

NOTES ON NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

By the Rev. D. J. STEWART.

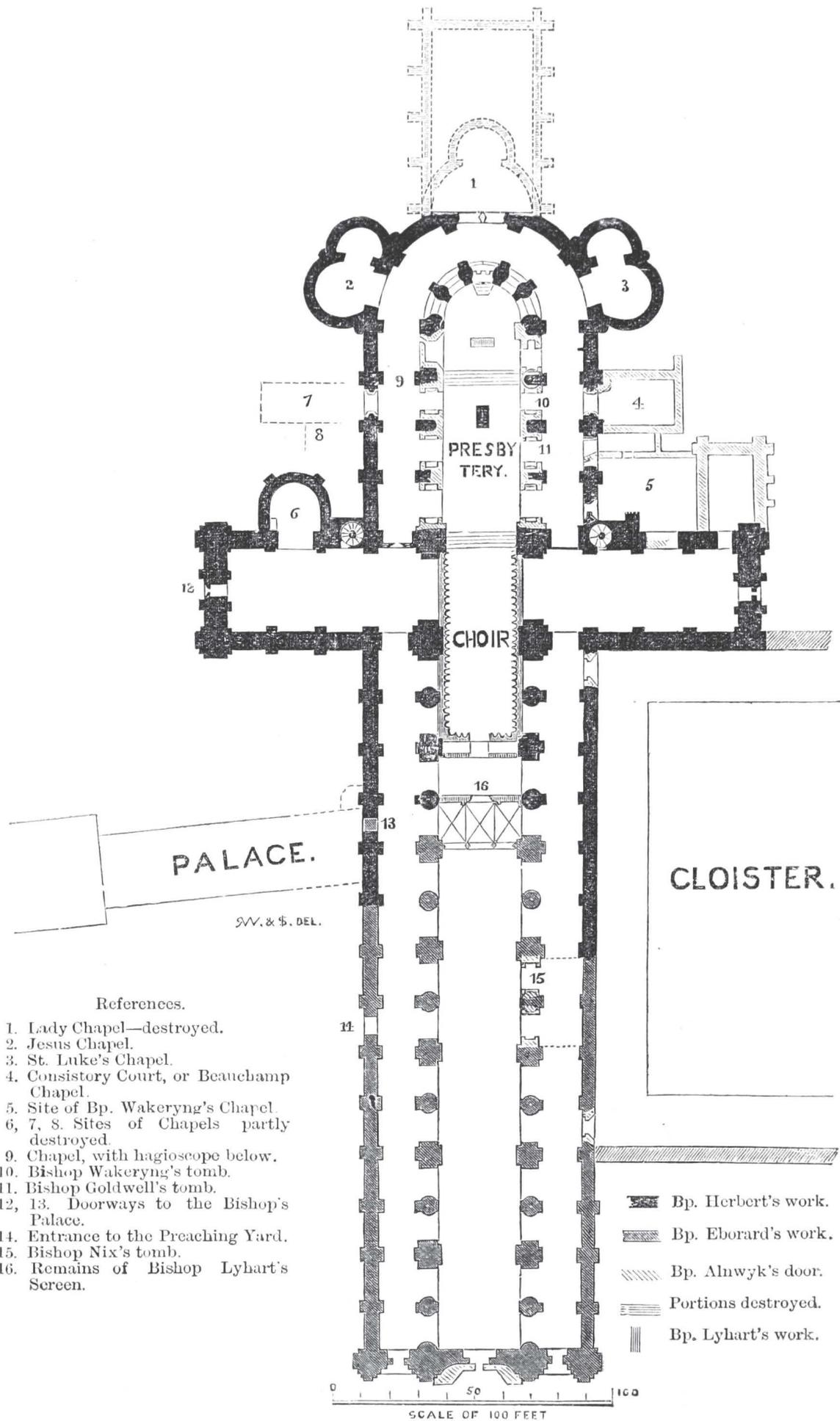
(From Memoranda by the late Rev. Professor Willis.)

[Deeply as they regret another name being used in connection with the following contribution, the Council of the Institute have much gratification in placing it before the members. For many years it had been their most anxious wish that their late much valued and distinguished friend should have enriched the Journal with the elaborate and carefully-prepared discourse delivered by him to the Institute in the Cathedral of Norwich, on July 30, 1847.¹ The many and varied occupations of the active and energetic mind of the late Professor Willis interfered with his original intention to put that discourse into shape for printing, and of late years his failing health seemed to deprive the Council of any expectation of their hope being realised.

The contributor of the subjoined "Notes" was the fellow-labourer of Professor Willis in most of those painstaking archæological investigations which preceded his discourses, and to which they owed so much of their value and charm. In the careful measurement of the alterations in the fabric, in the tracking out of the earlier foundations, the examination and working out of the structural changes and alterations of by-gone times, and in the application of documentary and historical evidences to their illustration, Mr. Stewart was the constant helper and companion of Professor Willis, and to him the best thanks of the Council are due for his labours on this occasion.

One other name ought also to be here mentioned, that of one to whom the Institute owes so much—the late Mr. Albert Way—in whose handwriting a large portion of the curious documentary matter illustrating the architectural history of Norwich Cathedral, and used in the following

¹ See "Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, 1847. Norwich," p. viii.



References.

1. Lady Chapel—destroyed.
2. Jesus Chapel.
3. St. Luke's Chapel.
4. Consistory Court, or Beauchamp Chapel.
5. Site of Bp. Wakeryng's Chapel.
- 6, 7, 8. Sites of Chapels partly destroyed.
9. Chapel, with hagioscope below.
10. Bishop Wakeryng's tomb.
11. Bishop Goldwell's tomb.
- 12, 13. Doorways to the Bishop's Palace.
14. Entrance to the Preaching Yard.
15. Bishop Nix's tomb.
16. Remains of Bishop Lyhart's Screen.

-  Bp. Herbert's work.
-  Bp. Eborard's work.
-  Bp. Alwyk's door.
-  Portions destroyed.
-  Bp. Lyhart's work.

NORWICH CATHEDRAL. Ground Plan.

pages, was found among the Memoranda of Professor Willis—furnishing another instance of Mr. Way's great industry and knowledge, and of his devotion to archæological science.]

THE cathedral church of Norwich, notwithstanding the numerous casualties by which its fabric has been assailed since its foundation, has preserved its original Norman plan to a much greater degree than any other English example of the same magnitude ; and it was undoubtedly erected by the first Norman bishop of the See upon a spot where no previous church had stood. It is freed from the taint or suspicion of Saxon work, with which so many antiquaries are wont to disturb our investigations into early Norman architecture. It thus also furnishes a test by which to try other specimens of which the history is not so clear, and to show that they are so perfectly similar to the work of Norwich as to satisfy any reasonable investigator of the idleness of the Saxon hypothesis.

The church is cruciform ; the nave has fourteen compartments or severies—or rather seven double severies, for the piers are alternately principal and subordinate, and the complete design of the severies, as in many other Romanesque and Norman examples, is so arranged that it embraces two compartments. There is a lofty Norman central tower, surmounted by a late Perpendicular stone spire, and the eastern limb, or presbytery, consists of two double severies terminated by an apse of five pier arches. The transepts have no aisles, but an apsidal chapel projected eastward from each in the usual manner, of which the northern only remains and is ruinous, that on the south having been replaced by a sacristy in the fifteenth century. The nave and presbytery have aisles, and the aisle runs round the great apse, forming a procession path. Circular chapels, one on each side, radiate from this aisle, and their form is probably unique, each consisting of a circular chamber, from which a semi-circular apse projects eastward, but rather inclining in direction towards the axis of the building. The central eastern chapel was unfortunately replaced in the thirteenth century by an Early English Lady chapel, now pulled down ; but the foundation of the original circular chapel and of the subsequent parallelogram has been, to a certain degree, ex-

cavated so as to determine their dimensions. As a dwelling-house stands upon part of the site the plan of these eastern chapels cannot fully be made out, but there can be little doubt that the circular chapel had an apse eastward, as shown in the dotted lines upon the plan of the cathedral. (*See Plan*).

With the further exception of the chapel called the Beauchamp Chapel, which is seen to project southwards from the wall of the presbytery, and the corresponding one northwards, of which only the arch of communication now remains, the Norman plan of the cathedral has remained undisturbed—unlike those of Ely, Peterborough, Gloucester, St. Albans, Durham, Canterbury, or Winchester, in which additions and rebuildings have so changed the Norman plan that we are driven to pick it out from the crypts, or from indications remaining here and there that serve as records for the experienced observer, but which are without meaning for the uninitiated. In fact, Norwich Cathedral is the only English specimen which retains its Norman procession-path and radiating chapels; for although the crypts of Gloucester and Canterbury prove to us the former existence of this arrangement in those buildings, its effect and appearance is, in those cases, left to our imagination to supply.

On a small platform in the central severy of the apse of the presbytery there are the fragments of the original stone seat built for the use of the Bishop, and on the pavement and adjoining piers there are traces of the steps by which this throne was reached. In Blomfield's time a disused vestry occupied the apse, and the steps of the throne had not been disturbed. "The antient bishop's throne ascended by 3 steps, and raised so high that originally when there was no division between that and the altar, and before the present rood-loft was built, the old loft being placed very high at the pillars marked (12),² the bishop could see directly in a line through the whole church into Tombland; but now there is a late partition between that and the high altar, which makes the old vestry at the letter c now disused" (Blomfield's "Hist. of Norfolk," vol. ii. p. 510).

In England, where the fittings of churches have been almost universally constructed of wood, hardly any traces of this old arrangement of presbyteries are left, but in Italy at

² Where the stalls now return.

Torcello, Aquileja, Grado, and probably in other churches, the remains of similar patriarchs' thrones are preserved, and still possess great interest, in spite of the destruction of the mosaics and marbles with which they were once decorated.

Norwich had no crypt, but it is furnished with a complete and magnificent triforium, extending over the whole of the side aisles and having lateral windows and a flat gravelled floor. The circular chapels also have upper stories on the triforium level. It was destitute of western towers, for which no provision can be detected in the building, which still retains, in the main, its Norman west front. There is a peculiarity in the triforium of the nave which deserves to be noticed. It has been pointed out already that the nave consists of seven double severies. The piers are principal and subordinate, and have on the front faces alternately double and single bowtells or half shafts, which of course are carried up into the triforium piers, and became originally in the clerestory range the ceiling-shafts of the Norman church in its first state. The triforium arch consists of three orders, but in many of the severies and particularly on the north, the outer order has been struck from a centre which is nearer to the subordinate pier with the single bowtell in front, than to the centre, which was used for the other orders.

The consequence is that the upper or outer order of the triforium arch is eccentric to the others, and the space left between its voussiors and those of the inner arches is filled up with ashlar in horizontal courses. In the eastern limb of the church the concentric arrangement is followed without exception; but to the west of the choir screen the contrary rule begins on both sides of the building, and is so continued as far as the severies connected with the solitary pair of cylindrical spiral nave piers; but from this point westward the original design is followed on one side only. Whether this variety of design represents an experiment of Bishop Eborard's, who finished the nave, or not, it is impossible to say, but the fact is one which deserves consideration because it certainly tends to show that the artist was superior to the mere craftsman, even when mediæval architecture was, as an art, in its rudest form.

Although its Norman plan has remained with so little change, its aspect has suffered in various ways within and without by which its Norman physiognomy is considerably

affected. The side walls of the triforium have been raised, the original Norman windows blocked up, and a range of Perpendicular windows placed above them—a flat roof being thus substituted for the original sloped one. This process, to which Ely and Peterborough were also subjected, was probably induced by the want of light within, as we shall see by and by; but it has had the effect of completely destroying the Norman character of the building. Moreover, the aisle windows on the ground floor have been entirely replaced by later windows with tracery.

The clerestory of the presbytery, destroyed, as we shall see, by the casual fall of the tower, was magnificently rebuilt in the form in which it now appears, namely, mixed Decorated and Perpendicular. The west front has had its central compartment converted from Norman to Perpendicular by a fine doorway and window. The repairs consequent on the several fires to which this unfortunate church has been subjected have also covered the whole of it with a stone ribbed vault, changed the bases of the nave piers and the entire pier arches of the presbytery into a Perpendicular fashion, besides introducing other small changes which the following pages will explain.

The principal authorities for the early history and foundation of the church are (1) the MS. termed the “*Registrum Primum*,” which is preserved in the Treasury at Norwich; and (2) the work of Bartholomæus de Cotton, a monk of Norwich. The “*Registrum*” is a fine MS., of which the greater part is in the handwriting of the end of the thirteenth century, and contains a series of copies of the early charters, &c., connected by a concise narrative. The last entry in this handwriting is a record of the translation of Bishop Radulphus to Ely and the succession of John, A.D. 1290, which fixes the date of the MS. But the volume has been continued, as far as copying documents is concerned, in various handwritings from time to time. Many extracts from this volume are in Harl. MSS. 6974. The work of Cotton is a general chronicle of the history of England, extending to the year 1298, accompanied by a history of the Bishops of England, of which MSS. exist in the British Museum (Bibl. Cott. Nero, c. 5.) and in the Lambeth Library, and a portion in the Treasury at Norwich. In this work the author (whose name is appended to the Museum copy), as a monk of Norwich, has

inserted, in the usual manner, many particulars relating to the cathedral and the succession of the Bishops, all of which Wharton has picked out and printed in the "Anglia Sacra," under the titles of "Annales Ecclesiæ Norwicensis ab a^o 1042 ad a^m 1295," and "Historia de Episcopis Norwicensibus ad a^m 1299" (vol. i. pp. xxxiv. 395), adding a continuation of Cotton's history, extracted from the Lambeth MS. and extending to the year 1445, which he supposes to have been written also by a Norwich monk.

In "Leland's Collectanea," (vol. i, p. 348,) begins a series of extracts, "ex antiquo codice de episcopis Dunmoc," relating to Norwich and its Bishops, extending to Walter Lyhart. As far as they go the extracts are in the same words as those of Cotton in the "Historia de Episcopis," but in the subsequent part, namely from John of Ely to Lyhart, they do not correspond with the continuation of Cotton. From these sources the architectural history of the church and monastery may be made out with tolerable accuracy.

The conversion of the East Angles by the Burgundian Felix, in the days of King Sigebert, and his establishment as first Bishop at Dunwich, A.D. 630; the division of the sees into Dunwich and North Elmham in 673, their reunion at the latter place in 870, the removal to Thetford by the first Norman Bishop in 1075, immediately after the Conquest, and the final removal of the see to Norwich in 1094, by Herbert Losinga, third Norman Bishop of the see and first of Norwich, with whom the history of the building begins,³ are matters which it would be out of place to discuss, as the subject of this Memoir is not the history of the See, but of its cathedral.

As soon as Herbert was fairly settled at Norwich he bought much land there, first from the Kings William II. and Henry I., and next from the citizens, and then began the church in the name of the Holy Trinity, and finished the greater part of it. Wishing to settle his See in some fixed place, he bought a

³ "In primis ecclesiam præfatam fundavit pie memorie Herbertus episcopus qui Normannie in pago Oximensi natus, Fiscanni monachus post ejusdem loci prioratum strenue administratum translatus in Anglia, &c." Reg. 1^m. f. 15. In Wharton's copy of Cotton we have "In pago Oxoniensi," p. 407, and Godwin with Nevile boldly says, "Oxonie natum." Pits, taking it for Orford, makes him

a Suffolk man. Wood (Ath. Oxon., vol. i. p. 406) corrects Pits, and rightly quotes Losinga as a foreigner from "In pago Oximensi in Normanniâ." Mr. Harrod, in "Castles and Convents of Norfolk" (p. 244), has shown, from the researches of Mr. Spurdeus, that Bishop Herbert was most probably an Englishman, born at his father's manor of Syleham, in the Hundred of Hoxne, Suffolk.

certain place near the castle of Norwich, called Cowholme, a pasture belonging to the manor of Thorpe. Within the said Cowholme stood a church of S. Mary, founded long before the Conquest, which church is to this day called the church of the Blessed Mary de Marisco, or S. Mary of the Marsh; and having purchased the land, he obtained a charter of confirmation from the king, William Rufus, which expressly states that the ground was for the purpose of building his church and the houses of himself and his monks.⁴

The land being thus confirmed to him, the Bishop, in the year 1096,⁵ began to erect the mother church in the aforesaid place termed Cowholme, in the name of the Holy Trinity, and placed the first stone with the following inscription upon it:—"Dominus Herbertus posuit primum lapidem in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, Amen." And he placed the episcopal palace on the north side of the church, the dwellings of the monks on the south side. But the Bishop having found that Roger Bigot possessed certain land adjacent to the west side of the piece he had already acquired, which land was termed the land of S. Michael and is now le Tombland, purchased it from Roger Bigot, as well as the lands of Tavenham, which also belonged to him . . . In the aforesaid land of S. Michael there stood a certain chapel in honour of S. Michael, which the Bishop caused to be taken down, proposing to erect elsewhere another to the honour of the saint. Thus the land of S. Michael before the gate of the monastery was left open so as to give him free ingress and egress upon his own soil. There he erected a most beautiful cross between the king's borough and the free land of his church, to serve as a boundary stone by way of precaution. On the summit he placed a beauteous image of S. Michael. . . . After he had acquired the manor of Thorpe, with the wood and other appurtenances, he built the church of Leonard, on a hill in the wood, with a chapel of S. Michael close to the church, instead of the chapel which he had originally removed.⁶

⁴ "Ad ecclesiam suam faciendam et ad domos suas et monachorum suorum faciendas apud Norwicense castrum." Dugdale, "Mon.," p. 407.

⁵ "A^o mxcvi. Norwicensis ecclesia fundata est a Domino Herberto episcopo."

Cott. "Annales," p. 397. These particulars are taken from the document given by Dugdale, entitled "Fundationis Historia," from a register of Binham in his own possession.

⁶ "Postea predictus Herbertus episcopus

“Bishop Herbert finished the church of Norwich in his lifetime as far as the altar of the Holy Cross, which is now called the altar of Saint William. This I have been told by old men, but have not found recorded in writing. Also he built all the episcopal houses except the great hall. He began the work of the church at the place where is now the chapel of S. Mary, and nearly in the middle of the said chapel, and there he made an altar in honour of the Holy Saviour. In this his work he placed the first stone, on which was written: “In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Ego Herbertus episcopus apposui istum lapidem.” Then a certain Baron named Hubert de Bry, devoted to the Lord, placed a second stone in the aforesaid work, and granted to the monastery therewith two parts of the whole of the tithes of his estates in Norfolk, both the great and the small. Many other magnates of the episcopate followed this example; some even granted three parts, and at that time the monks acquired nearly all the small tithes that they possess.”⁷

advertens quod Rogerus autem Bigotus quandam terram versus occidentem loco a prefato episcopo adquisito adjacentem, quæ quidem terra vocabatur terra Sancti Michaelis et nunc est ibi *le Tombland* habuit, quam quidem terram et etiam terram de Tavenham quæ ad eandem pertinebat, memoratus episcopus a predicto Rogero Bigot adquisivit. . . . In predicta vero terra Sancti Michaelis erat quedam capella in honore S. Michaelis constructa, quam memoratus episcopus inde fecit amoveri, cogitatus pro loco et tempore alteram ad honorem ejusdem edificare, memoratamque terram S. Michaelis ante portam monasterii ad habendum liberum introitum et egressum, super suo solo proprio vacuam dereliqui; et ibidem quandam crucem pulcherrimam inter burgum Domini Regis et liberam terram ecclesie sue quasi pro Bunda ad cautelam erexit, et in ejus summitate ymaginem S. Michaelis pulcherrimam collocavit.” . . . “Adquisito vero manerio predicto (Thorp) cum bosco et appendiciis ejus ut dictum est ecclesiam S. Leonardi; in quodam colle ejusdem silve et capellam S. Michaelis juxta ecclesiam predictam prout patet intuenti loco capellæ de terra S. Michaelis pro eundem primitus amote construxit, et in eadem S. Leonardi monachos quosdam alios, dum ecclesia sua erat in construendo apposuit quosdam etiam perpetuo idem primarie stabilivit.” Reg. 1^m. f. 16.

After King William's death he obtains a charter from King Henry: “Idem vero episcopus considerans se plenam securitatem de loco et situ monasterii sui a Regia potestate optinere, in nomine summe et individue Trinitatis ab ymis fundaminibus incepit ecclesiam edificare et cum locum aptum ad requiem monachorum qualemcunque fecisset idem monachos ordinis Sci Benedicti, licet paucos primitus apponens eos in regula subter qua militarent studiosius informavit.”

⁷ “Perfecit autem idem Herbertus ecclesiam Norwyci suo tempore prout ex relatione antiquorum didici, non tamen scriptum inveni usque ad altare sancti crucis, quod modo vocatur altare S. Willemi. Idem etiam omnes domus episcopales excepta magna aula construxit. Incepit autem opus ecclesie sue in loco ubi nunc est capella beate Marie fere in medio loco ejusdem capellæ et ibidem fecit quoddam altare in honore S. Salvatoris et in opere suo primum lapidem primus apposuit, in quo scriptum erat. *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, amen. Ego Herbertus episcopus apposui istum lapidem.* Deinde quidam baro, nomine Hubertus de Bry, deo devotus, secundam lapidem in predicto opere opponens duas partes decimarum tam majores quam minores de ois dominiciis suis in Norfolcia monastico contulit ante dicto. Plures etiam magnates de episco-

Bishop Herbert died A.D. 1119, in the 29th year of his pontificate, and was buried in the episcopal church, which he had established and endowed with possessions, books, and ornaments of various kinds. He was laid before the high altar (*Dominicum altare*) in a sarcophagus worthy of such a man.

Herbert's "tomb stood before the high altar (Cotton), was above an ell high (Brown's "Posthumous Works," p. 10-15), and stood where the altar tomb now stands; but when the pulpit in the late civil wars was placed at the pillar where now Overall's monument is, and the aldermen's seats were fixed at the east end and the mayor's seat in the middle at the high altar, the height of the tomb being a hindrance to the people it was pulled down. In 1682 was erected the present altar tomb." (Blomfield, vol. ii. p. 333.)

Eborard succeeded in 1121, who loving his monks of Norwich with all affection, began the work of the church where Herbertus had left it, and as the old people relate, wholly completed it. He died in the year 1149.⁸

In the year 1150 the boy Saint William at Norwich was translated from the cemetery to the *capitulum*, or east end of the church, and in the same year William de Turbes was consecrated Bishop.⁹ In his time the church of the Holy Trinity at Norwich was greatly damaged by an accidental fire. He therefore made a vow that he would not go farther than twelve leagues from his church unless compelled by absolute necessity until it was re-edified. It is said that he himself would sometimes sit in a chair at the door of the church asking contributions for the repairs, and within two years it was restored altogether as it was before. He died A.D. 1173, on the 16th of January.¹

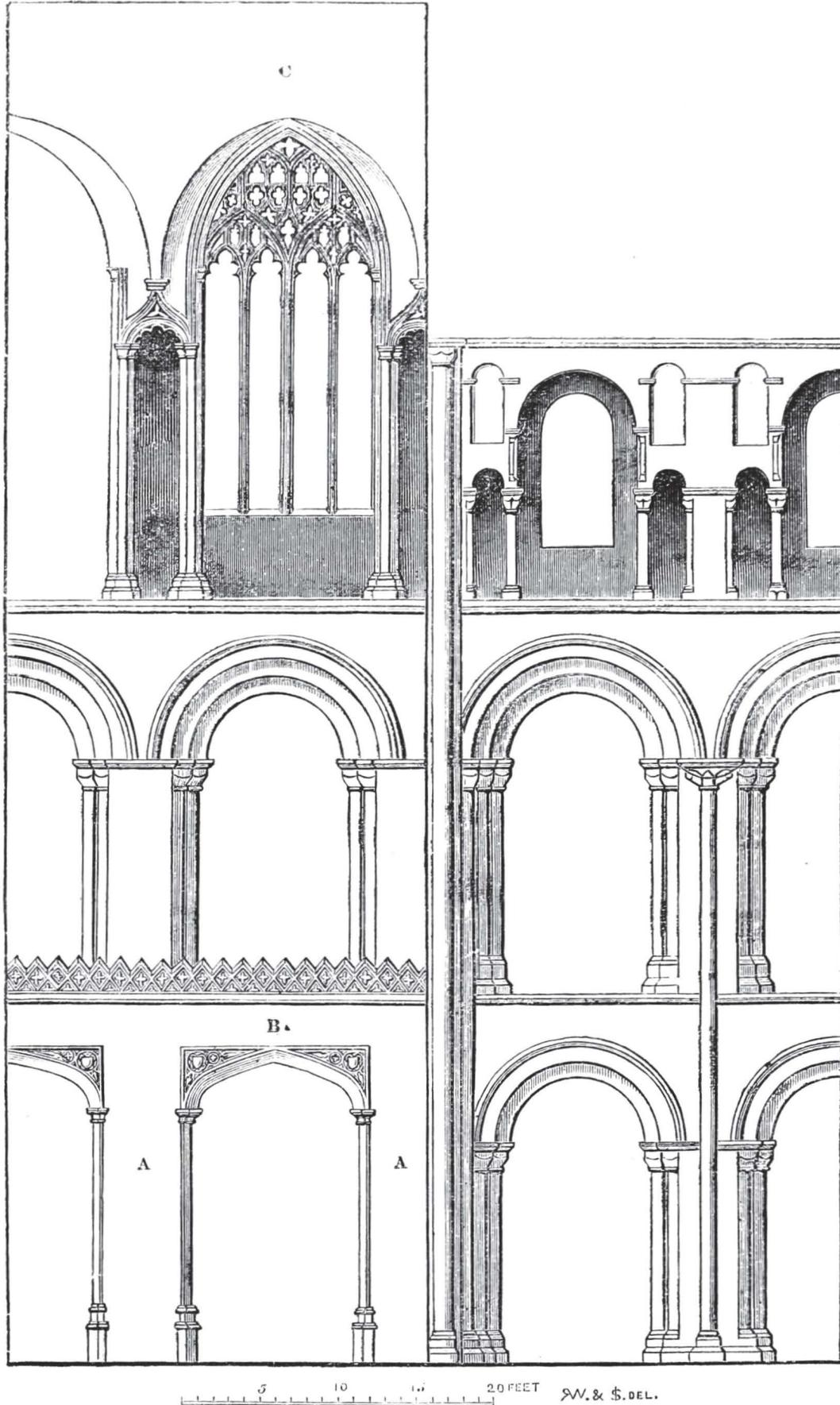
patu duas partes decimarum dominicorum suorum nonnulli vero terciam partem monastico prædicto contulerunt et in illo tempore fere omnes minute decime quas monachi Norwyci nunc tenent donate fuerunt." Reg. 1^m. f. 22. See Croyland, Pet. Bles., p. 118, Gale, vol. i.

⁸ Celebri vero memorie Herberto episcopo defuncto successit eidem Eborardus episcopus A^o domini m^oc^ovicesimo primo, qui monachos suos Norwyci omni affectione diligens opus ecclesie Norwyci ubi Herbertus episcopus predecessor suus dimiserat incepit, et ut ab antiquis dictum est memoratam ecclesiam integraliter consummavit. Idem ecclesia Ebor-

ardus episcopus monachis suis Norwyci plura bona contulit, &c. . . . Reg. 1^m. f. 23 b.

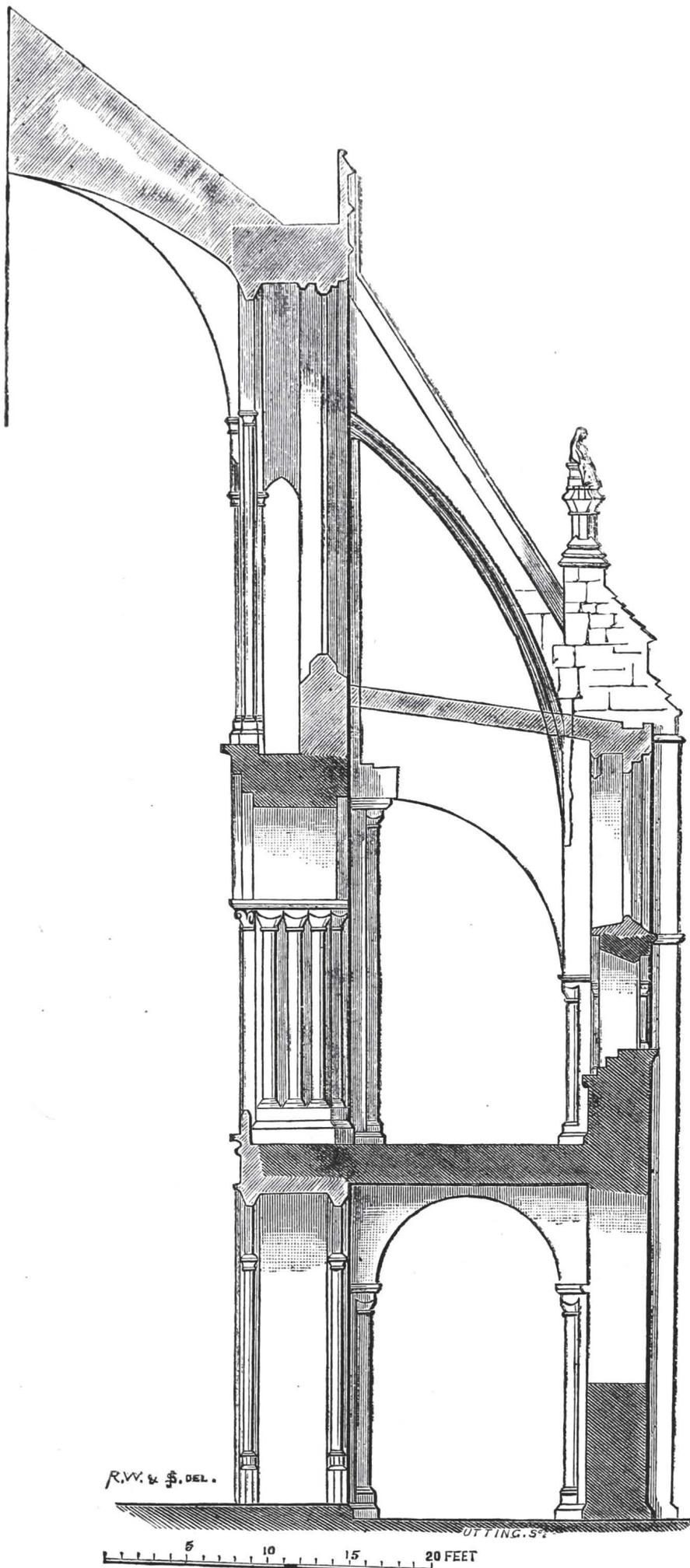
⁹ A^o MCL apud Norwycum S. Willelmus puer translatus est a cæmeterio in capitulum. Tempore sub eodem Willelmus de Turbes consecratus est in episcopum Norwicensem. Angl. Sacr. I., p. 397.

¹ Tempore illius Willⁱ. fuit ecclesia sancte Trinitatis Norwyci fere combusta per casum, qui propter hoc emisit votum suum quod non elongaret se ab ecclesia sua ultra xii leucas nisi necessitate compulsus quousque ecclesia sua Norwyci fuisset reedificata, et ut dicitur ipsemet in propria personâ aliquando sedit in



NORWICH CATHEDRAL. The Presbytery in two states.

- A. A. Mural canopy-work.
- B. Ornamental panels and shields.
- C. Groined vaulting.



NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

Half-section of the Presbytery. The two kinds of hatching distinguish the Norman church from the present.

The fire is placed by Cotton in the year 1171.²

John of Oxford succeeded, in whose time in consequence of the many wrongs and annoyances to which he subjected the convent, there arose a discord between him and the convent (A.D. 1173),³ which lasted his whole life. Nevertheless, it is said by some that during this period of discord he caused the Infirmary house of the monks of Norwich to be built. He also remitted to the whole diocese the tax which Herbert had imposed on every messuage for the building of the church.⁴ This is the account given of him in the "Registrum Primum." Cotton says simply⁵ that he finished the church which Herbert began, and built an infirmary and did much good for the monks. It is plain from the above that he wound up the building affairs, and that in his time the building-tax had become unnecessary. Part of the Infirmary remains, consisting of a few piers of a very florid Norman character, and of the springing of the arches. The character is perhaps rather earlier than that usually assigned to so late a portion of the twelfth century.⁶

The Norman church being now completed, we have

quadam cathedrâ ad portam ecclesie ad petendum subsidium ad reparacionem ecclesie suæ, et infra duos annos omnino ut prius reparavit et sic redit ampla domus annis reedificata duobus. Postque omnia prospere agens viam universe carnis ingressus est A° dñi m° c° lxxij. xvij. Kal. Februar. Reg. 1^m. f. 29 b. Also Harl. 6974, p. 64 b.

² A° mclxxi. Ecclesia Norwici combusta est.

³ Cotton places his consecration in 1175.

⁴ Joh. de Oxonia cujus tempore propter diversas injurias et diversa gravamina que fecerat conventui Norwyci, orta est discordia inter ipsum et conventum A° Dⁱ 1173 que duravit toto tempore suo. Dicitur tamen a quibusdam quod tempore illius discordie fecit fieri domum infirmarie monachorum Norwyci. Ipse vero remisit omnibus de dyocesi illud auxilium quod Herbertus imposuerat singulis messuagiis ad edificacionem ecclesie. Reg. 1^m. fol. 30 ; also Harl. 6974, p. 566.

⁵ "Hic consummavit ecclesiam ab Herberto inceptam et infirmariam ædificabit et multa bona monachis fecit." ; and Leland Coll. i. 351. Blomfield (misled by Godwin) translates this into "being a great benefactor to the convent. He built some almshouses for the poor and

impotent thereto belonging," p. 338.

⁶ Some confusion has crept into this part of the history of the church, on account of the various dates that have been assigned to the Bishops. The history given in the "Registrum Primum," which is extracted in the text, appears very clear and consistent with the building as it stands. It assigns its first erection to Herbert, including the part which was required for the service, and its completion to Eborard, his successor (who died 1149), namely, the nave, and it is not probable, considering the unmixed round-arched Norman of the whole building, that any part of it could have been erected at a later period. Then we have the effects of the first fire repaired in two years by William de Turbes, and next John of Oxford, who erects the infirmary, and closes the building account by remitting the tax.

But this history has not been made use of by Nevyle, Godwin, and their copyists, from whom the usual account of the building has been derived by modern writers. Godwin, in fact, copies Nevyle, and therefore we may consider Nevyle alone. He apparently uses Cotton's dates scattered throughout the "Episcopal History." (See "Ang. Sacr.," I. p. 403, &c.) But Cotton assigns no work to Eborard, and of William Turbe he only says "Hujus

nothing to record of the succeeding Bishops (unless it be that Pandulfus gave the monks a box of relics),⁷ until Walter de Suthfield made the new chapel of the Virgin Mary in the cathedral church, where he was buried, and where, as Cotton says, his merits worked miracles even to that day.⁸ This chapel, as it was falling into decay, was pulled down by Dean Gardiner between 1573 and 1589, and there only remains of it the great arch of entrance, which is necessarily so walled up

tempore combusta fuit Norwicensis ecclesia," while of his successor, John of Oxford, he says, "Hic consummavit ecclesiam ab Herberto inceptam et infirmariam ædificavit," and the same words are repeated in the MS. employed by Leland (Coll. t. i. p. 351); evidently either a copy of Cotton's "Episcopal History" or of the writer that Cotton copied. That Nevyle had not seen the "Registrum Primum" is evident, for he regrets that Eborard had left no memorial behind him. "Sed injuria temporis factum est ut hujus pontificis memoria, abolita pæne vetustate, perierit. Nam cum annos viginti novem episcopatu præfuisset, perfecit eadem quæ omnia delet venustas, ut nulla ejus ingenii monumenta mandata litteris, nullum opus otii, nullum dignitatis munus ad pietatis gloriam existat," p. 139, Nevyle has also followed a mistake in the date of the succession of John of Oxford, which Cotton's "Episcopal History" and Leland's MSS. place in 1170, but the "Registrum Primum" and Cotton's "Chronicle" or "Annales de Diceto," &c., four of five years later. Indeed, the mistake is evidently a slip of the pen, for the arithmetic of the succession figures runs thus:—"Gul. Turbe aº 1150 successit . . . sedit 25 ann. . . . Jo. de Oxon aº 1170 successit . . . sedit 26 ann. ob an. D. 1200." (Angl. Sacr., p. 409; Leland, p. 351.)

But as the false date places the fire of 1171 in the reign of John of Oxford, Nevyle assumes that there were two fires, one in "the time of Will. Turbe," to use the chronicler's expression, the other "in the year 1171," and therefore in the time of John of Oxford. That such was not the case is shown by the term "secunda combustio," which is applied to the insurrectionary fire of 1272. In the cotemporary documents Godwin corrects the dates, but gives to John of Oxford the credit of repairing the consequences of the fire. It is amusing to see how the concise phrase of the original chronicler is gradually expanded by successive historians, without not only authority, and by

only copying each in succession, but from the mere love of florid writing. (1.) Hic consummavit ecclesiam ab Herberto inceptam (Cotton). (2.) Hic inceptam prius et inchoatam ab Hereberto ecclesiam perpolivit (Nevyle). (3.) Hic ecclesiam suam cathedralem ab Hereberto constructam, sed nuper incendio deformatam, restauravit, pristinoque restituit nitori, nonnullis porro adjectis ornamentis quæ deesse videbantur (Godwin).

"The cathedral, which till now was never perfectly finished, he not only completed, but repaired that part which was burnt in his predecessor's time, and restored it to its ancient beauty, adding all such ornaments as were then wanting." (Blomfield, p. 338.) This is a tolerably fair specimen of the way in which architectural histories of mediæval buildings have been written. Blomfield, however, appears to have seen either the "Register" or some other document besides Cotton, for although he passes Eborard's work in silence in his "Biography of the Bishops," he assigns the whole nave and aisles to him without quoting any authority.

⁷ "Pandulphus . . . consecratus est Aº. D.º. 1222. . . . Hic archam cum reliquiis monachis dedit." (Angl. Sacr. I., p. 410.)

⁸ Walterus de Suthfield. . . . "Hic fecit Hospitale S. Egidii in Norwico et possessionibus ditavit. Hic etiam fecit novam capellam B. Mariæ in cathedrali ecclesiâ Norwicensi, ubi postea sepultus est aº Pontificatus sui xiii. . . . qui etiam locus meritis ejus usque in hodiernum diem miraculis coruscat." (Angl. Sacr. I., p. 411.) By his will, Blomfield adds, he orders his body to be buried before the high altar of the new chapel of the Blessed Virgin, by him founded, at the east end of the cathedral, at which altar he appointed a monk daily to pray for his soul (p. 346). His successor, Simon de Wanton, was buried in this chapel, and so also was Bishop William de Middleton, at the founder's head, in 1288. (Angl. Sacr. I., pp. 411, 412.)

as to conceal some part of its mouldings and the springing of the walls. Suthfield held the See from 1243 to 1258, and the chapel was Early English, as its mouldings show. The lines of its foundations are given in the plan. The arch of entrance was divided by a pillar into two. It is needless to add that the original Norman chapel was taken down to make way for it. Now, as neither chapel exists, the east end of the cathedral appears deficient.

In the year 1272 there happened a quarrel between the citizens and the inhabitants of the Priory, which led to very serious consequences, for in the tumultuous conflict which resulted, the buildings of the monks were set on fire and sacked. Two accounts remain to us of the event, one written by a monk and the other by a citizen, and the difference between the two statements is exceedingly characteristic of the two classes.

The monastic version of the story is to be found in Cotton's chronicle,⁹ and runs as follows:—

“In the year 1272, on the day of the apostles Peter and Paul (June 29), and at the hour when the convent of Norwich were singing primes, there arose a mighty thunder-storm with lightning, which struck the tower of the church of the Holy Trinity, knocked out several stones from it and threw them to the ground, and greatly damaged it. All the brethren fled in fear from the choir except three, one of whom fell as if dead on the ground, but the other two went on singing until the rest returned. Many believed this to be only a presage of future and greater misfortunes. In the same year on the morrow of St. Laurence (Aug. 11), the citizens besieged the *curia* of the monks on all sides, and when by threats they failed to obtain ingress they applied fire to the great gates of the monastery, beyond which stood a certain parish church. Thus they burnt the gates as well as the aforesaid church with all its ornaments, books, images and everything else that was in it. Moreover, they set fire at the same time, to the great eleemosynary house, or almonry, and to the church gates, and to the great campanile, all which, as well as the bells, were consumed.

“Some of them threw fire by means of crossbows from the tower of Saint George upon the great campanile, which stands beyond the choir, and this fire consumed the whole

⁹ “Anglia Sac.” I., p. 399.

church except the chapel of S. Mary, which was miraculously preserved. Moreover they burnt with fire the dormitory, the refectory, the guest hall, the infirmary with its chapel, and indeed all the buildings of the *curia*. And they slew many of the establishment, some subdeacons, some clerks, some laics in the cloister and within the walls of the monastery; others they dragged out of the walls and killed in the city or imprisoned them. And they plundered all the sacred vessels, books, gold and silver vestments, and everything that the fire had spared, for all the monks save two or three had fled from the monastery. And they continued for three days, burning, slaying, and committing depredations.”¹

But the most detailed account of this fire is contained in the chronicle of the mayor and sheriffs of London, termed the “*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*.”² In this narration we are presented with the citizens’ view of the matter, from

¹ It is, perhaps, unnecessary to transcribe the whole of the original Latin of this history, which may be found in the “*Anglia Sacra*,” p. 399, in Cod. Bodl. 8, B. 6 Land; in MSS. Bibl., publ. Cant. Dd. 3, 83, No. 3, also No. 4, and in the Brit. Mus., MSS. Cott. Nero. But it is necessary to notice an error in punctuation, and the omission of a single word in Wharton’s copy, which has the effect of wholly altering the sense. The sentence in question runs thus in the Bodleian and Cambridge copies:—“ . . . Ex quibus ignibus totam ecclesiam, præter capellam Beatae Mariæ quæ miraculose servata est, combusserunt. Dormitorium refectorium aulam hospitem, infirmariam cum capellâ et quasi omnia ædificia curiæ combusserunt igne.” In Wharton’s copy *quæ* is omitted and the punctuation altered, so as to make it appear that the church was miraculously preserved and the Lady chapel burnt. The full stop being placed after *servata est*, the *quæ* had dropped out of the Museum MSS. which he transcribed; the punctuation is his own.

² Edited by T. Stapleton, Esq., for the Camden Society, No. xxxix., and published in 1846. The history in question begins at p. 145. Blomfield (p. 41) has given some facts from this history, which he calls the old roll, and all that relates to the above history is also printed, with remarks, in the “*Excerpta Historica*,” 1831, p. 252.

“Qui omnes venerunt per aquas ad illud cœnobium, ascendentes super Berefridum, ubi campane dependebant, munitentes illum cum armis veluti castra, et

inde traxerunt cum arcibus et balystis; ita quod nullus per vicus vel venellas prope cœnobium transire poterat nisi fuit vulneratus. Hanc violentiam Cives videntes, arbitrati sunt illos maleficos esse manifeste contra pacem Domini Regis, qui fecerunt castrum adulterinum in Civitate sua. Qui congregati, disponentes illos comprehendere et adducere ad justiciam Regis, armis se munierunt, qui appropinquantes ad portam curie clausam, non valentes intrare propter munitionem hominum armatorum igne imposito portam crudeliter succenderunt. Quo igne invalescente, Berefridus succenditur et omnia domicilia monachorum et etiam, ut quidam dicunt, Cathedralis ecclesia, pro dolor! cum omnibus reliquiis sanctorum libris et ornamentis ecclesie; ita quod quicquid comburi poterat, deductum est in cineres, excepta quadam capella, que incombusta remansit. Monachi vero, et omnes qui poterant, ponentes se in fugam, evaserunt; sed tamen quidam ex utraque parte interfecti sunt. . . . Postea, per verissimam inquisitionem xl. militum prope Civitatem manentium compertum est quod illa ecclesia combusta fuit per illum maledictum, et non per ignem Civium. Ille namque occulte venire fecerat fabros sursum in *turrim* ecclesie qui fecerunt ibi tela et pila ad trahendum cum illis, cum balistis in Civitate qui vero fabri cum vidissent Berefridum comburi, sicut prescriptum est, posuerunt se in fugam et non extinxerunt ignem suum; quo igne invalescente accensa est *turris* et ecclesia combusta” (pp. 145, 146, 147).

which it would appear that the Prior allowed the servants and retainers of the monastery to go into the city and beat and insult the peaceable inhabitants thereof. Our business, however, is not so much with the tumult as with its consequences upon the buildings, and we shall therefore confine ourselves to the origin of the fire and its effects, as it is related in this version of the affair, which states that when the Prior heard that the citizens were arming themselves and concerting measures to repel force by force, he sent to Yarmouth for a great number of mercenary wretches, who, when they had arrived by water at the monastery, ascended into the *Berefridus*, where the bells hung, furnished it with arms like a fortress, and from thence shot with bows and balistæ, so that no one could pass along the streets and lanes near the monastery without being wounded. Whereupon the citizens having assembled in arms for the purpose of seizing these men, and bringing them to justice, and finding the gate of the *curia* closed and defended by armed men, they set fire to it, "which fire increasing, the *Berefridus* was inflamed and all the dwellings of the monks, and even, as some say, the cathedral church most unhappily, with all the relics of the saints, the books and ornaments of the church, so that whatever would burn was reduced to ashes, except a certain chapel, which remained entire."

In the legal enquiry that followed "it was proved that, after all, the church was burnt by that accursed Prior and not by the fire of the citizens, for he had privately placed certain smiths above in the tower of the church, who fabricated there the darts and javelins to be thrown with them by the crossbows into the city. These smiths when they saw the *Berefridus* on fire as before related, took flight and left their own fire burning. Which fire caught the *tower*, and thus the church was burnt."

The most curious information which these narratives furnish is the fact that there must have been two campaniles belonging to the cathedral. One of them is the central tower which is now crowned with a lofty spire. The other, which is the *Berefridus* or belfry of the second narrative, has now disappeared, and it is almost impossible to determine its site. Plainly, it was detached from the cathedral, for it is not said to have caused the fire of the great church. In both narratives that is distinctly referred to the combustion

of the central tower or “magnum campanile ultra chorum,” which the monks assert to have been fired by means of cross-bows from the tower of S. George, but the citizens declare to have been accidentally consumed by the neglect of the smiths’ fires. The belfry, which was fired in the first instance, probably stood close to the outer wall, for the retainers of the monastery are described as having occupied it for the purpose of annoying the passengers. It is likely that it stood close to the Erpingham gate, and that a gate always existed on the site of the latter, for it is very usual to find a gatehouse opposite to the church doors distinct from the gates of the monastery, as, for example, at Bury, Canterbury, and Peterborough. This *church gate* was probably the “*portas ecclesiæ*” which the citizens are said to have set fire to at the same time that they fired the great campanile, the Eleemosynarium, etc.; and as the latter was commonly in the outer circuit near the gate, the whole group which was burnt at the beginning of the attack are thus brought to the outer wall of the “*curia*” or great court, and the narrative becomes much more consistent and intelligible. The insurgents first set fire to the great gate (now of S. Ethelbert) with its neighbouring church, and also to the church gate (now of Erpingham) and its neighbouring belfry and the almonry. In the next place they attack the interior buildings, the dormitory, refectory, etc., which are grouped round about the cloister. The church takes fire from the central tower, the origin of whose combustion is uncertain.

This tower must have been roofed with wood, probably with a wooden spire or turret, and the detached belfry may have been wholly, or at least in its upper stories, constructed of wood, like that of Salisbury, which was so foolishly and wantonly pulled down by Wyatt, or like the detached campanile of Worcester,³ called “The Leaden Steeple.” The Sacrist Rolls of Norwich contain abundant allusions to two

³ The “Leaden Steeple” of Worcester stood immediately opposite the north transept of the cross aisle. The base of this cloche, clochium, or clocherium was eight-sided. The height of the stonework, 60 ft., equal to the battlements of the church. The diameter of the base was 61 ft. and the thickness of the walls 10 ft. On the base stood a spire wholly covered with lead, 50 yards high, from which circumstance it obtained the name

it was afterwards known by—viz., the “Leaden Spire” (“Leddan Stepull,” Fuller, “Hist. of Abbeys”). The whole height of the base and spire was 70 yards. The weathercock was on a level with the former spire of S. Andrew’s church, which was 77 yards high. The timberwork of the leaden spire was all of Irish oak, not sawed but wrought with the axe. (Green’s “Worcester,” vol. i. p. 42.)

In the year 1647 the “Leaden Steeple”

bell towers, the most direct of which, perhaps, are to be found in documents dated 1440, 1482, 1485, 1491 and 1522, where phrases are used which leave no doubt that up to the Reformation a detached clocherium was in existence.⁴ Thus, for example, in the roll of the Sacrist for the year 1440 the following item exists, "Item solut' Stephano Carpentar' pro nova suspensione stokkyng et whelyng campanarum in le clocher et campanile in choro, in grosso, ad proprios sumptus preter vesturam vj^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d." There is an entry in the similar document for 1482:—"In reparacione horologii in le clocher" Reparacio ecclesie. Solut' Andree carpentar' pro opere suo in magno campanili vij^s iiij^d."

In 1485 a carpenter and a plumber were repairing a "pinacle" in the campanile,—glass and iron were brought for one of its windows, and in the following year mention is made of its clock. In 1491 the distinction between the two towers is perfectly clear in the entry, "Pro funibus pro campanis utriusque campanilis," and the same fact is proved

was pulled down, and the materials sold for £617. The four bells were taken down, broken, and carried away in 1539. Tradition gave the building of the spire to King John; Strype attributes it to Henry III. ("Annals of the Reformation," i. p. 402. Willis, "Mitred Abbeys," vol. i. p. 306.)

The clock of Worcester, although the time of its first introduction is not recorded, was first placed in the Leaden Steeple, and on the demolition of that structure was fixed in the tower of the cathedral, where it now stands. (Green's "Worcester," p. 167.)

⁴ These towers are termed indifferently *campanilis* or *clocherium*. Sometimes the "campanilis in choro" or "ultrachorum" occurs, by which the central tower is of course meant, which stands immediately above the eastern stalls of the choir.

There was a garden on the north side of the steeple (by which the detached steeple must be meant), and certain shops near the "portas ecclesie," which expression, as stated above, appears to mean not the doors of the church, but the church-gate. These were let by the sacrist, and the rent of them was part of the revenue of his office. The Sacrist Roll of 1491 supplies evidence of peculiar value:—

"1491. Comp. Edmⁱ. Derham de officio sacristi.

"Opellis juxta portas ecclesie videlicet. Inprimis de Thoma Worcestre aurifabro pro opella sui sibi dimissa ad terminum vij annorum hoc anno quarto, v. s. De Ric^o. Fox marbeler pro opella sua &c. . . . x. s. De Ric^o. Goldsmyth pro parva tega * juxta clocherium cum parvo angulo juxta portam Carnarie xiiij^d. De Will^o. Chamby, pro opella sua iiij. s. De Roberto Dylham pro parvo gardino ex parte boreali clocherii xij. d. De magistro carnarie pro gardino in Carnaria ij. s. iv. d. De le prechyng yerde xiii. s. iv. d."

This entry supplies very useful information concerning the juxtaposition of the shops, gardens, &c. Thus, Richard Goldsmyth's little "box" or stall against the clocherium, with a little corner next to the door of the chancel chapel, fixes the Belfry near the door of the chancel chapel.

* *Tega*, for *theca* (and from *tego*) literally, therefore, a box, and used in this case just as a small house is termed a box in modern familiar language. *Teges*, *Parva domus* (Ducange). *Opella*, Ducange quotes from a vocabularium vetus Anglo-Lat., "*Schoppe: opella propola miropolium Selda . . .*" and this is confirmed by the Sacrist Roll of 1431, in which we find "De schoppes ad portas ecclesie xx. s. iiij. d."

by the Sacrist's Roll for 1522, which has the following item, "In funibus et le banderyeke pro campanis in utroque clocherio." In the roll of 1494 we find, "In emendacione fenestrarum in campanili in choro cum mensulis xij^d. In factura fenestrarum in clocherio cum mensulis et clavis iij^s ix^d;" and in 1504 the Sacrist accounts contain an item, "Solut' prefat' John Gough pro reparatione hostiorum et fenestr' in ecclesia et clocherio diversis vicibus hoc anno viij^s iij^d. In meremio et mensulis emptis diversis vicibus pro hostiis et fenestris et aliis necessariis in campanile clocherio et ecclesia x^s ix^d. . . ." In 1525 the roll of the same officer has similar charges. "In reparacione diversarum fenestrarum in ecclesia in le fremason werke xiiij^s xj^d. In reparacione le frames campanarum in clocherio chori xvij^s iij^d ob. In sarracione mensulas et le plancheryng magni clocherii in eisdem mensulis, ac clavis empt' pro eodem opere xxxxiij^s xj^d.

Each tower had a clock, and one had "chymes."⁵ One of the clocks put up in 1325 was obviously a very important object in the church, inasmuch as Mr. Adam, a sculptor, was paid 40s. for making 24 small images for it.⁶

The papal Bull of Excommunication also shows in its preamble that there was more than one campanile. "Ecclesiam prædictam cathedralem, *campanilia* cum campanis, Dormitorium, Refectorium, Infirmariam, Camerariam, Sacristiam, Aulam hospitem deputatam hospitalitatis officio, ceterasque ipsius monasterii officinas . . . incendio concremarunt." (MS. Cott. Nero. c. 5, p. 279.)

For the litigation that followed this fire we may refer to Cotton (p. 400) or Blomfield (p. 39, etc.). The citizens were condemned by the King in 1275 to pay to the Prior and convent 3000 marks for the repair or rebuilding of the church and monastery, at the rate of 100 marks a year in half-yearly payments, and also to give a golden vessel or pix for the keeping of the eucharist over the altar of the said church, which was to weigh ten pounds of gold, and be worth 100 pounds of silver.⁷

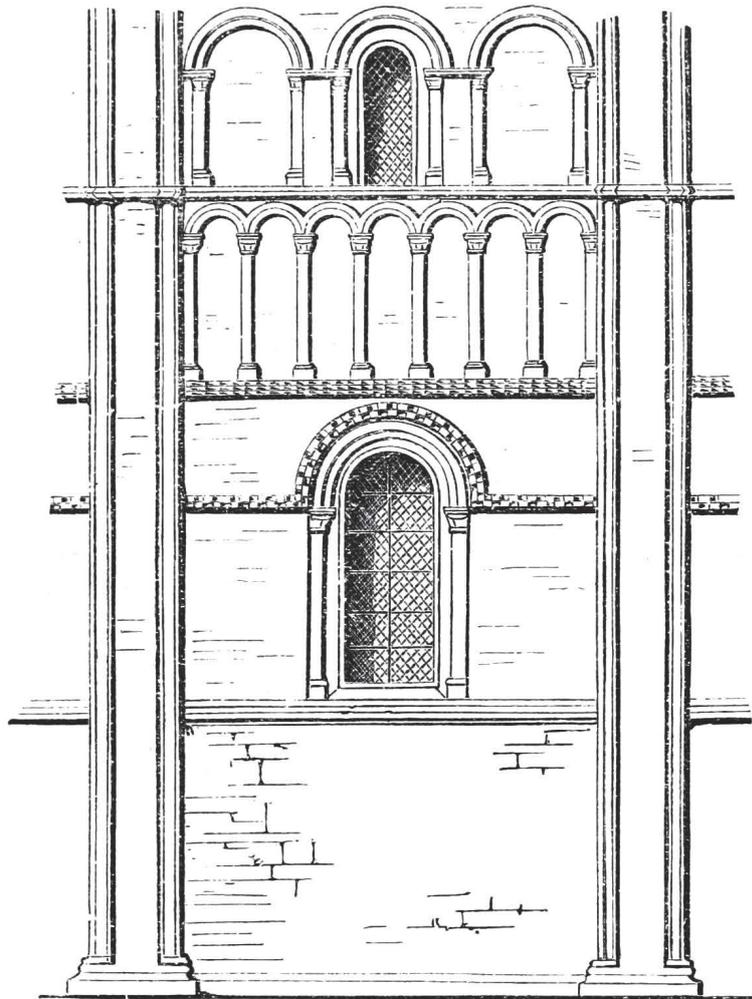
In 1278 Bishop Middleton was consecrated, and was enthroned on Advent Sunday, and on the same day dedicated the great church of the Holy Trinity at Norwich, which had

⁵ "Rolls of the Sacrist" for 1432, 1439, 1482, 1486.

an account of this clock.

⁷ Cotton, "Annales," p. 401.

⁶ See Arch. Journ., vol. xii., p. 177, for



SCALE OF 10 FEET

NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

Nave—North Side. Exterior.

never before been dedicated,⁸ and which had been sedulously repaired after the fire.⁹ In which dedication were present and assisting, John de Chivil, Bishop of London, Thomas de Cantelupe of Hereford, Stephen of Waterford and the Archbishop of Seez. There were also present the Lord Edward the King, the Queen, and many Earls, barons and other nobility.¹ On the same day the Bishop of London dedicated the altar where the body of S. William lies buried, in honour of the Holy Saviour and all Saints; the Bishop of Hereford dedicated the altar at the door of the choir, in honour of the Blessed Virgin, of John the Baptist, S. Egidius the Abbot and of all holy virgins; and the Bishop of Waterford dedicated the altar at the door of the Sacrist's chamber in honour of the apostles Peter and Paul and all Saints.

In the succeeding parts of the architectural history we are assisted by a new class of document, the monastic account rolls, of which Norwich possesses, perhaps, a finer collection than any similar establishment in this country. Although so many of them have been lost as to disturb the series, yet those that remain are in excellent condition, and include the separate accounts in a greater or less state of completeness of every officer of the convent, from the latter end of the thirteenth century to the Reformation. Thus the Sacrist Rolls begin in 1271 and continue to 1535, and out of the 264 years thus included, the rolls for 102 have been preserved.

From these rolls it appears that from 1291 to 1307 works were going on upon the great tower and belfry. In the first place, the back of the Sacrist Roll of 1297, the ninth year of Prior Henry, contains a summary of the expenses of the great tower,—“*Compotus expensarum Turris magni.*” It begins with the materials, and first with several items of lead, as for example, “*In xvij caretatis plumbi cum expensis xl^{li} xij^s d. . . .*” and so on, amounting on the whole to the

⁸ Angl. Sacr., “*De Episc.*,” p. 412.

⁹ “*Chron. T. Wikes*,” A^o. 1278, p. 107.

¹ Wharton (p. 401) extracts this sentence from Cotton as far as this point, omitting the conclusion, which is now added. “*Eodem die Joh' Lond' dedicavit altare ubi corpus Willelmi jacet humatus in honore S. Salvatoris et omnium sanctorum.* Thomas Hereford'

dedicavit altare ad hostium chori in honore B. M. Virginis et beat' Joh' Bapt' et Ægid' Abbatis et omnium sanct^m virg'. Steph' Waterford' altare ad hostium sacriste camere' in honore ap'lorum Pet' et Pauli et omnium sanctorum.” (MSS. in Norwich Treasury, and “*Nero*,” C.5, Brit. Mus.) Blomfield (p. 486) has given the particulars without quoting his authority.

sum of 165*l.* 7*s.* 1½*d.* Then comes an account of timber, ropes, iron, etc., also gold, colours and oil; total 47*l.* 8*s.* 5½*d.* Next follows the summary of the yearly expenditure in wages, tools, etc., in seven entries. The first for three months, from June 29th to Sep. 29, A.D. 1291, gives the beginning of the work, purchase of tools, wages of a carpenter and of sawyers, and *the expenses of Peter Koc to Ely and S. Edmunds*; total, 2*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* This Peter was the master of the works or architect, and his travels were probably made for the purpose of inspecting similar works at Ely and Bury, or else to seek for materials and engage workmen.

The entries are as follow :—

“Compotus Expensarum Turris magni.

“In xvij. caretatis plumbi cum expensis xl. li. xij. d^e In xv. caretatis plumbi cum expensis xxxij. li. In xxij. caretatis plumbi cum expensis lij. li. iij. s. In x. caretatis plumbi et x. clavis cum expensis, xx. li. vj. s. vij. d. q^a ob. In x. caretatis plumbi cum expensis xix. li. xv. s. vj. d.

“Summa C. lxxv. li. vij. s. j. d. ð.

“In m. ix. iij. x. bordis de grossis et ix. de minoribus xix. li. iij. s. ij. d. o'. In j. cable et cordis aliis lij. s. vij. d. q^a. In clavis et ferro emptis ix. li. iij. s. q^a. In le polle magno et aliis lxxvj. s. In j. domo facta in cimiterio xxxij. s. x. d. In meremio empto et cariagio lignorum de Hindolveston plusquam recepit de ramis et stapellis vij. li. xj. s. iij. d. In lignis et arboribus emptis ad fundendum plumbum xxx. s. ob. In j. malo et j. cage et cleis ad stagiam x. s. vij. d. In auro coloribus et oleo xxxj. s. x. d. q^a.

“Summa xlviij. li. viij. s. v. d. ob.

“A festo Sanctorum Petri et Pauli incepcio turris anno H. Prioris tercio usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis sequentem, in seruris clavis ad ostias securibus et azis sarris et aliis utensilibus v. s. xj. d. o'. In stipendio carpentarii per idem tempus xvj. s. iij. d. In stipendiis iij. sarratorum per idem tempus xxij. s. ij. d. In expensis P. Koc versus Ely et Sanctum Edmundum iij. s. ij. d.” Summa xlviij. s. vj. d. ð.

The next five entries include each one year, from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, and contain only the carpenters' and sawyers' wages, with an allowance for P. Koc's gown. The last which includes this work extends from Michaelmas, 1296, to the feast of S. Andrew, Nov. 30, 1296, for the carpenters, and to the Nativity of the Virgin, Sep. 8, 1297, for the plumbers; also for the painters from Easter to Easter.

In the following year, 5*l.* 14*s.* 8¼*d.* were expended in the wages of workmen, chiefly sawyers, including 13*s.* 4*d.* on account of Peter Koc, and 5*s.* for his gown. In the

next four years the sums so expended were respectively 5*l.* 19*s.* 0½*d.*; 2*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*; 3*l.* 2*s.* 4½*d.*; 6*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* In the sixth year more workmen were engaged, including plumbers and painters, and the expenses were 8*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

The total of the entries described above is 248*l.* 0*s.* 1¼*d.*, not including the food and drink of the workmen; and there can be no doubt, as the work is wholly of timber and lead, that it was a spire for the great central tower which thus occupied the time from the 29th June, 1291, to Sep. 8th, 1297. In the roll of 1300 (12th year of Prior Henry de Lakenham) we have "expensæ de le Berefrey anno secundo" (the roll of 1299 is lost); this consists of masons' work, and amounts to 60*l.* 13*s.* 9¼*d.*, and a similar entry in 1301 amounts to 66*l.* 19*s.* 1½*d.*, and to the same nearly in 1304 and 1307; the last being mixed with carpenters' work to a very small amount. The charges in all these cases relate only to materials, such as Barnack and Caen stone, calyon, lime, scaffolds and so on, without any indications of architectural terms or ornaments. It must be presumed that this *Berefrey* is the Berefrius of the narrative, which is supposed to have stood near the Erpingham gate; but in 1304 and 1305 there are similar entries of masons' work under the head of "Expensæ Campanilis," upon which 61*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* and 44*l.* 3*s.* 2¾*d.* were expended in these two years respectively. It is a question whether the name *Berefrey* and *Campanilis* were applied indifferently to the same work, or whether the entries under the latter name relate to the repair of the stonework of the central tower, or, lastly, to some other *campanile* about the cathedral which may have disappeared.

The Roll for the year 1300 being headed "Anno secundo," shows that the work was begun in the preceding year. Its entries relate only to the purchase of stone and building materials, with the necessary expenses of working them. In the year 1305, the work of the "Campanile" was in "free stone," of which 2000 came by way of Yarmouth; 30 ft. of worked stone ("tabul' ") was also used.

In this year's account is an entry for cutting ten columns for the buttresses "ex proprio lapide," 14 ft. in height "cum angular' "; and for the cutting of eight round windows by John de Ramsey, from stone supplied by him, and for which he received 10*l.* 13*s.* 5*d.* Timber and ironwork were also largely bought.

For neither of the years 1304 or 1307 do the entries for the work upon the *Berefrey* present any features of interest.

Bishop Bateman,² who occupied the See from 1343 to 1356, gave to the high altar a large image of the Holy Trinity in a tabernacle, all of silver gilt, of the greatest value; also a lesser image of the Holy Trinity with relics of the weight of twenty pounds; and he appropriated the church of Frenge to the office of Prior, to the intent that a perpetual chantry for his soul should be established at the first altar in the choir, with a payment of two shillings a week to whomsoever officiated there.

In the year 1362 there happened on the fifteenth of January a tremendous hurricane in England, which is mentioned by all the historians. Robert de Boston relates that in London, sixteen church towers were blown down, with houses and mills innumerable, trees and whole woods were in many places torn up by the roots; and Knyghton, Otterbourne, Walsingham, and many others state the same to have happened throughout the realm.³ On that occasion,

² "W. Bateman contulit summo altari Norwycensi imaginem magnam S. Trinitatis in Tabernaculo totam de argento et deauratam ad magnum valorem. Item minorem imaginem S. Trinitatis cum reliquiis ponderis xx. lib^m. Hic similiter appropriavit ecclesiam de Frenge officio prioris ad illum finem quod perpetuaretur una *cantaria* pro animâ ejus ad primum altare in choro, ita ut unusquisque ibi celebrans per septimanam reciperet duos solidos, quod et factum est" (Angl. Sacr. I., p. 414).

³ 1362, Jan. 15.—"This yeare, upon the 15th daie of Januarie, there rose such a passing wind that the like had not bene heard of in manie yeeres before. It began about evening time in the south, and that with such force that it overthrowed and blew downe strong and mightie buildings, as towers, steeples, houses, and chimnies. This outrageous wind continued thus for the space of six or seaven daies, whereby even those buildings that were not overthrowed and broken downe were yet so shaken that they without repairing were not long able to stand" (Holinshed, 677).

"A^o 1362.—Maximus ventus in vigilia Sancti Mauri abbatis percussit terram. Londoniæ sexdecim turres ecclesiarum dejecit, domos et molendina innumera prostravit, arbores et inte^rras sylvas in multis locis a fundamentis evulsit" ("Chron.

Angliæ" per Rob^m. de Boston (to 1368), Sparke, 136.)

"A^o. g^{mo}. mcccclxi.—Eodem anno xvij kalendarum Februarii (Jan. 17), scilicet in die et nocte Sancti Antonii orta est horribilis et nimis valida tempestas ventorum qualem nunquam retroactis temporibus non creditur à plebe fuisse visam, nam ultra quam dici potest, boscos, pomeria et omne genus arborum prostravit et multas ultra quam crederet cum radicibus evertit; ecclesias, molendina, campanilia, muros, domos dilapidavit; Apud Londonias mala innumera de campanilibus et aliis domibus et ecclesiis exercuit." (Knyghton, "Twysden," p. 2625, fl. 1395.)

"1362.—Hoc anno fuit magnus ventus in Anglia et tempestuosus qui campanilia et turres et pinnacula per diversa loca præcipitavit et subvertit in Anglia (Otterbourne, "Hearne," p. 143, d. c. 1421).

"1362, 36, Ed. 3.—Ventus vehemens, Nothus Auster Africanus, tanta vi erupit quod flatu suo domos altas, ædificia sublimia, turres et campanilia arbores et alia quæque durabilia et fortia violenter prostravit pariter et impegit, in tantum, quod residua quæ modo extant sunt hactenus infirmiora" (T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 296).

"1361.—In that same yere was a saint Maurys day
The greate winde and earthquake mer-
velous

the campanile of Norwich cathedral was blown down, and falling upon the presbytery, damaged it so seriously as to make a thorough repair necessary, to which we owe the present magnificent clerestory, which has replaced the original Norman one. "Bishop Percy," says Cotton, "gave four hundred marcs out of his own treasury towards the repair of the presbytery, which was thrown down by the campanile in the high wind on the feast of S. Maurice the Abbot, and he obtained a subscription from the whole of the clergy of his diocese for the repair of the same to the amount of 9 denarii."

The sacrist rolls for 1343, 1364, 1369, 1386, &c., are preserved, and in 1364 and 1369 the "opus presbiterii" forms a considerable item, so that we may fairly conclude that the lost rolls in this series would have supplied similar notices. For example, in the roll of The Sacrist for 1364 we have the following entry:—"Mem^m. quod ultra expensas prenotatas expendantur in esculentis et poculentis, in xx quarteriis frumenti emptis cxvj. sol. Item xxxvj. quarteriis ordeii emptis vj lib. xvij. sol. Item in carnibus et piscibus et aliis diversis emptis per vices iiij. lib. xvij. sol. Item in secundo cursu per ann' lxxij sol. ob. Item in avena empti pro prebenda stottorum de carect' xvij. sol. ij. ob. Summa xxij. lib. xxij. d. ob." Again in 1369, "Item liberatur isto anno de officio sacristi ad opus presbeterii xxxiiij. li," and in 1386, "Mem. quod ultra expensas prescriptas & prenotatas liberatur isto anno de officio sacristarie in denariis ad opus presbiterii xxxvj^{li} ix^s vij^d."

The damage caused by this high wind was apparently not

That greatly gan the people all affraye
So dredfull was it then and perelous
Specially the wind was so boistous
The stone walles steples houses and trees
Were blow doune in diverse fere cou-
trees."—(Hardyng's "Chron.," Ellis, p.
330; born 1378; died after 1465.)

"1362.—Hoc anno secundum computa-
cionem Romanam fuit magnum ventus
xv. die Januarii" (W. Wyre, "Annales,"
Hearne, p. 433; died c. 1473).

"A. D. 1361—1362.—In this 37 (*sic*)
yere upon the daye of Seynt Mauryce or
yexv. daye of Januarii, blewe so exceedyng
a wynde that ye lyke thereof was not
seen many yeres passed. This began
about evynsong tyme in the south, and
contynued with suche sternesse that it
blewe doune stronge and myghty buyld-
yngs as toures steples houses and chym-

neys, and contynued for the more partie
suche sternesse by the space of v days
after." (Fabyan's "Chron." He died c.
1511. Ellis, p. 475).

"And in the xxxvij (*sic*) yere of kyng
edward the xv day of Janiuer that is to
say on seint Maures day aboute evensongs
tyme ther aroos and come such a wynde
oute of the south with such a fersenesse
ande strength that he brast and blewe
doune to grounde high houses and stronge
bilynges toures churches and steples
ande othir stronges and all othir stronge
werkes that stoden stille weren shake
ther with that they bene yit and shall
be ev' more the febler and weyker while
they stonde And this wynde lasted
withoute any cessyng vij daies continuell"
(Caxton, C. 232, 1480).

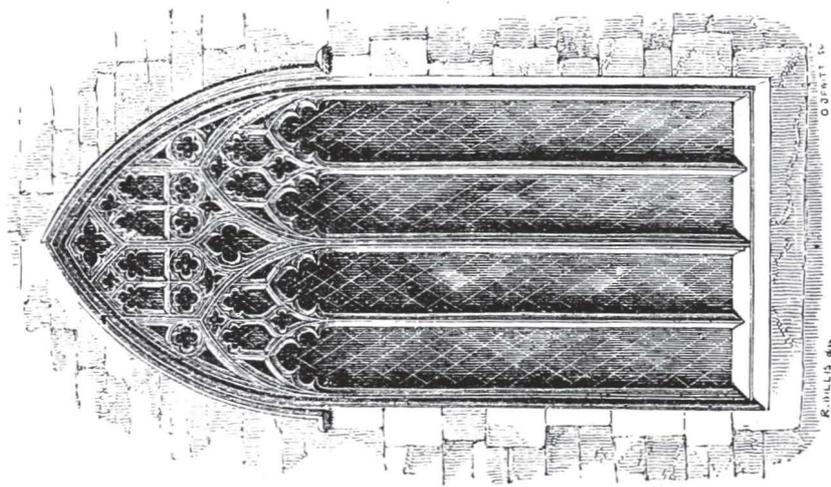
repaired for many years, according to the accounts of the monastery. In 1453 money was spent "in emendatione fenestrarum in superiori parte campanilis et in capella beate Marie post magnum ventum;" in 1460 £42 were paid for making three severies, "in le sowth ele in plumbo vitro opere cementariorum et ferramentis;" and a second payment appears "In factura le batylment ultra vj. severeff supra navem ecclesie in australi parte cum returne juxta companile, præter xij^s iij^d dat' ad idem opus per fratrem Thomam Denton, xij li."

These entries seem to refer merely to repairs of this part of the church, and it would be interesting to know whether Bishop Percy did anything more than was absolutely necessary to make the building safe where it had been damaged by this terrible tempest.

The great fire of the thirteenth century is said to have destroyed entirely so much of the old structure, that a church, in some respects entirely new, was dedicated by Bishop Middleton in 1278; and in the Sacrist's Roll for 1277 there is an item which shows clearly that at that time important changes were made in the presbytery:—"pro fenestris super magnum altare et in cruce boreali cum ferramentis, viij^{li} xl^s iij^d." It would be an interesting fact in the history of architecture if the existing windows of the apse could be connected with this entry; but there is, of course, the obvious objection that such tracery as now fills them is usually assigned to a later date, and the documentary evidence may not be regarded as sufficiently decisive to settle the question.

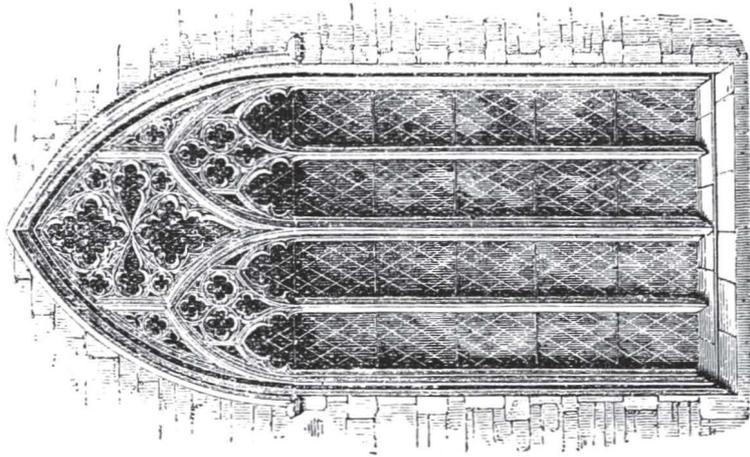
It may be remarked, however, that in Gloucester Cathedral we have a Perpendicular design essentially the same in the south transept, north transept, presbytery, and lady chapel, retaining in the first of these examples, built in 1330, many Decorated characteristics, and that the great Perpendicular west window of Winchester Cathedral is dated as early as 1350—1360.

There are, indeed, many evidences in the masonry which show that the Norwich clerestory has been very freely patched and pulled about; the transom of the east window looks very like an insertion, for it was wrought in a stone not used for the rest of the work; the flying buttresses are an after thought; the vault has no artistic connection with



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NORWICH CATHEDRAL. Presbytery Windows, c. 1300.

the walls that carry it, and it is at least possible that we look on the remains of a building of the thirteenth century, whose general features have not quite disappeared in frequent successive but necessary alterations.

Bishop Alnwyk was translated to Lincoln in 1436, and died in 1449. He left in his Will directions to his executors to make a large window over the west entrance of the church of Norwich for the decoration and illumination of the same, desiring that the stone, iron, glass, workmanship, and every other matter necessary for its completion should be provided out of his estate.⁴ The doorway underneath this great window is also shown to be his work by the sculptured arms; therefore, as it is not mentioned in his Will, it is probable that this part was executed during his life. On each side of the doorway are two tabernacles, the statues for which have long disappeared, but they are described by Browne as consisting of the figure of a King, with a Bishop on his knees receiving the charter from him, and of the maimed statues of Bishops whose copes are garnished and charged with a cross moline, &c. Where the arms of the See are in a roundel are these words: *Orate pro anima Domini Willelmi Alnwyk.*

The original west front of the Norman church still remains behind this doorway. Bishop Alnwyk's masonry was built up against the arcade of the old wall, which was disturbed only so far as was necessary for the insertion of the new work. The Norman west front was probably provided with small Norman windows, adding greatly to the obscurity, which, notwithstanding the great window, still characterizes the nave of the cathedral on account of the enormous masses of the piers, which obstruct the light usually derived from the side aisle windows. It is remarkable that this west window is, with a very trifling variation in the head, almost the same in pattern and dimensions as the great north window of Westminster Hall.⁵

Bishop Browne died in 1445, and was buried in the nave before the altar of the crucifix, prepared at his expense.⁶

⁴ *Volo quod executores mei faciant fieri ad meas expensas unam magnam fenestram condecenter super introitum occidentalem in ecclesia Norwycense ad decorationem et illuminationem ejusdem ecclesie in lapidibus ferramento vitro artificio et alia omni materia requisita.*

Probat' x^o Dec. 1449. Regr' Stafford, fo. 178, 6 (from Blomfield, p. 377).

⁵ The Westminster window was apparently completed by Richard II. c. 1390. The careful elevation in Pugin's work will enable any one to verify the above.

⁶ "Sepultus in excelsiâ sua cath^l in

In the year 1463 the ill-fated cathedral was again seriously damaged by fire. Baker's Chronicle relates that (in 3. E: IV.) "the minster of York and the steeple of Christ's Church, in Norwich, were burnt,"⁷ and the preamble to the Indulgence of Sixtus IV., to be further mentioned presently, shows that the fire proceeded from lightning.⁸ This event happened in the time of Bishop Lyhart, who occupied the see from 1445 to 1472, and of course, in consequence of the ravages of the fire, a complete repair and restoration of the nave was carried out. The stone vault was added, and this vault is supported by inserted vaulting shafts that descend to the level of the triforial imposts in the intermediate compartments, and are sustained by corbels which consist alternately of an angel bearing a shield with the Bishop's arms and his device, namely, a *hart* lying in the *water* expressing his name *Walter Ly—hart*.⁹ The vaulting shafts that stand over the principal piers are much shorter, and meet the Norman shafts at the level of the clerestory. They are very clumsily united to them. The Norman shafts are in pairs, and as the vaulting shaft is single, it is made to branch out into two at the bottom, and thus to join the twin Norman shafts in the manner of a water pipe. The vault itself is a rich lierne vault, remarkable for the number and beauty of its elaborate bosses. This vault has been lately cleaned, and an interesting account of the subjects of the carving on the bosses published by Dean Goulburn.

The bases of the Norman vaulting shafts have undergone a transformation which may very fairly be referred to this period, for wherever a fire consumes the roof of a church, the burning timbers, &c., falling from above are sure to bruise and damage the ornamental parts at the bases of the piers, even if they do no worse, and hence we may account for the manner in which the whole of the vaulting shafts have been furnished in front with Perpendicular bases, and at the same time the lateral shafts trimmed at the base, by

navi ecclesiæ coram altare crucifixi sump-
tibus ejus præparatum" (Angl. Sacr. I.,
417).

⁷ Baker, p. 217. "Hoc anno Norwyci
cathedrale templum repentinis ignibus ex-
ustum est" (Nevyle, fol. Ddd. iij.).

⁸ Ecclesia Norwicensis . . . igne
ex tempestate proveniente in partem cre-
mata fuerit, ita quod ad structurarum et
ædificiorum dicte ecclesie reparacionem et

manutencionem Christi fidelium suffragia
sint plurimum oportuna." Preamble of
the Indulgence granted by Pope Six-
tus IV. to Bishop Goldwell, dated 17 kal.
Feb. 1472, 2nd year of his papacy ("Lib.
Inst." xii. fol. 206).

⁹ See engraving of this device in
Murray's "Handbook to the Cathedrals
of England," ed. 1862, Norwich, p. 114.

which process the Norman mouldings are all scraped down into a kind of inverted bell and the characteristic sub-plinth completely shaved away.

Fig. A.

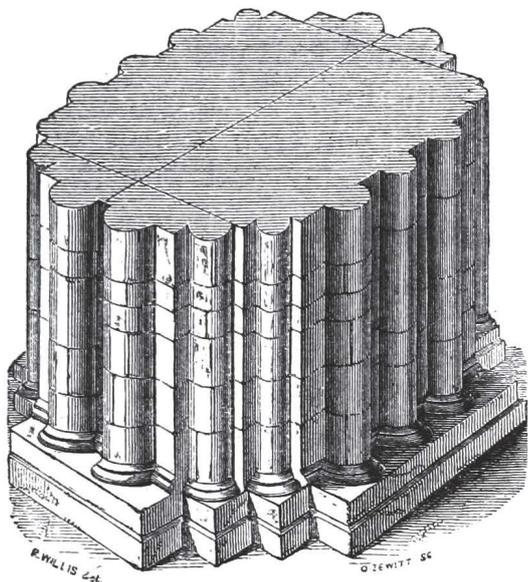


Fig. B.

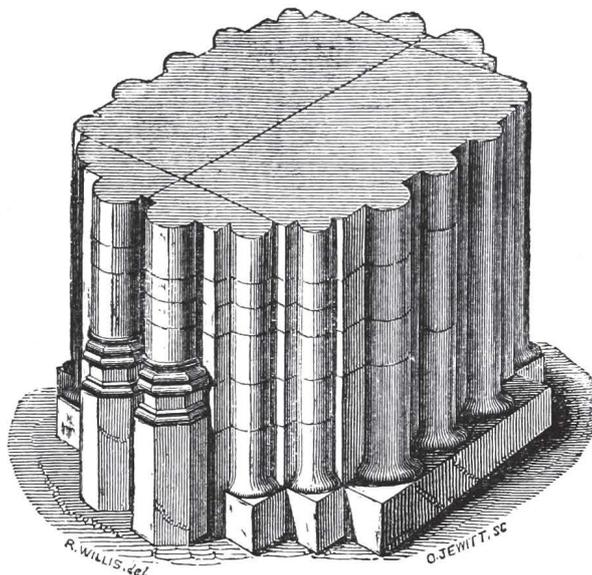


Fig. A. shews the original state of the lower part of the piers, and Fig. B. the present state.

The Bishop's Will shows that he erected the screen between the nave and choir, for he directs the place of his burial to be "in the nave of my cathedral church, near and in front of my door of my new work called a reredos."¹ He also endowed a chaplain to celebrate daily service for ever at the altar on the north side of his grave for his own soul, &c. . . . and more particularly for the soul of the late Bishop Browne.² The remains of this screen still exist, and the distinct traces of the two altars, one on each side of the door, may be discovered. The north altar still retains its columnar piscina. The doorway itself is tolerably perfect, but all the ornamental work about the altar has suffered mutilation and clumsy repair. From a careful examination of this screen, it is evident that it formerly sustained a vault which extended westward into the nave, and was probably, as at Exeter, carried by slender piers in front, so as to shelter and form roofed chapels for the altars at the side. The original limits of the rood beam, or its gallery, are indicated by the Norman vault-

¹ "Sepulcrum meum eligo in navi ecclesie mei cathedrali propè et ante ostium meum novi operis mei vocati a reredosse prout ibidem pro sepulturâ meâ ordinatum est." Blomfield, p. 381 (in "Register Wattys," fo. 51, 6).

² Blomfield, 381, from his will, dated May 13, 1472. Bishop Browne is mentioned because this new construction would replace the altar of the crucifix which he had founded.

ing shafts, for all those in the nave to the west of the great cylindrical spiral piers descend to the pavement; but those to the east are stopped upon Norman corbels, as was usually the case in all choirs, to prevent their projections from interfering with the stalls, quire, screen, &c.

It is recorded that this cathedral suffered the most wanton dilapidation from the Puritan agents in the great rebellion, under the authority and presence, as Bishop Hall relates, of Alderman Linsey, Tofts the Sheriff, and Greenwood, and the rood-loft was sure to displease these ignorant and mischievous fanatics, and was in all probability so far damaged as to make it necessary to remove it when the church was repaired after the Restoration, leaving only the back wall, which now remains, with the stumps of the altars on each side of the door. It was repaired, and the upper part where the original vault abutted, cased with ashlaring, and finished in a very plain and unskilful manner. In this state it is represented in Mr. Britton's engravings. A few years ago the choir was partly re-arranged under the direction of Mr. Salvin, to whom the present appearance of the screen is due. It now carries an overhanging vault for the purpose of giving greater space in the organ gallery.

Altars and chapels on the west side of the choir screen were very usual in the great monastic churches, and in the present case the space behind the choir screen is so unusually large that it was also probably occupied by chapels.³

The Sacrist Rolls contain many allusions to the fire and consequent repairs. In 1465 (the rolls of 1462, '63, and '64 being lost) we have "In reparacione unius candelabri principalis fracti tempore combustionis ij. s."

³ The Sacrist's account of the oblations in each year gives the names of the altars that were principally venerated. The following "Recepte ecclesie" are extracted from the "Sacrist's Roll" of 1431 as a specimen:—"De oblacionibus summi altaris ecclesie Norwic' lxvi. li. vij. d. De reliquiis xxxiiij. s. viij. d. De nigra cruce iiij. s. ij. d. De Sc'o Will'o. v. s. ix. d. ob. De Sancta Maria in capellâ vi. d. De Sc'o Elegio viij. s. iij. d. ob. De Sc'a Apollonia viij. s. xi. d. De cruce ad aram Sancti Stephani v. d. ob. De trunco ad hostia rubro ij. s. xi. d. ob. De trunco in navi ecclesie v. d. De Sc'o Mich'o. et Sc'a Anna l. d. De magna Maria iij. d. ob. De Sc'o Leodegaro & Sc'o Antonio i. d.

ob. De compassione b'e Marie virginis vij. s. iiij. d. De Sc'o Garciano et Sc'o Joh'e de Bredelyngton xj. d. ob. De Sc'a Petronilla i. d. ob. De Sc'a Sittra iiij. s. ob. 9. De Sc'a Katerina j. d. De legat' assign' eccl'ie de quodam homine vj. s. viij. d. De aliis iij. s. iiij. d. De processionibus ad Pentec' cum collect' c. s. De Stallagio temp' nundin' ad fest' Pent' x. s. v. d. De Shoppes ad port' eccl'ie xx. s. iiij. d. De Rice Sadelero pro gardino et domo juxta le clotcher iij. s. iiij. d. De cera et vino vend' xiiij. s. De oblacionibus carnar' iiij. s. De gardino ejusdem iij. s. iiij. d. De fraternitatibus gildarum hoc a^o iiij. li. vj. s. vij. d. S^{ma} iiij. ^{xx} iij. l. vj. d. ob. q^a.

But in the succeeding rolls for 1466, '69 and '70, the "Reparaciones ecclesie occasione combustionis" forms a separate head, and gifts and legacies "ad reedificacionem ecclesie" are also enumerated. Of these entries that for 1466 is here given.

"1466. Compotus fratris Willielmi.

"Michaelmas 5 Edw. 4 to Mich. 6 Edw. 4.

"Reparacione ecclesie occasione combustionis, solut' Roberto Wolde pro opturacione fenestrarum in campanili cum arundine empt' et ligaturis x^d, Johanni Everard pro reparacione ij paneff in voltis juxta oratorium domini episcopi, in gross' v s. It' eidem pro opere suo in pavimentis diversis ij. s. x. d. Simoni Deynes fabro pro ij ancor' factis pro ordina-
 cione tecti ecclesie ij. s. vj. d. Item Willelmo Howlett carpentar' cum sociis suis pro opere suo in choro et ad parvum altare, ad mensam propriam⁴ vj. s. iiij. d. ob. Item ij. laborant' in mundacione chori, cum mensa vij. d. In iiij rabettyng' iiij^c ped' et iij quart' de mensul' sarratis, ij. s. viij. d. In mille lednale iiij. s. In v^c. clavis diversorum sort' ij. s. In iiij mille laterum cum cariagio xiiij. s. viij. d. Item sol' offic' m celarii et celarar' pro mensa diversorum operancium⁵ iij. s. vj. d. It' Roberto Everarde pro cariagio meremii x. s. Item pro cariagio meremii de viridi orto in sacristariam viij. d. Item pro candelabris ferreis ad ymages compassionis et Sancte Sithe⁶ preter staurum v^d. In emendacione soudelett' et barr' iij. d. Item, pro pessula ad parvum ostium, ij. d. Item, pro ferramentis pro velo preter staurum ij. d. In aliis minutis iiij. d. In vitriacione xj fenestrarum in campanili lv. s. In emendatis barris et soudelettis, vj. d. In broddis vij. d. It' latamo et servientibus ejus per ij. dies et dim' cum mensa, ij. s. v. d. In stipendiis ij. sarratorum lath' per j. diem et dim. xvj. d. ob.

Summa cxv. s. x. d.

In the year 1469 the same heading appears upon the accounts, "Repairs of the church on account of the fire." A "solar" or upper room was built for the organs, and obviously of wood on account of the number and variety of nails used; a roof was placed over two panels of the south aisle of the church, above the vaulting (probably to carry the organ chamber); a new gate was made towards the palace; John Everard, the mason above mentioned, was at work over the aisles round the presbytery and over the walls of the chapel of the Virgin. For the ceiled roof of this chapel 6,300 lath-nails were bought at the price of 3*d.* per 100, and 500 lead-nails, at a cost of 18*d.* Thomas, the glazier, put glass into the west window of the north side at a cost of 7*s.* 6*d.*, and 5*s.* 4*d.* were paid to him for glazing other windows. This west window was newly made by Robert

⁴ "Ad mensam propriam," at his own table, *i.e.*, his own expense for food.

⁵ *i.e.*, paid to the officers of the Monas-

tery for the food of divers workmen.

⁶ St. Osith.

Everard at the cost of 6s. 8*d.* The total expenditure was 4*l.* 11s. 0½*d.*

In the next year a very similar expenditure was made. More windows were glazed and repaired, including that of Lady Harcourt, and plumbers' work was done to the roof of the Lady Chapel. The Cross and Images in the nave were repaired at a cost of 2s. 6*d.*, and painted at a cost of 22s. 2*d.* The total cost of the works was 6*l.* 18s. 10*d.*

In 1472 the garden walls were repaired, and many repairs done in the church. Masons' work was done in the north aisle of the nave, the north aisle towards the palace, including their whitewashing, and that of the presbytery; a new parclose was made for the small altar; two columns of the campanile were finished off, at a cost of 73s. 4*d.*; two wooden frames were made for the great altar; a timber finial was added to the roof of the Lady Chapel; the paving in different parts of the church was repaired, as were numerous windows. The total cost was 10*l.* 4s. 10*d.*

Bishop Goldwell was sent to Rome in 1472 on an embassy by King Edward IV., to Pope Sixtus IV., who made him Bishop of Norwich by papal provision, and consecrated him himself on Oct. 4th of that year. A perpetual Indulgence for the repair and decoration of the church, required on account of the fire of 1463 was one of the fruits of this visit to Rome. The offerings received by the Sacrist in virtue of this Indulgence are annually accounted for in the records under the title "*Indulgentia obtenta per Dom^m. Jacobum Goldewell, nuper Norwicensem Episcopum.*" The history of the repairs and changes is, however, exceedingly scanty. It is clear from the building as it stands that the stone vault of the nave is due to Bishop Lyhart, whose device and arms are attached to the corbels. The choir and the transepts are also vaulted with a similar design, as well as the Beauchamp Chapel. We have seen that the alteration in the clerestory of the presbytery was made in consequence of the fall of the spire in 1361; but the stone vault is manifestly a subsequent work. This is shown by the abrupt junction of the capitals upon which its ribs rest with the heads of the small ogee arches below, indicating a change of plan probably proceeding from a pause in the work. This want of accordance is

also seen in the corner next the tower, and in the apse vault, and in other parts, but it can hardly be explained and made intelligible without numerous engravings. The flying buttresses appear to have been a subsequent addition, having been in the usual manner erected only when the making of the stone vault rendered them necessary.

Blomfield asserts that Goldwell⁷ made the vault of the presbytery. "He received of his predecessor's executors 2200 marks for dilapidations, with which and other money added of his gift he finished beautifying the Tower, made the noble stone-carved roof of the Quire in the same manner as his Predecessor had done the nave, and fitted up the chapel under the Arches on the sides of the Quire, but more particularly adorned that in which he was buried."

No references in support of this paragraph are given to records of the cathedral from which any details of the progress of so important a change in the fabric can be now extracted; but the building itself proves the statement to be a correct one, for the bosses used in the construction of the vault are freely decorated with the arms and device of Bishop Goldwell.

The small ogee arches from which the vault ribs spring were originally finished with crockets, but they were probably knocked off when the Bishop removed the finials with which these arches no doubt originally ended, to make room for the capitals from which his new vault was to start. The original roof above the vault was not disturbed.

The pier arches of the presbytery have been altered by the insertion of four centred and highly enriched arches of the Perpendicular style, to which Blomfield alludes, and which may be assigned to Goldwell, for his tomb is under one on the south side. Brown tells us—"He is said to have much repaired the east end of this church" (p. 7). His successor, Bishop Nix, extended the alteration of pier arches by converting two on the south side of the nave in the same fashion, forming a chapel which was originally fitted up and enclosed with screens. The Norman vaults of the two compartments are also removed, and an elaborate Perpendicular vault substituted with large windows to correspond.⁸

⁷ Blomf., p. 384.

⁸ The following passage quoted by Wharton from Weaver evidently alludes to this chapel:—"R. Nix ecclesiæ Nor-

wicensis laquear pulcherrime deauravit atque alam ejusdem aquilonarem construxit" ("Angl. Sacr.," I. p. 419).

The remains of the Bishop's tomb are still to be seen, and the traces of a small altar placed against the pier, of which the tabernacles of the reredos and a little columnar piscina are in tolerable preservation. Nevyle records a fourth fire of the cathedral in 1509, in which he says that a great part of the church was burnt, together with nearly all the books and ornaments ;⁹ and Blomfield says the roofs of the north and south transepts were entirely consumed upon that occasion, and that Bishop Nix then vaulted the transepts with stone, and that his arms are to be seen upon them.

The history of the spire is involved in equal obscurity with the other works which we have been considering.

The tower itself, with the exception of the battlements, is on the outside Norman. In the inside the Norman masonry remains as high as the present ceiling ; above this ceiling we find a Norman gallery running all round in the thickness of the walls. On each side are three lofty windows, and three arches in the inner wall to correspond. The piers of these arches, originally Norman, have had their inner surface of ashlar and their sides stripped, and they are now faced and lined with strong ashlar quoining filled in with brick, so that their Norman face only shows in the middle of the inside of each next the gallery ; but the vault of the gallery is undisturbed. The arches themselves are slightly pointed with a small chamfer on their edges, but the pier edges are square. Thus this portion is now completely lined by this new work up to the string over the arches. Above this may be traced a belt of Norman panelling filled up in the same brickwork, and in the next place, a low gallery in the thickness of the wall, which originally opened into the Tower by a Norman arcade of seven round arches on a side resting on six plain stout cylindrical shafts with cushion capitals, all visible in the gallery, but all walled up next the tower, and concealed by the great squinches of the spire, to the level of which they correspond. These squinches are each formed of a series of twelve pointed arches of brick (except the outside one, which is of ashlar), all chamfered, and upon these stands the spire.

The character of all the work thus described, namely, the

⁹ A.D. 1509, 1 Hen. 8. "Magna pars templi Norwycensis cum libris pœne omnibus ac ecclesiæ ornamentis combusta

fuit." A few years before, namely, in 1505 and 1507, the city suffered from repeated fires. (See Blomfield, p. 131.)

lining of the tower and the squinches of the spire, appears to be very late, and may well be assigned to the fifteenth century.¹

Our history thus shows that a wooden tower or spire was finished in 1297, that it was blown down in 1362, crushing the presbytery. Of its rebuilding no record is preserved, the next mention of it being that it was struck by lightning in 1463. Lastly, we have Blomfield's assertion that Bishop Goldwell "finished beautifying the tower," which in the absence of documents may be assumed to be founded upon some mention of the tower in the records. We have now to choose between two hypotheses : (1) that the present spire, together with the works beneath, upon which it stands, was erected at some time after the wooden spire was blown down in 1362, and that the lightning in 1463 fired some timber-work within it, and thus burnt the cathedral. (2) That the stone spire and its piers were erected by Goldwell after the great fire of 1463, and that up to that period the spire was of wood resting on the Norman walls, and constructed to replace the wooden spire, which was blown down in 1362. This appears more consonant with the style of the constructions in question, and with the words of Baker's Chronicle that the steeple was burnt.

[The "Cloisters" of Norwich Cathedral will form the subject of a separate communication.]

¹ Britton's section of the tower and spire may be referred to (pl. ix. "Norwich Cathedral").

NOTES ON NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

By the Rev. D. J. STEWART.

(From Memoranda by the late Rev. Professor Willis.)

THE CLOISTERS.

THE cloister of Norwich cathedral is one of the most remarkable examples of cloisters, and at the same time the most instructive as an architectural work, that has remained to us.

In dimensions it is, with the exception of that of Salisbury, the largest of our English cloisters ; and although the Salisbury cloister is earlier and perfectly uniform in design, the Norwich example has the peculiarly interesting characteristic that although the construction of it occupied a space of 133 years, with occasional pauses, yet the original design was so closely adhered to that at first sight the whole appears to be the work of one period, and it is only when the details are closely studied and compared together that the gradual progress and change of taste and method that was introduced in the course of the work can be detected. For it will then appear that though the successive architects endeavoured and intended to follow the original design, and have done so in all the most prominent features, yet that they permitted themselves to substitute many minor details borrowed from the respective styles which prevailed in their own time for the corresponding parts of the older work.

The cloister was begun in 1297 and finished in 1430—begun, therefore in the geometrical half of the Decorated style and finished in the Perpendicular period. The first part of the structure, therefore, in accordance with the above remarks, will be found to be a complete specimen of a Decorated cloister of 1297, and all the remainder of the work of a mixed design, in which the original scheme prevails, but is more and more transformed as we advance by

the new characteristics which were from time to time introduced; so that these subsequent portions are not to be studied as pure examples of their respective periods, but are most valuable and curious for showing by comparisons new details and methods of workmanship.

In the first place it will be best to describe the cloister architecturally, and then to give the history of the work from the rolls of accounts hitherto unpublished, which are preserved in the archives of the cathedral.

The cloister is situated on the south side of the cathedral: it is vaulted throughout with stone, and has an upper story of apartments which were originally appropriated in various ways to the monastic establishment, but are now partly included in the various canons' houses that surround the area, partly employed for the deposit of archives, and on the side next the cathedral are now unroofed, and therefore disused. Each compartment of the cloister, excepting, of course, the four corner ones, opens to the central area, or cloister-garth, by a wide arch, the head of which is occupied by open tracery sustained by two mullions or monials in the form of pillars, with base, shaft, and capital. A bold projecting buttress separates each pair of adjacent compartments and sustains the thrust of the stone vault. The angle buttresses are diagonal. Various doors open as usual from the respective sides of the cloister wall to the church and to the monastic offices. The cloister wall itself being the original Norman wall of the first cloister, some of these doors are earlier than the foundation of the present cloister; but, to make the description which follows more intelligible, it will be necessary to refer to the following diagram plan, in which each compartment bears a number for the sake of reference.

The history of the cloister and the changes of architectural style which we are about to trace concur in showing that the building was begun on the east side and proceeded along the south, the west, and lastly the north.

The Tracery.—The most obvious variations are to be found in the patterns of the tracery which occupy the heads of the arches. These patterns are exceptions to the above remarks, and may be considered as being independent, and apparently in every case those which belong especially to the style which prevailed when they happened to have

been designed ; but the form of the arch in which they are placed is throughout the same as in the original design, and, above all, the mullions are from one end to the other of the work single simple shafts, with round base, capital, and abacus, and this circular abacus, perhaps, more than any other part of the design, contributes a character of unity and antiquity to the whole. The later cloisters have mullions continuous with the tracery, resting on high sills, and glazed so as to convert the arches into real windows, exactly resembling the ordinary windows of their time. Thus the Gloucester, Lincoln, Canterbury, and other cloisters were either glazed or so arranged as to permit of it, whereas the Norwich cloister, like that of Salisbury, only admitted of glazing in the upper part of the arch, above the mullions ; thus following throughout the fashion of the thirteenth century, when it was designed, instead of introducing that of the fifteenth century, when it was finished.

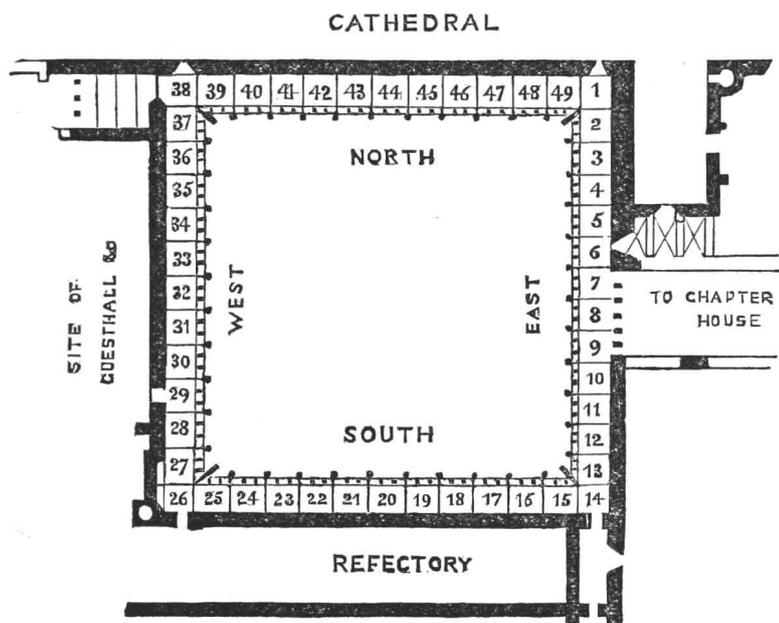


Fig. 1.

The above plan shows that the cloister consists of forty-nine compartments, of which the four corner ones have of course no tracery ; and of the remainder, there are twelve arches on the east side and eleven on each of the others. The eastern tracery is geometrical, and the first lines of its pattern are two spherical triangles resting on the points of the three lower arches. The triangles are filled up with three trefoils each, and the lower arches are simply trefoiled. The same pattern, with a little variation, appears in com-

partment 49, namely, the first round the corner of the north walk. The tracery of the opposite compartment, 15 of the south walk, has been removed for the convenience of bringing coffins into the cloister-garth for burial. The tracery of this compartment may have corresponded with the others of the south walk ; but nothing can be said about it with any certainty.

On the south side the patterns of the tracery are different from the east, and on this side two patterns are employed and disposed alternately.

The first lines of the tracery, *i.e.*, the pattern formed by the first order of the moldings is *flowing*, and there is in this respect very little difference in the two alternate patterns, but they differ entirely in the filling up of these first lines by the subordinate moldings. In the first pattern which occupies the compartments 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, the upper spaces are filled up with rich double foliation and the arch heads below are *cinquefoiled*. In the intermediate compartments 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, the upper spaces are occupied with subordinate tracery, in the common form of four leaves disposed in a cruciform order, and having the central cross bars upright and horizontal. The arch heads below are *trefoiled*.

On the west side new patterns are employed, and, as in the south side, we find two in alternate order. One of these which occupies 28, 30, &c., has the same first lines as the southern pattern, 20, 22, &c., with a very slight difference. The upper spaces have also subordinate tracery in a cruciform order, but differ from the corresponding southern pattern by being placed so that the central cross bars lie *diagonally*. The arch heads below are *cinquefoiled*. The alternate western pattern, 27, &c., is more geometrical in its character than *flowing*, although it is one that frequently occurs in the latter half of the Decorated style, as, for example, in the chapter-house at Wells. It, in fact, resembles the original pattern of the eastern tracery, supposing the lower sides or base of the spherical triangles to be omitted.

The north side presents to us in the first place two new *flowing* patterns in compartments 39, 40, and the remainder of the side is occupied by two perpendicular patterns disposed alternately, and so late in character that many have suspected them to be the result of a repair subsequent to

the recorded completion of the cloister in 1430. Thus, the lower arch heads are elliptical, and the first lines of the pattern are filled up with subordinate tracery composed of a much greater number of small mullions than is usual until the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth centuries. No record of such repair has been found in the fabric rolls, of which a tolerably complete series exists.

From this review of the tracery it appears that the east side is *geometrical*, the south and west *flowing*, and the north *perpendicular*.

The buttresses of the different sides vary principally in the molding of the middle set-off. On the east side, including the two diagonal buttresses, this molding is much more complex than on the south side, but on the west side, including its diagonal buttress, a much simpler and later molding is employed, which is carried round the north side also. The variations of the small windows above correspond with those of the buttresses. They are all single-light windows. On the east side they are trefoil headed and the cusp grows out of the soffit, as in early Decorated work. On the south side the light is cinque-foiled and has two orders of chamfers, the inner one forming the foliation, but on the west and north, the light being cinque-foiled, the outer chamfer describes a square over the light head. Thus the buttresses and these upper windows concur in dividing the work of the cloister into three parts—(1) the east, (2) the south, and (3) the west and north.

The moldings of the great arches are exceedingly complex, and two patterns are employed in them besides smaller variations. The first and oldest pattern is employed along the east walk, and also for the adjacent compartments of the north walk and the south walk, 49 and 15, thus showing that these two arches formed part of the first portion erected. The second pattern, which is rather simpler than the first, is used for the remainder of the cloister.

The variations in the rib moldings of the vaults are slight and unimportant, the original pattern having been apparently adhered to throughout. The vaults themselves are exceedingly curious. They are throughout the whole cloister of the same plan, namely, each severey is nearly a square; and there are transverse diagonal and wall ribs, and one tierceron between each. The longitudinal and trans-

verse ridge ribs are not curved but are perfectly horizontal. The intersections of these ribs with the ridge are covered with a series of most remarkable sculptured bosses, the description of which alone will furnish matter for a most curious essay.

The variations in the vaults are wholly confined to the curvature of the ribs. These variations formed the subject of a paper which was contributed to the Institute of British Architects in 1842, and which is printed in the first volume of their transactions.¹ They are there examined at much greater length than would suit the limits or style of the present history, but the general results are as follows:—

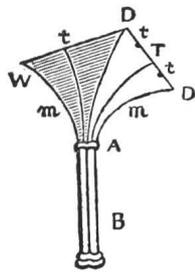


Fig. 2.

In every vault the group of ribs that spring off, diverging as they rise upwards from the vaulting shafts to meet the ridge, forms, together with the intermediate paneling a certain solid, which is termed the “spandrel solid” of the vault. Thus, in Fig. 2, A B is the group of vaulting shafts; A the abacus, A W half the wall rib, W D and D D the ridge ribs, A D, A D diagonal ribs, A T transverse rib,

A t, A t, A t, the tiercerons. Then the solid (W D D A) which is formed by this mass of ribs, and the panels which rest upon them is the *spandrel solid*.

The form of this spandrel solid has a great influence upon the character of the vault, and it happens that in the cloister of Norwich we have a series of these forms changing according to the age of the respective portions, and thus giving a most valuable lesson in a part of Decorative architecture that has been exceedingly neglected. A walk round the cloister, by bringing the various forms into direct comparison with each other, will at once show how much the effect of the vault depends upon this spandrel.

The differences of form are best shown by considering the plan of each spandrel about half-way between the abacus and the ridge of the vault, as at the level *m m* of Fig. 2; but in fact it wholly depends upon the greater or less degrees of curvature that are given to the ribs, between their

¹ “On the Construction of the Vaults of the Middle Ages,” by R. Willis, F.R.S., &c., Jacksonian Professor in the University

of Cambridge, Honorary Member of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

springing at the abacus and their meeting with the ridge rib. Thus, for example, if the transverse rib A T is considerably curved in the middle, and the diagonal ribs A D but slightly curved, the edges of the solid will be made prominent, and the middle of it will fall inwards, so as to give to the plan the form of a hollow-sided square.

If, on the other hand, the diagonal ribs A D are more curved than the transverse rib, the plan will tend to a circular form, and by properly arranging the curvatures may be made an exact circle.

In the same way the curvatures of the intermediate ribs or tiercerons A t . . may be managed so as either to throw them inwards in the middle and thus give a hollow form to the sides of the spandrel solid, or by making the curvatures less they may be brought forward so as to give a round form to the spandrel. All the varieties may be seen, in order, in passing round the cloister from the oldest portions in the east walk to the newest in the north walk.

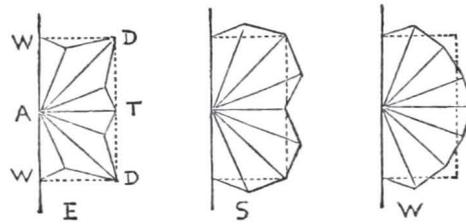


Fig. 3.

These figures represent the different plans of the solids taken half way up, as at *mm* of Fig. 2, and each from a different walk of the cloister. E is the plan in the five central compartments, 6 . . . 10, of the east walk. In these the diagonal rib A D is brought very prominently forward and the neighbouring tiercerons thrown back, so as to give a sharp-edged effect to the form of the solid, and also to throw the transverse rib A T forward, but the whole plan is included within a double square, as shown by the dotted lines. In the remaining compartments of the east walk and in the south side, fig. S, the tiercerons advance beyond the square form so as to diminish the sharp-edged effect of the solid. But in the west walk, fig. W, and still more in the north walk, the curvatures of the ribs are so managed as to give to no one a greater prominence

than to another, and so to approach to the circular or fan-shaped vault.

Some of the springing ribs, especially on the north side, appear to have been altered so as to show that the lower or solid portion immediately above the abacus has probably been erected some years before the separate ribs above were completed, as often happened.

Unfortunately the stone of which the entire cloister is built is of the most perishing nature, and great part of it has been restored and rebuilt, and much of it patched with cement and anticorrosive paint, by which the profiles of mouldings and curvatures have been sadly damaged. These repairs have very seriously affected the decorations of the walls of the cloister, which appear to have been in many places ornamented with arches, tabernacles, &c., that are now filled up and obliterated. There still remain, however, many excellent doors, and an elaborate double lavatory, which occupies the compartments 26 and 27 at the southern extremity of the west walk.

The doors occur in the following order: first, the church door at the north end of the east walk of the cloister, in compartment 1, is a fine early Decorated door, with radiating tabernacles in the head, the peculiar character of which has made it a favourite subject for artists. It is worth while to remark that the tabernacles are not a subsequent addition, but that they are fairly cut out of the same block of stone as the moldings against which they seem at first sight to have been cemented.

Proceeding northwards we come to a richly-molded doorway in compartment 6. Another very similar to it, and evidently the work of the same mason, is in compartment 14, at the south end of this cloister, and was the door which led to the Infirmary.

The Chapter-house, now destroyed, abutted against the three middle compartments of the east walk, 7, 8, 9, and the communication between the two was formed, as usual in Chapter houses, by three open arches, of which the middle one was the entrance and was open to the ground, the lateral ones, similar in every other respect to the central arch, were not continued quite down to the ground but had sills like windows. These arches, when the Chapter-house was demolished, were walled up so as to be entirely con-

cealed in the inside of the cloister and only visible on the outside; but about the year 1850 the Dean and Chapter opened the arches, closing them merely with wire grating,

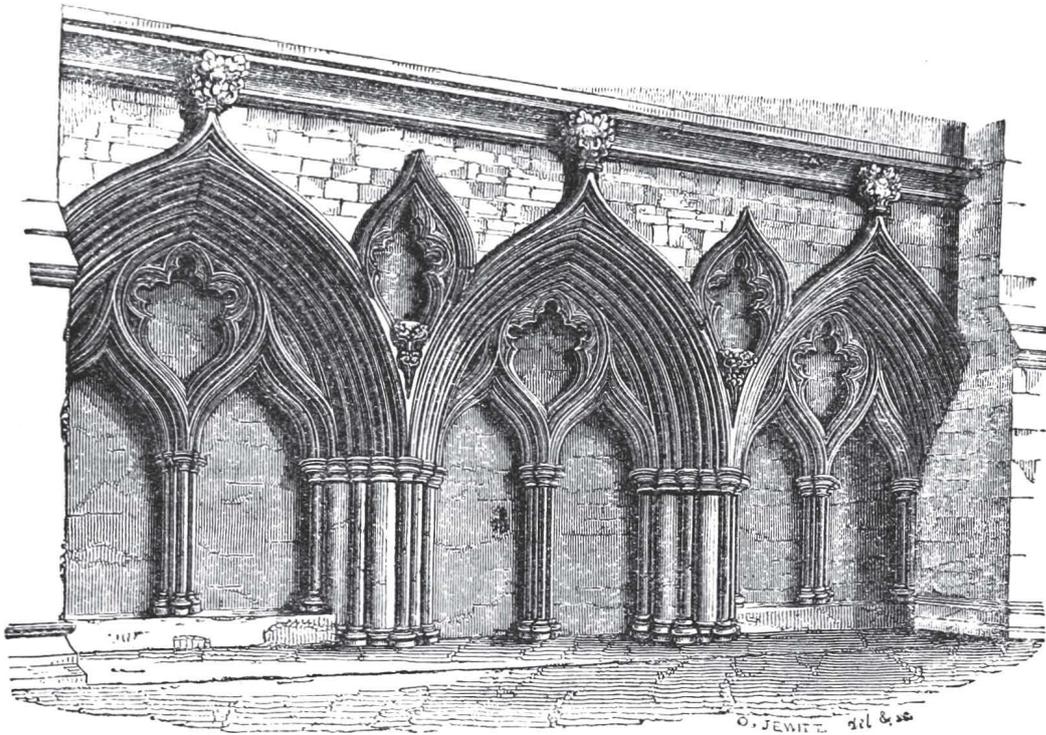


Fig. 4.

so as to admit light and air to the cloister, and at the same time greatly embellished it by the restoration of this principal and most important feature. The tracery of these openings is flowing, and belongs to the period of the second portion of the work, namely, the south walk, the patterns of which it resembles.

There is a neat door in compartment 10, of an earlier and plainer character than the other doors just described.

The south wall of the cloister was also the wall of the Refectory, and there are indications against several of the compartments of the wall arches having been more deeply molded than the others. They may, perhaps, have been sunk as monumental arches and subsequently filled up. This description applies particularly to compartments 16 and 17, and in a less degree to 20, 21, and 22. The last compartment, 26, has the door of the refectory in its south wall, a richly-molded door with some peculiar details that make it well worth study, and also of comparison with a door in the west walk, in compartment 29, which led to the

Guest-hall. This door has an elliptical head, but precisely the same moldings as the Refectory door, so that the two are plainly the work of the same hand.

The north compartment of this walk has the door of the locutory in its west wall and the door of the church in its north wall. The first is a good example of early Decorated work, the last an excellent and elaborate Perpendicular door, with tabernacles and statues carried up the jambs and over the head.

Lastly, the piers and vaulting shafts of the cloister must be described.

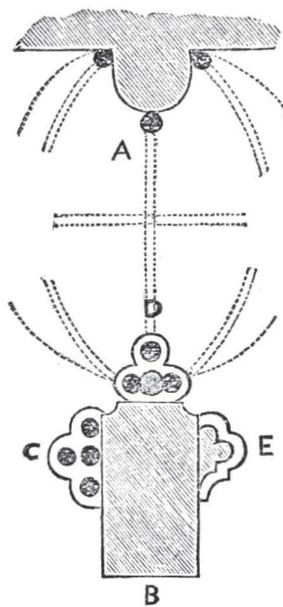


Fig. 5.

These piers are, with one exception, constructed through the whole work upon the system that was nearly exploded when the cloister was first designed. They consist, namely, of groups of separate cylindrical shafts of Purbeck marble, arranged round a centre or *body*, placed so as to leave a small space between each. Such grouped piers, in the fourteenth century, were usually simulated by building the whole group in courses of masonry, shaped so as to resemble such a bundle of separate shafts, but in reality consisting of one united mass, for the appended shafts are connected at the back with the body of the pier.

The half piers or responds, which are arranged along the wall of the cloister, are constructed throughout as in figure A, namely, a semi-cylindrical pier of Purbeck marble is built into the wall, and around this are placed three detached pillars of the same material.

But there are two kinds of piers employed in the front walls of the cloister, or rather in the support of the range of traceried arches which composes the front boundary next to the cloister garth. The left-hand half of figure B shows the plan of the first kind, which is used along the eastern side, and the right-hand half shows the second kind of pier which is employed in the remaining three sides. The only difference between the two lies in the lateral groups of shafts C, E, which carry the traceried arches. Each pier

consists of a solid central mass of masonry, of which the part B is formed into a projecting buttress. The back or inner portion, next to the cloistered walk, has a group of four shafts, consisting of one central and larger one, corresponding to the semi-shaft opposite, and of three small ones, similarly corresponding to the opposite ones; and these two opposite groups are appropriated to the vaulting ribs. On the sides of the central mass are grouped shafts c, e, which are appropriated to the support of the traceried arches.

In the east walk, including its angle piers and two adjacent piers on the north side, with one on the south, the group consists of four small Purbeck shafts completely detached; but in the remaining piers this group is formed merely of a projecting rib of masonry shaped into the form of a bundle of two shafts, and a hollow molding as shown in the figure, this being the usual mode of constructing compound piers in the latter part of the Decorated period. However, within the cloister the ancient method of detached shafts is, as already stated, retained even to the last and latest portion.

We now proceed to examine the documents from which we may derive some knowledge of the history of the cloister.

In the Itinerary of William of Worcester there occurs a passage which gives the summary of this history. This passage is written in his manuscript in a different handwriting from his own, and appears to have been inserted upon a blank leaf by some person, perhaps after his death. The facts and dates which it gives are, however, confirmed in many respects by other documents, and it was probably copied from some register or inscription that was formerly preserved at Norwich, but which has now disappeared.

[Concerning the building of the cloister.] In the year of the Lord 1297, the work of the cloister of the church of Norwich before the Chapter-house, together with the Chapter-house itself, was begun by Master Ralph Walpole, then Bishop of Norwich, as appears by a writing sculptured in a stone placed on the west side of the cloister, thus, *Dominus Radulphus Walpole Norvicensis Episcopus me posuit*. And also the work of Richard Uppehalle, the founder of the said work, appears by a writing sculptured on a stone placed on the east side of the same cloister, on the north side of the door of the Chapter-house aforesaid, thus, *Ricardus Uppehalle hujus operis inceptor me posuit*. And

there were made by them three severies (*i. e.*, compartments) only, with the Chapter-house. But the residue towards the church, together with the door thereof, and towards the door leading to the Infirmary, and from that door to those severies in which the towels hang was made at the expense of Master John of Ely, Bishop of Norwich, and other friends; as well as by the office of Pitancer, specially deputed thereto by the convent. But a part on the north side, in respect of the wall next the church and the vaultings, was made at the expense of 710 marks by Master Henry of Wells, and of £20 assigned and given thereto by Master John Hankok, and also from the said office of Pitancer.

[During the same time.] From where the towels hang, with the door of the Refectory, and the lavatories, and the door of the Guest-hall, it was made at the expense of £100 by Geoffrey Symonds, Rector of Marsh.² And from the door of the Guest-hall to the entry into the church, together with that door, and in respect of the wall next the said hall, and the vaulting, it was made by the executors of Master John Wakeryng, formerly Bishop of Norwich. And thus was completed the work of this most famous cloister in the year of the Lord 1430, in the time of Master William Alnewyk, Bishop of Norwich, and in the third year of Master William Worsted, Prior of the same church. The time from the beginning of the work to the end was 133 years.³

Cotton confirms this by stating that Wakeryng finished the cloister in stonework on the western side, from the door of the Guest-hall: "J. Wakeryng perfecit claustrum in opere lapideo ex parte occidentali ab hostio aulae hospitum." Cott. 417.

A great number of the rolls of accounts of the various offices of the monastery are still preserved in the treasury of Norwich Cathedral, and although so many have been lost, that the series of years is incomplete, yet so many remain, and are in such excellent preservation, that very few, if any, similar collections of records can be compared with them. The officers that principally concern our present purpose are the Sacrist and Pitancer: the rolls of the latter fully confirm the statement that the latter part of the cloister costs were paid and, indeed, managed by that

² The parish and church of St. Mary in the Marsh are said to have been in existence before Bishop Herbert founded his cathedral at Norwich. St. Mary in the Marsh is still the name of the parish of The Close, and according to tradition the church stood on the south side of The Lower Close, on a site now occupied by a row of red brick houses, in one of which a massive piece of wall yet remains.—[Mem. by the Rev. Henry Symonds, formerly curate of St. Mary in the Marsh].

Dean Gardener is said to have destroyed this church in the sixteenth century, and the chapel of St. Luke in the cathedral, with a part of the Procession path, was assigned to the parish in its stead by the Dean and Chapter. On the accession of the present Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Pelham, the parish service was transferred to the Bishop's private chapel.

³ Translated ex. reg.° 1° fol. 266 b. Document 1511 et fol. 269, *similar* handwriting but not the *same*.

officer. The earliest remaining roll of the cloister work is dated 1289, and the last Pitancer's roll 1535, so that, reckoning one for each year, there ought to be 247 in all; but unfortunately only about 98 remain, that is two-fifths of the whole, and the losses are scattered pretty equally over the series of years.

Similarly, of the Sacrist's rolls, the first remaining is dated 1271 and the last 1535, and of the 265 thus accounted for only about 102 remain, therefore 163 are lost. These blanks in the series of documents make it impossible to recover a complete narrative of the proceedings, but we shall find a great amount of curious information in them concerning the manner in which the work was managed and the money raised, &c.

In the following analysis of the rolls that relate to the cloister work, every year will be mentioned of which the accounts remain, and the omitted years must be understood to be those of which the rolls are lost, unless the contrary is stated.

The first roll, 1289, is the account for that year of W. de Shenysthorpe, *Communarius*; from which it appears that the Chapter-house was in building and the works under the charge of that officer. The receipts shall be examined separately; and, for the present, we shall take the expenditure under the head *Expensæ factæ circa capitulum*. There are wages of the workmen, week by week, from 11s. to 25s. in all, tools and so on; then comes the heading of materials, from which we learn that the stone was bought at Caen, in various sizes, conveyed to great Yarmouth in a ship, and from thence to the water-gate of the *curia* or monastic enclosure in boats, where it was landed and conveyed to the building. The following may serve as a specimen of the history and expense of conveying one load:—

“ De petra empta apud Cain, [in denariis] liberatis Will'o de Augeys pro petra apud Cain xxvj. s. viij. *d.* In ix^{xx} ij. Item in grossoribus xl. Item in postell' xxv., It^m, in ogivis xlii., It^m in coyne de mensura lxxv. ⁴ emptis apud Cain. Pro haulo navis de Cain usque Gernemutham l. s. viij. *d.* In alleviacione navis usque ad batellos ij. s. ij. *d.* In cariagio de Gernemuta apud Norvic' cum sex batellis vij. s. ij. *d.* De porta usque ad magnam curiam ij. s. In aliis expensis ij. *d.* q^a. Summa iiiij. *li.* viij. *s.* xd. *q.*”

Several loads of this kind are specified, and to one of them

⁴ These four items added together make exactly the nine gross and two.

the scribe is careful to append a note that six pieces of stone mentioned in the invoice were deficient: "De parva coyn xix., sex deficiebant quæ continebantur in litera."

It must be observed that the Sacrist's rolls contain no entries relating to the cloister, although they help us materially in respect to the Cathedral works. Our next information is in a Prior's roll, "Computus camere prioris," of the 20th year of Prior Henry de Lakenham (A.D. 1309), wherein 11*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* appear to have been spent upon stone, wages, &c., for the cloister—

"Clastrum: pro ex. tablemenz ad clastrum xv. s. vj. *d.*; Item, pro D, de pecia lxxv. s.; Item, pro xlvj. gobez, xliij. s.; Item, pro cariagio dicte petre et gobez, x. s.; Item, in stipendiis cementariorum et ferramentis eorum, iij. *l.* viij. s. vij. *d.* Summa xj. *li.* xiiij. s. j. *d.*"

And again, in the succeeding year, 66*s.* 9*d.* for 30 columns of marble bought for the cloister, &c.—

"Item, in xxx. columpnis de marmor emptis ad clastrum, lxxvj. s. ix. *d.*"

In 1324 the roll shows that the offices of "Communarius" and Pitancer had been united in one person, and this arrangement continues until the year 1505, when they are again given to two different persons, and remain so divided until the Dissolution; but during the whole of this period of the union of the offices the accounts of the receipts and expenditure of the two offices are separately kept and balanced, although usually written upon the same roll of parchment.

In the above year, 1324, John de Wurthstede, who was both "Communarius" and Pitancer, accounts in the Pitancer's half of his roll for the expenditure of 60*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* upon the cloister:—

"Computus fratris Joh. de Wurthstede de comuneria Norwycen. (Mich. to Mich. anno R. de Langele Prioris xv. 1324).

"Hec sunt stipendia cementariorum circa opus claustri a festo Sancti Michaelis usque ad idem festum 15 Prioris R. Langele.

"Wages, 13 months, summa, xlj. *li.* xvj. s. x. *d.*"

These wages appear as a regular monthly item:—

"Item mense primo xv. operariis v. *li.* iij. s. viij. *d.*

„ ii^o „ lx. s. xvi. s. j. *d.*

„ xiiij^o „ „ „

Expense.

- “ In tegulis emptis pro opere claustris, xvij. s.
 “ In xxij. columpnis de marmore, xxxiiij. s. vj. d.
 “ In xvj. basibus de marmore, xij. s. iiij. d.
 “ In j. mangno base de marmore, vj. s. viij. d.
 “ In j. base parvo et capitello et tribus columpnis, iiij. s. vj. d.
 “ In xxij. lapidibus magnis emptis, xxvj. s. viij. d.
 “ In gobet’ et quarterium de coyn, xx. s.
 “ In lx. et v. gobet’, xxxiiij. s.
 “ In xvij. moldepeces, xxvij. s.
 “ In kariagio lapidum, ix. s. iiij. d.
 “ In ^{xx}iiij. pedibus lapidum de tabulment’, x. s.
 “ In ^cvij. coyn empt’, lxxvij. s. ix. d.
 “ In ^ciiij. de coyn et dim’ empt’, lvj. s.
 “ In xl. gobet’ empt’, xxvj. s. viij. d.
 “ In ^ciiij. de coyn cum kariagio, lij. s. ij. d.
 “ Summa, xx. li. xvj. s. vj. d.”

Amongst the minute expenses occur :—

- “ In tabulis empt’ pro cyntres, xv. d.
 “ In percameno empto pro moldis, iiij. d. o.
 “ . . . Summa omñ expens’, lxix. li. viij. s. j. d. . . , et sic
 expense excedunt recepta, xiiij. li. xvij. s. vij. d.”

In 1325 the sum was 52*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* :—

- “ Expense Prioris R. de Langele (Pitancer’s roll, 1325) circa opus
 claustris :—
 “ Stipendia, xvij. li. xij. s. vj. d.—for 13 months.
 “ In ^{xx}iiij. pedibus de ogiv’ emptis, lvij. s. iiij. d.
 “ Tabulament, gobet’, coyn, etc.
 “ In ^{xx}vj. tabulis de estris emptis, xvij. s.
 “ In j. batello pro calce et calyoun kariando, xliij. s. v. d.
 “ In 3^{bus} repagulis (bolts) pro fenestris claustris, 8*s.* 6*d.*
 “ In expend’. super murum infirmarie, 55*s.* 4*d.*”

In 1327, 79*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.* :—

- “ Expense Will. de Claxtone, 1327 :—
 “ Stipendia, (of *masons* only, 13 months), xv. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.
 “ Item, in candelis et gres pro marmore, viij. d.
 “ Item, in scafald pro marmore pollicendo, xij. s. vj. d.”

[The debt of the previous year was £20 14*s.* 2*d.* The expenses, wages of carpenters and plumbers for work done to the cloister were £22 8*s.* 7*d.*]

	£.	s.	d.
Wages of masons	15	14	4
Materials	18	12	1
Iron	0	36	3
Expenses of other buildings	21	7	3
<hr/>			
Total expenses	79	18	6
„ receipts	47	6	1
<hr/>			
Deficit	32	12	5
<hr/>			

In 1330 the amount was 99*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* 3*q.* The cloister expenses are kept apart from the ordinary expenses of the office, but some of the latter are accidentally mixed with them. The items are either *wages*—as, in 1324, we find for 13 months the masons' wages, "*Stipendia cementariorum circa opus claustris*," 41*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.*, or else *materials and tools*. However, the accounts show that the expenses had been for some years overrunning the receipts, and a debt of 59*l.* 17*s.* 1*d.*, in 1330, seems to have induced a pause in the works, for we find them in this year selling some of the materials.

"Pitancer. Will. de Claxtone, 1330. Item receptum per manus fratris Johannis de Wurthestede et de rebus venditis :—

"Item, de petra vendita de Kain, xxxv. s. iij. d.

"Item, de vj. columnis parvis de marmore venditis, viij. s. vj. d.

"Item, de lapidibus pro basibus et capitellis venditis, xxvj. s. viij. d.

"Item, de tribus batellis venditis, ix. li. xvij. s.

"Item, de veteri lingno de scafald vendito, etc.

"(In dorso), Stipendia, vj. li. xix. s. viij. d.

("Wages to Galtêcorf et aliis xij. s. vj. d. a month.)

"In j. parva batella empta, xxvj. s. viij. d.

"In ij. batellis de novo factis, viij. li. v. s. iij. d.

"In j. centum et dim' de coyn emptis, xxij. s. iij. d.

"In iij. fenestris lyngneis pro claustro, iij. s.

"In parvis barris pro fenestris claustris vitreis, xvij. d.

"In fractura j. lyngni pro thoalyes, iij. d.

"In tribus fenestris lyngneis pro almar' claustris, xvij. d.

(Summa 11*l.* 3*s.* 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*)"

In 1336 not much work was going on. Symon of Hetherset had given £5, and a note is added to the effect that he had promised to give 26*d.* per week to maintain one mason during the year, which would come to £5. 12*s.* 8*d.*, and therefore he still owed 12*s.* 8*d.*; similarly, John of Bukenhiam had given only 71*s.* 4*d.*, and therefore owed

41s. 4*d.* In 1337 the Pitancer's roll contains only a notice of some slight repair to the cloister :—

“ Pitancer's Account, 1337. In factura unius hostij de claustro juxta fenestram in solanarii infirmarii (*i. e.*, the small entry to the infirmary), in emendacione claustri ad hostium refectorii et diversa loca claustri cum bordis ad illa emptis per vices, ij. s. ij. *d.*”

In 1339 the “Communarius” roll contains, amongst others, the accustomed heading “Compotus . . . de opere claustri et infirmarii et muri communarie” . . . with a receipt of 5*l.* 16s. 9¼*d.*, but no great works or expenses are inserted :—

“ 1339. Commun', xij. W. de Claxton, Prior.”

After the usual account follows :—

“ Compotus fratris Johannis de Wurthestede de opere claustri et Infirmar' et muri communar' a festo S. Mich. ad idem festum anno Will. prioris, xij.

“ Recepta, v. *l.* xvj. s. ix. *d.* *q.*

(Expense—wages.

Boards, lead, and nails for the Infirmary, stone, tiles, &c.)

“ Summa omnium expensarum circa opus infirmarie et opus claustri et muri Communarie se extendunt ad, xxi. *li.* vi. s. viij. *d.*

“ Et excedunt expensas, xv. *li.* ix. s. x. *d.* *q.*

“ Henr. de Lakenham. In nova camera Infirmarie,—in xxx. columnis de marmore emptis ad clastrum, 66s. 9*d.*”

In 1345, however, the roll exhibits symptoms of activity. £13. 16s. 4*d.* are paid for masons' wages, which with other sums paid for stones, and especially £4. 13s. 4*d.* to “ William Burgeys de Corf pro marmore ex conventione,” make up a total sum of 21*l.* 13s. 5¼*d.* :—

“ Pitancer 1345. Recepta ad opus claustri de domino prioris iij. *li.* It^m de . . . per manus supprioris, ix. *l.* vi. s. viij. *d.* It^m de dño Will^o de Wyttonne, xij. *li.* It^m de dño Robto. de Elyngham, xx. *s.*

“ Summa, xxvi. *li.* vj. s. iij. *d.*

“ Wages of masons, etc., xij. *li.* xvj. s. iij. *d.*

“ . . . Petra empta . . . (various) . . . liberat' Williellmo Burgeys de Corf pro marmore ex conventione, iij. *li.* xij. s. iij. *d.* Summa, 21*l.* 13s. 5¼*d.* (Various entries for minute expenses)—in tabulis emptis pro moldis et aliis ij. s. x. *d.* ; in j. ix. *d.* . . . in j. segura, iij. *d.* . . . in j. compas, xij. *d.* . . . in j. mol fabr', xv. *s.* It^m in j. ferr. ad limand', ij. *d.* It^m in xx. vertivell et xx. hokes et bord' pro fenestris claustri ex parte refectorii et in factura, vi. s. x. *d.* ob. It^m in vitriis ad easdem, vj. s. viij. *d.* It^m in ferr. pro eisdem, xvij. *d.* It^m in ij. par foff. iij. *d.*

“ Summa, xlix. s. viij. *d.* ob.

- “ Communaria 1345. Recept' de remanente comptus anni precedentis, 7 *li.* 19 *s.* v. *d.* ob. *q.*
 „ de decimis ecclesie de Cattone, 18 *li.* 3*d.* *q.*
 „ de redditibus apud merholt in Norwic',
 6*s.* 6*d.* “ Omnia Recepta, 26 *li.* 6*s.* 3*d.*
 “ Pitan. remanent' compoti precedentis, 9 *li.* 10*s.* 8*d.* ob. *q.*”

The year 1346 gives us a Pitancer's roll containing a long and curious entry of cloister work, from which it appears that the work, which had evidently been suspended about 1330, had been resumed about 1345, and was now vigorously proceeding. The loss of the intermediate rolls makes it impossible to say whether there was a total pause during these 15 years, but, as the glimpses afforded us by the rolls of 1337 and 1339, give evidence that the work was not then going on, such a pause appears probable:—

Prior Simon (1346).

“ Recepta ad opus claustris, £28 6*s.* 8*d.*

“ Petra empta—in marmore empto viz. ix. capita magna et bases magna, xvj. semibas' iiij. lapid' pro Gaûbes angl', gross xxix. columpne longe polyz et parat in omnibus, viij. doscelez magne polyz j. doscelet magn' pro angl' columpne parve pro fenestris, etc.

“ Cc. et dim. quart. de koyn Dubleynz. skues angulares, vij. ped de crest'.

“ In roba Symonis Lilye, xiiij. *s.* ij. *d.* In roba Roberti de Wyssyngseth, x. *s.*

“ In j. squavyrin et j. putifer' ij. *d.* In solipels, iiij. *d.*

“ Prec' j. capit' j. bas' j. columpn', 5*s.*

“ Petra empta. In cc. de Kayn Dubleynz, x. *s.*”

In 1347 and 1349 the Chapter documents show that the monks were carrying on the building steadily; but in the records for the years 1351, 1356, 1364, and 1382 the “Opus claustris” does not appear, so that the work must have been again stopped. There are entries of sums of money spent on the cloister in rolls dated as late as the year 1480; but they only show that a few unimportant items had to be finished after the main work of the great cloister had come to an end. The marble pavement of the west walk was not laid down till the year 1452, nor was the garth finally levelled till 1435, but the entries that appear in the records of the year 1428 show that the structure was then practically complete, when James Woderoffe, the freemason,

Magister of the work of the great cloister, John Horne, and William Reppys, the "gravour," were finishing the keys of the vault.

When Queen Elizabeth visited Norwich, in 1578, the north wall of the cloister was painted, or, as Sir Thomas Browne describes it, "handsomely beautified." "The north wall of the cloister was handsomely beautified with the arms of some of the nobility in their proper colours, with their crests, mantlings, supporters, and the whole achievement quartered with the several coats of their matches, drawn very large from the upper part of the wall, and took up about half of the wall. . . . They made a very handsome show, especially at that time when the cloister windows were painted unto the cross-bars. . . . But in the late times when the lead was faulty and the stonework decayed the rain falling upon the wall washed them away. The pavement also of the cloister on the same side was broken and the stones taken away, a floor of dust remaining; but that side is now handsomely paved by the beneficence of my worthy friend, William Burleigh, Esq."

Traces of colour may yet be found on the wall; but there is no fragment of the painted glass "which hath been above the cross-bars." But to return to the summary—

In 1386 we find notices of a "Custos claustrum" as well as a "Custos domorum," the former of whom accounted for the stone and other materials for the works. Among the items of these are two great capitals, 24 marble columns, great and small, bars for the windows, and work upon the gutters. In 1388 a much larger amount than was expended upon the works was given or bequeathed for its execution. In 1389, 1391, 1392, 1394, and 1399 items only for the wages of workmen appear. In 1404 some stones of marble were bought for the work, an iron grate for the lavatory bought, and some repairs done. In 1406, 1407, and 1408 no expenses were incurred. In 1411 considerable sums were obtained for the work, and much stone purchased for its various parts. In 1413 the works appear to have been actively carried on, among the names of the workmen appearing that of Bricius "dewcheman." In 1415, £30. 9s. 9d. appear to have been expended, in which are included 21s. 11d. for the cost of the door of the great Hall, 12d. for the repair of the glass window above the "plancher-loft," and 8d. for the repair of

the door of the locutory. In 1417 various works were in hand for the repairs of windows, the roof, and dormitory. In 1419, 2s. 1*d.* were paid for glass for one of the large windows, "waynscot" bought for a new aqueduct above the cloister, and materials for various works. In 1420, John Depe, the smith, received 4s. 1*d.* for eleven iron "crampions" for supporting the spouts on the west side of the cloister; various tools and materials were bought, work was done upon the vaulting by James Woderofe and his brother John, for whom two "robes" were bought. In 1422 John Woderofe and his brother were still engaged, and had a gratuity of 13s. 4*d.*; timber was bought for the new roof of the south side of the cloister, and four new windows were made. In 1424, £40 were presented to the work by the Archdeacon of Lincoln, and in that year much activity prevailed respecting the work, and the whole roof of the north side was covered with lead. In 1426 some part of the new work of the north side seemed to require repair, which was done; the windows of the Chapter-house were repaired, and a screen (?) provided to shut in the door when a chapter was sitting. In 1428 various works were continued, William Reppys, the "gravour," being paid 40s. for six keystones, and the Archdeacon of Lincoln again contributing to the work. In the years 1430 to 1435 various works were carried on and continued, the digging and carrying away of earth, making thirteen windows over the cloister, "rabettyng" nine windows in the cloister, paving the same with tiles at the Dormitory door, and on the upper side of the door before the Image of the Blessed Virgin. In 1440, plumbers' work was done as well as repairs to two buttresses at the south end of the Dormitory, near the Infirmary garden. In 1441 plumbers' work was continued, including the repair of a spout in the lavatory in the cloister, and a bench of freestone made to be placed near the Refectory door. In 1443 the plumber repaired pipes belonging to the lavatory, and freestone was bought and given for it. In 1444 works were continued in the lavatory, John Jeckys was paid for placing the images of St. John the Evangelist and St. Barbara in the Chapter-house and painting them, the aqueduct on the north side of the cloister was repaired, as were the stone benches in the cloister. In 1449 repairs were done to the locks of various doors, a lock with two keys

was bought at a cost of *7d.*, for the door of the Exchequer, the glazier repaired the window in the new Dormitory, and Richard Wright the great gate of the garden, near the parlour. In 1452 five score of large stones of marble, and as many small ones, were bought for the pavement of the west cloister, and John Everhard engaged in laying them; the carpenter was paid *18d.* for hanging the windows above the south cloister, for which hinges, hooks, &c., were bought, and *1½d.* paid for the repair of the great key of the door of the parlour. In 1466, *3s. 4d.* were paid for work upon the vaulting. In 1470 moneys were contributed "propter combustionem ecclesie." In 1476 the vaultings were cleaned. In 1477 works were done to the barn at Catton. In 1479 six "le keys, alias le spowhtys," were bought for the lavatory.

The close at Norwich has been so thoroughly modernised that nearly all the buildings once occupied and used by the monks have been either destroyed or imbedded in dwelling-houses. The sites of some of the mediæval offices can be made out by comparing fragments of old walls with William of Worcester's description of the great cloister and of the buildings which were grouped about it; but many of these structures have been entirely swept away.

The position of the Chapter-house, built in the thirteenth century, is of course fixed by the great entrance to it, which has been preserved with the cloister; and its width has been determined by the remains of the two side walls, but its length eastward is not accurately known. In an old plan of the church and cloister, published in 1818, the building is represented to be about 80 ft. long, and to have had a polygonal apse at its east end.

Between the Chapter-house and the south wall of the south transept there was the usual slype or tresauce, the covered passage from the cloister to the cemetery of the monks, but it has been pulled down, the door, which gave access to it from the cloister, has been removed, and the door-arch bricked up.

The deanery of the modern corporation represents the priory of the elder foundation, but much reduced in extent and entirely disconnected from the groups of buildings once devoted to monastic life. There are traces of a door-arch in the east wall of the cloister, which probably opened into a passage to the priors' chambers.

The east walk of the cloister is lengthened southward by a gloomy passage which led towards the Infirmary, of which hardly anything remains but three piers much decayed by age and exposure. This passage is known as the "dark entry," and there was at Ely a similar vaulted communication between the great cloister and Infirmary, which was called the "dark cloister." At Canterbury, too, there was a "dark entry" formed in the substructure of the Dormitory to lead from the great cloister to the Infirmary cloister, and at Peterborough the east walk of the great cloister was continued southward by a long narrow vaulted passage, which no doubt served as the entry at Norwich to give access at all seasons to the magnificent Infirmary which that monastery had ; for as an Infirmary received not only those who were sick and under medical regimen, but those who were convalescent or relieved for a time from the rigid observance of the rules of their order, it was essential that it should not be severed from the main system of buildings.

The Infirmary at Norwich was, in 1744, converted into a workhouse ; but in 1756 the poor were removed and the building was left unoccupied till the summer of 1804, when the greater part was destroyed and a dwelling-house constructed in what was left. The piers which have been mentioned were fortunately left standing, and some portions of the old roof which then covered the building still remain as the roof of the dwelling-house.

Mr. Repton made careful plans and elevations of this structure a few months before its destruction, and published them shortly afterwards in the fifteenth volume of the "Archaeologia." His plan gives the width of the building as well as the site of its west wall, and it also establishes the fact that it had only one subordinate aisle, which was on the south side. The eastern limits of the building Mr. Repton was not able to plan, but we may assume that this Infirmary was finished as others were, and that it had its chapel at the east end, shut off by a wall from the general chamber. The east wall of the dark entry is of a very early date, and is probably part of the first cloister which has been thus far preserved by being used to make up one of the canons' houses.

The Dormitory in all these monasteries was connected with one of the transepts of the church, and at Norwich

the "dortor," as it is usually called, must have stood on a sub-structure of vaults in the space between the east wall of the great cloister and the priory or modern deanery. Traces of the vaults may, indeed, still be found on the walls of the deanery, and the site of the building is to some extent defined by the entry of repairs in 1440, previously referred to, which prove the south end of the Dormitory to have been near the Infirmary garden, as shown in the Pitancer's account of the nineteenth year of Henry VI.: "*j botras in fine australi dormitorii juxta gardinum Infirmarii.*" The relative positions occupied by the Dormitory cloisters and Chapter-house at Norwich are, in fact, those assigned to these chambers at Ely and Peterborough, and, although the monastery at Canterbury stood on the north of the church instead of on the south side, as was generally the case, the grouping of the various departments was very much the same, for there the great "dortor" and Chapter-house were on the east side of the great cloister, and immediately to the east of the dormitory was the herbarium, to which the Infirmary cloister opened. Between the Infirmary at Norwich and the Refectory on the south side of the great cloister there was apparently an open court, which may have been the "*gardinum Infirmarie*" mentioned above, which the south end of the Dormitory overlooked.

The Refectory was built at Norwich exactly as at Peterborough, against the south wall of the great cloister, and must have been a very fine room. Specimens of the intersecting arches of Norman masonry which once decorated its walls have been found preserved in a modern dwelling-house, lately pulled down, which had been built on and about the "dark entry." How far the Norman Fraternity was injured by the various fires for which this monastery is remarkable it is impossible to say, but the site cannot have been changed, for in the fifteenth century, when William of Worcester's notes were written, it remained on the south of the cloister, which had been evidently planned to meet existing arrangements for the preparation of the food provided for the members of the monastery.

The monks' entrance to their dining-hall from the cloister remains in the place assigned to it by William of Worcester, and it no doubt gave access to a vestibule which separated the body of the hall from the kitchen and its appendages,

which were probably still further to the west. Close to the Refectory door we find the lavatories which were used by the monks before meals, constructed within arches sunk in the back wall of the alley, as at Peterborough, Westminster, and Worcester.

In the west alley of the great cloister, and of course in its west wall, there are two doors, of which the southern one near the lavatories opened into the Guest-hall, which was unfortunately pulled down by Dean Gardiner, between 1573 and 1589. This room was not so long as the monks' Refectory, but was about as wide, viz., 34 ft. 6in., and was entered from the west by a porch of which some fragments yet remain. The monks' kitchen may naturally be looked for in the angle which these two walls once formed at the south-west of the cloister, and there are indications of the former existence of this common and obvious arrangement. Chambers devoted to hospitality were usually assigned to the celarer's care, and accordingly it would be natural to look for his residence in this part of the old monastery, but there is no documentary evidence which throws any light upon the question and it is hardly worth while to lay much stress on mere conjecture. The celarer's apartments may have been over the Guest-hall, or in the range of buildings by which the west alley of the great cloister is extended towards the south, and this disposition of chambers is very much like that adopted at Canterbury, where the Fraternity was on the north side of the great cloister, abutting on the dormitory. The celarer's lodging in that monastery lined the whole length of the west wall, while his hall was still farther to the north, and the buttery of the Fraternity was between the two buildings in the celarer's charge, and the monastery kitchen was close at hand.⁵

The north end of the Norwich Guest-hall abutted on a Locutorium which had an entrance from the cloister. This room, which is of very early date, was till lately imbedded in one of the canons' houses, and an original staircase led from it to chambers over the Guest-hall, which may have been part of the old "cellarium."

The wall which once enclosed the monastery has been almost destroyed, but a part of it remains on the north,

⁵ "The Architectural History of the Convent and Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury," by the Rév. Robert Willis.

extending westward from the gateway which leads to the Palace, and the two remaining gatehouses of the precincts are still connected by another portion. The upper gate-house, or St. Ethelbert's gate, as it is called, was built by the citizens of Norwich, as part of the fine levied on them for the injuries done to the church in the riots of A.D. 1272, and replaces the earlier gate-house then burnt. The upper part of this gate-house is modern work of the early part of the present century. The lower gate-house, which stands opposite the west front of the church, was built by Sir Thomas Erpingham in the early part of the fifteenth century. Sir Thomas died in the year 1428, and was buried on the north side of the choir, according to Sir Thomas Browne:⁶—"On the north side of the choir, between the two arches next to Queen Elizabeth's seat, were buried Sir Thomas Erpingham and his wives, the Lady Joan, &c., whose pictures were in the painted glass windows next unto this place with the arms of the Erpinghams. The insides of both the pillars were painted in red colours, with divers figures and inscriptions, from the top almost to the bottom, which are now washed out by the late whiting of the pillars. He was a Knight of the Garter in the time of Henry IV. and some part of Henry V., and I find his name in the list of the Lord Wardens of the Cinque Ports. His arms are often on the steeple which are an escutcheon within an orle of martlets, and also upon the outside of the gate next the school-house."

The Sacrists' roll for the seventh year of King Henry IV. contains an account of offerings made at the burial of Sir Thomas Erpingham in the north aisle of the presbytery of the church:—"7 Hen. VI.—Compotus Ricardi de Mideltoñ sacriste—Recepta ecclesie. Item in oblacione die sepulture domini Thome de Erpinggam militis per executores *vj. li. xiiij. s. iiij. d.* Item ex convencionem facta cum executoribus pro equo preter cellam et le trappes *iv. li.* et preter unum pannum aureum rubeum et unum alterum pannum nigrum de Damaske et preter 1 par de plates cum vambras reerbras cusshews sheuewes sabatons *j. dagger et j. basnet cum j. ventell' et j. polle ax.*"

And in the following year account is rendered, "De exe-

⁶ "Repertorium," p. 9.

cutoribus domini Thome Erpyngham pro uno le pipe vini lx. s. Item de eisdem executoribus pro uno pari candela-brorum de laton' ij. s. et preter unum gladium."

Sir Thomas Erpingham was married twice ; first to Joan Clopton and next to Joan Walton, the widow of John Howard, of Fersfield, who died in 1410 ; and as the arms of both wives form part of one decoration of the gate, he must have built it in all probability between the years 1411 and 1428.⁷

"Queen Elizabeth's Seat," which is referred to in the above extract, is the name now given to the easternmost severy of the north side of the presbytery, from a tradition that when the Queen visited Bishop Freake, in 1578, attended by her court, a throne was prepared for her between the piers of this compartment. The Queen's seat must have been placed immediately in front of a hagioscope which exists below a bridge chapel which spans the procession at this point, and was entered both from the altar platform and from the lower level of the path. There are traces of steps on the piers and remains of the circular staircase which once was carried through the vault of the chapel from the procession path. There was another hagioscope on the south side of the presbytery, but it was destroyed not many years ago.

Close to the Erpingham gate within the monastery walls stands the chapel of St. John the Evangelist, now the Royal School, a foundation of Bishop Salmon's :—"1299-1325.—"Carnariam ex occidentali parte ecclesie sue cathedralis construxit et cantariam iv. capellanorum ibidem stabilivit." Leland coll. $\frac{2}{352}$.

In the foundation deed which is printed from the Bishops' registers by Browne (*Repertorium*, p. 8), he describes it as the chapel which he had founded on the west side of the cathedral and dedicated to St. John the Evangelist, for four chaplains to say masses for his soul and those of his father, mother, and his predecessors and successors, and he adds that the human bones buried in the city of Norwich are to be deposited and preserved in the "Carnaria," underneath the said chapel of St. John. This deed was confirmed by King Edward in 1316, 12 Ed. II., and his charter calls it

⁷ "Harrod's Gleanings among the Castles and Convents of Norfolk."

“Capella B. Johannis Evangeliste per dictum episcopum de novo constructa.” The porch is a much later building, added by Bishop Walter Hart or Lyhart, 1446-1472, whose arms are over the door.

There was a similar charnel-house and chapel at Worcester, but “the only vestiges of the chapel that remain are part of the north and south walls, which now enclose the court before the above-mentioned house ; but the crypt, which is underneath it and bounded by the same walls, and extending the whole space of the court, remains entire. It contains a vast quantity of bones which, although now in some disorder, seem to have been curiously assorted and piled up in two rows along its sides, leaving a passage between them from its west entrance (which was closed up at the time the chapel was demolished) to its end.”⁸

Lynn had also a charnel chapel dedicated to St. John, and attached to the north-east corner of St. Margaret’s church, the conventual church of the Benedictine monastery there, and another of Bishop Herbert’s works.

As at Norwich, the chapel became a school :—“Adjoining to the north-west corner of the church is a very handsome free grammar school, with a neat lanthorn in the middle of it ; and under the school is a large arched vault, which was formerly used as a charnel-house.” (MS. additions to a copy of “The History of Kings Lynn, by B. Mackerell, 1738,” in the Lynn Museum Library.)

In 1779, this chapel was destroyed by the corporation, in order to build new shambles.

The north side of Norwich Cathedral was occupied by the Palace of the Bishop, which once extended as far as the bounding walls of the monastery ; but the Palace in which Henry VI. was entertained by Bishop Lyhart in 1449, has been in a great measure pulled down, and the arrangements and dimensions of the original structure can now be guessed at only from the fragments of walls which may be here and there discovered.

When Bishop Herbert laid the foundation of his cathedral he built also a residence for himself, of which some portions still remain. About sixteen years ago his Palace walls joined the north side aisle of the church, and the Bishop had a private entrance to the nave, probably along a gallery carried by a

⁸ “Green’s History of Worcester Cathedral,” vol. i. p. 56.

substructure of waggon vaults, which still exist in part, and are connected with the massive walls of a nearly square chamber, which has been used in modern days as a kitchen.

The Palace at Ely was in like manner once connected with the cathedral church by a gallery, which gave the Bishop access to the nave. At Canterbury there was a sheltered way by which the Archbishop could pass from his Palace to the church through the cloister, and similar arrangements probably were made in most monasteries. The doorway in the side-aisle wall is left at Norwich, but now opens into the Palace garden instead of into the Palace itself.

To the east of his gallery, Bishop Herbert built a chapel, which stood parallel to the east arm of the cathedral church at a distance of 120 feet, and was about 40 feet in width.

The original residence of the Bishop did not occupy a very large area ; but in 1318, according to the Patent rolls of the twelfth year of the reign of Edward II., Bishop Salmon got licence to buy a piece of land, forty-seven perches and four feet in length, and twenty-three perches and twelve feet in breadth, to enlarge the site of a Palace which he was then building. This Bishop, beside making alterations in the original Palace, is said by Leland⁹ to have completed a new chapel and to have added a new hall, which extended apparently entirely across the new site. This "great hall" measured 120 feet from north to south and was 60 feet wide, having at its north end a kitchen, a buttery, and all the chambers necessary for the preparation of food ; but it seems to have been built on too large a scale, and to have rapidly become a burden on the revenues of the See. Bishop Nix, with the consent of the Prior and Chapter leased it just before his death, A.D. 1535, to the mayor, sheriff, and citizens, that the Guild of S. George might hold their annual feast there ; later on we read of its becoming a meeting house ; in the early part of the eighteenth century fragments of the walls were left, and now all that remains above ground is the porch, standing in the garden of the Bishop's Palace, and often called "Bishop Salmon's gateway" in total ignorance of its original uses.

The present private chapel of the Bishop was built by Bishop Reynolds in 1662, and actually occupies the south end of the Great Hall ; but that which Bishop Salmon added

⁹ "Leland's Collectanea," ii., 352.

to the Bishop's residence has been entirely swept away. It stood between the chapel of Bishop Reynolds and the church, and was a long narrow building, standing on the foundations of Bishop Herbert's chapel and had a square end eastward, which stood on the massive foundations of the original apse, which was evidently a distinctive feature of all the plans adopted by the founder of the monastery.

Sir Thomas Browne, in his "Repertorium"¹ tells us that Bishop Salmon's "chapel demolished in the time of the late war" "was higher, broader, and much longer than the new chapel built by Bishop Reynolds; but being covered with lead the lead was sold and taken away in the late rebellion times, and the fabric growing ruinous and useless, it was taken down and some of the stones made use of in the building of the new chapel." In another passage² he calls it "The bishop's long chappell on the eastward of the palace which was no ordinary fabric."

About the year 1420, Bishop Wakeryng, who left money for the completion of the great cloister, built a covered passage or cloister from the north transept to the south wall of the great hall. This cloister, which, as we learn from the "Repertorium" of Sir Thomas Browne, "was covered with a handsome roof," extended due north from the cathedral and was partly built on the west wall of the "long chappell," but, like the long chappell and Bishop Wakeryng's chapel, not a trace of it is left. Bishop Wakeryng's chapel was on the east side of the south transept, and was entered from the south aisle of the presbytery, but a few years ago the door-arch was taken out, and the whole compartment in which it stood altered to correspond with the old Norman church.

It appears from Sir Thomas Browne's notes³ that the chapel was used as a Chapter-house when the earlier one was gone.

To the east of and adjoining Bishop Wakeryng's chapel was that of John Heydon, of Baconsthorpe, who died in the reign of Edward IV., after having taken an active part with the adherents of the House of Lancaster.

When the old walls of the cathedral were disturbed in 1847, a small "anchorage" or cell of an anchorite was disclosed in the aisle wall, eastward of Bishop Wakeryng's

P. 19.

² P. 15.³ P. 9.

door, and above the ground arcade level. This cell had an opening into the church protected by a grating and must have been constructed in one of the walls of Heydon's Chapel. The grating enabled the occupant of the cell to see the high altar, it may be presumed, and it was given to the Norfolk and Norwich Museum, when the "anchorage" was destroyed to make way for the Chapter clerk's and architect's offices.

The gate-house, which is the principal entrance to the Palace, was built by Bishop Alnwyk about the year 1430, and probably replaced some earlier one; the wooden gates, however, were added afterwards by Bishop Lyhart between 1446 and 1472, and may have been put there on the occasion of the visit of King Henry VI. in 1449.

The following extracts from the Survey book, in the possession of the Bishop of Norwich show the condition of the fabric of the Palace in the seventeenth century.

A survey of the Bishop's Pallace, in Norwich, taken on Saturday, 30 January, 1646, by Coll'Sparrow, John Offlett, gent, and Edmund Rust, gent, nominated and appointed surveyors for the Bishoprick of Norwich by virtue of a Commission unto them granted 20 January 1646, by and from Sr John Woollaston, Knight and other Trustees appointed by Parliament for the sale of Bishops landes. According to two ordinances of Parliament made and ordayned for the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops and for the sale of their landes and possessions. The one bearing Date die veneris 9^o Octobris 1646, the other die Lunæ decimo sexto Novembris 1646.

The Scite of the Pallace with the greate Chappell belonging to the said Pallace, the Stable, Brewhouse, Millhouse, and other houses, together with the yardes, orchardes, garden and backsides conteyne by estimation, 6 acres 2 roodes.

The Pallace House consisteth of these particulars following. It hath in the entrance thereof a porch of ffreestone of tenn foote square, from thence is a paved entry conteyning 11 foote in breadth and 41 foote in length: at the end thereof is a staircase of 17 foote square, each stair being 7 foote in length, this leadeth into the greate hall.

The greate hall conteyneth in breadth 24 foote and in length 50 foote with two roomes for butteries at the lower end of the said hall.

At the upper end of the said hall is a staircase 14 foote square, leading into a greate dyning roome conteyning in breadth 28 foote, in length 38 foote, which Dyning roome is wainscoated with old carved wainscoate 9 foote in height, with an old greene hanging of pennystone or Cotton 5 foote deepe.

At the north end of the said dyning roome are some lodging roomes, each of them about 20 foote square with diverse little by roomes for closetts and other purposes.

And toward the south end of the dyning roome there is a roome about

16 foote square which was formerly the Bishops study. A great parlour above stairs in breadth 20 foote, in length 40 foote, and about 13 foote in height.

At the south end of the Parlor are 3 lodging chambers where the Pallace adjoyneth to the greate Cathedrall Church called Christs Church. At the south end of the Parlor and towards the hall are ten other roomes some used for lodging, and the smaller roomes for other uses. A greate kitchin belowe staires, paved, having a chimney in it of two ranges, one pastry, a larder and a wash house adjoyning the said kitchin with a leaden pumpe in the washhouse.

One greate Arched Sellar under the hall with diverse other lowe roomes, some of them used to bestowe wood in and the rest unused; and two greate low entries leading into the house, Chappell, and the greate Church.

An old greate porch standing by itselfe with a Chamber over it called the Evidence House, where the Bishops old Evidences are kept.

An old building conteyning 54 foote in length, and 20 in breadth, the lower roomes were formerly the butteries to the greate old hall burnt downe. The two upper stories have a roome in each story, each roome conteyning in length 54 foote, and in breadth 20.

There is a longe rowe, a range of buildings at the entrance of the outward court yard conteyning in length 289 foote and in breadth about 20 foote. In this range of buildings there is a gatehouse Tower, stronge and in good repaire; and two other old towers, one in decay. A middle part of this range of buildings conteyning 58 foote in length is employed for stables. At the west end of this rowe of buildings is about 100 foote in length employed for a brewhouse, by the gatehouse Tower is a Porters lodge of one roome, and under it is a Dungeon called the Bishops prison.

The private Chappell belonging to the Pallace conteyneth 130 foote in length and 28 foote in breadth; the timberworke of the roofe is in decay. It was never used soe far as appeareth as a place for buriall.

There is a Tenement lying in the Pallace yard called the keepers house, now in the occupat'on of Robert Randalfe; This tenement consisteth of a little porch and a Study over it, and of a hall 17 foote in length and 15 foote in breadth with a little kitchin; a wash house, 2 little butteries, and a Sellar with a hall chamber, a kitchin chamber, and a chamber over the buttry.

The Scite of the said pallace with all the houses, Private chappell, buildings, yardes, gardens, and orchards thereunto belonging and conteyning by estimation 6 acres and 2 roods are lying together betwixt the greate Cathedrall church called Christs church in part and the way leading from the said church towards Bishops gate in part on the part of the south, and betwixt the Common way leading from Tombeland to Bishops gate on the part of the north, and abbutteth on the east part upon the cross way leading to Bishops gate, and the west part thereof abbutteth upon the greene yard and an orchard belonging to the Deane and Chapter of Norwich.

Memorand' that the longe rowe or range of buildings and towers before specified are all covered with lead and also the greate hall, the greate Dyning roome, the greate parlor, and diverse other roomes belonging to the said pallace are covered with lead. The walls of all the buildings belonging to the said pallace consist of flintstone and a small quantitie

of freestone. The barrs of the windowes are some of iron and some of wood. The glasseworke is in reasonable repaire, but the timberworke of the roofes is somewhat decayed.

The lead worke of the Chappell conteyneth in length 130 foote and in breadth 40 foote; in the whole it conteyneth 5200 square foote of lead worke. The which by estimation doe conteyne 33300 pound weight of lead.

The lead worke of the other buildings belonging to the said pallace conteyne 18911 square foote of lead, the which reckoning 6 pound weight and a halfe of lead to every foote doe conteyne by estimation 122921 pound weight of lead.

Soe all the said lead if it should be taken of from the said Chappell and other buildings and sold is valued to be worth £800 over and above the charge of taking downe the said lead.

The scite of the said Pallace and all the buildings belonging to the said Pallace (except the keepers house) are now in the occupation of James Scambler, Esq. by graunt from the Committee of Sequestrations from yeare to yeare at per annum £26. Allowance is to be made for reparations of the said Pallace out of the said rent by directions from the Comitty; the tenement called the keepers house in the occupa'on of Robert Randalfe is worth pr annum 4*li*.

Memorandum: there hath been anntiently by the Bishops a patent graunted for the keeping the Bishops Pallace in Norwich with the ffee of 4^d. per diem and the Dwelling in the house called the Pallace keepers house. And Samuell, late Bishopp of Norwich 3. January 1628 did graunt by his Patent unto Thomas Fitton, gent. the keeping of his said Pallace with the said ffee and house during the life of the said M^r Fitton. And the same Patent is now come by severall Assignments unto Sir Thomas Hoogan, Knight. And the said Thomas Fitton is now living and is aged about 43 yeares.

Here endeth the Survey of all the Peticulers belonging to the said Pallace.

[A memorandum, dated May 3, 1647, is added to the effect that an exact survey by measure was afterwards made of the "Scite of the Pallace," &c. at the request of Colonel Harvey, who had purchased the same, and that "it was found to conteyne five acres and noe more."]

The open space to the west of the Palace was known as the green yard, and Sir Thomas Browne tells us that "Before the late times the combination sermons were preached in the summer time at the cross in the green yard where there was a good accommodation for the auditors. The Mayor, aldermen, with their wives and officers, had a well-contrived place built against the wall of the Bishop's palace covered with lead, so that they were not offended by rain. Upon the north side of the church places were built gallerywise one above another, where the dean, prebends and their wives, gentlemen, and the better sort very well heard the sermon. The rest either stood or sat upon the green upon long forms provided for them, paying a penny or half-penny a

piece, as they did at S. Paul's Cross in London. The Bishop and chancellor heard the sermon at the windows of the bishop's palace. The pulpit had a large covering of lead over it and a cross upon it, and there were eight or ten stairs of stone about it, upon which the Hospital boys and others stood. The preacher had his face to the south, and there was a painted board of a foot and a half broad and about a yard and a half long hanging over his head before upon which were painted the arms of the benefactors towards the combination sermon which he particularly commemorated in his prayer. . . ." ⁴

The following extract from a roll of the Sacrist for the year 1440 shows that the position of the entrance to the "prechyng-gerde" was close to the charnel chapel:—"Item soluta Jacobo Woderous fremason pro le Jaumbys de libera petra pro magnis portis de prechyngyerde juxta carnarium xxi^s. viii^d. Item Johanni Everard pro factura quo ad opus sementarii earundem portarum xiii^s. iiij^d. Item Johanni Voraunt carpentario pro factura earundem portarum cum tecto cum denariis datis duobus hominibus sarrantibus xxxi^s. vj^d. In ii lyntellis pro eisdem portis cum le sparres pro tecto viii^s. vi^d. In ferramentis clavis et prekelys pro eisdem portis xiii^s. Item solutæ pro le fotyng magni fontis pro aysiamento peregrinorum xx^d. Item eidem pro le feletyng circa campanile in choro et pro le feletyng circa presbiterium xxvi^s. viii^d. In factura unius novi pulpiti pro predicantibus in ecclesia cum meremio et waynscot emptis lj^s. viii^d.—In i. countyngboord pro scaccario Sacriste. The entrance to the preaching yard from the north aisle of the cathedral is now walled up, but its site may be found without difficulty in the seventh severy from the west end. The traces of the door-arch are plain, and many of the holes made to receive the joists of the galleries for the dean and prebends remain in the ashlar.

It appears from these holes that the galleries extended over three severies and rose as high as the clerestory.

⁴ Sir Thomas Browne's Works, vol. iv. p. 27. London: 1835.

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