings were collectively known as "the palace" certainly as early as 1412, when bishop Richard Yong dated a document *in palatio nostro Roffen*.<sup>/¶</sup> The next point in its history is derived from a like source in 1459, when bishop John Lowe dated an agreement *in palacio nostro novo Roffen*.<sup>/\*\*</sup> but the extent or nature of the new work is unknown.

The palace is again mentioned in 1513, when certain judicial proceedings took place "in capella infra palacium

reverendi in Christo patris et domini domini Johannis per-  
missione divina Roffen. episcopi, infra precinctum monasterii  
Roffen. situatum."/††

In 1534 this same bishop, John Fisher, was committed to  
the Tower for refusing to take the oath to the Succession,  
and on the same day an inventory was taken of all his effects

*/\** *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXI. 40-47. */†* *Ibid.* VII. Plate 3.

*/‡* See *ante*, p. 7.

*/§* "Postea vero Gilberto episcopo suocedente, episcopatum in edificiis modicis  
et dirutis pauperimum invenit, Marthe sollicitudinem induit, et primo domos  
cathedrales que incendio corruerant, erexit." Thorpe, *Registrum Roffense*, 11.

*/||* *Ibid.* 141. */¶* *Ibid.* 478.

*/\*\** *Ibid.* 457. */††* *Ibid.* 331.

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within his palace at Rochester and his manor at Halling.  
The inventory was communicated by Mr. Edward Peacock to  
the Society of Antiquaries, and printed so long ago as  
1872,*/\** but neither Mr. Rye nor Mr. Livett seems to have  
seen it. Since it enumerates the various chambers, as well as  
their contents, the Rochester inventory is here reprinted after  
collation with the original:

JOHN FISSHER, Cardinal (added in a later hand).

Palacium An Inventory taken and made the xxvijth daye of  
Roffen. Apriell in the xxvjth yere of the reigne of our sovereigne  
lord king Henry the viijth of all suche goodes and implementes of  
Housholde of the Busshopp of Rochesters being and Remaynyng  
iu the sayde house to thuse of our sovereigne lord the king as  
hereafter more playnlye shall appere.

That ys to say

In his owne bedd chamber.

Furst a bedsted with an olde materas theron.

Item a Counterpoynt lyned with Canvas which counterpoynt ys of  
Redd clothe.

Item a Celer and a Testor of olde Redde velveyt lytell worthe.

Item a Cheyere of Lether and a Cusshyn in yt.

Item an Aulter withe a hangyng of white & grene saten of brydgies  
with our Lord enbrowdred on the same.

Item. ij. Curteyns of Blewe sarceneyt.

Item a Cubborde wt a clothe uppon the same.

Item a litle cheyer kovereyd wt lether & a cusshyne in the same.

Item a Closse Stole and an olde Cusshyn uppon yt.

Item an Aundyron a Fyere panne and a Fire shovell.

In the great Study within the same chamber.

Furst a long Spruce tabyll with trestell{ys}.

Item a lytle playne table with a Trestell.

Item. iij. lether chayers.

Item. ij. Cusshyons.

*/\** *Proceedings*, 2nd Series, v. 294-299. The original is in the Public Record

Office in a Volume marked *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII.* 83, vii. 354-630.  
Mr. Peacock thus explains the heading: "The Record Office paper must be a fair copy of the original made subsequently to the date of the inventories, for it is headed 'John Fisher, Cardinal,' and it was not until May 20 or 21, 1535, that he was created a cardinal by the title of Saint Vitalis, just one month before his decapitation on Tower Hill, June 22nd of that year."

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Item a payre of Tonges. ij. aundyrons.

Item a Fyere Forkke.

Item. viij. Rounde deskes. ij. great Tables with dyv'se Shelff{ys}. to ley on bok{ys}.

In the Northe Studye.

Item dyv'se glasses with waters and syroppys and certeyne boxes of Marmalad which was delyvered to my Lorde of Rochester s'vant{ys}.

Item a Table and. iij. Rounde deskes with dyvers shelves to lay on bok{ys}.

In the Southe Galorye.

Item. l. glasses of dyv'se Sort{ys} wt viij. olde litle curteyns of grene and Redde saye.

In the Chappell in thende of the sowth galory.

Item a Cusshion in the Sete of the Chappell wt all the alter clothes and certeyne other stuff left ther as. ij pec{ys} of old velveyt with a superaltare.

Item. iij. Imagies gylt with a Crucifyxe.

In the brode galary.

Furst olde hanging{ys} of grene Saye.

Item dyverse olde Carpett{ys} of Tapesterye work sett under the sayde bok{ys}.

Item an alter clothe paynted wt grene velveyt and yelow damaske.

Item a saint Joh'nes hedde standing at thende of the altere.

Item a boke pontificall lying under the same saint Joh'nes hedde.

Item a paynted clothe of the Image of Jh'us taken from the Crosse.

Item. ij. Curteyns of olde sarcenet.

Item in the Stewe a Counter and a Cheyre.

In the olde galary.

Item certyne olde bok{ys} perteynyng to diverse Monasteries.

In the Warderobe.

Item a kyrtell of Stammell single.

Item a Spanyshe blankett.

Item. ij. payre of course blanckett{ys}.

Item a Lymbecke to stille Aqua vite wt diverse olde trashe.

Item a Trussing bedstedd.

Item a paire of Shett{ys}.

Item. vj. bordes. ij. paire of tristellys.

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In the lytle Study beside the Warderobe.

Item dyverse glasses and boxes with Syropys suger stilled waters and other certayne trasshe sent and delyvered to my Lorde.

In the great chappell within the same house.

First the alter hanged with white sarcenet wt crosses of Redde  
 Sarcenet uppon the same and under the same two hanging{ys} of  
 yellow Saten of bridges and blewe damaske.  
 Item. viij. ymages gilte uppon the same alter.  
 Item. ij. Candelstyk{ys} of Laton.  
 Item a dyaper clothe uppon the same alter.  
 Item a hanging over the same Alter.  
 Item a pixe to putt the Sacrament in wt a clothe hanging over the  
 same garnysshed with golde with tassell{ys} of Redde Sylke and golde.  
 Item at the Endes of the same Alter, ij. Curteyns of Redde sarceneyt.  
 Item uppon the deske where he syttyth in the same chappell. ij. pec{ys}  
 of Tapisterie wt ij. Cusshions hoveryd with Dornexe.  
 Item a Masse boke.  
 Item an olde Carpeit uppon the grounde before the same Alter.  
 Item the hanging{ys} of the said chappell be of Redd say paynted.  
 Item an alter beneth in the same Chappell hanged with old dornexe  
 and a paynted clothe of the thre king{ys} of Coleyn.  
 Item. v. other Imagies of Tymber.  
 Item a Table of Domesdaye.  
 Item a Crucifixe with the Imagies of the Father and the holy goste.  
 In the litle chamber nexte the same chappell.  
 Item the hanging{ys} ther of olde paynted clothes.  
 Item a great loking glosse broken.  
 Item an olde ffoldyng bedde with Cordes.  
 In the great chamber next the same.  
 Item a long Table and. ij. Trestellys.  
 Item a Copborde and a yoyende/\* bedsted.  
 Item a lytle bedde under the same wherin ys an olde materas. ij.  
 bolsters a lytle olde ffetherbedde and one olde blanckett.  
 Item in the Chymney one Aundeyron.  
 In the olde dynyng chamber.  
 Item. ij. Chayers of Lether.  
 Item a nother cheyre of black velveyt.

*/\* Sic for joyned.*

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Item a Long table with Tristell{ys}.  
 Item a Copborde.  
 Item a nother copborde of waynscott.  
 Item. ij. Carpett{ys} in the wyndowys.  
 Item ij Joyened fformes.  
 In the halle.  
 The same halle hanged with olde Arras.  
 Item. ij. Tables, iiij. fformes. vj. trestell{ys}.  
 In the Parlor.  
 First the said parlor hanged wt grene verder verye olde conteynyng  
 . v. peces.  
 Item a Table ij. trestell{ys} and iij. fformes.  
 Item a Carpeit verie old lying in the wyndow.  
 Item a joyened bedsted.  
 Item a Turned bedstede and ther upon a litle ffetherbedde a bolster

ij. lytle Coverleit{ys}.  
 Item. ij. Chayres.  
 In the chamber nexte the same.  
 A Chest with certeyne olde Evydenc{ys} wt certeyne old accompt{ys}.  
 In the clerk of the kytchyns chamber.  
 A Joyened beddsted with a Matares theron.  
 Item a great chaire.  
 In William Smadles chamber.  
 Item a Materas a bason of Tynne and a nother of Laton.  
 Item an Instrument to height a bedde wt.  
 Item. iij. dyshes with shelff{ys} and other trasshe.  
 In Maister Wilson's chamber.  
 Item a Fetherbedde.  
 In the Brewhous.  
 Item Vesselles to brew with of all sort{ys} and kynd{ys}.  
 In the Cookes chamber.  
 A ffetherbedde and a bolster.  
 In the keching.  
 Item. iij. brasse pott{ys}.  
 Item. vj. Spyttes.  
 Item. ij. ffrying pannes.

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Item. ij. gyrdyrons.  
 Item ij. great aundyrons for spitt{ys}.  
 Item a Colebran.  
 Item. ij. Trevytt{ys} and a great panne.  
 Item xvj. platters of pewter.  
 Item a dreping panne.  
 Item. ij. Aundyrons.  
 Item. viij. dishes. and vij. Sawssors.  
 Item iij. chaffing dishes.  
 Item. [j. *altered into*] a Candelstyke.  
 Item a lytle brasyn Morter wt a pestell.  
 Item a Chafer wt a Colender.  
 In the entre besides the kechyn.  
 Item a Beame balaunce and thre half hundrethes.

Owing to the destruction of so much of the palace it is now impossible to reconstruct a plan of it, even with the list of chambers thus preserved to us, but excavations may some day make all clear.

Mr. Livett's description of the buildings makes it unnecessary to say more of the few existing remains. It should however be noted that in the view published by Harris in 1719 the bishop's palace is shewn with a western wing, standing at right angles to the existing block, but not overlapping it, against the wall bounding the street. The same view apparently shews a similar wing on the east. From the enumeration of the chambers in the inventory it is possible that they were arranged round three sides of a courtyard which faced north, with the bishop's garden behind, and this

would agree with the disposition of the building shewn in Harris's engraving.

The ground outside the prior's gate, between the line of Henry III.'s wall and the wall of 1344, was divided into two parts by a wall extending southwards from the dorter. The portion east of this wall no doubt formed the "Uppdyche" and orchard mentioned in the charter of incorporation of 1541. The western portion seems to have served as a yard to the priory, and was closed on the west by an embattled wall towards the road there, in which was a gate. This wall is

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plainly seen in the engraving in Harris's *History of Kent*, and it is thus described in the first edition of *The Kentish Traveller's Companion*, published at Rochester in 1776/\*:

The stately house next to Satis Ho. on the eminence is the residence of Mrs. Gordon. The high stone walls adjoining, are the boundaries of the site on which stood the bishop's palace. Between these and Mrs. Gordon's garden wall, is a passage to St. Margaret's-street. In which, on the left hand, is an ancient stone wall which bounded the precincts of the priory to the west; the brick wall which joins it encloses the archdeacon's garden, at the end of which is a lane leading into the Maidstone road, etc. .... (p. 91). Returning down St. Margaret's-street, and turning on the right thro' a breach in the wall, we enter the precincts of the priory thro' the gateway anciently stiled the prior's gate. .... The building adjoining to the gate is the royal grammar school.

To the south of the 1344 wall lay the vineyard. It was about equal in area to that described above, and may still be identified by its present name, "The Vines." A strong wall that surrounded it was partly repaired at the cost of the cellarer in 1384-5, at which time it was in charge of a *vineator*.

From the description of the conventual buildings, and of their existing remains, we may now pass to their history after the suppression of the monastery.

On 20th March 31 Henry VIII. (1539-40) a commission was directed to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, Sir Richard Ryché, chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, Sir Christopher Hales, master of the Rolls, and six others, empowering them to receive the surrender of the Prior and Convent, to take an inventory of all the goods, plate, jewels, etc. of the monastery, and to convey to the master of the Jewel House at the Tower all the valuables and treasure they should receive. As a like commission was directed to the same persons on the same day to take the surrender, etc. of the Prior and Convent of Christchurch, Canterbury, some days must have elapsed before they reached Rochester, and the Prior and

/\* Pages 91, 92.

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Convent were still in existence on the 25th March, when the king sent them, a *congé d'élire* for a new bishop in place of John Hilsey. The formal surrender was made on 8th April 1540,/\* and the Benedictine convent was at once replaced by a secular Chapter, consisting of a Dean and Prebendaries with other officers, who carried on the services of the church. Walter Phyllypps *alias* Boxley, the last prior, became the first dean, and four other monks became gospeller, epistoler, high-sexton, and under-sexton respectively under the new Chapter. Seven other monks and two chantry priests received pensions varying from £10 to 100s.†

By letters patent dated 20th June 33 Henry VIII. (1541) the king formally incorporated the new secular body by the name of the "Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary of Rochester," and ordained it to consist of a dean, a priest, and six other priest prebendaries, "with other ministers necessary for Divine worship." The letters patent also granted to the Dean and Chapter the cathedral church, with all its chapels, bells, bell-towers, enclosures, roofs, cemeteries, etc. but reserved to the king all the monastic buildings in the following terms:

Exceptis tamen ac nobis heredibus et successoribus nostris omnino reservatis quadam domo ibidem vocata *Le Porter's Lodge* jacente versus partes australes et occidentales ab occidentali ostio ecclesie predicte. quadam aula ibidem vocata *Le Covent hall* cum duobus penetralibus et una Camera eidem Aule adjacentibus, una coquina ibidem vulgariter vocata *Le Covent Kychen* uno Cellario ibidem vocato *Le Covent Celler* ac claustro ibidem refectorio dormitorio domo Capitulari domo Prioris cum parvo gardino eidem adjacenti uno pomario ibidem vocato *Le Covent gardeyn* cum uno Stabulo adjacenti cum quodam orreo adjacenti ex partibus

/\* A transcript of the deed of surrender, signed by the Prior only, "Per me Walterum Boxley Priorem Roffen." is preserved amongst the Thorpe MSS. belonging to the Society of Antiquaries (MS. clxxxviii. 8). The list of the pensions assigned to the convent bears the same date as the deed of surrender. James Gairdner and R. H. Brodie, *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII.*, xv. 196, 197.)

† The Acknowledgement of Supremacy was signed on 10th June 1534 by the Prior, Sub-prior, and eighteen other monks. Only seven of these were still in the monastery at the Suppression six years later.

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australibus et orientalibus a dicto Stabulo quadam Camera ibidem vocata *the Kynges Chamber* una Capella vocata *the Kynqes Chappell* cum quodam gardino eidem adjacenti quadam domo ibidem dudum vocata *Le ffermory* cum quodam

gardino eidem adjacenti quadam domo ibidem vocata *Le Chambers lodging* cum quodam gardino et quodam parvo pomario eidem similiter adjacentibus ac etiam illam terram ibidem vocatam *Le Uppdyche* cum quodam pomario ibidem incluso | Ac etiam excepto semper prefato Nicolao Hethe modo Episcopo Roffensi et successoribus suis toto illo magno mesuagio vulgariter vocato *the Bysshoppes Palayce* ejusdem nunc Episcopi cum omnibus aliis terris ac tenementis ipsius nunc Episcopi in jure Episcopatus sui Roffensis predicti cum suis pertinenciis universis./\*

The reservation of the monastic buildings by the king seems to have been part of an elaborate scheme for providing series of posting houses on the sites of suppressed religious houses for the king's use during his journeys up and down the country. Thus Rochester formed one of those between London and Dover, the others being at the nunnery at Dartford and St. Austin's Abbey at Canterbury. The actual order for the conversion of the suppressed houses into royal manors has not yet been discovered, but that such order was made is clear from the accounts of the king's surveyor-general, James Nedham, under whose direction the necessary alterations were made.

The Rochester accounts, which are preserved with others among the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, are unfortunately somewhat imperfect. They cover two periods: (1) from 20th February to 20th March 1540-41; (2) from 19th February 1541-2 to 24th December 1542. The earliest of these accounts is complete in itself, but it is clearly not the first of the series, inasmuch as it refers to works already done, the construction of which must have occupied much of the time since the suppression of the monastery in April 1540. How far the ten months between the earliest existing account and those next in date were occupied with

/\* Collated with the original enrolment on the Patent Roll for 33 Henry VIII., part 9, memb. 17 (28). [W. H. St. J. H.]

building operations is uncertain. The later accounts seem to indicate a pause rather than continued activity, and it may be that the gap can be thus accounted for. The second series is perhaps defective at the beginning, and it also lacks the whole of the accounts for the month from 16th April to 14th May, as well as the heading and the accounts of the carpenters and sawyers for the three weeks from 14th May to 4th June. The rest of the series is complete in itself, and forms seven "Bookes" corresponding to the months.

From the detailed description of the work done by each class of workman employed it is possible, with the aid of other particulars given, to follow pretty closely the conversion of the buildings into a royal residence. This will, however,



be more properly dealt with in a Paper subsequently, and all that is here necessary is to indicate shortly what happened to the several monastic buildings.

The single account from 20th February to 20th March 1540-41 relates to the building and repairing of the king's lodgings and the queen's lodgings. These seem to have occupied the upper floor of one range of buildings, which was divided up by partitions to form them. The king's lodgings overlooked the cloister, which had not been destroyed, since there was built over part of it a halpace or gallery going between the king's privy chamber and his great chamber. Besides the accounts of the workmen are those of the painter and the glazier. These are of exceptional interest, inasmuch as they shew the number of windows in every chamber, and how many lights each contained; most of the dimensions are also given. As nearly all of these windows were new, their description belongs to the story of the palace.

The two next complete accounts are nearly a year later, and cover the period from 19th February 1541-2 to 16th April 1542. The carpenters were now at work repairing and mending "the gret roof over the Kinges lodgins, called the late dorter roof," and the plumbers were engaged in new laying the lead. We thus learn that the royal lodgings occupied the old dorter, which formed, with its vaulted undercroft, the eastern range of buildings extending from the chapter-house southwards. The former account mentions the "making

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and bringing uppe" by the bricklayers "of sertyn perys under the vawites for to bere uppe the chymneys in the Kinges lodgings." What the lost month's account referred to we cannot tell, but the work of the plasterers in the imperfect May-June account shews that the king's lodgings were all but completed; it also concludes with some interesting payments to the glazier, principally for "taking owte of the Ladye Haywardes armes" from the windows. This was of course the unfortunate Queen Catherine Howard, who had been beheaded a few weeks before, on 13th February 1541-2.

The complete series of accounts that follows, from 4th June to 24th December 1542, exhibits in detail the conversion of "the gret hall whiche was the frater afore" and "the grete chamber nexte unto that." These apartments occupied the southern range of buildings, and like the dorter were raised upon a vaulted substructure after the usual manner. They had probably already been formed by subdividing the frater by a partition, so that they could be used at once, but were now taken, in hand and rebuilt in a more comfortable style.

The changes here were more extensive than in the case of the dorter. First the old roof was stripped of its lead (which was then recast), and the roof itself taken down. The glass was also removed from the windows, and the chimneys were

pulled down. The walls were next raised, and two new "great chambers" formed, which were furnished with clerestories and bay windows and covered by a new flat roof. A gallery was also constructed over the south alley of the cloister to connect these chambers with the western range and the king's lodgings on the east. The works included a "great halpas," which was on the west, since there was a gutter between it and the great kitchen, and "the pages chamber," which was a two-storied building; both these were new from the foundations.

The last month's account mentions, for the first time, "the Counsell chamber," which was now furnished with a new fireplace and chimney. It is possible that this was in the western range of buildings, which seems to have continued in use without material alteration.

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A single reference to the infirmary shews that that building was also made use of by the king.

The accounts that have been preserved of the conversion of the buildings relate only to the apartments for the use of the king and queen, and do not contain any reference to the lodgings for their retinue or servants. As the royal private and state apartments were almost entirely in the buildings round the great cloister, it is reasonable to suppose that the infirmary buildings and the houses of the prior and chamberlain were given up to the servants and the suite, for whose use they would probably require little alteration.

The reservation of the monastic buildings for the use of the Crown practically left the new secular body without any dwelling-places, but the king, having taken away the buildings with one hand, proceeded to give them others through a commission appointed for assigning them to the individual members of the chapter, etc. The draft of the appointment of the commission, in English, with corrections made by Ryche, the chancellor of the Court of Augmentations, is in the Public Record Office. A transcript of a Latin version of it, no doubt that delivered to the commission, is preserved among the Thorpe MSS. belonging to the Society of Antiquaries,\* but I have not been able yet to find the original, either in the Public Record Office or at Rochester. It is identical in effect with the amended draft, and is chiefly interesting from the Latin version of the description of the buildings. The English draft is as follows:

Henry by the grace of godd Kinge of England and of  
fFrance, Defendo/r of the faithe Lorde of Ireland and in  
erthe supreme hedd of the Churche of Englande. To o/r  
trustye and welbelovyd [Richard Maye Mayo/r of the Cytie  
of Rochester James Nedeham gent John Erley gent Robert  
Halle Alderman of the saide Citie of Rochester and  
to John Turke *all struck out and these names overwritten:*]

George lord Cobham Walt' Hendle ffran[cis] Sydney Thomas Spylman William Sydley esquiers and Gregory Richardson Gent I greatinge Wheare we have lately founded

/\* MSS. 177, 178, 188, f. 197.

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and erected a Cathedrall Church in the honor of Christe and o/r lady saincte Marye in o/r Citie of Rochester in o/r Countie of Kente in the Scite and place of the late priorye there I And for the maynten/ance and contynuaunce of Godd{ys} service there have ordenyd in the [same *struck out*] same new Cathedrall Church a Dean [xij prebendaries *struck out*] vj prebendaries [twelve *struck out*] vj pety Canons I Epistoler and gospeller [tenne *struck out*] vj laye syngyng men one m/r of Choresters [tenne *struck out*] viij Coresters one Scole master for Gramer [and one ussher eightene *struck out*] xx/ti Scollers at Gramer I twoo Sextens I and [eight *struck out*] vj pore servingmen fallen in decaye in o/r warres or service to have their pensions there and to praye for us and the prosperous estate of o/r Realme and common welthe of the same I and for the good establisshement and contynuaunce of the saide fundacion We have endowed the same Cathedrall Church w/t Dyvers manners land{ys} ten't{ys} and other possessions as by o/r l'res patent{ys} therof lately made more playnely apperith. We willing that conveyent mansion howses and plac{ys} shalbe appointed and assigned to the saide Dean Prebendaries Petie Canons and other mynisters and persons before namyd Knowe ye that we trustinge in yo/r confidences, and discrete, and approvid wysedomes have appoynted you to be o/r Commissioners giving unto you v. iij. iij. and ij. of you full power and auctoryte that forthw/t upon the receipt herof ye shall repayer unto the Scite of the saide late [monasterye *struck out*] Priory where the said Cathedrall Church is now foundid and erected and then and there/\* ye shall by yo/r discretions not onely assigne and appoynte to the same Deane and Chanons severall and conveyent stalles in the Quere, and severall plac{ys} in the Chapitre house there I but also that ye shall appoynte unto the said Dean The new lodging whiche conteyneth twoo parlors, a kytchyn, foure Chambers a gallery a study over

/\* In the Latin version this clause stands: "Et tunc et ibidem ut vobis equum visum fuerit non solum assignabitis et appunctuabitis eidem Decano et Canonicis separales et convenientes stallos in Choro et separalia loca in domo Capitulari ibidem sed etiam assignabitis dicto Decano novum hospitium Anglice *the new Lodginge* continens duo cenacula coquinam quatuor cubiculos Ambulatorium museum supra portum cum omnibus aliis edificiis ducens ad domum Johannis Symkins unius Residentiariorum cum giardino adjacente ex parte septentrionali a Regie majestatis hospitio solarium in lignarium Decani subjacens vestiario stabulum pro Decano adjacens porte Turris Columbarium in muro adjacente vivariis [*sic*] semper reservatum in usum Decani."

the gate w/t all other howsinge leding unto Mr. John Symkyns lodging one of the Residensaries w/t a garden thereunto lying on the north side from the King{ys} grac{ys} lodging a vault for the Deanes woodehowse lying under the vestrie a stable for the Deane ioyninge to the tower gate I a Doffe coote in the wall ioyning to the vynes alwayes to be reservid for the Deane. [But also *struck out*] I unto the prebendaries and pety canons and other the said mynisters and persons above namyd and to every of them according to their degrees suche convenient and dwelling howses and plac{ys} aboute the Churche to be devided sorted and assigned to every of them w/tin and as farr as the buyldings and grounde of the saide Scite of the said late priorye dothe extende I in suche sort that the said Dean and Canons maye have severall howses convenient to inhabite and kepe hospitalite therin or otherwise to dispose them selff{ys} according to suche articles and ordynanc{ys} as shall bee prescribed to them I and according to their degrees porcions and liabilities I and the residew of the saide mynisters and persons that is to saye the petye Canons Epistoller, and gospeller scollers Coresters Skole master & ussher to have plac{ys} and dwelling{ys} to inhabite in, and kepe household emong{ys} them self{ys} accordinglye [written over by Richard Rychē: but also Alwayes provydyd y/t yo in no wyse medyll or devyde any of the howses or byldyng{ys} reservyd & apoyntyd for (o/r *struck out*) us by James Nedh/am the particulartyez wherof ys expressyd in a cedell to thys commyss' annexyd (expyrd but y/t ye R *struck out*)] And that ye therapon shall putt the Deane and Canons and every of the saide mynisters and persons above namyd in possession of their severall howses so by you to be assigned and appoynted. Provyded alwaies that the Petye Canons and other the said mynisters Except onely the said Dean and prebendaries shall kepe their table and commens togither according to the ordenanc{ys} to them to be prescribed. And ye or v. iij. iij. or ij. of you shall certifie in wrytinge in parchment under yo/r seales to o/r Chauncello/r and Counsell of o/r Co/rte of augmentations of the revenues of o/r Crowne at Westm. w/towt delaye the Circumstance of all suche thing{ys} as ye shall execute and do by vertue of this o/r Commyssion together w/t the same Commyssion. In Wittnes wherof we have caused thies o/r l'res of Commyssion to be made patent

and sealed w/t the grate seale of o/r Co/rte of Augmentacions of the revenues of o/r Crowne. Yoven at Westm. the [xxv. *struck out*] fourth day of Julye in the xxxij/th yere of o/r Reign. <4 Jul 1541>

[Signed by] Rychard Rychē [who has also added these names:] lorde Cobh/am [Wi *struck out*] Walter

[Syd *struck out*] Henley | ffrancys Sydney  
squyers [esquyers *struck out*] | Gregory Rychard-  
son Thomas Spylman Willm Sydley esquyer./\*

Of the schedule referred to as being annexed to the commission no trace nor copy has yet come to light, and through the loss of it we have no contemporary record of the housing of the new capitular body. The reservation of the monastic buildings, etc. by the king had absorbed nearly all the old precinct, and there remained available for the Dean and Chapter little more than a narrow strip north and east of the presbytery as far as the High Street; they appear also to have had another such strip adjoining the prior's gate on the south.

Only the "new lodging" for the dean is described in the commission. It contained two parlours, a kitchen, four chambers, and a gallery, etc. To it were also allotted a "study over the gate," a wood-house under the vestry, a stable adjoining the "tower gate,"/† and a dovecot in the wall joining to the Vines. The dean's lodging had also a garden attached to it, described as lying "on the north side from the King{ys} grac{ys} lodging." According to old plans, etc. the old deanery was a L-shaped structure that stood directly to the east of the cathedral church (see Plan, Plate V.), and this position agrees with the words of the commission.

The "Mr. John Symkyns" named in the same document was the first holder of the fourth prebend. The gate leading to his lodging, over which was the dean's study, was evidently the sextry gate, and he probably abode in one of the houses to the north of the presbytery along the High Street, for-

/\* Collated with the original draft in the Public Record Office, in "Bishops' Temporalities 614." [W. H. St. J. H.]

/† Probably the prior's gate.

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merly in the possession of the Prior and Convent./\* During Mary's reign Mr. Symkyns was deprived of his prebend on account of his being a married man, but restored in 1559. During his enforced retirement, and apparently afterwards also, he seems to have lived in "the howse nexte the grete gate."/† Two other houses next the High Street were in later times occupied by the first and second prebends, and had probably been so from the first. The holder of the third prebend seems to have had, also from the first, a house, now rebuilt, adjoining the sextry gate on the north. The sites of the original residences of the fifth and sixth prebendaries are at present unknown, but for the reason stated above they probably lay somewhere on the north of the church.

The "pety canons," with the "epistoler and gospeller," the lay-clerks or "syngyng men," the master of the choristers, and other members of the foundation, no doubt also had their

lodging, probably in the monastic buildings existing along the line of the old wall of Henry III. south of the prior's gate. In the appointment of a new organist and master of the choristers in 1588, this lodging is spoken, of as "the long gallery called the Cannon Place," and he was granted certain chambers at the east side of it./‡ In a survey taken in 1647 <1649> Canon Row, as it was then called, is described as "all that long row of buildings within the wall, consisting of eighteen several low rooms and five upper ones, in which divers old and decrepit poor people inhabit, that did belong to the cathedral church." These buildings were taken down in 1698, and the existing Minor Canon Eow, consisting of six houses for the "pety canons" built between 1721 and 1723, and a seventh at the east end for the organist built in 1735, occupies their place./§

The "scole master for Gramer," probably from the first, had a house adjoining the prior's gate, immediately within it

/\* As the conversion of the monastic buildings into the royal lodgings must have begun very soon after the Suppression, the assignment of existing houses to the new collegiate body, who immediately succeeded the monks, would have been the easiest way of providing them with lodgings.

/† See *ante*, p. 24.

/‡ Thomas Shindler, *The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Rochester* (Canterbury, 1892), 93, note b. <from DRc/Elb/1>

/§ *The History and Antiquities of Rochester and its Environs* (Rochester, 1772), 99.

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to the west, and the room over the gate formed part of it. Here, no doubt, he taught the "xx/ti Scollers at Gramer." In 1842 the school was removed to its present site outside the gate; the old building had been pulled down in 1840 and the site added to the garden of the house abutting on the remains of the bishop's palace./\*

The later history of the other buildings in the precinct will be discussed below.

Although there can now be no doubt whatever that the monastic buildings were converted into a royal residence, it is nothing short of extraordinary that this should have been swept away so completely as not to leave any trace of its existence, nor even a tradition thereof, while of the older monastic buildings on which it was engrafted considerable fragments exist. It now remains to shew what became of the "King's Manor," and how it is that the site and remains of the Benedictine priory are now the property of the Dean and Chapter.

On 8th March 33 Henry VIII. (1541-2), long before the new royal lodging was completed, the king granted to Sir George Broke, knight, Lord Cobham, "officium custodis capitalis mesuagii sive mansionis nostre de Rochester in comitatu nostro Kancie ac custodis gardini et pomerii nostri ibidem," to have and to hold for his life with the fee of 4d. a day

payable at Lady Day and Michaelmas by equal portions./†

During the reign of Edward VI. Lord Cobham made application to the Crown for a grant of the Hundred of Hoo and the King's Manor of Rochester. The extent of the latter is thus described in the particulars/‡:

Parcell' possess. pertin.  
nuper Prioratus de viz. Scitus et Circuitus Pallacii sive  
Roffen. in dicto Capitalis Mansionis in Roffensi  
Comitatu. predict. simul cum pomeriis et  
gardinis infra precinctum ejusdem pallacii existentibus  
Continent. in toto sex acras bene valet ad dimittend. per  
Annum xl/s.

*/\** See *Archaeologia Cantiana*, XXI. 45, 46.

*/†* P.R.O. Augmentation Office Miscell. Bk. 235, f. 64/b. I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Hardy, F.S.A., for this reference and extract. See also Hasted, *History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, ii. 26, note e.

*/‡* P.R.O. Particulars of Grants, 5 Edward VI.

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An appended memorandum concludes:

The King{ys} ma/ties pleasure ys by the advyse of his most honorable privye counsell/\* to gyve and graunte the premysses to the said Lord Cobham and to hys heyers for ever in con-syderacion of his servyce wyth the King{ys} maiesties howse w/thin the late pryorye of Rochester as appeareth by a letter directed from his gracys counsell to the chauncelor of thaug-mentacion bearing date the daye of in the yere of his ma/ties Reyne To hold the sayd hundred and manors of greate hoo and lyttle hoo as of his highnes in chieffe and the reste in Socage wherefore make a graunte of the premysses to y/e said Lord Cobham & his heyers accordingly.

[Signed.] Ric. Sakevyle.

Letters patent were accordingly issued to Lord Cobham on 23rd February 1550-51 granting him the manors applied for. The clause touching the King's Manor of Rochester is as follows:

Necnon totum mesuagium et capitale mansionem et domum nostram in Civitate nostra Roffensi in scitu nuper prioratus ibidem ac totum ortum et pomarium nostrum ac terram nostram ibidem eidem mesuagio adjacent. continent. per estimacionem sex acras ac omnia domos edificia stabula Columbaria ortos pomaria gardina stagna vivaria et alia proficua commoditates et emolumenta nostra quecunque infra Scitum dicti nuper prioratus in dicta Civitate Roffen. modo dissoluti ac eidem nuper Prioratui dudum spectantia et pertinentia./†

In 1558, shortly before his death,/‡ Lord Cobham made

over the manor of Rochester to the Dean and Chapter, who thus became possessed of the remains of the buildings in

/\* Lord Cobham was among those present at a meeting of the Privy Council on 7th September 1550, when there was ordered: "A lettre to the Chauncellour of thaugmentacions to certifle what landes the Kinges majestie hathe in the Ile of Gray[n]e, and within Rochestre and the liberties of the same. *Acts of the Privy Council of England* (edited by J. R. Dasent), N.S. iii. (1550-52), 120. There is no further record of the transaction noted above.

† Rot. Pat. 6 Edw. VI. part 2.

‡ Lord Cobham died on 29th September 1558. Shortly after the accession of Mary he appears, perhaps by way of currying favour with the Queen, to have intended to make over to her his recently acquired manors in Kent. A formal transfer of them, signed by him and sealed with his seal, and bearing date

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which their predecessors had dwelt. The counterpart of the formal transfer, which is dated 15th July 4 and 6 Philip and Mary (1558), is now preserved at Hatfield House among other Cobham documents, and is endorsed: "The sale off the Howse off Rochester to the deane and Chapter off Rochester."/\* The text of the grant is as follows:

This Indenture made the xv day of July in the yeres of the reignes of our soveraigne Lorde and Lady Phillipp and Mary by the grace of God kinge and quene of Englonde Spaine France both Cicilles Jerusalem and Ireland defenders of the faith, Archedukes of Austrice Dukes of Burgundy Myllan and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge Flanders and Tyroll the fourth and sixth, Betwene the right honorable Sir George Broke knight of the honorable order of the garter, Lord Cobham of thon partie, and Walter Phillipps deane of the Cathedrall church of Christ and the blessed virgine Mary of Rochester, in the countie of Kent, and the chapter of the same, one the one [*sic*] partie. Wytnessith that whereas the late Kinge of famous memory Edward the sixt by his graces lettres patentee, under the greate seale of Englonde, bearinge date the xxij daie of February, in the fyfte yere of his graces Reigne, for certen considerations him movinge mencionyd in the said lettres patentes among and togethers w/t other Landes and tenementes dyd of his especiall grace mere mocion, and certen knowledge, gyve and graunte unto the said Sir George Broke Lorde Cobham all that his messuage and capitall mansion and house in his cite of Rochester w/thin the scite of the late priory there, and all that his gardeyne and land there, to the said messuage adjoyninge, conteyninge by estymacon sixe acres together w/th all his houses buildinges stables, dovehouses, gatehouses, gardens, orchardes, ponds, Fishinges, and other proffites commodities and emolumentes whatsoever w/thin the scite of the said late priorye in the said cytie of Rochester now dissolvdyd, or to the saide priory late apperteyninge or





demolished and the materials sold. Such of the old walls as could conveniently be retained as boundaries or enclosures were left, but the chambers within and upon them were destroyed, and the whole reduced to much the same condition as that now existing. Long before the end of the sixteenth century a clean sweep had been made of almost everything in and about the cloister, and the area of it had already been subdivided and connected into gardens. The state of things then in being is well illustrated by a lease dated 5th October 1596 granting to Philip Heath for twenty-one years:

All that ther Lyttell parcell or pytle of grounde Lyenge in Lengthe Easte & weste Betwene the Olde Chapter howse & the wall of the p/rbend howse of Mr. John Maplesden alonge under the Sowth wall of the sayd Cathedrall Church where the Olde Cloyster was in tymes paste, Conteyninge in Length from the Easte to the weste, eighte Rodd{ys} Lacking three ffeete & Conteyninge in the Bredthe of the Easte Ende or hedde two Roddes & three ffoote lyttell more or Lesse & in bredth at the weste ende or hedd, two Rodd{ys} & three foote also Lyttell more or Lesse with a Lyttell howse under the vestree or Chapterhowse of the sayd Cathedrall Church, Together also w/t one other Lyttell parcell or pytle of Grounds parte of the sayd Olde Cloyster Set Lyenge & beinge to the vestree aforsayd againste the Northe, to the olde ffrater Hall againste the Southe to the wall of the Olde Chapter howse & Dorter againste the Easte, And to a Quiksett hedge towardf the garden of the p/rbend howse of John Maplesden aforsayd againste the weste./\*

It is evident from this that changes had already begun in the precinct, and that the quarters originally provided for celibate canons were insufficient for the accommodation of married men and their families.

The "Mr. John Maplesden" here mentioned was appointed to the fourth stall in 1576, and died in 1613. The lodging of the fourth prebendary had therefore been moved from the north of the church, and now formed part of or was built on the site of the old cellarium. The house was pulled down

/\* Martin Cotes Register, f. 110. The same is also printed incorrectly by Thorpe, *Custumale Roffense*, 163.

about 1805, and replaced by the ugly yellow brick house in the south-west corner of the cloister which so disfigures the precincts. After 1857, when the fourth stall was suppressed, this house was assigned to the third prebendary, whose old lodging next the sextry gate has since been let to various tenants.

After 1558 the fifth prebendary was also enabled to find new quarters, and until early in this century he occupied a house adjoining the south aisle of the church and connected with the great gatehouse, which formed part of his lodging. In 1744 the gatehouse was ordered to be taken down,<sup>/\*</sup> and the rest of the house was demolished on the removal of the Provost of Oriel/<sup>†</sup> to a new house next the Vines previous to or about 1820.

The sixth prebendary seems to have been housed until 1661 in one of the monastic offices near the west end of what is now Minor Canon Row, but this can hardly have been the original arrangement, as it is unlikely that a single canon would be lodged far apart from his fellows. In 1639 the sixth stall was annexed to the archdeaconry of Rochester, and in 1661 the Dean and Chapter demised to archdeacon Lee a house near the Vines, facing that now occupied by the fifth prebendary; and this has since continued to be the archdeacon's lodging.

About 1820 the first prebendary moved into a new house built on part of the "King's orchard" near the south end of Minor Canon Row. In 1840, on the suppression of the first stall, this was assigned to the second prebendary, and in the following year was rebuilt. The old houses of the first and second prebends next the High Street were pulled down in 1887 and the site laid open.<sup>‡</sup>

The present deanery was built against and around the east end of the old chapter-house in 1640, and in modern

<sup>/\*</sup> See *ante*, p. 28.

<sup>†</sup> The fifth prebend was annexed to the Provostship of Oriel College, Oxford, in 1719.

<sup>‡</sup> For further particulars respecting the prebendal houses see *The History and Antiquities of Rochester and its Environs* (Rochester, 1772), 93-98; and Thomas Shindler, *The Registers of the Cathedral Church of Rochester* (Canterbury, 1892), 68, 69.

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times, as already noted, has been extended into the eastern part of the chapter-house itself. The acquisition of the old monastic site in 1558 has enabled the old garden to be appended to it, and this has been largely extended by taking in the site of the old city ditch. The "King's orchard" usually goes with the deanery house.

Into the later history of the precinct it is not necessary to enter.

The foregoing account of the architectural history of the church and monastery may fitly conclude with a few words on the Sunday procession, a weekly ceremony that has had far greater influence over the planning of buildings and the placing of screens and doorways than has hitherto been noticed.

The Sunday procession was made before high mass after

the *benedictio aquae*, and consisted in visiting and sprinkling with holy water all the altars in the church and the various buildings round the cloister, concluding with a "station" before the great rood in the nave.

During the procession, in which the whole convent took part, an anthem was sung, and at the station before the rood the bidding prayer was said, followed by the Lord's Prayer, etc. and prayers for the dead. The procession then passed on to the quire, singing a respond the while, and the ceremony concluded with a collect said in quire.

Since it is obvious that the order of procession would vary according to the plan and arrangements of every monastery and the disposition of the altars in the church, it will perhaps be of interest to attempt to trace the route of the Sunday procession at Rochester. As we have no information whatever how it was actually done here, and the question is further complicated by the existence of the crypt, the route suggested can only be regarded as a possible one.

For the blessing of the water a procession had already entered and taken its place before the high altar, consisting of the hebdomadary priest with the deacon and sub-deacon, the thurifer and two taperers, and an acolyte bearing the

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cross, together with two boys, one carrying salt and the water to be hallowed, the other the book for the priest to read from. The monks and novices occupied their places in quire.

After the blessing of the water, which took place in the presbytery before the altar-steps, the priest went up to the altar and sprinkled it. In descending he sprinkled the ministers and others who had entered with him, beginning with the cross-bearer; then returning to the quire step he sprinkled the convent in turn. During the giving of the holy water an anthem was sung by the monks.

The procession then went out through the north quire door to the shrine of St. William and the altars east of it, and after re-entering and crossing the quire passed through the south door to the altar or altars on that side. Turning westwards the procession descended the steps into the quire aisle, and again turning passed down the steps into the crypt. Here the several altars were visited in succession: first those on the north, next those to the east, and lastly those on the south, and then the procession passed out into the cloister by the doorway in the middle of the north alley. Turning eastward the circuit of the offices was made: first along the east alley to the chapter-house, then up to the dorter and rerdorter, next to the parlour and common-house under the dorter, and then along the south alley on to the frater, (possibly) the kitchen, and the cellarer's lodging, returning by the west alley to the cloister door. Through this the procession entered into the south quire aisle and so into the church again. Turning now to the west and passing through

the screen there, a visit was paid first to the altar of Our Lady in the south transept, next to the altars of St. Ursula and the Holy Cross in the north transept. Here the procession again went westward, and after traversing the length of the north aisle passed into the nave, and turning eastward made a "station" by coming to a halt in order before the great rood above the nave altar. In the station the monks arranged themselves in two rows wide apart, while in the middle stood the boy with the holy water bucket, the cross-bearer, the taperers, the acolyte, sub-deacon, deacon, and priest, in order, one behind another. After the recital of

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the bidding prayer, etc. the procession filed through the doors at each end of the rood-screen and up the steps into the quire.

It was probably not thought necessary for the whole of the procession to enter the different buildings mentioned, and the monks no doubt remained without while the priest and ministers went in with the holy water. In the same way it was possible for the priest to visit any altars that were in the nave while the convent continued singing the anthem.

It will be seen that if the above be the way in which the procession was actually carried out at Rochester, all the altars were visited in turn, and the whole of the church and cloister was traversed; also that the reason for placing doors and screens where they exist or are known to have been is fully accounted for.

In conclusion the writer desires to express his indebtedness to the many kind friends who have assisted him in his investigations, especially Mr. J. T. Irvine, who was for so long in charge of the building as clerk of the works under Sir G. G. Scott, and Mr. A. A. Arnold, F.S.A., the present chapter clerk. He has also to thank Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, V.P.S.A., for looking over the proofs, and Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., for redrawing the illustrations given on Plate V. Thanks are also due to Messrs. Murray for their kind loan of the blocks given in Figs. 3, 7, 13, 33, 36, 42; to Messrs. Parker and Co. for Figs. 4 and 29 and Plate IV.; and to the Society of Antiquaries for Fig. 34. The remaining illustrations have been specially drawn for the Paper for the most part by Mr. Roland W. Paul. For the various plans the writer alone is responsible.

Postscript. -- In discussing the several shrines and relics in the church, mention ought to have been made of a singular discovery made during the search for the foundations of Gundulf's east end in 1881. In cutting a trench in the crypt across the site of the little eastern chapel the workman found

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a box containing human bones, buried with its lid just level with the eastern floor. The bones were not arranged, but deposited anyhow in the box, the skull being with the leg-bones. Unfortunately the box was not noticed until it had nearly all been broken up, and nothing could be made out from it. Not improbably the bones had been taken out of one or other of the shrines when they were destroyed in 1538 and deposited for safety where they were found. They were reburied in the trench before it was filled up.