

THE  
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
OF  
**P o r k   C a t h e d r a l .**

BY THE  
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READ BEFORE THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,  
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THE  
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY  
OF  
Dork Cathedral.



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## PREFACE.

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THE following history is drawn up upon the same general system as that which I have already adopted in the cases of Canterbury and Winchester, which I have had the honour of publishing under the auspices of the Archæological Institute.

In the first place I have collected together the chronicled history of the building, retaining the very words of the original whenever the building itself was the immediate subject of the paragraph in question. I have, in the next place, closely examined the structure itself, analyzing its various arrangements as they arose from time to time, and comparing them with the previous chronicle. Much however of the history of this cathedral is necessarily derived from fabric rolls, indulgences, and other chapter documents which do not admit of being completely separated as the passages of a written chronicle do, and therefore I have been compelled to scatter these memoranda throughout my analysis of the structural changes. Nevertheless I have always taken the greatest pains to separate my own hypotheses and explanations of these documents from the documents themselves, in opposition to the general practice of writers of architectural history, which is, that after having satisfied themselves of the meaning and application of the chronicles and other documents to the various parts and periods of a building, they proceed to interweave these documents into their histories in such a manner as to make it exceedingly difficult to discover other possible explanations.

I cannot pretend to any original research amongst the papers that are quoted in the following pages. I have merely taken those that I found ready to my hand in Stubbs, Drake, Britton, and lastly in the voluminous and elaborate work of Mr. Browne, who appears to have exhausted this source of information from the ready access which the liberality of the chapter and his residence at York has afforded him. I can only regret that my distance from York has prevented me from consulting the manuscripts; but the kindness of the Rev. W. Vernon Harcourt has enabled me to introduce many documents and quotations in the original language, of which he has obligingly furnished me with copies of his own, Mr. Browne having unfortunately adopted a practice of translating all his documents into English, omitting even the necessary and interesting illustration which is afforded by at least quoting the most important sentences in their original Latin. I have also consulted the manuscripts relating to these matters that are contained in the British Museum.

But for the explanation of these documents and their application to the building, for the description of its successive changes, and the operations that accompanied them, I am wholly responsible, and I can only regret that for the most part my chronology of the series of structures is so completely at variance with that of Mr. Browne, that I fear an incredulous smile may be extorted from the sceptics in the matter of antiquity, when they find two such opposite accounts deduced from the same authorities. I have much satisfaction in adding, however, that with this single exception, my chronology differs but little from that of every previous writer on this subject.

## EXPLANATION OF THE PLANS.

THE changes of plan that took place in the cathedral of York were so numerous and of so complicated a kind that I found it impossible to include them in a single diagram. I have therefore drawn a series of five plans to the same scale. In each plan part of the building is laid down in full black, part in light tint.

Beginning with No. 5, and reckoning backwards through the series, the black parts of each plan shew all the portions of the previous plan that have been retained, and the light parts shew the portions that have been changed. In No. 1, however, as there is no previous plan, the light tint is used to distinguish the conjectural portions from those which have still left traces of their existence and dimensions, and which are marked full black. This light tint is however shaded in the opposite direction from the light tints previously explained, so that there can be no ambiguity, and the same may be said of the tint E, in No. 2, which is merely employed to designate a space filled with earth.

Again, beginning the series of plans from No. 1, each plan has a dotted outline, which marks the extent of the additional building in the next plan in order. Thus the relative dimensions of each new member of the cathedral to the one which it has superseded are brought into direct comparison. The gradual changes by which the Norman cathedral of No. 1 was converted into the existing cathedral of No. 5, were worked out in the following order: 1st. a new choir; 2nd. a pair of new transepts; 3rd. a new nave; 4th. a second new and still larger choir. And these successive additions exceeded the former portions not merely in length but also in breadth.

The date below each plan is merely that of some one year in round numbers that occurred in the interval between the changes, so that the plan to which it is appended represents the church as it existed in that year. I have purposely avoided the crowding of letters of reference into these plans.

In No. 5 I have delineated the choir stalls, high-altar, and steps, and the double screen with the feretory, or space T between them, on the authority of Torres' plan, which was taken before the western screen was removed.

In the nave K is the font, L the position of Melton's tomb, and M the place where Drake found the supposed coffin of St. William.

## CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE HISTORY OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

	A. D.
Saxon church, begun by King Edwin . . . . .	633
————— repaired by Wilfrid . . . . .	699
Norman nave, transepts, &c., by Archbishop Thomas . . . . .	...1080...
Choir and crypts, by Archbishop Roger . . . . .	1154—1181
South transept . . . . .	...1230...1241...
North transept . . . . .	...1241...1260...
Nave (except west front) . . . . .	. 1291...1324...
Chapter house . . . . .	...1320...
West front of nave . . . . .	...1338...
Wooden vault of nave . . . . .	...1354...
Presbytery . . . . .	. 1361...1370...
Choir . . . . .	. 1380...1400...
Lanthurne tower . . . . .	. 1400...1418...1423...
South-west bell-tower . . . . .	...1433...1447...
North-west bell-tower . . . . .	...1470...1474...

### PRINCIPAL MONUMENTS OF ARCHBISHOPS.

Archbishop Grey, died 1255.

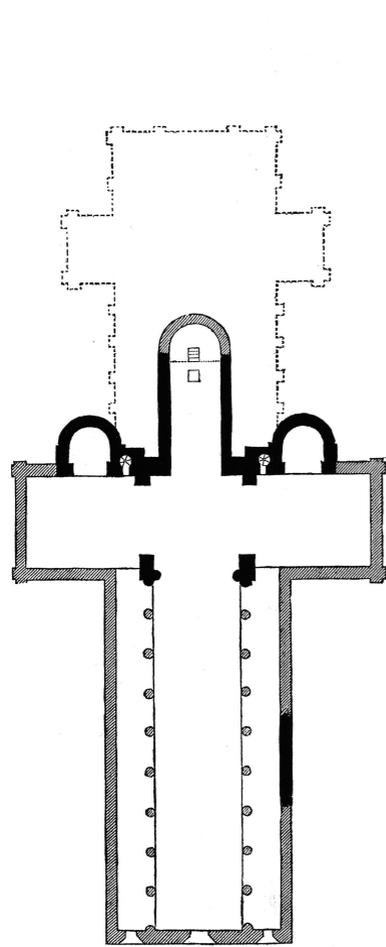
————— Greenefeld, died 1315.

————— Bowet, died 1423, (the monument was erected before 1415.)

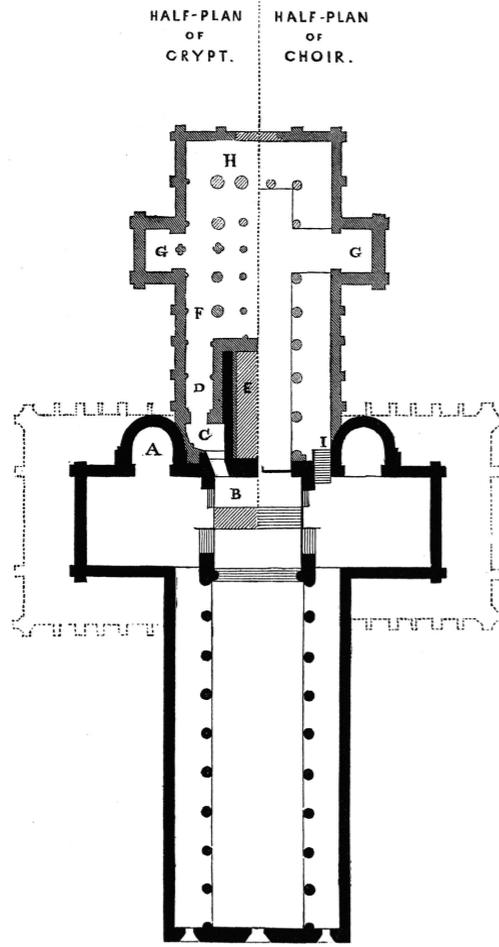
————— Savage, died 1507.

N.B. When a date is merely approximative, it is placed between dots, thus...1080..., and when a work is only known to have been executed during the official life of an individual, the dates of his taking office and of his death are separated by a dash, thus, 1154—1181.

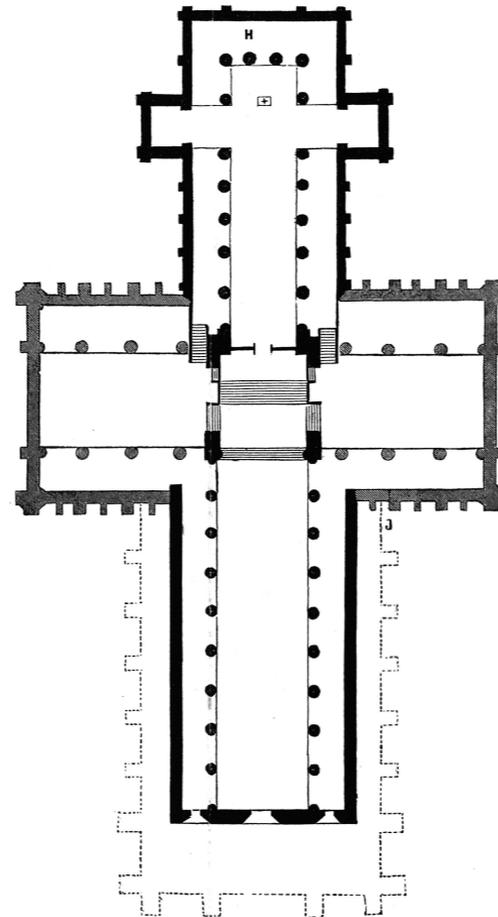




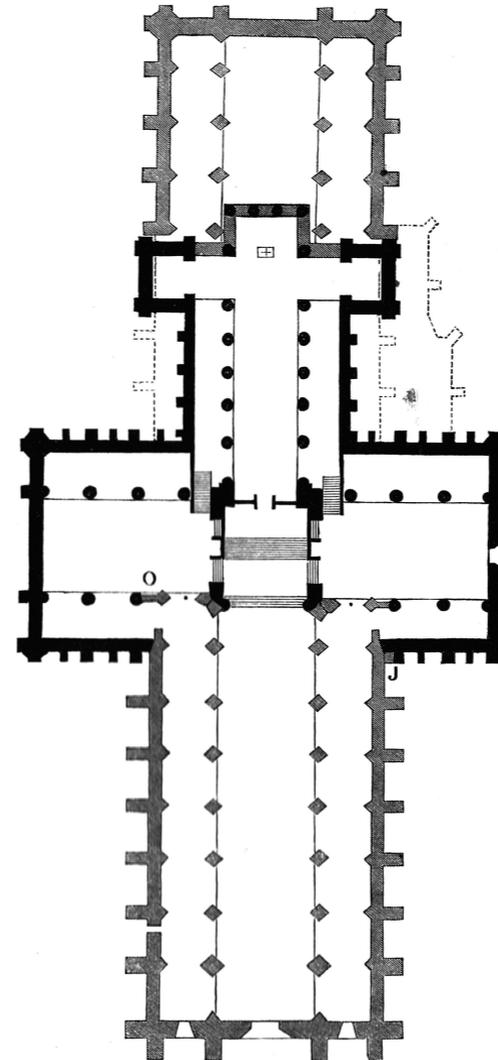
No. 1. A.D. 1160



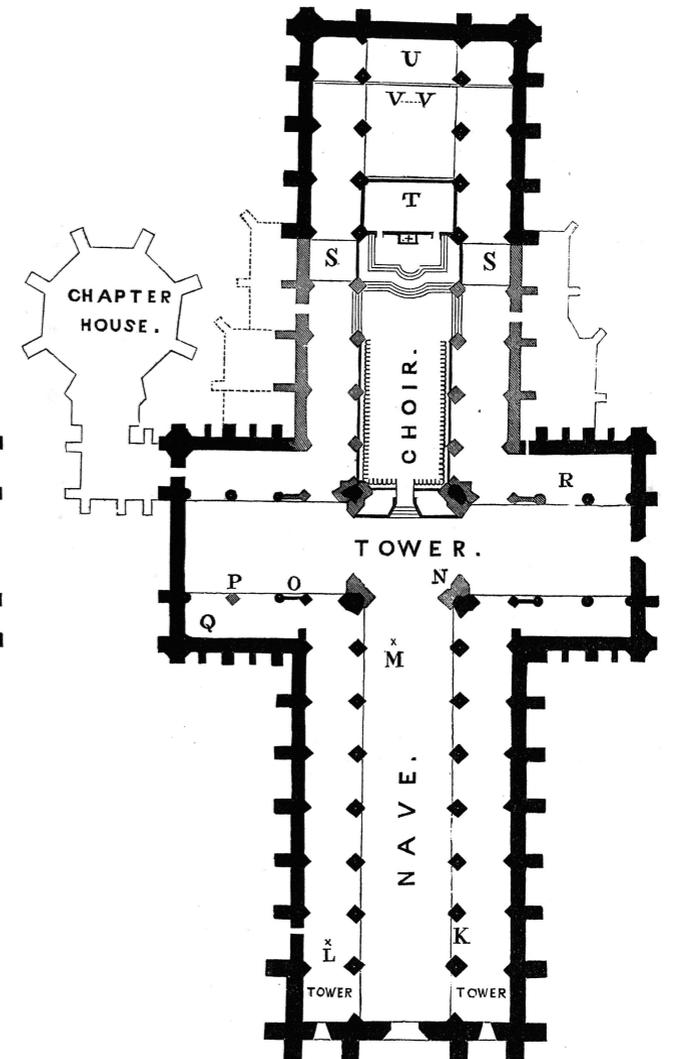
No. 2. A.D. 1200.



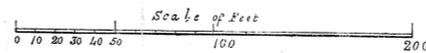
No. 3. A.D. 1260.



No. 4. A.D. 1370



No. 5. A.D. 1470.



FIVE HISTORICAL BLOCK PLANS OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

# THE ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY OF YORK CATHEDRAL.

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## CHAPTER I.

### THE CHRONICLED HISTORY OF THE BUILDING.

YORK cathedral is in plan and proportion the simplest imaginable. It is in the form of a cross, of which, in rough measurement, the eastern limb is of the same length as the western, the total length of the transepts equal to half the total length of the nave and choir, and the width of the nave outside the walls equal to half the total length of the transepts; or, in other words, the transepts are in length twice the width of the nave, and the whole church is four times the width of the nave. The choir is somewhat narrower than the nave, and the transepts still narrower. The church is square at the east end as well as the west, and the transepts have aisles to the west as well as to the east. The simplicity of its form is very little disturbed by external chapels and buildings, with the exception of the chapter-house and of a few chapels on the south side of the choir, to which formerly corresponded similar chapels on the north. A lofty tower rises in the middle. Two towers flank its western front, and in the middle of each side of the eastern limb of the cross one compartment of the side aisle is carried up to the roof, so as to form a kind of eastern transept. As the choir is somewhat longer than the nave, and its pier arches narrower, nine compose the length of the choir and eight that of the nave<sup>a</sup>. The

<sup>a</sup> Moreover the external width of the nave is equal to the height of the ridge of the roof above the ground, and to the height of the central tower battlement above the clerestory walls, and to the height of the western tower battlements above the side aisle walls. The side aisle walls are in height equal to half the width of the nave. I merely

state these rough and obvious proportions, as a convenient mode of describing the building, but not with any view of deducing fanciful analogies from them, or mysteriously symbolical or magical properties, by which such proportions have been supposed invested.

church is an aggregate of various styles, having Early English transepts, a Decorated nave, of which the body has geometrical tracery, and the west end flowing tracery. The choir is in two portions, of which the most easterly (more correctly termed the presbytery) is of very early Perpendicular, and the western (or choir proper) of later Perpendicular. The central tower and the western towers are also Perpendicular, and subsequent to the choir. In the crypt are remains of earlier buildings. This is the general arrangement of the church, whose architectural history I propose to investigate and compare with the structure as it now exists. And first, with respect to the period before the Norman Conquest, I shall give those passages of the historians that relate to the church as nearly in their own language as possible.

The structural history of this church begins with the very history of the establishment of Christianity amongst the Saxons of the district. For the pagan King Edwin was baptized at York (A.D. 627) by the first bishop of York, Paulinus, "in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which the king had there built of wood, of hasty workmanship, whilst he was receiving instruction, in preparation for baptism."—"After his baptism he set about to construct in the same place, at the suggestion of Paulinus, a larger and more noble basilica of stone, in the midst of which the oratory which he had first built was to be included. Accordingly, having laid his foundations, he began to build his basilica in a square form around the original oratory, but before the walls were completed the king was slain, and it was left to his successor Oswald to complete the work<sup>b</sup>."

After the battle of Heathfield, where Edwin was killed, (A.D. 633,) "his head was brought to York, and subsequently placed in the church of St. Peter, which he began but his successor Oswald finished, as above stated, and it was deposited in the porticus or chapel of St. Gregory the pope, from whose disciples he had received the Word<sup>c</sup>."

<sup>b</sup> "Baptizatus est autem Eboraci, die sancto Paschæ pridie iduum Aprilium in ecclesia Sancti Petri Apostoli, quam ibidem ipse de ligno, cum catechizaretur atque ad percipiendum baptismum imbueretur, citato opere construxit; . . . Mox autem et baptismum consecutus est, curavit, docente eodem Paulino, majorem ipso in loco et augustiorem de lapide fabricare basilicam in cuius

medio ipsum quod prius fecerat, oratorium includeretur. Præparatis ergo fundamentis, in gyro prioris oratorii per quadrum cœpit ædificare basilicam; sed priusquam altitudo parietis esset consummata rex ipse impie nece occisus opus idem successoris suo Oswaldo perficiendum reliquit."—Bedæ Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 14.

<sup>c</sup> "Allatum est autem caput Edwini

Archbishop Wilfrid, (A.D. 669,) as we are told by his biographer Eddius Stephanus, and by William of Malmsbury, found this building and its offices in very bad repair, (only about forty years from its first foundation.) "The leaking roofs admitted rain, and the open windows birds, who built their nests within, and were constantly flying in and out. The rain and birds together, defiled and discoloured the neglected walls. But our holy bishop, in horror that the house of prayer should be thus brought to resemble a den of thieves, straightway undertook to repair it. He restored the rotten ridges of the roof and covered it with pure lead. . . . The windows, which formerly derived their light from the transparency of linen or of boards pierced with many holes, he provided with glass, thus excluding the birds and rain, and yet admitting the light. He cleansed the walls and made them whiter than snow by means of white lime, and not only furnished the house and altar with ornaments and vessels, but endowed it with many lands<sup>d</sup>."

It is a misfortune in these early histories, that we are often obliged to derive the successive notices of a building from various and independent authorities; and thus it happens with the two next particulars usually quoted by modern compilers as belonging to the history of York cathedral. In the first place a fire is thus concisely recorded by Hoveden<sup>e</sup>; "In the year

regis Eboracum, et illatum postea in ecclesiam beati Apostoli Petri, quam ipse cœpit sed successor ejus Oswaldus perfecit, ut supra docuimus, positum est in porticu S. papæ Gregorii a cujus ipse discipulis verbum vitæ susceperat."—Bedæ Hist. Eccl., lib. ii. c. 20.

<sup>d</sup> ". . . Basilicæ oratorii Dei . . . officia semiruta lapidea eminebant. Nam culmina antiquata tecti distillantia, fenestraq̄ue apertæ, avibus nidificantibus intro et foras volitantibus, et parietes incultæ, omni spurcitia imbrium et avium, horribiles manebant . . . . Primum culmina corrupta tecti renovans, artificioso plumbo puro tegens per fenestras introitum avium et imbrium vitro prohibuit, per quod tamen intro lumen radiebat. Parietes quoque lavans secundum Prophetam, super nivem dealbavit, eam enim non solum domum Dei et altare in varia supellectili vasorum intus ornavit verum etiam deforis multa territoria pro Deo adeptus, terrenis opibus pauper-

tatem auferens copiose ditabit. . . . Vita S. Wilfridi, Gale, t. i. p. 59 "Basilica, quondam ab Edwino rege monitu beati Paulini in Eboraco facta, tecto vacabat, parietes semiruti, et ruinam plenam minantes solis nidis avium serviebant, pro indignitate rei Pontifex interno dolore commotus, materiam solidavit, culmen levavit, levatum plumbeis laminis ab injuria procellarum munivit, fenestris lucem dabant vel panni linei tenuitas, vel multiforatis asseraxis. ipse vitreas fecit. decorem materiarum vetustas et multimoda tempestas obduserat. ipse illas alba calce dealbavit."—Malms. de Gest. Pont., lib. iii. p. 261.

"Egbertus . . . sepultus est cum fratre suo in una (ima ?) porticu apud Eboracum."—Malms. de Gest. Pont., p. 269.

<sup>e</sup> "Anno 741 monasterium in Eboraca civitate succensum est nono Calendas Maji feria prima."—R. de Hoveden, p. 402. Sunday actually fell on the 23rd of April, A.D. 741.

741 a monastery in the city of York was burnt, on the first day of the week and the ninth calend of May;" that is, in modern language, Sunday the 23rd of April. But whether this "monasterium" is to be interpreted of the church in question, or how far it might have suffered, must remain doubtful; and fortunately is of no great consequence. The second particular is the erection of a new church, which is mentioned in a poem by Flaccus Alcuinus, on the bishops and saints of the church of York<sup>f</sup>.

This versified biography, after bringing down the history of the prelates of York to Albert, (who succeeded in 966,) concludes a lengthened panegyric upon this latter bishop, by saying that he also added many ornaments to the churches.

"For as the warlike king Edwin had received the water of baptism, the bishop had constructed a large altar and covered it all about with gold and silver and jewels. He dedicated it to the name of holy Paul. . . . He suspended above this altar a lofty candelabrum, which sustained three large vessels for oil with nine rows of lights<sup>g</sup>. He raised the banner of the cross aloft the altar, and covered the whole with precious metals. . . . And he made another altar, and clothed it with pure silver and with precious stones, and dedicated it to the martyrs and to the cross. He commanded the great Ampulla from which the priest during celebration was to pour the wine into the chalice, to be made of refined gold of no small weight.

"But a new structure of a wondrous basilica was in the days of this bishop began, completed, and consecrated. This house of appropriate altitude is supported by solid columns set under curved arches. Within it sparkles with admirable ceilings and windows, and in its beauty shines, environed with many aisles (or apsidal chapels). It has a great number of apartments with distinct roofs, which contain thirty altars with various ornaments. Two disciples, Eanbald and Alcuin, at the command of the prelate erected this temple, and he himself consecrated it to the 'Alma Sophia' (the Saviour) ten days before his death."

Now, although it is plain from this history that a church was erected by this bishop, I think it may fairly be inferred that it was on a different site from the cathedral of Paulinus, repaired by Wilfrid. In the above inflated narrative the two altars appear to have been erected in the said cathedral, the first in honour of the baptism of Edwyn. But if the basilica had been rebuilt on the same site by the bishop, its descrip-

<sup>f</sup> The poem is printed at length in the first volume of Gale's collection.

<sup>g</sup> "Hoc altare farum supra suspenderit altum

Qui tenet ordinibus tria grandia  
vasa novenis."

—Lines 1494 and 1495. The passage is not very intelligible.

tion would hardly have followed that of the altars, without at least some connecting link between them. Moreover no writers of the history of York, as Malmsbury or Stubbs, make any mention of this basilica of Albert; they give the original foundation, and the repair by Wilfrid; but they pass by the work of Albert in silence.

I believe, therefore, that this description belongs to some other church, either erected in York or elsewhere in the diocese. Nevertheless it is a very curious and valuable description of a Saxon church.

From the Norman Conquest to the fourteenth century our notices of the history of the building are almost entirely derived from the chronicle of 'Thomas Stubbs<sup>h</sup>, with the exception of documents and charters belonging to the chapter. As the passages in this chronicle are not numerous, it will be convenient to place them in order, apart from the other authorities, and I shall therefore, in the next place, give a narrative wholly made up of sentences translated literally or derived from Stubbs, and which will be found to include, I believe, all that he has recorded relating to the edifice.

“When Thomas the first Norman archbishop of York came to the see, (A.D. 1070,) the city of York and all the surrounding country had been nearly destroyed by fire and sword, at the command of William and his Normans.” (This was done, as is well known, out of vengeance for their insurrections and resistance to his authority.) “The metropolis of the blessed Peter was fired, with the church and its ornaments; its charters and privileges were burnt and lost. The surrounding country was depopulated, and the soil from the Humber to the Tyne, deprived of the husbandman's care, remained for nine years a horrible wilderness.” Out of seven canons (the proper number) he found only three; the others were either dead, or had been driven out of the country by fear or by its desolation. The church he roofed and restored as well as he could, replaced therein the canons whom he found, and recalled those who were dispersed, added some others, rebuilt the refectory and dormitory, appointed a prior, “*præpositum*,” and in other respects began to set in order the affairs of the establishment.

Afterwards he separated the prebends, the canons having

<sup>h</sup> This chronicle is printed in Twysden's collection. I have thought it unnecessary to give the original Latin; my quotations begin at p. 1708.

previously for many years lived in common; he appointed a dean, treasurer, precentor, and master of the school; he built the church which now exists from the foundations, and provided it with clergy, books, and ornaments. "And after holding the episcopate for thirty years, he died at Ripon, but was buried at York, in the church next to his predecessor Aldred<sup>1</sup>."

Roger, chaplain of Henry II., and archdeacon of Canterbury, was appointed the thirty-first archbishop of the see in 1154, and held it until 1181<sup>k</sup>. "This Roger constructed anew the choir of the cathedral church of St. Peter at York, together with its crypts and the archiepiscopal palace in York, which is situated close to that church. He also built the chapel of the holy sepulchre at the gate of the said palace on the north side of the very church of St. Peter, and dedicated it in honour of Mary the mother of God and the holy angels. He endowed it with eleven churches, and instituted for its service thirteen ecclesiastics, namely, four priests, four deacons, four subdeacons, and a sacrist<sup>l</sup>. And because the canons of the church of St. Peter complained that the said chapel was placed too close to the mother church, he ordained that his sacrist should provide for the expenses of the ceremonies of Holy Thursday, by way of conciliation. . . . And he was honourably buried in the middle of the choir of the blessed Peter of the church of York, which he had constructed anew."

Walter Grey, the thirty-third archbishop, was translated from Worcester in 1216, and died in 1255. He ordained and

<sup>1</sup> The only Saxon archbishops recorded to have been buried at York are Bosa, the fourth; Embaldus, the ninth; and Aldred (the last). The two latter are expressly said to have been buried in the church, "in ecclesia." Girardus was buried at York; Thomas, junior, also at York, next to Aldred and Thomas, senior; Henry Murdak in the church of York, and also Saint William, of whom more hereafter.

<sup>k</sup> Stubbs, p. 1722.

<sup>l</sup> This foundation was augmented and altered by Archbishop Sewal (Stubbs, p. 1725.) It remained till the Dissolution, and is described as follows in the commissioners' returns at that period: "The Chappell of S. Sepulchres. Thomas Magnus Clerke M<sup>r</sup>. otherwise

called Sacrist or Segerston of the said Chappel Founded by Roger Archbishop of York, by his deed *sans date*, and by Sewall Archbishop by his deed dated 4 Mar. 1258 for 17 persons viz. a Master 12 Prebendaries 2 priests called conducts and two Deacons. *This Chappel is annexed unto the Metropolitan Church of Yorke and openeth into the same.* They were bound as well to divers obits as to daily service in the said Chappell and in the Quier of the said Metropolitan Church of Yorke. Totall of the profits belonging unto it *de Claro* £155. 11s. 11d." (A<sup>o</sup> 27 H. VIII.)—Dodsworth's Coll. Bodleian. Stevens' Monasticon, vol. i. p. 73.

founded three perpetual chantries at the altar of St. Michael within the church of York, where he lies buried <sup>m</sup>.

Johannes, surnamed Romanus, the thirty-eighth archbishop, retained the see from 1285 to 1295. "His father John, a Roman by birth, and by office treasurer and canon of the church of York, constructed, at his own expense, the north part of the cross of the church of St. Peter, which extends towards the archbishop's palace, and also the noble campanile which is in the middle of the cross of the same church." . . . "And in the year 1291, on the 8th idus (the 6th) of April, the foundation of the nave of the great church of St. Peter at York was begun, on the south side towards the east, in the presence of John the archbishop, Henry de Newerk the dean, and Peter de Ros the precentor, as well as the other canons of the church then in residence. And the archbishop devoutly laid the first stone on that day with his own hands <sup>n</sup>."

William of Melton (the forty-second archbishop, 1315—1340) "repaired the tomb of St. William at the expense of twenty pounds, and completed the west part of the nave of the church of St. Peter at York by a gift of seven hundred pounds of silver, . . . and he was buried in the church near the font <sup>o</sup>."

William de la Souche (forty-third archbishop, 1340—1352) "had begun the work of a certain chapel adjoining to the south side of the church of St. Peter, in which he intended to have been buried, but dying before its completion, was buried in the aforesaid church before the altar of St. Edward, king and confessor; his sepulchre remained long covered with the stone pavement, in demonstration of the gratitude of his relatives and others, to whom during his life he had been a noble benefactor."

John de Thuresby <sup>p</sup> (forty-fourth archbishop, 1352—1373) "in the tenth year of his pontificate, iii. cal. Aug., (i. e. July 30,) began the fabric of a new choir to his church of St. Peter, with the assent of his chapter. He bestowed upon the work one hundred marks of his own gift at the laying of the first

<sup>m</sup> Stubbs, p. 1725. Archbishops Sewall, Godfrey, and Walter Giffard are also mentioned by Stubbs as buried in the church of St. Peter of York, but the positions of their graves are not mentioned. And in the same manner Archbishops Johannes Romanus, Henricus de Newark, are recorded as buried in the church. But William de Grens-

field's place of interment is specified as the "porticus," or aisle of St. Nicholas.

<sup>n</sup> Stubbs, p. 1727.

<sup>o</sup> *Ib.*, p. 1731.

<sup>p</sup> The biography of Thuresby seems to be the addition of a later hand. Stubbs' work, as his preface states, extended only to the end of the pontificate of Souche.

stone, and afterwards for every year during his life he gave two hundred pounds to the said fabric. And to excite the devotion of the faithful towards the promotion of the work, he obtained liberal indulgences from the apostolical fathers. . . . The same archbishop, as a true lover of the Virgin, completed a chapel to her with wondrous sculpture and painting. And at his own expense he there caused to be entombed the bodies of many of his venerable predecessors in the pontificate, which were translated up from the choir. And he endowed there a chaplain to celebrate for the souls of himself and of all the faithful dead. . . . And he was buried before the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the new work of the choir, in the year of our Lord 1373."

## CHAPTER II.

### ON THE BUILDINGS THAT PRECEDED THE EXISTING CATHEDRAL.

HAVING in the preceding chapter given the *chronicled* history of the building, we may now compare it with the different parts in order, quoting the *documents* as we proceed. The complex manner in which the successive buildings that occupied this site are involved and packed one within the other makes it impossible to shew them intelligibly in a single plan. I have therefore drawn a series of plans to explain the different state of the building after each alteration, in order. These plans will be found at the end of the history.

The choir of York has, under the platform of the high-altar, a small Norman crypt, which occupies only the middle aisle in breadth and one compartment and a half in length. The vault is supported by six Norman pillars, and the ribs of the vault are Norman; but the side-piers or responds are evidently Perpendicular, and the transverse arches of the ribs are four-centred. These characters seemed to shew that this crypt, if part of the Norman church, must at least have been altered or tampered with during the rebuilding, and this was all that could be conjectured until the unhappy fire that originated with the insane Martin in 1829. The works consequent on the repairs that followed this miserable event led to the discovery that the pillars and lower parts of the walls of another

crypt extended under the whole of the western part of the choir and its side aisles. Also that the crypt above mentioned, which had been so long known, was in fact a mere piece of patchwork, made up during the fitting up of the choir in the fourteenth century, out of the old materials, to support a platform for the altar, and provide chapels and altar room beneath it.

The remains of the original crypt had been filled up solid with earth. This earth, however, by the liberality of the chapter and the ingenuity of their architect, was cleared out, and the new pavement of the choir raised upon vaults, so managed that the old crypt may now be visited and examined with perfect convenience<sup>¶</sup>. These remains enable us to ascertain very nearly the plans of the eastern portions of the churches that preceded the existing one.

As for the western portions, or nave and central tower, the north-western angle of the north-western tower pier still retains Norman ashlaring<sup>†</sup> in the parts above the vault of the side aisles, and also a portion of a shaft, with its base, that appears to have belonged to the Norman clerestory of the nave, all which proves that the tower pier in question stands upon the same site as the Norman one. Similar remains, but not so strongly marked, are to be found on the southern side, so that on the whole, and making proper allowance for the different arrangements of the two styles, it results that the centre of the Norman nave was only one foot narrower than the present one<sup>‡</sup>. The second fire, in 1840, by placing the nave under repair, enabled a search to be made for the foundation of the side aisle walls of the original, of which remains were found that determined their width<sup>§</sup>, and from all these researches I have derived the Norman nave and tower as laid down in my plans. But it is necessary to observe that there are no data for the position of the west end of this nave, or for the number of piers in the nave, which two particulars I

¶ Plans and ample descriptions and drawings of this crypt are to be found in a paper by Mr. Robinson, in the *Transactions of the Institute of British Architects*, vol. i. p. 105, and also in Mr. Browne's *History*.

† Mr. Browne having publicly directed attention to these remains at a meeting of the *Archæological Institute*, I examined them very particularly, more especially with reference to the

settlements of the transept wall described in chap. iv. below.

‡ The width of the present nave from centre to centre of the piers is 53 feet; that of the Norman nave was about 52 feet.

§ Vide Browne, p. 110. The Norman nave was about twenty feet narrower than at present from side-aisle wall to side-aisle wall.

have inserted in my plans of the Norman church (No. 1 and No. 2) merely "*pour fixer les idées.*"

Next for the Norman transepts. Amongst the remains of the crypt, I was fortunate enough to detect a sufficient portion of the exterior wall of a Norman apse in the north-west corner of the crypt to determine its existence, position, and very nearly its magnitude, as laid down (at *A*) in No. 1 and No. 2. As there is no instance of a transept which has a western aisle when the eastern aisle is wanting, and as by the connexion of this apse with the tower pier it is clear that no eastern aisle was here, it may be assumed that neither was there a western aisle. The length of the transepts is mere matter of conjecture. And it is possible that another apse may have been introduced in each transept between the one above mentioned and the gable<sup>a</sup>.

Having now explained the western parts of the edifice, I will proceed to the eastern, which are more complicated and difficult to understand. In No. 2, the left-hand half of the plan of the choir represents the crypt, and the right-hand half the supposed upper portion of the building. In this crypt may now be seen the remains of a vestibule (*C*), leading from the church to the side aisle (*D*) of the crypt; for as at Canterbury, Gloucester, Rochester, Winchester, &c., it appears that this crypt was entered by its side aisles. The door from the vestibule to the crypt was a beautiful and rich piece of Norman sculpture. The passage westward from the vestibule to the church is now filled up and obliterated, but its commencement may be traced, and it could only, as it appears to me, have been arranged as in the plans, which I will presently explain at length.

Upon entering the side aisle (*D*) of the crypt through the Norman door of the vestibule (*C*), (of which only the bases and part of one jamb remains,) we find a side-aisle wall to the north, with four windows and compartments, after which is a projecting building (*G*), a kind of eastern transept, but which, from the greater thickness of its walls, was evidently a tower, flanking, as was commonly the case, the eastern part of the choir. Beyond this, access is now stopped, and the whole of the eastern part is in fact so occupied by graves that it

<sup>a</sup> The foundations of two are thus to be seen in the ruins of St. Mary's abbey. Vide plan in *Vetusta Mon.*, vol. v. There were also two at St. Al-

ban's in its original state, as Mr. Buckler has shewn in his recent work on that church.

became impossible even to explore it, much less to leave it open like the rest. However, during the repairs enough of the side wall was traced to determine its extent, as shewn in the plans, and also to shew that it returned at right angles at the east end, and that there were no traces of an apse at this part in the centre<sup>x</sup>.

At the western end of the crypt, a portion, shewn on the plan (at *E*), was included within strong walls, and filled up solid with earth; but the eastern end was a vaulted apartment, and had stout Norman pillars at the sides, under the piers of the work above, while in the centre the vault, as usual in crypts, was sustained by two rows of single smaller pillars. The larger pillars were of elaborate design, decorated with diaper work, and had four small shafts placed around each. Moreover the vaults were ribbed, instead of being merely groined, these characters all indicating an advanced style, and shewing that the work in question belonged to the age of Archbishop Roger, who, as we have seen, (in chap. i.) is distinctly recorded as having made the choir and its crypts.

As to the arrangement of the eastern portion beyond the towers (*G G*) above mentioned, there is no certain evidence, except the fact just mentioned that the eastern end was square. But from the form of the east wall and its uniform thickness, as far as it could be traced, it is most probable that an aisle (*H*) passed across the end, and behind the eastern gable<sup>y</sup>. This is the arrangement of the square-ended choir of Romsey, in Hampshire, and of Byland; and this will serve to account for the increased width of the last compartments as shewn in Mr. Browne's plan; for as this eastern aisle would of course be made the receptacle of altars, an increased space would there be required. All these portions of the crypt belong to the same style, but the walls of the vestibule (*C*) were evidently constructed after the rest of the crypt, and there are appearances which shew a little change of plan. These are to be found in the manner in which the base of a vaulting shaft, that is placed against the jamb shafts of the entrance door, is intruded upon, rather than united to, the bases of the latter<sup>z</sup>. But as the

<sup>x</sup> For this information I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Browne, who by his residence in York had the opportunity of tracing the excavations as they were made.

<sup>y</sup> If the central aisle had been carried completely to the eastern wall as in the present presbytery, that eastern

wall must have been much thicker than the side-aisle walls, whereas Mr. Browne's plan shews it to have been of the same thickness. Hence I infer that the side aisles were returned across the eastern end.

<sup>z</sup> Vide Browne, pl. xiii, xv.

contrivances of the vestibule and entrances to the crypt would very naturally be left to the last, a slight change of plan of this kind is not sufficient evidence of a change of the architect or period, and I must consider the whole as the work of Roger, and the more so because the same base-moldings that occur in this vestibule are also employed in an arcade on the north side of the cathedral close, which appertained to the palace that Roger is recorded to have built, and probably therefore was a part of his work.

The interior walls of the solid part *E* of the crypt, exhibit remains of earlier structures that are exceedingly interesting. Each side wall is in fact a triple wall, of the entire thickness of between ten and eleven feet. On the outside is the wall of Roger's crypt, 3 ft. 6 in. in thickness; in the middle is a wall apparently of great antiquity, 4 ft. 8 in. thick; and on the inner side, the third wall, which lines the latter, and is only two feet thick<sup>a</sup>. The middle wall is faced with herring-bone work, and of coarse workmanship, and has evidently belonged to one of the early structures, possibly to the Saxon church. As to the walls which case it, the outer one is plainly a part of Roger's crypt, and was erected against the middle one in order to provide for the foundation of his piers above, which rested partly upon the old wall and partly upon the new one, the width of his choir being too great to admit of his employing the old wall alone as a foundation for them. The inner thin wall is partly constructed of old materials, apparently derived from some part of the church that was pulled down to make way for the new crypts. These exhibit moldings of early Norman character, and they consist of the coarse sandstone of which the apse (*A*) already mentioned was built, and pieces of a chamfered basement like that of the same apse are also worked into these walls. Some of these stones have served for the interior of a building, for they are covered with fine white plaster, having the joints of masonry marked upon it<sup>b</sup>. This apse was uncovered by the removal of the lining masonry at the north-west corner of the north vestibule, (*C*), for the purpose of examining the state of the foundation of the tower pier, and it is still left in its uncovered

<sup>a</sup> The south wall is 2 ft. 4 in. In the introductory chapter of Mr. Browne's work will be found ample details.

<sup>b</sup> For these particulars Mr. Browne's plates give ample illustration, and I have not thought it worth while to

insert sketches of my own, which would merely repeat the figures in question, to the fidelity of which I gladly bear witness, although I am compelled to differ with that author in his theories.

state. The following sketch will shew how distinctly it is indicated<sup>c</sup>.

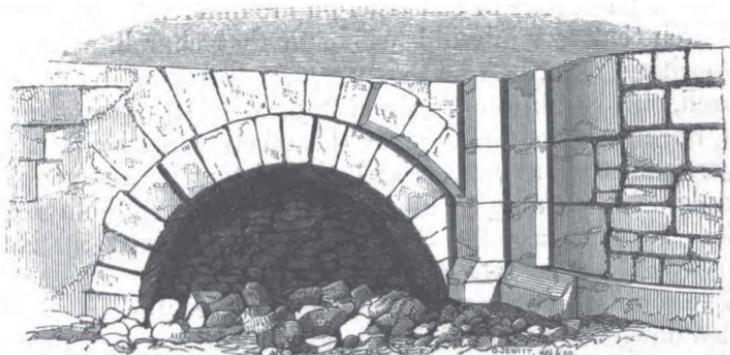


FIG. 1. VIEW OF ARCH AND APSE IN CRYPT.

The next question is, how these remains are to be interpreted with reference to the history of the edifices that preceded Roger's crypt, for the style of that crypt, as I conceive, fully justifies me in assuming that it is the crypt which the historian Stubbs ascribes to Archbishop Roger.

It has appeared from the first chapter of this history, that King Edwin began a church in 633 which his successor finished; that Archbishop Wilfrid thoroughly repaired and glazed this church in 699<sup>d</sup>; and that the first Norman archbishop, Thomas, first repaired the Saxon church, and afterwards built a Norman church.

The nave, the transepts and their apses, and the central tower, I have already explained; their arrangement (plan, No. 1) is precisely similar to that of most early Norman cathedrals, and there can be no doubt that they constituted parts of the church of Thomas. For the remaining part of that church, namely its chancel, there may be two possible suppositions. It appears pretty certain that the ancient walls in the crypt are a part of the Saxon church, for they enclose so

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Browne's plate iv. is the same subject, but that gentleman not having observed the indications of the apse in question, has not continued the sketch on the right hand sufficiently to include the whole of it. It is also distinctly inserted in his detailed plan, pl. vii., but not understood or interpreted as an apse.

<sup>d</sup> The fire in 741, and the rebuilding by Albert, I have already rejected as

not distinctly appropriated to this church, and since that sheet has passed through the press the perusal of Mr. Stapleton's elaborate history of the church of the Holy Trinity, or *Christ Church*, at York, contained in the present volume, has suggested to me that the basilica of Albert, dedicated as it was to the *Alma Sophia*, i. e. to Christ, was probably this very Christ Church

narrow a chancel that they could scarcely have been erected by Archbishop Thomas for his new church, and indeed the materials and mode of construction are different from the apse and arch that certainly did belong to that church. The first supposition then, is, that having already repaired the Saxon church, this archbishop retained it, or at least its eastern part, and began his new church by the erection of the transepts, tower, and nave, already described, and that he was unable to complete his plan by rebuilding a chancel of suitable magnitude. In this case the Saxon chancel remained till Roger commenced his operations.

The second supposition is, that the Archbishop Thomas pulled down the Saxon church, and left the lower part of its walls as we now see them, and that he erected a chancel of befitting magnitude, which, falling in the way of Roger's crypt and choir, was entirely pulled down so as to leave no trace at all. And this hypothesis is partly sanctioned by the remains of masonry, apparently of Thomas' work, which have been already mentioned as worked up into the inner lining so as to shew that some building of the age of Thomas was pulled down when that lining was set up<sup>e</sup>.

This inner lining appears to me to have been introduced to serve as a foundation for the timber-work of the seats of the monks in the choir above, for the central part exhibits no trace of having been vaulted, and as it is closed to the east by a wall of Roger's period, it seems that it was filled with earth in his church.

The history of Canterbury at this period throws some light upon that of York, which is worth examining. Lanfranc, the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, built that cathedral on the plan and dimensions of St. Stephen's at Caen, the abbacy of which he had quitted to become archbishop; and accordingly he furnished that cathedral with a short choir like that of its prototype<sup>f</sup>. Archbishop Anselm took down this short choir, and replaced it by one extending magnificently eastward, and

<sup>e</sup> This lining wall on each side was erected at a different time from, and apparently after, the walls of Roger's side aisles and the transverse wall. Its junction with the latter is shewn at *M*, (fig. 2, p. 16,) and in Mr. Browne's pl. 5. But this work would naturally be left to the last, and its rough workmanship is sufficiently accounted for by the fact

that it was not intended to be seen. If *CD* was the level of the pavement of the early church, the herring-bone walls must also have been covered with earth to the height of five feet.

<sup>f</sup> Architectural Hist. of Canterbury, ch. iv. For the early plan of St. Stephen at Caen, vide Ramée, Hist. de l'Architecture, t. ii. p. 147.

provided with a crypt, an apsidal aisle, a procession path with radiating chapels and flanking towers, as well as with eastern transepts, all of which features it wanted before. Since the publication of that history subsequent researches have led me to conclude that this extended plan was an imitation of that of the great abbey of Cluny.

Now Roger, before he was made archbishop of York, held the office of archdeacon of Canterbury from 1148. The glorious choir of Conrad, as the work of Anselm was called from the name of the prior who finished it, had been completed more than twenty years, and was the pride of Canterbury. What wonder, therefore, that Roger in his new see should imitate this work, by substituting for the short and simple chancel of York minster a complex eastern building, which, making due allowance for its want of equal dimensions with Canterbury choir, is yet evidently planned upon the same system of extending and enlarging the eastern parts of churches. But being square-ended and of less extent, instead of the apsidal chapels of its prototype, there are only altar-places in the eastern aisle, and the flanking towers are made to perform the part also of eastern transepts.

If the apse in fig. 1 (p. 13) be examined, it will be found that there is in connexion with it, on the south side, an arch of solid workmanship, and of a span of rather more than five feet. This arch appears to have carried a turret for a staircase, the remains of which Norman staircase may still be seen in the triforium of the choir at its western extremity, but the rest of the staircase and turret have long been destroyed. Its place is shewn in plan No. 1. A spiral staircase, in the same position, occurs at Norwich, and its use is to conduct to the upper galleries of the church, and also to the upper chapels of the apses; for these transeptal apses had commonly a chapel on the triforium level as well as below<sup>s</sup>. But this arch shews that no wall of a chancel could have joined the church at less than five or six feet south from the springing of the apse; and indeed, from the little room which it leaves, proves that there was no side aisle to the chancel.

Whether Archbishop Thomas did really erect a chancel, or whether the remains and fragments of his work that are found in the lining walls belonged to such a chancel, or only to the repairs and alterations which he had made in the Saxon

† Arch. History of Canterbury, p. 39.

church, must always remain a matter of doubt; and I prefer to leave the question in this state, as far as I am concerned, rather than to attempt to argue from such insufficient data; however, it appears to me very probable that he did only repair the Saxon chancel, and leave it to be rebuilt after his nave and transepts were completed.

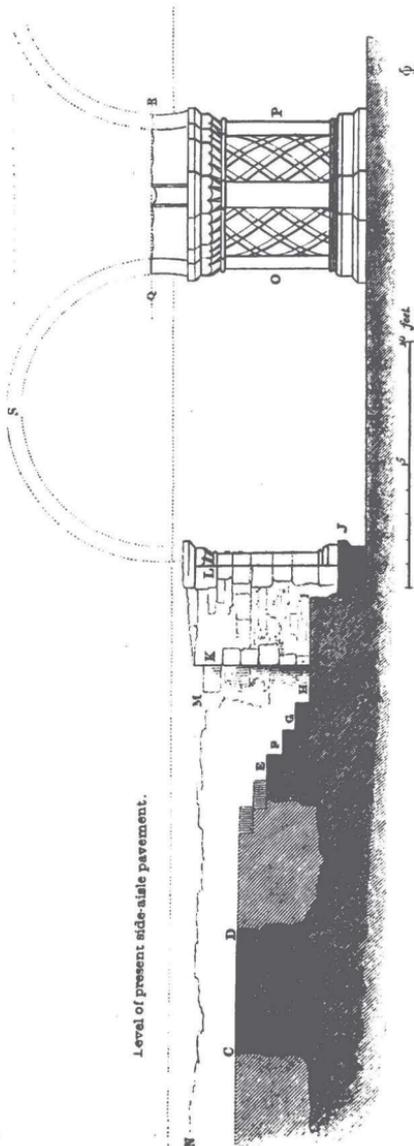


Fig. 2. Section of part of Crypt.

I will now examine more particularly the arrangement of the entrances and steps of the crypt. Fig. 2 is a section from west to east of a part of the crypt, taken along the middle line from *E*, and passing in front of the pillar *F*, (plan, No. 2.) The latter pillar, marked *O* *P* in the section, has upon its abacus about eighteen inches remaining of the vault ribs (*Q* *R*.) The curvature of these shews that the complete arch was a horseshoe in form, as shewn by the dotted lines; and from measurements, as accurately made as the nature of the fragments allowed, I determined the height of the surface of the vault (at *S*) to have been originally seven feet above the level of the abacus. The piers are seven feet two inches, and allowing sixteen inches for the thickness of the vault and pavement, it follows that the pavement of Roger's choir was fifteen feet and a half above the pavement of his crypt. At Canterbury this distance was about the same (sixteen feet.)

The floor of the crypt is seven feet five inches below that of the present south side aisle of the choir, which is the general level of the nave and transepts. But the old pavement of the nave, according to Mr. Browne (p. 110), was four feet lower than at present, therefore the floor of Roger's crypt was only three feet and a half lower than the Norman nave, and his choir was twelve feet higher. At Canterbury the present heights are four feet and twelve feet respectively. So far therefore the arrangement of the respective levels of the nave, crypt, and choir was the same in the two cases; and we may confidently employ the Canterbury example as a guide in investigating the whole arrangement of the steps.

Now at Canterbury<sup>h</sup> a flight of about eighteen steps rises on each side to give access to the side aisle of the choir, and close to each flight a descent of six or eight steps leads down to the aisle of the crypt. In the middle the eighteen steps that form the ascent to the choir from the nave are not continued in one flight, but the western half of the area of the tower is occupied by a broad landing, from which half the steps descended to the nave, and others to the right and left to the transepts. In the middle of the tower space the remainder of the eighteen steps rise from this landing to the landing in front of the choir screen, and under this last landing an arched passage gives ready access from one transept to the other. This was no doubt the arrangement which was followed at York, and to which it was singularly applicable; as my plans, No. 2 and 3, will shew. For at York the choir of Roger was so much narrower than the tower space and nave, that there was no room at the end of the choir side aisles for the double steps of Canterbury, where the ascent to the choir aisles is coupled with the descent to the crypt. At York the vestibules *C* of Roger's crypt are plainly so arranged as to turn the passages inwards, and lead to entrances *within* the eastern tower piers, thus leaving the whole space above the vault of the vestibule free for the ascending flights that led from the transepts to the side aisles of the choir, (as at *I*, plan No. 2, and as shewn complete in plan No. 3.)

The crypt was terminated to the west by a strong wall, which connected the two eastern tower piers, and which was more than fifteen feet high. In this wall, close to each tower pier, the archways must have been pierced that led to the ves-

<sup>h</sup> Arch. Hist. of Cant. Cath., p. 38.

tibules *C*, and a passage *B* under the upper landing of the choir would provide a convenient access to these archways, and at the same time a passage from one transept to the other, as at Canterbury.

The six or eight steps necessary for the descent into the crypt were probably thus distributed. Two, as far as I remember, still descend from the vestibule *C* to the side aisle *D*. Possibly three or four more were placed in the archways, and one or two between the transepts and the passage *B*. The arrangement of the landing place under the tower, and of the steps that led down from it to the nave and transepts, I have assumed to have been the same as at Canterbury, and as such have introduced them into plans No. 2 and 3<sup>1</sup>.

There is one curious remain in the space *E* that was filled with earth between the triple walls, that I have still to explain. In the course of clearing out the earth the workmen came to a slab of stone, about five feet higher than the level of the pavement of the crypt, which they left undisturbed, but cleared away all the earth round it, so that it now stands up and resembles an altar. Also a little to the east of this slab they found three steps, the remains of a staircase, which formerly descended from west to east. These were also preserved, and from their present appearance are commonly supposed to be the steps that led to this altar. Fig. 2 shews the relative position and arrangement of these steps. *K, L*, is the section of the wall that separates the crypt from the western part once filled with earth. The black parts of the sections shew the stones that remain *in situ*. *C, D*, is the slab; *E, F, G*, the three steps, and there is just difference enough between the levels of the top step *E* and the slab, to shew that two more once completed the stair, as shewn in the lighter tint. At the bottom of this stair is hard concrete and rubble from *H* to *I*, and also the foundation of the cross-wall, of which *J* is the bench-table. The stair evidently

<sup>1</sup> In Canterbury there was also a screen between the western piers, with the altar of the cross on its western face, and with a doorway to the right and left, which may perhaps have been copied at York; but in the absence of data I have not ventured to introduce this into the plan, and in fact have merely sketched in the steps to shew one possible arrangement by which

access might have been given to the vestibules. The remains prove that the entrances to them were between the tower piers and close to them. But instead of the passage under the choir steps, there might have been merely a narrower flight of ascent to the choir, leaving room on each side for the descending entrances to the crypt.

descended from above to a crypt, but whether it belonged to the churches of Thomas or of Roger is not so certain.

The hard surface *H, I*, appears to forbid the conjecture that this stair ever conducted to the crypt of Roger, neither is it likely that it would have opened abruptly upon the bench-table *J*. This bench-table is quite perfect along this cross-wall, although the wall itself is so ruined as not to shew whether there was a door in it leading to this staircase.

But in the earlier churches, both Saxon and Norman<sup>k</sup>, the crypts were much smaller than in the later ones, and were confined to the extreme east end of the church under the high altar. That of the Saxon church of Canterbury was entered in the middle by a stair similar to this. I conjecture, therefore, that this was the stair which led to the small crypt or "confession" of the Saxon chancel<sup>l</sup>.

## CHAPTER III.

### THE EXISTING CATHEDRAL.

#### 1. *The Transepts.*

THE building having been brought to the state represented in plan No. 2, by the substitution of Roger's choir for the previous one, was not long allowed to remain without fresh improvements. The Norman transepts, destitute of aisles, were in the next place removed, and the magnificent existing Early English transepts, with double aisles, were erected. The plan of the building after the completion of these transepts is shewn in No. 3. The design of the two transepts is very similar; they each belong to the early period of the Early English style, before the tracery principle had been introduced, and therefore judging from examples of known date, would probably have been completed, or very nearly so, before the year 1250. The respective gables of these transepts differ exceedingly in composition, and are well worth studying in comparison; but in other respects the differences are merely in detail.

<sup>k</sup> Arch. Hist. of Canterbury, ch. ii.

<sup>l</sup> The lighter tint on the section between *D* and *E* shews the portions that have been cut away, and thus

given to the stair and slab the absurd resemblance that it now bears to a pagan altar with its steps.

In the south transept the western aisle is considerably narrower than the eastern, which is not the case in the north transept. I shall have occasion below (in chap. iv.) to describe the remarkable disposition of the piers and pier-arches of these transepts, which has arisen from some very curious and instructive changes in connexion with the subsequently erected nave and choir. Of written history, the statement of Stubbs that John le Romain built the north transept and central bell-tower at his own expense, is all that remains. Unfortunately, we have no certain information respecting the time at which he lived<sup>m</sup>. His son was archbishop from 1285 to 1295. Archbishop Grey, however, who held the see from 1215 to 1255, founded a chantry in 1241 at the altar of St. Michael, and was buried there; the chapel of St. Michael being the central compartment of the eastern aisle of the southern transept. Within this still remains the magnificent canopied tomb of the archbishop<sup>n</sup>, and the pier-arch under which it stands is made wider than the others, apparently to give it importance. The usual custom of burying founders in the middle of their work appears to have led to this arrangement, but it may only have reference to the archbishop's own chantry, the date of the foundation of which, however, shews that the transept was complete in 1241<sup>o</sup>. Thus as the north transept corresponds so closely in design, that it must have been carried on immediately after the stone work of the former was finished, even if not simultaneously, John le Romain, holding office between 1250 and 1260, may have taken so great a share in the completion of it as to have obtained the whole credit, according to the usual practice of medieval biographers and architectural historians. His great central bell-tower, whatever it was, has entirely disappeared, being now replaced by the present tower of the fifteenth century. The practice of burying the founders in their work was closely followed in this cathedral. Arch-

<sup>m</sup> A.D. 1250 John Roman admitted treasurer, and as some say when treasurer built the north part of the Cross Body and steeple (Torre, 698). In Drake's list of the treasurers the date of his admission is left uncertain in the unit figure, thus "126. John le Romaine;" and his successor Edmund Mortimer is admitted in 1265, so that he has but five years at most for his office.

<sup>n</sup> Admirably represented in Britton's

plate.

<sup>o</sup> This archbishop issued an indulgence in 1227, exhorting in general terms the faithful to contribute to the fabric. (Britton, Appendix, No. 1; Browne, p. 55.) But such documents may either shew that a plan was projected and waiting its commencement for funds, or that it was half finished and standing still for want of them, and therefore are of little use for the obtaining *exact* dates.

bishop Roger was buried "in medio chori," Archbishop Melton in the nave at the font, and Thoresby in the presbytery.

I have shewn below<sup>p</sup> that twelve years ought to have been sufficient for the erection of the two transepts. This, if the south were completed in 1241, would place the whole between 1235 and 1247, supposing no intermissions, but the work evidently lingered.

## 2. *The Nave.*

The cathedral in the year 1200, as shewn in No. 2, was a Norman building, in which the scale of the different parts was sufficiently well proportioned, and although the eastern end was of a more enriched style than the western, yet they were both Norman, and thus the whole was tolerably homogeneous. But the new transepts were on a scale of so much greater magnificence, that it can scarcely be doubted that they were intended by their founders to be the beginning of an entire transformation of the church; their total internal width was about 95 ft. and that of the Norman nave but 83 ft. And yet no sooner are they completed than a new nave is begun, again introducing a new style and still greater dimensions; whose internal width is 103 ft., and whose clerestory walls are 18 ft. higher than those of the transepts; and, as the subsequent history of the building shews, this new nave was only a part of the project which was fully carried out by the completion of the present presbytery and choir, and of the three towers. It must be observed that although the new nave exceeded the transepts in total width, yet that their central aisles have nearly the same width respectively, the difference being in the side aisles. Plan No. 2 is the complete Norman church, plan No. 5 the complete pointed church, and the intermediate plans, No. 3 and 4, shew the gradual steps by which the one was transformed into the other<sup>q</sup>.

First the nave was erected, then as much of the new presbytery as could be built without essentially disturbing the existing choir, and plan No. 4 shews the church in that state.

<sup>p</sup> In note A at the end of the history.

<sup>q</sup> For the transept compartments see Britton, pl. 15, or Browne, pls. 34, 35; for the nave, Britton, pl. 18, Browne, pl. 95; and for the presbytery, Britton, pl. 24, or Browne, pls. 130, 131, who is

the first to engrave distinct elevations of the presbytery and choir. The difference between them has been long recognised however, and was first pointed out to me by the Rev. V. Harcourt more than ten years since.

Next the choir was erected as in No. 5, and lastly the central tower and the western towers were raised above the roof. The design of the nave is wholly different from that of the transepts, and the latter has not exercised the slightest influence upon the composition of the former, although the reverse has been frequently the case when a Decorated building has been added to an Early English one, as may be seen at Ely, Westminster, St. Alban's, &c. The Early English transepts are divided into pier arches, triforium, and clerestory, of which the respective altitudes, reckoning from one string or tablet to another, are about 40 ft., 23 ft., and 14 ft.

But in the nave there are but two great divisions, of which the lower one, containing the pier arches, is 51 ft. high; the upper one, 43 ft. high, is occupied by a large clerestory window of five lights, with geometrical tracery and a transom across the middle. The lights above the transom are glazed, and constitute the real window, but the lights below the transom (if the phrase can be applied to openings so perfectly dark) are open, and as the roof of the side aisle abuts against the transom, the space behind them, and to which they communicate, is the interval between the stone vault of the aisles and its wooden roof; they thus serve the purpose of a triforium. This artifice of construction may be better understood by referring to the section of the nave in Britton's plate 19.

If the nave, presbytery, and choir be compared together, it will at once be seen that the two latter are professedly copies of the first, continuations namely of the same design. The general distribution and the contrivance of the triforium, as well as the plan of the piers, are the same<sup>r</sup>; the differences are in detail merely, but on that account so exceedingly interesting, that I shall proceed to point out a few of the principal.

The moldings of the pier arches are shewn in figure 3: they appear to be the same at first sight. Each pier arch consists of two orders of *voussoirs*, and of a hoodmold<sup>s</sup>. The upper orders, *A*, *C*, *E*, respectively have the same moldings in all three arches, but the lower or sub-order of moldings which form the soffits are all different. *B*, in the nave, consists of five ribs, of which the three lower have fillets or keels, and

<sup>r</sup> In the presbytery and choir the two great compartments are nearly equal in height, being 48 feet each.

<sup>s</sup> The hoodmold of the choir is nearly the same as in the presbytery: it was inaccessible when I made the drawing.

they are all separated by a single narrow hollow between two fillets. In the presbytery soffit-mold, *D*, there is more variety, the same number of ribs, but the intermediate one is of a simpler form, and the intervening hollows are simpler. The choir, *F*, has six ribs instead of five, they are all alike, and sepa-

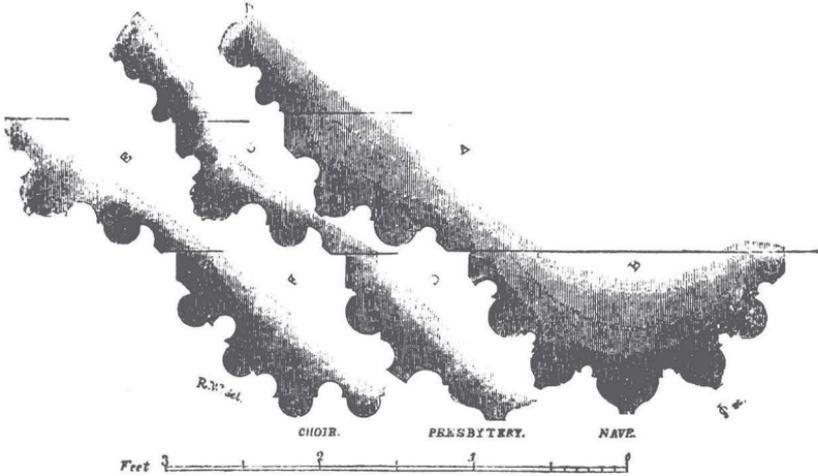


FIG. 3. ARCH MOLDINGS, YORK

rated by the same hollows and fillets as in the nave, but the hollows are larger and the ribs smaller, and, lastly, a hollow occupies the soffit of the arch instead of a rib with a fillet as in the others, and this last character has so conspicuous an effect upon the eye that it enables the two classes of arches in the presbytery and choir to be distinguished at once, and thus points to the boundary between the work of the two.

The pattern of the tracery in the windows is the next feature which exhibits differences. In the side aisles of the nave and in its clerestory, the tracery is geometrical, but in the side aisles the pattern is much simpler than in the clerestory; the former, and of course the earlier, as being lower in the building, is in three lights without subordination of moldings; but the latter is in five lights, with a rich head and a complex subordination of moldings. At the west end of the building the geometrical pattern of the side-aisle windows is employed for the western windows that terminate those side aisles, and which form part of the lower story of the western towers; but the great west window, and those of the next story of the towers which range with the clerestory windows of

the nave are filled with exquisite flowing tracery<sup>†</sup>. In the next portion of the work, namely, the side walls of the presbytery, we find the pattern represented in fig. 4. This is midway between flowing and Perpendicular tracery, for although the pattern traced out by the first lines or first order of tracery moldings is a kind of reticulation that not unfrequently occurs in early Perpendicular windows; yet the way in which each of the meshes (so to speak) of this reticulation above the lights is filled up, has a decidedly flowing character, which is given to it by the inclination to right and left of the trefoiled compartments, and by their flowing junction with the quatrefoil above them.

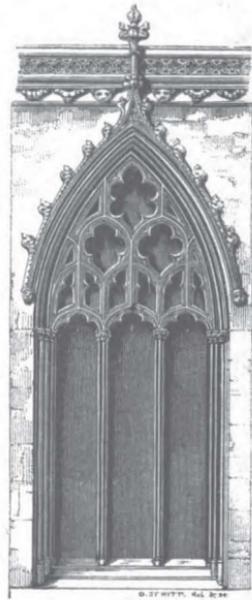


Fig. 4. Window, South Aisle of Choir

But the contrast of characters is still more admirably brought

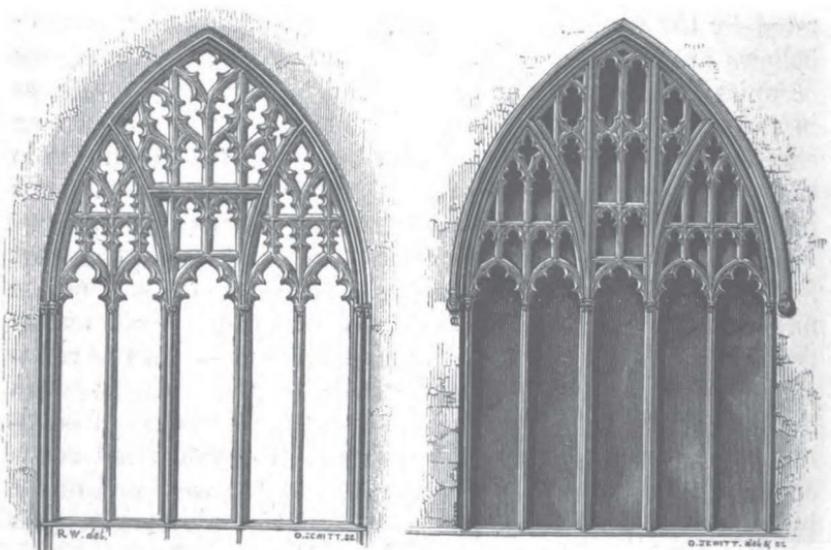


Fig. 5. Clerestory, Presbytery.

WINDOWS.

Fig. 6. Clerestory, Choir.

out between the clerestory windows of the presbytery and of the choir represented above.

<sup>†</sup> For the patterns of these windows see Britton's plates, 18, 19, 10.

It is clear that these are intended to match. The number of lights are the same in each, and so is the system of subordination, by which two lights on each side are cut off, and included in a separate arch. (This indeed is also derived from the nave.) But in the presbytery a transom crosses the tracery and connects these arches. In the choir, on the contrary, the two central monials run up with decided Perpendicular character to meet the window arch. In the presbytery these monials run up, but in the subordinate order of moldings only, so as not to be prominent. The head of the presbytery window is occupied by a series of compartments that recline right and left fan-wise, and have many flowing lines in them, strangely mixed with others of decided Perpendicular character<sup>u</sup>. But in the choir the whole of the filling up is of the most decided Perpendicular character, and shews that when this part of the building had been reached the Perpendicular style had become fully established.

The east window of the presbytery is a magnificent specimen<sup>x</sup> of the same undecided character as the other windows of this part of the building.

The tower windows of each of the three towers above the roof present nothing unusual, and are of decidedly Perpendicular character. But it may be worth remarking that the western towers, as this history has shewn, contain in their three stories specimens of the three styles of tracery, one above the other.

There are a few other differences of detail between the presbytery and choir, which I noted on the spot, and which are perhaps hardly intelligible without a drawing, but, by the help of the following notes, may be seen in Browne's plates, 130 and 131, or may be understood from Britton's elevation of the presbytery (pl. 25). In the presbytery the monials of the clerestory have *long* cylindrical base plinths, and *trefoiled* compartments between them at the bottom of the triforium. The capitals of the triforium arches also *embrace the small outer shafts* of the window arch. The transom of the triforium openings is rather *higher* than the middle. In the choir, on the contrary, there are *short* plinths with *cinquefoil*

<sup>u</sup> Perpendicular windows to the very last often contain fragments of flowing tracery in the filling up of their smaller compartment, but seldom of so decided

and prevalent character as in the presbytery windows.

<sup>x</sup> Britton, pl. 25.

compartments between the capitals; the latter *stop short* of the outer shafts, and the transom is *lower down*.

In the presbytery the passage of the clerestory gallery runs outside the windows, and between them and a peculiar outer frame of square-headed tracery, which is omitted in the choir, and there the passage is within, instead of without, the glass. The sill of the triforium is much narrower in the presbytery than in the choir.

On the outside the presbytery has broad buttresses with high pinnacles, and the choir has narrow buttresses with lower pinnacles. The pattern of the side-aisle windows is the same in the two, but in the presbytery the arch-head is much more acute than in the choir, by which also the proportions of the pattern are altered.

In order to understand the written history of the parts of the church we have been considering, which is unfortunately scanty and obscure, it is necessary to form some opinion of the number of years that were probably required for their erection. I have carefully compared the amount of work in each of these parts of the cathedral of York respectively with that contained in six cathedrals (or parts of cathedrals) of the first class, for the erection of which the time consumed has been recorded. The result to which I have arrived<sup>1</sup> is that twelve years ought to have sufficed for the transepts, sixteen for the nave, omitting the upper part of the west front, nine years for the presbytery, and eleven for the choir. This is the average result of six buildings, some of which were carried on with great funds, some with small; some without interruption, some with periods of intermission. They were all roofed in during these periods. The three towers of York are not included, neither is the casing of the central tower piers. The wooden vault appears to have been in every case an after-work: it is not included in the above estimate<sup>2</sup>; but if six years be allowed for it, then it appears that in about fifty years the entire cathedral, without its towers, might have been built.

The actual written history of the nave is but scanty; the foundation date, April 6, 1291, is recorded by Stubbs, as well

<sup>1</sup> The calculations and their results are explained at length in note A at the end of this history.

<sup>2</sup> There are no sufficient data remaining that I am aware of to enable us to form an estimate of the time

consumed in medieval carpentry. The lantern of Ely occupied sixteen years, (Ang. Sac., t. i. p. 644,) from the difficulty and expense of procuring the necessary timber.

as the fact that it was begun on the south side towards the east; and as we must suppose that the wall of the side aisle was the first thing erected, the point *J* in plans No. 3 and 4, where that wall joins the Early English transept, is thus shewn to be the starting place of this great work. This point and the entire side aisle wall, north and south as well as the west front, is obviously (plan, No. 3) so far removed from the walls of the Norman nave which was then standing that they might have been erected without disturbing it, and this to a certain extent, as far at least as to the lower part of the west front with its geometrical windows, was probably the case, as we have the authority of Gervase to shew that such a system was pursued at Canterbury<sup>a</sup>. The arcade work in the interior must have been finished afterwards.

An indenture for glazing the great west window, dated 1338, is preserved by Torre<sup>b</sup>, and in the same year Archbishop Melton is recorded to have given to the fabric the sum of 500 marcs, or according to another authority 600 marcs<sup>c</sup>, if indeed these sums are not separate gifts, for Stubbs has told us that this prelate gave 700 pounds, (a sum about equivalent to 1100 marcs,) and that by this the western extremity of the church was finished.

I have already stated that the west window and the two windows of the second story of the western towers are of flowing tracery, and there can be no doubt that this part of the work is meant when Melton is said to have finished the west end. The elaborate western door has geometrical tracery. The coincidence in date of his gift with the contract for glazing is sufficient to shew the connexion between this part of the work and the archbishop in question. And as the glazing would not be put in until the roof was completed, the nave must at this time have been roofed in; how long before we cannot tell. As the preparation of the glass would

<sup>a</sup> Vide note A. The possibility of thus beginning the nave without pulling down the old one has not escaped Mr. Browne, (p. 110.)

<sup>b</sup> The original indenture is missing.

<sup>c</sup> In a York register (Bib. Cott. Claud., B. iii. f. 198) there is a memorandum to the effect that Abp. Melton gave 500 marcs to the fabric in the year 1338. But in the *Monasticon*, tom. iii. p. 162, is a statement "ex

registro fabricæ Ecclesiæ beatæ Petri Ebor," that in the year 1338 Abp. Melton gave to the fabric 600 marcs of silver. The wording of the second entry is entirely different from that of the first, and both are extracted from original registers, so that if the two memoranda relate to the same gift the error in the sum is an old one, unless Dugdale's transcriber has mistaken 600 for 500.

occupy some time, the stone-work of the tracery was probably going on when the contract was made. The completion of the nave, exclusive of the wooden vault, is thus fixed to about 1340, little less than fifty years after its first stone was laid; and so we have the beginning and the end, but of the intermediate progress of the building we have nothing to judge by but the language of indulgences and petitions, always exaggerated.

In 1298, a petition for a grant of a tenth and a third, &c., declares that the nave of the church had long since fallen, and that it is therefore necessary to erect a new church of sumptuous work, for which the church has no resources<sup>d</sup>.

Indulgences of forty days were from time to time granted to contributors; as for example, by Archbishop Corbrig, in 1304, in the last year of his life; by Archbishop Grenefeld, in 1306, soon after his accession to the see<sup>e</sup>. Archbishop Melton, in 1320, kal. Feb., grants forty days' pardon to whoever "shall contribute to the building the minster at York, which was *diruta et prostrata*, and so noble a structure begun that he longed mightily to see it finished<sup>f</sup>." He issued another indulgence in 1324. Archbishop Grenefeld was a liberal contributor, his register records gifts of one hundred marcs in 1311, of fifty marcs in his 9th year of prelacy, (1314,) of £14. "*de quadam mulcte*," and lastly of fifty marcs in his 10th year, to forward the works during the coming summer, *pro celeriori promotione operis in instante estate*, making altogether a sum of about £147.<sup>g</sup>

From the expressions made use of in these documents, it is clear that the work was carried on slowly, and with intermissions; the petition in 1298 proves that the Norman nave was down; but the side walls, which would have required about six or seven years if carried on steadily, may have been then in a state of forwardness. Grenefeld's gifts at the latter

<sup>d</sup> "Petitiones quedam tradita per dominus Rogerus de Mar. in curia... Cum navis eccl. nostre Ebor. diu est corruitam propter quod necesse est novam ecclesiam reedificare opere sumptuoso nec ad hoc habet ecclesia aliquos facultates petatur decima et tertia non residentiarium," &c.—MSS. Harl. 6971. p. 135. 1297 or 1298, (ex Reg. H. de Newarke.) This shews that the Norman nave was pulled down or had fallen, but it does not prove that the

new one was not in course of building.

<sup>e</sup> Harl., 6970, pp. 134, 152.

<sup>f</sup> Harl., 6970, pp. 4, 11. The words appear to have been a formula copied from the previous indulgence of Grenefeld. See Browne, p. 116.

<sup>g</sup> Harl., 6970, pp. 250, 252. Ex reg. Grenefeld. The form is "*Libera custodibus fabricæ ecc. b. Petri Ebor. 50<sup>m</sup>. quos eodem fabricæ donavimus 7. Kal. Jun. pont. 9<sup>o</sup>.*"

end of his pontificate, and the repeated indulgences issued by his successor at the beginning of his, are evidences of exertions made to complete some part of the work, and as fourteen years intervene between these indulgences and the work of the west end in 1338, it may be fairly concluded that the new nave, exclusive of the flowing Decorated work at the west, was completed about 1324<sup>b</sup>, at the beginning of Melton's episcopate, and that the work then stood still for the fourteen years, after which the west end, as we have already seen, was taken in hand about two years before Melton's death in 1340. The lower story of the western towers, and the central door, although geometrical in their tracery, are in many respects in an advanced style to the rest of the nave, they were probably begun after the latter was finished and roofed, this will place their date at the beginning of Melton's pontificate.

The nave, and indeed the whole church in its highest parts, is covered with a wooden vault, made in the form of a stone ribbed vault, with bosses, probably on account of the great span of the central aisle which alarmed the masons. The side aisles are vaulted with stone<sup>1</sup>. Vaults however, whether of wood or stone, being beneath the actual roof, were not necessarily set about immediately after the building was in other respects completed, and covered in for use, but admitted of being postponed indefinitely, and indeed we often find cases in which, although prepared for, they never were added.

It is not therefore surprising to find that in 1354, fifteen years after the time which I have assigned for the completion of the nave, the wooden vault was in progress, which is proved by a letter from the chapter to the archbishop, (vide Browne, p. 133,) requesting permission to cut timber for that purpose, in accordance with his grant.

<sup>b</sup> In 1326 an altar to St. Edmund the king was erected on the south side of the church, near the tomb of St. William (known to be in the nave), for the chantry of Robert de Pynchebek. Browne gives the documents, p. 122, and the chantry appears in Dodsworth's list, with the date 1330. This shews that the nave must have been finished at this time, and roofed in, with the exception of the west end. The nave was thus evidently carried on more slowly than the average, taking at least thirty-three years instead of sixteen.

The rate of proceeding was a little greater than that of Ely. Vide note A.

<sup>1</sup> Stone vaults are employed to preserve buildings from fire. But wooden vaults, in imitation of stone, being merely for ornament, admitted of postponement still more than the stone vault, in which the safety of the building was involved. The outer walls of York clerestory exhibited, before the late repairs, toothings for the reception of stone flying buttresses, which seemed to shew that a stone vault was originally intended.

### 3. *The Chapter-House.*

The chapter-house must, by its style, have been erected at some time while the nave was going on, and apparently during the interval between the completion of the lower part of the west front and the upper part, in which the flowing tracery is introduced, for the chapter-house has magnificent geometrical tracery of a very advanced character. Mr. Browne<sup>k</sup> fixes the date of its commencement about 1280, and its completion about 1340, which appears to me to be too soon by fifty years for the beginning. His principal reason seems to be that chapter acts, from 1223 to about 1300, are dated "in capitulo Eborum," but after 1300 "in capitulo ecclesie," or "in loco capitulari ipsius ecclesie." In 1342 and afterwards he tells us that the phrase used is "in domo capitulari;" and this last, in fact, shews that a chapter-house was then in existence. But the word "capitulum" is by no means confined to that meaning, and is commonly used for the church in general, or for the presbytery in particular, as Ducange will shew. Probably some part of the church was assigned as a chapter-house, or "locus capitularis," until a chapter-house was built; or a chapter-house of some kind may have existed on the site of the present one<sup>l</sup>.

### 4. *The Presbytery and Choir.*

At the completion of the nave the church was in the following state, as shewn in plan No. 4, (omitting the presbytery.) The choir and its crypts were of enriched Norman, the work of Archbishop Roger. The central tower had the Norman piers of Archbishop Thomas, and above them the Early English campanile of Johannes Romanus the elder. Perhaps the Norman tower piers were clothed with Early English masonry. The transepts and the nave were the same that now remain; but the western towers of the nave rose no higher than the roof. The next work which was undertaken was to replace the choir of Archbishop Roger by an eastern building, on the same scale of magnificence as the nave.

<sup>k</sup> Browne, p. 94.

<sup>l</sup> Britton, pl. 28, shews the curious alteration in the gable wall of the north transept, to form the entrance to the chapter-house vestibule. And pl.

32, No. 1, shews how the Early English arcades of the once external wall of the gable were retained and mixed up with the later work of the passage.

The history of this building is an exceedingly curious one, and Mr. Browne has, by his industrious researches amongst the chapter documents, brought to light many new documents, which serve to illustrate this history. It is therefore with great regret that I feel myself compelled to differ from him most essentially in the applications which he makes of the whole of these documents to the history of the work. I shall presently proceed to analyse them, and endeavour to explain my own opinion with respect to their meaning.

Stubbs, or rather his continuator, has given a concise and extremely valuable sketch of the proceedings of Archbishop Thoresby<sup>m</sup>. Upon this Mr. Browne has, most undeservedly, endeavoured to throw discredit. The passage in question was evidently written by a person well acquainted with the affairs of the church, and so many of the statements contained in it are confirmed by the chapter documents, that I see every reason for giving to the whole the most implicit confidence. I will take these statements in order; first with respect to the beginning of the work, which Stubbs assigns to the 30th July, 1361. A resolution of the archbishop and chapter, dated July 20, 1361, declares "that every church should have its different parts consistently decorated, and that the choir, which is destined for the offering of the sacrifice, should be more especially ornamented." "Moreover, that in the church of York there was no suitable place where the mass of the Virgin could be daily performed with proper decency;" they therefore agree to "begin such a choir, and that the old choir, which, compared with the beauty of the nave, seems rude, should be taken down piecemeal, as it may seem expedient, and used for the completion of the new choir. They also agree that the decayed hall and chamber at Shirburn be taken down, and its materials at once applied to the finishing of the work<sup>n</sup>."

<sup>m</sup> See chap. i. above.

<sup>n</sup> I subjoin extracts from the original document from Register G c. fol. 52. It begins by stating that the archbishop and the chapter having duly considered "quantum sit conveniens quod ecclesia quælibet in singulis suis partibus conformi decore concordet quodque Chorus qui ad offerenda sacrificia piæ placationis officia salubriter exercenda divinumque cultum explendum est, peculiarius deputatus struc-

tura decenti potissime deceret ornari, ac quod in ecclesia Ebor. prædicta non fuerat aliquis locus congruus ubi missa gloriosæ dei genetricis et Virginis Mariæ cotidie in ipsa ecclesia celebranda decenter poterat celebrari" . . . "concordarunt quod ibidem fabricari inceperent chorum talem, et quod antiquus chorus, qui respectu pulchritudinis navis ecclesiæ videbatur pluribus nimis rudis, per partes dissolveretur, prout unanimi consensu ipsius Archi-

Next with respect to the annual gifts of the archbishop. The statement of Stubbs is completely confirmed by the bishop's register, which contains a series of orders for the payment of various sums to the fabric. Thus the first on the 23rd of April, 1359, £20, "in celeriore consummationem fabricæ ecclesie;" then in Nov. and Jan., 1360, £20 each; in April, 1361, £30, "ad fabricam." These sums were probably applied to the completion of the vault of the nave, or to the preparations for the new choir. On the 1st of August, 1361, is an order for the payment of one hundred marks sterling (£66. 13s.) "given to the fabric newly begun, at the laying of the first stone thereof by ourselves;" then in Oct., 1361, £50; and afterwards £100 in each half year, with some occasional irregularities, to the last payment in July, 1373, thus completely justifying the accuracy of the historian<sup>p</sup>.

As to the indulgences which Stubbs mentions, Mr. Browne's pages record them in abundance. And for the tombs of his predecessors, the bishop's register contains several orders for payments to this effect. First, Feb. 18, 1369, to pay Master Robert de Patryngton, master mason of the fabric of the new choir, for the work of six marble stones, prepared for the tombs of our predecessors<sup>q</sup>, ten pounds out of the hundred which the archbishop had promised to the fabric at the coming Easter. Secondly, Aug. 23, 1369, ten marcs to Robert de Patryngton in part payment of forty pounds, for making certain marble stones. Thirdly, June 12, 1373, one hundred shillings to Robert de Patryngton for the work of the tombs.

These entries confirm the statement that the archbishop provided new tombs for six of his predecessors, and as to the place in which he deposited them, which according to Stubbs was above the choir in front of the Virgin chapel, we have the

episcopis et capituli videbitur expedire et converteretur in auxilium completionis novi chori." . . . "Quod aula et camera (apud Shirburn) dissolvantur et diruantur et quod lapides eorundem qui multum accelerare possunt consummationem fabricæ supradictæ ad ipsam per dei gratiam complendam celerius applicentur." 1361.

<sup>o</sup> "Salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Quia dedimus fabricæ ecclesie nostre cathedrali beati Petri Eboraci noviter incepte centum marcorum sterlingorum ad positionem primi lapidis ibidem per nos positum, vobis mandamus qua-

tenus statim visis presentibus prædictas centum marcas domino Johanni de Codyngham custodi dicte fabricæ liberetis. &c. Dat' apud Cawode primo die mensis Augusti anno d<sup>ni</sup> millo. ccc<sup>mo</sup>. lxi<sup>o</sup>."

<sup>p</sup> The sum of his gifts amounts to about £2,400.

<sup>q</sup> "... liberetis Magistro Roberto de Patryngton magistro sementario fabricæ novi chori ecclesie nostre Ebor... opere sex lapidum marmoreorum protumulis predecessorum nostrum parandum," &c.

corroborative testimony of Leland, who in his Itinerary, (tom. viii. p. 15,) has the following entry :

- Sepul. archiepiscoporum in orient. parte ecclesiæ.  
 Walterus Gisfart obiit 7. Cal. Maii anno Dom. 1277  
 Henry Murdak obiit anno Dom. 1153  
 Gerardus obiit 12. Cal. Jun. anno Dom. 1108  
 Defuit inscriptio  
 Johannes de Thoresby quondam Menevensis postea Wigorn. &  
 Ebor. archiepiscopus. qui fabricam . . . . . obiit 6 die  
 Novembris anno Dom. 1373  
 Thomas Junior obiit anno Dom. 1113 5 Idus Mart.  
 Johan. Romanus obiit anno Dom. 1295  
 In bore. lat. Capel. S. Mar.  
 Rotheram archiepiscopus fuit cancellarius Angliæ & Franciæ  
 Obiit 29 die Maii anno Dom. 1500  
 Georgius Nevile archiepiscopus obiit apud Bliheborow redeundo  
 ad ecclesiam suam anno Dom. 1476.  
 In Sacello S . . . . .  
 Thomas de Masham dominus de Scrope vir nobilis, obiit . . . . . fecit  
 in Sacello S . . . . . duas cantarias  
 &c. &c.

This memorandum, from the nature of it, was evidently written by Leland as he went the round of the church, and not from any manuscript record, but from the stones themselves, in the order that he observed them. He begins with writing down three names, then he finds a stone with no inscription, and records that fact, and then passes on to copy the names upon three more. One of these is that of Thoresby himself; the other five are names of his predecessors, every one of which are amongst those which Stubbs mentions as having been buried in the church of York. The motive for this removal is clear; for I have already mentioned, and have shewn in plan No. 4, that the portion of the choir where these stones were placed was first erected, and, lying considerably beyond the choir of Roger, was completed before that was disturbed. Before therefore the latter part of the building was pulled down, it was extremely natural to remove the bodies of those archbishops who had been deposited in the choir above the crypt, to that part of the building which was completed, and where they would be at rest. And to confirm this account it must be noted that seven large stones with defaced inscriptions remained until the laying of the new pavement, in front

of the chapel, (at *V. . . V*, No. 5,) at the east end of the presbytery, which chapel, there is abundant evidence to shew, was always known by the name of the Lady-chapel<sup>r</sup>. These various statements concur so completely in placing Thoresby's chapel at the east end of the presbytery, that no historian of York ever threw a doubt upon the matter until Mr. Browne published his history, and I am bound to confess that I cannot agree with him.

Having now confirmed the principal assertions in Stubbs' history, it remains only to examine his relation that Thoresby completed the chapel of the Virgin with sculpture and painting. The presbytery, as already stated, was founded in 1361. By comparing the quantity of work contained in it with the average rate of erecting six other buildings of the same class, I have already shewn that nine years were sufficient to complete it in, supposing it to have been carried on with *average* diligence and funds. But this building was promoted with *unusual* diligence and *great* funds, the archbishop himself contributing most largely, and exerting himself to obtain contribu-

<sup>r</sup> For example, the large altar-tomb of Archbishop Rotheram still remains on the north side of this chapel. He gave by will his body to be buried "in brachio boreali capelle sc̄e Marię." Next in 1409 Master Thomas Wallworth gave his body to be buried "infra novam fabricam ecclesię Ebor. videlicet infra clausum altaris beatę Marię et juxta sepulchrum magni Rich. le Scrope." Lastly, Leonard Beckwyth, in 1547, bequeaths his body to be buried "in *our Lady queare* wher they sing Messe behynde the highe Aulter," which last description is sufficient in itself to determine the position and existence of the Lady-chapel.

Mr. Browne, however, does not deny that this chapel was called the Lady-chapel, and in fact quotes all the above passages, but explains them in another manner. (See p. 188.)

Stubbs has asserted that Thoresby endowed a chaplain to say mass for his soul in the chapel of the Virgin. Mr. Browne has very satisfactorily shewn that this is a mistake as far as the endowment is concerned, for this was by the Percy family in 1362, the archbishop only retaining the power of appointing the manner, hour, and place

where the chaplain shall celebrate, and that he is to celebrate for the souls of the archbishops and of Lord Henry de Percy, and of Mary his wife, &c. In fact, it is clear that the archbishop, in the words of Mr. Browne, claimed and obtained this chaplain of Lord Percy's for the benefit of his own soul, and thus it obtained the name of Thoresby's chantry.

But in the list of chantries in York cathedral, 37 Hen. VIII. (Dodsworth, Bodl. 92. 143. printed in Stevens' continuation,) I find the chantry of our Lady by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Mary his wife, which shews that the archbishop appropriated this chantry to the Virgin. I cannot allow that this, the only error which can be shewn in Stubbs' statement, is sufficient to overthrow his authority, or to stamp him as a recorder of "so much erroneous and doubtful matter." For if the above opinion be correct, he after all has represented this transaction in accordance with the view which Thoresby's friends took of it. And it is not impossible that the archbishop may have augmented the foundation with property of his own.

tions from others. The only fabric roll that remains of this period (1370<sup>a</sup>) witnesses to an expenditure in one year of £627, and to the employment of thirty-five masons and eighteen labourers, the wages of the masons alone amounting to £245. The average annual expenditure upon Ely presbytery was but £318, and upon Exeter much less. There can be therefore no difficulty in believing that the presbytery of York cathedral, which includes the Lady-chapel, was finished and roofed during Thoresby's life, for he died in 1373, twelve years after the foundation stone was laid. Neither can there be any doubt that he might have translated the bodies of his predecessors into his new building, and have prepared his own tomb therein. And as one of his especial objects was to provide a Lady-chapel, he may be supposed to have fitted up this part of the building with carving, gilding, and painting, under his own superintendence<sup>b</sup>, although the choir, namely, the part lying between the presbytery and the great tower, (see plans No. 4 and No. 5,) was not commenced.

Mr. Browne has with great care and industry analyzed a number of fabric rolls relating to the works of the church in the latter part of the fourteenth century and beginning of the fifteenth. To him we are most exceedingly indebted for bringing these rolls before the public for the first time, and I can only repeat my regrets that I am compelled to differ from him so completely in the interpretation and application of the information they contain to the history of the fabric.

Fabric rolls in general, valuable as they are, convey a species of information of the most tantalizing and uncertain description. They usually contain accounts of expenditure for the purchase of materials, stone, timber, glass, or lead, as the case may be, and also of workmen's wages; but

<sup>a</sup> Browne, p. 168.

<sup>b</sup> When Stubbs asserts that Thoresby fitted up the chapel with carving and gilding, we are not obliged to infer that this was necessarily done in his life-time, and under his own inspection. For the common practice of the medieval biographers was to state that a work was done by any one who provided the money for it. Many instances might be quoted to shew that this principle of interpretation may be

safely employed without vitiating the authority of the writer quoted, in all cases when there is no specific assertion that the benefactor in question did really carry on the work in person. Thus Cotton, the monk and historian of Norwich, says that Bishop Alnwick made the great west door of Norwich cathedral, with the window over it. But the will of the bishop contains an injunction to his executors to make such a door and window.

they seldom inform us to what purpose these materials were respectively employed. An accidental expression will sometimes help us to this information, but for the most part we can only learn that in one year mason work prevailed, in another carpenter's work; that at one period windows were in process of glazing, and that at another lead work was the principal employment, whence we may infer that some part of the building was being covered in. If a single building or part of a building only is the subject of such an obscure chronicle, there is less difficulty in the case; we follow it from year to year, from the scaffolding provided at its commencement to the glazing of its windows and the leading of its roof, with tolerable certainty; but in the case before us we have a series of rolls, (or rather of specimens of rolls, for the series is miserably intermitted,) including only about thirty-six annual rolls through a period of about a hundred and forty-eight years. And these rolls relate to the works of at least five different and independent structures, namely, the presbytery or east part of the choir, the west part of the choir, the central tower and the two bell towers, each of which was separately carried up, roofed, leaded, and glazed, to say nothing of the wooden vaults of the choir, of the bell-tower, and the two transepts, each of them a separate and subsequent work. This may serve to excuse and explain the different manner in which Mr. Browne and myself have been led to interpret the documents in question. As my knowledge of them is solely derived from the valuable work of that author, I must refer to his pages for the particulars, and shall content myself with such a rapid analysis of their general bearing as may serve to make my own explanation intelligible. The work of the choir, as already stated, was commenced in 1361, and the rolls have been preserved for the following years only<sup>u</sup>; 1370—three about 1398—1399—1415, 1418, 1419, 1421, 1423—1433, 1434, 1435—1442, 1443, 1445, 1446, 1447—1456, 1457, 1458—1465—1470, 1471, 1472, 1474—1479, 1482, 1485—1489, 1499, 1504, 1508, 1509, 1515, 1518.

It will be seen that for the most part they are scattered over different years, detached by long intervals from each other, but that some of the rolls that remain are preserved in groups tolerably continuous.

The first four or five rolls are so widely separated that their

<sup>u</sup> Browne's *History*, pp. 168—270.

connexion with existing buildings can hardly be traced. The first (1370), in the tenth year of the operations, and during the life of Thoresby, shews that extensive mason work was proceeding. It provides scaffolding, and also mentions the making of a ceiling carved with bosses and painted, which was put up above the high altar. A new clock and certain bells are provided. The second roll is a mutilated fragment of uncertain date, which merely shews that considerable mason work was going on. The third roll is also an undated fragment, but it has in addition to the masonry a large sum expended for the iron work of window bars. The fourth is an undated fragment, c. 1399, which evidences masonry work, and also that much lead was bought. The fifth roll (1399) shews that the masonry was proceeding, and mentions a payment to watchmen for lying in the new works of the choir, and also has a very curious inventory of stores, which amongst other things shews that the crypt or cruddes, or part of them at least, were used as stores for tools. In 1415 we have linen cloth for the *reredorse* of the high altar, iron work for the crypt, tiles for paving the crypt, a beam bought for a rood-beam for the new choir, and iron for window bars. But now we find a group of rolls for 1418, 1419, 1421, 1423, in the three last of which the great bell-tower is mentioned, with mason work, timber, and scaffolding, which can leave no doubt that they relate to that lofty work. In the first the library is also mentioned. After an interval of nine years another group of rolls presents itself for 1433, 1434, 1435, in which stones for the *new bell-tower* are mentioned, and a great quantity of timber, iron, and lead provided. As Bermyngham became treasurer in 1432, and retained that office until his death in 1457, and his name is carved conspicuously on the south-western tower, there is no doubt that this latter is the *new bell-tower* in question. During his treasurership another set of rolls are preserved for 1442, 1443, 1445, 1446, 1447. These shew that comparatively few masons were employed, but that a quantity of timber was bought, as well as iron and lead. This iron is said to be for the bell-tower, probably therefore partly a completion of Bermyngham's tower, and the great tower is also mentioned. Three rolls for the years 1456, 1457, 1458, merely prove that very few masons were employed, and that no work of consequence was going on. The repair of the stone work of the windows in the nave indicates that the workmen were

only engaged in ordinary work<sup>v</sup>. In 1470, 1471, 1472, 1474, we are presented with rolls that exhibit great activity, and great numbers of masons and carpenters, especially the three first. The carpenters were working at a wooden vault, for the bosses are mentioned; glazing was extensively proceeding; also the painting and gilding of the great bell-tower is specified, and in the last roll much lead and lead-work, and bars of iron for the north bell-tower. These works, as Mr. Browne observes, probably belong to the vault of the great tower and its painting, and to the completion of the north-west bell-tower. Whether also to the roof of the great tower is doubtful. The battlement and "fynyalis" of the choir are also specified. But this was a work commonly left to the last. The remainder of the rolls are widely scattered, and appear to relate to little else than ordinary repairing and finishing<sup>w</sup>.

I have now cast a rapid glance over these valuable documents, and can only regret that from the wide intervals of the years for which they have chanced to be preserved their information is of so desultory a nature, affording us only partial glimpses of operations, without allowing us to discover to what part of the building they belong. However in the latter part of the series some evidence of this kind is given in the rolls, as I have stated, and the history of the three towers is pretty well established thereby. But with respect to the period of erection of the presbytery and of the choir, I contend that these rolls give us little or no available information, and that we must seek it elsewhere.

If Thoresby finished the presbytery, as I have endeavoured to shew, the only fabric roll of this series that can belong to it is that of 1370, already quoted. There can be no doubt that the next work that was undertaken was the choir, which

<sup>v</sup> Mr. Browne infers from this that the windows of the nave had never been finished till this time. But the pattern of the tracery is sufficient to shew that this could not have been the case, and the sum paid is only 10s. Repairs of this kind constantly occur in fabric accounts, and only relate to mending and patching.

<sup>w</sup> In 1479 and 1485 the carving of Huddleston crockets in great quantities occurs, and in the latter year *gargills* are also mentioned. Mr. Browne infers that they belonged to the organ

screen, but if that were the case the other elements of tabernacle work would appear, as gablets, buttresses, &c. . . . They more probably were the exterior crockets and gargoyles of the choir and presbytery. Again, in 1482 and 1485 timber and planks are purchased, which Mr. Browne applies to the stall work; but as no allusion to that class of work occurs in these rolls, I would rather apply these materials to one of the wooden vaults, perhaps of the transepts.

includes five compartments, and it has two eastern transepts, (*S, S*, plan No. 5,) which are not distinguishable upon the plan because they do not project beyond the walls of the side aisles. The rolls that immediately succeed the first must therefore belong to the choir, and it only remains to determine when the said choir was finished.

In carrying on works that were so intimately connected with the sacred extremity of the building every arrangement would be made to ensure that the performance of the services should be as little interrupted as possible, and that they should be restored to their proper place after such interruption with every possible rapidity. To this effect the first parts of the work, including four compartments out of the nine which constitute its length, were so arranged, as the plan No. 4 shews, that they could be erected without disturbing or pulling down more than the aisle behind the east end of the choir of Roger and its crypt. This portion was beyond the high altar, and not essential to the performance of the services. The side-aisle walls of the choir itself could also have been built up to the Early English transepts without pulling down more than the flanking towers of Roger's apse, as the plan No. 4 also shews. But for the purpose of determining when the choir was *finished* we must digress a little, to examine when the work that followed it, namely, the great central tower, was *commenced*.

The four piers of the present tower were not newly erected for the purpose of carrying it, but are mere casings of the piers of the Norman tower that was built by Archbishop Thomas. Moreover it appears from the present state of the masonry that the casing of Perpendicular work that now clothes these Norman piers was not carried up all round each pier simultaneously, but that each side received its casing when the arches that abut against each side respectively were erected, as indeed might be expected. For example, when the nave was begun the Norman central tower remained intact with the exception of some Early English work, probably above the roof, (see plans No. 3 and No. 4.) For simplicity let us confine our attention to the history of one of these piers, the south-western, (*N*, No. 5.) When the present nave was begun (see No. 4) the western face of this pier received a casing in the form of the present half pier, (or *respond*,) from whence the pier-arches of the nave commence. The pier thus became

Decorated on the western face, and remained Norman on the three others. Afterwards the arch that springs from its southern face with its pier was erected, to connect this pier with the side-aisle wall and complete the eastern end of the side aisle. This addition was connected with some curious changes which I will explain below (see chap. iv.) The pier now became Decorated on the western and southern faces, and remained Norman on the other two. But when the time came (plan, No. 5) for completing the central tower in the same style as the choir, then the northern face and the eastern face of our pier received its new clothing as at present, and these two faces were carried up simultaneously, rather more than a century after the western face had been transformed. If the masonry of this pier be examined, it will be seen that there is no bond between the three works that I have pointed out, and that the beds of masonry of the three respectively are at different levels, shewing that they were, as I have explained, erected independently at successive periods. The same will be found to be the case with the two tower piers that lie to the east, and in connexion with the choir. The eastern faces of these piers next to the choir were completely finished in connexion with the masonry of that choir before the other faces were begun; or in other words, the choir was completed up to the tower before the works of the tower itself were commenced, so that it thus became possible to use the choir for the services before the tower work was attacked, and we may therefore be very sure that this was the method of proceeding, for it is incredible that any of the masons would be allowed to work upon other parts of the building which were not wanted for the services, so long as the portions that were so required remained unfinished.

Now amongst the chapter documents there remains an order printed at length below\*, dated Nov., 1409, which

\* "Ordinatio per dnos de Capitulo xv. die mens. Novēbris anno Dni M. CCCC<sup>mo</sup>. ix. Imprimis. quod dominus Thomas de Haxey sit supervisor operis iij<sup>te</sup> columpnæ. Item quod oblationes provenientes & proventuræ ad sepulchrum Ricardi\* ultimi Archiep. convertuntur ad usus operis iij<sup>te</sup> columpnæ. Item omnia donata et legata ad fabricam ejusdem iij<sup>te</sup> columpnæ

convertantur ad usum columpnæ prædictæ. Item logium pro cementariis construendum pro columpnæ hujusmodi sit inter consistorium et ostium domus capitularis. Item quod in eodem logio sint ad minus latomi duodecim. Item ordinatum est quod in antiquo logio sint xx ad minus latomi. Item provisio lapidum est concessa domino Thomæ Haxey de consensu ejusdem.

\* Archbishop Richard Scrope died in 1405.

is to the effect that Thomas de Haxey is to be the supervisor of the work of the fourth pier, that the masons erect a workshop for the same, to be placed between the consistory and the door of the chapter-house, (that is, at the end of the north transept at Q, No. 5,) and that in the said workshop there shall be at least twelve masons. It also declares that the *coynes* at the angles of the bell-tower on the outside shall be reduced or removed, and that the wall shall be carried up plain at the corners of the bell-tower.

This document fixes the date of the alteration in the tower piers. As the fourth pier is mentioned three others must have been already completed, and as the eastern ones would probably be first operated upon as nearest to the choir, and as the position of the workshop is in the north transept, it may be concluded that the pier in question is the north-west pier.

However, the principal point to the purpose is, that according to the argument I have employed above, the mason work of the choir must have been completed before the date of this document, (namely, 1409,) and long enough before to give time for the casing of the other three piers. After the choir was finished a pause would probably be made before the next new work began, and thus I conclude that the building of the choir may be placed between 1373 (the death of Thoresby) and 1400, an interval of twenty-seven years. According to the calculation I have so often referred to<sup>v</sup>, eleven years would have been sufficient had the work been carried on with activity. But this was not the case. We cannot tell how many years were allowed to elapse after the completion of the presbytery and the death of Thoresby in 1373, before the choir was begun. No fabric rolls occur until 1399, with the exception of two undated fragments, which appear to belong to the same period as the last, because the names of the

Item provideatur de calce coquendo ad magnam quantitatem ad minus videlicet ij vel iiij kylnes. Item provideatur de sabulo in aqua Use cum careto et equis et navicula et si fieri possit cum navicula sancti Leonardi ad quantitatem magnam Item ordinatum est quod le Coynes in angulis Campanilis ad extra subducantur et quod plano modo ascendat murus in angulis campanilis Item ascensus graduum de ecclesia ad campanile fiat ex parte boreali vel alias ad ordinationem domini Tho-

mæ Haxey, magistri Alani, dominorum T Gorton, et R<sup>d</sup> Blackbirn. Item quod dominus Thomas de Gorton fieri transmittat absque mora sparras et meremium a Cawood ad fabricam." Registerum Q Acta Capitul. 1410, 1429, 2, 21, (not examined by Torre). For the copy of this valuable document I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. V. Harcourt.

<sup>v</sup> See note A at the end of this history.

plumber, of the glazier, and of the carpenter, are the same in all three<sup>a</sup>.

In 1377 the church of Misterton was appropriated to the fabric of the choir for ten years. The preamble of the papal bull of 1379, by which this appropriation was confirmed<sup>a</sup>, recites that a new choir, corresponding to the beauty of the nave, had been begun to be built, but that a large part of this choir still remained to be completed for want of funds, on account of the badness of the times.

The beginning of a new choir here mentioned refers to the presbytery of Thoresby, for the term choir is applied in general language to the entire eastern limb of the cross in the plan of a cruciform church, although the easterly portion of the same is properly termed the presbytery. The "large part which remained to be completed" must have been the western part of this building, which, from the language of this document, was probably still uncommenced, and the choir of Roger still untouched, in the state of plan No. 4.

Some assistance may be obtained in this investigation by observing the parts of the building in which the stone from the quarries of Huddlestone is used. The nave and presbytery are constructed from the quarries of Thevesdale and Bramham, and the Huddlestone was brought into use after the presbytery was erected, as the following account will shew. "The Huddlestone is employed (1) at the east end for the four spires, with the battlement round them, and down as low as the roofs; (2) for all the pinnacles and battlements on each side of the roof of the centre and side aisles, from the east end to the centre tower. (3) In the transepts of the choir it is used amongst the Bramham moorstone, from the roof of the side aisle upwards, and in many other parts; (4) for the centre tower from about the window sill; (5) for the west towers from about eight feet below the window sill of the belfry; and (6) for the floor of the whole church<sup>b</sup>." From this it appears that the Huddlestone was first employed in

<sup>a</sup> I confess myself unable to understand the grounds upon which Mr. Browne, pp. 194, 195, has placed these two rolls in the years 1386 and 1390, respectively. John Plummer, the plumber, and John Burgh, the glazier, occur in the roll of 1371 (Browne, p. 168) as well as in that of 1399, but

the master carpenter's name in 1371 is Phillip, and in the other three is John Downam.

<sup>a</sup> Browne, p. 192, &c. gives a translation of this bull.

<sup>b</sup> For this memorandum I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. Vernon Harcourt.

the eastern transepts of the choir, which belong to the second period of the work, and that it was then employed sparingly, and mingled with other stone; also that it was fully used for all the later works, namely, for the three towers, in all the parts that rise above the roof, and for the battlements and pinnacles of the choir end, which were of course added after the rest of the building was finished.

Now Mr. Browne informs us, (p. 248,) that on the 1st of April, 1465, an indenture, which had been held for the last eighty years and had expired, was renewed for quarries at Huddlestone. This would carry back the first occupation of this quarry to 1385, and thus we get an approximation to the state of the works, for it would shew that soon after that year the western part of the choir was more than half carried up, seeing that the Huddlestone only shows itself in the eastern transepts of the same, and not elsewhere in its walls.

In the fabric rolls which Mr. Browne has investigated, the first mention of Huddlestone does not occur until 1421<sup>c</sup>, and this is bought of Sir John Langton, lord of Huddlestone. But the rolls are in so shattered and fragmentary a condition, that we cannot infer from this that it had not been used earlier.

After all we must conclude, that when the fabric had lost its vigorous benefactor Thoresby, the new choir was postponed for several years, and commenced probably soon after 1380, that it went slowly on, and was roofed in about 1400, thus occupying twenty years. This rate of proceeding is considerably more rapid than that of the presbytery of Ely<sup>d</sup>, and even greater than the rate at which the nave of York was erected.

One of the articles of complaint at a visitation of the archbishop in 1390, stated that, by common report, the fabric of the church is delayed, and the rents and income of the fabric diverted from their proper purpose. Another article oddly declares, that the ministers of the church for the most part persist in wearing "patens and clogges" both in the church and in processions, contrary to decency, to old custom, and the chapter rules<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>c</sup> Browne, p. 223.

<sup>d</sup> Vide note A.

<sup>e</sup> "Articuli comperti in visitaciones d<sup>ni</sup> Arch' 1390. . . . Item, vulgariter dicitur quod fabrica ecclesie negligenter tardatur eo quod multi redditus et proventus ecclesie sunt assignati et fabrica

non multum acceleratur. . . . Item, omnes ministri ecclesie pro majori parte utuntur in ecclesia & in processione patens et clogges contra honestatem ecclesie et antiquam consuetudinem & ordinationem capituli . . . ."—Harl. 6971. p. 227.

In 1405, an indenture was made between the dean and chapter, and John Thornton of Coventry, for glazing and painting the great eastern window of the presbytery, which work was to be finished in three years<sup>f</sup>. We are not to suppose that the stone tracery of the window was only just completed when this order was given. The plan pursued in the carrying on of works of this description, seems to have been to fill the windows with linen cloth, which gives a sufficient light<sup>g</sup>, or with plain glass, until some benefactor could be found to furnish the glazing, or until it was convenient to employ funds for the purpose; it is well known that the glazing of a single window was a very favourite form in which to subscribe to the carrying on of ecclesiastical work in the middle ages.

We have seen that by the mode in which the eastern part of the choir, and the side walls of the whole were contrived, the interruption of the service was postponed to the latest possible moment. When the progress of the work made it necessary to take down Roger's choir, a service choir must have been fitted up in some other part of the church, with a temporary high altar, and probably with the seats and furniture that were already in use in the proper choir. In the absence of any certain information, it may be supposed that the nave and the central tower would be selected for this purpose. It is true that the walls and roof of the eastern portion were completed, but if this portion had been selected for the temporary choir, this choir would have been separated from the rest of the church by the intervention of the works in progress filled with scaffolding and litter, whereas if the tower and nave were so fitted up, the mason works would be completely cut off from the parts used for the service. Supposing this to have been the case, the postponement of the glazing of the great east window, to the time when the whole building of the choir was ready, is explained. Again, as I have shewn that the masonry of the tower piers was a distinct work from that part of the piers that lie towards the choir, it appears probable that as soon as it was time to begin the tower piers, the whole of the old fittings would again be transferred to the choir in the new structure, until time and funds could be

<sup>f</sup> Britton, App. p. 81.

<sup>g</sup> For example, "In xlv. ulnis canevagii emptis apud Lenne pro fenestris

novi campanilis." Ely Fabric Roll, 13 Edw. III. This relates to the central lantern.

diverted from the more urgent work of completing the masonry (especially of the great tower) to the arrangement and fitting up of a new high altar, stalls, and other choir furniture of a style befitting the new building. For it is impossible to suppose that the entrance of the canons into the new choir could be retarded until this was done. There is good documentary evidence to shew that a new high altar was projected about 1412. Mr. Browne (p. 208) states that before this time it became a custom to bequeath sums of money to this object. In 1418, 1419, &c., bequests are quoted of this nature, and also to the reredos<sup>b</sup>. In fact, the old furniture of the choir, when removed into the new building, would by its incongruity plead forcibly with the public for the contribution of funds to complete the fittings of the choir in a suitable manner, and the beginning of such contributions, immediately after the time when I have supposed the new choir to have been so occupied, is a corroboration of this view.

In 1428, a tenth was granted towards the new building and the principal tabula of the high altar, which was about to be made and set up<sup>i</sup>.

To confirm the opinion that the choir extremity of the church was in a condition to be resumed as the place of the services about 1405, when the glazing of the east window was ordered, it may be remarked that about this time sepulture begins at the east end. It is true that Thoresby and his six brethren were there interred at the beginning of the work, but we have no record of others. But in 1405 Archbishop Scrope died, and was buried at the east end; in 1406, and 1418, others of his family were also there buried. Stephen le Scrope of Masham, desires in 1405 to be buried "*in novo opere*" in the middle of the chapel of St. Stephen, which is the north-east chapel. In 1409, Thomas Walliworth desires to be buried within the enclosure of the altar of the Blessed Virgin, and near the tomb of Richard le Scrope<sup>k</sup>. The beautiful monument of Archbishop Bowet was erected in his lifetime, as he mentions in his will in 1423, and it is also

<sup>b</sup> Browne, pp. 216—218.

<sup>i</sup> "Tabulam principalem summi altaris ecclie nostre sumptuosam de novo fiend'. fabricand' & erigend'. Reg. Dec. & Cap. Ebor. ab ann'. 1427. ad ann. 1509.—Harl. 6971. p. 18.

<sup>k</sup> "1409. Thomas Walliworth . . . ad sepel. infra novam fabricam ecclie' Ebr. videl' infra clausum altare b<sup>a</sup>. marie virginis et juxta sepulchrum bonæ memoriæ mag. Ric. le Scrope," &c.—Torre, 1522.

alluded to in the will of Archdeacon Pyttes in 1415, as newly built. These and similar cases shew that the east end of the church was accessible, and fit for occupation. At this time also, namely, in 1415, the new crypt was fitted with its iron work, and paved<sup>1</sup>. But this new crypt was in existence in the year 1399, for it is certain that the crypt or "cruddes," mentioned in the fabric roll of that year (Browne, p. 198) as containing certain tools could not have been the original crypt of Roger. That, to allow of the convenient construction of the foundations of the new piers, must have been unvaulted, and the pillars reduced to their present level when the choir was begun, about 1380.

W. Skirlawe, bishop of Durham, was a great builder, and his biographer, W. de Chambre<sup>m</sup>, attributes to him the bridges of Shinkley, Yarom, and Auckland, the gatehouse of Auckland, the campanile and chapter-house of Howden and the hall of Howden, *great part of the lantern of York minster*, and great part of the cloister of Durham, besides a gift of 330 marks to the dormitory there. His executors also gave, at his command, 400 marks to this cloister, he having previously given 200. On all these edifices he placed his arms. He was translated from Bath to Durham in 1389, and died in 1406, and it may be supposed that his buildings in the north were all erected after this translation. His will confirms the above account, by shewing a bequest of 100 marks to the fabric of York minster<sup>n</sup>; and in the fabric roll of 1415 is a receipt of £52 from his executors<sup>o</sup>. He probably gave large sums during his life, the record of which has been lost, for his arms are placed not only on the spandrel of the lantern tower, but also in the south-eastern transept of the choir, confirming Chambre's account of his practice of so stamping his works, and also that he must at least have been a considerable benefactor to the fabric of York; for although he is not said to have paid all

<sup>1</sup> Browne, p. 210.

<sup>m</sup> "Hic etiam magnam partem campanilis *vulgo lantern* Minsterii Eboracensis construxit, in medio cujus operis arma sua posuit. Ibidem quoque fundavit cantariam ad australem angulum crucis dictæ ecclesiæ, ubi capellanum ordinavit, ad missam in perpetuum pro anima sua celebrandam."—W. de Chambre, (a cotemporary of Skirlawe,) p. 144, Surtees' edition.

This places the altar of St. Cuthbert

in the south-east compartment of the south transept. The chantry is in Dodsworth's list as the chantry at the altar of St. Cuthbert, founded by Walter Skirlawe, sometime bishop of Durham, and Peter Delahay of York, dated 16 Ap. 1426.—Stevens, p. 74.

<sup>n</sup> Browne, p. 202.

<sup>o</sup> Browne, p. 211, speaks of the *traditional opinion* that Walter Skirlawe built the large tower.

the expenses of the great tower, he must have given a large proportion to have obtained so much of the credit of that work.

This chapter has been inevitably written in a very digressive style, from the nature of the documents upon which it is founded; the results arrived at may be recapitulated as follows. The nave was founded in 1291, carried on for thirty-three years, and finished in 1324, excepting the upper windows and gables of the west front. These were completed about 1338 by Archbishop Melton. The presbytery was begun in 1361, and completed before the founder Thoresby's death in 1373. The choir was commenced, carried on, and completed between 1380 and 1400. The central tower works lie between 1405 and the succeeding years. The south-western tower was erected under Bermyngham, the treasurer, from 1432 onwards for an uncertain time. The north-western tower was carried on about 1470; and about the same time the painted vault of the central tower was set up and finished. But the history of the wooden vaults of the presbytery, choir, and transepts, is lost. The wooden vault of the nave was constructed about 1350.

Finally, in 1472 it was thought necessary, as the church had been in fact rebuilt, that it should be reconsecrated, which was accordingly effected on the 3rd of July, and that day was decreed to be the feast of dedication of the church of York in future<sup>p</sup>.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ON THE PIER ARCHES OF THE TRANSEPTS.

THERE is a strange peculiarity in the arrangement of the pier arches and triforium of the transepts, which requires an especial explanation. It has been shewn that when the present transepts were built the Norman nave and choir to which they were attached were considerably narrower than the present ones. It is true that the central aisle of the Norman

<sup>p</sup> Acta Cap. 25. Maii. 1472, de dedicatione eccl<sup>e</sup>.

"Imprimis ordinatum est et conclusum quod quia dubitatur de consecratione ecclie ac etiam quod est de novo

edificata ecclesia consecrari debet tertio die mensis Julii prox. fut. Et quod ipso die celebrabitur festum dedicationis in dicta ecclesia cath. in futurum," &c. &c.—Harl. 6971. p. 50.

nave was very nearly of the same width as the new one, but its side aisles were exceedingly narrow in proportion, (see plan, No. 3.) Each side of each transept, in accordance with the then existing arrangements, was provided with one *narrow* pier arch opposite to the side aisle of the nave or choir, and with three other pier arches of greater width, as shewn in plan No. 3. When the present nave was built, its wide and spacious side aisles opened to each transept immediately against the narrow pier arch, which had been adjusted to the narrow aisle of the preceding nave, and its pier was now found to be in the very centre of the passage from the side aisle of the nave to the transept. As this arrangement was evidently intolerable, the pier was taken away, and a Decorated pier erected at a greater distance from the tower piers, so as to leave a proper space for the passage from the side aisles to the transepts. This will be understood by comparing No. 3 with No. 4. Instead, however, of constructing Decorated arches above the new pier, the Early English arches were simply shifted, and their arch-stones reset, so that at present the narrow arch which originally occupied the position nearest to each tower pier, and corresponded to the side aisles of the nave, is shifted to the second place, and the wide pier arch, which originally held the second place in order from the tower pier, has become the first in order, and serves to open the way to the side aisles. This will be understood from the different tint upon the plan No. 4, (at *O*.) To strengthen the building it was also found necessary to wall up the space between these new Decorated piers and the central pier of the transept on each side. When the choir was built, similar reasons compelled a similar change, as shewn in plan No. 5, and thus the two sides of each transept became assimilated. The triforium, however, remained unaltered, and to this day preserve the original arrangement. They each have three wide and equal arches extending from their respective gables, and after these one narrow compartment in connection with the tower pier; and the clerestories, in like manner, present three equal compartments and one narrow one; but below, reckoning from the gable, we find two wide arches, then one narrow arch, and lastly one wide one. The whole of these peculiar arrangements are shewn in the section of the south transept, given in Britton's pl. 14.

When the tower in the centre was carried up to its present

height the addition of this lofty and ponderous mass to the existing piers was productive of the most disastrous effects. Each pier sank bodily into the ground to a depth of about eight inches. As the new casing of the piers had been previously carried up, and the arches on each side united to the piers, the effect of this sinking was to draw down and dislocate the masonry and arches in all directions, as may be perceived too plainly at present. The eastern pier arches of the nave exhibit the distortions that arose from this cause, but the subsequent repairs have concealed them to a certain extent. But in the transepts they are too great to escape the most careless observer. I examined and measured with care the arches and piers on the western side of the north transept. The south capital of the pier arch next to the tower being attached to the sunken pier, has been carried down with it, and is now eight inches lower than the opposite capital (at *O*) of the same arch. But the sinking pier has acted upon the masonry of the transept wall so as to thrust northward this opposite capital, and throw the pier (*O*, plan No. 5) itself five inches and a half out of the perpendicular at the neck molding. The Early English pier next in order, having being connected with this latter pier by its wall, is also thrust northward, and about three inches towards the east. As the piers are twenty-two feet in height, these displacements are exceedingly visible.

The triforium compartment above this pair of leaning piers is disjointed and deformed by the consequent settlements, and its southern portion dragged downwards by the mass of the tower pier. The clerestory has also suffered, but apparently so considerably as to have compelled a repair, which has obliterated many of the traces of the mischief. The bases of the tower pier must also have sunk below the then existing pavement, which was probably carried down on all sides and cracked. The present bases are not the original ones.

On the outside the sinking of the tower pier is shewn by the dislocation of the Early English corbel-table of the transept. The small piece of this which adheres to the tower pier is torn away from the remainder which runs along under the parapet of the clerestory, and now lies more than nine inches below it<sup>a</sup>. One of the capitals of the arched panel below the

<sup>a</sup> This effect may be seen in Britton's elevation of the transept wall, pl. 14. It is represented by the engraver as if

the string-course was purposely bent downwards at a right angle and returned. But the truth of the case is

corbel-table is carried down also nine inches below its corresponding one on the north side of the arch. This arch has a rich Early English molding, and as the arch was torn asunder by this process of dislocation, the gap has been filled up with a piece of Huddleston with the same moldings, and other rents and cracks in this part have also been repaired with the same stone, shewing that the repairs were made when the tower works were proceeding, for this stone was not employed in the earlier parts of the structure, as already explained.

In the north transept one of the western piers (*P*, plan No. 5) is a Decorated pier, and it is evident that the original Early English pier must have been taken away and this erected in its place. This, and the shifting of the Early English arches, present very remarkable examples of the bold engineering work of the middle ages. The present state of dislocation of the triforium above these altered arches might at first sight have been attributed to the shifting changes which the pier arches had undergone; but I have shewn that the dislocations are attributable to a totally different cause, namely, the addition of the ponderous tower; and the changes themselves appear to have been so carefully carried out, that there is no reason to suppose that any ill consequences would have followed from them alone, had the tower not been raised.

## CHAPTER V.

### ST. WILLIAM, HIS TOMB AND SHRINE.

WILLIAM, thirtieth archbishop of York, died in 1154, thirty days only after he had assumed his episcopal seat in the cathedral. He was buried in the church, as Stubbs relates, but he does not indicate the exact place of his sepulture. His exemplary piety, and his sudden death, which gave rise to reports that he had been poisoned in the sacred chalice, occasioned his tomb to be visited after his death, and miraculous histories of cures to be believed concerning this tomb. Eventually

as I have stated it in the text. The traces of the original position of the wide pier arch may still be seen in the spandrel, above and between the pre-

sent wide and narrow pier arches. This is not delineated in Britton's engraving.

he was canonized<sup>r</sup>, and the 8th of June, his death day, appointed for his festival. William Wykwane, the thirty-seventh archbishop, solemnly translated his bones in 1283, in presence of the king and queen, and of many of the nobility and prelates.

The tomb of St. William remained an object of veneration, and a profitable attraction for oblations, to the very Reformation, and it appears to have been placed in the nave of the church. But this was merely his original place of interment, for the account of his translation states expressly that he was removed to the choir<sup>s</sup>. And it also appears that his bones were deposited in a portable feretrum or shrine, so that they could be borne in procession. As in the case of Thomas à Becket and others, the original place where the body had been deposited was still made an object of veneration, even after the bones of the newly-canonized saint had been removed to a shrine in some more sacred place in the church. This shrine was probably deposited in the choir to the east of the high altar, and in later times in the space between the reredos of the high altar and the eastern screen, (*T*, No. 5,) as the usual custom at Westminster, Winchester, Durham, St. Alban's, &c., would thus be strictly followed.

In the inventory of jewels, vessels, &c., belonging to York minster, (*Dugdale's Monasticon*, t. iii. p. 169,) there occurs a list of various precious articles attached to the portable feretrum of St. William, "Circa feretrum sancti Willielmi portabile." A second list, "Circa caput sancti Willielmi," shews that the head of the saint had been separated from the remainder of his bones, and this latter list concludes with the silver chest and belt for carrying the said head in processions. "Item unus arcus argenti. Una zona garnishyt cum argento deaurato pro portando caput sancti Willielmi." Another and longer list relates to the tomb of Archbishop Scrope. "Pertinentia tumbæ Domini Ricardi le Scrope." The feretrum magnum S. Willielmi is mentioned, and apparently differs from the feretrum portabile, but no notice of the tomb of St. William occurs in this document.

But in some of the chamberlain's accounts of expenditure

<sup>r</sup> By Pope Honorius II., in 1226. *Browne*, p. 53.

<sup>s</sup> "Sic igitur S. Willielmi corpus . . . ab imo in altum, a communi loco in

chorum . . . venerabiliter est translatum."—*Acta Sanctorum*, June 8. p. 144.

printed by Mr. Browne the feretrum and tomb of St. William are distinctly mentioned, so as to shew that they were not identical. In 1370 a comptus contains an item of 600 lbs. of wax bought for the high altar, the feretrum, and the tomb; also payments to the bearers of the banner, and to the bearers of the cloth over the feretrum<sup>t</sup>; and similar entries occur in other comptuses.

At the Reformation the shrine of St. William was demolished<sup>u</sup>, and no remembrance left of the place but a tradition that this saint was laid under a long marble stone spotted in the nave of the church<sup>x</sup> (at *M*, plan No. 5.) When a new pavement was laid in 1732 a search was made under this stone under the direction of Drake, and a small leaden box full of bones carefully soldered up and inclosed in a large stone coffin were found, but no inscription by which these remains could be identified. But it is not improbable that for decency sake the bones of this celebrated man might have been so deposited, at or near their original resting place, although the tomb and the shrine were demolished. The exact position of the tomb of St. William is lost, although many allusions to it remain in the foundation deeds of altars, and in the wills of persons who desire to be buried near it<sup>y</sup>.

“In 1691 the altar was still in its ancient position, where had been the high altar, with that of St. Stephen on the north and St. Mary on the south. The wooden screen behind it of the same work as the rest of the quire, surmounted with triangu-

<sup>t</sup> Vide Browne, p. 170. This tomb cannot have been the tomb of Archbishop Scrope, for he died in 1405. Wax for the high altar, feretrum, and tomb, is a constant entry. Vide Comptuses for 1388, p. 194; 1389, p. 195; 1398, p. 197.

<sup>u</sup> The dean and chapter, by order of the king in council, pulled down the shrine of silver gilt in which were contained the bones of St. William, and with the jewels and ornaments appropriated it to the public use of the Church.—Torre, 162.

<sup>x</sup> Drake, p. 420.

<sup>y</sup> In 1230 an altar was founded to St. William by Elias Bernard, (Harl. 6971. p. 46,) in navi Ecc<sup>e</sup>. Ebor. (fol. 67. ex Reg. dec. & cap.) Harl. 6971. p. 177.

In 1249 an altar of St. Andrew by J. Roman, archdeacon of York, was built

(over) against the tomb of St. William. (north-west lanthorn pillar.—Torre, 1349.) *juxta tumbam beati Will<sup>i</sup>.*—Harl. 6971. p. 48.

In 1326 an altar of St. Edmund the King by R. Pynchebecke, on the south side of the church, near the tomb of St. William.—Dodsworth's list, and Browne, p. 123.

In 1392 John de Clyfford Thesaurarius desires his body to be buried “*juxta orientalem finem tumbæ beati Willielmi.*”—Torre, p. 104. He was buried near the east end of the nave, but the exact spot is not marked in Torre's plan.—Drake, p. 501. The same may be said of John Bermyngham Thesaurarius, who in 1457 desired to be buried on the south side of the tomb, near his predecessors, the treasurers.—Browne, p. 241.

lar coats of arms containing each a rose, &c., of the common form, supported behind by angels. The remains of this screen are still over our chapter-house." Thus far Torre (110). Drake tells us that this large wooden screen almost obstructed the view of the east window. "It was handsomely painted and gilt. It had a door at each end which opened into a place behind the altar, where antiently the archbishops used to robe themselves at the time of their enthronization, and thence proceeded to the high altar, where they were invested with the pall. On the top of this screen was a gallery for musick, as is usual in popish churches, for the celebration of high mass. By the taking away of this the altar was carried back one arch to a stone screen behind it, of excellent Gothick architecture. This work was done by order of the late Dean Finch." (Drake, 523.)

The authority for the vestry behind the high altar is to be found in the account of the enthronization of Archbishop Kemp in 1427, in the church register<sup>2</sup>. But it was apparently prepared only for that solemn occasion, and from other examples I believe was the place where the portable feretrum or shrine of St. William was kept.

<sup>2</sup> Browne, p. 229, gives a translation of this account at length, from Reg. G. 1. fol. 1.

## NOTE A.

### ON THE TIME REQUIRED FOR THE ERECTION OF THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF YORK MINSTER.

It is very difficult to estimate the time that would probably have been employed about a given work in the middle ages, for their method was a very desultory one. They began their works long before the sufficient funds were collected, trusting that the sight of an unfinished church would so appeal to the piety of their votaries, as to secure ample subscriptions, and if not, they were content to employ for the time fewer masons, or to suspend the work altogether for a period, until some new source of prosperity was opened to them. Moreover we have unfortunately very little information concerning the time that was occupied in building the several cathedrals and large churches that remain to us.

But as the question is a very curious one, and as from the nature of the history of York cathedral it becomes necessary to have some principle to guide us in judging of the time requisite for erecting its several parts, I have taken some pains to investigate such a principle.

The relative cost of buildings is sometimes estimated by comparing their respective cubic contents. But this method is not applicable to our purpose, because it takes no account of the stone vaulting which, as it happens to be absent in York, and employed in the other cases, must be made to enter into the calculation. Besides, it would be manifestly impossible to apply this method to the complex work of Canterbury.

The method I have pursued is to measure the superficies of the walls, considering a series of arches and piers, and a wall pierced with windows, to be equivalent to plain solid walling of the same length and height, (upon a common principle of valuation,) and computing also buttresses by their mean projection, as walls. Also to consider the area covered by stone vaulting as equivalent to walling. As the examples I have selected are all cathedrals of the first class of magnitude, the thickness of the walls, and general principles of proportion and arrangement, are so much alike that no essential error can be introduced on that ground. It would plainly be impossible to compare small chapels with lofty towers upon this principle, because the thickness of walls, and the time and money consumed by the necessity of raising materials to a great height, become in such cases most essential elements of the calculation, but are wholly kept out of sight when we confine ourselves to the comparison of wall surface only. But the towers of the six buildings I am about to select are wholly omitted from the investigation for this reason. These buildings are the only ones of this kind I could discover, of which the period of erection is sufficiently well defined to answer the purpose.

(1.) The cathedral of Canterbury was repaired and greatly enlarged after the fire of 1174. The work occupied ten years, of which one was spent in procuring an architect, deciding upon the plan, and preparing scaffolding and materials to begin; and for one year towards the end the work was intermitted for want of funds. But during the remaining eight of the ten years the works were diligently carried forward, and Gervase has distinctly recorded the work of every separate year. From this record it appears that in erecting the enlarged chapel of the Trinity at the east end, which was to occupy the place of a smaller one then in existence, the mode of proceeding was to erect the outer wall of the crypt without disturbing this chapel, until the wall was high enough for its vault. Then this small chapel was removed, and the piers for the vault erected on its site. The vault having been finished, the superstructure was carried up on the same principle. In the first place the outer wall and windows of the side aisles were built, and in the next the piers and pier-arches high enough to receive the vaults of the side aisles. After the vaults were finished the triforium and clerestory walls were carried up and the central vault put on, and finally the wooden roof. During the whole of this great work the two sides were carried on simultaneously. This order of proceeding is worth remarking as a guide for the intelligence of other buildings, for from many examples I believe it to have been a system generally employed, with the exception of the last named condition.

(2.) The second example is the cathedral of Salisbury, of which the first stone was laid in May, 1220<sup>a</sup>, and it was finished in April, 1260. It was thus forty years in building. The tower and spire are plainly after-works, and the progress of the building itself was intermitted several times. It was fit for service in 1225, and was dedicated in 1258.

(3.) The presbytery of Ely cathedral was begun in 1235, and finished in seventeen years<sup>b</sup>, a compact but elaborate work, which probably was carried on quietly and steadily without much interruption.

(4.) The stone work of the central octagon of Ely cathedral was begun in 1322, and occupied six years in building<sup>c</sup>. This is also an excellent example for our purpose from its compactness.

(5.) Westminster abbey was begun in 1245<sup>d</sup>, and finished in 1285<sup>e</sup> to the end of the choir, that is, of the service choir, which extends along six arches of the nave. The part of the building that lies eastward of this point is plainly of a different work from the western portion, and must therefore be the part intended, which thus occupied forty years with interruptions. It was sufficiently finished in 1269 to allow of the translation of St. Edmund and the first performance of service.

(6.) Exeter cathedral, founded in 1288, was finished in the time of Bishop Grandisson, and probably near his death, so that it must have taken up eighty years in all. This is the most undefined example of all.

<sup>a</sup> Wilkins' Concilia, vol. i. p. 551; and Leland, Itin., vol. iii. p. 92.

<sup>b</sup> Ang. Sac., t. i. p. 636.

<sup>c</sup> Ang. Sac., p. 644.

<sup>d</sup> Mat. Paris, 581.

<sup>e</sup> Falian, 389.

By measuring the superficial area of these structures in the manner described above, I obtain the numbers in the first column of the following table, and dividing each number by the years that each building occupied, I obtain the average number of superficial feet of work per year in each. Lastly, taking the average of these numbers, I obtain the average yearly work of a cathedral in superficial feet.

	Years.	Total superficies in feet.	Superficies yearly.
Canterbury . . . . .	8	102,694	12,837
Salisbury . . . . .	40	255,730	6,393
Ely presbytery . . . . .	17	38,054	2,238
Ely octagon . . . . .	6	14,380	2,397
Westminster . . . . .	40	185,205	4,630
Exeter . . . . .	80	136,644	1,708
Total . . . . .			30,203
Average yearly superficies . . . . .			5,034

The average yearly work in the respective examples differs exceedingly, as might have been expected from the difference of funds available in each case, and from the intermissions, of the extent of which we have no certain information. The number 5034 or 5000 superficial feet yearly is however certain to be below the real quantity, and accordingly in Canterbury, the only instance in which we know that every year of the eight was fully employed, the number rises to more than double the average. In applying this average, therefore, to the parts of York, we may be confident that the time obtained for carrying out each portion will be greater than necessary, for the result will there be separately given for each member of the building, for the transepts, the nave, the presbytery, and the choir respectively, in each of which separate enterprises the work would naturally be carried on with less proportional intermission than in the entire cathedrals, which have influenced the average results of the table. In the next place, then, I proceed to give in a table the superficies of the above members of York cathedral, and in its second column the quotient of each number by 5000, which will of course shew the average number of years required for erecting each part of the building; and as York is known to have been carried on with great resources, we may be sure that these terms of years are abundantly sufficient. It must be remembered that the numbers are calculated on the supposition that no stone vault is employed for the centre aisles, and that no allowance is made for the wooden one, which in most cases appears to have been an after-work.

York cathedral.	Total superficies.	Years required.
Transepts . . . . .	58,493	12
Nave . . . . .	82,056	16
Presbytery . . . . .	46,255	9
Choir . . . . .	53,188	11
Total . . . . .	239,992	48

It is worth remarking, that in the first table the example whose average number is the nearest to 5000 is Westminster abbey, the altitude of whose walls is rather greater than that of York. The cost of Ely presbytery was 5,400*l.* 18*s.* 8*d.*<sup>f</sup>, or 318*l.* annually, on the average. The annual expenditure on Exeter was not so high, but from some memoranda in Lyttleton's history seems to have ranged from 156*l.* to 384*l.* annually. But in the York rolls published by Mr. Browne the annual expenditure is much greater. In 1370, during Thoresby's life, the expense was 627*l.*, and although it diminishes in the succeeding rolls, it never is less than 235*l.* I may add, however, that it appears from the previous pages that the nave actually occupied about thirty-three years in building, and that the choir was carried on for twenty years, and applying these year-numbers to the respective superficial extent of the works, we obtain for the nave  $\frac{5400 \times 33}{100} = 2487$  feet superficial per year, and for the choir  $\frac{627 \times 20}{100} = 2659$  feet superficial per year. These numbers shew a somewhat greater rate of working than Ely presbytery and octagon, but it must be remembered that York is in a country of stone and Ely far removed from quarries.

The relative cubic contents of two buildings afford no secure test of the time and expense of their erection, for by this method a long low building ought to cost as much time and money as a lofty tower of the same bulk, which is absurd, for a high building not only requires thicker walls, but time and labour is consumed in raising the materials aloft. In fact, even omitting the last consideration, the relative cost is more nearly proportioned to the joint product of the circumference, and of the square of the height of the walls, if the thickness of walls be supposed proportional to their altitudes. But medieval buildings are so irregular in their construction, that no such general rules are applicable, and the method which I have employed will be found quite sufficient, considering the many sources of error and variation which it is impossible to include in a calculation of this kind, with so few historical data upon which to form a basis. It can only be applied to the comparison of buildings of the same general construction and magnitude, and therefore I have not attempted to deduce from it any conclusions with respect to the towers of the Minster.

## NOTE B.

The following list of chantries in the church of York in the year 1364, for the copy of which I am indebted to the kindness of the Rev. V. Harcourt, is not to be considered as a complete document, for several chantries are omitted which are known to have existed at that time, and indeed the style of the latter part of it shews it to have been left unfinished. But it contains so much curious information, especially with respect to the suspension of the altars for the new work of the presbytery, that I have thought it worth printing.

<sup>f</sup> Ang. Sacra, t. i. p. 636.

In Stevens' Monasticon, vol. i. pp. 60 and 73, will be found the returns of the commissioners in the 27th and 37th of Hen. VIII., containing lists and particulars of the chantries attached to York cathedral that existed at the Dissolution, in number more than forty. Many of the foundation deeds of these, and of several others not included in this list, are given by Mr. Browne. Probably those which were omitted in the returns above mentioned had fallen to decay. The names of twenty-eight or thirty distinct altars can be gathered from these lists, but their number cannot be exactly determined, because the same altar seems to be sometimes designated under different titles, two or more altars dedicated to the same saint, or lastly, several chantries appropriated to the same altar. Moreover the same chantry was sometimes shifted from one altar to another, several examples of which occur in the list below, when the founder had not appropriated his chantry to any one altar in particular. The position of many of these altars can be gathered from one document or another, and on the whole it is apparent that in this cathedral, as in all others, altars were crowded into every possible position.

*De cantariis in ecclia b̄ti Petri Ebor, ad altaria ordinati, et de nominibus eorum, pro quibus animabus ordinantur, de ornamentis rebus et redditibus pertinentibus ad eosdem, et de nominibus personarum et vicariorum qui eos habuerunt anno d̄ni mill̄o CCC<sup>mo</sup>. lx<sup>no</sup> quarto.*

Ad altare Jhis. Evang. retro magnum altare quod nunc est suspensum saltum pro tempore nove fabricæ et interim capellani optinentes illas cantarias celebrant ad altare Sci Gregorii. fundantur due cantariæ antiquitus per Simonem de Evesham, quondam Archidiaconum Richemondi et canonicum Eboracensem, pro anima sua—ad istud altare non pertinent nec pertinebant calix missale vestimentum de proprio sive alia ornamenta nisi quod deberunt capi et inveniri de vestibulo<sup>s</sup> de communi, et scilicet ad altare Innocentium et Sci Stephani cum illa altaria fuerunt infra chorum.

Item sunt duæ cantariæ fundatæ pro anima d̄ni Henr<sup>i</sup> Vavasour non habent in ordinacione nec continetur ubi nec ad quod altare. Sed duntaxat in ecclesia Cath. Solebant tamen celebrari ad altare S<sup>ti</sup> Johannis Evangelistæ retro magnum altare. Et nunc celebrant contra ad supradictum altare Innocentium, non habent vestimenta sive alia ornamenta pro cantariis suis nisi de vestibulo ut supra.

Ad altare Sti Stephani ex parte boreali magni altaris est una cantaria pro animabus Walteri Gray et Will<sup>i</sup> de Langton.

Altare ad dorsum stallorum chori ex parte australi proximus ostio vestibuli noviter facti; celebrant ibi duo vicarii, habent duas cantarias fundatas pro anima Willi de Hamelton nuper decani, de ecc<sup>la</sup>. de Broddesworth, et fundata erat ista cantaria ad altare juxta et ante novum crucifixum in Australi parte eccl<sup>ie</sup>. sicut cum venimus ad illud altari plenius continetur.

Item est aliud altare ad dorsum stallorum chori ex parte australi juxta et propinquius ostium chori ubi celebrat nunc dnus Ric<sup>du</sup>s de Crayingham et

<sup>s</sup> VESTIBULUM, Vestiarium, sacristia.—Du Cange.

una cantaria fundata et ordinata ad celebrandum in eccl. Ebor pro anima mag<sup>l</sup> X<sup>r</sup>. de la Forde. non est fundata ad certum altare sed in ecclesia et tamen ibi celebrat nunc dnus Ric. Crayingham consistit in Vm'.—non sunt ibi vestimenta sive ornamenta de proprio sed de vestibulo et infra ostium chori præd<sup>l</sup>, tamen dnus R<sup>dnus</sup> qui nunc ibi celebrat habet ornamenta pro celebratione sua pro tempore quo ibi celebrat.

Altare b<sup>m</sup> Mariæ in Cryptis, ubi solebat missa b<sup>m</sup> Mariæ celebrari soleniter quotidie, unam cantariam habet.

Altare b<sup>m</sup> Mariæ Magdalenæ in Cryptis, suspensum propter novam fab<sup>m</sup>.

Altare sanctarum Martyr<sup>m</sup> Agatha et Scholastica in cryptis in australi parte, suspensum propter novam fabricam.

Altare b<sup>m</sup> Katerinæ in criptis, suspensum propter novam fabricam.

Altare S<sup>a</sup> Cecilie in criptis ex parte boreali, quod nunc suspenditur propter novam fabricam.

Altare S<sup>d</sup> Blasii sub horologio.

Cantaria altaris S<sup>d</sup>. Will<sup>l</sup>. una alia cantaria fundata ad istud altare per J. de Cotyngham.

Altare sub pedibus novi crucifixi, due cantariæ pro anima Willi de Hamelton nuper decani, deberent celebrari ad hoc altare juxta et prope ostium vestibuli.

Altare Sci Michaelis cantaria per d<sup>nm</sup>. Walt<sup>m</sup>. Grey.

Altare S<sup>d</sup>. Edwardi.

Altare S<sup>d</sup>. Johannis juxta ostium australe eccl.

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