ENGLISH MONASTERIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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(1) Benedictine Monk.
(3) Cistercian Monk.

(2) Augustinian Canon.
(4) Premonstratensian Canon.
(*Dugdale.*)

ENGLISH MONASTERIES IN THE MIDDLE AGES

AN OUTLINE OF MONASTIC ARCHITECTURE
AND CUSTOM FROM THE CONQUEST
TO THE SUPPRESSION

BY

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WITH SEVENTY-SIX
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TO

A. M. P.

PREFACE

MEDIAEVAL monasticism has been dealt with at length by many writers in works devoted to its religious, historical, or social aspects, but the majority of valuable treatises on its architectural history and conventual buildings are scattered through the innumerable volumes of the various Archaeological and learned Societies' proceedings for upwards of a century, or contained in technical monographs not always readily accessible. Moreover, the generality of works which treat of monasticism pay but little attention to the buildings which formed its home, or to the close connection always existing between monastic custom and monastic building.

The purpose of this book, therefore, is to present to the general reader a simple outline of the origins, characteristics, and customs of the Monastic Orders, and with this introduction to trace in slightly more detail the development in England of the churches which they served and the buildings in which they lived and died.

Emphasis is laid throughout upon the fundamental importance of considering the monastery in its relation to the life of its day; and of recognising the unceasing interaction of monastic custom, social habit, and economic conditions, and of the growth of design as the potentialities of material were explored and fresh architectural ideals unfolded.

Bearing in mind the universal character of building design during the Middle Ages, it will be apparent that in describing its particular application to the requirements of English monasticism it would be undesirable —and indeed impossible—to treat this as a self-contained department of mediaeval architecture, and to exclude all mention of or comparison

with the same forms as used for other purposes. For this reason, frequent reference is made to the work of secular chapters and parish churches, and to monastic building in Europe generally. Also, while it is no part of the purpose of the following pages to add to the numerous works on Romanesque and Gothic architecture considered as design, wherever it has seemed desirable for comparison or elucidation of plan to refer to the structural principles or artistic motives which underlay mediaeval building, this has been freely done.

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My grateful acknowledgements are due to the Councils of the following Societies for permission to make use of the plans mentioned, from which some of the drawings illustrating this book have been prepared: To the Royal Archaeological Society, for plans of Gloucester Abbey and Watton Priory; to the Kent Archaeological Society, for that of St. Radegund's Abbey, Bradsole; to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society, for that of the Charterhouse of Mount Grace. My thanks are also due to Mr. Harold Brakspear, F.S.A., for his kind permission in connection with the plans of Watton Priory and Waverley; and to the many correspondents who have courteously answered enquiries or verified references. The sources of other drawings, and of photographs, are attached to the list of illustrations. All black-and-white plans and diagrams have been prepared by the author, who is therefore responsible for the form in which they are here presented.

R. L. P.

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"the kindest and most loving of all
the buildings that the earth has ever borne;"

WILLIAM MORRIS.

CHAPTER I

THE MONASTIC ORDERS IN ENGLAND

(1) The Rise of Benedictinism

In the earliest stages of all fresh religious developments asceticism under one form or another is found as a spur to the most earnest type of the religious mind. To this Christianity forms no exception. When the Emperor Constantine became a Christian, the increase in the number of people who, from one reason or another, followed the imperial example, was so great that there began an increasingly rapid withdrawal of the ascetic from the comfortable congregation of workaday Christianity. These fled into the desert places to join the already established 'ascetae', there to substitute for the now abandoned persecution of the body by Authority the flagellation of the soul by itself.

At the end of the fourth century, we are told by Palladius, there were five thousand 'monks' in the mountains about Nitria, south of Alexandria, living separate lives and each emulating his brother in austerity. But the ideals of the earliest anchorites were too lofty for the majority of those who in growing numbers desired some form of religious life; and the history of the first period of Christian monachism or asceticism is that of the gradual transition from anchorite to cenobite.[1] "The high that was too high, the heroic for earth too hard", applies also to the spiritual ideals of the desert eremite. To the average 'religious' the society of his brethren, even though seldom enjoyed, the influence and discipline of the 'Abbat' or

[1] "When many of these (cells) were placed together in the same wilderness at some distance from each other, they were all called by one common name, *laura*: ... a *laura* was many cells divided from each other, where every monk provided for himself; but a *coenobium* was but one habitation where the monks lived in society and had all things in common."—Bingham's *Origines Ecclesiasticae*, bk. vii. ch. 2.

father of the community, and the relief to his highly tensioned spiritual sinews afforded by common manual labour—these things enabled him to retain the sanity so often lost by the solitary, and at the same time to attain to a higher level than would have been possible without the urge and restraint of monastic rule.

Considerably more latitude was allowed to the individuals who composed these loosely organised communities than in the later days of fully developed monachism, and the standard before them was largely that set by themselves, "each as he wishes and as he is able".

The great difference between Eastern monachism of the early days and the fully developed organism in later Europe is summarised in the difference between the systems of Anthony and Pachomius on the one hand, and the Rules of Basil and Benedict on the other.

The Pachomian system, though it provided a 'Rule' and enjoined discipline, yet encouraged a separate life for the monks and allowed a large measure of personal discretion in religious observance and in daily life; in brief, it regularised an individual life within an organisation. The Rule of Basil introduces the ideal of the common life, under which all observances and details, both religious and domestic, were to be regulated by a Superior. Largely upon this foundation, with some assistance from the principles of Pachomius, the great ecclesiastical statesman Benedict built his subsequently famous Rule. Primarily compiled about 525 for his own Monastery of Monte Cassino, his Rule, owing to its humanity, its wisdom and flexibility, became eventually almost the universal code for Western monasticism. Introduced into England by Augustine in 597, the Benedictine system gradually but completely ousted the already existing Celtic type of monasticism, which with its close resemblance to the Eastern model, its extreme austerity and lack of flexibility, was unadapted to the colder climate of England, and in its lack of humanity unsuited to the diverse kinds of men and women who were drawn to the life of the cloister. To sum up, the heart and centre of fully developed monasticism in Western Europe is the ideal of a common life in church and cloister, under the discipline of the Rule of the Order as exercised by a benevolent Superior, to whom, in matters both religious and personal, implicit obedience is to be rendered. Such is the ideal; how faithfully it was served or to what extent it was neglected is a question to which each must give his own

answer. Two considerations might, perhaps, be more fully borne in mind than is usual: one, that the prominence given in records of visitations to serious offences against discipline and morals, and the unsparing language in which such offences or characteristics are described ('turpissime', 'foetidus'), show the opinion in which they were held, and without respect of persons. Abbot Clement of St. Mary's, York, for instance, who died in 1184, is described as *lupus rapax, super omnia vastans*. The second consideration is that of the divers kinds of men who composed a monastic community. Monks, as well as the lay brethren who formed a part of most Orders, were doubtless drawn by many motives towards a settled life in an unsettled age; and to be able to claim benefit of clergy was no small advantage while the privilege remained. Only brief reflection is needed to realise the advisability of some place of correction such as that at Spalding, where above the Prior's prison there was an "arched chamber, where refractory monks were kept".

(2) The Orders in England after the Conquest

With the two great exceptions of the Benedictines and the Cluniacs, the eleventh and early part of the twelfth centuries saw the rise of the religious Orders whose names are so familiar. After the Conquest came the resettlement of England both on the religious and the political sides; and following closely upon the monastic revival of the early eleventh century in Western Europe, the opening up of England to the Continent offered an opportunity for monastic expansion and colonisation of which the ecclesiastics of Normandy and Burgundy were not slow to avail themselves. At this time the great building revival of the eleventh century was at its height, when "it was as though the very world had shaken herself and cast off her old age, and were clothing herself everywhere in a white garment of churches". New abbeys were founded by William and his nobles in great numbers, to be staffed with monks from the Continent. At the same time the possessions of the existing English houses were often considerably increased, though it must be imagined that joy at the gift was not infrequently qualified by the appointment of a new Norman abbot. At Peterborough, upon the appointment of Abbot Thorold by the Conqueror, we are told that "he being a stranger neither loved his convent, nor his convent him".

Of the purely Benedictine abbeys founded by the Normans the best known is the famous Abbey of St. Martin at Battle, whose high altar stood on the spot where Harold's standard fell, and where his body was found.

Amongst the Cluniac houses in England the primacy was held by the Priory of St. Pancras at Lewes, through whose ruins the train now ploughs its way, and whose first prior, Lanzo, came to Lewes in 1077.

In 1046 the Order of Grandmont had its beginning in Limoges, and at the time of John had priories in Eskdale, Hereford, and Shropshire. In 1086

FIG. 1.—BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY. BRIDGE OVER RIVER LARK.

was founded the monastery of La Chartreuse, whence spread slowly the austere Order of the Carthusians;[1] its earliest house in England was at Witham in Somerset, *c.* 1180; but the last Charterhouse was also the greatest, that of Shene Priory, founded by Henry V in 1414.

At Cîteaux, in the marshes near Dijon, began in 1098 the Cistercian Order, later to found here the great abbeys of Waverley, Fountains, Tintern, and others; of which Waverley in Surrey, settled in 1128, was the earliest. In 1101 the Order of Fontevrault was founded in the forest of

[1] Hinton, 1227. Beauvale, 1343. London, 1371. Kingston-on-Hull, 1378. Coventry, 1381. Epworth, 1395. Mountgrace, 1397.

that name in Anjou, and in the middle of the century settled an English priory at Nuneaton in Warwickshire. In 1105 a monastery was founded in the dark forest of Savigny in Normandy, to be the cradle of the Savigniac Order, an attempted return to a greater austerity of life, following the Rule of St. Benedict but not the customs of the Benedictine houses, in that its founder, Vitalis of Mortain, emphasised the importance of simplicity and rigidly enforced a régime which included severe fasting and heavy manual labour. Its first English house, the gift of Stephen, was at Tulket, near Preston, in 1123,[1] and was followed by Byland, Jervaulx, and others. The Savigniac was short-lived as a separate Order, and in 1147 it was incorporated with the Cistercian at the request of its own Superior, Abbot Serlo of Savigny.[2] About the year 1106 the Augustinian Canons first appeared in this country, when Ernulf the Benedictine founded a priory of the Order in St. Botolph's, Colchester. In 1114 one of the offshoots of the Benedictine Order, the Order of Thiron, was founded near Chartres. Originally this Order was largely an association of craftsmen and apprentices united in a religious body to pursue their avocations. The Order came to England at the request of Henry I, and had houses in Lincoln, Hampshire, Caldey Island, and elsewhere. In 1120 the Premonstratensian Order of Canons Regular was founded at Prémontré in the forest of Coucy, and came over to Newhouse in Lincolnshire in 1143. The finest remains of a Premonstratensian house are those of St. Agatha's Abbey, Yorkshire.

The only native English Order, the Order of Sempringham, more familiarly known as the Gilbertine Order, began in 1131 with the foundation by Gilbert, the rector of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, of a nunnery for seven sisters. The Order was popular and grew. Lay-sisters and lay-brothers were added for labour, and clergy for religious services. In providing for the government of his Order after the Cistercians had refused to adopt it, Gilbert, assisted by Bernard of Clairvaux, set about choosing from the older Orders any feature which might help in the solution of his own problems in compiling the Institutes of Sempringham. Under Cistercian influence he took the Rule of St. Benedict for the nuns, the lay-sisters, and the lay-brothers. To the canons he gave the Rule of St.

[1] This community removed to Furness four years later.
[2] Though under protest from the Abbot of Furness.

Augustine. Like the Premonstratensians, *c.* 1126, he borrowed largely from the institutes and customs of the Cistercians for the customs and discipline of his own communities, and he adopted the Premonstratensian system of visitation. In framing his Institutes he consulted also the Rule of Fontevrault. The Prior of Sempringham was the Master of the Order, and Gilbertine houses were governed by priors responsible to him. Robert of Arbrissel (d. 1119), the founder of the Order of Fontevrault, in whose organisation Gilbert was deeply interested, had nominated a woman as his successor, which led to difficulties which Gilbert, profiting by his example,

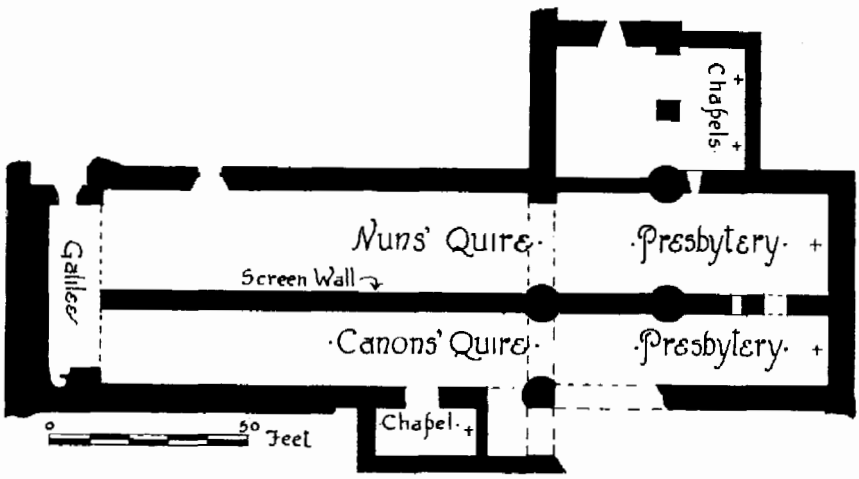


FIG. 2.—WATTON PRIORY, YORKSHIRE. THE CHURCH.

escaped. At Syon in 1414 a late attempt was made to revive the very early system of a double house governed by a woman. The Gilbertine Order never spread beyond England, but it grew to have some twenty-six houses in the north and west of the country. Less than half of these were 'double' houses.

THE BENEDICTINES, CLUNIACS, AND CISTERCIANS

Of the Orders briefly described above, there are three which call for a fuller account, alike for their religious importance, their architectural achievement, and their social influence. These are the Benedictines, the Cluniacs, and the Cistercians.

(3) The Benedictine Order

In 782 Benedict of Aniane, encouraged by Charlemagne, began his splendid new monastery in Languedoc. Prior to this time his community had followed the ideals of asceticism upheld by the Eastern monks, but now a more joyous spirit became infused into the conception of the religious life, and Benedict, accepting the principle that the proper use of art was for the highest service, spared no effort to make the new monastery splendid. In size, in design, in furnishings, decoration, vestments, plate and books, the monastery drew upon the service of the wealthiest benefactors and the most skilled craftsmen. Thus was established the tradition of splendour in the service of religion which remained until the decay of monasticism an outstanding characteristic of the Benedictines. The number of monks increased rapidly, soon becoming too numerous for the parent house, when Benedict founded priories which were governed upon lines exactly following his own. The great work of Benedict of Aniane was his codification of the monastic rule and custom of his day, carried out at the request of Louis the Pious, who succeeded Charlemagne in 814. Louis built for Benedict the monastery of Inde, near Aix-la-Chapelle, and instructed him to regularise the life and discipline in the religious houses of his kingdom. Benedict, knowing that the Rule of St. Benedict was now subject to a diversity of interpretation, made research into existing texts, and after much labour compiled his *Codex Regularum*, his object being to present the Rule of St. Benedict in what he considered to be its original purity, purged of later accretions. At the subsequent conferences held at Aix-la-Chapelle by Louis, the suggestions made by Benedict were approved, and are known as the *Capitula of 817*. In order further to ensure uniformity of monastic discipline, there was added a set of rules for the detailed regulation of the daily life—the *Ordo qualiter*—and an order of service. Upon these lines the religious houses of Aquitaine were brought into conformity with the reformed Benedictine Rule, as presented by Benedict of Aniane.

In 822 Benedict died; and in the century which followed, the decay of the empire and the spasmodic invasions of Saracens and Norse had their inevitable effect. The peaceful life of the monasteries and the principles upon which Benedict had founded or reformed their government became

unsettled, and general decline in standard set in. A similar state of affairs is to be noticed in England during the latter part of the tenth century, when the savage irruptions of the Danes put an end to the flourishing monastic revival of the first half of the century, leaving English monasticism lethargic and careless, until revived by the Normans. In spite of alternating decline and revival by movements destined in their turn to become separate Orders of importance, Benedictinism, the parent of all Western monasticism, remains the paramount Order in the number of its houses and in general importance. Its abbeys were founded alike in town and country, and in both environments grew to equal magnitude, whether like Westminster or Canterbury in cities, or like Glastonbury in the midst of lonely marshland. Some of the most important of the Benedictine houses in this country, in addition to those mentioned, were Bury St. Edmunds, Croyland, Peterborough, Reading, St. Albans, Evesham, Durham, St. Mary's York, Ely, Winchester. As each fresh revival spent its force it tended to return in custom and usage to the source of its origin, and at the close of the Middle Ages all Orders, with the exception of the Carthusian, approximated to the Benedictine, the monastic norm.

(4) The Cluniac Order

This Order, like the Cistercian and so many others, had its origin in a movement of reform. Nearly a hundred years after the death of Benedict of Aniane, the Duke of Aquitaine gave lands and buildings at Cluny to the Abbot of Baume-les-Messieurs, where the Benedictine tradition had been revitalised and continued to flourish. In this charter the Duke endowed the new community with all the usual feudal privileges and powers, and in 910 a colony of monks from the Abbey of Baume took possession and began the new church which they were to serve under the strict Rule of St. Benedict, and which was to become the head of the great confederation of Cluny. From Benedict of Aniane the Cluniacs took their customs and the tradition of magnificence in ceremony and cloister. From the Papacy they received assurances of favour and freedom from episcopal jurisdiction or visitation. The distinguishing characteristic of the Order of Cluny is the interpretation which it gave to Benedict of Aniane's ideal of a confederation of monasteries.

When the rapid growth in popularity of the new Order necessitated the

settlement of daughter houses, these were founded not as abbeys but as priories strictly dependent upon Cluny. Their heads, instead of being elected by the brethren, were nominated by the Abbot of Cluny, and the

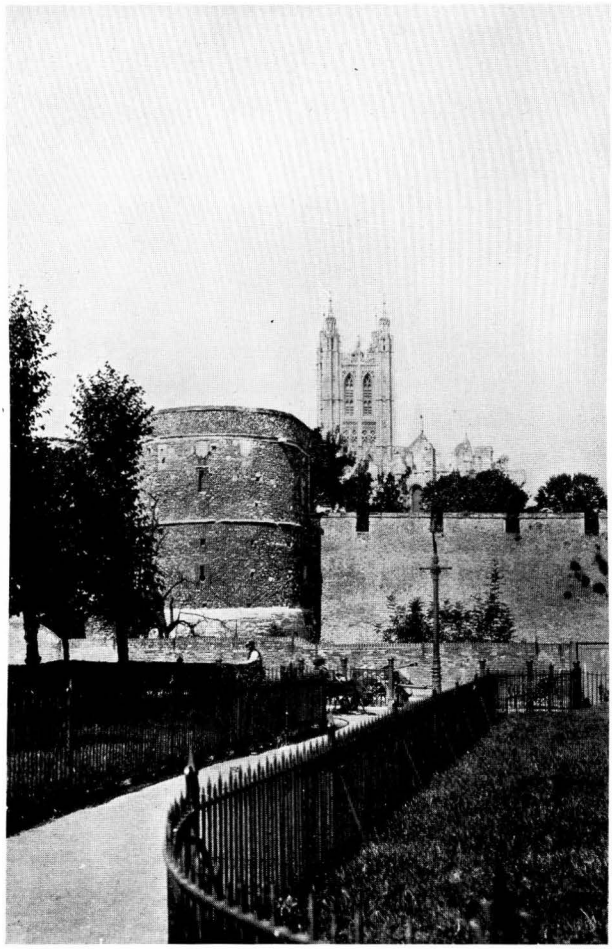


FIG. 3.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. EAST WALL AND BASTION.

monks owed their allegiance and made their profession to the head of Cluny alone, no matter in what country their priory might be. In addition, there were cells dependent upon the priories in numerous cases; Lewes, for instance, had several dependent priories, in Kent, Essex, Norfolk, Wilt-

shire, and elsewhere. It was a tremendous dynasty to the headship of which the Abbots of Cluny succeeded. The Order possessed over two hundred houses, of which there were some thirty-eight in England, every professed member of which owed personal allegiance to the Superior of Cluny, thus translating into terms of monasticism the strict feudal organisation of the age. In the Cluniac Order the Abbot of Cluny possessed the power of transferring monks from one house to another.

At the beginning of the thirteenth century the organisation had become too vast and unwieldy for personal supervision and visitation by the Abbot of Cluny; it was therefore divided into Provinces, each province having Visitors appointed by the Abbot to act as his lieutenants. English and Scottish houses formed one of these provinces, and remained dependent upon Cluny until trouble arose about the 'alien priories' in the middle of the fourteenth century. Lewes then bought its certificate of 'denization', in 1351, and became naturalised. Shortly after this she lost her primacy of the English province of Cluny, as her prior, sympathetic to France, followed the Popes of Avignon, whereas on account of the hostility to France the Episcopate and the country generally recognised Rome, and some of the authority hitherto possessed by Lewes passed to the Archbishop of Canterbury. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, after the healing of the great schism by Alexander the Fifth in 1409, Lewes was restored to her primacy.

It has been said above that when daughter houses were founded from Cluny they were founded as priories and remained dependent upon the parent abbey. This was the universal rule for Cluniac expansion, but there are cases in which Cluniac monks were used as a nucleus in the foundation of new abbeys which were not priories of Cluny but independent monasteries. In such cases the stimulus came not from within the Order but from without. The most important example is Reading Abbey, re-founded by Henry I—which he splendidly endowed and wherein he was buried—for which he obtained Cluniac monks from Lewes, and which ranked not as a Cluniac priory but as an independent Benedictine abbey.

(5) The Cistercian Order

In the year 1098 there were dissensions amongst the brethren in the Benedictine Abbey of Molesme in Burgundy—Abbot Robert, his prior,

the sub-prior, Stephen Harding, and some twenty of the monks holding that the Rule of St. Benedict was not being observed in the spirit of his teaching. The remainder of the monastery disagreed with their abbot. From this local dispute, in itself of no great importance, arose the Cistercian Order. Abbot Robert and his supporters took the remarkable step of approaching the Archbishop of Lyons and obtaining his permission to leave their Abbey of Molesme and to found another wherein they intended to follow what they believed to be the literal interpretation of the Rule of St. Benedict. They went to Cîteaux, and there settled what was to be the parent house of the Cistercian Order. Shortly afterwards Abbot Robert was recalled to Molesme through the efforts of the monks he had left. In 1109 Stephen Harding, the Englishman, became Abbot of Cîteaux, and in 1112 he was joined by Bernard with a party of friends as disciples. This addition in strength and numbers helped to settle the new Order upon a sure foundation. Soon, largely owing to the preaching of Bernard, there began to spread throughout European monasticism what has become known as the Cistercian Revival. Bernard became first abbot of the third daughter house, Clairvaux, in 1115,[1] and in 1152 the Order had spread to such an extent that the Chapter-General at Cîteaux issued an order forbidding the foundation of any new houses. At this time they numbered over three hundred; and in the next century, in spite of the prohibition, they had increased to some six hundred. Of this total there were seventy-five in England and Wales. The Cistercians, like the Cluniacs, had their origin in a movement of reform, but while the Cluniac concerned itself with the proper following of the teaching of Benedict of Aniane, the Cistercian reformers returned to the fountain-head of St. Benedict himself. In framing their rule of life they were not content to follow the Benedictine rule as expressed in the Regulations of Benedict of Aniane, however strictly adhered to. They were innovators in that they examined Benedict of Aniane's teaching; scrutinising in the light of the life and teaching of St. Benedict the traditions which he had collected and embodied. Anything in the monk of Aniane's *Codex Regularum* or in the *Capitula of 817* compiled by him which the new Order thought lacked confirmation in the

[1] The first four daughter houses were founded within three years of the arrival of Bernard: (1) La Ferté-sur-Grosne in 1113, (2) Pontigny in 1114, (3) Clairvaux and (4) Morimond, in 1115.

teaching of St. Benedict was rejected. Rejected also was the snare of all Orders—discretion. They would allow themselves no discretion in interpretation; hence the keynote of their organisation, austerity and simplicity. In their architecture, design was to be adequate and dignified, but not ornate or overpowering. There was to be no rivalry in magnificence. Their carved ornament was forbidden, except in crucifixes, to reproduce the human figure. Their churches were to be colourless of wall and window, their altars painted in one colour, their garments white, of undyed wool. Their ceremonial was to be simple and their services shorter than in Benedictine houses, their vestments and altar vessels of the simplest. Manual labour was given a place of importance, the Cistercians, laying stress upon the dignity of labour, tilling their own fields and building their own churches. In later days much of the austerity of the Order was relaxed, and their churches and buildings became like those of other Orders; but they never rivalled the splendour of the Benedictines or the artistic endeavour of the Cluniacs.

Cistercian monasteries were placed wherever possible by a river, almost universally in remote parts of the country, generally in a valley; Tintern, Waverley, Valle Crucis offer typical examples of the kind of site which in differing country-sides formed in Cistercian eyes the ideal environment for a monastery: a level space in the bend of a river, which afforded convenience for building and some land easily ploughed, surrounded by hills or woods whereon their flocks might be pastured and whence timber might be drawn for fuel. While the later Benedictines relied on hired servants or bondmen for their labour, the Cistercians, reviving the earlier ideal definitely constituted the *conversi* as an integral part of their organisation. The business of the lay-brother was labour,[1] either in the abbey workshops and vineyards or upon the granges or farms, which originally were arranged not more than one day's journey from the monastery. On the granges the lay-brethren worked under the supervision of a senior *conversus* as 'prior'. A lay-brother was a member of the monastery, he had renounced the life of the world and taken his vows, but was of an inferior grade in the monastic organisation. He did not proceed to Orders, as was very general amongst the monks of the quire (*monachi*); and he was not

[1] Because according to the Rule the habitation of monks ought to be in their own cloister.

taught to read or write, learning his prayers by heart. He had his own quarters in church and cloister, and a separate entrance to these. If his work engaged him in or about the abbey, he attended service at the beginning and the end of the day. The abbot held his chapter on Sundays and occasional other days, not daily as for the monks.

Though the seniority amongst English Cistercian houses belonged to Waverley, it was outstripped in importance and in interest by the later Cistercian settlement in the north. Waverley was colonised from the monastery of l'Aumone near Chartres, a daughter house of Cîteaux, settling on land given by the Bishop of Winchester. Their first Abbot, John, died within a year of their arrival. The Cistercian abbeys in Yorkshire were not colonised from Waverley as might have been expected, but settled directly from abroad. In 1131 Rievaulx was founded from Bernard's own Abbey of Clairvaux. In 1132 what became later perhaps the most famous English Cistercian house, Fountains, was founded in a way that offers a parallel to the founding of the Order itself. A body of monks from the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary's, York, dissatisfied with their life there, left and settled in a dale near Ripon. Their early struggles for existence, which parallel those of the Abbey of Cîteaux, were ended in the same way, by reinforcement, the Dean of York joining them and bringing money and the nucleus of a library. From these beginnings spread the great group of abbeys in the north, which in their turn colonised others. Fountains sent even overseas, founding in Norway in 1146 the monastery of Lysa.[1] In 1147 the northern group was augmented by the absorption of the Savigniac houses in the Cistercian Order. Cistercian abbeys were not subject to episcopal visitation like the majority of Benedictine houses. Each abbey was autonomous, but visited by the abbot of the parent house, *i.e.*, Waverley by the Abbot of l'Aumône, Fountains by the Abbot of Clairvaux, Clairvaux by Cîteaux. The Chapter-General of the Order was held at Cîteaux, and the *Carta Caritatis* of 1119 definitely regulated the higher policy of the Order and its internal economy. This independence of the Cistercian houses of their Continental seniors enabled the Order in England to avoid the trouble which overtook the Cluniac monasteries as alien priories in the fourteenth century.

[1] The plan of Lysa closely resembles that of the earlier church at Waverley.

(6) The Carthusian Order and the Charterhouse

The most complete remains of an English house of the Carthusian Order are to be found at Mount Grace in Yorkshire (Fig. 4), founded in 1398 by the Duke of Surrey. In almost all their arrangements, both of life and buildings, the Carthusians provide a complete exception to other Orders. Not only were they shut off from the outside world more strictly than obtained in other communities, but they were shut off from each other except to a very limited and strictly controlled extent. In the Charterhouse the early type of extremely ascetic Celtic monasticism continued to survive. The Rule of St. Benedict was remarkable in its humanity, in the sympathy so obviously felt for the weaker brother. The Rule of St. Bruno took no account of human weakness; for the Carthusian the solitary cell, the hair shirt, and the almost perpetual silence. Only an utter sincerity could sustain such a form of life, and it was to this that the Carthusians owed their increased esteem in the eyes of the people as a whole, at a time when other Orders were losing it. But this is perhaps their chief if not their only contribution to their fellow-beings, the example of adherence to a principle. For the rest the Carthusian Order was the Order of the Buried Talent. As an Order they produced no characteristic works of architecture, of literature, of art, of philosophy, of benevolence. They made no man's road smoother for him than they made their own. "Their Rule will not allow them to become preachers, like the Franciscans and Dominicans. They are not the founders and conductors of schools and colleges, like the Benedictines, who have for so many centuries maintained places of education for the young, and places of study for all. The Carthusians have not given themselves to the cultivation of the soil, like the Cistercians and the Trappists. They have renounced the very functions of the priest, except within their own walls, and for the edification of themselves and their fellows. A Carthusian Father is forbidden to baptize or to hear confessions, to administer the Last Sacraments to the dying, or to bury the dead, unless he is assured that the circumstances are such that the services of no other priest can be obtained."[1]

Examination of the plan of Mount Grace shows how the difference between the customs of the Carthusians and other Orders was reflected in the arrangement of their conventual buildings. The usual two courts

[1] H. V. le Bas, *Yorks. Arch. Journal*, vol. 18.

are present, the outer and the inner, but the inner, which forms the cloister court, is remarkable for its great size as compared with the outer court. Here is the major difference between the Charterhouse and the monasteries of all other Orders to be found. Instead of the common life in cloister, dorter, and frater, the members of the Charterhouse lived each a solitary life in his separate cell. These cells, which form small houses, are ranged about the cloister court, with the small church between the cloisters and the outer court. Around the walls of the outer court the guesthouse and barns are found, following the normal practice. Each cell had its own small garden, enclosed by high and windowless walls, in which the Carthusian found the manual exercise necessary for health. In the church they gathered in the morning for High Mass, which was followed by private masses; in the early afternoon for Vespers, and at midnight for the Night Office. Other offices were said in the cells, and the remainder of the day was divided by the Rule into periods for manual exercise, meditation, and study, all in solitude. The church at Mount Grace was originally a plain rectangle, the chapels being later additions, as was also the small tower built over the stone walls of the pulpitum. Closely adjoining it were the cells of the prior and the sacrist. The chapter-house had its place parallel with and to the north of the presbytery. No trace remains of the altar which was usual in Carthusian chapter-houses. The smallness of the frater is explained both by the comparatively few inmates of the house and also by the somewhat unimportant part which it played in the daily routine. The two meals[1] which were served were taken in the cells, being delivered through a dog-leg hatch in the wall of the cell, arranged so that the monk should not have his solitude disturbed by the appearance of the servitor. The frater was used on Sundays and otherwise about once a week on chapter feasts. But during these meals together no conversation was allowed, nor if two monks were to meet on their way to church or frater were they permitted to speak or to greet each other. The cowl was pulled forward over the face and the monks passed without word or look. Conversation was enjoined on Sunday for a short time during the afternoon, and once a week during the walk[2] which was taken in company outside the walls of the Charterhouse.

[1] From September 14th to Ash Wednesday only one meal was served daily.
[2] 'Spatiamentum'.

The infirmary which forms such an important part of other monasteries is entirely absent from the Carthusian organisation. If a Father was sick he was tended in his own cell, and when he died was buried coffinless in the cloister garth. The complete negation of worldliness and of worldly possessions which was the essence of Carthusianism was thus carried to the grave. "For among all monks, and especially among us, it is ordered that meanness and coarseness of clothes and everything else we use, worthlessness, poverty and self-abasement belong." The Carthusian organisation included, like the Cistercian, *conversi* or lay-brothers, to whom was committed all the work in connection with the kitchens and barns and guest-house.

The Charterhouse of Mount-Grace

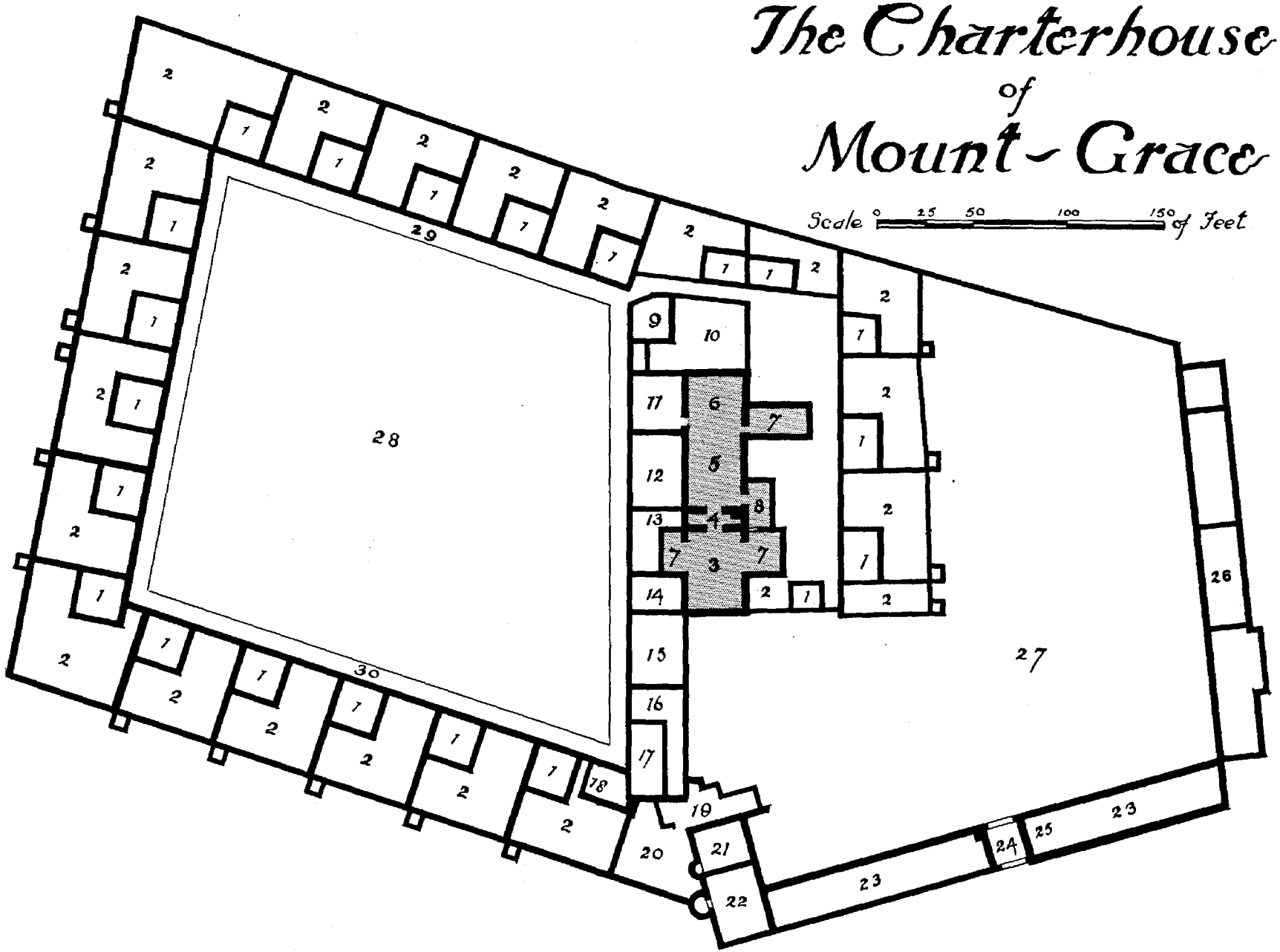


FIG. 4.—MOUNT GRACE PRIORY, YORKSHIRE.

1. Cells.
2. Gardens.
3. Nave.
4. Tower.
5. Quire.
6. Presbytery.
7. Chapels.
8. Vestry.

The Church.

9. Sacrist's cell.
10. Sacrist's garden.
11. Chapter-house.
12. Court.
13. Entry.
14. Cell.
15. Prior's cell.
16. Entry.
17. Frater.
18. Cellars.
19. Kitchen.
20. Kitchen court.
21. Bake-house.
22. Brew-house.
23. Guest-house.
24. Great gate.
25. Porter's lodge.
26. Barns and stables.
27. Outer court.
28. Cloister court.
29. Cloister walk.
30. Pentise.

To face page 16.

CHAPTER II

THE MONASTERY AS AN ORGANISM

(1) Endowments, Organisation, and Responsibilities

Amongst the complex and almost self-contained social organisms for which mediaevalism is remarkable, the monastery takes a foremost place. While all wealth has its origin in the land and the use of its products, in a feudal society this was more immediately the case than at the present time, and the monasteries in common with other landholders were dependent very largely upon their territorial possessions, which together with offerings from pilgrims, rich and poor, made up the total of their means. In the vast majority of religious houses, which were of small size, there were no relics to attract pilgrims and no splendours to attract endowments from the rich, and in these, as instances in Episcopal Registers show, the possessions and incomes of the houses were often barely adequate to the support of the community. Monasteries obtained their land by grant at the original endowment when the house was founded, by subsequent endowment from time to time by the charitable or the remorseful, and in some cases, where good administration prevailed, by purchase out of surplus funds. The practice of bequeathing land or money to religious houses received an impetus from King Luitprand, who, *c.* 712, permitted his subjects to make legacies to the Church. From that time onwards, and in England until checked by the Statute of Mortmain in 1279, enormous areas of land passed into the hands of the monastic foundations as genuine endowment by the pious, and as legacy by the careless, who, while not troubling overmuch during life about Mother Church, yet thought it well at the last to be on the side of the angels. There was another source of immediate profit, tempting to needy houses, though too often in the long run a cause

of ultimate loss. This was an arrangement entered into between the monastery and some individual, by which in return for a lump sum the monastery agreed to provide him with sustenance and lodging, and in some cases with clothing, for life. These pensions or annuities were known as 'corrodies' and the recipient as a 'corrodier'. They soon became an abuse, as to abbeys or priories in need of money they offered a very present help in time of trouble; but being without any actuarial basis, in the long run the convent was generally the loser. As an example of a corrody a case at Thetford may be mentioned. Here, in return for the payment to the convent of 130 marks, one Dr. Nobys was to be paid five marks yearly for life; to be given the use of a stable for two horses, and a house for hay; two chambers for himself, and he was to have liberty to walk in the garden. The possibility of default by the convent was not overlooked by the wary Nobys, and it was contracted that in case the five marks yearly should not be paid he was to have power to distrain upon two of the manors belonging to the convent. Another kind of pensioner may be mentioned in passing, who brought no profit whatever to the houses to which they were attached. These were retired servants of the Royal establishments, whom the King frequently sent to various abbeys with orders that they should be maintained at the expense of the monastery.

Endowments were very frequently made towards a definite purpose, and within their own economy monasteries generally divided their income into allotments for the needs of the community—as at St. Albans, where the tithes from certain manors were devoted to the upkeep of the *scriptorium*.

Farms upon the abbey lands were known as granges and formed an important part of the monastic organisation. Where these lay within a reasonable distance of the monastery it was practicable for the officers and servants living in the convent to manage them, but when, as was frequently the case, land was held at a considerable distance from the parent house, in a different part of the country, other arrangements had to be made. In connection with these distant properties a term was used which has sometimes misled the enthusiastic seeker after things archaeological. Many of these outlying monastic lands were called 'priories', and were administered by a monk from the monastery as 'prior', with

an assistant who acted as resident agent or bailiff. But on such lands or priories there were no monastic buildings, and the survival of the name priory or abbey grange has often led to fruitless search after the remains of a non-existent cloister. Where monastic lands were both extensive and scattered, their proper administration and supervision entailed frequent and prolonged absence of monks from the cloister. In the fifteenth century the absence of monks on abbey granges, or sick, or being bled, or on account of their duties as officers of the convent, left so few out of the now depleted numbers for the service of the Church that sometimes only a quarter of the brethren were available for this purpose. This was a state of affairs which provoked severe strictures from the visiting bishops from time to time. Like the other great mediaeval organism, the castle, the monastery aimed at and to a great extent succeeded in being a self-contained unit; and while in many cases with important extra-mural responsibilities, it produced within the borders of its possessions and jurisdiction nearly all that was required for its own needs and for the hospitality and charity which formed such a large part of its activities. In the working out of its daily life the monastery has laid modern society under a debt which it is impossible adequately to assess. It would be difficult to find a side of modern life, the foundations of which were in existence in the Middle Ages, which from slang to statesmanship owes nothing to the work of the monks. Nor is this a matter for surprise when it is remembered that for any man of refinement, ambition, or scholarly or artistic inclinations, to whom the life of the camp and the castle made little appeal, there was only the Church as an alternative. In some one or other of the many forms of life which the Church offered, all temperaments and talents could find an appropriate environment. Within the walls drawn about the monastery was to be found all that was needed by the most varied type of man. The humble unenquiring mind was satisfied under the wise discretion of his abbot; his bread was sure, his skin was safe, his heart with God. There the scholar finds at his disposal the finest libraries of which the age is possessed, and the quiet leisure for their study. If he be of the breed of the monkish chroniclers, there is at the door all the news of the day, brought by pilgrim, by guest, or by brief-bearer, though his seclusion does not always give him the necessary perspective,

and accuracy is seldom a strong point. The man with a genius for construction, and the urge to pile stone on stone, finds his life's work under conditions as near the ideal as the world has ever afforded. If a man were a student or an artist, he would be attracted to the Benedictines or the Cluniacs; a countryman with his interests in farming, he would incline to the Cistercians, though even a Benedictine flock like that at Gloucester in 1306, of ten thousand sheep, would gladden his shepherd's heart. Were he a recluse and a mystic, there was the cell and the silence of the Carthusians.

The great affection in which they held their monastic homes is constantly shown, both in the names given to them and in fond and picturesque reference. The story of the sentimental Pierre de Blois turning seven times to see for the last time through a mist of tears his beloved Croyland has been often told; and many monastic chronicles enshrine the love of the scribe for his convent. In speaking of monasticism in its earlier stages, Michelet has penetratingly said that "the Rule of Benedict gave to a world worn out by slavery the first example of work done by the hands of the free"; and, bearing in mind the existence of serfdom or villeinage until comparatively late in the Middle Ages, it is a remark which repays consideration, though with some qualification as to the 'freedom'.

Within the mediaeval monastery the work of the community was highly organised and divided into many departments and sub-departments, each of which was presided over by a member of the house,[1] who was responsible to the Abbot, and who held his appointment from him, a monk being bound to accept any office laid upon him by the Abbot. The monks who held these posts were known as the officers or 'obedientiarii', and their office as an 'obedience'. Upon their appointment by the Abbot they took an oath to carry out the duties laid upon them faithfully and diligently, to eschew slander, and to keep a quiet tongue. The last two clauses of the oath which was taken by obedientiars at Leominster run as follows: "Item; ye shall not disclose or opyn out

[1] The subordinate offices, particularly those dealing with the land, were not necessarily held by the monks; *e.g.* in 1215, "one of the best granges of Cupre was burnt down . . . in it was a convert, the keeper of the grange".—*Chron. Melrose*, *Church Historians*, iv. p. 160, ed. J. Stevenson, 1856.

of the prioury eny counseill or other words spoken within the priory whereby infamy or hurt of eny of their good names myght come by your report." "Item; ye shall behave your ruwme or office with all true demeanyng without waast or destruction as nere as ye can. So God help you and holydame and by thys boke."

Of the way in which the various departments of monastic work were organised within the monastery some idea will be gained by an examination of the chart (p. 25) which shows the division of offices which would have been found in a monastery of the larger kind. It must be understood that such a table is not an actual list of obedientiars from any one abbey, as the obedientiars changed from time to time, and while some officers would be found in one abbey and some in another, small houses had a much less elaborate organisation, with several departments combined. Again, in the bigger monasteries officers existed who are not shown on the chart. For instance, at Bury St. Edmunds there was a 'Dean of the Christianity within the Four Crosses'; and at Evesham a 'Dean of the Christianity of the Vale of Evesham'. At Westminster and St. Albans the Deans of their peculiar jurisdictions were called Archdeacons. These offices existed only in monasteries which were exempt from diocesan jurisdiction. At St. Albans there was a 'Guardian of the Shrine of St. Alban', and a 'Guardian of the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin', which were definite appointments, typical of those to be found in other monasteries, though naturally not concerned with the domestic economy of the abbey.

Apart from any office which the head of the house might hold under the Crown, or from his employment upon occasional missions, such as the picturesque errand of the Abbot of Robertsbridge in Sussex in connection with the ransom of Richard I, which was naturally a consequence more of his personal qualities than of position, there were duties of an extra-mural and public nature which lay upon the community as a whole. Of these duties there was one which was regarded as a pious, almost a holy work: the upkeep of roads and bridges, especially the latter. With the tenure of land went the obligation of maintaining the bridges and roads upon it—at least, in theory. The importance attached to this duty is emphasised by the fact that where land was held by a religious body in 'frank almoign', that is, "in pure and perpetual

alms, free and exempt of all earthly service and demand",[1] in return for the saying of masses for the donor's soul, the obligation of road and bridge maintenance remained unremitted, which had formed part of the *trimoda necessitas* originating in the eighth century, and which originally included the maintenance of fortifications and service in the national militia. So important was the work that every inducement was offered to those who would undertake it, and indulgences were granted as an encouragement to people to assist in the building or repair of a bridge. The semi-sacred nature of bridges is emphasised by the numerous chapels built upon or in connection with them. London Bridge had a fine chapel dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury, Bow Bridge one to St. Catherine; there were bridges with chapels at St. Ives, Huntingdon, Rotherham, Wakefield, Bradford-on-Avon, Bedford, and elsewhere, some of which remain. So charitable was the work of bridge-building that in 1164 there came into existence at Maupas, in the Diocese of Cavaillon, a Guild entirely devoted to this object, the Bridge Brethren or *Friers Hospitaliers Pontifes*. These builders studied the subject with such determination and success that bridges which they threw across the strongest currents remain to-day, seven centuries later. More than this cannot be required of the works of mortal man. While there are no records of any English bridges having been built by the Bridge Brethren, the design of mediaeval English bridges seems to have been influenced by their work, and there are numerous though sadly diminished examples remaining of those built by the regular Orders. (Fig. 1.) Owing to the position of important monasteries on main roads, as Canterbury and Peterborough; by rivers, as Tewkesbury; in fenland, as Glastonbury and Ely, the work of construction and upkeep of approaches fell heavily upon them, though at the same time it was also obviously to their own advantage to make access for pilgrims as easy as possible. But apart from such considerations, the efforts made by monastic houses to keep roads passable undoubtedly constituted a great public service; and one of the many repercussions of their suppression may be found in the Roads Act of 1555, by which forced labour was imposed upon the people of every parish for the repair of the highways.

[1] Grant of Richard of Adel to Kirkstall.—*Monasticon*, v. 587.

(2) The Head of the Monastery

The head of a monastic community was normally the Abbot, but where the monastery was also the seat of a Bishop, as in a Cathedral

Fig. 5.—Canterbury Cathedral. S.E. Transept from the Triforium.

Priory, then the working head of the house took the title of Prior. In the Cluniac Order, owing to its peculiar constitution, the heads of houses

were always Priors, and the great majority of the numerous Augustinian convents were governed by Priors, though Abbots were not infrequently found. While the Abbot or Prior disciplined his convent with absolute discretion, yet he did not possess authority to commit the house to any course of action, or to take a decision affecting the convent as a whole without first consulting the members of it, or at least the 'seniores et saniores' amongst them. What concerned all was to be decided by all;[1] an injunction constantly repeated by the Visitor. As a check upon arbitrary action by the head of the house arose the custom of entrusting the seal of the monastery, without which deeds were not valid, to two or three senior members of the community, who were charged with its safe custody.[2]

In the early days of post-Conquest monasticism it was common for the Abbot to sleep in the common dorter with the brethren (this was particularly enjoined upon Cistercian abbots) and to live with his brethren in church and cloister.[3] But it was inevitable as monasticism spread, and as individual houses became wealthy and influential, that a less primitive and simple mode of life should give place to one more befitting the dignity of an Abbot, ranking as a Baron, possessing powers of life and death, upon whom lay often cares of State, and to whose hospitality Royalty was no stranger guest.

The territorial and legal rights and privileges which appertained to the head of one of the greater abbeys are enumerated in a suit in which the Abbot of Croyland was concerned, as follows:

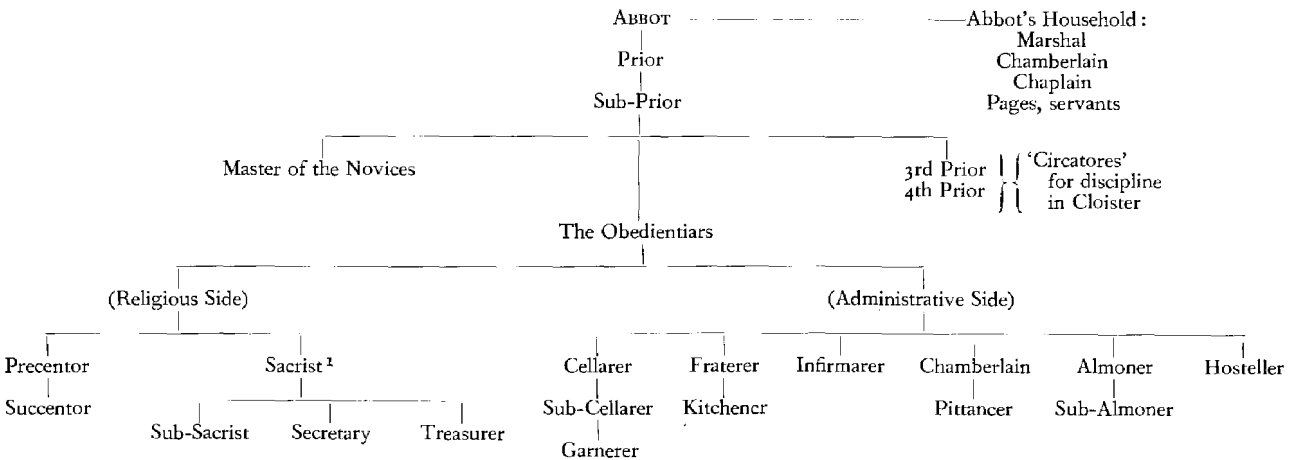
"The said Abbot, be the ryght of his Church, is call'd, lord of the said ton of Whepplode, and haath ther be sufficiaunt graunt, warranth, and autorite, leet, and also fayre and market, in the waast grounde of the

[1] "Quod prior in majoribus negotiis, utpote in emptionibus, venditionibus, et traditionibus terrarum, ac aliis majoribus negotiis, utatur consilio conventus et maxime seniorum; proviso quod nulla signetur scriptura sigillo conventus super alienationibus, traditionibus, vel aliis magnis contractibus, nisi prius tractetur in conventu communiter de eadem, et non nisi omnibus consentientibus vel majori parte conventus."—*Surtees Soc.* vol. 109, p. 317.

[2] "quia expedit quod sigillum commune fidae custodiae committatur, volumus et precipimus quod tres de sanioribus et senioribus de conventu ipsius custodiae deputentur."—*Ibid.* p. 330.

[3] "quod (prior) in refectorio cum fratribus comedat et in dormitorio jaceat." —*Ibid.* p. 204.

MONASTIC ORGANISATION



[1] See also *Master of the Works.*

said ton, and that he and his predecessours have had a view of franc-pledge, in the said ton of Whepplode, and have punished and corrected trespas and offences, done within the hyegh-way, common strete, and waast ground, . . . with all manner of wayfes and strayes, and tresoutrove, and other liberties and fraunches perteyning to the viewe of franc-pledge."[1]

The discipline of the house was the chief duty of the Prior, who reported to the Abbot where necessary, for infliction of punishment. Apart from milder penances involving restricted diet, or extra offices to be said, punishment took the form of correction with the monastic rod, such as was used upon Henry II by the monks of Canterbury; imprisonment in the chamber generally to be found for that purpose in monastic buildings; or of banishment from the parent monastery to a dependent priory or 'cell', sometimes even overseas, as in the cases of French and Norman monasteries possessing ancillary houses in England, or to a distance, where in a harsher climate and amongst strange brethren the contumacious brother might regret the error of his ways. St. Albans had a prison for the incorrigible erected by Abbot Paul at the end of the eleventh century, and the Priory of Tynemouth, which was a subordinate cell to St. Albans, was sometimes used as a place of correction by that Abbey. Apparently such punishment was effective, for there is real nostalgia in the plaint of an exiled monk of St. Albans to his brother in the south, bemoaning that instead of the ring-dove and the nightingale there was only the grey sea-bird; that "spring and summer never come, the north wind is always blowing . . . see that you come not to so comfortless a place". At Durham, "within the FERMERY, under neth the master of the fermeryes chamber, was a strong prysonne call the LYNGHOUSE (lying-house) the which was ordeyned for all such as weare greate offenders, as yf any of the Monnckes had been taken with any felony or in any adulterie, he should have syttin ther in prison for the space of one hole yere, in cheynes, without any company, except the master of the Fermery . . . who did let downe there meate thorowgh a trap dour in a corde, being a great distance from them".

When the secular jurisdiction of the Abbot was reinforced by the gallows, he added to the ghostly powers of the Church the terror of the

[1] *Monasticon*, ii. 123.

gibbet. At Vale Royal in Cheshire the work of the Abbot's Court was carried out by a coroner and two bailiffs, who possessed capital discretion. At Stoneleigh in Warwickshire there were four bondsmen on the Abbey lands whose service was to erect the gallows and hang thieves. These bondsmen wore scarlet clouts between the shoulders of their outer garment. At Spalding in Lincolnshire between 1256 and 1500 one hundred and eighty felons were hanged upon the Prior's gallows. Not a great number considering the length of time and the multitude of crimes which might hang a man. Of these executioners it is recorded that "the bailiff of Spalding led the felons up to the gallow's foot for execution, the bailiff of Weston brought up the ladder, the bailiff of Pyncebecke provided the rope, and the bailiff of Malton (Moulton) carried out the hanging". A nice division of labour. During the execution the bell which hung in the tower over the Prior's prison tolled a knell for the dying.

In the household of the abbots of the greater monasteries considerable state was maintained, and in addition to his own Marshal, Chamberlain, Chaplain, Cellarer, and servants, it contained youths from the families of the nobility and gentry who received from the Abbot the education which at a later date was afforded by the university and the Grand Tour. It is related of Abbot Whiting of Glastonbury, who was beheaded on Tor Hill by order of Henry VIII, that "his apartment was a kind of well-disciplined court, where the sons of the gentry were sent for education". He trained upwards of three hundred youths, besides those whom he prepared for the university. This last representative of the ancient Abbey of Glastonbury neglected no class of society. Upon occasion he entertained at one time as many as five hundred people of rank, and twice a week all the poor of the neighbourhood were relieved by his particular charity.

(3) The Prior and Sub-Priors

Next in importance after the Abbot came the Prior, his understudy, to whom was delegated the actual work of supervising the daily routine of the abbey and of dealing with the obedientiars. In large convents the Prior was assisted by a Sub-Prior, and in many cases by third and fourth Priors. In Cathedral priories, as already mentioned, where the head of the house was the prior, and in the Cluniac Order, and in the

majority of Augustinian convents where a prior ruled, the duties of the prior in the normal organisation were carried out by the sub-prior. The primary charge upon the prior and his subordinates was the maintenance of the all-important matter of discipline. The particular duty of the sub-priors, who were known as *circatores*, was the perambulation of the cloister and monastic buildings in order to ensure that silence was observed during the hours when it was ordained; that study was diligently pursued and no breaches of the Rule allowed to pass unchecked. At Lewes the *circator* was directed "to go about in a manner calculated to inspire fear in the beholders". In cloister, when conversation was permitted, he had to see that it was upon proper subjects and free from secular chatter. Should a sub-prior approach a group engaged in conversation, it was the duty of the senior to inform the *circator* of the topic. Doubtless the answer was ready enough. The sub-prior was responsible also for the safe custody of the gates and entrances to the cloister. "All the dures both of the Seller, the Frater, the Dorter, and the Cloisters, weare locked evin at vj of the clocke and the keys delyvered to the Supprior." He had to see that the various bells for which the sacrist was responsible were rung properly and everything done punctually. It was his duty when the monastery had gone to the dorter after Compline to see that lights were out, to lock the day-stairs and ensure that all was still; to rouse the brethren at midnight by ringing a bell, and to see that the drowsy were ready to descend into the church for the long Night Office when he unlocked the night-stairs.

(4) The Master of the Novices

Before giving a brief account of the obedientiars, an office held by a senior monk may be mentioned, that of the Master of the Novices, a most important officer, as upon him and the instruction he gave depended very largely the quality of the monastic recruits. "One of the oldest Monnckes, that was lernede, was appoynted to be there tuter. The sayd Novices had no wages, but meite, drinke, and clothe . . . for they never receyved wages nor handled any money . . . but goynge daily to there bookes within in the cloyster." The novices were entirely under the charge of the novice master, and were generally kept to a part of the monastery buildings allotted to their use. In quire the seats

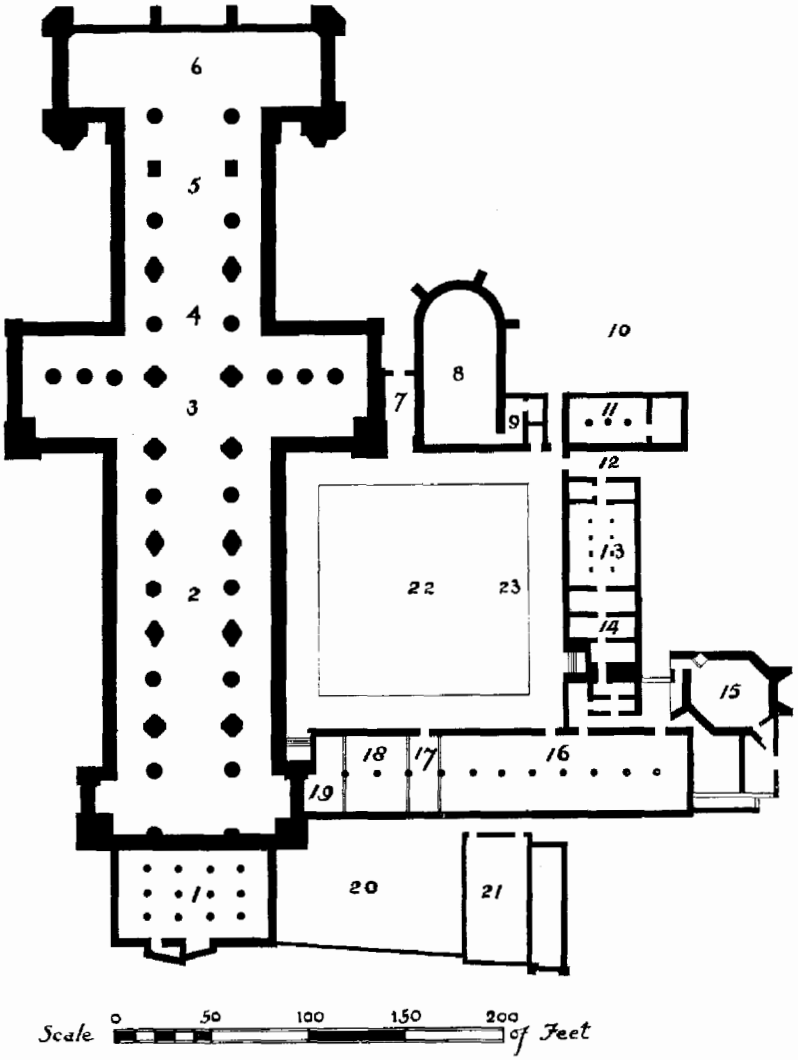


FIG. 6.—DURHAM. THE CATHEDRAL PRIORY.

1. Galilee.
2. Nave.
3. Crossing.
4. Quire.
5. Presbytery.
6. The Nine Altars.
7. Slype and parlor.
8. Chapter-house.
9. Prison.
10. Prior's lodgings.
11. Undercroft.
12. Slype.
13. Frater.
14. Pantries.
15. Kitchen.
16. Dorter undercroft.
17. Slype.
18. Warming-house.
19. Treasury.
20. Garden.
21. Rere-dorter.
22. Cloister court.
23. Site of laver.

of the novices were in front of those of the monks and slightly below them, and they were allowed lights by which to read their books, not being letter-perfect as the monks were required to be. In Benedictine houses the novice school appears generally to have been held in the cloister walk opposite the church, or in the west walk; but in Cistercian houses, owing to the use by the lay-brethren of the west walk, it was held in the east walk. There are exceptions not infrequently to be found in Benedictine houses, as at Peterborough and probably at Battle, where the east walk and range appear to have been used.

THE OBEDIENTIARS

The Obedientiars may be arranged, for convenience' sake only, in two groups: those who had to do with the church and its services and maintenance, and those responsible for the administration of the domestic and secular duties. In the first are to be found the Precentor and his assistant, the Succentor; and the Sacrist and his subordinates.

(5) The Precentor and Librarian

The Precentor was responsible for the conduct of the services of the monastic church. He was master of the music, and charged with the maintenance of a high standard in the musical activities of the house. He was responsible that the chants were properly sung, that the pitch was accurate, and the pace neither indecently fast nor a slovenly drawl. In Orders whose churches admitted no instrumental music, he combined the functions of choirmaster with those of precentor. On days when there were processions, as on Sundays and on special feasts, he marshalled the order of the processions, the disposition of banners and crosses, and ensured that all was done decently. In his work he had the assistance of the Succentor, or sub-cantor, who also acted as his deputy. Amongst the precentor's duties was one which in later days became considerably more important than it was at first, and which eventually developed into a separate department. This was the office of Librarian. As precentor he was responsible for all the books used in the choir; that there was an ample supply, that notation was correct, that they were not mishandled or left carelessly lying about. In the days before the library

(*librarium*) and its adjunct the copying-room (*scriptorium*) became an independent department, the books were few; and being mostly used in cloister, were kept in a cupboard or small chamber off the cloister, which was known as *armarium commune*, whence the librarian's appellation of *armarius* at first applied to the precentor.

(6) The Monastic Library

In its early days Western monasticism, as the repository of Christian culture, was no friend to literature except as represented by the writings of its own scholars. In the eyes of the early Fathers, classical literature as a whole was so thoroughly impregnated with the playful polytheism of old Greece and Rome that there was nothing for it but to abolish and suppress both together. In classic literature the darkness of the Dark Ages was intentional and purposeful. As late as the sixth century Gregory the Great, who sent Augustine to England, would have none of it. At the end of the eighth century Alcuin of York forbade the gentle Virgil to be read in his monastery; and in the tenth century, at St. Albans, when valuable discoveries of the remains of old Verulam were made, the abbot ordered everything to be thrown on the fire as relics of idolatrous Rome. Fortunately such harshness was exceptional and a milder spirit generally prevailed. From the sixth century onwards the copying and increasing of manuscripts by religious bodies was accelerated by the impetus received from Cassiodorus, whose *Liber Variorum* was a valued possession; but the library as a separate department of the monastery is not found until very much later. Amongst the earliest records of books possessed by English monasteries are those referring to the books at Canterbury in the seventh century, and in the eighth century to those of Alcuin. At St. Albans the scriptorium was instituted by Abbot Paul at the end of the eleventh century, signalising a healthy departure from the slothful obscurantism into which Anglo-Saxon monasticism had fallen. He provided for its support by devoting certain tithes from the abbey manors to the purpose of increasing the number of 'the books for the Church'. As separate chambers, libraries are not found much before the fourteenth century. Up to that time there was ample accommodation for books in the closets or cupboards in the cloister, or in the thickness of the cloister wall. In Cistercian convents

the book cupboard had a definite place in the plan of the cloister (see p. 142), but in the houses of other Orders its position varied; at Gloucester the books were kept at the east end of the south walk, and at Durham in book cupboards against the wall of the Church,[1] at Canterbury off the east walk to the south end.

After the thirteenth century the work and study in Benedictine communities took the form of literary labour, to the exclusion of other occupations,[2] and this is found to correspond with the great increase of libraries after the fourteenth century and with their greater importance in the life of the monastery, though at the same time the cloister book cupboards were retained. At Evesham a library was formed *c.* 1317 opposite the chapter-house. At Durham a library was made in 1446, at St. Albans one was finished in 1452, and at Canterbury one was formed about the same time. With several hours of every day devoted to study, a large number of books were needed to provide the amount of reading matter required, and it was thus that in Benedictine monasteries the work in the scriptorium was most vigorously prosecuted. At St. Mary's, York, the monks read or studied after Chapter, and after Nones till Vespers, *i.e.* most of the morning and afternoon. At Durham they studied as a rule in the carrels, but considerable latitude was allowed and "everyone did study what Doctor pleased them best, having the Librarie at all tymes to go studie in besides these carrells", and if a monk was unable to sleep during the midday rest he was allowed to read in his cubicle in the dorter.

In addition to books written or copied by the monks themselves, paid clerks and amanuenses were sometimes imported to assist the staff of the scriptorium. The expenses incurred in the maintenance of the copying-room were considerable, as is shown by the following items from the librarian's accounts at Ely in the fourteenth century: "Eight calf-skins and four sheep-skins for covering books, 4s. 4d. Illuminating a gradual and consuetudinary, 22s. 9d. The amanuensis for one year, 53s. 4d., and

[1] The seven large recesses in the south wall of the church at Beaulieu have been suggested as bookcases; though this seems an excessive provision for a Cistercian monastery.

[2] Though physical exercise was insisted upon until a much later date, as at Boxgrove, where the Bishop of Chichester in 1518 ordered the monks "to exercise in garden work".—*Sussex Arch. Collections*, vol. ix. p. 160.

a tunic, 10s. The bookbinder, 2 weeks' wages, 2s. 12 iron chains to fasten the books, 4s. 5 doz. vellum, 25s. 8d."

In small convents the books were few; fifty would have been a large library, many contained no more than a dozen. In the greater abbeys fine collections were, naturally, to be found; Durham as early as the twelfth century possessed over three hundred manuscripts, and Canterbury in the next century had upwards of two hundred in the book room. At Glastonbury when Leland visited the library shortly before the Suppression he considered it to be "scarcely equalled by any other library in Britain", and spent several days examining it. But numbers like these were exceptional, though at Meaux there were over three hundred. The later book room or library was arranged much in the same way as a modern library, with main divisions, subdivisions, and shelves corresponding to the letters and numbers in the catalogue. Sometimes the latter as an additional identification and safeguard gave the opening words of a selected page in each book and the number of pages in the volume, as in the catalogue of St. Martin's Priory, Dover, in 1389.

With such importance attached to the literary side it was naturally an exception for a monk of the quire, particularly in Benedictine houses, to be illiterate: this is emphasised by the explanatory note attached to the mark of one of the monks of Stratford Langthorne in Essex on the Surrender document: "the Mark of John Wyght which cannot wryte". So far from being uneducated, the monk in a properly governed monastery was trilingual—at least, until the latter part of the fourteenth century. In addition to his mother-tongue, he had to know and speak French in cloister and upon social occasions, and Latin for services and solemnities. As the fourteenth century drew to a close, the use of English spread amongst the educated, and the number of occasions upon which either French or English might be used in the monastery increased.

Amongst the classical authors to be found in well-equipped monastery libraries were Plato,[1] Cicero, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, Cato, Ovid, and, most important of all from the Schoolmen's point of view, Aristotle, though until the thirteenth century the Latin translations of his work were fragmentary and inaccurate. Greek was an unknown tongue to the average monk down to the time of Erasmus, the brief pre-Conquest

[1] Mentioned in the catalogue of Ramsey Abbey, *c.* 1400.

revival of the language having left no traces of its influence. In addition to classical[1] writers, there was the usual stock of pious works of no particular merit, the *Collationes Patrum*, the Rule and Statutes of the Order, and the like. There was one book of interest in connection with building, the *De Architectura* of Vitruvius, which in the libraries of the greater monasteries which possessed it, as Ely and Bury St. Edmunds, would be a standard work of reference upon problems of constructional mechanics.

(7) The Sacrist

The duty of the Sacrist was to care for the church, its fabric, furnishings, and treasures. He attended to the altars and their ornaments and hangings; to the cleaning of the church; to the lights, that standards and cressets and candles were always ready for use, that the sanctuary lamp never failed. "His office was to se that there should nothing be lackinge with in the Churche, as to provyde bread and wyne for the Church, and to provide for wax and lyght in the wynter." The bell-ringers were under his orders and he was responsible that all bells, both those for services and those for arousing or summoning the brethren, were punctually rung. Sometimes he slept within or in a chamber closely adjoining the church. In 1270 the Archbishop of York ordered that the sacristan at Southwell, a secular church, "should lie within the church". At Durham, while his checker was in the church, he slept in the dorter. The sacrist had several subordinates in his own department, including the sub-sacrist as his own deputy, the master of the works,[2] the secretary, and the treasurer or bursar. Where there was a popular shrine the accounting of the offerings made would entail heavy work, being made up very largely of small sums in a miscellaneous coinage, as well as gifts in kind; of jewels and articles of value, "gifts and oblations hung upon the Tombe". When it was necessary for the sacrist to go abroad on business of his office, he was allowed a horse, and accompanied by a servant. He was generally excused attendance at some services on account of his duties.

[1] Amongst the signs to be used instead of speech by novices was the following: "for a secular book which any Pagan may have written, scratch the ear with a finger, as a dog does with its foot when at play, because infidels are not undeservedly compared to such an animal".—*Sussex Arch. Collections*, vol. iii. p. 190.

[2] See also Chap. VIII.

(8) The Cellarer

After the Prior the most important individual in the monastery was the Cellarer. As the provider and caterer for all material needs of the convent, and its chief link with the outside world, he exercised a general supervision over the activities of the obedientiars whose office depended upon his own, such as the fraterer, infirmarer, chamberlain, almoner, guest-master. The cellarer's duty was "to see what expences was in the kitchinge . . . it was hys office to see all things orderlye served". He

Fig. 7.—Canterbury Cathedral Priory. Old Brew- and Bake-houses of the Priory.

attended the country fairs and markets, on his nag, followed by his servants—in some houses, as at Newstead in the thirteenth century, this was done by the chamberlain also; he bought what was required and disposed of surplus produce, and acted as purveyor to the other obedientiars and their departments. The lay-brethren and the servants of the monastery were under his authority, and he was responsible for their maintenance and discipline. At Bury St. Edmunds about the beginning of the fourteenth century, when the Abbey contained eighty monks, eleven chaplains, and one hundred and eleven servants resident within

the walls, the cellarer's purveyance to the kitchen came to some £40 annually. This was in addition to a weekly expenditure of £13 in the bakehouse and brewery, and some £10 weekly in the kitchen on eggs and fish. The yearly fuel bill amounted to £30, and for fodder for the horses of those of the obedientiars whose duties took them into the country, to £60. The total domestic expenditure in the abbey amounted to £1400 a year in money of the day, some twenty times its present value. To assist him in his own work the cellarer had his deputy, the sub-cellarer.[1] In some houses, as at Norwich Priory, the abbey lands were in the charge of an officer known as the *grangiarius*, whose duties corresponded to those of our bailiff or factor. Corn which was grown on the abbey or priory lands was handed over to another obedientiar, the garnerer (*granatarius*), who checked the incoming stores, both home-grown and tithe, supervised the storing, and issued the amounts required by the cellarer for brewing and baking.

(9) The Fraterer and Kitchener

The obedientiars with whom the cellarer was most closely in touch were naturally those who dealt directly with feeding the convent—the Fraterer (*refectorarius*) and the Kitchener (*coquinarius*).[2] The fraterer had control of the arrangements and furnishings of the frater and buttery, and, as mentioned elsewhere, the laver or laver-house, though in the cloister, was counted as part of the frater and came under his care. The kitchener controlled the various sub-departments of the kitchen—the larderer, cooks, salter, fish-cook, pittance-cook. It was the duty of the fraterer and kitchener to co-ordinate the work in frater and kitchen so that food was properly cooked and served punctually, meals not being so frequent that the brethren should be expected to wait beyond the appointed hour. Sometimes these offices were combined, even in large convents. At St. Albans after the Black Death, when the abbey

[1] There were other duties sometimes laid upon the cellarer, hardly of a monastic nature, as at Winchester, in the fourteenth century, where he was put in charge of the "animals acquired from time to time by the brethren", a sort of monastic menagerie. In connection with this it is interesting to compare the early sixteenth-century prohibition at Boxgrove, which forbade "dogs, hawks, and birds" to be kept.

[2] In Cluniac as in Cistercian houses each monk had to take his turn in the kitchen. This provision did not apply to other departments, and was originally Benedictine.

contained fifty monks, the abbot and forty-seven monks having died of the plague in 1349, the offices of kitchener, fraterer, and infirmarer were combined, with the assistance of a sub-fraterer. The monks were generally waited upon in frater by the novices.

(10) The Chamberlain and the Pittancer

The Chamberlain (*camerarius*) was the obedientiar in charge of the wardrobe of the monastery. "His office was to provide for stammyne, otherwaies called lincye wonncye for sheetes, and for sheirtes, for the novices and the Monnckes to weare . . . and he had a taillour wourkinge daily, making socks of white linen clothe." He attended to the clothing of the monks, saw to the issue of new clothing, at the prescribed periods for some articles, *i.e.* frocks once a year, shoes once in eighteen months, boots once in five years, and other articles when required. He attended to the bedding of the monks and supervised the tailor's and boot-maker's shops, the barber's shop and the bath-house, and the laundresses from without the walls; any women employed being selected, as directed at Boxgrove in 1518, for their lack of pulchritude—or in the words of a thirteenth-century visitation of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, *de quibus non possit oriri sinistra suspicio.* At Durham the chamberlain had to provide bowls for the weekly washing of feet, and tubs for bathing in the tailor's shop. It was also his duty to provide hot water, towels, and soap. In some monasteries there was an obedientiar known as the Pittancer. Pittances were little extras which by the abbot's leave or order were added on special occasions to the ordinary diet. Frequently the pittances were dispensed by the chamberlain, who combined this office with his own. At Norwich the pittancer treated the convent to almonds and raisins on high festivals; and at Croyland, it is said, Lawrence Chateres, the kitchener, gave the large sum of £40 to provide milk of almonds on fish-days. The chamberlain or pittancer generally dispensed the small money allowances of the monks, though sometimes, as at Bury St. Edmunds, this was done by the cellarer.

(11) The Infirmarer

The group of buildings forming the monastic infirmary was under the control of the Infirmarer (*infirmarius*). The monk who held this

office had to be of a kind and sympathetic disposition, but withal not one so simple as to be imposed upon by the malingerer. For while all care and attention was to be given to the sick, the discipline which was observed in cloister was not entirely relaxed in the infirmary, and the rule as to silence had to be kept. In addition to the sick and infirm or aged who might be in the infirmary, it was also used in most Orders by monks who were undergoing the periodical bleeding, or recovering from it. These were known as *minuti*, and were generally allowed a richer diet, and greater liberty of conversation was permitted. In Cistercian houses, where the Rule was strictly kept, monks undergoing bleeding were not allowed to use the infirmary, and were bled four times a year. In some canons' houses the *minuti* were allowed to go for walks outside the precincts; in other convents they were sent in small numbers, under the orders of a junior prior, to one of the outlying abbey farms. The frequency with which bleeding was undergone varied from once in seven weeks to four or five times a year. In the infirmary chapel Mass was said daily for the sick, and in houses of Austin Canons when the sick were unable to attend chapel, the canon in charge of the infirmary had "to make the memorials of the day at their bedside". He was "to conceal from them all evil rumours and in no wise disturb them when they were resting".

(12) The Almoner

The Almoner (*elemosinarius*) was found in every religious house, and in large convents he held in important office. The nature of his work is implied in his title, and hardly needs description. With the assistance, where required, of the sub-almoner, he dispensed the monastic charity to the sick and poor of the neighbourhood, gave out the broken victuals at the almonry, and was responsible for the administration of that department. The scope of his charity was to be limited only by the means at his disposal; and in addition to ministering to those who were maintained in the almonry, or who applied at its door, it was the almoner's duty to seek out and feed the sick poor in their own houses. At Durham in the words of *The Rites* "the releefe and almesse of the hole convent was alwaies open and free . . . to all the poore people of the country"; and at Winchester, according to William of Malmesbury, there was

"entertainment to any extent for travellers of every sort by sea or land with boundless expenses and ceaseless attention".

(13) The Guest-master and Monastic Hospitality

Presiding over the guest-house was the Guest-master (*hospitarius*) or hosteller. The hosteller had to be a man of presence, culture, and some worldly wisdom. It was his duty to receive and interview guests proposing to avail themselves of the monastery's hospitality. Sometimes he had a room for this purpose. He was to greet strangers with a pleasant manner, *hilari et jocundo*, and personally to see that they were made comfortable and looked after. At the Augustinian priory of Barnwell, belonging to an Order famous for its hospitality, there were detailed instructions for the guest-master in which may be found the whole philosophy of hospitality. The guest-master was bidden to remember that by "cheerful hospitality the reputation of the monastery is increased, friendships are multiplied, animosities are blunted, God is honoured, charity is increased". An account of a guest-house in a large monastery is to be found in the *Rites of Durham*, where it is thus described: "a goodly brave place, much like unto the body of a church, with verey fair pillars supporting yt on ether side, and in the mydest of the haule a most large rannge for the fyer. The Chambers and Lodgings belonging to yt weare so swetly keept and so richly furnished that they weare not unpleasant to ly in, especially one Chamber called the Kyng's Chamber, deserving that name in that the King himself myght verie well have lyne in yt, for the princelynes thereof".

To carry out the work of the guest-house there were the necessary servants and cooks, the guest-house cook 'indenting' upon the cellarer for his requirements. The usual period for which hospitality was offered was two days, though sometimes, as at St. Albans, it was three. In some houses, should the guest prolong his stay beyond the prescribed period, he was expected to express before departure his obligation to the convent. In the later days of mediaeval monasticism the hospitality of religious houses was much abused, particularly by those whose position and influence rendered it difficult or impossible for monasteries to refuse their demands; and in the pleas of monasteries for the appropriation of churches the increasing burden of hospitality is one of the

reasons most frequently brought forward. Nobles living close by, whose family had in the past made some benefaction to the monastery, considered that they had by this the right to unlimited hospitality, and

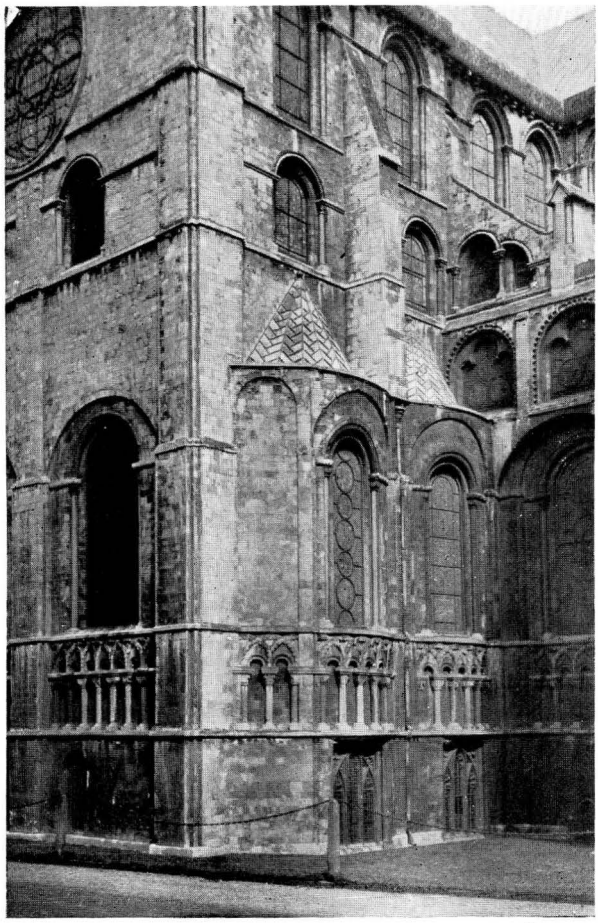


FIG. 8.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. S.E. TRANSEPTAL APSES.

often to freedom of entry into the cloister. Royalty was a frequent visitor—in view of the duration of the visits, almost to be spoken of as inhabiting monasteries. In the days when the Court was generally on the move, progressing from one part of the country to another, accom-

panied by all the paraphernalia of justice, the monasteries offered the best and sometimes the only accommodation. The cost to the convent of such visitations was enormous, and the disorganisation of routine was very great. To take as an example the monastery of Norwich: here Henry III twice lodged, and on one occasion instead of giving a present as might have been expected, he accepted one of sixty marks. Edward I paid in all four visits, and was fee'd by the abbot towards the expense of the Scotch war. Philippa of Hainault stayed at the abbey three times, and Edward III twice; the Black Prince availed himself of the monastery's hospitality for a visit of two months. At Canterbury, Isabella of France imposed upon the monks to the extent of leaving a pack of hounds there for two years at the charge of the priory. At Bury St. Edmunds in 1433 Henry VI stayed from Christmas till the following April at the abbey's expense, the abbot's house being entirely renovated for his reception. At Gloucester, Richard II held his Parliament in the abbey. Visitations such as these depleted the treasuries of the richest monasteries, assisted ultimately to drain their resources, and inevitably diverted from their designed purpose the endowments of the religious houses. That this was recognised even by those who caused the greatest expense to monastic hospitality is somewhat ironically reflected in the statute of Edward I which endeavoured, apparently with little success, to reduce the demands made by limiting hospitality to the really poor and the specially invited.

(14) The Servants of the Monastery

In addition to the obedientiars and their assistants, the monastery included in its organisation a large number of lay officers, paid servants and bondsmen. The variety of their occupations helps in the imaginative reconstruction of the multifarious activities of a great monastery: masons, carpenters, plumbers, janitors, porters, coopers, millers, brewers, tanners, salters, woodmen, carters, gardeners, grooms, labourers.

The janitors were responsible servants upon whom lay duties of importance. They held their office from the abbot, and were appointed for life. Sometimes, as at Fountains, they received board and quarters in return for services rendered in keeping the gate. At Norwich the head

janitor had his own chamber over the gate; he was allowed daily one monk's loaf [1] and a flagon of ale. His livery was of the same pattern as the cellarer's servants, and he was fed from the infirmary kitchen, *i.e.* received a better diet than the monks. In addition to the head janitor, there were others whose duty it was to watch the various gates between the court and the outside world, and the gates which led from the cloister to the extra-claustral parts of the monastery. When the latter were shut, as during Chapter, no one was allowed to pass. At Durham the janitor who sat by this gate had a porter's box, "with a stool to sit on, with boards underfoot".

In the monastic stables some horses were always kept for riding, in addition to those used for other purposes. At Bury St. Edmunds there were five horses in the prior's stables and three in the cellarer's. At Norwich there were four kinds of horses kept: (i) saddle horses, (ii) galloways, (iii) sumpter horses, (iv) plough horses. These were looked after by the grooms (*hastiarii*), the chief of whom was the head groom (*stallarius*), who was assisted by the second groom (*provendarius*) and others. In addition to the stabling required for the horses belonging to the monastery, it was necessary in many cases to provide extensive accommodation for the horses of guests. At St. Albans there was stabling for 300 horses, which were shod free of charge when required. At Abingdon there was a special fund for this purpose, which was no doubt frequently called upon, owing to the heavy traffic to the university a few miles distant.

While the religious life of a monastery changed from one phase to another as the centuries passed, with corresponding modifications in its religious organisation, there is naturally not the same amount of change to be noticed in the domestic administration, as the needs of humanity in food and service at one time are much the same as at another. A brief enumeration of the servants to be found in three representative convents in as many successive centuries will therefore fairly indicate the organisation and extent of this part of the monastic organism.

At Evesham in the twelfth century there were over 60 servants, the abbey containing at this time 67 monks. There were 5 servants in the church, 2 in the infirmary, 2 in the chancery, 5 in the kitchen, 7 in

[1] A monk's loaf was about 1 lb. weight.

the bakehouse, 4 in the brewhouse, 4 in the bath-house. There were 2 in the shoemaker's shop and 2 in the pantry, 3 in the garden and 5 in the vineyard; 3 janitors, 4 fishermen, 4 who acted as body-servants to any obedientiars who went abroad, 2 watchmen, and 7 who served in the abbot's hall. This list does not include some of the inferior grades of servants, *i.e.* cooks, cellarer's porters, scullions, etc.

At Ramsey in Huntingdonshire in the thirteenth century the following inferior officers and servants are mentioned: a mason, 2 carpenters (for the church), 2 janitors, an overseer, 2 stewards; servants in the church, the frater, the infirmary; cooks in the frater kitchen, the guest-house, etc.; 3 wood-porters, 2 brewers, 2 bakers, 2 tailors, 7 fishermen, a miller, and various servants and labourers in connection with the herds belonging to the convent, and ploughmen for the teams of oxen.

At Bury St. Edmunds in the fourteenth century there were some 40 servants in the cellarer's department and 24 in the sacristan's. The unusually large number of the latter includes those who were in the mint. The chamberlain had 7 servants; and there were 6 in the infirmary, in addition to boys who helped them. In the almonry there were 10. The cooks numbered over 20, divided between the various kitchens of the frater, the abbot's lodging, the infirmary, the guest-house, and the almonry. One of the principal cooks looked after the cooking of food for the *minuti*.

All these servants, both those working in the monastery itself and those on its lands, were either fed from the kitchens or received specified daily rations from the cellarer.

(15) The Daily Life

The daily routine in a mediaeval monastery has been so fully described by various writers that it is not proposed to enter into more detail here than is necessary in order to complete the outline of the life lived amongst the buildings of the monastery, which it is the chief purpose of this book to describe. At the same time, it is not altogether unnecessary to emphasise that monastic life, as sometimes described, shows a picture of impossible perfection, portraying a life as it might have been lived by angels, with every detail of rule and custom followed in spirit as in letter. In this there has been, no doubt, a natural reaction to

the former uncritical acceptance of the 'Comperta', which endeavoured, regardless of anything but showing a case, to prove a state of equally impossible iniquity.

Close study of contemporary documents leads some modern scholars to take a view of the internal conditions of monasticism, more particularly during the latter part of the Middle Ages, gloomy indeed, if not sombre: but after making the fullest allowance for contemporary spite; for the greed which inspired the mobs who were often, as at Bury St. Edmunds, led by the secular clergy in their attacks on abbeys; for the invective of reformers, always necessarily pessimistic, and who cannot be adjudged free of 'sectarian' jealousy; and finally for the most important class of evidence, visitation records, there remains the great body of monasteries which during the better part of five hundred years formed centres of regular and settled life, which were peopled by individuals of all sorts, who made as a whole no pretence to saintship, who were fairly disciplined by their superiors, and lived decent lives, lacking the prominence given to that minority the correction of whose faults has given them an undue importance.

But in general the great difference between the monasticism, in England, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries and that of the fourteenth and fifteenth must be noticed. The first period was that of the great revival of fervour for the monastic life, which resulted in one movement of reform succeeding another and with such numbers of novices that daughter houses were filled as fast as they could be founded. In England, by the Conquest, the old Benedictine enthusiasm had faded, and the Order as it was had ceased to attract. The last 'purely Benedictine' abbeys founded in this country were Battle (1067) and Selby (1069). The reformers of Cluny gained the popularity hitherto held by the old Benedictine houses and continued to found their priories until themselves displaced by the Cistercians, though the advent of the Normans instilled fresh life in the existing English Benedictine abbeys. But when the impetus of the Cistercian revival died down, things became generally more easy. Many people entered the Orders because they found there a more comfortable existence than in the world outside: probably the dearth of numbers after the Black Death and the need for recruits tended to make observance of the Rule less severe, and life more easy and

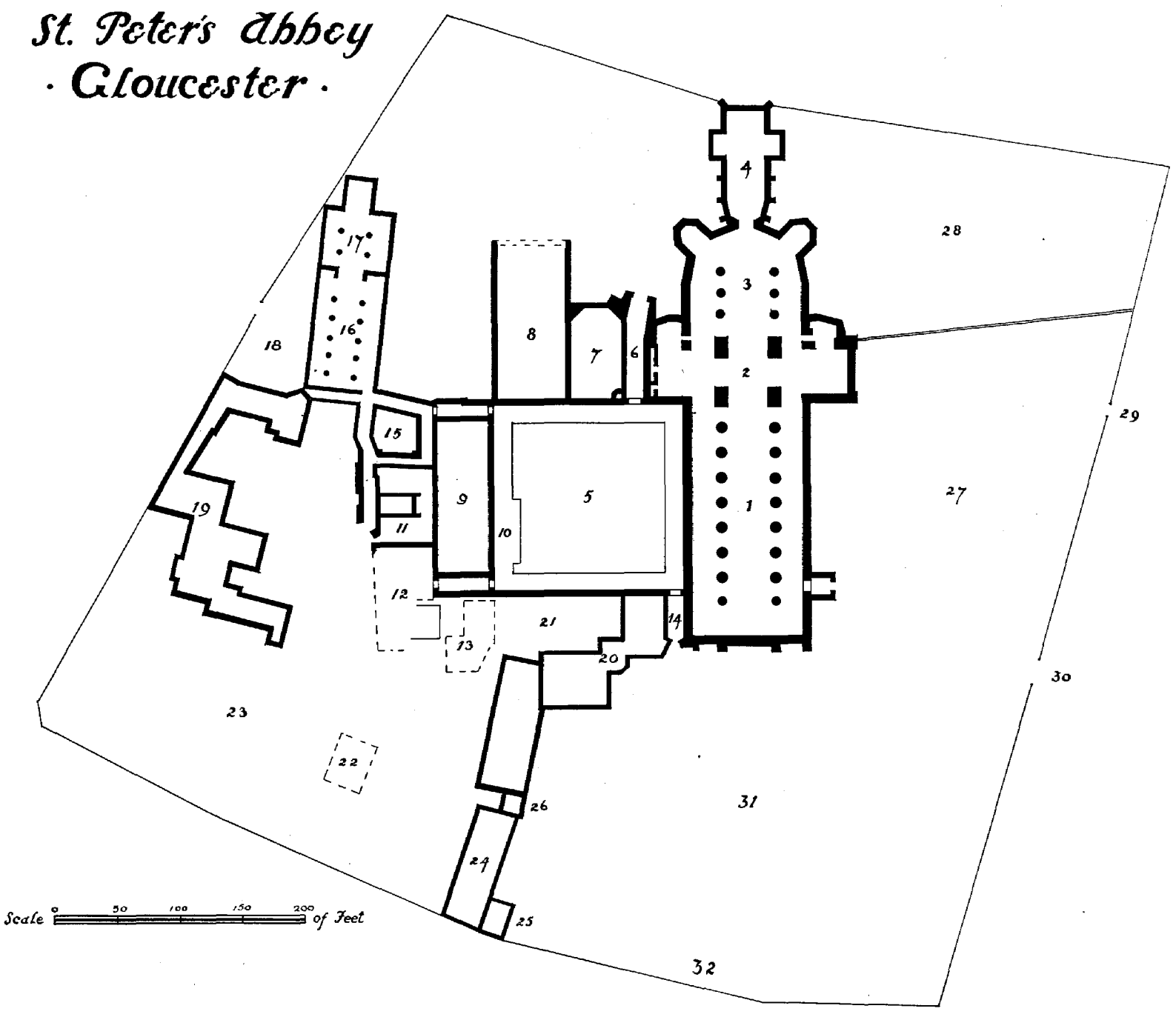


FIG. 9.—THE ABBEY OF ST. PETER, GLOUCESTER.

1. Nave.
2. Quire.
3. Presbytery.
4. Lady Chapel.
5. Cloister court.
6. Slype.
7. Chapter-house.
8. Dorter undercroft.
9. Frater (cellarer's stores below).
10. Laver.
11. Checkers.
12. } Site of kitchens, larder, etc.
13. }
14. Outer parlor.
15. Infirmary cloister.
16. Infirmary.
17. Infirmary chapel.
18. Infirmary garden.
19. Abbot's lodging.
20. Prior's lodging.
21. Court.
22. Site of mill.
23. Inner court.
24. Brew-house.
25. Bake-house.
26. Gate-house.
27. Lay cemetery.
28. Monks' cemetery.
29. Gate.
30. King Edward's gate.
31. Great court.
32. Site of cellarer's guest-house.

agreeable. In addition, the increasing intercourse between the monastery and the world outside it, which grew with the growth of the monastery as a great territorial and financial corporation, necessarily lessened the influence of the Regular Orders as a spiritual power. This is seen both in the early popularity of the Friars and in the high estimation in which the Carthusian, the strictest of all the Orders, was held till the last. Such a generalisation can, needless to say, only be made with strict reservations as to the numerous exceptions to it which are provided by the existence of monasteries which remained well governed, asking only "the meanest living that any poor man may live with".

. . . . . .

The horarium on p. 46 shows in broad outline the arrangement of the twenty-four hours of a Benedictine summer day, according to rule and custom. From dawn to sunset the monastic day was divided into twelve equal hours, irrespective of the length of the daylight; but in winter the hours, though the same in number as in summer, were each a third shorter, thus reducing the day by the same proportion. This arrangement enabled the fullest use to be made of the hours of daylight and evaded the difficulty of providing adequate lighting after dark; it came into use in September and ended at Easter, and during this period the fire in the warming-house was kept alight. Night began after Compline and lasted till Prime, but was broken at midnight for the longest service of the twenty-four hours, the night office of Matins and Lauds. This was the general practice in all Orders. During the day arrangements varied.

In the Benedictine Order heavy manual labour or field-work formed no essential part of the routine. In early times, during the spread of the Order and the founding of new settlements doubtless a more active part was taken, even by monks of the quire, in manual labour, as a matter of necessity, if the buildings were ever to be completed for their occupation. But such a state of affairs was exceptional, not customary. The chief occupation of the Benedictines was the *opus Dei*, *i.e.* the service of the Church, which nothing was to be allowed to hinder. In some of the poorer monasteries doubtless monks had to lend a hand from time to time in assisting those whose job it was to undertake manual work, but certainly after the end of the thirteenth century, and probably consider-

A MONASTIC DAY

(SUMMER)

12 midnight . .	Rise for Matins.
	Short Interval.
1 o'clock . . .	Lauds.
	Return to dorter.
6 o'clock . . .	PRIME.
	Light Breakfast (*Mixtum*).*
	Chapter.
	Parlement (conversation of a religious nature in cloister, and transaction of the day's business by the Obedientiars).
9 o'clock . . .	TERCE.
	Chapter Mass.
	Study.
	High Mass.
12 noon . . .	SEXT.
	Dinner (*Prandium*).
	Grace after Meat (chanted in procession and concluding in the church).
	Rest.
3 o'clock . . .	NONE.
	Recreation for Novices.
	Study in cloister and library.
6 o'clock . . .	Vespers.
	Light Supper (*Caena*).*
	Collation (evening reading in chapter-house).
	Interval.
	Compline.
	Procession to dorter.

'The Time of the Great Silence.'

* In the stricter Orders, except to the delicate, but one meal a day, dinner, was served. *Mixtum* consisted of 4 oz. bread and about half a pint of liquid.

ably before that time, Benedictines ceased to employ themselves actively about the buildings of their monastery. Apart from the service of the Church, their chief occupation was in writing, both in making copies of books which they needed and in duplicating those already possessed. The latter was a constant occupation, as the monastic reader seems to have had a heavy hand with his books. Work in connection with the domestic management of the convent continued to be supervised by the officers of the house. In the Augustinian Order of Canons Regular a correspondence to Benedictine practice is found; as on the other hand between the Cistercians and the Premonstratensian Canons, both of which Orders laid stress on manual labour, a similar resemblance existed, both in routine and in buildings.

In Cistercian houses the hours spent in church and cloister were considerably shortened, and spent instead in various forms of field-work and in the workshops. Silence was enjoined during work, even upon the lay-brethren, though those of the latter who worked in the smith's shop were allowed to speak; in other cases a somewhat complicated system of signs[1] replaced speech. Cistercian lay-brothers spent most of their time on the land unless employed about the monastery, and said their offices privately, except at the beginning and end of the day. Their chapter was held by the abbot on Sundays, and on account of the heavy work which the lay-brethren undertook they were given a larger ration than the monks of the quire, which is indicative of the degree of work undertaken, even in an Order which made it a matter of primary importance, by the monk of the quire and his brother of the nave. In general, Cistercians worked most of the morning and afternoon. With the Premonstratensian Canons much the same practice was followed. They worked

[1] A few of the very numerous signs prescribed for use by Cluniac novices may be given here. In consequence of the delay and postponement, often for years, which was common amongst Cluniac novices in proceeding to their profession, there were frequently only a few monks but many novices in their priories, and where discipline was strict the novices' department must indeed have presented a strange sight. "For bread, make a circle with the two thumbs and forefingers, because bread is usually round . . . for eggs, imitate a continual pecking the shell with one finger on another . . . for fish, imitate the motion of a fish's tail in water . . . for cherries, put the finger under the eye . . . for raw onions, press the finger on the mouth a little open, on account of that sort of smell . . . for honey, put out your tongue a little way, and pretend to lick your lips . . . for an ass-driver, place the hand near the ear, and move it as an ass does its ear . . ."—*Sussex Arch. Collections*, vol. iii. p. 190.

from chapter till dinner, and again during the afternoon; and in both Orders during the busy time of the farmer's year, at hay-harvest and at corn-harvest, every effort was made to use the hours of daylight, offices being said privately instead of returning to the church. Sleeping out in the granges, unavoidable when these were at a distance, was discouraged. In all Orders, the Carthusian excepted, as time went on the tendency was for the professed members of the convent to take a less active part in manual labour, and to spend more time in the cloister or copying-rooms. The Carthusians at no period took any part in field-work beyond tilling the small gardens attached to their cells.

In most Orders the population was fairly stable, but in Premonstratensian houses the members of the community appear to have been constantly changing. At Bayham in Sussex in 1482 the Visitor found that so many canons were away serving cures in the countryside that the abbey was seriously depleted; and from the changes of names in this abbey during several closely successive visitations, and the constant movements from one house to another, the members of the community seem seldom to have been the same for any length of time.

(16) The Sunday Procession

The Sunday Procession has been referred to on p. 30 and elsewhere, and its importance in monastic ritual indicated. The procession started in the presbytery, the officiating priest asperging the eastern altars; it then proceeded down the aisle to the transept adjoining the cloister; and after stations had been made at the transeptal chapels, it issued by the eastern processional doorway into the east walk of the cloister. The claustral buildings of the eastern range, the range opposite the church, and the western range were then visited and asperged in turn. After this the procession returned to the church by the western processional doorway. It is these two doors which are still frequently and erroneously called the 'abbot's door' and the 'monks' door'. Upon entering the church, the convent took up its position in a double line along the nave, each monk standing exactly upon his prescribed stone in the floor,[1] for the final station, which was made before the nave altar against the rood screen. After this the monks filed through the two doors in the rood

[1] Or upon parallel lines cut in the pavement, as at Canterbury till 1787.

screen, joined at the single door in the pulpitum, and through it returned to the quire. In Cistercian monasteries the procession varied its route upon reaching the western range, when instead of passing along the cloister walk it visited the ground-floor of the cellarer's range, returning to the church either by a door in the end of the western range, as at Tintern, or by going outside the range and entering the church by the west door, as probably at Valle Crucis. The Sunday Procession did not include the cloister walk against the church in its route.

(17) Chapter Proceedings

Proceedings in Chapter were opened by the reading of the martyrology for the day. This was followed by memorial prayers, and then by the reading of a part of the Rule of the Order. After this came the necrology, in which were commemorated deceased members of the house, together with benefactors who had had the confraternity of the Order conferred upon them. In Cistercian convents special commemoration was made of any who had died within the preceding thirty days, who were mentioned by name. Duties were allotted for the day; and letters which had been received from other houses were read. After this came confession of faults, and the *clamationes* or accusation of breaches of Rule or conduct. Amongst the Cistercians the accuser was strictly ordered not to beat about the bush but to make his accusation forthrightly, as "He did so-and-so". Punishment was summarily awarded and the chapter proceedings closed, obedientiars going about their business and the abbot or prior and such senior members of the abbey as he required remaining to confer. If a junior monk desired counsel from any one of the seniors, he could sign to him that he wished to have speech and remain after the others had departed.

(18) The Death of the Monk

"The soul of the monk was sped on its way with much solemnity. The abbot himself, and in his absence the priest highest in office, administered the last Sacraments in the presence of the whole convent, who were summoned to the church for the purpose and went thence in procession, singing psalms by the way, to the place where the sick man lay. When the last moment came, the dying man was laid upon the floor,

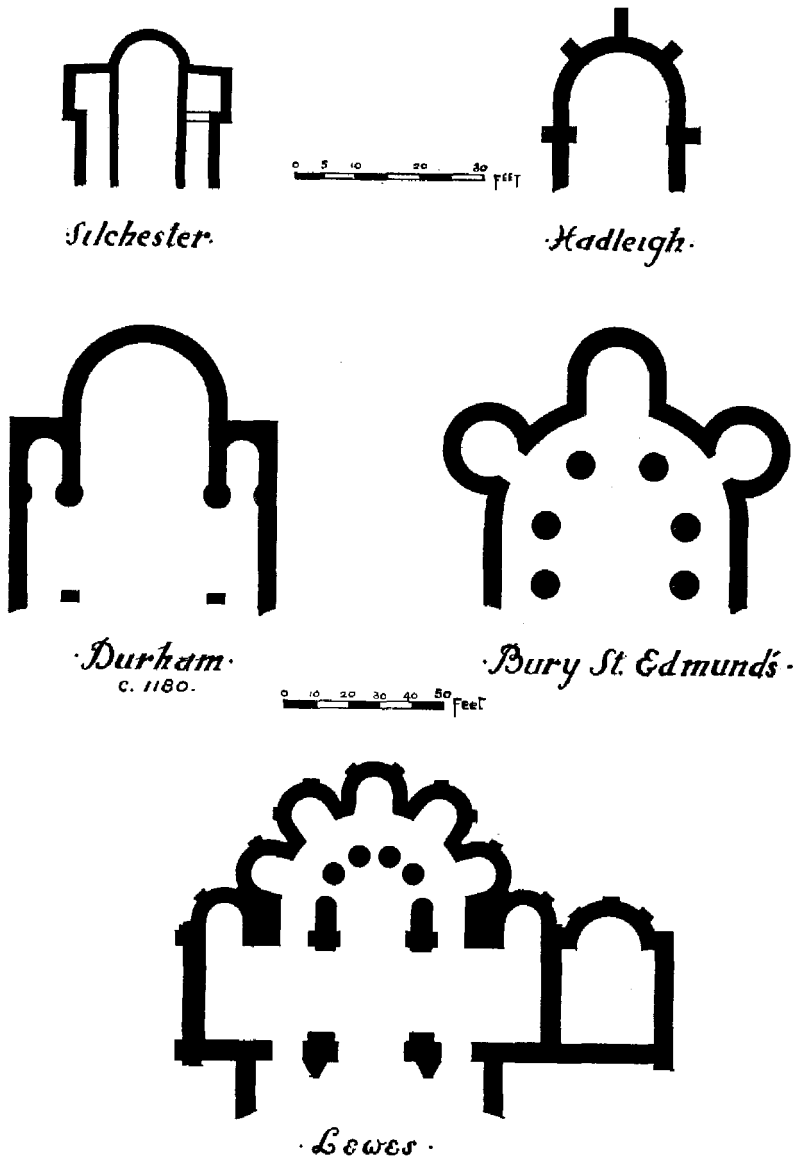


FIG. 10.—THE APSIDAL EAST END; ITS DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND.

Note.—Silchester is included for comparison, but is not to be considered as a direct precursor of the Anglo-Romanesque apse.

where ashes had been strewn in the form of a cross. This was not peculiar to Cistercians or even to monks. And even as early as the date of the first written customs, the Cistercians had so far toned down the harshness of it as to direct that a mat or some straw be laid over the ashes and a quilt over all. The *tabula* or clapper, which was a board hung in the cloister and struck with a mallet, was sounded, and at once, if the monks were at work or in cloister, or doing anything which could be left, all hurried to the dying man . . . and so the monk died, with his brethren praying round him."[1] In connection with this may be remembered the description of the death of Abbot John of St. Albans, of whom it is related that when his last moments came "he was carried to the infirmary, where upon a stone used for that purpose, he received Extreme Unction and the Viaticum".[2]

[1] J. W. Micklethwaite, *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal*, xv. [2] *Monasticon*, ii. 183.

CHAPTER III

THE PLAN OF A MONASTERY AND THE MONASTIC CHURCH

A MONASTERY (*monasterium*) was the home of a community (*conventus*) devoted to the service of religion, regulating the common life of its members under an accepted Rule and binding them to individual poverty, chastity, and obedience. According to its status and Order, it might be abbey or priory. Small houses affiliated to some greater community were known as 'cells'. Houses for women were generally priories, though they were in some cases abbeys, as at Romsey, Syon, Burnham, Lacock. Convents which held both sexes were known as 'double houses', as in the Gilbertine Order.

In taking his triple vow and making his profession, the new monk became not only a 'religious' but a member of an Order and an inmate of a particular house of his Order. In some Orders he took a vow of stability by which he bound himself to keep to his monastery for life.

Renouncing the life of the world, the monk withdrew himself from it, but at the same time he was strictly enjoined to succour the needy and to accord hospitality to all who asked. To adopt a mode of life which had as its prime essential privacy and seclusion, and with that to combine the widest hospitality and very often the reception of pilgrims in large numbers, obviously necessitated a definite and peculiar plan for the habitation wherein such a life was to be spent. In the solution of this problem we have the architectural history of monasticism.

(1) THE GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

It was essential that the buildings forming a monastery should be shut off from the outer world both to secure privacy and to ensure some

measure of security in a disturbed age. It was equally important that the channels of communication should be capable of strict control, and, while not necessarily offering an active defence, should be strong enough to deter casual bands of rogues or the malevolent mobs of townspeople who in so many cases attacked and burned the buildings of their monastic overlords.

We find, then, the fully developed religious house enclosed either within a wall and ditch, as at St. Mary's York, which was dug as a defence against the Scots,[1] or within a wall, as still remaining in parts at Canterbury (Fig. 3), Battle, Bury St. Edmunds, and many other places, which is drawn about the buildings, pierced with gates and emphasised with gatehouses. Of the latter there are many examples still standing. In slackly governed and small houses the enclosing wall, ditch, or hedge was not always kept in good condition, as shown by frequent injunctions, as that laid upon a canons' house (probably Felley) in Nottinghamshire, which in 1270 was ordered to repair its walls.[2] At Ulverscroft in Charnwood Forest the ditch remains.

Within the space thus enclosed and adjoining the great gate was the curia or outer court, which was normally to the west of the church, though conditions of site, as at Worcester and Durham, where it is to the south, sometimes caused it to be arranged as necessity dictated. Arranged about the outer court were naturally those buildings which had to do with the more secular side of the monastery: the guest-house for the middling sort and for the poor folk (the latter was sometimes outside the gate), the almonry, barns, stables, brew and bake-houses (Fig. 7), prison and tribunal, and monastic school, if any. We have an interesting description of the earlier arrangement of the buildings round the court at Croyland Abbey. Here on the west side, towards the town, were the stables, granary, and bakehouse. In the stables the abbot's horses were kept at one end and guests' horses were put up at the other. On the south side were the hall and chambers for strangers; to the east a hall for new converts, the abbot's kitchen, hall, chambers, and chapel.

[1] In 1315 the citizens of York filled up the ditches adjoining the walls of the abbey which had been made as a defence against the Scots by Abbot Alan.—Drake, *History of York*.

[2] "Precipimus quod muri et fossata circa curiam reparentur."—*Surtees Soc.*, vol. 109, p. 313.

The north side was closed by the great gate with the almonry to the east. The arrangement at Canterbury is shown in Fig. 36 and at Gloucester in Fig. 9. Often the total area enclosed was of considerable extent; at Lewes it extended to more than thirty acres, and at Furness to sixty.

Within the outer court in larger monasteries was a second court, containing the infirmary group, colloquially referred to as the 'farmery', or 'ffermery'; the guest-house for more important strangers; quarters for the servants of the monastery, etc. The centre of the whole was formed by the purely monastic buildings: the church and the cloister court with the claustral buildings. At its west end the church was normally accessible from outside or from the outer court, and its west or south-west porch was sometimes used for the transaction of secular business, such as the paying of rents. Elsewhere it could only be entered by doors devoted to the monks, except in those cases where in later days a north door to the nave was made for the use of the laity.

The cloisters lay normally to the south, between nave and transept. Noteworthy and numerous exceptions to this general rule are found in all Orders; as at Canterbury, where the cloister both of the Cathedral priory and of St. Augustine's Abbey are to the north; at Gloucester, where the site was cramped; at Chester; at Melrose, Tintern, and Malmesbury, for drainage purposes; at Buildwas, Dore, and elsewhere. At Rochester, owing to conditions of site, the cloisters, while on the south of the church, are unique in being placed to the east of the transept, though the secular church of Chichester affords an interesting comparison in the position of its fifteenth-century cloister. Grouped in a definite order round the four sides of the cloister were the buildings which formed the living quarters of the brethren and those who were immediately concerned with the religious work of the house. The cloister alley or walk lying under the church wall was always devoted to the use of the professed monks. The west walk was given over to the lay-brethren or to the junior monks. In the east walk, in some cases, the novice-master held school for the novices. The walk opposite the church, normally the south walk, was not generally used for sedentary purposes. Of the buildings which backed on to the cloisters the more important lay to the east. Here were the sacristy, chapter-house, parlor, and on the

upper floor the dorter extended over the range, with the rere-dorter or *necessarium* at the end farthest from the church. The southern range included the frater, buttery, etc., and in the Cistercian Order the kitchens and warming-house. To the west lay the cellarer's range, with the outer parlor, and where required, the dorter and frater of the lay-brethren. In this range was the chief passage-way to the outer court.

(2) The Monastic Church Plan and its Development

Upon the monastic church depended all the subsidiary buildings necessary to the life and work of the community which served its altars. In planning such a church there were certain definite requirements to be satisfied. The primary requisite was the quire, which formed the germ of the monastic church, and provided a place wherein the members of the monastery might perform without disturbance their first duty of the recitation of the Canonical Hours. Second only to this was the importance of arranging accommodation for the altars of the almost innumerable Saints who, to the mediaeval mind, represented in a more personal and approachable form the various aspects of Deity. At these altars the brethren who were priests said their private masses, and they were each visited and asperged in the Sunday Procession. In the planning of quire and chapels it was desirable that heed should be given to the importance of this and other processions which formed such a great feature in mediaeval ritual and lay close to the monkish heart. Moreover, in Pilgrim Churches the enormous numbers of devotees who visited the shrine of a popular saint made considerations of control imperative, and definitely influenced the plan, as at Canterbury, where Gervase says very clearly in speaking of the rebuilding of the quire, "the master preserved as much as he could of the passage outside the quire on account of the processions which were there frequently passing". In the development of a plan to satisfy these requirements, sound construction, sentiment, and convenience were allied. The cruciform plan provided in its eastern limb a place for a quire devoted to the monks, with a presbytery at whose extremity was enthroned in solitary splendour the High Altar. The nave provided the laity or the lay-brethren with a church containing its own altar before the rood. The transepts offered facilities for additional chapels. The long circuit of presbytery, transept, cloister, and nave in

processions on Sundays and Feast Days afforded the mediaeval love of ceremonial full opportunity for its display. In thus referring to the cruciform plan, it will be remembered that this plan, with its further development of double transepts, was only arrived at after experiment. It will be noticed also that some of the most important churches in England, such as Lincoln and Canterbury, in their final shape bear little if any resemblance to the cruciform type. In the penultimate expression of mediaeval church plan the cruciform is completely discarded in many important examples as no longer the most suitable form for a non-monastic church; its place is taken by the great 'lantern' churches of East Anglia, and finally, as in the chapel of King's College, Cambridge (begun 1446), the aisles are absorbed. The long unaisled Lady Chapel at Ely, which was unfinished at the time of the Black Death of 1349, shows perhaps an earlier tendency in this direction on the part of the monastic builders. In its last phase as a continuous organic growth under an equally continuous religious impulse the mediaeval church returns, *mutatis mutandis*, to the original cell-form from which it sprang.

Much emphasis has been laid upon the importance of symbolism in mediaeval building, and symbolism indeed played a great part in the life and thought of mediaevals, particularly in matters of detail, in ornament and in ritual. But builders, and especially English builders, have always been practical people, and where big structural considerations entered symbolism took its chance along with other minor matters. It is not to be considered for a moment that in any case where the two considerations were in opposition, symbolism would have had any but the shortest shrift. Statements so often and so glibly put forward, such as that the cruciform plan sprang complete from the minds of the builders as a model of the Cross, and was therefore adopted, will not bear even casual examination, any more than the equally popular explanation of the frequent lack of alignment between nave and quire.

The simplest form of church plan, whether monastic or parochial, is the plain rectangle or 'cell', without aisles. Generally in the parochial form there is the attempt to provide a sanctuary even if only by forming a second and smaller rectangle at the end, the pierced wall between the two forming the 'chancel arch', as at Escombe, Durham. An example of the simple rectangular plan as used for a monastic church is to be seen

at Cymmer Abbey in North Wales. Here the church was originally planned without aisles, and with no division between nave and quire of a structural kind. Probably the priests among the brethren were few at first, such a plan obviously not being intended for more than a very few altars. But however satisfactory a simple rectangle might be for the church of a strict community, living by the work of its hands and hidden away in the most remote part of what is still a sparsely populated district, unsought by pilgrims, it was entirely inadequate to a monastery with more secular ambitions, large numbers of monks, on a main road or in a town, and often possessing some shrine or relic which drew to it pilgrims numbered, as at Canterbury, only by the hundred thousand, and whose abbot might be a Prince-Bishop.

It was inadequate, not merely because of its smallness but because it offered no accommodation for altars, because in a church to which the laity or pilgrims were admitted it afforded no privacy to the monks, and not least because where relics were venerated or a saint buried it was impossible to form a shrine or to regulate the pilgrim traffic. An altogether larger and more spacious plan was wanted, and its internal arrangements were necessarily complex. But in some of the stricter or less ambitious Orders the aisleless, or only partly aisled church, sufficed throughout the life of the convent. The Carthusians, the Regular Canons, and the houses of women provide many examples of unpretentious planning, though the bigger churches of the canons' houses generally possessed a completely developed plan, *e.g.* at Bridlington. The Charterhouse church at Mount Grace offers a plan resembling Cymmer, a plain rectangle without aisles and originally without chapels or tower. The Gilbertine priory church of Watton (Fig. 2) shows the same plan, a striking contrast to the fully developed plan of the Benedictine nuns' church at Romsey.

(3) The English Romanesque Quire

The normal plan of the large Anglo-Norman quire was that in which the presbytery terminated in an apse or apses. Of this apsidal east end there are definite types to be noted which may be classified as follows: (1) The plan of three parallel apses, or the triapsidal plan, where there is no ambulatory or passage round the apse; and (2) the apse with an am-

bulatory. Of the latter there are two variants, (*a*) where the ambulatory has chapels opening off it, *i.e.* the periapsidal chapel plan, from which the later *chevet* derived, and (*b*) where the ambulatory has no chapels. This latter arrangement is rare.

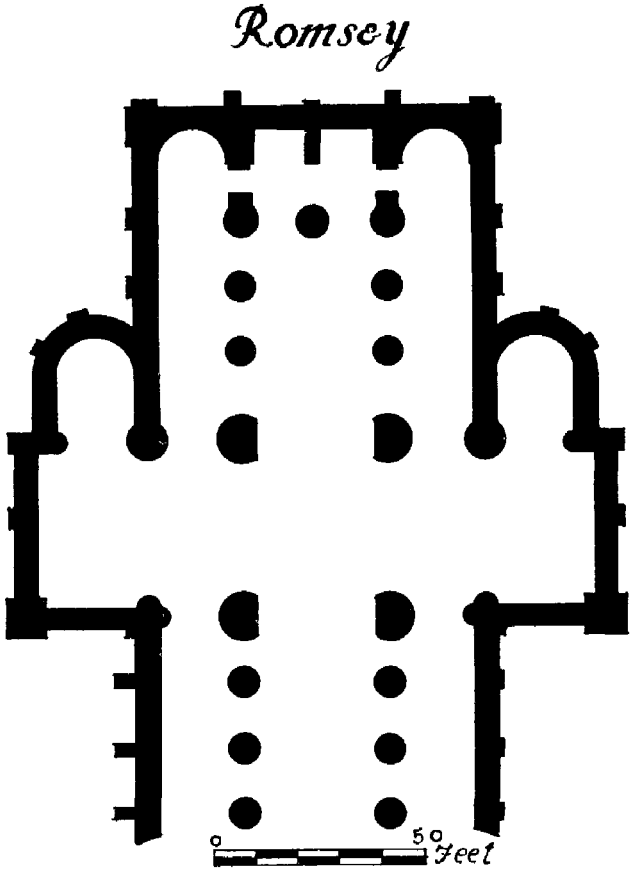


FIG. 11.—ROMSEY ABBEY, HANTS. THE QUIRE.

In its simplest form, as in a parochial church, the single apse is found at Hadleigh (Fig. 10). In the triapsidal plan the central apse projected beyond those which terminated the aisles to north and south of it, and it contained the High Altar. It was semicircular, or nearly so, within and without; while the aisles which ended approximately on the chord of the

central apse were apsidal internally, but by the time this plan had reached England, on the outside they were square. Originally, in the basilican type of plan from which they derived, they were circular on the outside also. This plan of the three parallel apses was used in some of the largest English monastic churches of the eleventh century. It is illustrated as at Durham, *c.* 1093, in Fig. 10. It was used at Canterbury in Lanfranc's work in 1067; at St. Albans, *c.* 1077; at Peterborough, *c.* 1098, which retains its central apse to the presbytery; at St. Mary's, York; at the Cluniac church of Castle Acre. It was also used in some secular churches, *e.g.*, Exeter. In Normandy, whence it was imported into England, this plan is naturally often to be found; and sometimes, as a variant, with aisles square both inside and out while retaining the central presbytery apse, *e.g.* at Cérisy-la-Forêt, *c.* 1030–60.[1] At Romsey, Hants, the Benedictine nuns' church, *c.* 1110–20, retains both its apsidal-ended aisles, while square-ended externally both to aisles and presbytery. This very important plan is referred to in more detail below.

The second and more important type of Romanesque plan is (2), the apse with ambulatory or continuous aisle surrounding it, off which open chapels. This is the periapsidal chapel plan. To obtain this plan from the triapsidal plan like Durham it was only necessary, instead of stopping the aisles short, level with the central apse, to continue them round it, substituting for the solid walls of the apse a series of piers and arches such as already divided the quire and aisles. Probably the earliest English example to be found is the crypt of old Winchester, begun by Walkelin in 1079. This type of plan (Fig. 12) was followed at Worcester, begun 1084, and at Gloucester, begun 1089 (Fig. 9). Comparison of these plans with those of Durham, already mentioned, will very clearly show the development of the new arrangement. The Winchester plan shows a regular ambulatory, but with unusually arranged chapels. Here they are an extension eastward of the aisles and are approximately rectangular on plan, while the central chapel is considerably elongated and ends in an apse. It will be seen that this is a kind of half-way house between the triapsidal Durham plan and the normal later ambulatory with regularly arranged chapels. Worcester again offers an exceptional arrangement, with chapels opening laterally off the ambulatory, being

[1] Rivoira's date.

in form more like parts of an incomplete double ambulatory. With Gloucester what was to be the standard plan is more clearly seen; though

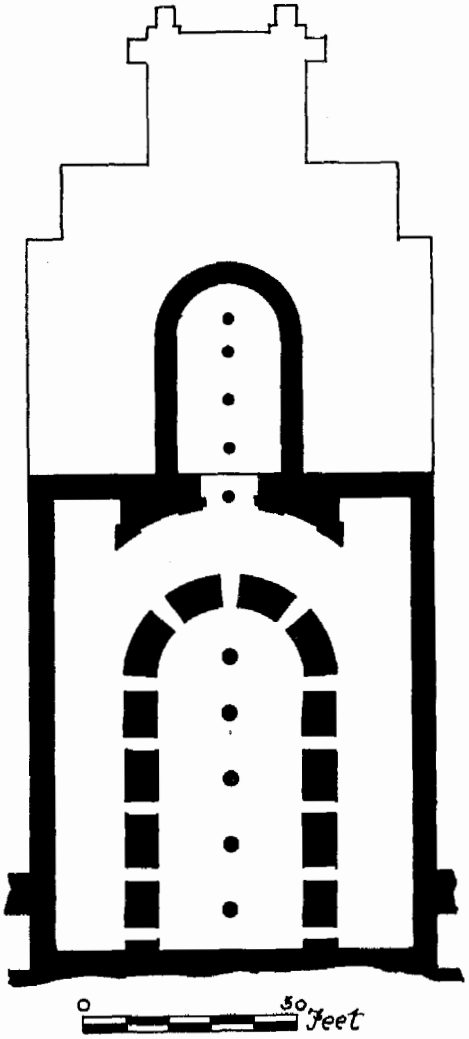


FIG. 12.—WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. THE CRYPT.

the polygonal form of chapel is not the rule. In addition to Winchester, Worcester, and Gloucester, this plan was used with various modifications at Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds (Fig. 10), Battle, St. Augustine's,

Canterbury; Canterbury Cathedral (1096) in Ernulph's work; Chester, Tynemouth, Pershore, and elsewhere.

The normal number of chapels opening off the ambulatory is three,

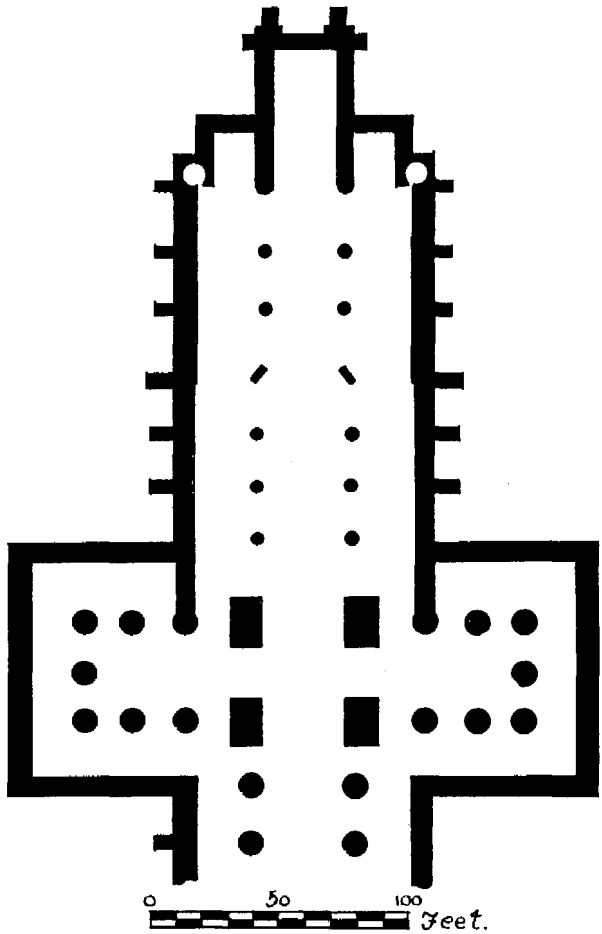


FIG. 13.—WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. THE TRANSEPTS AND QUIRE.

to the east, south-east, and north-east. Lewes Priory,[1] following the mother church of Cluny, had five.

[1] In passing it may be noted that the east end of the infirmary chapel at Lewes had apsidal ends inside and out to its aisles, with a square end to the presbytery; whereas Cluny in the corresponding building had three parallel apses. It is likely that here we have the English influence at work at Lewes, though in view of the date this must not be over-emphasised.

Two types of periapsidal chapel are to be noticed, (1) the tangential, and (2) the radiating. Examples of the tangential kind are at Norwich, which retains two out of its original three absiodoles, and where they are formed of parts of two intersecting circles; at Canterbury (Fig. 36), where they are rectangular with an eastern apse. Of the radiating plan, at Gloucester, pentagonal; at Bury, nearly circular; at Lewes, a stilted semicircle (Fig. 10). Some segment of a circle formed the most common plan. At Cluny some appear, from recent investigations,[1] to have been slightly horseshoe in form. At Gloucester the chapels of the apse were three storeys in height, with spacious ambulatories. This arrangement, with the exception of the eastern apse, survived the remodelling of the quire in the fourteenth century.

The development of the plan of the big Romanesque east end has now been very briefly traced, from the single apse down to the elaborate periapsidal plan surrounded by a ring of chapels. The requirements which evolved this plan were twofold and definite: the desire for more altars, and for more room for those already existing; and the necessity for regulating the pilgrim traffic. Comparison of successive plans will clearly show how the development of the apse and its chapels met the former, and the latter will be equally plain when a plan such as that of Durham is compared with Bury St. Edmunds or Lewes. In Durham a crowd of pilgrims and curious people surging up to the end of the church would be thrown back upon itself, and those going down would have to struggle back through the people still coming up, and when it is remembered that a fair proportion would be sick or lame, and that consideration for the infirmities of others was not an outstanding characteristic of the Middle Ages, the confusion can be imagined. In addition, there was a point of ritual to be considered; that with a plain apse to the presbytery, unless the altar stood well forward, or on the chord of the apse, facilities were lacking for the celebrant to cense the altar and for processions.

The periapsidal plan is generally considered to have derived from St. Martin of Tours, a great resort of pilgrims, which as early as 1014 had an apse with an ambulatory and five radiating chapels, and which at a later date was given a double ambulatory. Thence via Normandy it

[1] See *Speculum*, Jan. 1929.

passed to England. It was a Benedictine plan, and a Benedictine development, and though much used by Cluniac churches in Burgundy follow-

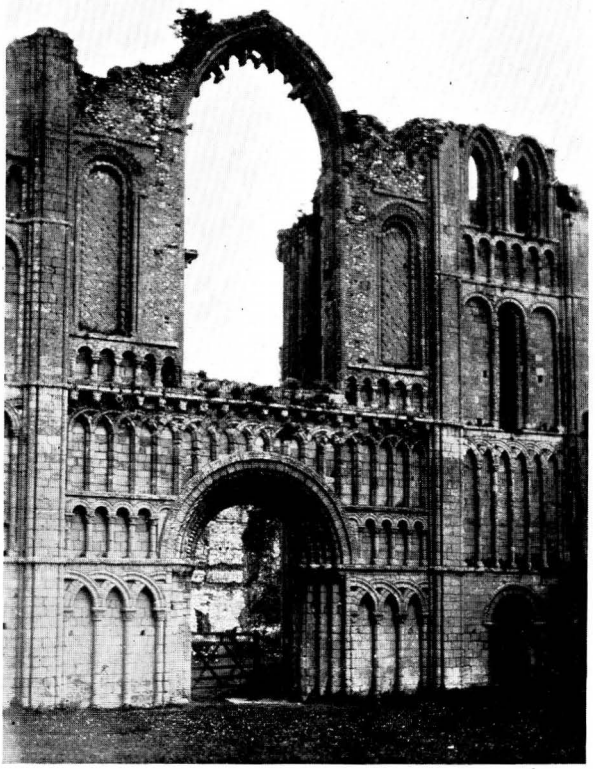


FIG. 14.—CASTLE ACRE PRIORY, NORFOLK. WEST FRONT.

ing Cluny itself, no importance can be attached to Cluniac influence in its English development. Apart from the slightness of effect that Lewes appears to have had on contemporary building, there were half a dozen periapsidal ambulatories in England before that of Cluny was begun.

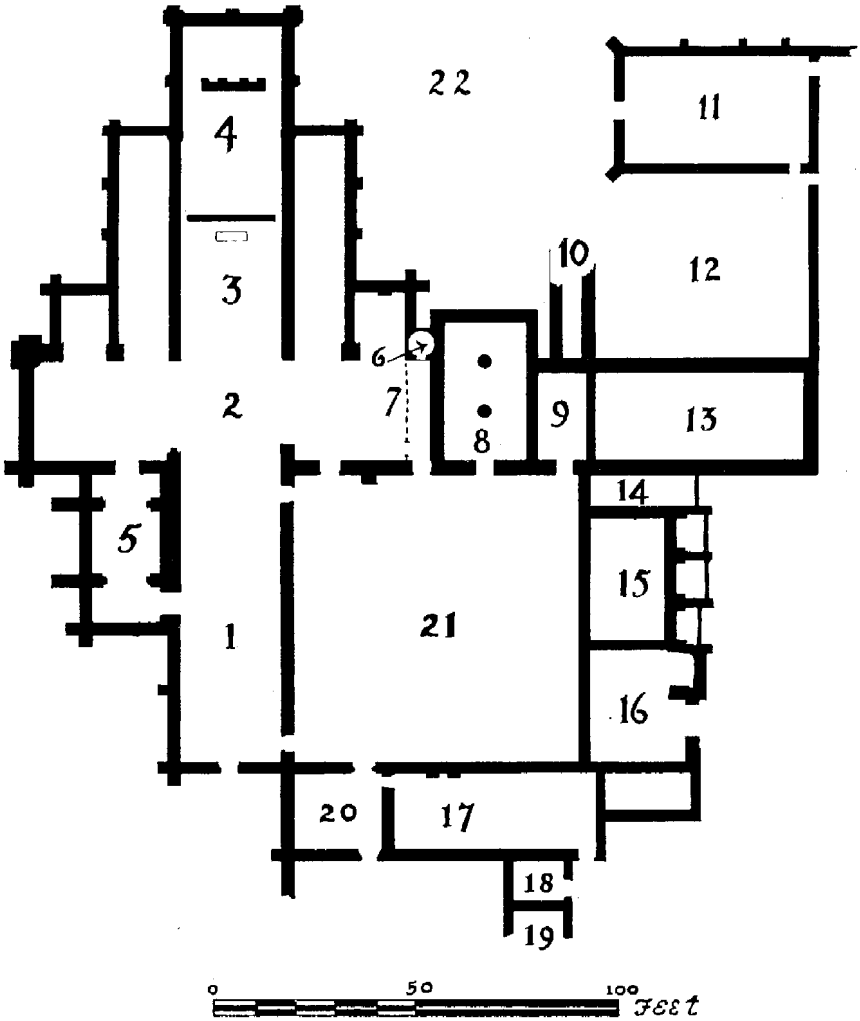


FIG. 15.—ST. RADEGUND'S ABBEY, KENT.

Note.—The long side chapels, the eastward extension of the Lady Chapel, and the unusual arrangement of the tower and of the stairs to the dorter from the church should be noticed.

1. Nave.
2. Quire.
3. Presbytery.
4. Lady Chapel.
5. Tower.
6. Dorter stairs.
7. Screen to stairs.
8. Chapter-house.
9. Canons' parlor.
10. Rere-dorter.
11. Infirmary hall.
12. Infirmary court.
13. Common house.
14. Slype.
15. Frater undercroft.
16. Kitchen.
17. Cellarer's range.
18. Cellarer's lodgings.
19. Guests' lodgings.
20. Outer parlor.
21. Cloister court.
22. Cemetery.

In view of the eventual prevalence of the square-ended plan in England, there are some important modifications of the normal Romanesque plan which should be noted as introducing the square-ended presbytery on a scale considerably greater than that in which it had hitherto existed in parish churches. At Ely the presbytery, which had been planned with an apse, was built square *c.* 1105. At St. Martin's Priory, Dover, *c.* 1135, the presbytery was square, with aisles internally apsidal. But Romsey (Fig. 11), already referred to, combines these features with another of greater importance at an earlier date (*c.* 1110–20) than any building in England. Here with internally apsidal aisles is combined a square presbytery with a rectangular ambulatory to east of it, connecting the aisles. In addition, the presbytery wall is pierced by two arches giving access to the ambulatory. Originally there projected from the ambulatory a chapel, which probably finished in an apse.[1] This may have been the Lady chapel.

The quire has been mentioned as the germ of a monastery. Against its north and south walls are arranged the stalls of the brethren; extended to the east as presbytery it accommodates the High Altar. So far such an arrangement provides all the essentials of a monastic church in its simplest form, and in the minimum space, but the growth of monasticism rendered such a plan inconvenient and almost useless. Length could be obtained easily, and the numerous altars desired were therefore at first placed in the nave between the piers of the nave arcade, as at St. Albans, Ely, and other Romanesque churches. But this was not an entirely satisfactory solution, and for Cistercian churches with many *conversi* hardly a solution at all. As many chapels as possible were therefore removed east of the division between nave and quire and arranged conveniently in the eastern parts of the building, where they were more easily served by the monks, and under their control to an extent hardly possible in the nave. The development under this impetus has just been described. But width was wanted as well as length, elbow-room was badly needed, especially in pilgrim churches where the processions were almost incessant, and the numbers of chapels required continued to

[1] At Canterbury, *c.* 1130, and at Rochester, while the end of the body of the church was apsidal, there were projecting chapels which finished in a rectangular east end.

increase. This was by no means so easily obtained. Here the master-builder spoke with authority and claimed attention. In those steelless days one of the chief factors governing the width which he could span was the length of timber obtainable for the tie-beams of the roof, no

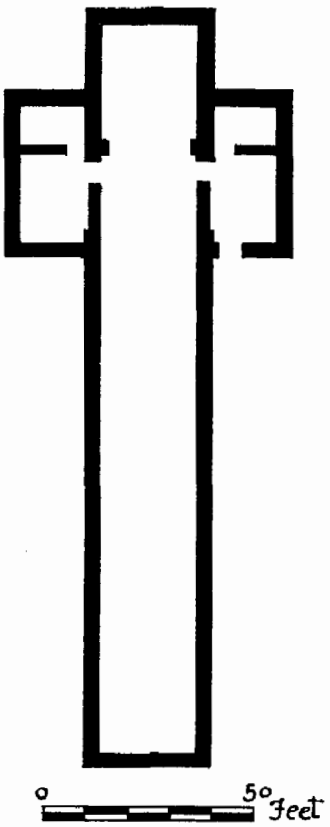


FIG. 16.—WAVERLEY ABBEY. THE FIRST CHURCH.

matter what width the ritualist desired. This limited the clear span, and though the total width of the floor space of nave and quire had long ago been increased by piercing the walls and forming passages parallel with them on the outside, *i.e.* aisles, this did not satisfy the requirements of floor space, of which so much was occupied by the immense diameter of the supports. The solution had therefore to be looked for elsewhere. It

was found in the combination of the development of the transepts with the extension, under later influences, of the eastern limb.

(4) The English Romanesque Transept

The transept was of course no new thing; it appears in an elementary form in the Roman basilicas, in old St. Peter's, and in England in Roman Silchester (Fig. 10). But in that early form it was embryonic only. In the hands of the monastic builders it began to grow vigorously, losing sight of its origin and becoming a new device. Combined with the central tower which crowned the junction of the four arms of the church, it completes the external appearance of the typical Romanesque or Gothic church form, though external beauty of grouping came as a result of development and not of original design.

The early Anglo-Norman transept, like the earlier presbytery, normally had an eastward termination in an apse. At Romsey, Gloucester (Fig. 9), Tewkesbury, Norwich, and Canterbury (Lanfranc's church), there was a single apse, forming the sanctuary of the chapel which had been the germ of the transept. At Lewes, following the model of Cluny, there were two apses to each transept, as also at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. At Canterbury Cathedral (Ernulph's church) the eastern transepts have two apsidal chapels, where the apses are of slight projection externally (Fig. 8). At St. Mary's, York, and at St. Albans, there were two apsidal chapels which were arranged *en échelon*.[1] The transept with apsidal chapels was also used in the early plans of some secular churches, as at York and Southwell.

Parallel with this first type of Romanesque transept was another, which, as in the case of the development of the presbytery, was eventually to supersede the apsidal form and become universal in England. This was the rectangular transept, aisled, and with a flat eastern wall to the chapels instead of an apse or apses. The most important examples are all to be found in Benedictine abbeys unaffected by the plan of the great church at Lewes. At Winchester, as early as *c.* 1079, the transept was set out with an eastern aisle instead of eastern apses; at Ely, *c.* 1090

[1] As also at Furness, prior to 1147, and therefore probably not built under Cistercian influence.

(ground storey); at Durham, *c.* 1093, and at Peterborough, *c.* 1117, great transepts were set out or begun, which in conception and scale were

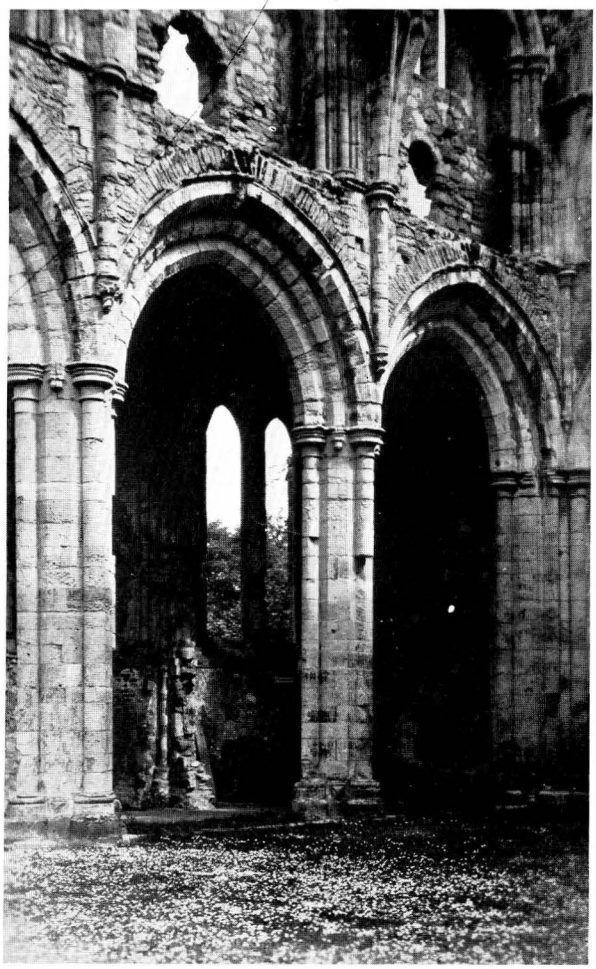


FIG. 17.—NETLEY ABBEY, HANTS. SOUTH TRANSEPTAL CHAPELS.

hardly surpassed in Gothic work. At Durham, and at Peterborough (which followed Durham's plan), there are eastern aisles only, but at Ely and Winchester things were done on a larger scale, and transepts set out with double aisles, and in addition with return aisles to north and

south. At Winchester (Fig. 13) these aisles remain as built. Screen walls divided the chapels from each other and shut them off from the central

FIG. 18.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY, DENBIGH. SOUTH TRANSEPTAL CHAPEL.

space of the transept; while these have disappeared in the north transept of Winchester, their effect can be well seen in the southern. At Ely, in the north transept, solid walls joined each aisle pier to the east wall of the transept, forming self-contained chapels, which thus corresponded with

early Cistercian practice long before that Order had come to England. At Bury St. Edmunds a composite plan was used, the eastern walls of the transepts being flat, but at their extremities both arms projected eastward in elongated chapels with apsidal ends. Such a monastic plan as Winchester or Ely was much in advance of the transeptal arrangements of many important and later Cistercian churches, both here and abroad. It provided a model which the churches of that Order ignored, and to which they did not attain in England until their transept plan was fully expanded, as at Byland, *c.* 1170–77, and Beaulieu, *c.* 1204, preferring to develop strictly from Burgundian sources and under Burgundian influence.

(5) The Romanesque West Front; Narthex and Western Transept

In the early Christian church of the more important kind, such as old St. Peter's, the colonnaded quadrangle of the atrium, later to be moved to one side and form the mediaeval cloister, stood between the body of the church and the public street; as in the Roman house it had stood between the street and the private apartments, forming an approach or vestibule to the latter. In St. Peter's *fuori les muras* the quadrangle has gone, but its 'eastern' side remains against the end of the church, forming a wide narthex or porch.

In the great western narthex of the Burgundian pilgrim churches such as Cluny we have the shrunken remains of the Roman and early Christian forecourt metamorphosed into new magnificence; and in such a church as that of the Benedictine abbey of Tournus is found the prototype of the west porch, narthex, or vestibule from which the Cluniac plan was developed. Tournus was burned in 940, rebuilt, burned again in 1006, rebuilt once more, and reconsecrated in 1019. The narthex is a tower-like building, the lower parts of which show differences of walling as compared with the rebuilt church, which make it probable that this part of the narthex escaped the fire of 1006; in which case it must date from *c.* 940–60, when the first building was completed.[1] But it cannot be later than *c.* 1019. Cluniac examples such as Vezelay and Sou-

[1] *St. Philibert de Tournus*, by l'Abbé Henri Curé; Picard, Paris, 1905. *St. Philibert de Tournus*, by Clement Heaton, *R.I.B.A. Jnl.*, Feb. 1909.

vigny were subsequent developments. The church of Cluny itself was begun 1088–89, pushed forward with the utmost speed, and finished *c.* 1110–11,[1] after which the fore-church was put in hand. The Cluny narthex was like a small church in itself; it was flanked by twin towers at the west end, between which and the abbey church proper was an aisled vestibule six bays long (Fig. 19). In England the western vestibule of this type was never developed to any great extent. There were two important examples, both now ruined: Lewes, *c.* 1147, Cluniac; and Glastonbury, *c.* 1186, Benedictine. At Glastonbury there was a Galilee porch spanning the nave, but not the aisles, and three bays long. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century it was united to the earlier Lady chapel (*c.* 1216), the western bay of the Galilee forming the sanctuary of the Lady chapel.

In the greater Anglo-Norman churches the treatment of the west end formed an important feature of the general design, though taking a different form from the fore-church just referred to. The most usual plan was that in which the western bay of the nave formed a kind of internal porch, over which stood a tower, while the aisles were widened into western transepts to north and south. At Winchester there was a central tower, built regardless of the unsuitability of the subsoil, with 'transepts' on either side, the total width being rather greater than that of the present front. The same plan was used at Ely (Fig. 19) and Bury St. Edmunds (Fig. 19) with greater elaboration. At Bury, *c.* 1096, the total width of the western façade was some 250 feet. There were apsidal chapels to north and south of the aisles, the walls between aisles and chapels being pierced by an archway, not by an open arcade. To the extreme north and south the transept was terminated by small octagonal towers. The incomplete arrangement at Ely resembles in its general lines and octagonal towers the plan of its neighbour, Bury St. Edmunds, but Ely shows only an amended scheme, the mouth of the original vestibule being intended to join up with another fore-porch never built, for which the Galilee porch was eventually substituted. Something resembling the Winchester arrangement seems to have existed at Tewkesbury, and at Westminster the Confessor's church probably had two towers. At Peterborough as at Ely the original design suffered a change. The west-

[1] A rededication took place in 1131, after the fall of the nave vault in 1125.

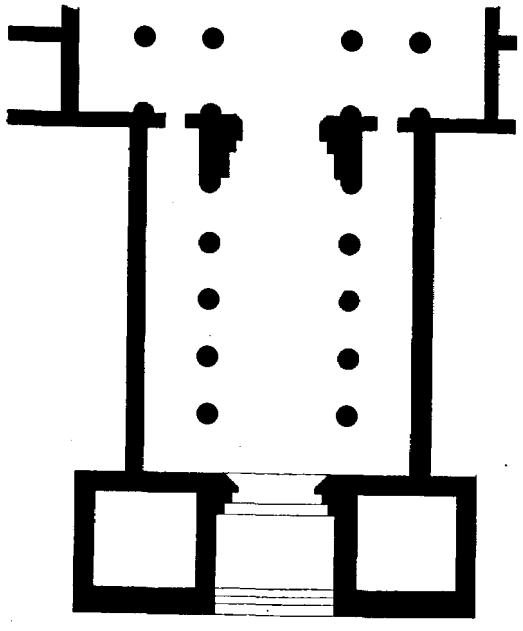
ern transepts, built *c.* 1185, were designed to have a vestibule which they never received, being screened instead by the famous triple caverns projected by Acharius (*c.* 1214); the same who, upon taking over his abbey from the temporary charge of the Bishop of St. Andrews, found the Scots ecclesiastic had removed everything portable, even to the day's provisions. In 1370 the squat central porch was added, a frog between the knees of a giant.

It will be noticed that with the exception of Cluniac Lewes, all the above examples are Benedictine; and also that the English tendency was to follow the original Benedictine type of western narthex, porch, or transept, where it closely adjoined the body of the church, or was actually a part of it, rather than the Cluniac plan of a fore-porch or vestibule.

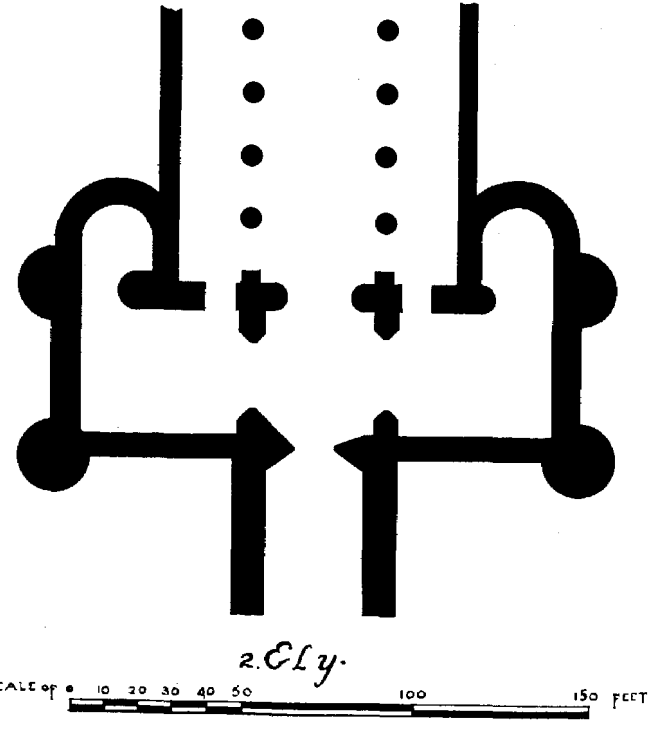
In addition to the tower-porch and western vestibule, there was a third and quite distinct type of narthex imported by the Cistercians. In some of the Burgundian churches of the Order, *e.g.*, Pontigny, there is found a shallow porch across the western façade, with a lean-to roof sloping up to the sill of the west window. It was a feature that remained as undeveloped as unimpressive. It was typically Cistercian in its treatment of means to an end. The Cistercians cannot be accused of many things that are bad in architecture, but this is undeniably one of them. It was not a universal feature in their churches, and in their English houses the tradition languished. This narthex was used at Fountains, Rievaulx, Byland, Newminster, Meaux. At the latter it was twelve feet six inches wide and extended across the end of the church, and was "an afterthought, not contemplated when the south aisle was built, but before the north aisle was finished".[1] In many important churches it does not appear, *e.g.*, Tintern, Kirkstall, Netley, Valle Crucis. It is probable that in Cistercian houses 'remote from the conversation of men' and having no great multitude of pilgrims to accommodate and marshal, the need was not felt, and eschewing the Benedictine traditions of magnificence, the creative stimulus was suppressed where a feature not absolutely necessary was concerned.[2]

[1] W. H. St. J. Hope.—*Fountains.*

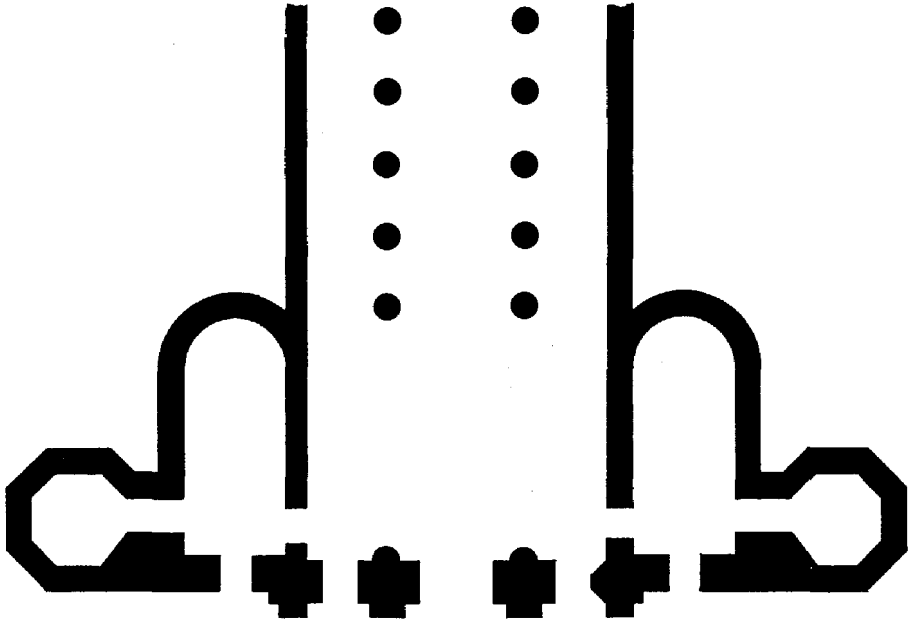
[2] An interior western gallery covering the west entrance is occasionally found, as at Fountains and Buildwas, and probably Beaulieu.



1. Cluny.



2. Ely.



3. Bury St. Edmund's.

FIG. 19.—THE NARTHEX AND WESTERN TRANSEPT.

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(6) The Cistercians: their Arrival and Influence

In 1128 the Cistercian revival reached England; Abbot John and the twelve monks who were to settle the first English Cistercian abbey arriving at Waverley from l'Aumône at the end of November. The monastery was founded by Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, at whose invitation the Cistercians had come, and upon land which he gave them. There they began their buildings, at first temporary ones as in other places, for they were not well endowed and had to live off the land even while they got it under cultivation. The plan of their first church thus shows a simplicity which is in accordance both with the principles of their Order and with their circumstances (Fig. 16). With the firm establishment of the Cistercians the square presbytery plan which they had brought with them from Burgundy began to supplant the older periapsidal plan, thus checking the development of its more complex form, the chevet, which was to be fully expanded in Normandy and the Ile de France. The process was doubtless accelerated by other considerations, such as the resemblance of the Cistercian plan in English eyes to the old parish churches, and not least, that it was much easier and quicker to build a square plan like Waverley or Kirkstall (Fig. 20) than a round one or one where several small circles surrounded a larger. Later Cistercian churches abroad are found with plans showing a complex apsidal development, as at Clairvaux *c.* 1174 and Pontigny *c.* 1200, and some half-dozen others, but the normal plan, generally referred to simply as the Cistercian plan, was the rectangular. In England there were some later isolated instances of the apsidal end: Benedictine at Canterbury Cathedral *c.* 1184, Westminster *c.* 1260, and Tewkesbury; and in Cistercian churches at Croxden *c.* 1184, Beaulieu *c.* 1204, and Hayles (Gloucester) in its final form *c.* 1277. These remained without lasting effect either upon monastic or secular churches. It has already been shown that examples of both the square presbytery and the square-sided transept were in existence in important buildings before the arrival of the Cistercians, and it is here of interest to notice the connection between Waverley and Winchester. Winchester was at that time an advanced plan, and through Giffard alone the new Order must have been aware of the recent work there. But neither in their first nor their second

church at Waverley does any sign appear of such an influence. Nor is this in any way to be expected. Apart from the poverty of the com-

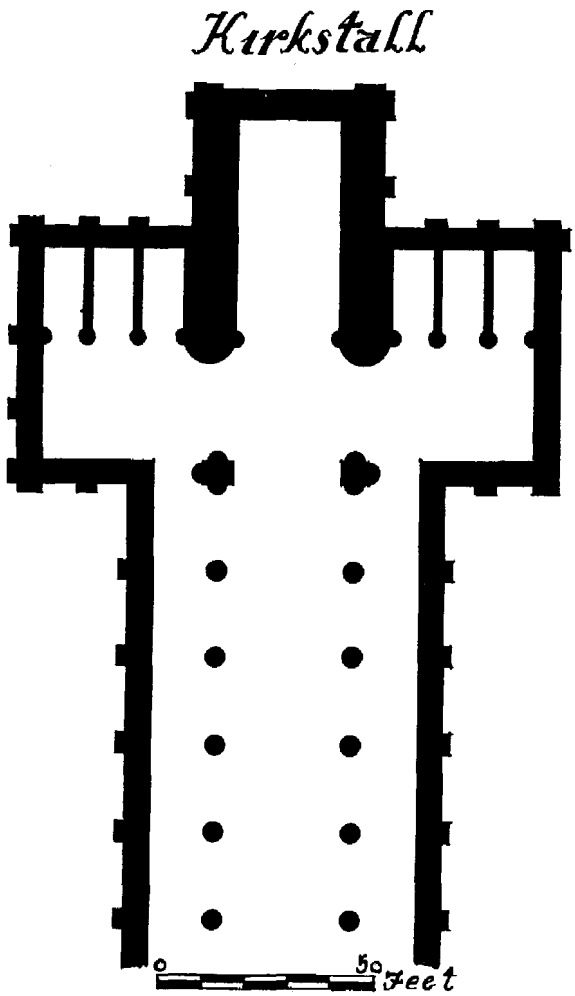


FIG. 20.—KIRKSTALL ABBEY, YORKS. THE QUIRE.

munity, making anything but the simplest structure impossible, the puritan principles of the Order and the recent strictures of Bernard upon the great churches of other Orders[1] prejudiced them against adopting

[1] "I will not speak of the immense height of the churches, of their immoderate length, of their superfluous breadth, costly polishing, and strange designs . . ."

anything from these, and it is not for some years to come that we may look for the beginning of a resemblance amongst the churches of all Orders. But the chief motive power of the Cistercians was the strong

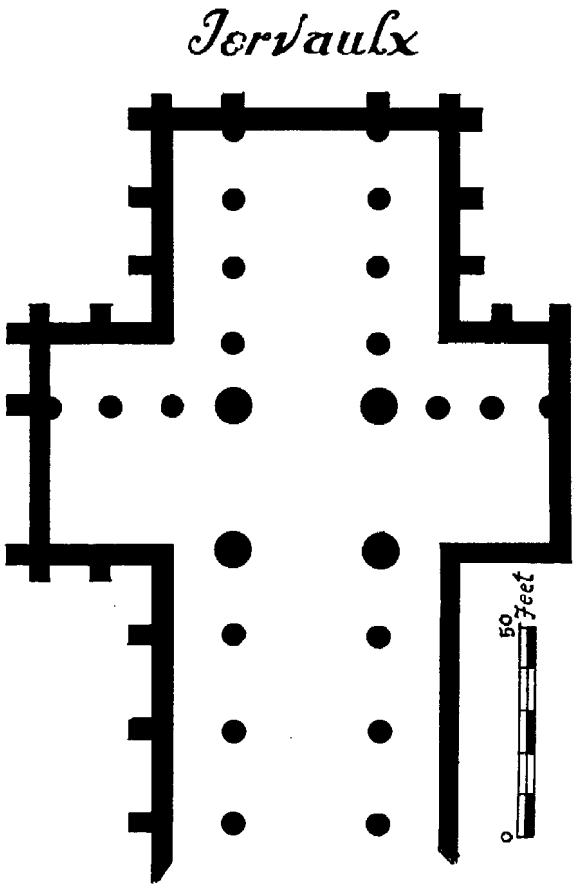


FIG. 21.—JERVAULX ABBEY, YORKS. THE QUIRE.

influence of the monasteries in their native Burgundy, and the discipline which enforced a similarity of arrangement wherever the new colonies settled, in Hungary, in England, or in Norway, and which was only varied under compulsion of circumstances in which they found themselves. The monks who went out to settle the new monasteries were given, in the words of de Lasteyrie, "un certain programme auquel ils

devaient se conformer; dans ses conditions, les édifices par eux bâtis offrent, malgré les différences des détails résultant des ressources locales ou des habitudes de chaque pays, un air de famille dû à l'observation des principes adoptés dans la province d'où l'ordre était sorti . . ."[1]

In the twelfth century the predominating influence in Western European religious architecture was that of the Cistercians. The great enthusiasm which inspired them, the organising ability which characterised them from the first, and their insistence upon fundamentals in building, upon simplicity and economy in plan, directness in construction, and soundness in execution, all combined to this end.

(7) Churches of the Canons Regular and Cistercian Influence

In their plans and in the treatment of their elevations, as well as in decorative detail, the churches of canons' houses—particularly Premonstratensian—frequently possess a familiarly Cistercian air, while they share with the Cistercians the development of the square east end, the Premonstratensian church at Easby exactly resembling the plan of Kirkstall, but with a longer eastern arm. Many of the earlier churches of the Canons Regular were at first without aisles to the nave. Augustinian examples are at Lilleshall and Kirkham, which remained with naves unaisled. Christ Church nave was not originally aisled, and Hexham was at first planned without aisles. Many of their naves are found with a single aisle, as at Bolton, Haughmond, Newstead, Lanercost, Ulverscroft, Brinkburn, Hexham. Amongst Premonstratensian churches, at Eggleston both nave and quire are aisle-less, though the transepts have chapels after the Cistercian model, and St. Radegund's at Bradsole has an aisle-less nave, as also Bayham. Of churches of the same Order with a single aisle there are examples at West Langdon and Torre. In many canons' churches the walls between the presbytery and its adjoining chapels are unpierced, as in early Cistercian plans. The Augustinian church of Lilleshall is an instance of this, and at Bolton even when the extra bay was added in the fourteenth century the presbytery walls remained unpierced. Much the same plan is found amongst the Premonstratensians as at West Langdon. Sometimes the chapels run the full

[1] *Arch. Religieuse*, ii. 101. (Picard, Paris, 1927.)

length of the eastern arm, but the normal arrangement was for the chapels to stop short of the High Altar, which was contained in the eastern projection of the presbytery. St. Radegund's, Bradsole, has long chapels each side of the presbytery (Fig. 15), but stopping considerably short of the east end, though beyond the High Altar. In this church the Lady Chapel is east of the High Altar, and the walls between presbytery and presbytery chapels are pierced by doorways. In the plans of later canons' churches the openings between presbytery and quire take the form of the normal arcade, *e.g.* at Leiston.

Where canons' churches were planned without aisles and with the usual arrangement of cloister and buildings adjoining, it was a matter of some perplexity later on to provide double aisles, unless the convent was prepared to enclose part of the cloister within the church in order to provide space for the adjoining aisle of the nave. To form an aisle on the side opposite to the cloisters offered no difficulty and was frequently done, generally in connection with the rebuilding of the church, when the aisle next the cloister was omitted to avoid encroachment on the cloister; but at Repton (Augustinian), where the cloister was to the north, the nave was rebuilt with both north and south aisles. At Newstead a new nave was planned with double aisles, but the southern adjoining the cloister was abandoned, and a façade was arranged at the west end to create the impression that the nave was symmetrically aisled. While Cistercian influence upon the design of the canons' churches can be traced to a definite extent, the cloisters of their houses owed little to it, these following the normal Benedictine arrangement with minor local variations.

CHAPTER IV

THE CISTERCIAN CHURCH

(1) The Early Plan and its Development

The architectural influences under which Cistercian building in England developed were threefold. Firstly and most important, Burgundian; secondly, English Romanesque; and thirdly, that of the Ile de France and Normandy. When the Cistercians began their work in England in 1128, though they came, so to speak, with plans in their pockets, this plan was not a fixed one. Nine years later in the plan of Fountains, in 1135, it appears still uncertain. Churches of this early period were probably almost entirely free from English Romanesque influence, as it was still customary for monks to be sent from the parent houses of Burgundy to direct building operations, and Fountains was built under the advice of Geoffrey of Ainai, sent from Clairvaux. At Kirkstall, when the new church was begun *c.* 1152 or slightly earlier, we have the early Cistercian plan definitely crystallised under the combined Burgundian and English influences. Burgundian influence is seen in the layout of the plan; in the strict adjustment of means to end in the most direct fashion; in the structural use of the pointed arch; in the transeptal chapel barrel-vaults; in the suppression of the triforium, which was common to the greater English Romanesque churches; and in the absence of the richness of detail at this time. English influence is seen in the general external character of the building; in the design of the ribbed aisle-vaults, and of the supports; and in the design and workmanship of details.

In the later plan, such as Byland, begun *c.* 1177, Burgundian influence has diminished, the French is apparent, and English is most noticeable. Burgundian, *i.e.* Cistercian influence, is seen still in the transeptal

chapel plan, though these are no longer single chapels but bays of an aisle, and in the general ground plan of the quire. French influence is most apparent in the great advance in the transition from a Romanesque to a Gothic conception of a building, and in the surer handling of vaulting, the great problem of the period. English influence is apparent everywhere: in the open transept aisles, in the translation of ground plan into terms of elevation, in the restoration of the triforium (as at Byland and Rievaulx), in the design of supports and arcades, in the treatment of the ambulatory, and in the details of mouldings and ornament.

It is worth notice that before Cistercian building in England lost its definite characteristics it had developed an individual manner, which, while still Cistercian, was yet less closely allied to the traditions of Burgundy than that of other houses of the Order also outside Burgundy. These continued architecturally in closer touch with their source of origin than the English abbeys.

. . . . . .

With the complex plan of the greater Anglo-Norman churches in mind, the simple arrangement of the Cistercians appears at first sight to be a step back; but the early Cistercian plan was the natural outcome of a régime which emphasised simplicity of life. The Cistercians broke away from current Romanesque practice and from its traditions, in contenting themselves, at first, with a plan consisting of a very shallow unaisled presbytery, when the fashion was for a fully aisled quire and a presbytery with ambulatory and periapsidal chapels.

For a time such an arrangement sufficed. There were no pilgrims to congest the church on their way to saints' chapels; no part of the church was used for secular worship (though lay persons were in some cases admitted to the nave); the shallow presbytery allowed of plenty of light round the High Altar, and space enough for the celebrant. Moreover, the experiences of some of the early Cistercian communities had been bitter. At Fountains the first monks had been reduced to eating the leaves of the tree around whose bole they had made their hut; and at Waverley they had been harassed by famine and frequent flood. Such memories would pass into tradition and have their reflection in other things, and simplicity of plan would have the additional recommendation of economy.

The plan of the first English church at Waverley (Fig. 16) has already been referred to. This plan, though a considerable advance upon the first plans of the Burgundian abbeys of Cîteaux and Pontigny, which were small rectangular buildings, was embryonic only, neither nave nor transepts being aisled, and the latter containing one cell-like chapel apiece, the germ of the later aisle. But for a plan typical of the Cistercian church of the earlier kind (prior to the extension of the quire) no better example can be found than Kirkstall, begun *c.* 1152. In this plan (Fig. 20) all the regular features are found. There is an aisled nave, transepts with a row of eastern chapels, each completely shut off from its neighbour, and the innermost from the presbytery. There is the short presbytery, with walls unrelieved by arcading or any form of decoration. Against the east wall in stark simplicity stood the High Altar. In this type of plan the monks had their stalls under the crossing, and the quire which contained them extended into the first bay or bays of the nave. The transeptal chapels vary considerably in number. The extremes are found at Waverley and at Lysa (Norway), where there was only one to each transept, and at La Ferté-sur-Grosne,[1] where there were four. Three were common, *e.g.* Kirkstall, Fountains, Furness, Strata Florida,[2] Beaulieu,[3] Jervaulx, Byland, and others. Two was the most usual number, as at Roche, Bindon, Valle Crucis (Fig. 18), Dore, Buildwas, Netley (Fig. 17), and many other places, and abroad at Clairvaux and Pontigny. All these were rectangular transepts, and in England Cistercian transepts with apsidal chapels are not found.[4] In Fountains, begun *c.* 1135 (Fig. 26), there is an exceptional arrangement of the transeptal chapels adjoining the presbytery. Here is probably the Cistercian simplified version of the Romanesque apsidal chapels arranged *en échelon* to the transept. At Fountains the innermost chapels project eastward of the transept but are squared off, forming rectangular stepped projections instead of apsidal ones.

An advance was made in the transept plan when in place of a solid structural wall between the transepts, full height, a lower wall was used, thus allowing the aisle to be open along the upper part, as at Valle

[1] Saône-et-Loire.
[2] Wales.
[3] Beaulieu was founded by King John: "the one good deed of his life", in the words of Matthew Paris.
[4] See note, p. 67.

Crucis and Netley, where the perpeyn walls were not an integral part of the aisle piers. (At Fontenay an ingenious device of a converse kind was employed to the same end, the lower parts of the partition walls being opened and arched, thus making the aisle continuous on the ground level.)[1] A further step was taken when the hitherto unpierced wall between presbytery and chapel was opened, as at Jervaulx (Fig. 21), and the aisle opened, as at Roche. At Dore (Fig. 22), *c.* 1170–75, an interesting

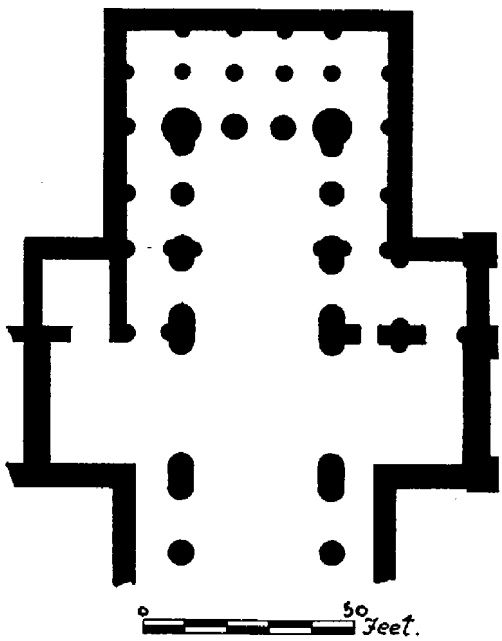


FIG. 22.—DORE ABBEY, HEREFORD. THE QUIRE.

example is found of consecutive stages of development within the same walls. The northern transept, the earlier, has its two chapels divided by solid walls, whereas the southern, slightly later and probably contemporary with Byland (*c.* 1177), has the open aisle.

Single eastern aisles remained the rule in English Cistercian transepts. Exceptions are at Beaulieu, where the north transept has double aisles, and at Byland, which has the completely developed plan with double open aisles to each transept. In this development of transeptal

[1] J. Bilson, *Architecture of the Cistercians*, p. 206, *note*.

chapels, from the self-contained and enclosed cell, until at length they become open aisles but for light screens, the Cistercians begin to show an approximation to the practice in other Orders and in secular churches, a tendency which eventually was to deprive their work of its characteristic features.

(2) The Later Cistercian Church

The typical plan of their early churches provided the Cistercians with solutions for many of their problems. But there was one requirement which pressed upon all Orders alike, and with particular urgency upon the Cistercians. This was the need for more room in the quire. The lay-brethren had their stalls in the nave, and at this time they were numerous; it was not feasible to include more bays of what was often a short nave in the quire. The alternative was to extend eastwards. Both the growth of the Order and the beginning of architectural rivalry furthered the idea. The eastern limb was shallow, and the quires seemed, as at Fountains, poor and unworthy of the community. The monks were cramped, and, with the increase of those who proceeded to Orders, more altars were wanted.[1] Dissatisfied for one reason and another with their Romanesque quires, there began a great development eastward of the quire and presbytery, a development shared by all communities. Canterbury had long before (*c.* 1130) begun this development in Conrad's quire, and again in 1174 it was continued, but in an exceptional form. The Cistercians in their new extended quires adhered to the square east end, and it was in their persistent and energetic use of this plan that they exercised a definite influence upon English building. But in this they were not alone. At St. Frideswide's, now Oxford Cathedral, the Augustinians (*c.* 1155–75) built an aisled quire and beyond it an unaisled presbytery. At St. Cross, Winchester (*c.* 1165),[2] was built a short aisled quire, the roof of which was continued at the same level as that of nave and transepts, probably the earliest example of what was to become a characteristic feature of the later Gothic church. This work, both at St.

[1] According to the Benedictines of St. Maur who visited Clairvaux in 1708, there was an ancient custom "qui ne permettoit pas de dire en un même jour deux messes sur un même autel". (*Voyage littéraire*, vol. 1, part 1, p. 186. Quoted by J. Bilson, *Arch. of the Cistercians.*)

[2] The sacristy and north transept were the first parts begun, contrary to usual practice.

Cross and at St. Frideswide's, was in progress at the same time as that of the Cistercians in the north, and the two important cities of Winchester

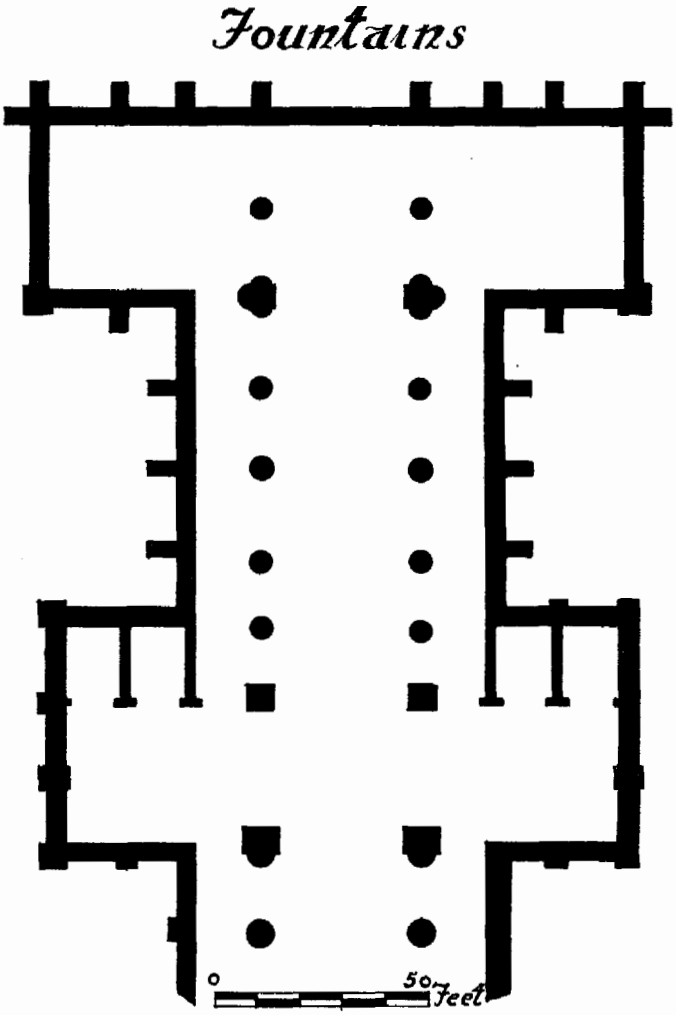


FIG. 23.—FOUNTAINS ABBEY, YORKS. THE QUIRE.

and Oxford were favourable centres for spreading the knowledge of the work done. It is evident that there was parallel development, in which the south had the earlier start but the north went the greater distance.

With their quires lengthened and aisled, the Cistercians adopted the ambulatory as a regular part of their new plan. The early Benedictine square ambulatory at Romsey has been mentioned, ante-dating by some years the arrival of the Cistercians, but it was not until nearly half a century later that they found it necessary to use this plan. Then at Byland *c.* 1177–1200 the new church was planned with a return-aisle behind the High Altar in five bays, allowing the same number of chapels in addition to those in the presbytery side aisles. At Dore *c.* 1200 the old presbytery was extended, but instead of a single return-aisle it was doubled, allowing a free passage between the chapels and the altar; but the double ambulatory was not included within the presbytery itself, and was covered with a lean-to roof in the old Cistercian manner. The difference between the two plans lies in the position of the High Altar. At Byland, with a single return-aisle, the altar stood in the second bay of the presbytery proper, the first bay forming the ambulatory behind it. At Dore, owing to the two aisles east of it, the altar was able to stand against the eastern gable wall of the presbytery. At Jervaulx the altar stood in the western half of the second bay, with the ambulatory behind it, as at Byland. In these later churches the English plan of continuing the high roof of the presbytery to the end of the building was adopted, thus bringing the central eastern chapels within the presbytery walls, as at Rievaulx. This plan was followed also at Netley *c.* 1239 and at Tintern *c.* 1269, and formed the final arrangement of the English Cistercian quire: a high gable at the east end, eastern chapels and ambulatory under the main roof, a free-standing High Altar in a fully aisled presbytery.

The numbers of eastern chapels varied: at later Waverley, at Byland, Dore, Rievaulx, and Pipewell, three chapels were placed in the width of the quire, with one in each of the aisle ends, giving five in all, the maximum number. Where there were double aisles, as abroad at Cîteaux and at Ebrach, six are found, though on the English arrangement of three chapels in the middle these churches would have had seven each.

There remains a further and striking Cistercian development to be mentioned. This is the exceptional plan of Fountains (Fig. 23). Here a double, eastern or quire transept was planned, *c.* 1220–40. Its purpose, again, was to provide space for more altars. Nine were placed in this

new transept.[1] It remained unique amongst Cistercian churches, but it possessed attractions great enough to induce the wealthy Benedictines of Durham to copy it twenty years later (*c.* 1242–1280) in their Cathe-

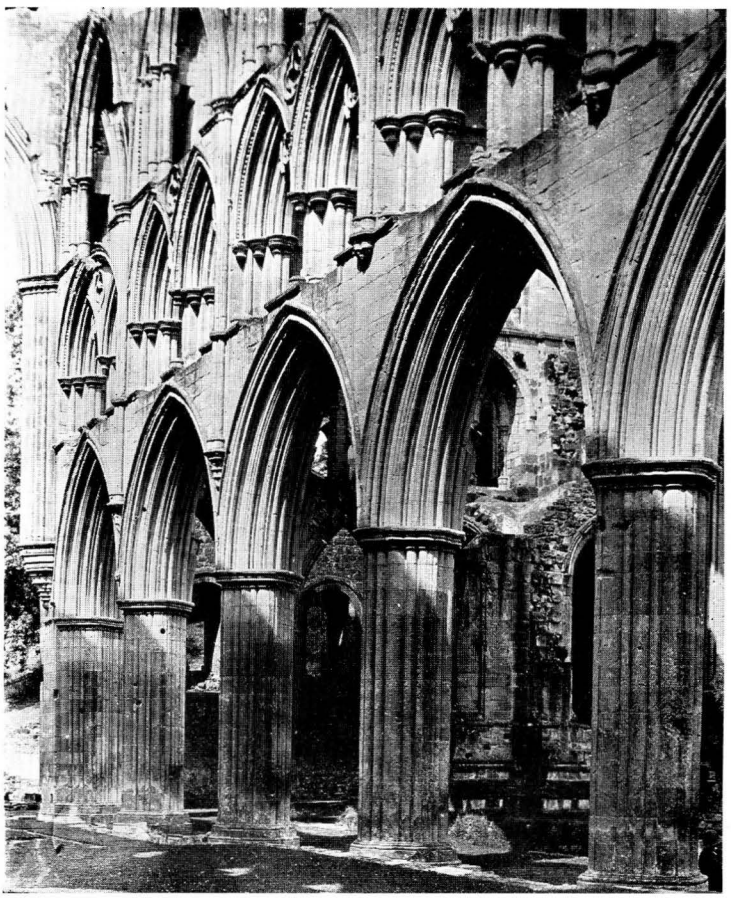


FIG. 24.—RIEVAULX ABBEY, YORKS. THE QUIRE FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

dral priory. This eastern limb was a solution in the grand manner of the problems set by the need for altars, processional facilities, and an unencumbered presbytery. Its name at Durham, the 'chapel of the nine

[1] This eastern 'transept' is really a unique development of the ambulatory to north and south of the presbytery.

altars', expresses its purpose and its use. Practically adequate, internally beautiful, but externally unimpressive, its origin at the hands of the Cistercians shows how far they had travelled from their first simplicity.

After the quire and eastern transept of Fountains comes the pure and lovely quire of Rievaulx in the mid-thirteenth century (Fig.24), which, with Tintern, shows design by the Cistercians at its most beautiful, though no longer displaying the dogmatic severity characteristic of their earlier days. Age began to soften them, as it had softened their predecessors in reform. In the later churches of the Order, altars were found as numerous as in any Benedictine house; and the old practice of chapels in the nave was followed to a considerable extent by the Cistercians when their naves were no longer needed by the lay-brethren, *e.g.* at Fountains, where there were nine altars in the aisles west of the crossing, exclusive of the two between pulpitum and retro-quire.

While the chief importance of Cistercian planning lies in their arrangement of transept and quire, the west front and its design is also of interest. Here also they differed from others, and their western elevations were remarkable for general simplicity, lacking the elaboration of towers, which are a prominent feature in the churches of the secular clergy and of the Orders generally. A large circular window is sometimes found, as at Byland, and the round window was a favourite Cistercian form of opening, deriving from Burgundy. Valle Crucis (Fig. 25) shows an elevation typical of a Cistercian abbey church of moderate size. The window here contains an early example of bar-tracery. Cistercian statutes, as has been often mentioned, forbade amongst many other things stone bell-towers[1] or very high wooden ones; and no English church of their Order had the double western towers of other communities. A low tower over the crossing (where it had a sound constructional excuse) is frequently found. At Fountains after an unsuccessful and nearly disastrous effort to build over the crossing, a late tower was built to the north transept (Fig. 26). At Furness there was a single western tower. With English builders towers were always much loved,

[1] Bells were at first two in number, the greater not exceeding 500 lb., and they were never to be rung together. The greater was rung when the lay-brethren were to be present, and the lesser at canonical hours.

and while some of the largest Cistercian churches abroad contented themselves with a flèche, the statute forbidding towers was largely dis-

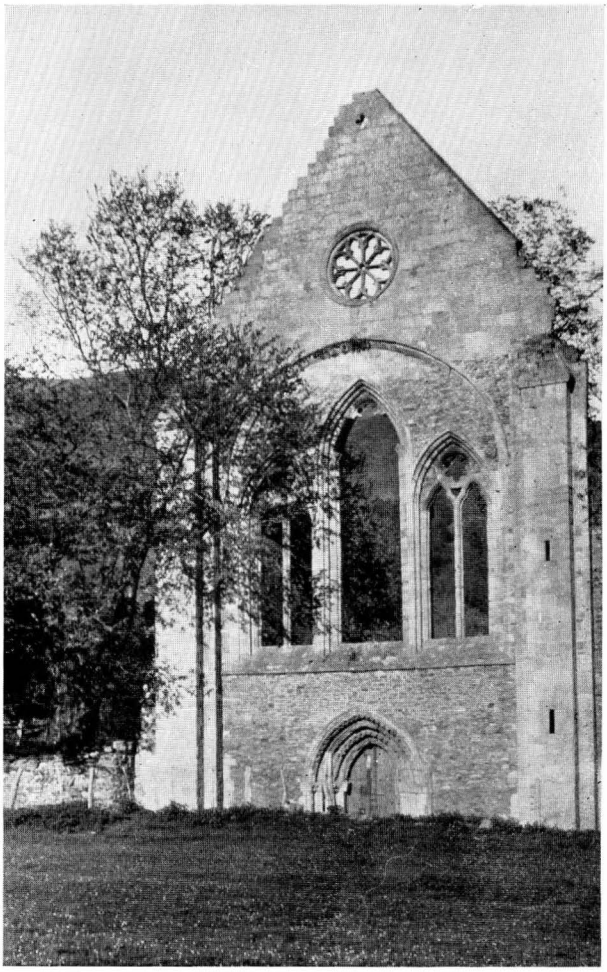


FIG. 25.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY, DENBIGH. THE WEST FRONT.

regarded in their English houses, which continued happily building them, though of no great elaboration.

By the middle of the thirteenth century the characteristic work of the Cistercians was finished, and long before that time the severity of their

design had been much relaxed. Their radical innovations had become familiar to all, their sound construction had schooled many, their influence on design had permeated the whole body of architecture. The ardour which inspired the Order in its prime, and caused their churches to rise "as though animated by a spirit", never lapsed into shoddiness of construction through undue haste; while their rejection alike of complicated structural arrangements and of ornament for its own sake, combined with a real enthusiasm for building, under keen intellectual direction, enabled studied simplicity to produce an almost unimpeachable art-form, whose importance and influence it would be difficult to overestimate.

(3) Screens and Screen-Walls

In all monastic churches screens formed an extremely important feature of the internal subdivision, but to no Order were they so essential as to the Cistercian. Some account of the various screens and screen-walls may therefore, perhaps, be grouped conveniently with the preceding outline of the Cistercian church.

Simple or elaborate, the monastic church was divided into two well defined parts, the western and the eastern. The eastern part consisted of the transepts, crossing, quire, and presbytery, and in early days of the eastern bay or bays of the nave. The western part consisted of the nave and aisles west of the rood-screen. The eastern parts were devoted to the use of the monks, or in canons' houses to the clergy. The nave was used by the lay-brethren in those Orders which possessed them, and formed their quire. Where there were no lay-brethren, the laity generally used the western part of the nave, which in some cases, as at Boxgrove[1] and Wymondham,[2] was actually the parish church. To effect this subdivision of a church some form of partition or screen was necessary; and it is not always fully realised, perhaps, to how great an extent these screens—often walls of masonry—affected the internal appearance of a great church. In the mediaeval monastic church the screen-walls were solid for a considerable height, in some cases up to the clerestory. They were pierced only by doors which were normally closed.

Of the many screens, the most important was that dividing nave and

[1] Cell to Lessay. [2] Cell to St. Albans.

quire. This was a double screen separated by a space known as the retro-quire. The pulpitum formed the eastern screen, the rood-screen the western. The retro-quire between them varied in width. At Valle

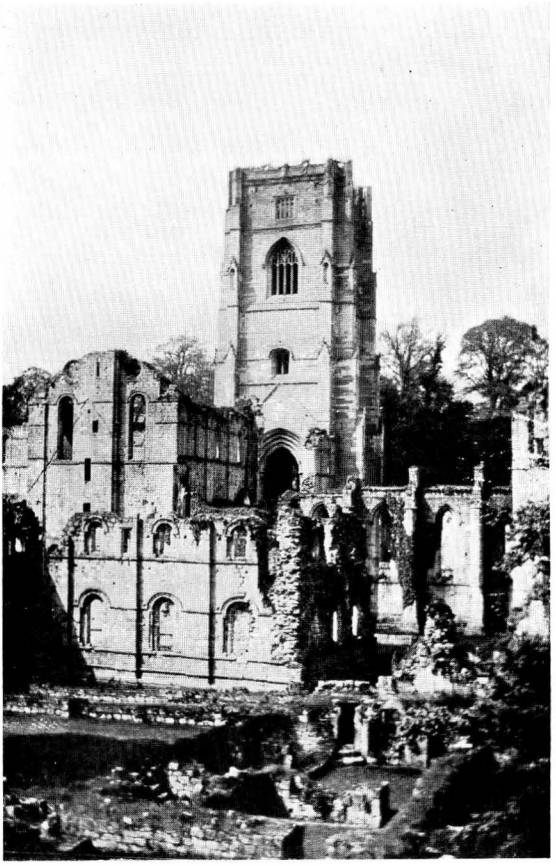


FIG. 26.—FOUNTAINS ABBEY, YORKS. THE TOWER.

Crucis it took one bay of the nave, at Fountains (Fig. 23) it occupied two with the altars of the pulpitum. One bay was the normal. In some cases the pulpitum itself was a double screen taking a whole bay of the nave, as at Kirkstall and Fountains. In the retro-quire sat the older monks and those in poor health. The position of the pulpitum was west of the quire stalls, and therefore varied according to the length and

position of the quire. In Cistercian churches, particularly at first when the monks sat in the crossing, as at Valle Crucis and Fountains and elsewhere, the pulpitum was necessarily west of the crossing and in the nave—where it remains in the Benedictine church of Gloucester. Where the stalls were in the quire east of the crossing and transepts, then the pulpitum closed off the eastern limb from the transepts and crossing, as at Canterbury. The pulpitum held originally two lecterns (from which were read the Gospel and Epistle) standing on a broad platform, and in some cases an altar or 'a pair of organs'[1] was placed on the platform. The pulpitum had a single door in the middle, on each side of which stood an altar. The rood-screen west of the pulpitum and retro-quire had over it the rood-loft and the great rood. Instead of the single door of the pulpitum it had two doors, one at each side and an altar between them. This altar formed the chief nave altar, and was variously known as the Jesus Altar, the Altar of the Cross, or of the Rood.

From the nave of the church little would be seen of the quire or presbytery beyond a glimpse of the roof in the distance; the vista was blocked by the rood-screen and the pulpitum behind it. From the transepts the quire was shut off by screen-walls with a single door to north and south, known as the upper quire doors, or *ostia chori*. At Canterbury these walls were originally faced with slabs of marble. At Rochester the walls remain. Valle Crucis retains almost complete the wall between the quire and the north transept. The nave aisles were shut off from the transepts by walls or screens pierced by a single door; one of these remains at Valle Crucis between the north aisle and transept, where also part of the stone pulpitum with its staircase still stands (Fig. 27). At Croyland the rood-screen remains, and at St. Albans and at Tynemouth. At Lilleshall (Augustinian) foundations remain of both screens.

In Cistercian churches, in addition to the screens or screen-walls mentioned, there were very generally walls running east and west between the piers of the nave arcade, enclosing the nave from the aisles. Against these walls were placed the stalls of the lay-brethren, following in their arrangement the monks' stalls in the quire. These walls were

[1] There appear to have been organs on the pulpitum loft at Fountains, Furness, Tintern, Roche, and Buildwas. At Meaux there were organs in the west end of the church as well as smaller organs on the pulpitum.

continued in some cases down the nave westwards as far as the last bay, this being left open to allow of free circulation. Fig. 27 shows part of

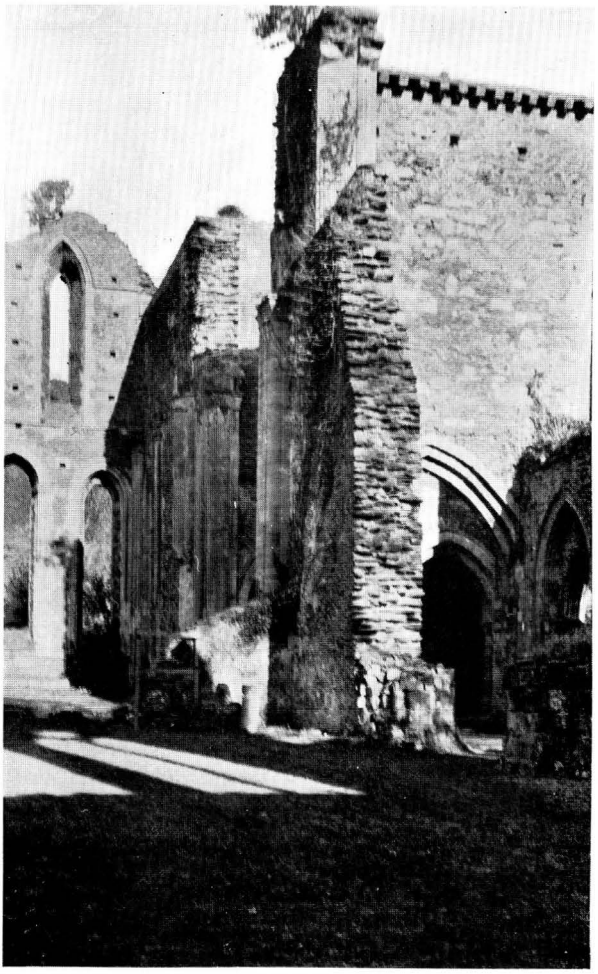


FIG. 27.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY, DENBIGH.
THE QUIRE AND PRESBYTERY FROM NAVE.

one of these walls at Valle Crucis rising without a break up to the clerestory window. To modern ideas, a church thus subdivided loses in architectural effect: the aisles almost shut off from the nave, the nave

invisible from the quire, or the quire from the transepts, and the transepts again closed from the aisles. The difference between the church as we see it to-day and as it appeared when being put to its designed use is enormous. But the monastic church was designed for constant use, for living in, not primarily for looking at, and the aesthetic aspect of the 'long-drawn aisle' was a secondary consideration. While size and splendour were admittedly sought in some Orders, yet the primary considerations were practical ones, and to these effect took second place. In a properly conducted house complete seclusion for monks of the quire was an essential, and with different services taking place simultaneously in nave and quire, or with people walking and talking in the nave and perhaps voices raised in forensic disputation in the porch, together with the barking of dogs which freely entered the churches, no quietude could be obtained so long as these were open to each other. Screen-walls ensured complete seclusion, even though the lay-brethren might be holding a service in the nave and priests saying their private masses in the chapels. The quire of an early Cistercian church when the screens were complete must have possessed an utter quietude. Shut off from aisles, transepts, and nave, it formed a church within a church, and few sounds from without would disturb its peace (Fig. 54).

The Black Death of 1349 accelerated the disappearance of the lay-brethren from the Cistercian organisation. In some cases they had been found difficult to handle and inclined to be unruly, partly no doubt owing to the nature of their work on the abbey lands at a distance making discipline hard to enforce, but chiefly owing to the dearth of recruits for the monastery and the great demand for labour outside. By the end of the century they seem to have ceased to be a part of the Order. This resulted in a definite step forward in the growing resemblance of Cistercian customs to the normal monastic usage. The labour provided by their lay-brethren having ceased, they had to employ hired servants like other Orders. In one respect they were probably at a disadvantage, in having fewer bondmen on their lands, as in the earlier days when endowments had been showered on the monastic houses by feudal lords the Cistercians had set their faces against gifts of serfs and villeins with the lands granted to them, while such endowments were accepted by their contemporaries. Later instances are to be found of religious houses

purchasing outright the labourer or craftsman they required, as in the thirteenth century at Lewes, when the priory bought Aylwin of Seaford, a soap-maker, for the sum of one hundred shillings.

The plan of Cistercian churches was also affected by the disappearance of the *conversi*, since now that there were no services to be held for them in the nave it was possible for many of the screen-walls to be taken down. It had been usual to build these with a straight joint between them and the constructional member against which they abutted; *i.e.* where screen-walls finished against an ashlar pier or arch, they were not built in bond with each other. This enabled the screens to be removed easily and without damage to the structure. The result of this clearance, allied with the increasing disregard or lax interpretation of the rules forbidding sculpture, ornament, and colour, brought later Cistercian churches like Tintern appreciably closer in internal resemblance to the normal.

The screens in Benedictine churches other than the pulpitum and rood-screen were generally less solid than the Cistercian; at Durham the screen at the end of the north aisle is thus described: 'a trelles-doure with two leves, and above it was likewise trellessed almost to the height of the vault above; and on the highte of the said trellesse was stricken full of iron piks, of a quarter of a yard long, to th' entent that none should clyme over it; and was lock't evermore . . .'

Against the loss of vista and perspective caused by the solid screen-walls must be set the consideration that the various subdivisions would afford a much more furnished appearance, and somewhat diminish the bleakness of a great monastic church, often only partly glazed and entirely unheated, the gelid cold of which on a winter's night can be imagined. At Peterborough in 1214 Lyndesheye, the sacrist, glazed over thirty windows which for many years had only been stuffed with reeds and straw. But even with this improvement the cold during the winter was so intense that in 1250 the Pope gave permission for the monks to perform their services hooded. Though the cold remained, to the eye at least the chill bareness of masonry was relieved by the carved and painted woodwork of the stalls, the hangings in the chapels, the frescoes, pictures, coloured walls and mouldings, gilded and painted caps to the shafts, stained glass and banners, and the sparkle of jewels on the altars.

CHAPTER V

THE LATER MONASTIC CHURCH

(1) The Final Plan

In the little quire of St. Cross, already mentioned, lies the germ of the later monastic as well as secular Gothic church, which was to develop into the magnificence of York, Ely, Lincoln, and old St. Paul's, though independently of this source. The plan of Kirkstall, Oxford, and Lanercost, with a projecting unaisled presbytery, though convenient enough to be retained until much later in some canons' churches, was now to give place to the final arrangement of a fully aisled quire and presbytery, finishing in an eastern wall with a high gable, and with the high vault extending up to it. The Cistercians fell into line, and in their last churches in the north, which still retained some tincture of their old individualism, they abandoned the external ambulatory of Byland, and in Jervaulx and Rievaulx the aisles ran full length. At Hexham, *c.* 1180–1210, the Augustinians built their quire on this plan, as also the Benedictines of Whitby *c.* 1200. At Ely in 1235 there was begun on the grand scale a new presbytery embodying and developing the features experimented with elsewhere. Contemporary with this was the fine quire of Boxgrove Priory in Sussex, unusually spacious in its effect and uncommon in its design. The presbytery of Old St. Paul's, *c.* 1240, followed. Ely was finished in 1252; and Lincoln, begun *c.* 1255, was obviously influenced by it. The presbytery of Lincoln was partly done by 1280, but delayed until *c.* 1320 for completion. To southern Cistercian abbeys the plan was sent from the north, and it is found at Netley, in 1239, and Tintern, finished 1288. In the north the influence of Ely and Lincoln affected the secular church of Ripon, *c.* 1288–1300, and the two houses

of Austin canons, Guisborough, *c.* 1289–1309, and Carlisle, *c.* 1292–1322, all of which were remodelling their churches upon the new plan; as also Selby Abbey, *c.* 1280–1300. The collegiate church of Howden (Fig. 28) continued its use in *c.* 1330, and it persisted until the end of English Gothic in the last of the abbeys, Bath, in the early sixteenth century. The quire of York Minster, begun 1361, shows in its most superb development the final shape of the English mediaeval church.

FIG. 28.—HOWDEN CHURCH, YORKS.
NAVE AND TOWER, WITH REMAINS OF QUIRE AND CHAPTER-HOUSE.

This is the truly Gothic plan; solids economised, supports systematised, loads collected at definite points, thrusts articulated and led to their designed abutments, as against the Romanesque conception of thick walls throughout, upon which the heavy vault lay as a lid, distributing the superincumbent weight impartially over the whole area of foundations too often inadequate.

Within the church the eye is carried from end to end, along nave arcade, triforium, clerestory, from the crossing to the east window, without alteration of levels. With the double transeptal aisles of Ely and York the whole interior forms a unit as satisfying structurally as archi-

tecturally. Without, the high ridge sweeps unbroken from east to west, save where it is interrupted, with magnificent effect, by the central tower.

Thus by the middle of the fourteenth century or a very little later, the ground plan of the monastic church had reached full development in its internal disposition. By the end of the third quarter of the century it had entered everywhere upon the last phase of its development in the third dimension; the final branches of the lovely tree of its growth showed the colour and shape of their beauty. Development was to proceed under two main and complementary impulses: economy of material and of unskilled labour (the day of mass-building was long over) and an insatiable demand for the new stained glass. Walls were reduced to a shell of the old Anglo-Norman thickness; piers were brought down from a diameter of fifteen feet in old Durham to a mere five or six at Exeter; vaults were loftier, and instead of the crushing weight of a thick Romanesque groined vault, there was the thin panel of a ribbed and (later) of the fan vault, which in their turn had allowed the attenuation of supports.

The gloom of the great Romanesque churches, still speaking so eloquently if harshly of the *furor Normannorum* which closely compacted them, was gone; barely illuminated on a summer's noon-day, they had given place to a building whose interior was a glow of soft light and rainbow shadow from dawn until the descending evening.

(2) The Last Monastic Development

The essential principle underlying the construction of the Gothic church is that of building in equipoise by means of opposing abutment. So long as this principle be observed the fundamentals of Gothic remain, no matter how many non-essential features may be discarded, battlements, pinnacles, traceried windows, or the pointed arch itself. Hence the constant tendency to move or drift in a mediaeval church, the unceasing effort to overturn its abutments, its so-called 'sudden' threats, and, once failure has been allowed to set in, its too often rapid collapse. Hence the old saw anent the unsleeping arch. A classic building may decay or be removed piecemeal; so long as the remainder

stands plumb it may abide the centuries, inert. But the great Gothic church is alive with imprisoned forces upon whose continued duress depends its stability.

This principle, implicit in all Gothic work, was finally stated in such plain language at Gloucester, *c.* 1350, that none could fail to understand, and thence it began, slowly at first but with increasing sureness and facility, to change the fashion of English building into a unanimity plainly evidencing the acceptability of the new style for great work and small alike.

In 1327 the body of the murdered Edward II was buried in Gloucester Abbey by Abbot Thoky and his Benedictines. It had been refused, "for fear of Roger de Mortimer and Queen Isabella and their accomplices", by the three monasteries of St. Augustine's, Bristol; St. Mary's, Kingswood; and St. Aldhelm's, Malmesbury. However unkingly his life, Abbot Thoky gave Edward royal burial in the ambulatory, "hard by the high altar". He was worshipped as a saint, and reports began to spread of miracles worked at the tomb. Gloucester rapidly became a centre of national pilgrimage, almost outstripping Walsingham or Canterbury. The offerings made at the shrine were enough, it was said, to have rebuilt the entire church. As it was, a very large part underwent a complete reconstruction. Fortune favoured the monastery of Gloucester in the fourteenth century. The possession of the tomb of Edward II brought the wealth of which a school of masons possessing undoubted genius was ready to make full use. They were well on with the new work before the Black Death appeared, and of all the places where work of importance was in progress at the time of the worst visitation of the pestilence, Gloucester appears to have been one of those least affected. In 1337 the new south transept was finished, and following that the quire was rebuilt, largely from the offerings made by Edward III, Queen Philippa, the Black Prince, and the Queen of Scots. It was finished, together with the glazing of the east window, about 1350. The glass is said to have cost one shilling a square foot.

In this famous quire were initiated the changes which had been foreshadowed by the Augustinians of Bristol and which were to characterise the last phase of English monastic architecture. Thrown open to the astonished gaze of pilgrims of all classes, some of them, naturally,

masons and glaziers in their own parts of the country, the description of the new marvels of Gloucester was carried far and wide through the counties.

. . . . . .

The Perpendicular style, better named than most, coincided to some extent with revival of interest in the parish church and the return of its priest to popular favour, together with the increasing fashion for the founding of chantries. Though strictly there is no necessary connection between a chantry and a special building, in practice the chapels which were built to facilitate the duties of the priest attached to the chantry show how excellently the Perpendicular style was adaptable to small work as well as the greater. It is, indeed, in the parish churches, almost more than in the cathedrals or monasteries, that we find the most complete exposition of the style, and skeleton construction can be as completely seen in such churches as St. Mary's at Bury St. Edmunds and St. Nicholas at Lynn as in any greater building. Perpendicular churches were built under the dominating influence of the glassmaker; to their internal effect stained glass is essential, and by this they must be judged. Nothing is less comfortable than a big fifteenth-century church whose windows have only clear glass in them. The new glass which paralleled the new style was in keeping with it. As solids had been lightened in mass so the glass became lighter in colour. Silver stain and much shrine and tabernacle work in white and pale gold, with pictures in colour, contrasted strongly with the old tradition of thick, deeply coloured and opaque glass; though before the end, windows were to darken again under Flemish influence.

The Perpendicular style satisfied everyone except the modern antiquary, who too often sees instead of a solution of difficulties a mere shirking of them, and in the splendid work at Gloucester, Winchester, Canterbury, York, Westminster, and elsewhere, mere steps in progressive decline. The cleric under whose patronage it was developed, approved; the layman approved it on the same grounds as he would to-day, the commonsense ones of more light and space. The mason approved it, because while opening new possibilities in design and calling for greater skill of craft and workmanship then ever before, he had at last got his troublesome ally the buttress under proper control; he had

rid himself of the vexatious (and to him obviously unnecessary) curves of flamboyant tracery,[1] and his church stood finally a unit throughout, a thing at one with itself. The man of the moment, the glass-maker, must have been more satisfied than any. Here was a field to work upon unparalleled in area by anything which had preceded it, and he had openings to fill which caused him no tribulation in design. No more than the craftsman of to-day did the average mediaeval worker find joy in making difficulties for the sake of solving them.

Once it was recognised that the walls between the points of support were no longer functional but merely curtain walls, which might be left solid, reduced in thickness and area, or entirely removed but for straining pieces below the parapet, and replaced by a film of stained glass suspended in the opening between the buttresses, the enlarging of voids went on apace (Fig. 30). But this could only safely be done so long as the supports remained stout enough to take the great load of the stone vault passing vertically down through the piers of the arcades, and the abutment to transmit its outward parabolic thrust through the raking shore of the flying buttress obliquely to earth. It may be noticed here that the flying buttress never found favour with the Cistercians, who took no chances in their construction; nor was it ever developed in England to anything like the same extent as in France. Beautiful though they made it, the flying buttress seems with English builders to have been adopted under protest, developed with distrust, and where possible abandoned with thankfulness (Figs. 31, 32).

As the area of glass increased, the mullions were strengthened, becoming sometimes, as in Gloucester east window, minor buttresses; they were doubled for strength internally together with the transom, as at Beverley (Fig. 33); subsidiary transoms and super-mullions were added as height grew, the tracery became simplified into the familiar later Gothic form (Fig. 34), and buttresses flanking great windows in projecting transepts increased in depth as the thrust of the window head became of account. In England, fortunately, the wall never entirely lost its importance; however large the window, enough plain surface was generally retained to form a frame for the tracery and to rest the eye.

[1] In the well-known east window of Carlisle, *c.* 1380, the tracery curves are struck from no less than 263 centres. (See *Carlisle*, by R. W. Billings.)

Where this is omitted, as in the east window of the Lady Chapel at Gloucester, the result is unsatisfactory and restless.

But though the Perpendicular style was to spread over the whole of England, and to last longer than all other styles of Gothic combined, it made way but slowly in some places of importance. In the great Benedictine monasteries of Tewkesbury, Ely, Worcester, Malmesbury, and in the Augustinian Cathedral Priory of Carlisle, beautiful work of traditional fourteenth-century manner continued to be developed. Even at Bristol, the inspiration of Gloucester, window tracery clung to the current curvilinear design. In East Anglia such survivals were frequent for some years to come. It was in such cases that the Black Death was to leave its most marked effect upon Gothic architecture.

Amongst the clergy, both monastic and secular, and the poor, with whom may be included the ordinary artisan, the mortality of the pestilence was heaviest. Financial loss was no less felt than the loss of life, and the old fourteenth-century style went out not in fulfilment but in frustration. Scaffolds were left empty, abbey lands uncared for, pilgrims' offerings were uncertain and generally diminished. A third of the people died, and according to the Chronicler of Leicester, "there were scarcely any who took heed of riches or cared for anything".

But while the gaps were gradually filled and the fields tilled again, after the nightmare of the pestilence, it was to a new England that people awoke. Few changes were set on foot by the Black Death, but many tendencies already existing were crystallised by it into definite form, and not least amongst these was the recognition on all sides of the obvious trend of design and of the adaptability of the new architecture to all needs.

Between 1350 and 1370 its conquest of English art was achieved and completed, and in the fifteenth century, coinciding with the growing wealth of the trading classes, it left us a heritage of vigorous late Gothic unsurpassed elsewhere.

Nor were the Orders idle, and in spite of diminished numbers great activity was taking place in many of their houses, though, Gloucester excepted, the most important work was done in monasteries which were also episcopal seats. Amongst the greater monastic works of this last period are the west front of Winchester, which Yevele of Westminster

seems to have influenced, and the transformation of the nave, *c.* 1360—begun by Edington, continued by William of Wykeham, who at the time of his death in 1404 had finished work on the piers of the nave arcade, the aisles, and the west front, and left money for the continuance of the building. It is in this work that the influence of Gloucester was early and fully accepted. Canterbury rebuilt the nave, *c.* 1379–1400; the rebuilding of the cloisters followed, then the south-west tower, and the great central tower at the end of the fifteenth century. The last work of importance at Canterbury before the Dissolution was the well-known Christ Church Gate, *c.* 1517. In the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries Canterbury was practically rebuilt from the west end up to the quire screen. Gloucester, not content with her new quire, built the central tower *c.* 1450, and followed it by the Lady Chapel, finished *c.* 1480. At Bristol Abbey the central tower was built *c.* 1450; at Chester the nave was finished. At Durham the splendid mass of the central tower was begun *c.* 1470; at Norwich the vaults of the nave and presbytery were built between 1470 and 1500. At Oxford the Augustinians finished their quire vault *c.* 1500-05. At Fountains the Cistercians, determined at all costs to have a tower, built one under Abbot Huby *c.* 1495. But enough has been said to indicate the amount of building work which was in progress in the abbeys and cathedral priories. This was paralleled, and excelled, by the activity in collegiate and parish churches. The great ministers of secular canons in the east and north, with the outstanding exception of York and Beverley, took no leading part in this activity; at Lincoln and Southwell little was done. In others of their buildings in the south and west, as Exeter, Hereford, and Chichester, the work was of a minor kind, with the exception of the spire and bell-tower of the last. At Bolton the fine tower of the Augustinian Canons, dated 1520, was left unfinished, and the last of the abbeys, Bath, the 'Lantern of England', begun *c.* 1500, was incomplete when the storm of the Dissolution put an end to the English monasteries.

(3) The Saint's Chapel

It was the ambition of all religious houses, regular and secular alike, to possess relics of some saint or martyr enjoying popular favour, which by their reputation for miracles and intercession should attract pilgrims

and increase the renown and revenues of the house. A popular shrine was frankly recognised as a fruitful means of adding to the income of the convent. At Salisbury when the piers of the central tower began to cause anxiety, the Chapter advocated and in 1456 achieved the canonisation of St. Osmund as a means of attracting pilgrims whose offerings at the shrine could be devoted to the repair of the fabric.

In such churches provision had to be made to house the relics with proper dignity, in order that due reverence might be paid to the saint and his reputation increased by the impressive magnificence of his shrine. Where the saint was of national or European renown it was not enough merely to appropriate some part of the existing building to form the saint's chapel or feretory. Not only were facilities for display inadequate, but pilgrim congestion was a serious matter and one which demanded definite arrangements for its control and relief. At a popular shrine its entire avoidance was an impossibility. At Canterbury in 1420 it is related that there were at one time upwards of 100,000 pilgrims in the city, with a present population of less than a third of that number. In other churches possessing popularly venerated relics there was the same problem, though generally to a lesser degree. Once arrived at the end of a long and often dangerous journey, face to face with the longed-for shrine, possessing absolute faith in the intercession of the saint to heal both soul and body, pilgrims were not easily to be hurried away from the holy ground.

The object aimed at by the keepers of the shrine was, therefore, at least to encourage, even if they could not compel, constant movement about it: to provide for an unimpeded flow of pilgrims going up one aisle, passing across or behind the shrine and returning down the other aisle, thus reducing the dangerous congestion which would occur in a cul-de-sac where no ambulatory was arranged. The feretory was normally placed behind the High Altar, screened off from the quire, and often with a watching-loft or chamber, such as remains at St. Albans, from which a wary eye was kept upon the shrine lest robbery be attempted. At Canterbury so great was the attraction of Becket's tomb in the crypt, that after the fire which destroyed Conrad's quire in 1174 his remains were removed with great ceremony to a uniquely designed saints' chapel (now called Trinity Chapel) to the east of and above the position of the

High Altar at the time (Fig. 29). Here the jewelled shrine famous throughout Christendom was protected by an iron grille, watched from above

FIG. 29.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL.
SOUTH SIDE OF TRINITY CHAPEL FROM THE TRIFORIUM.

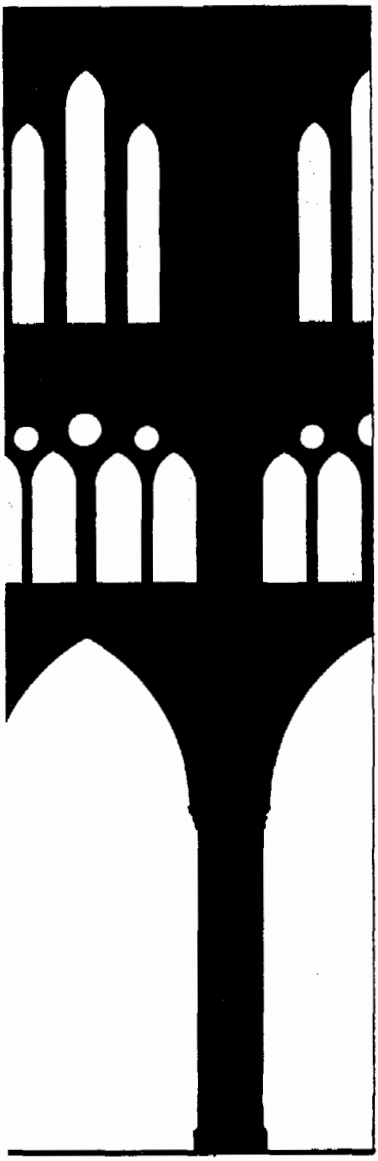
by monks, and guarded by the prior's ban-dogs during the dark hours.

At St. Albans the shrine of the saint was in the feretory east of the

High Altar, with a square ambulatory; at Winchester, St. Swithin's, and at Ely, St. Etheldreda's were similarly arranged. At Durham the shrine of St. Cuthbert, said to have rivalled Becket's in its splendour, was finally placed east of the quire in the chapel of the Nine Altars. At Westminster the tomb of Edward the Confessor recalls in its position the arrangement at Canterbury, though lacking the dignity of the latter. At Gloucester the tomb of Edward the Second was placed in the ambulatory of the quire. In all these instances the great object was attained: free circulation about the shrine. At Rochester the position of the saint's chapel is unusual, though not unique. Here the north-east transept was appropriated to the shrine of the murdered pilgrim, William of Perth, a baker. But it is unusual only in position, not in arrangement, as the shallow transept open to the quire and aisle still allows an unobstructed passage for devotees. Oxford offers another example of a feretory to the north of the quire. At Chester the arrangement was at first not so successful, and alterations to the fabric were necessary to provide more room for pilgrims. At Worcester after the canonisation of St. Wulfstan the feretory had to be extended eastward for the same reason. The same thing is found in the churches of the secular canons, as at Lincoln, where the eastern limb was extended in order to form a magnificent feretory for St. Hugh, into which his relics were moved in 1280.

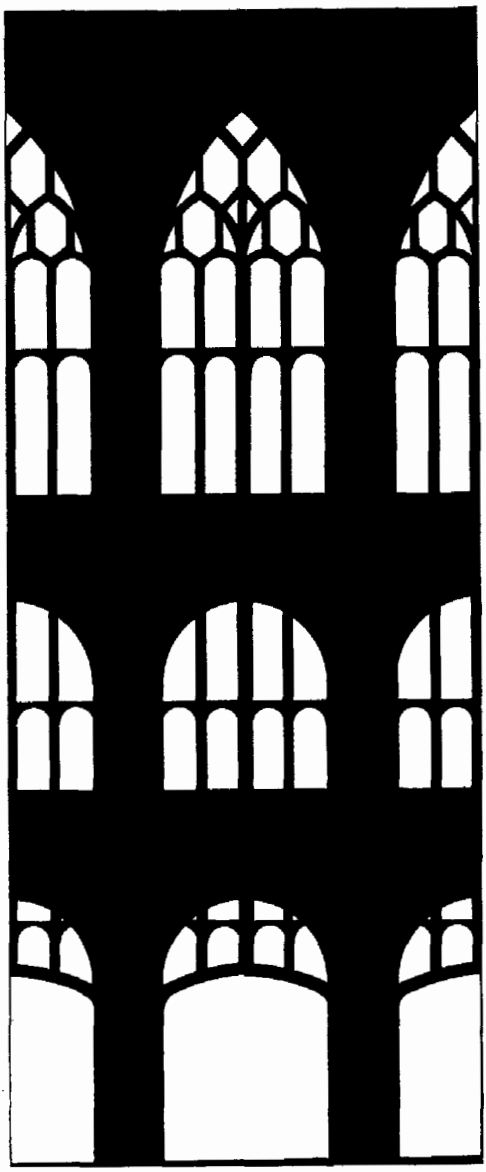
On certain days relics were exhibited by their custodians to the pilgrims and curious. With a saints' chapel planned on the ample lines of Canterbury no difficulties arose. But in churches where the ambulatory was less roomy and the shrine was off to one side instead of being in a central position, severe congestion was liable to occur. At Norwich this was overcome to some extent by building a low, broad segmental arch in the north aisle of the presbytery, level with the chord of the apse, and bridging the aisle from the outer wall to the presbytery arcade. The flat platform on the extrados of the arch is reached by a vice, and from this platform relics were displayed to the pilgrims, who afterwards passed on under the arch.

In the lower parts of the shrines it was customary to form niches, or openings, of various shapes and sizes. Into these apertures the diseased limb was thrust in the hope of cure. More rarely there was space enough for the whole body, when rich or favoured pilgrims were allowed to



.ISBURY NAVE, *c.* 1220.

:NT OF VOIDS AND SOLIDS IN CONSTRUCTION.



(3) GLOUCESTER QUIRE AS REMODELLED, *c.* 1350.

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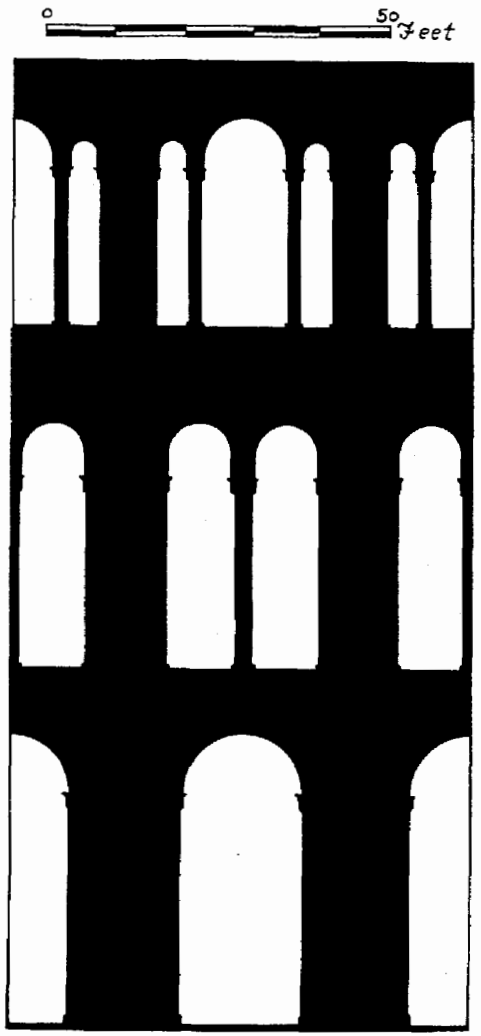
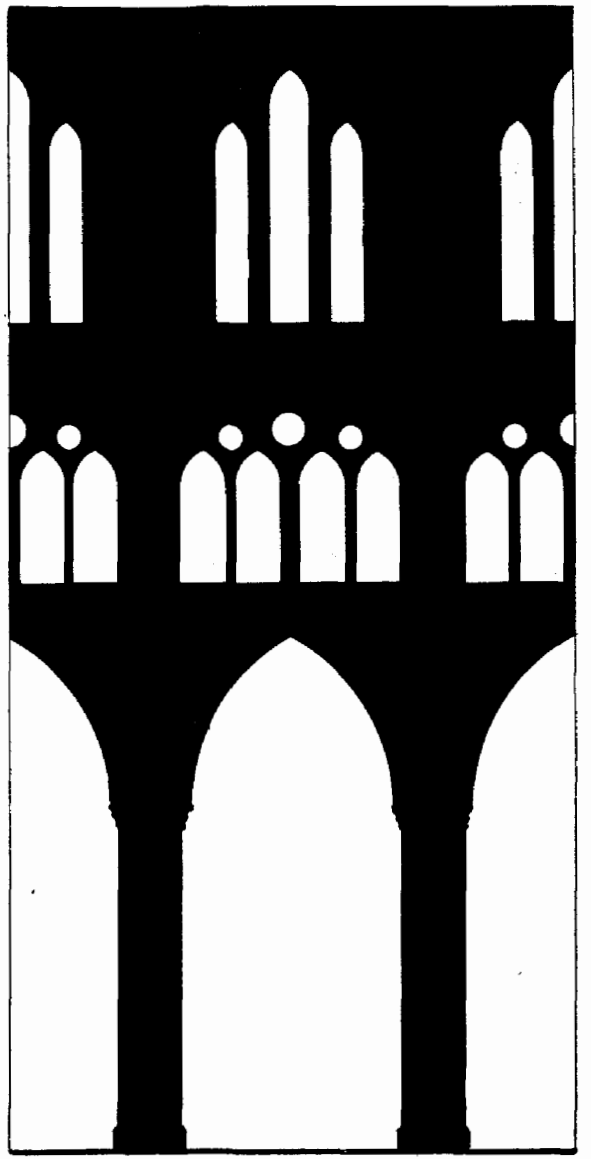
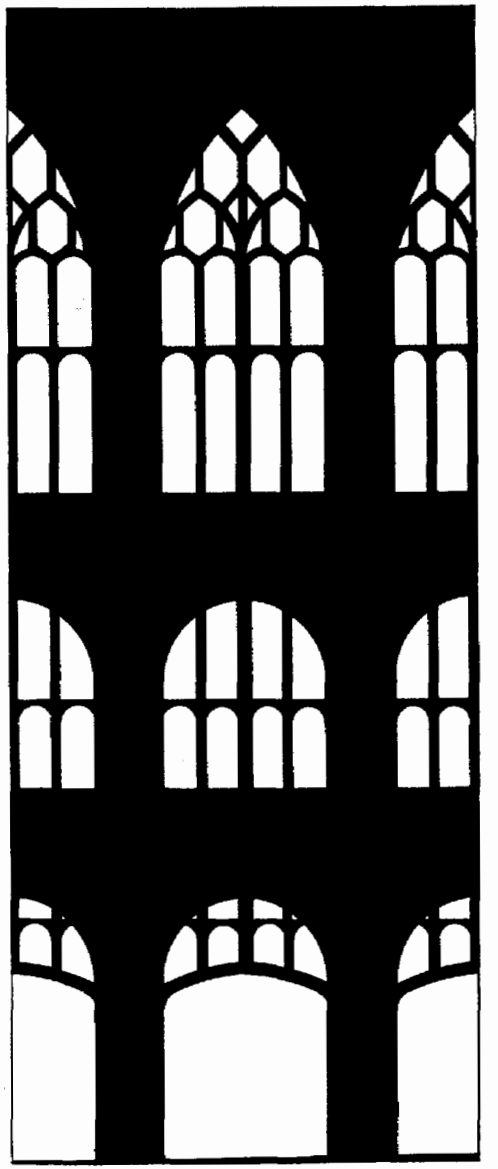


(1) Ely Nave, *c.* 1090.



(2) Salisbury Nave, *c.* 1220.



(3) Gloucester Quire as remodelled, *c.* 1350.

Fig. 30.—The development of Voids and Solids in Construction.

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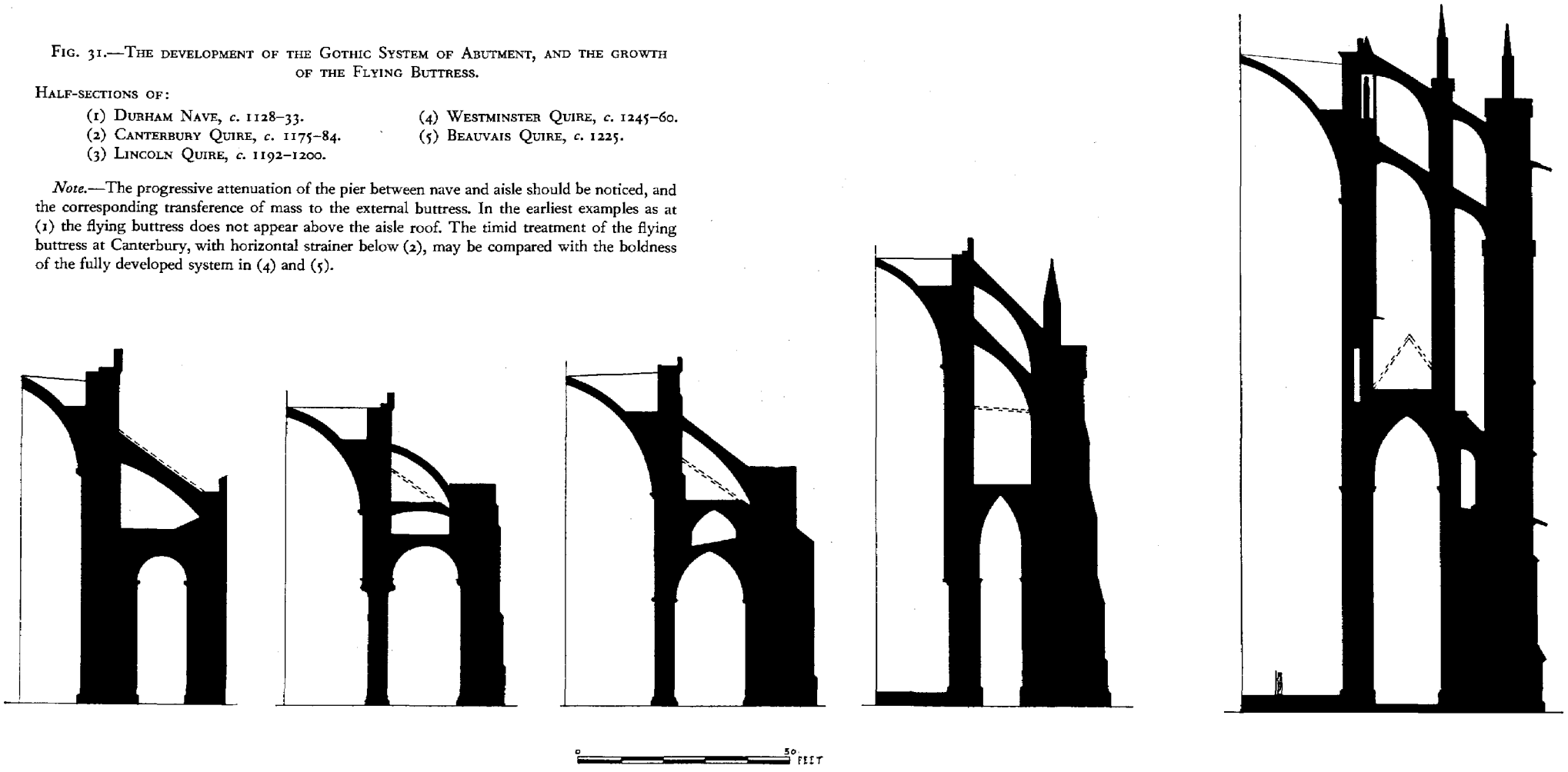
FIG. 31.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE GOTHIC SYSTEM OF ABUTMENT, AND THE GROWTH OF THE FLYING BUTTRESS.

HALF-SECTIONS OF:

(1) DURHAM NAVE, *c.* 1128–33.
(2) CANTERBURY QUIRE, *c.* 1175–84.
(3) LINCOLN QUIRE, *c.* 1192–1200.
(4) WESTMINSTER QUIRE, *c.* 1245–60.
(5) BEAUVAIS QUIRE, *c.* 1225.

Note.—The progressive attenuation of the pier between nave and aisle should be noticed, and the corresponding transference of mass to the external buttress. In the earliest examples as at (1) the flying buttress does not appear above the aisle roof. The timid treatment of the flying buttress at Canterbury, with horizontal strainer below (2), may be compared with the boldness of the fully developed system in (4) and (5).



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pass the night within the shrine, as at Westminster. The shrine of Edward the Confessor is the most important, as it is the most complete, of those which still to some extent remain. The two most famous for their workmanship and splendour, Durham and Canterbury, have, naturally, entirely disappeared. At Ely, Oxford, St. Albans, and Chester amongst monastic churches, and at Hereford and St. David's in those of the secular canons, the lower parts of the saints' shrines can still be seen.

(4) The Lady Chapel

While it had long been the rule for Cistercian churches to be dedicated to the Virgin, it was not until the thirteenth century that the cult of the Virgin, stimulated by Papal approval, became universally popular and began to affect the plan and general arrangement of English churches of other Orders.

The normal position of the Lady Chapel was east of the quire, sometimes also of the presbytery, but frequently including the eastern bays of the latter. In several of the most important instances it formed a separate building. The variety of planning seems to indicate that the provision of a new and important chapel was not only in some cases an inconvenience, but perhaps a little of a nuisance, as tending to dislocate the arrangements of the church, which had at last been fairly comfortably settled. On the other hand, some monasteries, as Gloucester, Ely, and Peterborough, grasped the opportunity for a fine piece of elaborate building against which the usual considerations of economy could not be urged.

At Peterborough, *c.* 1275, the Lady Chapel (destroyed for materials at the Restoration) was begun, lying east from the north transept, and adjoining but not touching the presbytery. At Ely (*c.* 1321) the great Lady Chapel corresponded somewhat in its position to that at Peterborough, east of the north transept and parallel with the quire, but only connecting with the angle of the transept. At Gloucester the Lady Chapel stands east of the abbey church and free of it but for the entrance from the church below the great east window. All these three chapels were independent buildings, of the typical chapel plan without aisles. At St. Albans the arrangement was much the same as at Gloucester, east of the presbytery, but in this case it is more accurately described as

an extension rather than a separate addition. At Norwich it projected east of the ambulatory.

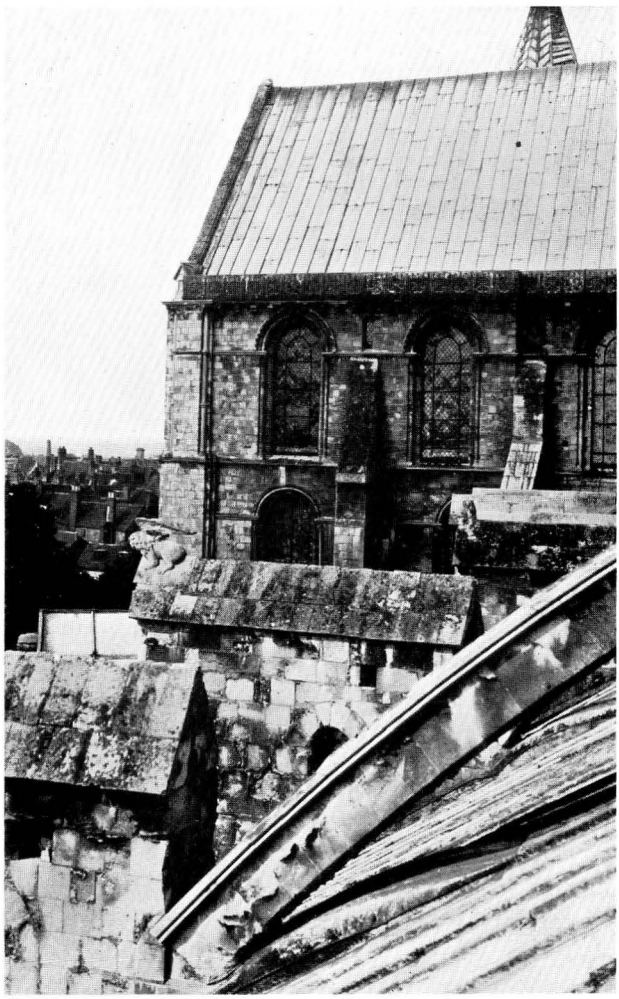

FIG. 32.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. FLYING BUTTRESS TO QUIRE.

Note.—The earliest English example of an exposed flying buttress.

At Chester and Worcester the chapel occupied the unaisled eastern projection with one or more bays of the presbytery; at Winchester it

formed the central of the three eastern chapels, and was not finished until 1524. At Bristol the 'Elder Lady Chapel', which occupies much the same position as the chapel at Peterborough but opens into the church, was built at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Lady Chapel in the east end of the church itself was completed *c.* 1330.

At Oxford, *c.* 1220, and Wymondham space was arranged for the chapel at the east end but north of the presbytery.

Rochester extended the south transept westwards parallel with the nave for three bays and thus formed its Lady Chapel. Canterbury in the time of Prior Goldstone I (1449–68) squeezed one in askew, a tight fit, between the chapter-house, the north quire aisle, and the Martyrdom, and opening off the latter.[1] In general, one may say that where a church possessed a shrine which drew large numbers of pilgrims, and therefore large sums of money, the Saint was not displaced to make way for the Lady Chapel, which would not have compensated in revenue. Such a proceeding would have appeared impractical and impolitic. In one year at Canterbury there was offered at the Altar of the Virgin four pounds; but at the shrine of Becket £900 odd, money of the day.

At Glastonbury the early Lady Chapel, dedicated 1186, was at the western end of the church, and was eventually lengthened by junction with the Galilee. (See p. 71.) Durham offers another example of a western Lady Chapel. Here the original chapel was begun by Bishop Pudsey at the east end of the church, but was abandoned, apparently on account of structural difficulties, and the Galilee Chapel constructed *c.* 1175 and used as the Lady Chapel.

. . . . . .

In the preceding pages the influences from France which continuously affected the development of the English monastic church have been emphasised from time to time. Before leaving the subject, therefore, the temperamental differences between the builders of English and French Gothic may be noted in a brief paragraph, differences which, no less than practical conditions, qualified the forms their buildings took. In the mediaeval churches of France and England the two national

[1] The old Lady Chapel occupied the first two bays of north aisle of nave, where it was replaced by Chillenden after the rebuilding of the nave. The monks entered the new chapel in Jan. 1456.

FIG. 33.—BEVERLEY MINSTER. INTERIOR.

characters are plainly written; for in nothing more clearly than in its architecture does a people express itself. On the one hand the Latin *élan*, the imperative ideal, the innate artistry, and the logic which in the end too often defeats itself. On the other, the hesitating start, the endless compromise, and the unswerving determination to continue once begun, though by whatever means might lead most practically to an end; an ambition humbler in conception, chiselled by caution, yet obtaining results satisfying and enduring in effect. An architecture built with less logic, yet perhaps with a nearer sense of the human needs it was to serve; though with the wings of imaginative genius perpetually clipped by common sense.

English designers and master-builders were never so venturesome as their French contemporaries, either in the heights to which they piled their churches or in the economy of material used in their support. A high English vault is that of Westminster, 103 feet (Fig. 31); a wide English nave, York, forty-five feet. But the French high vault rises at Beauvais (Fig. 31) to 150 feet, and the nave of Toulouse spans sixty-three feet. At Gloucester economy of stonework is carried far, but slender as some of it is, it is left far behind by French work, as, for example, in St. Germain-en-Laye, where the tracery, though beautiful in design, has the uncomfortable tenuity of steel. The tiers of flying buttresses at Westminster are lovely in their perfect transmutation of a purely practical device, as at Canterbury (Fig. 32), into a thing of beauty; at Beauvais their bravado is definitely disquieting, however amazing in the acme of technique displayed. Almost one expects them to sound like a harp-string if struck, so obvious and insistent is their stress, so nakedly patent their burden.

The English dislike, in architecture as in life, of pushing anything to its logical conclusion, doubtless robbed us of a certain stupendousness of conception and undaunted temerity in execution, but the French development of the Gothic principle in one direction, verticality, resulted in loss in other ways. Owing to the height of their churches it was impossible safely to construct central towers high enough to dominate naves like Amiens or Beauvais; and they had therefore to be content with a spire or flèche instead of the lovely English tower-group, while the abutment of their splendid vaults was a fruitful source of trouble.

But the length[1] of the English church and its retention of the internal effect created by the externally projecting transepts compensate for the

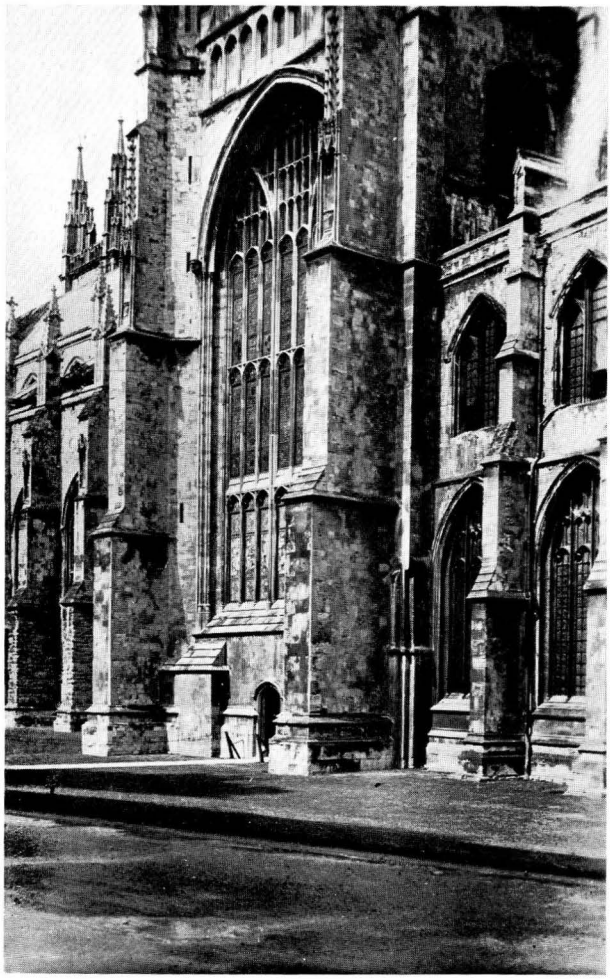

FIG. 34.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. SOUTH-WEST TRANSEPT.

lack of the soaring vault; while the distances of internal perspective, the dramatic changes of light and shade in churches like Westminster, Ely,

[1] Due largely to the monastic character of English cathedrals or to monastic influence upon the plans of English secular churches.

Winchester, create an effect which while not so breathlessly amazing at first sight as Amiens or Rouen, is yet to us in some ways nearer to the heart. In the beauty of oblique view through aisle and nave, crossing and quire, as at Beverley (Fig. 33), or at Canterbury—where the eye sweeps up the long nave to a score of steps rising to the quire-screen standing in the ivory light of the lantern, and foiled against the penumbrous jewelled atmosphere of the still ascending aisles—there is achievement which evens the balance between the sister schools of Gothic art, and before which the unquiet tongue of the critic may for a moment be still.

CHAPTER VI

THE CLOISTER

(1) General Arrangement; Entrances and Exits

In the four walks of the cloister the brethren had their dwelling-place. Lying in the angle formed by nave and transept, normally upon the south side, the cloisters lay open to the sun and gained some protection from the vagaries of the English climate by the mass of the church to north and east (Fig. 35). Where the cloisters lie to the north, as at Canterbury (Figs. 36, 37) and Gloucester (Fig. 9), except in summer they are cold and cheerless.

A brief mention has been made of the usual disposition of the buildings surrounding the cloister and of the use to which the different walks were commonly put. As in church, so in cloister the Benedictine plan provided the foundation upon which other Orders based their variations. Of the four walks, as the cloister alleys are called, the most important was the north walk lying under the nave wall, *i.e.* facing south. Here the monks of the quire lived, studied, meditated. The stone benches running along the cloister, many of which remain, were used for study, but later the walk was often screened off at the ends and subdivided into small enclosures (*caroli*) facing out into the cloister garth and forming separate studies. At Gloucester, probably owing to their solid stone construction, complete and beautiful examples remain. In the *Rites of Durham* a detailed account is given of the carrels in the cloister there, which were wainscoted and fitted with doors whose upper parts were pierced to allow of supervision; at St. Mary's, York, studies in the cloister are referred to in 1390. Behind the carrels, space was left to allow of free passage along the cloister, light being obtained

FIG. 35.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL PRIORY. CLOISTER AND CHURCH.

over the tops of the carrels, through the upper part of the cloister arcade. From the end of the east walk opened the door leading into the church which formed the usual means of communication between church and cloister, known as the eastern processional entrance. Adjoining this door was the fixed seat in cloister of the head of the house. Sitting beside the door, he had under his eye the comings and goings of the brethren in and out of the church, he looked down the line of carrels in the north walk, or along the east walk where the officers of the convent went about their business on their ways to frater, infirmary, or cellar.

At Durham the master of the novices taught his pupils in the south end of the west walk, at the angle of the cloisters, having his own seat of wainscot and for the novices 'a fair stall of wainscot'. At Gloucester it appears probable that the novices used part of the walk opposite the church. At Canterbury, owing to the position of the Archbishop's palace to the west of the cloisters, the uses of the cloister walks varied from the normal. The walk next the church formed the ordinary connection between the palace and the quire, and the traffic up and down made it unsuitable for use by the monks. Here it appears to have been used as the school of the novices, judging by the numerous scratch-diagrams and play-boards remaining on the stone bench, one of the other walks being devoted to the monks.

In all four sides of the cloister were passage-ways or doors giving access to the different offices. In addition to the eastern processional door was a corresponding entrance to the church at the end of the west walk in Benedictine houses, known as the western processional entrance. Both these doors derive their names from their use by the convent in the Sunday Procession (p. 48) and were not, as so often popularly supposed, the 'abbot's door' and the 'monks' door'.

In the eastern range there was a passage-way or slype leading out of the cloister towards the infirmary group; in the southern range there was communication through the range to the kitchens for purposes of service, and to the southern part of the east range; in the western range, through the cellarer's building was the chief exit to the outer parts of the monastery, and allowing rapid communication between the cellarium, the checkers, and the various barns, bakehouses, etc.

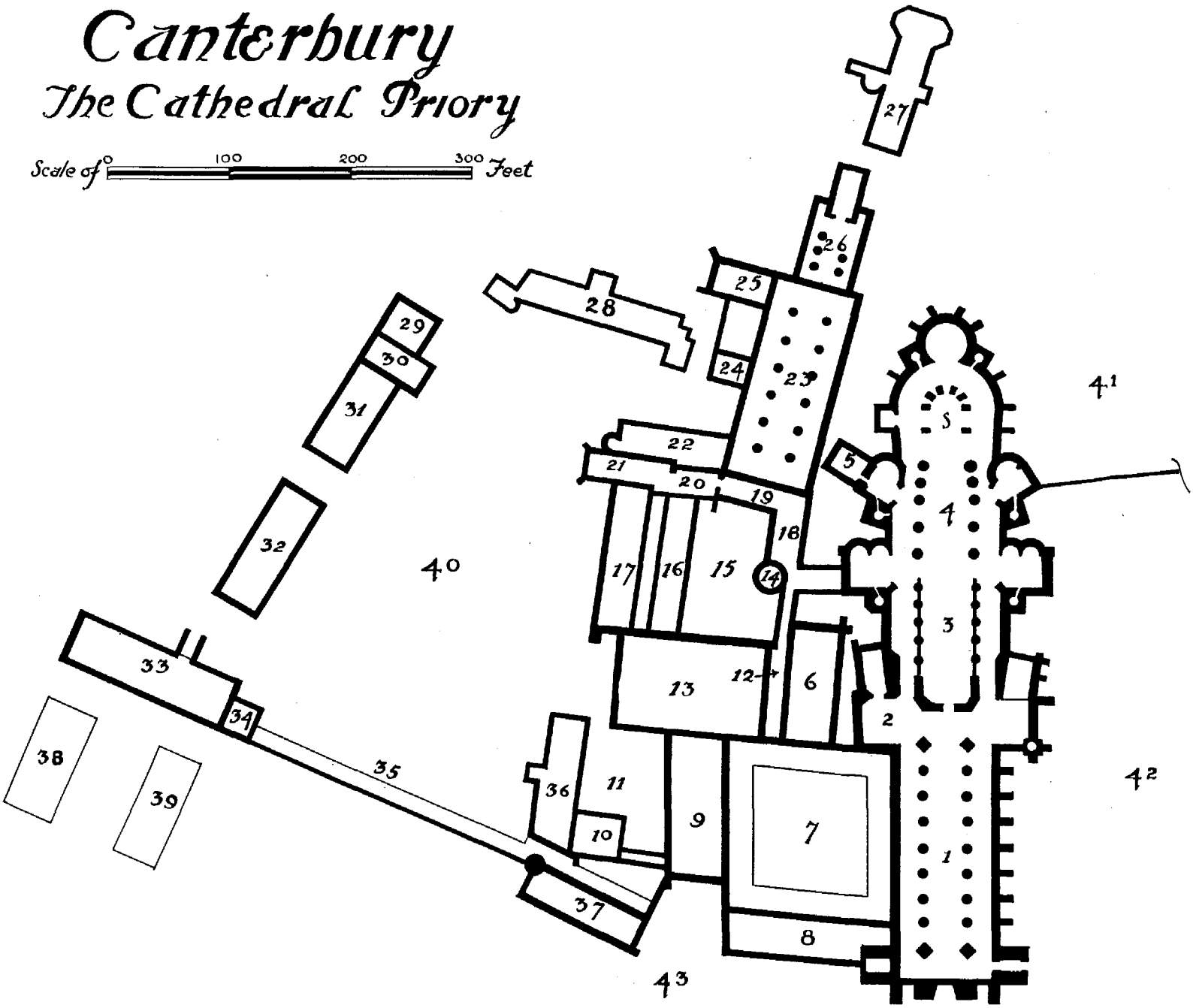

FIG. 36.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. THE MONASTERY BUILDINGS.

1. Nave.
2. Martyrdom.
3. Quire.
4. Presbytery.
5. Treasury.
6. Chapter-house.
7. Great cloister.
8. Cellarer's range.
9. Frater.
10. Frater kitchen.
11. Kitchen court.
12. Locutory.
13. Dorter sub-vault.
14. Lavatory tower.
15. Infirmary cloister.
16. Second dorter sub-vault.
17. Rere-dorter.
18. Prior's Chapel sub-vault.
19. Infirmary cloister, east.
20. Entry.
21. Prior Selling's gate.
22. Prior's lodging.
23. Infirmary hall.
24. Infirmary kitchen.
25. Infirmary frater.
26. Infirmary chapel.
27. Guest-house of the Prior.
28. Guest-house.
29. Granary.
30. Forrin's gate.
31. Bake-house.
32. Brew-house.
33. Poor Pilgrims' lodging.
34. North gate.
35. Pentise.
36. Guests' lodging.
37. Cellarer's hall.
38. Site of Almonry.
39. Site of Almonry Chapel.
40. The Green Court.
41. Monks' cemetery.
42. People's cemetery.
43. Archbishop's Palace. (Site.)
S. Becket's Shrine.

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(2) The Eastern Range

Extending beyond the transept which occupied part of the eastern side of the cloisters were the claustral buildings, which in the Benedictine cloister are normally found in the following order: parlor and slype to the infirmary, chapter-house, dorter day-stairs, and the undercroft of the dorter and rere-dorter, which included the common-room and various other offices, such as the treasury, with the dorter itself on the upper floor. This end of the range was built out as far as necessary, and it is commonly found to extend considerably beyond the cloisters in all Orders, as at Westminster, Canterbury, Battle; Lewes, Castle Acre; Fountains, Rievaulx; Haughmond; Leiston and elsewhere.

Between the end of the transept and the chapter-house is found a narrow chamber with its length east and west, forming both the parlor or locutory (*locutorium*) and the slype to the eastern parts of the convent. Here the rule of silence in cloister was relaxed in order that the convent officers might discuss their business. When the monks' graveyard lay to the east, as at Durham, the bodies of deceased brethren were borne from the chapter-house, where the Matins of the Dead (*placebo*) had been said for them, through the slype to the grave.

At Durham merchants were allowed to come to this eastern parlor[1] and 'utter their waires' for sale, though at Gloucester they were not allowed to enter the cloister further than an outer parlor off the western walk. In most houses where the parlors remain they are far from inviting places in which to linger, even in some important convents such as Canterbury and Winchester, being merely dark and draughty tunnels (Fig. 36), and the modern term 'day-room' which is sometimes applied to them is as mistaken as inapposite.

At Westminster this chamber does not exist as a passage but as a chapel, St. Faith's, with an entrance from the church only. Though the convent of a regular Order, Westminster, owing to its royal connections and very considerable secular activities, used its buildings as much as state apartments as monastic ones, its chapter-house now belonging to the Houses of Parliament.

[1] That is assuming the author of *The Rites* to have distinguished clearly between the two parlors.

At Canterbury the parlor forms a passage from the great cloister to the infirmary cloister and is on the side of the chapter-house away from

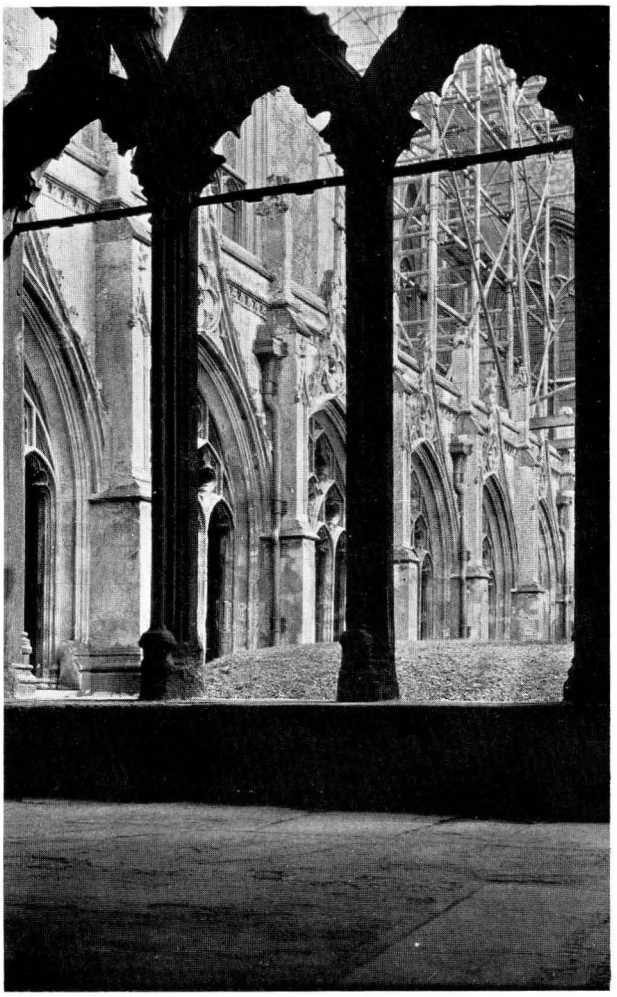

FIG. 37.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. THE CLOISTERS.

the church. At Chester and Bury St. Edmunds, where the cloisters are to the north as at Canterbury, the parlor follows the same arrangement. At Repton (Augustinian) the parlor and slype, combined, are beyond

the chapter-house. This chamber is also to be found in houses of the secular canons where it was not required as a parlor and not necessary as a slype; *e.g.* at Exeter, where it forms a chapel, showing as in other

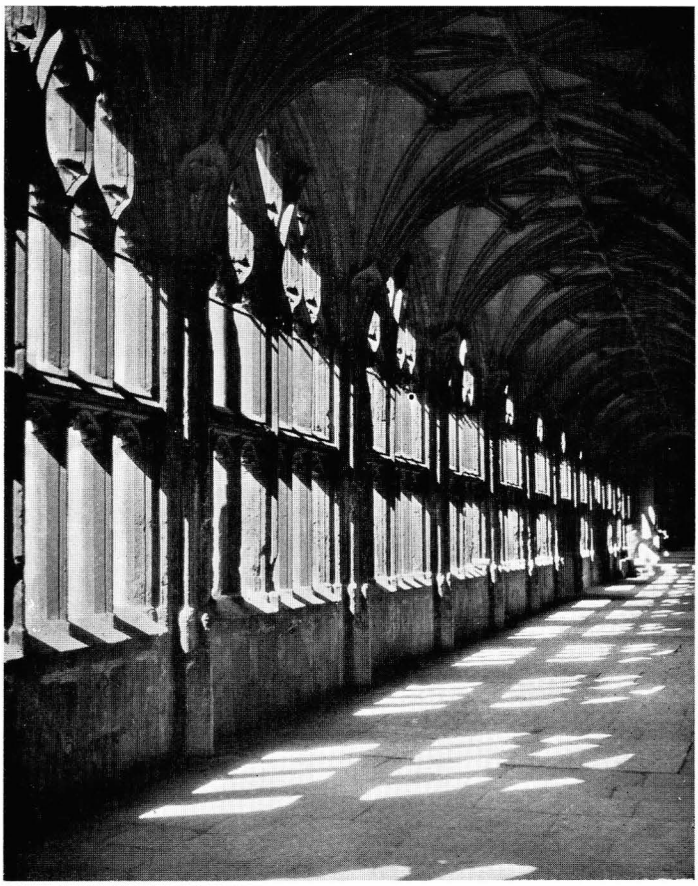

FIG. 38.—WELLS CATHEDRAL. THE CLOISTERS.

instances the influence in planning of the regular Orders. In the Cluniac Priory of Wenlock it is omitted and in the Augustinian Abbey of Bristol, the chapter-houses adjoining the church wall. At Rochester it was also omitted. At Cluniac Lewes the day-stairs came between the church and the chapter-house. In Bury St. Edmunds the sacristy lay

between the north transept and chapter-house, with the slype to the north of the chapter-house. At Castle Acre the sacrist's checker adjoined the north transept, with a door connecting; at Gloucester it adjoined the south transept—in both cases being on the side of the church away from the cloisters.

(3) The Chapter-house

In the chapter-house the convent gathered every morning for the discussion of matters in connection with the business of the convent, to make the memorials of the day, to ventilate grievances, and to award punishment. Proceedings included the reading of a chapter from the Rule of the Order; whence was derived the appellation of the building, *domus capitularis*. The normal arrangement in convents of average size was for the chapter-house to be kept low enough to allow of access from the dorter, on the floor above, across over the chapter-house to the night-stairs in the south wall of the transept which led down into the church, in order that the convent might assemble in quire for the night office without having to traverse the cloister.

In many of the more important Benedictine churches this plan is necessarily departed from owing to the loftiness of the chapter-house, and of this Canterbury (Fig. 41), Gloucester, and Worcester form three notable examples. In the first two the chapter-house rising above the level of the dorter floor prevents direct access to the transept on the dorter level; but at Canterbury, though there was a gallery over the west end of the chapter-house, owing to the existence of double transepts the convent was able by passing over the infirmary cloister to enter the church by the north-eastern transept, the floor of which is on the level of the raised quire. At Gloucester direct communication was not possible and it was necessary to descend to the cloister and enter through the ordinary door. At Worcester not only is the chapter-house unusual in plan, but the dorter itself was not in the eastern range but to the west of the cloister. Sometimes the lofty hall-type of chapter-house favoured by the Benedictines was successfully combined with direct access to the church from the dorter by setting back the chapter-house behind the eastern range proper, as at Chester, where the dorter is carried on an undercroft which forms a vestibule to the chapter-house, allowing passage over it to the church. The same arrangement was adopted by

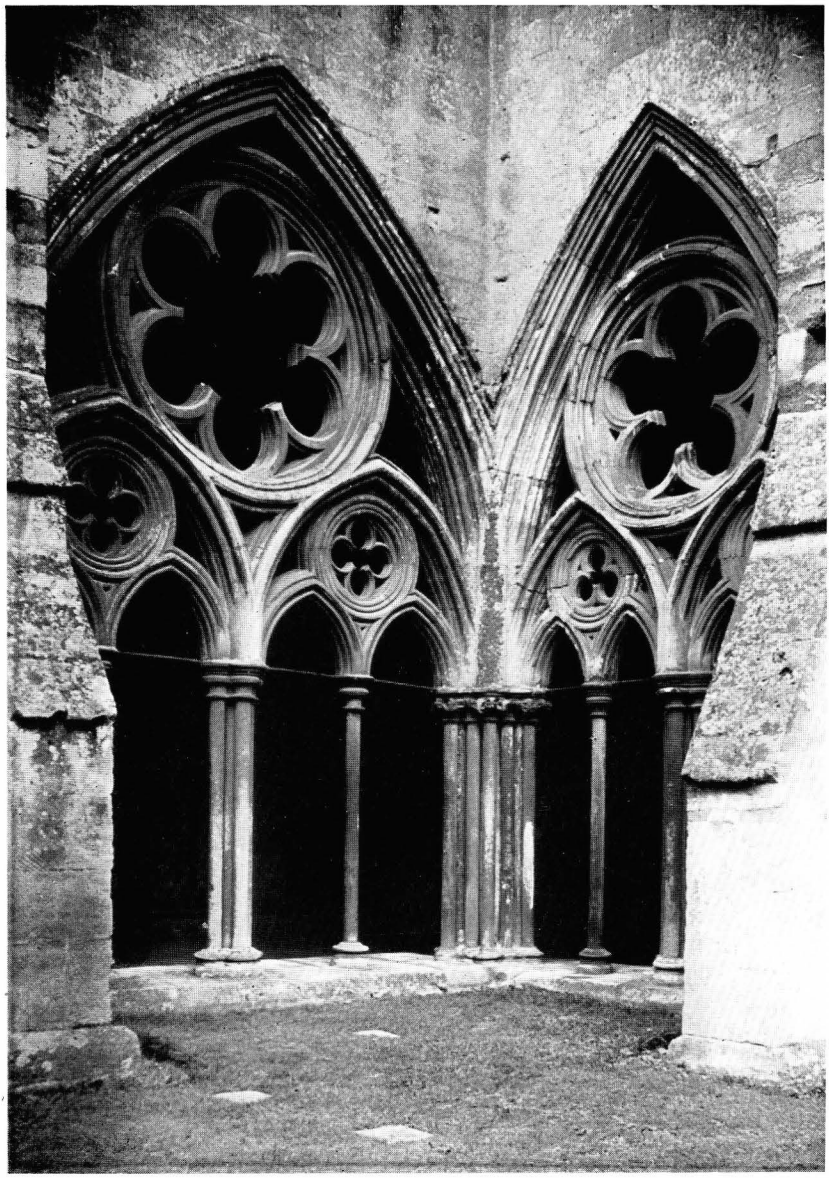

FIG. 39.—SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. THE CLOISTERS.

the Augustinians at Bristol. Where the chapter-house was a detached or nearly detached polygonal building, as at Westminster, the problem was more easily solved owing to the longer entry to the chapter-house.

The earlier chapter-houses of other Orders than the Cistercian were generally an unaisled hall, of which Bristol remains as a good example, with the exception of the eastern bay, which was probably apsidal. Durham until its partial destruction by an act of almost incredible vandalism in 1796 possessed one of the finest of the Norman chapter-houses, *c.* 1140, with an apsidal east end. Norwich, also destroyed, followed much the same plan; Gloucester, originally apsidal, was mutilated and rebuilt into a trilateral apse in the fifteenth century. At Winchester the entrance only remains, an early example with monolithic columns, and bases probably of Roman-British origin. Amongst Cistercian chapter-houses Rievaulx shows an exceptional use of the Benedictine apsidal end.

Circular chapels are not infrequent in Norman work both in religious and civil buildings, *i.e.* in the well-known 'Becket's Crown' at Canterbury and in the chapel at Ludlow Castle (Fig. 40); and the same form was sometimes used in their monastic chapter-houses. At Worcester the chapter-house was originally circular both inside and out, and dates from the end of the twelfth century. At the Premonstratensian house of Alnwick about the same time a circular chapter-house with a rectangular vestibule was built. Worcester was vaulted from a central pier, Alnwick without one.

The thirteenth century saw great activity in the erection of chapter-houses. At Bristol the Austin Canons finished their chapter-house *c.* 1175; which was followed by one without a vestibule and square-ended, by the same Order, at Oxford *c.* 1220, with a slype between it and the church. At Hexham they built another with a vestibule, *c.* 1215–1225. By this time the rectangular plan was well established, probably not uninfluenced by Cistercian practice. In some houses of Austin Canons the chapter-houses were not of any great elaboration, occupying only the ground floor of the range, and not extending east of it, as at Newstead. The same arrangement is found in the nuns' house of Lacock, where it was aisled, following the Cistercian plan.

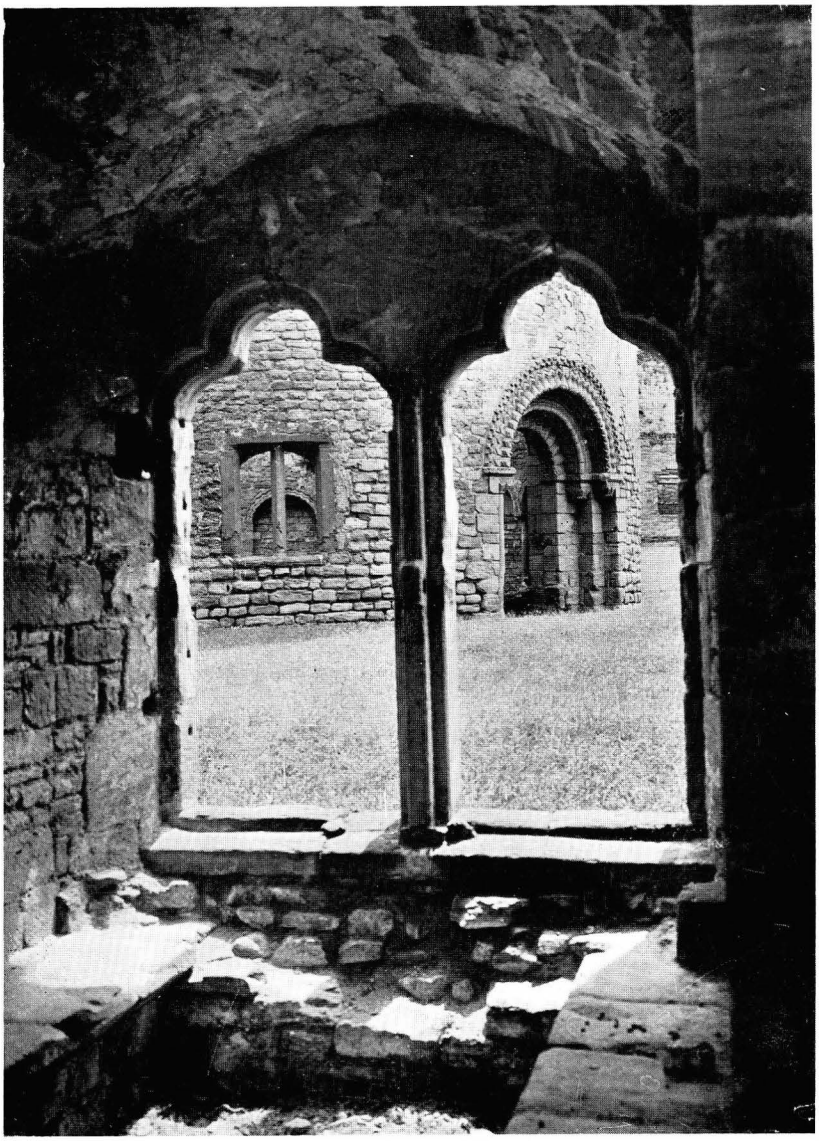

FIG. 40.—LUDLOW CASTLE. ROUND CHAPEL.

At Chester, *c.* 1250, the Benedictines built the chapter-house with the vestibule already referred to; at Canterbury the building of the chapter-house was continued upon an older substructure; and at Llandaff in 1265 the secular canons built one which was vaulted from a central pier: all these were rectangular.

About the second quarter of the thirteenth century there began a novel phase—the polygonal plan, a new and beautiful development. The removal of the chapter-house from the eastern range had the obvious advantage of better lighting all round the building, and its new shape encouraged more convenient grouping of the members of the house during chapter than a lengthy hall like Canterbury. Also, the eastern range of claustral buildings was freed entirely from the awkwardness caused by a lofty chapter-house. From the point of architectural importance, instead of being merely part of a row of buildings it became invested with a new interest as a detached building, and with the added dignity of a protracted approach through the vaulted entry, in some cases of considerable length. It is also probable that where there was a clever and ambitious school of masons, as at York or Lincoln, the novel form and the constructional problems of the polygonal vault offered an attractive opportunity for the performance of a *tour de force*.

The earliest examples of polygonal chapter-houses are at Margam Abbey (Glamorgan) and at Abbey Dore, both Cistercian, and therefore offering interesting exceptions to the usual Cistercian plan, as well as instances of the advanced architectural design of the Order at the time. The chapter-house at Margam in its arrangement somewhat resembled the later example at Westminster. In form it was twelve-sided externally and circular internally, fifty feet in diameter, and vaulted from a central column. It appears to date *c.* 1180–1200 (though the windows are of earlier date, probably from another building, having square caps; but the mouldings generally, including the water-holding bases—which did not come into use much before *c.* 1150—tend to confirm this date). The chapter-house at Abbey Dore was built about the same time.

This polygonal form was taken up with great enthusiasm by the churches of secular canons. Lincoln, *c.* 1220–35, built an ambitious ten-sided example, with a very beautiful lierne vault whose thrust is now taken by flying buttresses of wide span. It is not certain that these

buttresses are original, any more than are those at Westminster. As originally designed these polygonal chapter-houses offer perhaps the

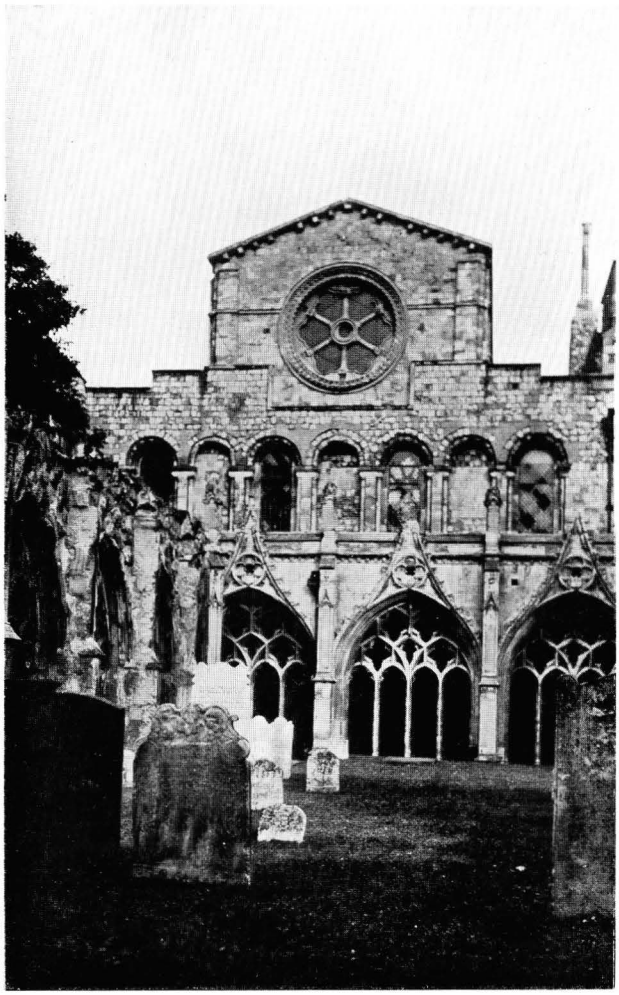

FIG. 41.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY.
CHAPTER-HOUSE FROM CLOISTERS.

most interesting example of the structural use of metal by mediaeval builders. From the top of the central column of Westminster, as from

that of Salisbury, there radiated a number of iron rods which tied the column to the angles of the chapter-house. These tension-rods were of

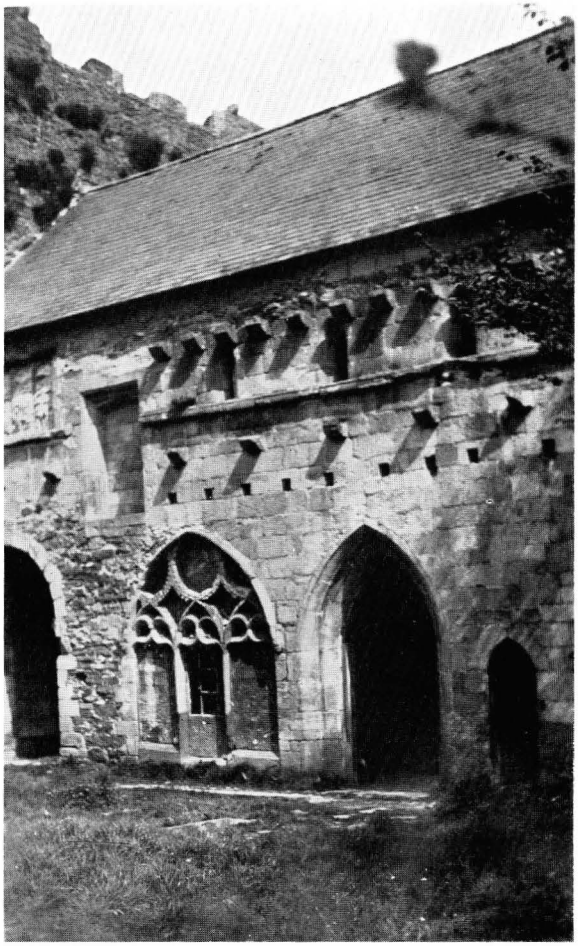

FIG. 42.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY. EAST RANGE OF CLOISTER.
Note.—The small door on the right is at foot of the day-stairs.

considerable dimensions—at Salisbury $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. $\times$ $1\frac{1}{2}$ in.[1]—and bound together the whole structure.

At Lichfield, *c.* 1240, an irregular octagonal chapter-house was built to

[1] *Westminster Abbey Re-Visited*, by Professor W. R. Lethaby.

the north of the quire, vaulted from a central column. Almost contemporary with the work at Lincoln was the beautiful chapter-house of the Benedictines at Westminster, *c.* 1245, raised upon an undercroft and approached by an aisled vestibule off the cloisters between the chapel of St. Faith and the chapel of the pyx. At Salisbury, *c.* 1285, at York, *c.* 1300, and at Wells, *c.* 1319–20, all secular churches, polygonal chapter-houses were finished after the model of Westminster.

The circular Norman chapter-house of Worcester has been mentioned above, opening immediately off the east walk of the cloister. When structural repairs became necessary in the fifteenth century, opportunity was taken to follow the prevailing fashion and it was turned into a decagonal building externally, with window tracery of the current mode. Internally it remained as before. Owing to the absence of the dorter and its undercroft from the east side of the cloisters, Worcester offers a curious example of a monastic chapter-house in the traditional position in cloister but which is also practically a detached building like the chapter-houses of the secular churches. In passing, it may be pointed out that even as the monastic chapter-house had its regular position in relation to the church, so the majority of the greater churches of secular canons followed the custom of placing their chapter-houses to the north-east, as at Lichfield, Wells, Southwell, Lincoln, York. The polygonal chapter-house was found in houses of most Orders. Cistercian examples have been instanced; to Benedictine Westminster may be added Tewkesbury; at Carlisle the Austin Canons built one, and at Bolton in the fourteenth century they erected a new octagonal chapter-house east of the undercroft, adjoining the transept, and provided access to it by forming a passage through the old parlour. A new slype was then made through the middle of the old chapter-house, a noteworthy little piece of planning.

(4) The Dorter and Rere-dorter

When the chapter-house and the dorter are in the normal position in the eastern range of the cloisters the day-stairs are found between the chapter-house and the dorter undercroft. In larger houses there was plenty of room for the day-stairs to ascend in a straight flight, which was the normal arrangement. In some of the smaller abbeys, as at Valle Crucis, it was necessary to economise space. Here the day-stairs are

cleverly contrived within the west wall of the chapter-house, which is thickened to take them. This deprives the chapter-house of one of the

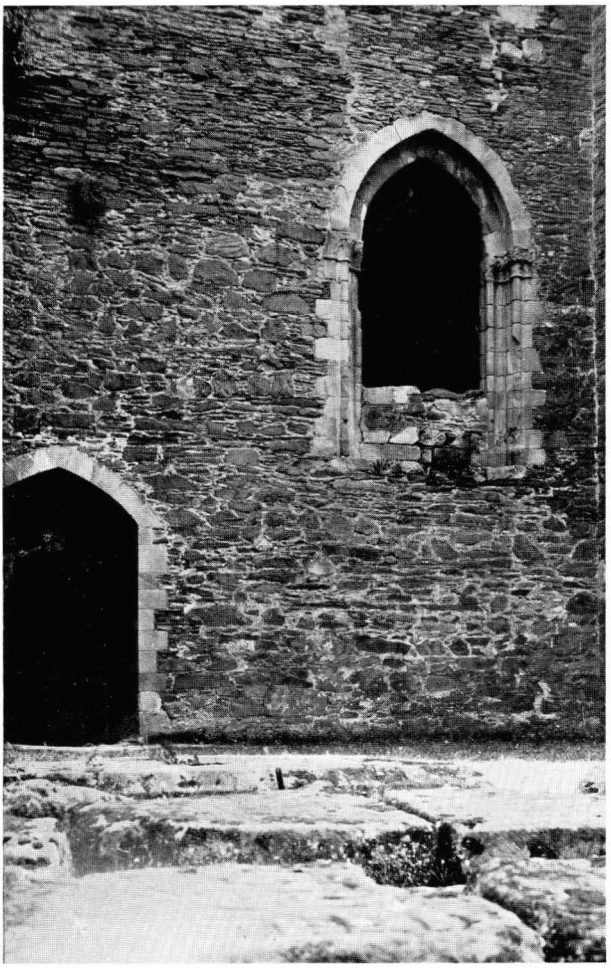

FIG. 43.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY.
DORTER NIGHT DOOR AND ENTRANCE TO SACRISTY.

two usual openings on each side of the door, as the entrance to the day-stairs is immediately beside that to the chapter-house (Fig. 42). In the Premonstratensian house at Bradsole (Fig. 15) is another unusual

arrangement, a circular stair in the south-east angle of the south transept being used both as day- and night-stairs and shut off from the church by a screen. In Leiston, also Premonstratensian, the day-stairs are found in the later Cistercian position at the end of the south range, parallel with the dorter and adjoining the slype to the south.

In the end wall of the transept on the dorter level was the door which led on to the night-stairs. At Valle Crucis (Fig. 43) and at Netley this door can be seen, with the entrance to the sacristy below. The night-stairs were also normally a straight flight, placed against the west wall of the transept. A fine example remains in the priory church of the Austin Canons at Hexham (Fig. 44), which shows the straight flight but with an unusual and spacious landing at the top covering the parlor, an exceptional treatment which has already been referred to. At Rievaulx, in place of the straight flight, a wide circular stair or vice landed in a lobby outside the transept. At Lacock there was only one stair for both day and night. Other exceptions are to be found, as at Bristol, but the straight stair leading directly from church to dorter level was used in the great majority of cases.

In many convents, particularly in Cistercian, a small room intervened between the dorter and the church. Where the level of the chapter-house roof allowed, the dorter extended from this small chamber over the undercroft to the required length. The dorter was lighted by small windows, usually single-light, and in large dorters sometimes one to a bed. In early days it was a single open room, but it became general later to subdivide it into cubicles with partitions of wainscot, with a window to each cubicle. The similarity of the fenestration of the dorters at Valle Crucis and at Cleeve will be noticed in comparing Figs. 42 and 45; and it is of interest to note the strong 'family' resemblance between the whole of the eastern ranges of these two sister abbeys. The great majority of monastic dorters have now fallen to ruin, but examples of Benedictine dorters remain in the north at Durham and in the south at Westminster; and of Cistercian at Valle Crucis in Wales (Fig. 47)—here the roof is modern but follows the original pitch; at Cleeve in Somerset, and at Ford in Dorset, where it has been subdivided but remains substantially as it was originally.

Several important instances are found of exceptional positions for the

dorter. These are generally caused by peculiarities of the site or necessities of drainage. At Worcester the dorter lay at right angles to the west

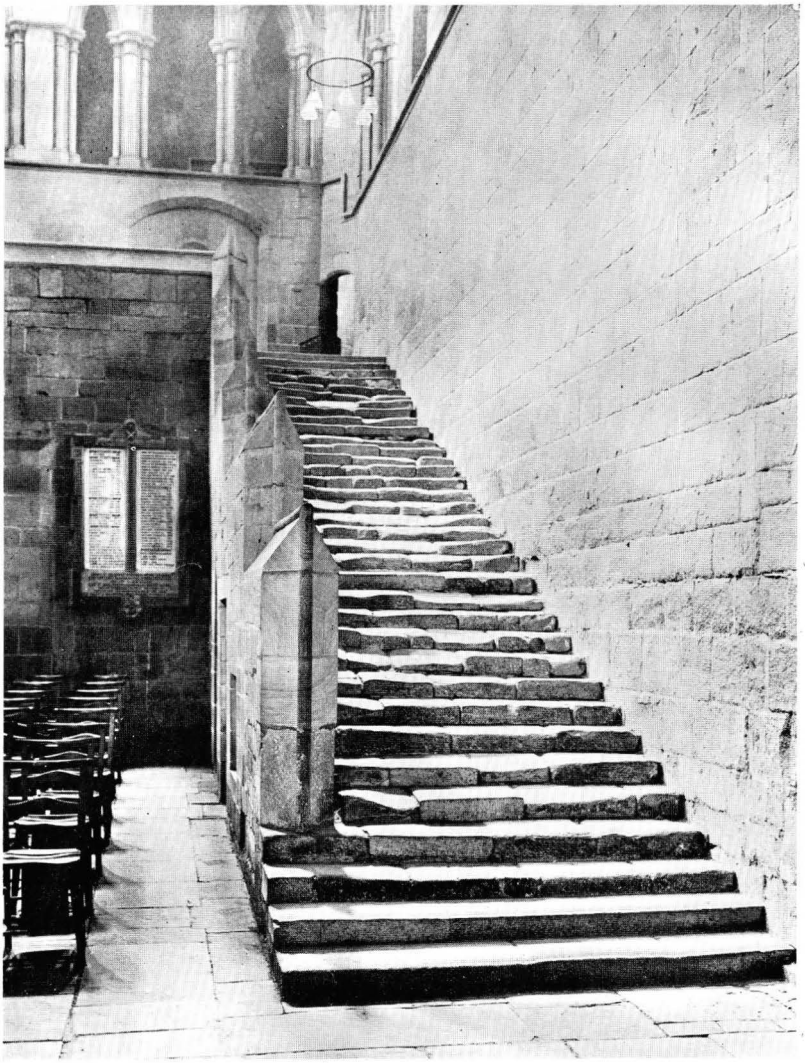

FIG. 44.—HEXHAM PRIORY, NORTHUMBERLAND. NIGHT STAIRS.

walk of the cloisters (there was no west range) and was never on the east side. In some cases, as at Gloucester and Reading, it was at right angles

to the east walk. At Durham the dorter, rebuilt at the end of the fourteenth century, was over the west range, though there is some evidence pointing to the probability of an earlier dorter over the east range; at Easby the Premonstratensian house of St. Agatha, like Durham, had the dorter over the western range and extended considerably to the south. At Waverley it was unique in being on the ground floor,[1] a curious arrangement for the site in question, as by the time it was built the monks knew the land was liable to be flooded. As a curiosity may be mentioned the second dorter built by the monks of Wymondham over the south aisle of the nave, with small openings looking into the nave, which was the property of the parishioners.

At the end of the dorter furthest from the church was the rere-dorter or *necessarium*. In small houses it is sometimes only the width of the dorter, in the larger it often extends at right angles to it for a considerable distance, as at Fountains, where it was built out over the river. At Canterbury it ran approximately at right angles to the great dorter and parallel to the second or obedientiars' dorter, and was called, probably with sarcastic intent, the "third dorter"; its length was 145 feet. At Haughmond Abbey, owing to the exigencies of the site, it lay at an oblique angle to the dorter, and a branch at the far end connected the building with the angle of the abbot's lodging. In the two great Sussex houses of Battle and Lewes, both curiously alike in the very sharp fall of the land immediately to the south of the cloister, the rere-dorters were below the level of the dorter floor, that at Lewes being reached by a bridge, as in the sister house of Castle Acre. Within the gallery of the rere-dorter the row of seats was subdivided by partitions; in the bigger examples each cubicle had its own window. Below the gallery of the rere-dorter was the great drain, through which a running stream was very frequently diverted. In other cases a supply was provided, and sometimes, as at Gloucester, it was possible to flush the drain by a head of water. Below the gallery the drain was completely shut off from the undercroft of the rere-dorter by a wall. The lower part of this wall remains in some cases, and at Lewes, Castle Acre, Netley, and Fountains the arrangements of the rere-dorter can be very clearly seen.

[1] At Battle, where the land falls sharply to the south, the northern end of the dorter is almost on the level of the ground floor.

There are few monastic ruins where the visitor is not informed with tiresome iteration of the existence of "the monks' underground passage", a story which has its origin in nothing more romantic than the remains of the great drain of the rere-dorter or of the conduit.

(5) The Eastern Undercroft

The remainder of the ground floor of the eastern range is commonly called the eastern undercroft. It was subdivided according to the cus-

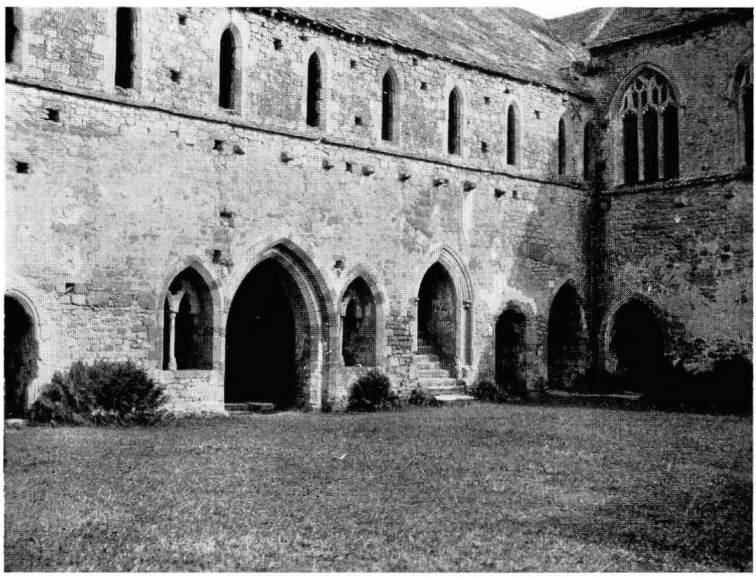

Fig. 45.—Cleeve Abbey. East Range of Cloister.
Compare with Figs. 42 and 46.

toms of the various Orders and with many local and often puzzling variations, according to the requirements of individual houses. Many examples remain, some in perfect condition.

The chief chamber in the undercroft was the warming-house or *calefactorium*, often called the common-house. In Benedictine, in Cluniac, and in the houses of Canons Regular, the warming-house is normally placed beneath the dorter. In the larger monasteries, such as Westminster or Battle, it is usually found in the extension of the range

south of the cloister. Where the dorter was in an unusual position, or varied from the ordinary arrangement, the warming-house went with it, as at Gloucester, Durham, and Worcester.

Occasionally, as at Durham and Waverley, a small chamber in this undercroft was used as a place of correction for refractory monks accused of minor offences. At Evesham part of the undercroft was used for the frequently performed operation of bleeding, and this was the custom in Cluniac houses. At Ely a 'bleeding-house' which was built

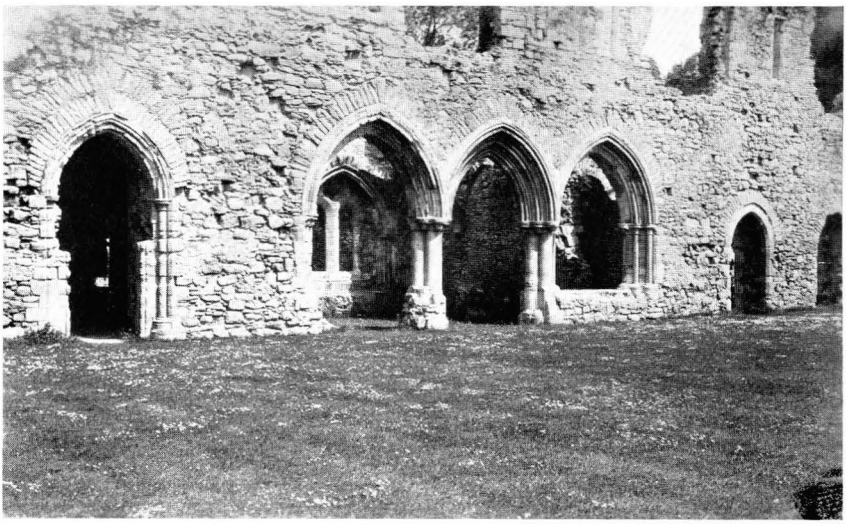

FIG. 46.—NETLEY ABBEY, HANTS. EAST RANGE OF CLOISTER.
Showing entrance to Sacristy, Chapter-house, Slype, and Dorter windows over.

c. 1400–1418 appears to have been a separate building. At Evesham also, some of the officers of the convent had their checkers in the undercroft, a practice probably very common. At Castle Acre an unusual departure is found in the use of the southern part of the undercroft as a malt-house.

Battle Abbey has one of the finest remaining examples of a vaulted undercroft. Beyond the chapter-house it is divided into three chambers; the first measures fifty-five feet by thirty-five feet, and has a stone bench round the walls. It is probable that this was used as the novice school.

Between it and the second chamber is the slype to the eastern parts of the monastery buildings, roofed with a plain barrel vault. The second

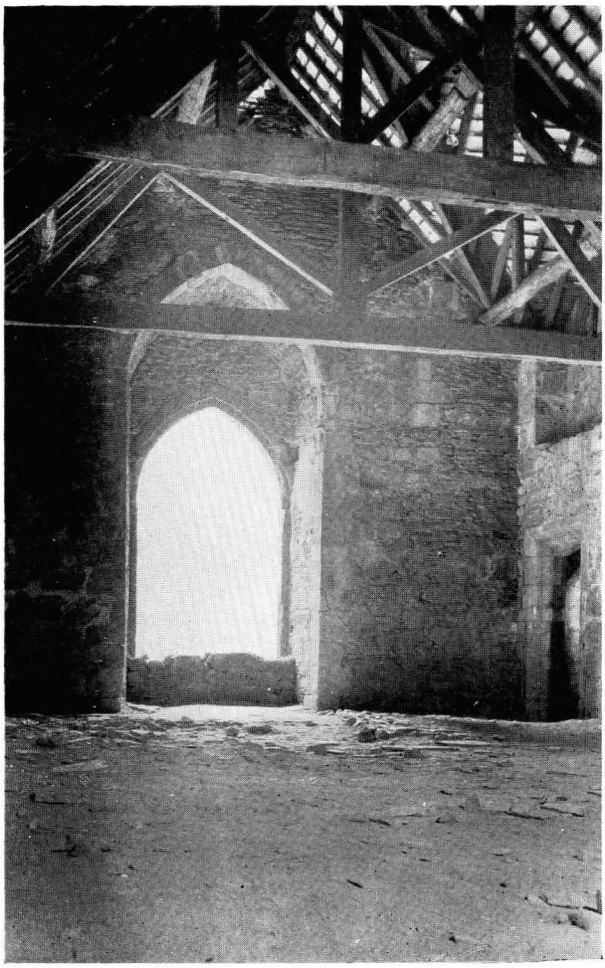

FIG. 47.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY. INTERIOR OF DORTER.

chamber is the smallest of the three and communicates with the third by a door in one corner. Owing to the steep fall in the ground already referred to, each successive chamber of the undercroft is loftier than its predecessor; the height of the most southerly is twenty-five feet, and its

floor space measures fifty-eight feet by thirty-five feet. This was the warming-house, and the fireplace remains in the south wall. It is a finely proportioned room, vaulted in two aisles from a range of central columns (Fig. 48). Examination of the masonry of the walls shows parts of an earlier structure incorporated in the existing work. At the south-east angle is a flight of steps which gave access to the rere-dorter range running east.

The treasury is also frequently to be looked for in the undercroft, and in smaller houses was probably combined with the sacristy adjoining the church. At Canterbury the treasury (*c.* 1150) is entered from St. Andrew's chapel, from the north aisle of the presbytery (Fig. 49), and has no entrance from without—an unusual arrangement. At Gloucester it was on the upper floor, in the position in which it is very frequently found in Cistercian abbeys, between the church and adjoining chamber, in this case the upper part of the chapter-house; at Waverley it was also on the first floor. At Westminster the treasury was in the two bays south of the chapter-house vestibule, known as the chapel of the pyx, which was simply the two first bays of the undercroft walled off. At Durham it was in the dorter undercroft, though this was in the western range.

In Cistercian monasteries neither the warming-house nor the treasury followed the practice of other Orders in their normal position, and their usage is treated more fully later.

(6) The Southern Range; The Frater and Kitchens

In all Orders the southern range of the cloister is occupied by the frater. Normally the arrangement of the frater is parallel to the cloister walk, but in the Cistercian Order after the twelfth century the disposition was changed. With the frater parallel to the cloister walk there was at the eastern end a way through to the extension of the eastern block and to the infirmary, and another at the west end giving access to the kitchens and outer court. At the west end of the frater, when this was on the ground level, was the entry, which followed the plan usual in dining-halls alike of secular and religious houses, with the familiar screens on the one hand and on the other the buttery, separated from the screens by a passage, as at Durham. In some houses there was space beneath the

frater for an undercroft, in which case more room was allowed for the buttery or for cellarage, *e.g.* at Gloucester, St. Radegund's Kent, Lacock,

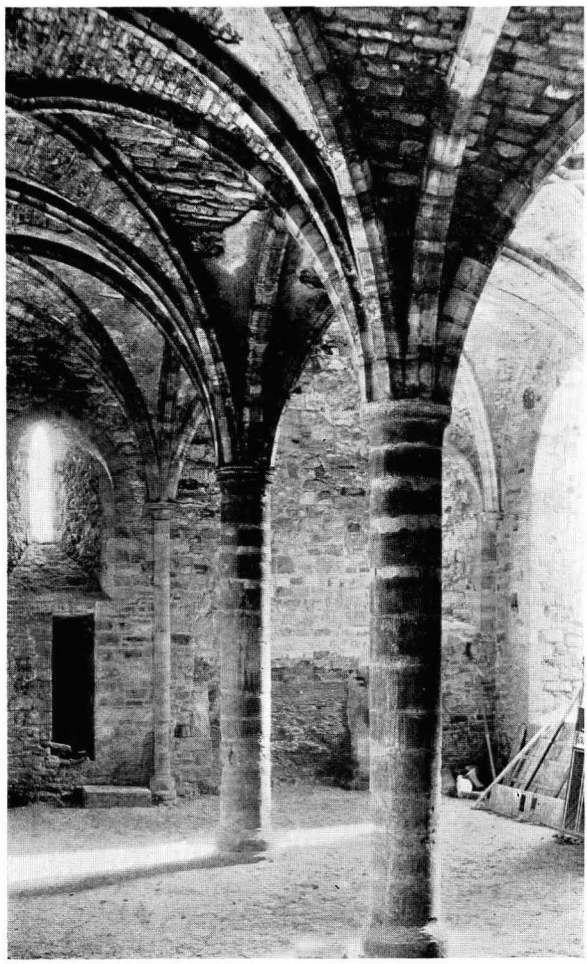

FIG. 48.—BATTLE ABBEY. THE COMMON ROOM.

Leiston, Rievaulx, and elsewhere. In many cases the undercroft was formed by using the space afforded by the fall in site level to the south —a feature rather sought after—thus still keeping the floor of the frater approximately level with the cloister. The undercroft of the

frater was frequently vaulted, though not invariably. The frater itself was normally planned without obstruction of the floor space, and covered with a timber roof, though that at Fountains was arranged in two aisles. Cistercian fraters as a rule had no undercroft. At St. Albans the high table was raised upon a dais fifteen steps above the rest of the frater, and in some houses, as at Fountains, the tables stood upon raised platforms arranged along the walls.

Within the frater the two most prominent features were the pulpit, from which during meals some appropriate passage was read by one of the convent, and the mural decoration, either fresco or sculpture in relief, over the high table.

A fine example of a monastic frater has most fortunately been preserved in the Cistercian Abbey of Beaulieu (Fig. 56), together with the lovely thirteenth century pulpit (Fig. 57). There is a splendid pulpit at Chester, and they are found also at Fountains, Tintern, Rievaulx, Easby, and Merevale, and the Premonstratensian house at Bradsole retains part of the frater pulpit in the masonry of post-Suppression additions. The pulpit was built out of the side wall of the frater, towards the high table, and in elaborate cases was reached by an arcaded stair in the wall. At Rievaulx—an unusual example of a Cistercian frater with an undercroft—a stair descends from the ascending pulpit stair to the undercroft. This feature is also to be seen at Leiston, where, though the pulpit has disappeared, a winding flight in good preservation descends from the eastern end of the frater into the undercroft.

(7) The Laver

In a convenient position adjoining the entrance to the frater was always the laver (*lavatorium*). There are two kinds of laver: the circular or polygonal with a basin and a central fountain, and the rectangular with a long trough. The circular is less frequently found in England than abroad: until the middle of the thirteenth century it was the favourite type; after that date it was superseded in English convents by the trough laver. The usual position of the laver is parallel to or just off the frater walk. Of the circular kind there were examples at Durham and at Canterbury in the twelfth century, and at the Cluniac houses of Wenlock and Lewes. In this type of laver each monk was able

to wash at a separate tap at the central pillar, the water running away to the waste beneath, whence it was conducted by lead pipes to the main

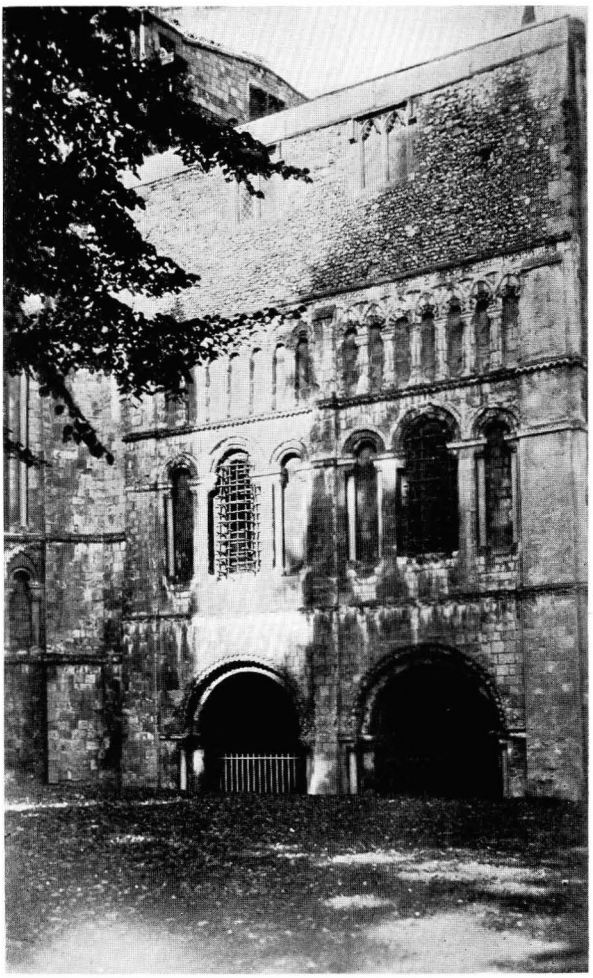

FIG. 49.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. TREASURY.

sewer. Close at hand were the towel cupboards, to which in some monasteries each monk had his key, the doors of the cupboards being pierced 'for to give ayre to the towels'. The *Rites of Durham* has an interesting description of the laver-house in the cloister, the basin of which remains,

though not in its original position, and which is here quoted: "Within ye cloyster garth over against ye Frater-house dour was a fair laver or conduitt for ye mounckes to washe ther hands and faces at, being made in forme Rounde covered wth lead and all of marble saving ye verie uttermost walls. Within ye which walls yo^{w} may walke rownd about ye laver of marble having many little Cunditts or spouts of brasse with XXIIII Cockes of brasse Rownde about it, having in it VII faire wyndowes of stone woorke, and in the top of it a fair dovecotte,[1] covered vynly over above with lead, the workmanship both fyne and costly as is apparent to this daie. And adjoyninge to ye est side of the Counditt dour, ther did hang a bell to give warning, at a leaven of ye clocke, for ye mounckes to come wash and dyne, having the closette or almeries on either side of ye frater house dour kept alwaies with swete and clene towels as is aforesaid to drie ther hands." It will be noticed from this description that the laver-house was probably octagonal in plan about the round basin, seven windows being mentioned, the space of the eighth being occupied by the entrance to the laver from the cloister walk.[2] The laver at Wenlock was also an octagonal building, twenty feet in diameter, and had an open arcade carried upon coupled columns. Much ingenuity was devoted to the laver, which, particularly in detached examples, readily lent itself to decorative elaboration. At Watton there was a highly ornamented example, and that at Lewes, of which some fragments have been preserved, was reminiscent of south Italian Romanesque design in detail, the circular basin of the laver, as at Wenlock, set round with a ring of coupled shafts spirally fluted, somewhat recalling those in the cloister at Monreale, supporting probably a domical vault, with the sides of the basin treated with arcading in relief. This kind of laver-house has an interesting parallel in the *Phiale* which is found in some eastern monasteries, *e.g.* at Vatopedi on Mount Athos, which consists of a pillared dome containing a bronze fountain.

Of the commoner kind of trough laver there are a number of examples remaining, as at Worcester and at Gloucester. At the former it is in the western side of the cloister but close to the frater; at the latter it

[1] The dovecot was a later addition.

[2] Compare the arrangement of the well-known 'lavatory tower' in the infirmary cloister at Canterbury.

is opposite the frater and projects slightly into the cloister for about half the length of the walk, the towel cupboards being in the frater wall.

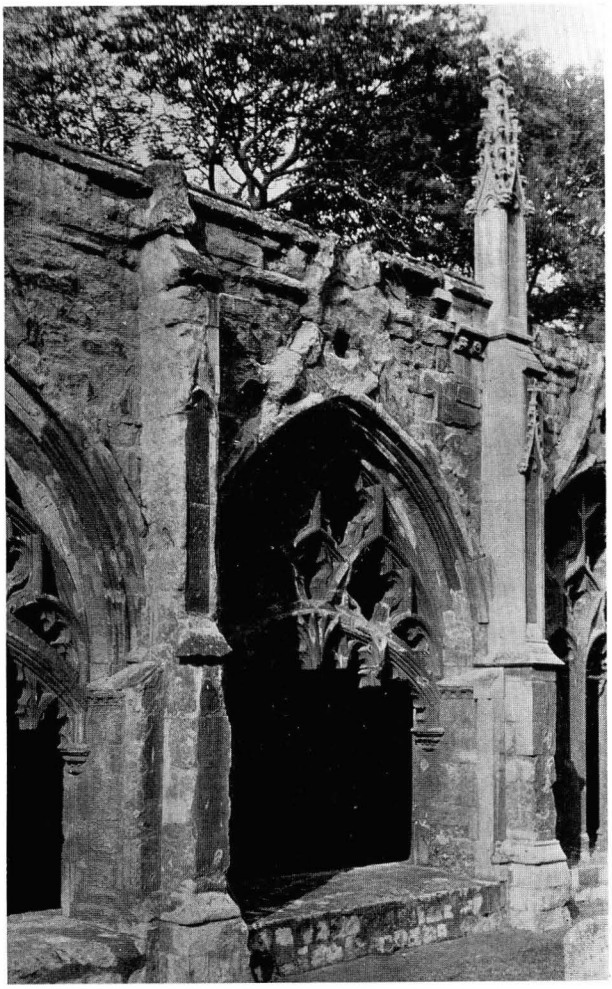

FIG. 50.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. SITE OF LAVER IN CLOISTER.

At Canterbury the position of the later laver (Fig. 50) was normal and projected only slightly into the cloister garth. At Valle Crucis the laver-house was in the garth parallel to the frater range but placed some feet from it, water probably being pumped from the adjoining spring

and running from the laver trough to the drain of the rere-dorter. Sometimes, as recorded of Barnwell, there was a whetstone and sand kept at the laver for sharpening knives. For purposes of discipline the laver-house counted as part of the frater, and was therefore under the charge of the fraterer.

(8) The Kitchens

The kitchens lay to the west or south-west of the frater; either closely to the rear of it as at Durham (Fig. 6) or set back for some distance as at Canterbury, and connected by a covered way, the space between forming the kitchen court (Fig. 36). In numerous houses, *e.g.* Durham, Beaulieu, Fountains, Rievaulx, Tintern, food was served through a hatch in the wall of the frater. This was probably the case in the majority of Cistercian houses after the change of position of the frater, when the kitchen adjoined the frater wall. The fine kitchens at Glastonbury, *c.* 1400, and Durham, *c.* 1368, remain to show the kind of building to be found in the greater monasteries. Both of these are octagonal internally, rising to a vaulted roof. Fireplaces were arranged in the four angles, the smoke from which rose through flues, and at Glastonbury issued from four angle chimneys with a central lantern for ventilation. The Glastonbury kitchen measures thirty-three feet ten inches each way, and is forty-one feet high. At Furness the older kitchen to the infirmary was octagonal; and at Jervaulx the square Tudor meat-kitchen, measuring twenty-nine feet six inches by twenty-eight feet six inches, is almost complete. In smaller convents the kitchen was generally rectangular, and sometimes, as at Lacock, followed Cistercian practice in being incorporated in the range instead of standing outside it.

In addition to its open fires the kitchen had generally at least two ovens, one large and one smaller, and sometimes as many as four or five bread ovens, as well as circular pits or seatings for taking copper cauldrons with fires beneath. At Fountains also there was a chute in the floor of the kitchen for the disposal of refuse, connecting with the stream used for drainage.

(9) The Western Range

The western range was primarily devoted to the cellarer's use, the ground floor being the great store (*cellarium*) of the monastery.

In addition to its use as cellarage the ground floor of the western range contained the exit through the buildings to the outer court, and the outer parlor in which visitors and merchants were received who came to interview any member or officer of the convent. In small monasteries, such as many canons' houses, guests were received in the outer parlor. At Gloucester, where there was no range of claustral buildings west of the cloister walk, it lay next the church, just west of the cloisters, with the abbot's chapel above. At Canterbury, where the palace was to the west of the cellarer's building, it was at the end of the west range furthest from the church. At Lacock it was in the middle. Frequently the *cellarium* was subdivided, particularly in nunneries, the small chambers being used as checkers for the obedientiars, and sometimes as guest-chambers. In houses of canons, the parlor, as at Bradsole and Leiston, was often to be found at the northern end of the range, close to the church. At Easby, where provision for guests was on a larger scale than in most canons' houses, the southern part of the west range was used for guests in addition to another large guest-house west of the range.

The western range was therefore more secular in its use than the other parts of the cloister, as its work lay chiefly in connection with the outer world, and it was for this reason that it was thus used, being furthest from the quire, chapter-house, etc.

In the description of the dorter mention has been made of exceptional cases in which this is found in connection with the western range. At Durham the ground floor of this part of the buildings offers an uncommon and interesting combination of chambers usually found in the eastern undercroft with those normal to the western. This can be followed in Fig. 6.

This western range was of considerable length, extending nearly four bays beyond the south walk, and its southern angle connected with that of the kitchen. Against the church wall was a stair from the end of the north walk up to the dorter, used both by day and by night. Next to this a single bay was walled off as the treasury. The next two bays formed the common-room. Half-way along the range the rere-dorter projected westwards for some seventy feet; next to this was the slype through the undercroft from the cloisters to the infirmary, and beyond this passage the remaining bays formed the *cellarium* in addition to the

undercroft of the frater. Outside the range, between the projecting Galilee and Lady Chapel on the north and the rere-dorter, was a small

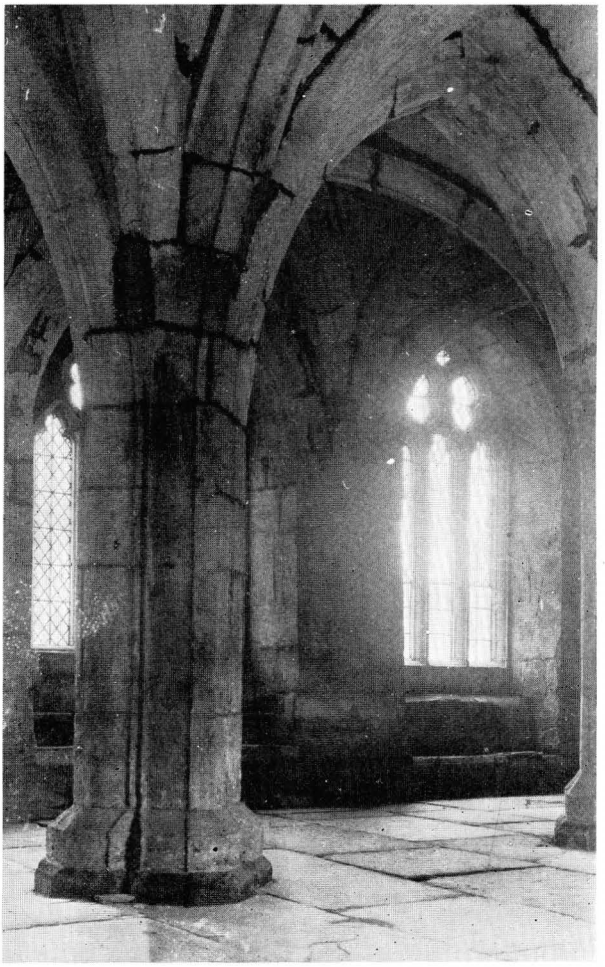

FIG. 51.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY. INTERIOR OF CHAPTER-HOUSE.

space used as a garden in which after frater the novices and junior monks "did sumtymes recreate themselves" with bowls and other games until it was time to resume work in cloister.

In some monasteries a library or *scriptorium* was formed out of the

upper floor of the western range in later days, as at Evesham in 1317 by Abbot Brokehampton. Such libraries would be in addition to the book cupboards in cloister, not in supersession of them, as the cloister cupboards remained in use to the last.

(10) The Cistercian Cloister; Eastern Range

In the planning of the cloister, as of the church, it is the Cistercian Order which provides both the most interesting and the most frequent exceptions to the normal Benedictine arrangement.

In the Cistercian eastern range the chapter-house is found in the usual position, but the small chamber between it and the church varies in its arrangement. In most Cistercian convents this room was divided into two parts. Doubtless the uses to which these chambers were put varied to some extent even in houses of the same Order, but the eastern seems nearly always to have been a sacristy or a vestry (as at Beaulieu, Jervaulx, Fountains, Netley, Kirkstall, Tintern, Roche, Croxden, and probably Valle Crucis), and the western, at least in early days, the book cupboard which formed the nucleus of the later library. The sacristy was entered only from the church, and the library only from the cloister. At Waverley there is no intervening chamber between church and chapter-house.

The Cistercian chapter-house caused no difficulty in planning the dorter overhead, as the practice was to keep the roof of the chapter-house low enough to allow of the dorter floor being level throughout its length and extending over the eastern range without interruption by a lofty chapter-house. Furness, already mentioned, provides an exception by interrupting the level of the dorter floor by the roof of the chapter-house. This building was almost universally rectangular, generally planned with three aisles, and vaulted from the piers of the aisles (Fig. 51). At Cleeve (Fig. 52) it was vaulted in one span. Sometimes, as at Furness and Margam, there was a vestibule to the chapter-house; but generally it opened directly off the cloister, and the entrance door in the west wall had on either side a similar opening, giving light to the interior (Fig. 46). The west wall at Valle Crucis is uncommon and interesting in its arrangement (Fig. 54). Here the usual openings are

absent, that on the left being replaced by a book cupboard (*armarium commune*) of unusual design, and that on the right by the day-stairs.

At Fountains and at Furness the original wall between vestry and library was removed in later days and the books moved to the east end of the chapter-house, where the north and south aisles were partitioned off. It is probable that the same procedure was followed at Valle Crucis and the library and vestry turned into a passage-room as at Fountains, the

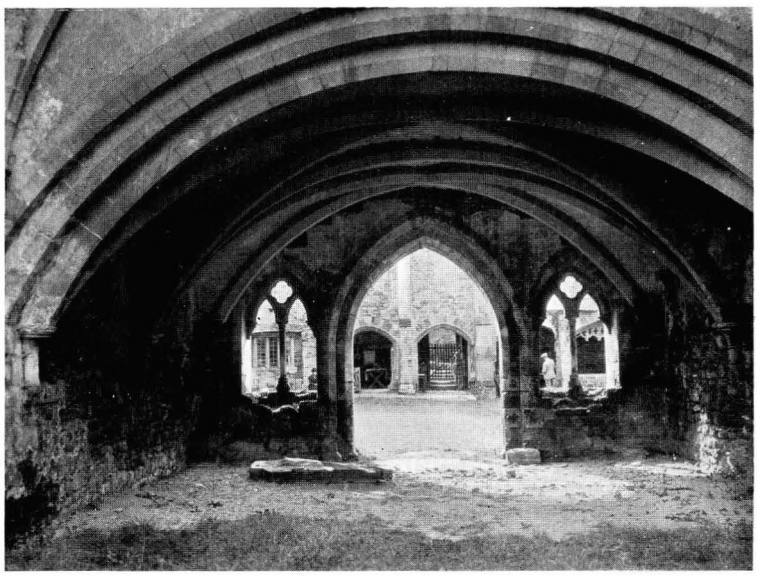

FIG. 52.—CLEEVE ABBEY, SOMERSET. INTERIOR OF CHAPTER-HOUSE.

books being then removed to this book cupboard. It will be seen (Fig. 42) that the head of this opening is made up of some fragments of earlier tracery combined with curvilinear work of the same period as the chapter-house in the fourteenth century rebuilding.

Next to the chapter-house, in early buildings, come the day-stairs leading up to the dorter; but after the twelfth century, or a little earlier, it became general to place the day-stairs in the east end of the south range, instead of in the original position. Examples of the early position in the east range are at Kirkstall, Cleeve (Fig. 45), Valle Crucis (Fig. 54), and Fountains before 1147; of the later position in the south range

at Netley, Tintern, Furness, Beaulieu, Buildwas, and Fountains after 1147.

The Cistercian dorter and rere-dorter follow the normal usage. At Valle Crucis the dorter extends in length over the parlour and chapter-house, but in width occupies only two bays of the latter, the rere-dorter and parlour being the same width as the dorter. At Kirkstall, like Valle Crucis, the rere-dorter is to the south of the dorter instead of lying at an angle to it. Either side of the door leading from dorter to rere-dorter were sometimes openings through the wall, as at Valle Crucis and Fountains, probably used for lamps to give light both ways.

Where the chapter-house below the dorter did not project to the east, the dorter above remained a long narrow chamber, but in some monasteries, such as Kirkstall, Cleeve, Fountains, Buildwas, and elsewhere, the chapter-house ran out eastward beyond the main wall of the range. In such cases the dorter generally followed suit and projected over the chapter-house. In some instances this eastern part was raised slightly, but not so invariably. Nor is there any rule as to the treatment of this chamber. At Kirkstall and Cleeve it was walled off, and entered by a door; in other cases, as at Fountains, there does not seem to have been any subdivision. In some cases, *e.g.* Valle Crucis, where the chapter-house projects east of the range (Fig. 53), the dorter does not extend over it, but in this abbey behind the dorter to the east is a narrow chamber built at a later period, extending over the remainder of the chapter-house. The windows in what was originally the dorter east wall remain between the dorter and this narrow chamber, which, like the extensions above, may have been used as a dorter by some of the obedientiars.

In Cistercian cloisters a small chamber is frequently found between the transept wall and the dorter on the dorter level. Off this to the east —*i.e.* over the sacristy—there is found in some houses a small chamber considered to have been the treasury; this plan is found at Fountains, Kirkstall, Meaux, and Netley. At the latter the small window in the eastern wall of this chamber—judging by its relation to the old relieving-arch—appears to have been inserted slightly later than the first work, and, in spite of its height from the ground, can be seen to have been strongly barred. At Valle Crucis the chamber between dorter and tran-

sept has a fireplace in the east wall, the party-wall between the two chambers having been taken down apparently at the Suppression.

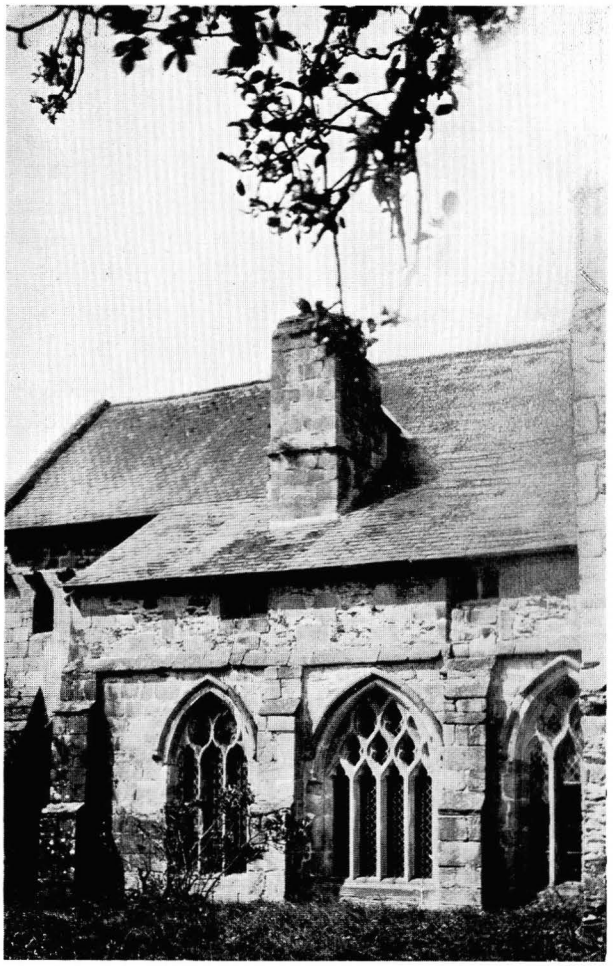

FIG. 53.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY. CHAPTER-HOUSE FROM THE EAST.

To return to the ground floor: next beyond the day-stairs when in the earlier position comes the parlor, the *auditorium juxta capitulum*, between the day-stairs and the eastern undercroft. This parlor was frequently also the slype to the eastern part of the monastery, as at

Beaulieu and Valle Crucis (Fig. 55), and occupied in width a bay of the undercroft, though in some cases there was in addition a passage or slype through the sub-vault of the rere-dorter to the infirmary. At Fountains the parlor measured twenty-seven feet six inches by ten feet six inches, and at Jervaulx thirty-one feet by twelve feet.

In many Cistercian houses the parlor appears more suited to its purpose than in Benedictine houses, and it is probable that with the greater latitude allowed in Benedictine monasteries it was used simply as a slype. It is hardly possible to conceive of conventual business being effectually transacted in such a parlor-slype as the draughty tunnel at Winchester, widely open at both ends, or of the obedientiars consenting to such a custom for any length of time.

The Cistercian eastern range, like the Benedictine, often extended considerably south of the cloisters, as at Fountains, Furness, Waverley, and in most of the greater monasteries. The use of the undercroft varied in different houses, and no absolute rule can be laid down as to the purpose of the different chambers into which it was often subdivided.

At Fountains the undercroft was 103 feet long, but had only two windows and was used for cellarage and store-rooms, being originally divided into a number of chambers. Furness, on the other hand, had an open undercroft, as also Jervaulx originally. At Netley and at Neath the undercrofts have original fireplaces, and at Rievaulx the undercroft has the unusual feature of two fireplaces. The part of the undercroft at Netley which contains the fireplace was at one time walled off from the rest of the chamber.

In some cases there was an unusual treatment of the southern termination of the eastern undercroft, when the last bay was an open arcade instead of the usual solid wall. At Jervaulx the end wall was formed of two arches open to the south. At Furness the two end bays were open on three sides; the same treatment was adopted at Croxden and Fountains. The fine arcade (thirteenth century) remaining to the south of the east range at Winchester forms an interesting comparison, though not a parallel instance.

The use of this eastern loggia in Cistercian houses is uncertain, and whatever its purpose the need soon disappeared, as it was walled up at Furness in the early thirteenth century, having only been built in the

late years of the preceding century; and at Jervaulx, where it was built in the thirteenth century, in the fourteenth it was blocked by a lobby and an attached chapel.

The most probable use of the eastern undercroft, where obviously intended for living in, is that it was devoted to the novices and their master as common-room and dorter. In the eastern walk of the Cistercian cloister the master of the novices held his school. As late as 1517 at Clairvaux, on the occasion of the visit of the Queen of Sicily, the undercroft formed the quarters of the novices, and it is likely that this practice had survived from an early period, in view of the allocation of the western range of the cloisters to the lay-brethren. Where there are original fireplaces to be found in the eastern undercroft, as at Rievaulx and Netley, their presence would tend to confirm the use of this part of the range by the novices. In Benedictine houses the novices, as is stated of Durham, slept in the monks' dorter, but placed together at one end of it.

In later years some parts of the eastern undercroft appear to have been converted for use as an annexe to the infirmary; this is mentioned later under the appropriate heading. The eastern range of buildings has fortunately been preserved to a remarkable extent in several Cistercian abbeys; Valle Crucis and Cleeve have been instanced, and to these and others should be added Ford in Dorset, which offers a very perfect example: the chapter-house is complete, vaulted in one span, with an early Renaissance screen added; the dorter has already been mentioned, with the room over the chapter-house remaining. Vaulted chapter-houses also remain at Kirkstall and at Rievaulx.

(11) The Cistercian Frater Range

It is in the planning of the range opposite the church that the Cistercian cloister offers the greatest contrast to the normal. Until the end of the twelfth century the usual custom obtained of arranging the frater parallel to the cloister. But with the enormous expansion of the Order in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, far beyond anything anticipated or (to judge by the Edict of 1152) desired, the accommodation in the existing monasteries, in spite of numerous new foundations, became very cramped. The planning of the frater itself was therefore

changed, and, instead of being parallel to, it was placed at right angles to the cloister. This allowed the frater to be extended to the south as far as necessary. In other Orders, where the kitchens were often outside the cloister range, more room was available for the frater; but the Cister-

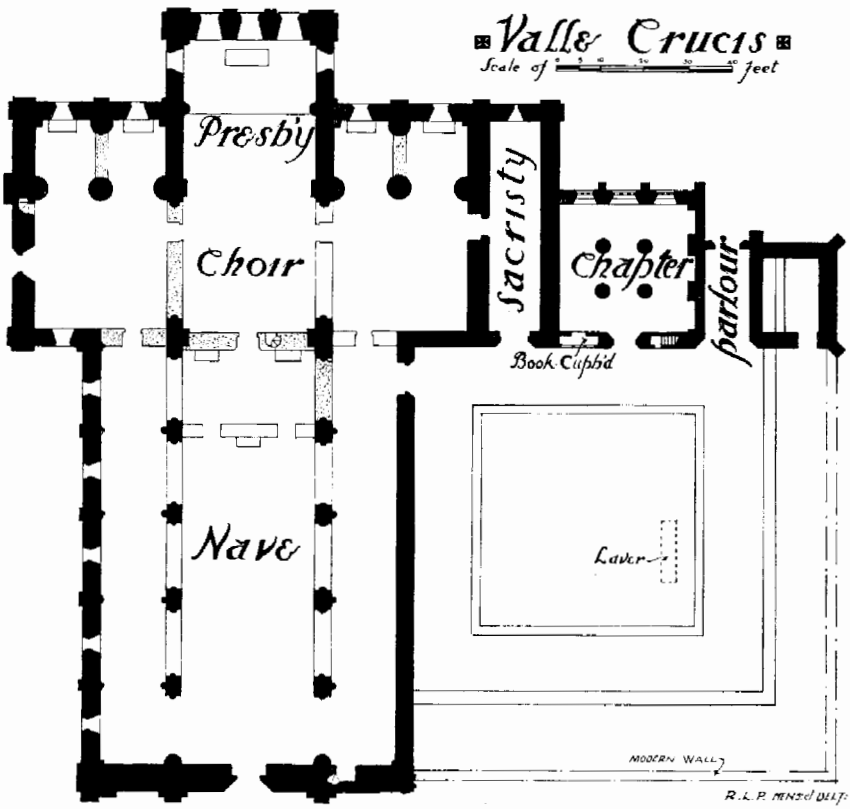

FIG. 54.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY, DENBIGH.
PLAN OF CHURCH AND REMAINING BUILDINGS.

cians, who desired to keep the kitchen within the range, and whose activities being less secular enabled a smaller kitchen served by members of the Order to suffice, were by the new arrangements of the frater able to keep the kitchens in the western angle of the frater range. In addition, a smaller kitchen was required than in other Orders, meat never being cooked in the frater kitchen by the Cistercians nor allowed in frater. At

Fountains to economise space two fireplaces were back to back. The existence of the lay-brethren formed another reason in favour of the retention of the kitchen in the cloister, as, being between the frater on the one hand and the western range used by the lay-brethren on the other, the one kitchen was able to serve both fraters. Hatches between kitchen and frater were common, and can still be seen at Fountains, Rievaulx, Tintern, and Beaulieu. The early Cistercian frater was seldom upon an upper floor, as was frequent in other Orders, but at Rievaulx it stood upon an undercroft, necessitated by the difference in levels of site, and at Cleeve when the frater was remodelled in the fifteenth century it was placed on the upper floor and also parallel to the cloister, returning with the diminution of numbers to the plan in use before their increase.

Sibton (Suffolk) and Merevale (Warwick) are two rare instances of Cistercian fraters which always lay east and west, parallel with the cloister. Cistercian fraters remain at Ford, Beaulieu, and Cleeve.[1] Adjoining the frater on the east is normally found the warming-house. This was a smaller chamber than in many houses of other Orders, though with a fireplace generally of adequate size, the hearth at Waverley measuring eighteen feet by six feet. At Fountains the warming-house measured thirty-eight feet six inches by twenty-two feet six inches; and at Tintern thirty-eight feet by fourteen feet. Two fireplaces were frequent; at Rievaulx there were two, one in the east and one in the west wall, with the wood-lodge to the south. At Fountains both fireplaces were in the east wall. At Tintern there was a central hearth, seven feet by three feet, enclosed in a kind of double arcade which ran across the room. In no case were the fireplaces against the cloister wall. This later position of the warming-house in the south range is probably copied from the example of Cîteaux, which had its warming-house between frater and east range, and this arrangement has been suggested as due to a desire to give up the whole of the eastern undercroft to the novices and their master. Amongst examples of the greater houses in which it is found in this position are Kirkstall, Tintern, Fountains, Beaulieu, Rievaulx. At Meaux, *c.* 1182, Louth Park, *c.* 1227, and Newenham, *c.* 1324, there is evidence of its construction as an independent building.

[1] For later uses of Cistercian fraters see *Misericord*, p. 159.

In the cloister the Cistercian laver followed the normal usage, the most common kind being some form of trough laver, though at Beaulieu this was of rather an elaborate kind. The laver is found on one and on both sides of the frater door, and it will be remembered that with the change in position of the frater the entrance and the lavers became approximately central in the south walk, instead of being as before towards the western end. At Rievaulx the laver was on either side of the frater door, at Beaulieu and Netley on one side only. An exception is found at Mellifont, Co. Louth, where as at Clairvaux the laver stood within an octagonal conduit-house which projected into the cloister garth.

(12) The Cistercian Western Range

The western range was used as in other Orders by the cellarer, with the usual passage through the ground floor to the outer court. Part of this floor formed the frater of the lay-brethren, who used the west walk as their part of the cloister when not engaged in manual labour, and had their dorter and rere-dorter upon the upper floor. The whole of the western range came under the jurisdiction of the cellarer, and the lay-brethren were also directly under his authority. The length of this block was often considerable. At Fountains (Fig. 58) it extended to twenty-two bays, and its subdivisions, apart from the space occupied by the lay-brothers' frater, followed very much the usual arrangement.

The normal position of the outer parlor and slype was at the end next the kitchens, beyond which was the lay-brethren's frater, of which examples remain at Fountains and at Waverley. To the other side of the passage, towards the church, the remainder of the undercroft was divided into cellarage and checkers by walls between the bays as required by the individual needs of each house, sometimes with doors leading directly from the various chambers to the cloister or to the court. At Fountains the magnificent undercroft (Fig. 58) is vaulted in two aisles and is twenty-two bays long. Here, as at Jervaulx, the original outer parlor probably adjoined the church. The cellar occupied four bays and the lay-brothers' frater twelve. The entrance was unusually roomy and took two bays. The undercroft at Furness, fifteen bays long, followed much the same arrangement. At Rievaulx—where the western range is disproportionately small in view of the scale of its

other buildings—it has been suggested that the undercroft of the monks' frater was used for the frater of the lay-brothers.

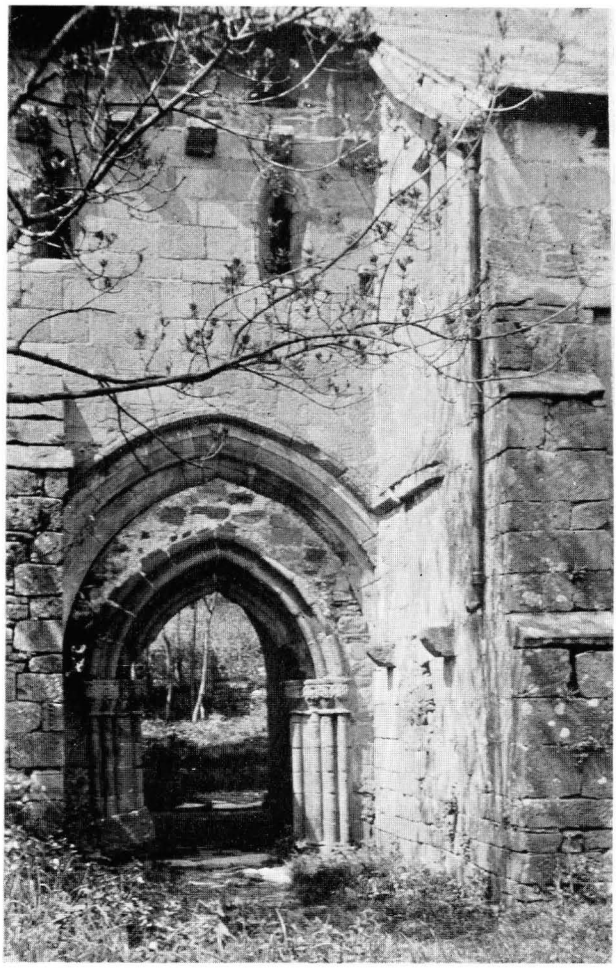

FIG. 55.—VALLE CRUCIS ABBEY. PARLOR AND SLYPE.

At Beaulieu the *domus conversorum* is largely complete; to the south of the range was originally a smaller building continuing the line of the main block, which it is probable was the infirmary of the lay-brothers. In other monasteries of the larger kind this infirmary lay to the west of

and parallel with the west range, with the rere-dorter connecting the two.

In Cistercian cloisters, owing to the difference in the route taken by the Sunday Procession, the western processional entrance is not found at the end of the west walk, the Cistercian custom directing the procession outside or through the cellarer's range instead of along the walk of the cloister. The door is therefore to be found in the undercroft

FIG. 56.—BEAULIEU ABBEY, HANTS. FRATER.

itself, when the range joins the church, as at Fountains. Where the range lay west of the church, the door went through the angle which touched or adjoined the church, as at Hayles. Where there was no door, as at Valle Crucis, the west entrance to the church was used. The same doorway which formed the western processional entrance was used by the lay-brothers as their entrance to the church by day. In most cases they had their own night-stairs directly into the church. At Fountains it descended from the north end of their dorter, as also at Roche and Beaulieu. At Jervaulx and Furness the arrangement resembled that of the

monks' dorter in the western range of Durham. At Tintern and Netley, where the range stopped short of the church, the stair descended along the cloister wall and was covered by a pentise communicating with the church through a skew passage in the south-west angle. At Netley the passage is covered over where it passes between the south-west buttress and the west wall of the church. At Valle Crucis it is probable that the lay-brothers used the vice in the south-west angle of the church, reaching it by a short length of gallery from the dorter.

In connection with the planning of the western range there is in some Cistercian houses another feature of interest. This is a narrow yard or court which lies between the western wall of the cloister and the western range, separating the two. It is not found in the majority of Cistercian houses, though those in which it is known to have existed are of importance. This court was used in the parent houses of Cîteaux and Clairvaux, and in England at Kirkstall, Byland, Pipewell, and Beaulieu. Like another feature already described, the open-ended south range, this court soon disappeared. It is natural to suppose that it was designed on account of the presence of the lay-brothers, and its absorption into the cloister at Kirkstall after the lay-brothers ceased to be of importance tends to confirm the view that it was used as a *claustrum conversorum*. On the other hand, at Fountains in 1147, when the rebuilding took place, it was not found necessary to add one, though at that time the lay-brethren were numerous. Its object was not, therefore, to secure perfect quietude in cloister, nor is it wide enough to ensure it. Where this court of the lay-brothers exists, the door to the church which formed their day entrance and the western processional entrance, was placed at the end of it, which avoided the inconvenience of a door actually in the undercroft itself.

At Hayles after the disappearance of the lay-brothers the western range was converted to the abbot's use and a new door made at the end of the west cloister walk. The cloister thus became identical in its arrangement with the Benedictine so far as the route of the Sunday Procession was concerned.

CHAPTER VII

THE EXTRA-CLAUSTRAL BUILDINGS

(1) The Infirmary Group; The Misericord

The infirmary buildings were the most important of those which lay without the great cloister. Normally the infirmary was placed to the east of the cloister and away from the stir and bustle of the outer court, but in some monasteries in which the position of the dorter was unusual the infirmary is also found on the same side of the cloisters as the dorter, *e.g.* both at Durham and at Worcester the dorter is to the west of the cloister and the infirmary follows suit. In some of the larger Benedictine houses the infirmary is connected with the great cloister by a second and smaller cloister, as at Canterbury and at Gloucester (Figs. 36 and 9), and in important Cistercian convents it was connected with the claustral buildings by a long covered-way forming the infirmary passage. In the majority of monasteries it formed a detached group. Occasionally the lie of the land affected the placing of the infirmary to a certain extent; as at Furness, where the exigencies of the site caused the new infirmary to be built to the south in the fourteenth century, and at Haughmond, where the buildings straggle from north to south, the infirmary was placed to the south-west of the kitchen court, adjoining the abbot's lodging.

The infirmary was not only the temporary lodging-place of the sick; it was also the living quarters of brethren advanced in years, who, having been members of their Order for fifty years or more, dwelt there in serenity, released from the strict following of daily routine in church and cloister. Nor is this the least noteworthy aspect of mediaeval monasticism: that it was possible for old age to be untroubled. From the

FIG. 57.—BEAULIEU ABBEY. FRATER PULPIT.

fears which beset the soldier in the rough world of those days when the sword-hand grew heavy and the keen eye dim, and the ague-twisted labourer who began to wonder if when he could no longer work neither should he eat—from these the monk was largely free.

The permanent infirmaries were built after the completion of the church and cloister to which they belonged, and, owing probably to the first infirmaries being wooden structures, few very early examples remain, though at Canterbury and Ely twelfth century buildings can be seen. In the thirteenth century there was a considerable rebuilding of infirmaries; in many cases the position was changed. The infirmary group in large monasteries consisted normally of the infirmary hall, the chapel attached to it, the 'misericord' or flesh-frater, and the infirmary kitchen. The hall was the 'ward', as it would be called to-day, and was a rectangular building, often of considerable size, with the chapel on its east side. At Fountains the infirmary hall was one hundred and seventy feet by seventy feet. Where the hall had its main axis east and west the chapel was at the end, as at Canterbury; where it lay north and south, as at Fountains, it was to the east side.

The hall was of two types: the open chamber plan, and the aisled plan. The aisled plan, as at Canterbury, Gloucester, Peterborough, and other places, consisted of a chamber divided into three alleys by an arcade, or by simple timber posts, thus forming a nave and aisles. In the side alleys or aisles the beds were arranged at right angles along the walls as in a modern hospital. At Furness they appear to have been placed in alcoves parallel with the side walls. Where the hall was open without aisles, light was admitted by windows in the walls above the beds, and where the chamber was aisled, by windows in the clerestory. In the greater houses the construction of the infirmary was as careful and permanent as any other part of the monastery, and considerable parts of them remain standing.

The general tendency towards subdivision and privacy in the claustral buildings, commented upon in the preceding chapter, is also to be noted in the design of the infirmary. Like the dorter, it was at first an open room without divisions, but in the same way as the dorter became subdivided into cubicles, so in later days the infirmary hall was commonly divided into separate small rooms with a bed to each.

This was done at Meaux and Canterbury towards the end of the fourteenth century, the south aisle of the Canterbury infirmary being walled off and partitioned for the use of the sub-prior. At Fountains the infirmary hall was subdivided *c.* 1500. It was also done at Kirkstall and Waverley. In some cases part of the undercroft in the eastern range of Cistercian houses was devoted at a later date to the use of the infirmary. At Jervaulx in the fifteenth century the eastern alley of the undercroft was divided into small chambers, each with its fireplace, with the western side of the building open as a passage, the eastern infirmary remaining as a separate building. By the beginning of the fifteenth century this practice of subdivision in the infirmary hall had become very general.

The arrangement of the infirmary at Westminster was unusual; when it was remodelled in the fourteenth century the infirmary hall was removed but its chapel retained, and separate small rooms arranged round a court formed by the disappearance of the hall.

Cistercian infirmaries were frequently further away from the cloister than those of other Orders, and considerable use was made of covered passages of permanent construction which connected the eastern part of the monastery. At Fountains, Furness, Kirkstall, Rievaulx, Jervaulx, and Beaulieu there were passages between the infirmary and the eastern cloister range, and frequently branch passages led off to the transept or quire of the church.

In most Orders the infirmary was generally used by the *minuti* while recovering from the periodical bleedings, but Cistercians, who were bled in companies four times a year, were not allowed to use the infirmary in earlier days, though this rule was relaxed later.

The infirmary kitchen was a small building adjoining the infirmary hall. Here the somewhat more nourishing food for the sick and infirm was cooked, and served in the chamber known as the 'misericord' to those who were able to be up. From small beginnings the misericord came to play a large part in the relaxation of the strict rules as to diet which became so general in later days. Originally the eating of meat at all was only possible by indulgence (*misericordia*), hence the name which came to be applied to the place in which it was eaten. As the indulgence was only granted at first to monks whose health required it, the misericord was naturally placed amongst the buildings of the infirmary, though its

position there was fixed only by convenience. As time went on, the use of meat became more usual, but it was still confined to the misericord, even though monks in good health were sometimes, by special permission of the abbot, allowed to eat there. At the end of the thirteenth century this was permitted in some Benedictine houses. With the increasing relaxation as to rules of diet, the desirability of the flesh-frater remaining in connection with the infirmary became of less moment. By

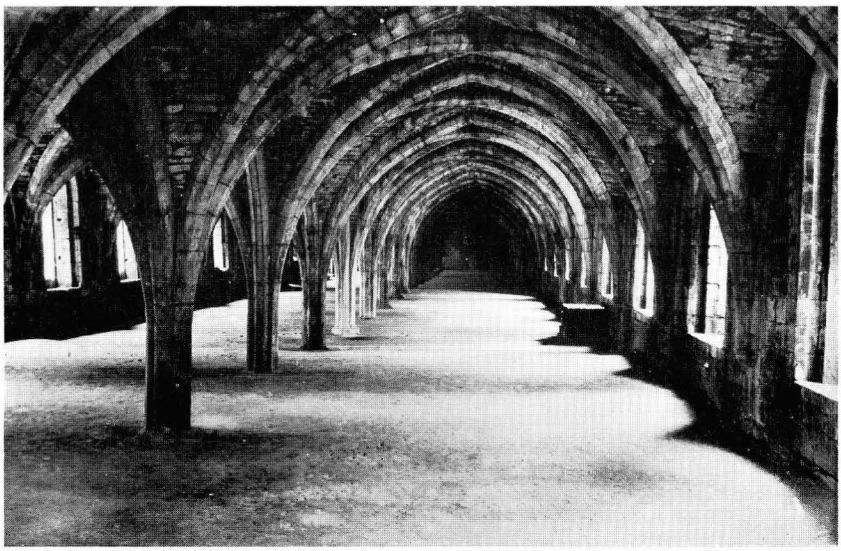

FIG. 58.—FOUNTAINS ABBEY. UNDERCROFT OF THE CELLARER'S RANGE.

the end of the fourteenth century in Benedictine houses the misericord had ceased to fulfil its original purpose as an adjunct to the infirmary, owing to the eating of meat in frater, but the provision of a separate dining-chamber in connection with the infirmary for use by elderly or infirm monks occurs in the fourteenth century in several cases—as at Canterbury when the 'table-hall' was formed to the south of the infirmary hall *c.* 1350, and at Ely one was made in 1334 to the north of the hall there.

While fish was commonly used in other Orders at all periods, it was not allowed to the Cistercians until the mid-thirteenth century—when,

amongst others, the monks of Waverley began their fish-ponds—and meat was prohibited until 1335, when Benedict XII gave permission for flesh to be eaten in the infirmary and at the abbot's invitation in his lodging.[1]

The misericord came into use in Cistercian houses about the end of the fourteenth century, and by the fifteenth century meat was allowed three days a week (Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday) but not in frater, nor was meat ever cooked in the Cistercian frater kitchen. To overcome the difficulties caused by the importation of the misericord into cloister buildings where space was already fully utilised, together with the meat kitchen which it necessitated, a variety of arrangements were adopted, often of a makeshift nature. The most ingenious solution was to turn the frater into a two-storeyed building, the upper part becoming the frater and the lower the misericord. This plan was followed at Kirkstall, Jervaulx, and Ford, and at the latter the frater remains thus divided. At Fountains and Beaulieu the misericord was a separate building, but at Furness a new frater was built with two floors. At Jervaulx the misericord was fitted in neatly between the south end of the frater and the eastern range, leaving a small yard between it and the warming-house. Here, as also at Kirkstall and Furness, a new meat kitchen was built to the south-east of the eastern range.

Cistercian *conversi* had their own infirmary, as they had their own dorter and frater. This was, naturally, close to their part of the monastic buildings, and is to be found to the west of the cloister, as at Fountains, already mentioned.

It is probable that at least in the larger monasteries, particularly of the Benedictine Order, there was a regular resident physician, as at Ely, where the physician had a special garden for the cultivation of herbs for drug-making, which was tended by a gardener whose sole care it was. In small houses one of the members was deputed to tend the sick, generally with boys to help him.

[1] The Benedictines of Winchester appear to have eaten meat in frater at an early date, 1082: "Simeon . . . on being made prior of Winchester, when he marked how the monks, in the refectory, constantly ate flesh".—*Church Historians of England*, vol. iv, p. 357, ed. J. Stevenson, 1856.

(2) The Abbot's Lodging

The abbot's lodging or chambers (*camerae*) have been mentioned as often to be found to the west of the cloister or sometimes in connection with the western range. In cathedral priories, owing to the presence of the bishop's palace, it was necessary for the prior to have his lodgings elsewhere. At Canterbury, where the Archbishop's palace occupied most of the available space outside the western range, the prior's lodgings were placed to the east, with the prior's guest-house to the east of that again. At Gloucester the abbot's lodging was originally to the west of the cloister, with his chapel over the outer parlor; when the abbot required more accommodation he built a new lodging (*c.* 1329) of considerable size to the north of the cloister and adjoining the infirmary, the prior taking possession of the old abbot's lodgings (Fig. 9). At Durham the prior's lodgings were to the south-east of the cloister (Fig. 6), as also at Winchester. At Peterborough and at Chester the abbot's hall, chamber, and chapel occupied the first floor of the western range; and at Peterborough it was extended considerably beyond the range to the west.

In Cistercian houses the earlier lodging is more often to be found to the east of the monastic buildings than to the west, owing to the presence of the lay-brethren in the western part of the monastery.

The injunction in Cistercian statutes that the abbot should sleep in the dorter amongst the brethren soon became interpreted with a certain amount of elasticity. At first it was literally obeyed; then, as at Valle Crucis, the abbot's chamber was placed adjoining the dorter and communicating with it. But the growth of monasticism in general and particularly the expansion of the Cistercian Order rendered such primitive simplicity impracticable, and the abbot's lodging grew to contain a suite of chambers which included his solar, bedroom, and a chapel, but which was still to some extent connected with the dorter building by means of a passage, as at Fountains. At Kirkstall there was a passage from the abbot's lodging to the church, and in connection with these the opportunity was sometimes taken to form a gallery-pew looking into the church, and accessible from the abbot's lodgings, from which he could see the celebration of Mass. At Fountains, Abbot Huby (1494–1526)

built a gallery-pew which looked on to the High Altar. At Rievaulx there was a gallery between the infirmary and the church, connecting with the abbot's lodgings, and which had on the upper floor an oriel pew in the aisle wall looking into the church. In some cases the abbot appears to have used the misericord kitchen to supply his own requirements; at Fountains there is no kitchen in connection with the lodgings, but there is a passage connecting them with the end of the misericord where the dais stood. In this case it is probable that the misericord served as the abbot's hall. An early example of a detached abbot's lodging occurs at Kirkstall, where a three-storeyed house dates from the end of the twelfth century. At Croxden and at Meaux, abbots' lodgings were built *c.* 1270–1290, some of which were built by abbots against their retirement. At Croxden again in 1335 and 1336 a new lodging was finished by Abbot Richard, of great splendour: *magnis sumptibus perfecit eam.*

After the disappearance of the lay-brethren from the Cistercian Order there was a large amount of room to spare, particularly on the upper floor of the western range, the whole of which had been given over to the lay-brothers' dorter, and the heads of convents were able to follow the practice common in other monasteries and convert the western range or part of it to the abbot's lodging; *e.g.* at Hayles, where, as itemised at the Suppression, were "The late abbots lodging extending from the church to the frater southward with payntre buttre kitchen larder sellers and the lodgings over the same". At Ford in Dorset, Abbot Chard, *c.* 1520, built the splendid hall and lodging remaining to the west of the north range. At Cymmer Abbey there also stands a fine late hall, detached from the cloister to the west.

The Cluniac Priory of Castle Acre retains the later prior's lodgings to the west of the cloister. Here the prior's chapel and solar were formed on the upper floor of the range immediately adjoining the south-west angle of the church; in this angle was an older stair which was adapted to form direct communication between the church and the prior's lodgings. This building, the only part of the priory remaining roofed, contains much detail of interest. (Figs. 59 and 60.) In connection with the abbot's apartments there is mentioned above the provision made for those who resigned their office owing to age or infirmity. Both in Benedictine and Cistercian houses buildings are found, sometimes detached,

which are generally considered to have been used for this purpose, and which are to be found adjoining the infirmary. Instances are at Kirkstall, Waverley and Netley, and at Furness and Jervaulx amongst Cistercian abbeys. These houses were also used as the lodgings of the Visitor, but it is more likely that their permanent use was as the *camerae* of retired Heads of the House, as at St. Albans. In many of the cathedrals to-day the palace or deanery has been adapted from the old lodgings of the abbot and prior of the monastery. In houses which were cathedral priories, such as Durham, Worcester, or Norwich, and which were reconstituted under Henry VIII as cathedrals, there was no need to adapt any of the monastic buildings for use as a bishop's palace, as this already existed. The deaneries were therefore formed out of the old prior's lodging. Other cathedrals of the monastic foundation—*i.e.* abbey churches which after suppression were founded by Henry VIII as cathedrals with chapters of secular clergy—as Gloucester, Peterborough, Bristol, turned the abbot's lodging into the bishop's palace, the prior's lodging becoming the deanery. At Canterbury the guest-house or "new lodginge" built by Prior Goldstone II is now the deanery, and at Ely the deanery has also been formed out of the prior's lodging and guest-house.

(3) The Guest-houses and Almonry

Monastic hospitality was broadly organised according to the classes which availed themselves of it. In no form of society and least of all in a feudal, was it practicable to combine all with satisfaction to any, and in the general arrangement of guest-houses a corresponding subdivision is to be found. In all convents distinguished guests were entertained in the lodging of the abbot or prior, and in important houses, in many of which royalty quartered itself for long periods, it became essential, as has been noticed, for ample accommodation to be made in connection with the abbot's lodging. In canons' houses this was less necessary, as it was permissible for approved guests to enter the frater. Generally a single guest-house sufficed; for the majority of convents were small, not possessed of any great attraction of saint or relic, and often inconvenient of access, and the hospitality of the guest-house was supplemented on one hand by the abbot and on the other by the almonry. But where the

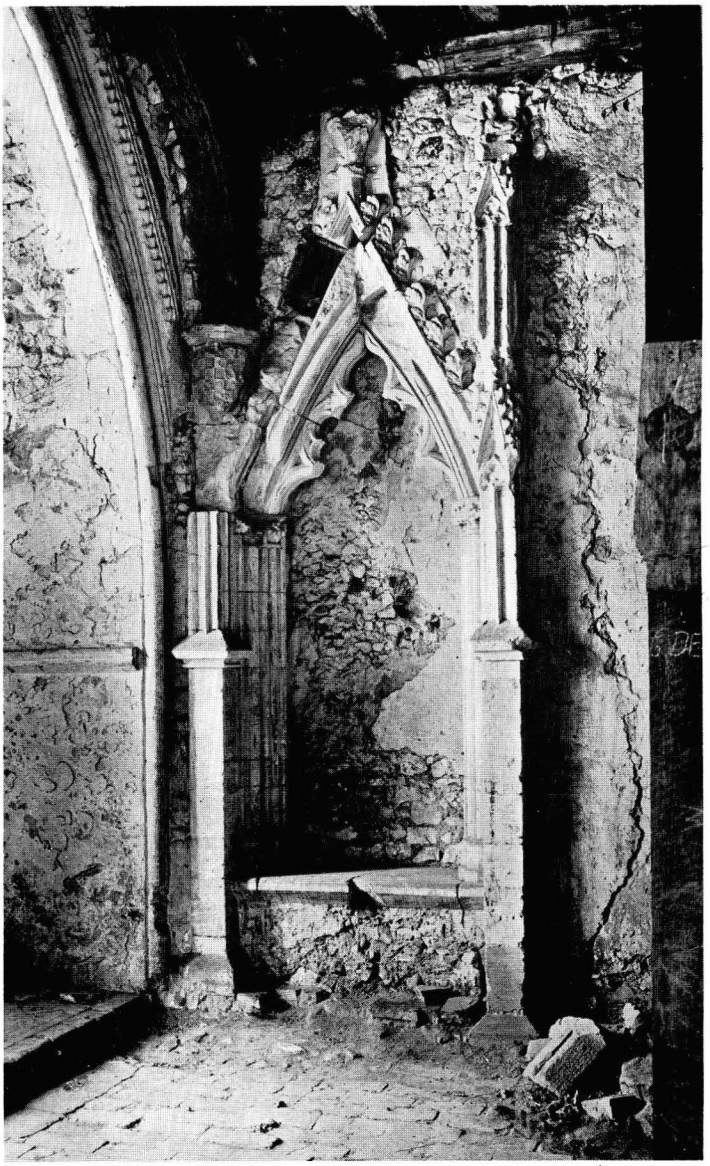

FIG. 59.—CASTLE ACRE PRIORY, NORFOLK. SEAT IN PRIOR'S CHAPEL.

monastery lay upon a main road or was a centre of pilgrimage more elaborate provision of buildings was required. At Canterbury, the most prominent example of elaborate monastic hospitality on a large scale, the buildings devoted to this purpose form a considerable proportion of the total of extra-claustral parts of the convent. (See Fig. 36.) Here the guests entertained by the prior, whose lodging was at first to the east of and adjoining the infirmary cloister, became so numerous that

FIG. 60.—CASTLE ACRE PRIORY. PRIOR'S SOLAR.

two separate houses had to be built for their accommodation. For the middling sort there was the cellarer's hall to the west of the kitchen court, with a later additional building to the north; and for the poor there was the new or north hall beside the Great Gate to the court. Between the gate and the buildings of the cellarer's department a pentise lay against the west wall of the court, as so commonly found in mediaeval building, allowing traffic to keep under cover when passing from one side of the court to the other. A corresponding arrangement of guest-houses was to be found in other monasteries according to their size and popu-

larity. Positions of the hostries vary to a greater extent than those of the monastic buildings themselves. Traditions and requirements which dictated the plan of the claustral buildings applied with less force to the more secular parts of the convent, and convenience of position and available space therefore resulted in considerable variety of arrangement. Thus at Durham the guest-house lay to the west of the court, as at Evesham. At Canterbury, as described, these buildings were largely to the north and to the east; at Haughmond to the south-west, and Peterborough to the extreme south-east of the precinct. In some isolated canons' houses the guest-house adjoined the western range.

The almonry dealt entirely with the poor, and there was therefore no necessity for its inclusion within the monastic buildings. Convenience of administration and probably considerations of health combined to place it either on the outskirts of the precinct or, as frequently just outside. In the almonry the sick poor were maintained, and from it the public charity of the monastery dispensed, all surplus food and broken victuals being given away by the almoner, or his assistant the sub-almoner, at the 'dole-house' door.

(4) Schools, Almshouses, Lay-infirmaries

Closely adjoining the gate or just inside it were generally the schools of those monasteries which maintained them. These were arranged in connection with the almonry, where were taught 'the children of the Almery'. For some time after the Conquest the monastic schools, which under later Anglo-Saxon monasticism had been open to the laity, were confined to the novices who were pressing into the Orders in embarrassingly large numbers. Later, probably owing to the decline in the supply of novices, it appears to have become very usual for religious houses to make some provision for the education of poor children, not necessarily with the sole idea of providing a supply of recruits for the monastery. At Durham, St. Albans, and at Barnwell, schools existed in connection with the almonry. In 1213 the Prior of Bermondsey built a hospital for poor boys adjoining the wall of the convent, in which it is probable teaching was given; and at Canterbury in 1431 the Abbot of St. Augustine's built a school without the gates for the poor boys of the almonry. From the boys educated in these schools the ranks of the

secular clergy were largely recruited. Apart from education given in the almonry, the local grammar schools were sometimes subsidised by monasteries, as at Bury St. Edmunds, and their masters provided, as at St. Albans, where famous scholars like Alexander Neckham (d. 1227)[1] were amongst those who presided over the school. One master of St. Albans

FIG. 61.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. "NORTH HALL."

school, Simon de Gorham, a layman, became subsequently a monk of the abbey and finally its abbot (d. 1146).

The contribution of monasticism to education generally was probably greatest before the Conquest. The enthusiasm which marked the revival of the eleventh century in England naturally tended to exclude

[1] Subsequently Abbot of Cirencester.

from the monastic schools all but those who were to become members of the house or to receive their titles to Orders from it; while from the twelfth century onwards the numbers of grammar schools not connected with religious houses continued to increase. During the last two centuries of monasticism the decline in the literary quality of the chronicles of the monasteries and the increased employment of scribes and illuminators from without are sidelights upon the character and quality of the monastic school—which, though it played no great part in the educational provisions of the time, was yet imperfectly replaced by those who suppressed it.

The maintenance of infirmaries for lay-people and of almshouses for the aged poor was a common form of monastic charity at all periods. At Reading, *c.* 1190, Abbot Hugh the Second founded the Hospital of St. Lawrence for the constant support of thirteen poor persons, who were clothed as well as fed and sheltered. At Durham four aged women were maintained in an infirmary without the gate; at Glastonbury, *c.* 1512, Abbot Beere built almshouses for the maintenance of twelve poor women, and at Malvern thirty poor men were maintained in the almonry. At Fountains the upper floor of the outer gate was used as an almshouse. Lay-infirmaries were particularly to be found in Cistercian houses, as at Newminster, Furness, Meaux, and Pipewell; and infirmaries were sometimes attached to their guest-houses, as at Waverley, where from *c.* 1229 onwards a Mass was said for any stranger who died while a guest of the monastery.

(5) The Gatehouse

The primary object of a gatehouse, whether in secular or monastic organisations, was identical: that of strictly controlling the traffic which was permitted to pass through it. A similarity of design is therefore to be found in these buildings, those to secular establishments being differentiated chiefly by their more formidable fortification. The moral effect created by the design and character of a door, a gate, and particularly of a gatehouse is considerable, and this is an aspect which the monastic houses by no means neglected. In addition, a noble gatehouse is a sign of power and importance, and one immediately recognisable. In the various arrangements of the buildings of the court followed by different

Orders a corresponding variety in the use of the gates is naturally to be found. In Benedictine houses considerable latitude was allowed in the placing of the secular buildings such as the mill, guests' stables, lay-infirmaries, workshops, smithies, and the like, some of which are frequently to be found outside the Great Gate. But Cistercian statutes were strict in prohibiting any building without the walls, and everything connected with their monasteries had to be within the court. This resulted in a double court with inner and outer gates, the secular buildings being restricted to the outer, in order to preserve the quietude of the inner. Even with the simplest form of gate, it was naturally convenient where there was much traffic to combine a lodge for the janitor, so that he might be at his post when required. In this was the nucleus of the later gatehouse.

The Norman gateway had a single large arch through which all traffic passed. Later it became general to have two openings, the larger for pack animals, horsemen, and an occasional wheeled vehicle; the smaller at one side for folk on foot. The north gate at Canterbury shows the original round-arched single opening, which was built in on both sides, forming the two later openings as now existing (Fig. 62). In some cases the single opening was used at a much later date, *e.g.* Kirkham and Bury St. Edmunds.

Few parts of monastic structures remain in such profusion as the gatehouses, which are to be found of all periods and in good preservation. The finest example of an early gate-tower is that which formed the cemetery gate at Bury St. Edmunds (Fig. 63). The adjoining gate (Fig. 64) was the second of the three gates which originally existed, and was the main entrance to the court. This gate was built to replace an earlier one which was destroyed by the insurgent townspeople in 1327, when with the encouragement of the secular clergy of the district they burned and plundered the abbey. At Norwich the Ethelbert Gate (Fig. 65), which gave entry to the court, was built shortly after 1272, when, as at Bury St. Edmunds, the citizens burned the priory gates and practically all the buildings of the court during a riot which lasted for three days. At the same priory the Erpingham Gate (Fig. 66), which formed the entrance of the laity, was built *c.* 1416–25. The gate at Stoneleigh built by Abbot Hockele in 1345 (Fig. 67) shows another type, and

at Canterbury two fine gatehouse towers remain at St. Augustine's Abbey (Figs. 68 and 69), the former dating from *c.* 1309. Canterbury

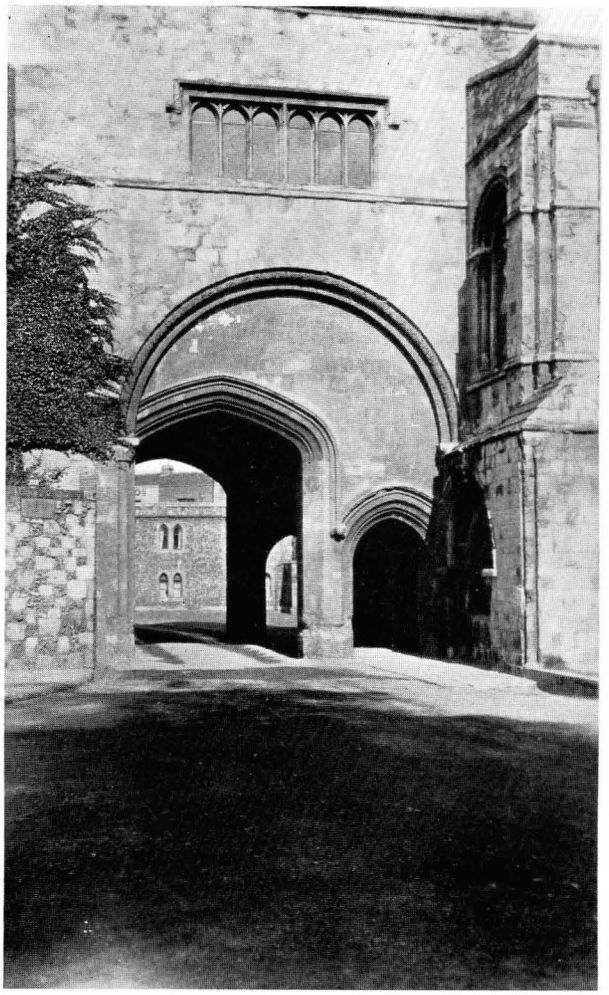

FIG. 62.—CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL PRIORY. NORTH GATE.

Cathedral retains two gates—interesting as showing the treatment of this part of the monastic buildings in the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. The earlier—the North Gate—has been mentioned, and the other

to the south, the well-known Christ Church Gate, built by Prior Goldstone II in 1517, leads from the town to the old lay-graveyard and the church. Battle Abbey retains complete—so far as externals are concerned—one of the finest monastic gatehouses to be found. Licence to crenellate was granted in 1339. Here in addition to the massive gatehouse tower, wide flanking buildings complete an impressive design. (Fig. 70.)

In addition to its use as porter's lodge or as stables, the gatehouse was a convenient place for the detention of offenders, particularly those not entitled to benefit of clergy, and in many cases the prison is found as part of the gatehouse. At Battle it was used for this purpose, a use which was continued by the townspeople after the Dissolution; and at Chester there was "a prison within the Great West Gate of the monastery".

Adjoining the Great Gate, and sometimes combined with it, was frequently a chapel, and while this was more common in Cistercian houses owing to their greater strictness in granting admission to the monastery church, it is also often to be found in Benedictine abbeys. At Fountains and Rievaulx and Waverley there were chapels at the gate (*capellae extra portas*). Sometimes the chapel was over the gate, as at Beaulieu. Gate chapels remain at Kirkstead in Lincolnshire, and at Coggeshall and Tiltey in Essex. The latter—now the parish church—was extended eastwards *c.* 1300. At Peterborough there was a chapel over the gate; and at Durham when the east gate was repaired at the end of the fifteenth century, Prior Castell built over it a chapel to St. Helen, with lodging for a priest.

(6) The Monastic Water-supply

In monasteries of the larger kind there were whenever possible two sources of water-supply: from a well within the precincts, and from some spring or stream which could be made available by a pipe-line or by diversion. Smaller houses which adjoined a river, like most Cistercian communities, would naturally make use of it in addition to any springs they might possess, but without elaborate systems of conveyance. A regular supply was an unqualified necessity, as may be realised when it is remembered that an abbey which held perhaps a hundred monks, would have more than double that number of servants and

labourers, in addition to the demands made by guests and pilgrims. In some cases the laver-house in the cloister was placed either over or

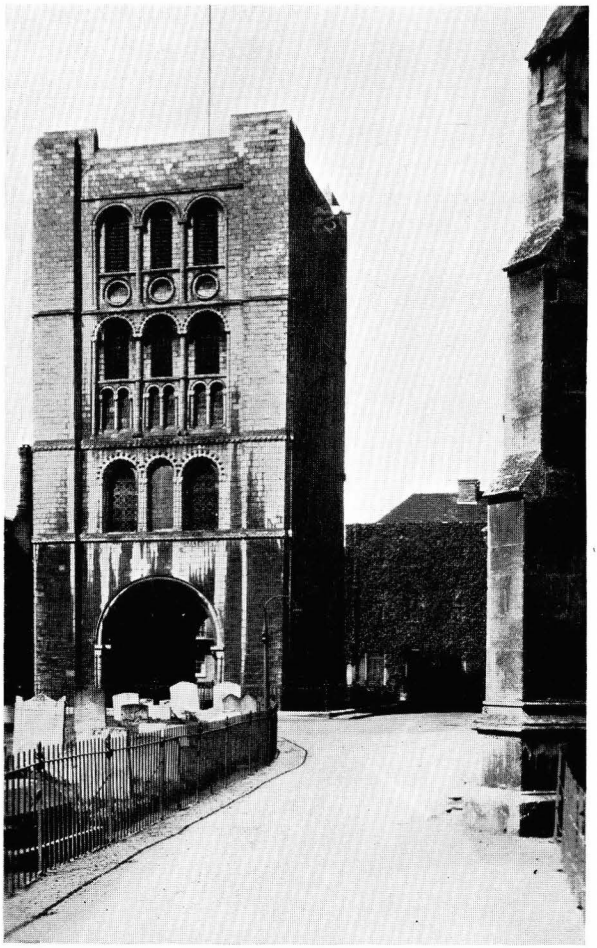

FIG. 63.—BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY. CEMETERY GATE TOWER.

adjoining a well, the water from which was drawn up and stored in a cistern for use in the laver, as at Durham; or as at Canterbury, the conduit-house stood in the outer part of the monastery, and water was distributed from it to various important points throughout the monastic

offices. Generally the conduit-house was in the infirmary group. The main supply at Canterbury came from outside the city walls, and before

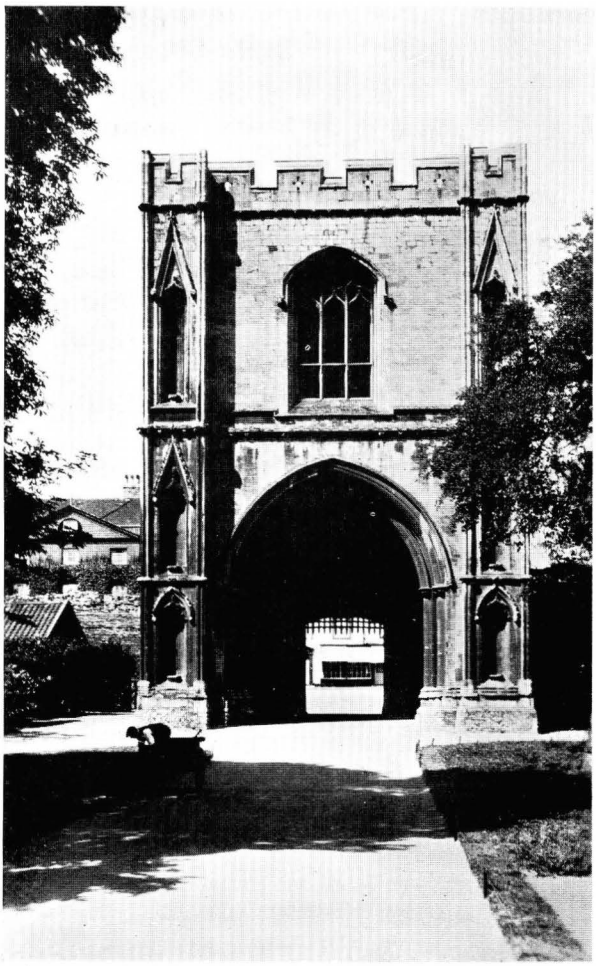

FIG. 64.—BURY ST. EDMUNDS ABBEY. GATE TO THE COURT.

entering the precincts the water passed through no less than five settling tanks. It was distributed by branches to the various points, these branches being controlled by stop-cocks. At the conduit-house, there was a column to give a 'head' of pressure. At Chester in 1285 a

reservoir twenty feet square was made at Christleton and another in the cloister, with a pipe-line between them, the king granting a patent to enable the convent to take the pipes through any intervening land or obstacle, the city walls being pierced where necessary. At Waverley in 1215 the spring which supplied the abbey dried up,[1] but a fresh supply was brought 600 yards from a new spring by one of the monks, Symon, "not without much labour and sweating". The London Charterhouse had a supply brought from a considerable distance, the plan of which is still preserved. At Gloucester the water could be dammed up in order to flush the drains periodically. At Winchester keeping the sewers clean was a constant source of trouble. Amongst the larger religious houses which are known to have had a water-supply in the modern sense are Canterbury, Gloucester, Westminster, Durham, Worcester, Winchester, Chester, Waverley, Rievaulx, the Charterhouses of London and of Mount Grace. The conduits which led the water from the source of supply to the points of distribution were arched passages of stone, or sometimes, as at Beaulieu, elm trunks hollowed out, the pipes for the branches of lead, but made with a welded seam instead of the drawn lead pipes of to-day, the junctions being formed with lead boxes, and the stop-cocks of brass. The water-supply to the lavers and to the rere-dorters has been referred to in a preceding chapter. At the Charterhouse of Mount Grace the conduit-house stood in the middle of the cloister court, and in addition to supplying the small laver against the frater wall, branches were taken to supply the separate cells which surrounded the cloister garth. In addition to its usefulness for water-supply, the stream which so commonly adjoins the sites of monasteries was used for the mill, which was kept when possible close to the granaries. At Fountains the millhouse remains, dating from the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The slaughter-house, also for the sake of water, was sometimes to be found near the mill, as at Wherwell.

Early instances of internal water-supply to civil buildings are also to be found, as in the Keeps of Newcastle and Dover, designed by Mauricius, at the end of the twelfth century.

[1] *Waverley*, by H. Brakspear.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MASTER BUILDER

(1) Mediaeval Design

Amongst the many problems offered by the buildings of the Middle Ages one of the most vexed was for long that which concerned the question of their design and the responsibilities of their designers. Much has been written in the past as to how far conscious design—as the word is now understood—entered into their construction; to what extent those who framed them were the actual authors of the forms they took; how far they were trammelled or inspired, as the case may be, by a living tradition; and whether they were to be regarded simply as exponents or interpreters of a style of building than which they knew no other, rather than as conscious devisers.

Mediaeval architecture, it has been sometimes thought, developed out of the accumulated knowledge and experience embodied in tradition, exercised by a number of specialists who directed the only partly skilled labourers; that it was qualified in form by the changing requirements of successive ages, and is to be regarded as the work of schools rather than of individuals. Recent research into contemporary building accounts, sacrists' rolls and the like, in conjunction with the re-examination of the actual fabrics in the light of knowledge thus gained, has enabled more definite conclusions to be reached.

As a *credo* of mysticism in art the words of Professor Lethaby must remain true, that "a noble building, indeed any work of art, is not the product of an act of design by some individual genius, it is the outcome of ages of experiment".[1] At the same time, unless there exists at the

[1] *Architecture*, W. R. Lethaby.

required moment some one mind capable of summing up the ages of experiment which have preceded his own, of appreciating the stage of

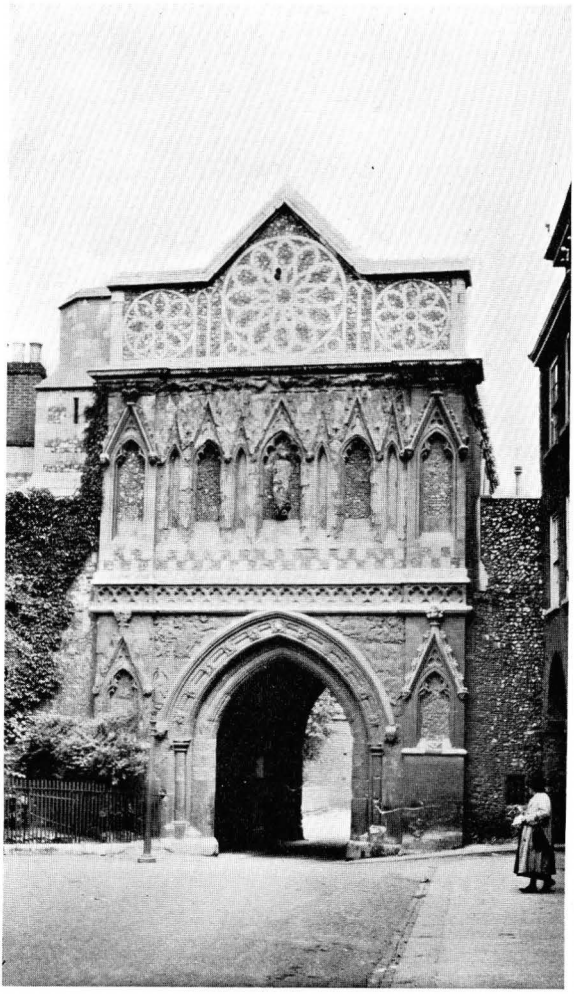

FIG. 65.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL PRIORY. ETHELBERT GATE.

development at the moment, and of giving concrete expression to his own conception of the three-sided problem, of how what has been done is to be combined with and used in what he is required to do, and how both

may be made to serve the purpose of that which he hopes to achieve, success is unlikely to result to a degree which will entitle the work to rank as the finest building. But the conjunction of the man and the moment was in mediaeval building both frequent and fortunate, and to this we owe that unsurpassed achievement of human effort, the cathedral and great abbey church; which, in the eloquent words of the writer just quoted, "found its perfected form at the limits where men could do no more. Thus it was that a cathedral was not designed, but discovered or 'revealed'." No individual genius indeed has ever done more than give a new twist to, or reveal a hitherto unsuspected aspect of, any art: and in architecture conscious originality is as short-lived as unhappy. The mediaeval master mason, as architect, was not beset by the bewilderments of comparative architecture. He was working with forms which were familiar to him, and when his opportunity came and he determined to outdo his contemporaries, it was in degree, not in kind, that he achieved his ambition. Were he brilliant, like the two Williams at Canterbury, Villard de Honnecourt at Cambrai, Geoffrey de Noiers at Lincoln, or Yevele at Westminster, the strength of tradition was a stepping-stone, not a stumbling-block. Were he like the vast majority, just a sound and 'abull' man, the same strength was a support and safeguard. In the old buildings "the work marched step by step—a workman fit took each, nor too fit—to one task one time"; and though the actual work of erection was often surprisingly rapid, the progress of thought was slower than to-day, and without a definite director, or one who knew his own mind, the lack of direction would be quickly apparent in anything to do with mediaeval building. And this corresponds with what we find. In the great works of the Middle Ages evidence of lack of direction, even if all documentary evidence be put on one side, is no more obvious than in the temples of Egypt or of Rome. Of experiment there is evidence in abundance, for Gothic was beyond all other the architecture of experiment, a living tree putting forth perpetually new and changing flowers.

In the buildings themselves, especially in slower-thinking England, there is plenty of experiment to be seen. Sometimes blind enough in little parish churches, progress by trial and error, the endeavour of the village mason to copy from hearsay or inaccurate instructions some new

feature or detail of the great church which dominated his district. In other cases the work shows from end to end unfaltering design un-

FIG. 66.—NORWICH CATHEDRAL PRIORY. ERPINGHAM GATE.

swervingly executed. In the big work, experiment is seen illuminated by the intelligence behind it, as at Canterbury in the quire, where from west to east the various combinations of pillars and shaftings are obvious and intentional experiments.

Obviously, too, the 'devysors' not infrequently changed their minds during the progress of the works: sometimes because they grew fearful of the load they were laying on the substructure, as at Ely and Peterborough, where the naves designed for a vault, as shown by the shafting of the nave piers, have never received it; sometimes because a change of style was in the air, and the master, while uncertain of its implications and lacking boldness, was yet desirous of being in the mode, as at Selby (Fig. 71), where the variations of design in the transitional triforium feelingly illustrate the state of mind of a good builder but an uncertain designer confronted with a new idea.

(2) Building Organisation

The Master of the Works and the Master Mason.

In the early monastic organisation after the Conquest the position of *magister operis* was frequently filled—not necessarily exercised—by the sacrist as arising out of his general responsibility as *custos* or 'keeper' of the fabric; a development upon the same lines as in the case of the precentor, who from being responsible for books used in quire found himself the convent librarian.

In important monasteries the office of *magister operis* was not always combined with that of sacrist, and is to be found as separately held and sometimes taking a high place amongst the obedientiars. At Croyland the *magister operis* was one of the six greater officers of the house; and at Evesham, more accurately styled, he was *magister fabricae ecclesiae*.[1] In these cases the sacrist remained the officer traditionally responsible for fabric maintenance, being the superior to whom the master of the works reported, the building accounts being kept by the latter and passed through the sacrist's checker, while the work of design and construction were the province of the master mason, who was commonly a layman.

In connection with establishments of any size there was a department corresponding roughly to the chapter-office found in present-day cathedral organisation and called 'the works'. At Croyland it was specifically called 'the office of the master of the works'.[2] The same word 'works' was applied to the fabric itself, and it has been pointed

[1] *Monasticon*, ii. 6. [2] *Monasticon*, ii. 123.

out that the terms master of the works, *magister operis*, *magister fabricae*, and *maître de l'œuvre* were more comprehensive descriptions of function than the use of such a term as architect could be—which simply means chief craftsman—as 'l'œuvre' comprised everything down to furnishings and hangings.[1] This is a true but partial statement, for the master of the works was in fact the *entrepreneur* of the undertaking only so far as its administrative and financial aspects were concerned, and it was the duty of the member of the convent who filled the office of

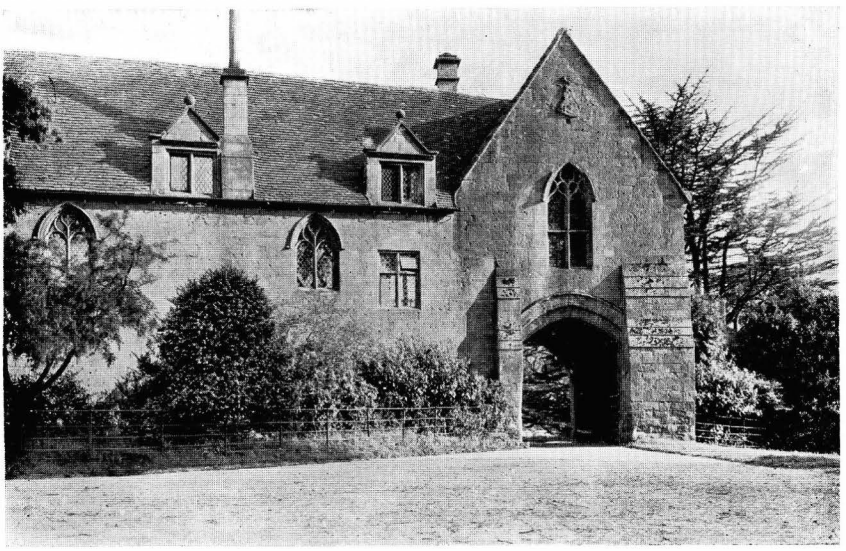

FIG. 67.—STONELEIGH ABBEY. GATE HOUSE.

magister operis or *magister fabricae* to have this general oversight of the whole work. He was charged with the administration of the fabric fund, of which he was the keeper or *custos*, and for which, with the assistance of his clerk or comptroller to keep the roll, he was responsible to the convent and its head.[2] This was the chief duty of the *magister operis* or *custos fabricae*, and both expressions were used in this sense, just as 'works' and 'fabric' were constantly used to mean fabric fund. The

[1] W. H. White, *R.I.B.A. Papers*, 1874–75, p. 57.

[2] At Newburgh Priory in 1262 the *custos fabricae* was deprived of his office by the Archbishop for neglect of the accounts.—*Surtees*, vol. 109, p. 329.

master of the works corresponds roughly to our modern clerk of the works, though naturally less technically equipped, and is not to be confused with the actual director of building work, the master freemason or *magister cementarius*. The latter had no necessary connection with the monastery in which he worked beyond that expressed in the terms of his contract, often very rigid. In exceptional cases he might be associated with the clerk of the works for administrative purposes, as at the secular church of Exeter.

At York, in 1367—when the presbytery was under construction—separate mention is made in the same document[1] of the 'master of the works', the 'keeper of the works', and the 'master mason'. This shows the usual arrangement, and if by the term 'keeper of the works' 'keeper of the fabric' is understood, the division of duty is clear, *i.e.* a clerk of the works, a keeper or comptroller of the fabric fund, and the master mason. The same thing is indicated in the provision of the will of William of Wykeham, who died in 1404, wherein the clerk of the works, the comptroller, and the master mason are all mentioned. This arrangement is found wherever sacrists' rolls or other documents remain to give information as to building costs, and was the universal practice when works of importance were in progress. Where secular churches were concerned the *magister operis* was frequently a vicar-choral appointed by the chapter; in monastic establishments he was naturally a member of the house.

The organisation which was framed to carry out ecclesiastical building work in the Middle Ages may therefore be summarised in a few words. On the one hand were the employers, the abbot or prior and his convent, who deputed to their appointed agents, the master of the works and the comptroller, the general supervision of operations. On the other hand was the master mason and his assistants of various grades who were engaged and paid to carry out the work. The master was engaged by special contract, as has been noted, while the other grades of masons sought work where buildings were in progress, and were hired by the clerk of the works in the usual way. Bodies of these masons[2]

[1] Papworth Wyatt, in *R.I.B.A. Journal*, vol. 10, p. 8.

[2] The use of this expression does not imply any degree of organisation beyond that desirable for company or safety on the journey.

moved from place to place as one piece of work was finished and another begun, though some few must have found a life's employment on one

FIG. 68.—CANTERBURY, ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY. GATE HOUSE.

building. Yet they were a restless lot, coming and going from one place to another and often not waiting for the job to be completed. Through similarity of technique and their 'marks', the works of these wandering

masons can in some cases be traced from place to place, and an idea gained of the length of their stay on some one building. These and other points in connection with the work of the masons are referred to again in the following chapter.

It has been mentioned above that the master mason was commonly a layman. Such cases as are found where it is definitely stated that the abbot or prior, or the monk in charge of the works, were skilled technical and architectural experts amount to a list of sparse and notable exceptions. Examples of heads of monasteries who were possessed of architectural knowledge are to be found rarely, as Mannius, Abbot of Evesham, but the kind of art work which they practised was generally something less exacting, such as illuminating, or the embroidery practised by John Wigmore, Abbot of St. Peter's, Gloucester (1329–1337), who gave to his monastery a set of vestments *de viridi samyt cum volucribus deauratis* for Pentecost, concerning the actual design and workmanship of which the chronicler is anxious to leave no possibility of doubt . . . *quam propriis manibus texuit et fecit.*[1]

At St. Albans between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries there was a rare and famous school of artists and craftsmen, and in view of the importance of the Abbey as one of the greatest religious houses, and of its widespread influence, it is instructive to examine the procedure adopted there when building of importance was contemplated. At this time the sacrists of St. Albans were not infrequently master craftsmen: as Master Baldwin, sacrist in 1186, a goldsmith; and Master Walter of Colchester, sacrist *c.* 1213, who was the foremost painter of his day, an accomplished designer, and excelled at sculpture. It is just the kind of art-form which these men adopted which it is of some importance to note when considering building: painting, drawing, jewellery, and sculpture, *i.e.* arts which from the builder's point of view are ancillary to his own art. It was while Walter of Colchester was sacrist that Abbot John de Cella decided upon structural alterations to his Abbey church. He pulled down the front, which had been built of "tiles strongly compacted with mortar", probably the old work which the iconoclastic Abbot Paul, a relative of Lanfranc, had constructed *c.* 1077 out of the Roman materials of ancient Verulam collected by his predecessors,

[1] Quoted in *Inventories of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 119, Hope and Legg.

Abbots Ealdred and Eadmer, in the tenth century. Now Walter of Colchester was sacrist, as such he held the position of *magister operis*, he

FIG. 69.—CANTERBURY, ST. AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY. CEMETERY GATE.

was of national reputation as an artist, he was used to stone and chisel. He was probably as well equipped for carrying out a new building as any sacrist in the land, and there were the Abbey masons to advise him

upon points of technique. But Abbot John did not put the work into the hands of his sacrist. Brilliant artist and craftsman as he was, it was evidently recognised, as it would be to-day, that the proposed work was outside his province. Master Hugh Goldclif was therefore employed to 'devise' and superintend the alterations, of whom Matthew Paris makes his terse but discriminating comment: *vir quidem fallax et falsidicus sed artifex praelectus*. Incidentally the untrustworthy but able Hugh was not a success; he appears to have used poor stone wrongly bedded, left his unset mortar open to the frost, and failed in supervision. But in this little history the point clearly emerges that in one of the greatest abbeys new building of importance was not directed by the officer of the house nominally and traditionally responsible for the fabric, a lay master from outside being employed. It is not necessary unduly to emphasise this aspect of the subject; numerous instances of similar employment are familiar. Probably for the first century or so after the Conquest the sacrist was closely connected with the actual work of construction, but the gradual withdrawal of this officer of the convent from active control until he entirely relinquished the responsibility, though too often to-day receiving popular credit, is clearly shown in the progress of the change at St. Albans, where after the middle of the thirteenth century "the monks appear to have ceased to work themselves at mural painting, sculpture or the kindred arts, or to have designed or superintended the erection of the buildings of the monastery. Henceforth the fabric was in the charge of a lay master of the works." [1] After this time the sacrist no longer received the prefix of 'master',[2] as he no longer possessed qualifications which entitled him to it.

(3) Mediaeval Plans

Many of the mediaeval plans which remain are palimpsests, for parchment was precious stuff and therefore used again. A master builder who

[1] W. Page, in *Archaeologia*, vol. lviii. (1902).

[2] In commenting on the term 'master' used of the sacrists of St. Albans at this time, Dr. G. G. Coulton (*Art and the Reformation*, p. 515) says: "It would be difficult, I think, to find an instance of a monk called *magister* who had not earned that title *outside* the monastery", *i.e.* before becoming a monk. Walter was followed to St. Albans by his brothers Simon and William, who do not appear to have become monks. Mr. Page, in the paper mentioned above, does not mention William of Colchester, who also did craft work at the monastery.

had a piece large enough to put a drawing on would erase repeatedly so long as the parchment remained usable. Details, settings-out, and the like were done, as often to-day, upon a board, or if large on several fixed together and whitewashed to form a fair surface, or sometimes a vault was set out on the stone flags of the floor. In plunders and fires and tumults, as well as through carelessness, numbers of drawings must have perished together with the wholesale destructions of MSS.[1] which are known to have taken place in many abbeys, but enough remain to show how widespread was the employment of drawings and of models and to indicate their use as a matter of course and for a variety of work. In addition, many rough sketches remain on stone or plaster, done by masons as preliminary designs or suggestions.

Of mediaeval drawings in England a number remain in the British Museum amongst the Cotton MSS. Mention may also be made of the two Norman plans showing the water supply to Canterbury, and the later one of that to the London Charterhouse, as illustrating the use of drawings for purposes of survey and record. Of drawings abroad there are a number: at St. Gall is a copy (*c.* 800), four-fifths the size of the original, of an ideal design for the monastery; at Ghent one of the Hôtel de ville; at Clermont-Ferrand one of parts of the west doors. Others remain at Barcelona, Rheims, Vienna, at Strasbourg and elsewhere.

Perhaps the most interesting survival of a documentary nature is the famous album or sketch-book of Villard de Honnecourt, a French master of the early thirteenth century and designer of Cambrai Cathedral, which was found in the library of St. Germain-des-Près.

Villars de Honnecourt was a man of a lively disposition, intensely interested in anything to do with building, whether as structure or design. His sketch-book contains significant little things struck out in conversation with his friend, Pierre de Corbie, like the sketch for a peri-apsidal ring of chapels with a double ambulatory; direct design, and design in the abstract for the love of it. When he admires, his admiration is generous. "I have been in many lands", he says, "but nowhere have I

[1] In St. Mary's Tower adjoining the abbey precinct are said to have been placed all the Records taken out of the religious houses north of the Trent at their suppression. The tower was blown up, with its contents, at the siege of York in 1644.

seen a tower to equal that of Laon." [1] His sketches show his interest in plan and in construction as in detail and ornament. He takes advantage of any short cuts which will save needless labour, and his figures show a blocking out of the main lines and masses which may be paralleled in method in any art school to-day. The pages of his book in their notes and drawings show the mind and the hand of the individual designer and student, alert to perceive, qualified to criticise, and competent to construct. There is nothing about it of the rule-of-thumb gild-

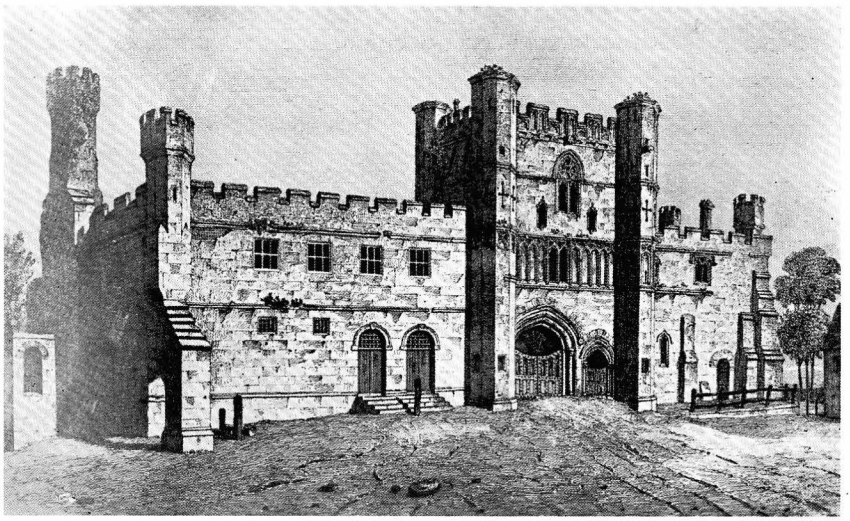

FIG. 70.—BATTLE ABBEY. GATE HOUSE.

member uncertainly feeling his way from one imperfectly understood experiment to another.

(4) THE WORK AND STATUS OF THE MASTER MASON

In England during the fourteenth century the record of Henry Yevele, the king's master mason,[2] provides an invaluable insight not only

[1] A curiously parallel phrase comes to mind six hundred years after: "I have travelled all over the world in search of architecture", said Pugin at Salisbury, "but I have seen nothing like this".

[2] "Henry Yvele", by W. Wonnacott (*Trans. Quatuor Coronati Lodge*, vol. xxi. pp. 244-253). The name is variously spelt, as Ivelegh, Zyveley, etc.

into his life's work, but as to the methods employed at the height of the Gothic period to carry out important buildings, and as to the authorship of design. The designations of his offices are of some interest. In 1358 he is styled 'Cementarius and apparitor working and ordering masons work', in the Exchequer accounts. In 1362 he is described as 'diviser of masonry'; in 1365 as 'director of the works'; in 1378 a Patent speaks of him as 'Director of the Works in the Art of Masonry at the Palace and the Tower'; and in 1390 as 'Surveyor of the Works'. Various records clearly establish that at this time it was a common and recognised practice to employ a designer quite apart from the actual builder, indicating that there was nothing strange in the idea of separating the functions of designer and executant. In 1381 in an agreement concerning additions to St. Dunstan's Church in Thames Street, the mason who contracted to execute the work agreed to do so "in accordance with the design ('devyse') of Master Henry Yvele"; and of more importance, as dealing with one of the great buildings of Gothic art, Westminster Hall, is a document dated 18th March 1395, in which it is agreed by the masons who contracted for the work that this should be done "in accordance with the purport and form of a model made by the advice" of Yevele and given to the masons. In addition to his routine work as Royal Master Mason at Westminster Abbey, the Tower, and elsewhere, Yevele was employed in an advisory capacity in several instances: as in 1380 as a commissioner to advise upon fortifications to the Port of London; in 1383 as one of the surveyors for a bridge at Stroud; and his hand can be traced in the west front of Winchester, that cause of offence to so many critics. The activities of a man in the Royal service were naturally more multifarious than those of the master mason attached solely to a monastery, but enough has been said to show that in all periods the services of the eminent constructors of their day were available in the 'devysing' of monastic architecture.

Apart from life appointments, the master was engaged upon a definite contract for a particular piece of work, and the terms of the contract, which was sealed with the seal of the house, were definite and precise, though naturally varying in actual provisions. When the master mason was definitely appointed to that position in permanency, his wages were paid in lump sums at intervals, such as Lady Day and at

Michaelmas, an arrangement which remained until the Suppression, as at Bath Abbey, where, in the reign of Henry VIII, John Multon was appointed master mason at a yearly wage of forty solidi.[1] When he was appointed under contract for a definite piece of work, conditions are frequently strict. Sometimes he contracted not to leave the neighbourhood of the building; if sick, he frequently forfeited his pay, even though it happened through accident while at work; but more fortunate than the ordinary mason, who was docked of his pay on the frequent holydays when no work was done, the master was paid his. In other cases it was stipulated that he should not undertake 'outside' work during his engagement, or absent himself from work for more than a specified number of days; sometimes, on the contrary, he was allowed to supervise several works at the same time, as in the case of the master mason of Salisbury spire.

Much inconsistency in status is to be found, as where the master mason is found in one place entitled to dine at the prior's table in hall, and at another when retirement impended the humble position of gatekeeper was all that was offered. But such differences would be natural enough between the eminent member of his craft and his more lowly brother. In addition to his wages the master mason's emolument often included some of his meals, a couple of gowns of fur, and sometimes the provision of a house for himself and his family, with keep for his horse. His position, where big work was concerned, was one of great importance and responsibility, and in his own sphere his prestige and authority probably unquestioned, as is illustrated for us by Gervase of Canterbury, when he tells of the monk who acted as messenger between the sick William of Sens and his masons. With his employers and with the convent as a whole, tact must achieve his ends, as in the same case mentioned above, when William had delicately to persuade the monks to allow him to clear the ground of the remains of Conrad's ruined quire.

But though all *magistri* might be masters in their own place, the difference between those who were competent to repair and maintain and those whose conceptions moulded the progress of Romanesque and Gothic architecture, castle or cathedral, was as definitely recognised in the later Middle Ages as it would be to-day, though however great

[1] *Monasticon*, ii. 255.

his repute the chief master mason probably never entirely abandoned the chisel.

In England, even to a greater extent than abroad, a false popular sentiment has arisen which finds satisfaction in an alleged designful anonymity

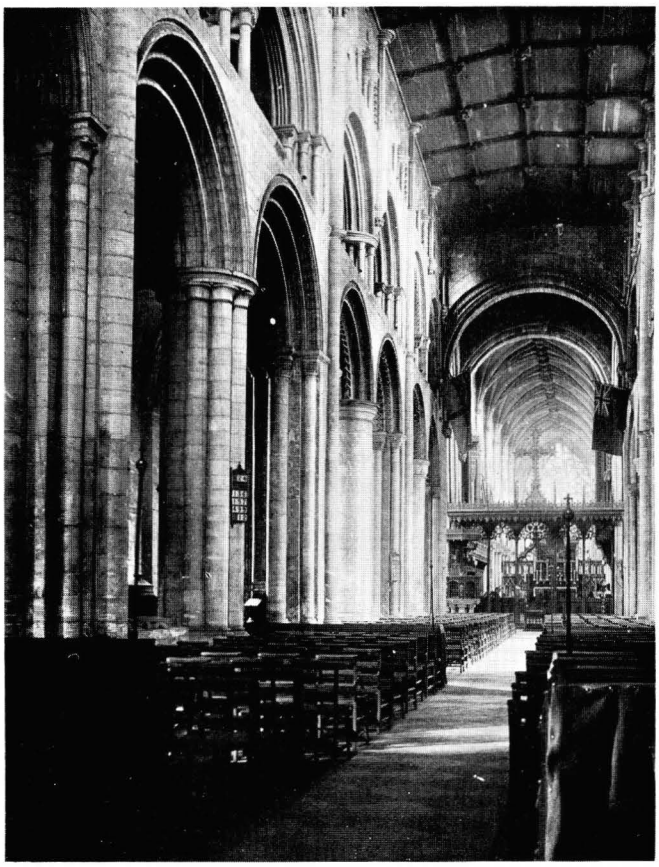

FIG. 71.—SELBY ABBEY. NAVE.

on the part of abbey and cathedral master builders, whose work is too generally only distinguished by the name of abbot or bishop under whose aegis it was done. At York, Westminster, Exeter, and elsewhere the identities of the masters have been recovered, and further research will doubtless supplement the present records.

How far there was compulsion of anonymity as regarding signed work remains debatable, and is confused by other considerations. Some inscriptions remain in this country, one or two well known—as that of John Morrow at Melrose—where the actual mason has signed his work with his name. These are not in prominent positions or so forthrightly carved as in other lands. In England masoncraft was never so rigidly organised as abroad, and these two facts may have some bearing upon each other, as also the differences in national character.

With his cap and gown, gloves and rod, the master was a dignified figure; in his heart remained the love of the works into which he had built the days of his life, testified by the many legacies which he bequeathed to them; and at the last, the style of the stone which covered his tomb perpetuated with the proud symbols of his craft the memory of the man and of his work.

CHAPTER IX

THE BUILDING OF A MONASTERY

(1) Before the Conquest

In England our interest in the history of building fades with the departure of the Roman legions in 401, to begin again with the arrival of Augustine in 597. When Gregory the Great decided to regain for the Church the province which had been lost to the Empire, he knew that there were in England few who could be entrusted with the building of a stone church which would be anything more than a mere shelter. With Augustine, therefore, he sent masons and craftsmen who were to build churches for his converts and monasteries for his disciples, and who thus relighted in England the lamp of Art. With the advent of Augustine and his builders the Lombardic style was directly imported into England, with Canterbury as the centre from which the influence of the Italian builders spread. Nearly a century later, in 674–5, when Benedict Biscop the Northumbrian wanted to build his new stone church at Monkwearmouth he sent direct to Gaul for his masons, stone-cutters, and other builders. For his church furnishings, craftwork, and jewellery, which were to be of the finest, he was not satisfied with what Gaul could produce, but sent to Italy. This was the church built after the Roman style, *more Romano*, for Biscop would have nothing but the purest design available, and having been to Rome more than once he was well acquainted with the style and able to judge. At Hexham (*c.* 672) Wilfrid built a cruciform church with a round tower at the junction of the arms, in the same style of design. Of these churches it was said that "to look at them was to imagine oneself in Rome"—the Rome, that is, of the seventh century, not (as sometimes imagined) of the

old Empire. Such records are of great interest in showing that the best buildings of the time in England were direct importations of an alien style, and owed little or nothing to indigenous influences. In his church at Monkwearmouth, Biscop used what was probably the first glass seen in England since the Romans, obtaining from abroad "artificers skilled in making glass to glaze the windows both of the porticoes[1] and of the principal part of the church, an art to which the inhabitants of Britain are said previously to have been strangers". Towards the end of the tenth century the brilliant spirit which had characterised Anglo-Saxon monasticism for a hundred years before had begun to flag, and the long period of Danish irruption and rapine from 980 to 1016 broke the spirit of the builders and reduced culture and religion to a low condition. Little more was done than to keep in repair the great churches built under the influence of Edgar and Dunstan (d. 988) and not always even that. "Zeal for letters and religion had grown cold." The Danegelt had to be paid, and there was neither peace nor money for building. With Knut's accession in 1017 came peace, but it was a peace which supervened upon civil exhaustion and a sense of defeat, a condition from which architecture is the last of the arts to recover. At Westminster in 1050 Edward the Confessor and his unpopular French friends began work upon the Abbey church, which went on slowly until 1065. It was in this rebuilding that the Romanesque style, already well advanced on the Continent, was introduced into England. Romanesque, the 'Norman style', is so frequently spoken of as solely the importation of the Normans at the Conquest that it is sometimes forgotten that it was already in being on English soil when the Normans under William arrived; and that had there been no Conquest there would still have been 'Norman' buildings in England, though naturally only a tithe of the number erected by their enthusiasm, and those of a provincial character.

[1] Not originally entrance porches, but side-chapels or sacristies projecting from the body of the church. The same side-porticoes are found in accounts of early Irish churches, where *porticus* is translated *erdamh*—'a side-house'.—*Round Towers of Ireland*, p. 440, G. Petrie, 1845.

(2) Building After the Conquest

One of the first things to be done in all big building operations was to prepare a lime-kiln to supply the great quantities of mortar which the masons required. At Wells between 1220 and 1225 ninety big oaks were granted for this purpose in connection with the new west front. Timber for structural purposes, which meant oak, or occasionally chestnut, and which was needed in bulk, was generally obtained in the same way, by grant. Forest laws were strict and the best timber was naturally to be found on the Royal lands. Records contain innumerable instances of grants of timber for church-building; as at Waverley in 1226, 1231, and 1270, when Henry III, always a friend to builders, granted the Cistercians timber from the Royal lands for their church, and at Stoneleigh in 1245, when he gave the abbey fifty oaks from the forest of Kenilworth. Stone had often to be brought from a distance; English stone beds had not been fully explored in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the Norman liked the stones he knew. In summer, roads were few and bad, but in winter practically non-existent so far as possibility of using them for heavy traffic was concerned. In order to avoid the great expense and delay involved in land-carriage, stone was therefore brought by water whenever possible. At Rievaulx a length of canal was cut purposely to allow the stone-barges to come close to the building.

In East Anglia, stone came from Midland quarries down river to sea, along the coast and up river again to the site of the building, as in the cases of Peterborough and at Norwich. Water transport was cheap, even allowing for the value of money at the time; the cost of land carriage was about twopence a mile for a ton, but water-borne loads were less, a ship with its crew in the thirteenth century costing under two shillings a day.

In the twelfth century the passion for 'Cane stone' was imperative enough to overcome all the hazards of transport down the Orne and across Channel in order to use it in the great churches of Canterbury, Chichester, and St. Albans. In the next century the craze for Purbeck marble sent it from Portland round past Dover up to Durham (for the Galilee), and even across the dangerous Irish Sea to St. Patrick's in Dublin. In order to facilitate handling, stone was frequently kept in small pieces, such as

Sir Christopher Wren spoke of in describing Old St. Paul's: "none greater than a man's burden". Marble, too, was sometimes kept small, the pieces used in Christ Church, Dublin, being all of one length, 16¼ inches;[1] but it was more generally used in shafts of considerable length, such as those in Canterbury and Rochester.

The Romanesque tradition which the Normans followed demanded a considerable amount of material even for a comparatively modest building, but when a work of the first magnitude was proposed, such as Durham with a seven-foot thickness of wall, the total became enormous. It was obviously out of the question to construct such walls and piers of solid masonry; the amount of stone would have been prohibitive and the supply of stone-cutters inadequate. Nor was it desired to do so. The Roman method of building upon which the Normans based their own procedure was a thick-wall style. As with castles so with churches, it was the day of mass-building; of the people working under the direction of the master and his masons, spurred on by their feudal lords and parish priests, driven by the white-hot enthusiasm of Benedictine 'Imperialism'. It was a day of the building of spiritual pyramids.

To such conditions the Norman system of construction was admirably adapted. In brief, this consisted in using a comparatively thin shell of solid masonry, which was dressed with the axe or pick diagonally, the tooth-marks of which can generally be distinguished, and filling in with a solid mass or core of rubble and stone chippings compacted with mortar. This core could be collected, mixed, and tipped in by unskilled labour working under slight supervision, and too often it was. The great thing was to see the building rising, and the skilled men were, no doubt, responsible for more than they could properly overlook. Owing to its solid masonry face and the great thickness of the parts of the building, the strength of Norman work is often more apparent than real, as frequently the core, not being densely consolidated and owing to its greater compressibility, has crushed under the load imposed upon it, leaving the whole burden to be sustained by the comparatively thin outer shell. In some cases where the interior of a pier has been examined, it has been found to contain only dust and fine rubbish, and even loam.

[1] T. Drew, *Builder*, 5.5; 1894.

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[1] T. Drew, *Builder*, 5.5; 1894.

As the principles of Gothic developed, though scamped work was not uncommon, better masonry and more fully comprehended construction enabled the thicknesses of the various members to be reduced; and as diameter lessened so the rubble core shrank, until pier and almost wall became solid masonry. This enabled the supporting members to be diminished, giving the greater and less encumbered floor-space always so greatly desired. Foundations show the same inequality of standard as is to be found in their superstructure, both in Norman and to a somewhat lesser extent in later work. Often foundations were broad and deep, solidly constructed and carried down to a firm bed. Lincoln shows work in this respect which for correct design and careful execution is unexceptionable. Peterborough presents the other side of the medal. Often the foundations were taken down to a great depth in order to find rock. At Ely parts of the foundations stand on rock at a depth of six feet; at Glastonbury they go down for twelve feet; at Durham to fourteen, and at St. Mary's, York, to twenty-six feet. But whereas at Ely the thirteenth-century foundations stand on rock at six feet, the adjoining Norman work stops at four feet six inches, a miserable eighteen inches short of it.[1] The same lack of thoroughness is found at Peterborough both in Norman and in later Gothic work, where foundations stop a few feet short of a solid stratum. At Croyland the builders were nervous about the capacity of the soil to bear the weight of their new stone church, nevertheless they built it upon peat with layers of quarry rubbish under the foundations, when there was a sound bed of gravel five feet beneath.[2] At Winchester during the work recently carried out it was found that parts of the foundations rested upon faggots standing in water.

From the unhappy coincidence of those two things—unsound masonry relying on quantity to replace quality, and badly scamped foundations—resulted many of the calamities which overtook various Norman buildings. At Winchester the Norman central tower fell in 1107, at Gloucester the north-west tower fell without warning in 1170,[3] at Worcester a tower fell in 1175, at Evesham the Norman tower fell *c.*

[1] *R.I.B.A. Journal*, 1876, p. 70.
[2] *Gothic Arch. in England*, F. Bond, p. 26.
[3] "Because of bad foundations".—Giraldus Cambrensis.

1213, at Dunstable Priory the two Norman towers fell *c.* 1221, again at Worcester two smaller towers fell in 1222, at Lincoln the central tower fell in 1240, at Croyland in 1254 the nave was blown down, at Ely in 1321 the Norman central tower fell and was replaced by the Octagon, at St. Albans in 1323 part of the Norman nave fell. It is unnecessary to complete such a melancholy catalogue, and while doubtless many of these and other failures could have been saved by a little greater care in construction, it is easy to criticise in the light of a science which their builders did not possess. There is no pioneering to be achieved without price, and in the Norman scale that price was bound to be a high one. The strength and soundness of much early work is proved by the extent to which it has withstood remodelling at a later date, conspicuously at Gloucester and at Winchester; but the legend of the unvarying constructional excellence of the old men has grown to such almost universal acceptance that some emphasis upon fact is occasionally desirable.

The amazing popular enthusiasm of the mid-twelfth century which yoked noble and commoner together to pull the stone-carts of the French cathedrals through ford and forest was paralleled earlier and in milder fashion in England, and in 'Ingulph's' story of the building of the stone church at Croyland Abbey in 1114, which replaced the earlier structure, the unbounded enthusiasm and hasty procedure of twelfth-century building by the populace as a whole, under the general technical guidance of the instructed, are dramatically described.[1] The Norman Abbot Joffrid, who had become head of Croyland about 1109, had made all preparations for the new church, and on the opening day of the work in 1114 he himself laid the first stone 'at the north-east corner'. After him came Richard de Rulos, who laid the next stone to the east, and placed upon it twenty pounds towards the support of the workmen. The next stone to that was laid by Geoffrey Ridel, who placed upon it ten pounds for the workmen. The next was laid by the Lady Geva, his wife, who gave the services of one quarrier for two years. Avice, sister of Geoffrey Ridel, who laid the adjoining stone, gave another quarrier's services for a like period. Robert, abbot of the sister-house of Thorney and brother of Joffrid, laid the stone at the south-east corner, giving

[1] Abbot Ingulph died in 1109, before the building of the church described. The 'History' was compiled under the same name at a later date.

ten pounds. Alan de Croun laid the following stone, and with it gave the patronage of Freston Church; his wife Muriel followed him, giving the patronage of Toftis, and so on. "The convent of the abbot's choir laid the foundations of the north wall of the church after Abbot Joffrid; as did the convent of the prior's choir that of the south wall after the abbot of Thorney. The base of the first pillar of the north wall was laid by Huctred, priest of Depyng, with 104 of the townspeople, who offered one day's work in every month until the completion of the work."[1] In the same way the bases of other pillars were laid by the local priests and their people. During the laying of the stones Abbot Joffrid discoursed to the builders, and at the end of the day's work he conferred the confraternity of the monastery upon the benefactors, and feasted the whole company, amounting to 5000 people. The abbots and monks fed in the frater; the nobility and gentry in the abbot's hall; the companies who built the pillars, in the cloister; and the remainder in the courtyard. But such enthusiasm was short-lived, and methods of construction soon became more specialised.

(3) Craft Gilds and Craftsmen

With the thirteenth century the gilds dealing with the various branches of building begin to show signs of definite organisation. A craft gild was an association of those engaged in the same kind of work; and its primary object was the protection of members of the gild, preservation of trade-secrets and the 'misteries'; the training of apprentices, and the safeguarding of the trade or craft for the benefit of gild members only. Allied with these was a religious side, which undoubtedly exercised considerable influence in the early days, but with the growth of commercialism and the contract system the gilds tended increasingly to become mere corporations of craftsmen and traders, the religious aspect only being accentuated when it might prove useful. As with many modern trades unions, membership of the gild became compulsory upon those who engaged in the work it controlled; and in some gilds heavy payments were required by the gild from apprentices before they were allowed to set up for themselves, and the period of apprenticeship was often purposely long continued. Journeymen were not

[1] *Monasticon*, ii. 107.

taught the essential processes of an art like glass-painting, nor were they encouraged to improve their status. Not always was the formation of a gild the action of those who were to compose it; in some cases this was enforced by the municipality, who also framed regulations controlling the gild and providing for the inspection of their products. This was particularly the case where the glass-painters were concerned, who seem to have found the temptations offered by the nature of their work too subtle to be resisted. Much has been written, even recently, about the "ancient gild idea", assuming that all the work on a great building was done in workshops and studios grouped about the site by enthusiastic gilds who worked as a body, whose sole aim was to vie with each other in beauty of work, and whose members participated in a profit-sharing scheme; that "unemployment was unknown", and that the craft gilds worked with "unabated delight" for years at a time. Such a theory cannot for a moment be sustained if facts are referred to. No gild undertook work as a corporate body, any more than a trade union as a whole could execute a contract to-day. But for the absence of the 'general contractor' and his organisation, work was carried out much as it would be now. Work on the fabric was organised and supervised by the authorities of the abbey or cathedral, who paid the cost of materials and the wages of their workpeople.

Craftwork in its many branches was 'contracted out' as far as possible, for a fixed sum, which was agreed upon with the craftsman when he was instructed as to the general lines the design was to follow. To this a 'bonus' was sometimes added if the work was highly approved. Profits on these sub-contracts naturally went into the pocket of the master craftsman after he had paid his assistants their fixed wage.

From the middle of the fourteenth century onwards the contract system began to show a definite organisation, and many of the provisions of a contract remain to-day, though in a different form. Masters possessed of capital undertook pieces of building work for a fixed sum, and the beginning of the modern system of 'quantities' is seen in the pricing of work by the foot or by the amount of stone required plus the cost of labour. Forced labour by gild members as well as non-gild workers was not uncommon where Royal works were concerned. In 1351, owing to the dearth of glass-painters after the Black Death,

Edward III impressed all the craftsmen he could find, and set them to work on the windows of St. Stephen's Chapel. In the reign of Richard II the Royal Master Mason was several times commissioned to impress masons, and given power to imprison those who refused. The usual procedure was for the clerk of the works to be commissioned to impress masons, as at Eton in 1441.

In addition to the paid lay-masons and other workers, professed members of a monastery in some cases took an active part in the actual work of building. Instances are few, and the emphasis laid upon the few undisputed instances, such as the well-known case of the monks of Gloucester working on their nave vault in 1242, tends to show them as exceptional. In the earlier Middle Ages, in some of the monasteries on the Continent, such as Thiron and Hildesheim, and at Cluny under Abbots Majolus and Odilo, there were assembled craftsmen of various kinds who became members of their Order and must doubtless have worked upon the buildings of their monastery. But in England after the mid-twelfth century, that is, when the last of the monastic revivals had begun to cool, architectural work in its actual performance was left more and more to the paid laymen. In Cistercian houses in the first rush of enthusiasm monks of the quire took part in actual construction, and this, as mentioned below, had in addition to religious enthusiasm an auxiliary and powerful impulse in their lack of means, as 'labour' which formed such an important part of the early Cistercian ideal was not building labour but field and farm work. Generally, however, even Cistercian monks appear to have acted rather as supervisors than as builders; as at the monastery of Walkenried, where twenty-one lay-brethren—masons, wallers, and carpenters—worked under the supervision of two monks, and at Victring in Carinthia there were "bearded lay-brethren skilled in various arts".[1] Lay-brethren were naturally employed upon the buildings, labour being the purpose for which they were recruited, whereas the monks ostensibly made their profession in order to serve the church of the monastery in the *Opus Dei*.[2] Frequently

[1] Dehio and von Behold, *Die kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, i. 520, quoted by J. Bilson, *Arch. of the Cistercians*, p. 196.

[2] ". . . in domo Dei, in qua die ac nocte Deo servire cupiebant".—*Exordium, xvii Nomasticon Cisterciense*, 64.

the *magister operis* in Cistercian monasteries was a lay-brother, and they are found holding this office at all periods, while the employment of outside masons amongst the lay-brethren is in many cases shown by the presence of the 'marks' of these paid workmen.

In those undisputed cases where monks are known themselves to have worked at building after the twelfth century, it is highly probable that investigation will show some urgent reason for it, such as financial stringency or urgent structural necessity. The former has been shown to have existed at Gloucester at the time the Benedictines of St. Peter's undertook the work mentioned above.[1]

(4) The Masons and Their Work

In the previous chapter it has been mentioned that the ordinary mason took work where he could find it, was engaged by the *magister operis* in the usual way, and then handed over to the master mason or head freemason to be set to work. These masons came to be distinguished by the class of work they did, and their various grades may be shortly summarised here.

The terminology applied to masons in common with other mediaeval workers shows considerable elasticity. The mason was called *cementarius* or *lathomus*, and at early periods the tendency was to use the terms indifferently so far as concerns the kind of mason referred to. Sometimes all grades or classes are grouped under the same head, but naturally as time went on differentiation became more exact as organisation became stereotyped. (Fig. 74.)

There were in all four kinds of workers in stone who might be found engaged at the same time upon a large building at the height of the 'Gothic' period. These were: (1) the freemasons, who were probably originally called 'freestone masons'; (2) layers or setters, (3) rough masons, (4) quarrymen. In addition were the apprentices and the ordinary labourers. The freemason was a member of the lodge, and his conduct in the lodge was controlled to some extent by the head freemason as the senior member or master of the lodge, and the lodge itself and its members were to a marked extent under the control and jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical body for which it was working. It was com-

[1] *Victoria County Histories: Gloucester*, ii. p. 55.

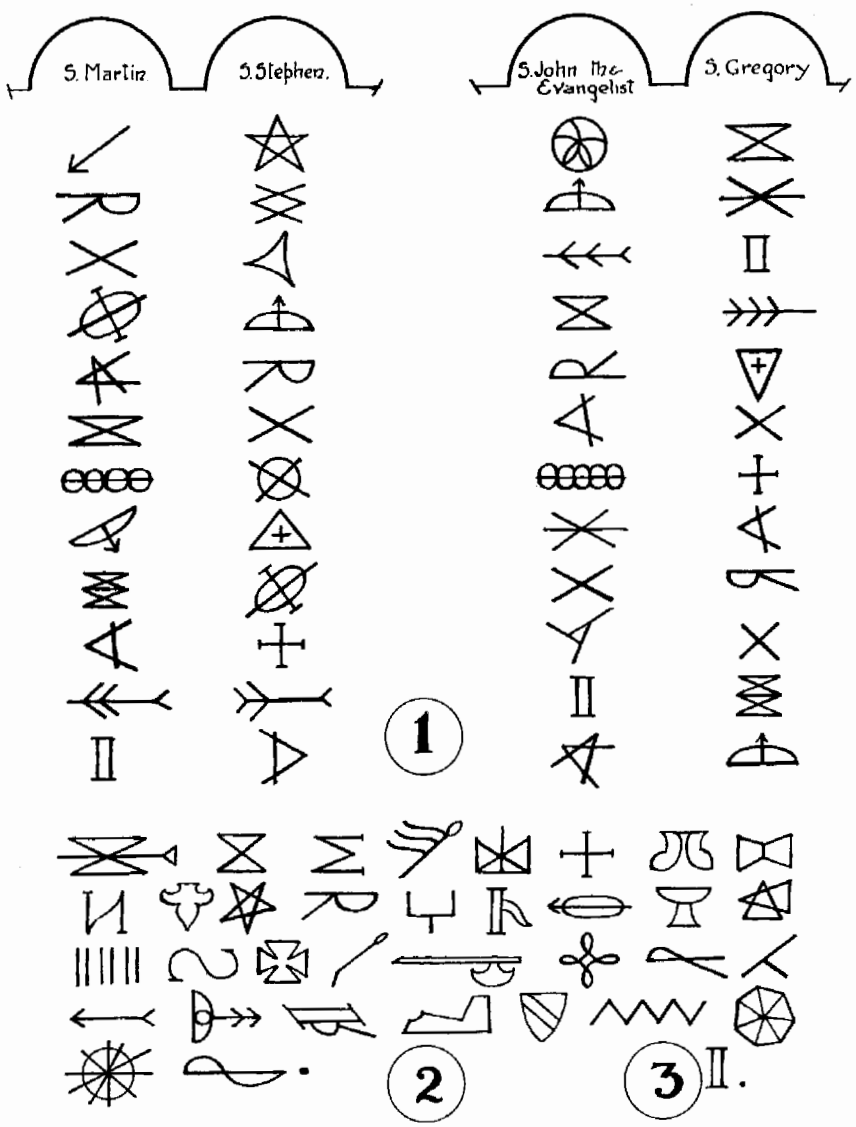

FIG. 72.—MASONS' MARKS. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. TRANSEPTAL CHAPELS.

mon for workers, not only masons, but also for the glass-painters and other trades, to be confined to the precincts of the building. At York in the fifteenth century the glass-workers of the chapter were divided from those of the city not only by lack of civic rights but also by confinement within the close.

The freemason worked frequently with his assistant, who corresponded to the 'labourer' of to-day, *e.g.* compare the expression 'bricklayer's labourer', the difference being that the freemason's mate was taken on with his master by the employers, whereas to-day he is engaged separately and assigned to any skilled 'tradesman' for as long only as he may be required.

The rough mason or ordinary mason was employed on general constructional work and walling where no great degree of skill was required. In many small parish churches he probably worked by himself without any assistance from masons of higher capacity, and the frequent examples of makeshift devices and crude detail to be found in them must show his handiwork.

In the quarries the blocks were roughly axed to shape by the quarriers and then sent to the masons' sheds to be dressed and worked. Probably in order to save the skilled mason unnecessary labour, in view of his higher wage, stone was 'boasted for carving' (*i.e.* blocked out roughly to shape) as it is to-day, though now it is generally so dressed and placed *in situ* before the carver touches it. In the sheds, stones were worked on horizontal benches by masons who were held to account for their stones by the master. A spoilt stone spelt trouble. Out of this grew the system of 'masons' marks', the supposition being that in a workshop where large numbers of masons were working, some of them unknown men (as the individuals would be constantly coming and going), this system would render any stone readily traceable. On the subject of masons' marks no certainty yet exists, and it is probable that when enough research has been undertaken to enable results over large areas to be collated it will be found that during the twelfth century at least the variety of practice on individual buildings of importance is so great as to render it difficult to formulate a single and really comprehensive theory. A very great deal must obviously have depended upon the individual master mason, and while evidence in one place will

point strongly to a conclusion, in another this will be as definitely negatived.

In many large buildings considerable numbers of different marks can be seen. Examination will show that while by no means all stones are signed (generally only a minority being marked), stones which are marked are not necessarily either worse or better than those not marked. Also, while some are marked in a fashion which must have meant an appreciable space of time in a week's work, others of no difference in quality of work are roughly and carelessly marked. If it were only the mason of whose work the master was unsure who had to mark his stone, then the average would be unlikely to show as high a level as commonly found. On the other hand, in conjunction with this, if the regular masons of the lodge, known and trusted, were not compelled to use their mark, but could if they wished use it as a sign of legitimate pride, some would use it and some not, and others occasionally, so that a confusion of theory is created which leads to no definite or even probable conclusion.

That the use of the mark which the mason had adopted was originally a distinguishing sign enforced by the head mason is hardly likely to be questioned. But later work shows a diversity of practice in different places which leaves the matter open. In order to illustrate the use of masons' marks, some of those found in the quire and presbytery of Canterbury Cathedral may be dealt with here, though necessarily only briefly.

Taking the eastern transepts first. In the east walls of these two transepts are in all four apsidal chapels; from north to south they are dedicated to St. Martin, St. Stephen, St. John the Evangelist, and St. Gregory. They form part of the work of Priors Ernulph and Conrad, and were given a new skin internally by William of Sens, after the burning of Conrad's quire in 1174. Within a height of eight feet from the floor the writer noted at random a dozen different marks in each chapel, no attempt at an exhaustive survey being made. Of this total of forty-eight marks (see Fig. 72, I.) it will be seen that twenty-three are different, showing that at one time at least twenty-three masons (or twenty, to allow of doubtful distinctions between some similar marks) were working on these transepts. William of Sens began his great work at

Canterbury in 1175, and the masons whose marks are shown in the transepts were working under him. In 1179 William the Englishman succeeded the broken William of Sens, beginning his work (on the apse) at the top of the steps which now lead up from the aisles to the so-called Trinity Chapel, and extending eastwards. He completed the building with the unique and beautiful corona. A few of the masons' marks on the walls of the Trinity Chapel and its wall piers are seen in Fig. 72, II., which were noted at random, without reference to their similarity or dissimilarity to others already marked. Here it will be seen that many new masons have appeared, but amongst the new are four of the old ones in the transept chapels. It will be noticed, too, that on the whole the new marks show a more picturesque and less purely diagrammatic type of design. Some are heraldic, while several others are representations of familiar objects, *e.g.* mason's square, mason's hod, chalice, axe, spear-head and banner, and others.

English William finished his work in 1184; in Fig. 72, III., is shown a mason's mark from inside the corona, the last work, which appears several times in the transeptal chapel walls, built ten years before. In addition to those mentioned, there is a mark to be seen on the north and south walls of the transepts, though not on the lower part of the chapels. The number of stones bearing this mark (Fig. 73, II.) are not numerous, but it is remarkable in every case for beauty and suavity of drawing. Any draughtsman would at once agree that it shows a skilled hand. It is interesting, having noticed this, to find that where carved stones appear with this mark the detail has a quality which confirms the impression made by the character of the mark. In the dog-tooth of the wall arcade in the north-east transept (Fig. 73) this mason's stones have a very slightly sharper angle to the dog-tooth and it is in every case cut a little deeper than its neighbours; the quality of his work is what might be expected from the cutting of his mark.

From this cursory examination results arise which are in some respects much to be expected. Large numbers of masons are employed, the individuals composing the body of masons come and go, while a few old hands stay on year after year. We see, too, at the incoming of a new master, a large number of new men taken on: it would be a natural time for a man to change his employment. Considering the work gener-

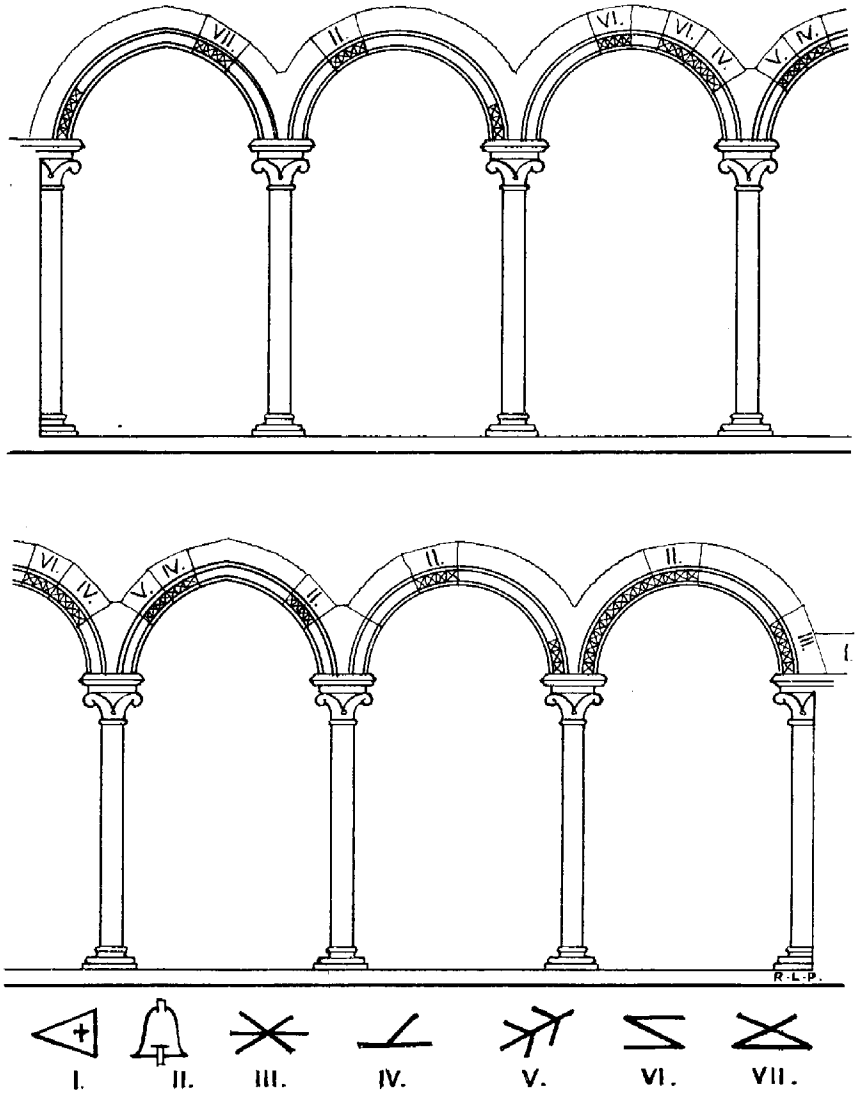

FIG. 73.—MASONS' MARKS. CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. N.E. TRANSEPT.
(Not to scale.)

ally, it is seen that the great majority of stones are not marked. From the wide distribution over the walls of the same marks it will be evident that these were done by masons in regular employment: in other words, those who were known and trusted, and who from time to time marked their stones, but without compulsion, as otherwise it is obvious that many more stones would be marked.[1] It seems most probable, in this instance, that if casual masons were employed, they did not mark their stones at all. They would naturally be under a closer supervision, their work would be seen by the mason in charge of the shed, both during its progress and on its completion, and its signature would be unnecessary.

As Gothic developed, the importance of the skilled mason became increasingly apparent, as the masters of the craft moulded the style, and upon the skill of stone-cutter and layer depended the success and stability of the new system of skeleton construction and balanced abutment. When marble shafts were popular (they went out of fashion rapidly when it was seen that they lost their polish) they were turned on the lathe, as described at Canterbury, and the opportunity offered by the lathe evolved the moulded cap. In order to allow the pier or wall to which they were attached to settle on its mortar joints, which might have cracked the marble, the erection of the shafts was sometimes postponed by careful builders. At Worcester, in the quire which was finished *c.* 1240, the marble shafts are said by Leland not to have been added till *c.* 1270. It is also possible that financial considerations had something to do with the delay. Carving was done before erection in order to avoid disturbance of the soft mortar joints by hammering. Every piece of good stone was of value, and its economy more and more earnestly sought.

(5) The Interior of the Church and Monastery

In addition to the masons' sheds close by the building, and the 'logge' about which such mysteries have been woven, the carpenters under the *magister operis lignaminis* also had their 'shops' and saw-pits.

[1] All marks discussed here are 'bench-marks', and are not to be confused with 'position' or 'jointing' marks, which are not referred to. Owing to the varying sizes of the same marks in Fig. 72, it is not practicable to give a scale.

Other work for the building, as already mentioned, was not as a rule done on the spot, unless it happened, like York, to be the centre of some industry.

Stained glass, wrought iron, gold[1] and silver work, enamels, fine fabrics, marble, and alabaster were supplied by outside specialists chosen for their skill, and brought to the building from the place of manufacture. Not infrequently such work was assembled in position by others than those who made it, and errors due to carelessness or ignorance are still to be seen in places. Glass was largely made in York, Oxford, and London. York glass-painters' workshops were liable to inspection by the municipality, and care was taken by those employing the glass-painters that the work was up to the standard specified and the colours properly fired. Wrought iron of great beauty came from the Sussex anvils, as in St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury, and in the chapter-house at Westminster. Good encaustic tiles were made in many places, and some of these can generally be seen in mediaeval churches where the paving has not been entirely removed. Some of the finest remain in Westminster chapter-house, *c.* 1245, others are to be seen at Gloucester of the fifteenth century. In many parish churches the floor remained unpaved until comparatively late. Where marble mosaic of the finest kind was desired, it seems to have been done by Italian workmen, as at Westminster in 1279. Alabaster was much used from the middle of the fourteenth century for tombs, effigies, retables, tablets, and other small work, and was a craft in which English workers excelled. The centre of the industry was at Nottingham, the alabaster coming from workshops in that city and the neighbouring towns, and was exported to almost every country in Europe.

For effigies on important tombs a gilt metal resembling a hard brass was much used in the later Middle Ages. Two of the best examples of the use of this metal, known as 'latten', are the celebrated effigy of the Black Prince at Canterbury and the rather less familiar one of Richard Beauchamp at Warwick. It was also largely employed for crosses, lamps, candlesticks, as well as other small objects in the church and monastery.

[1] Ely had a goldsmith's shop attached to the monastery and served by a lay-goldsmith.

(6) Mural Paintings and Furnishing

No great church of the Middle Ages was complete in the eyes of its builders, the early Cistercians and the Carthusians excepted, until it had been clothed throughout, its walls, vault, and arches, in a robe of polychromatic designs. In addition to the use of colour in the interior, there is evidence that it was used on the exterior as well; at Salisbury on the door which was called the 'Blue Door' traces of colour can still be seen,

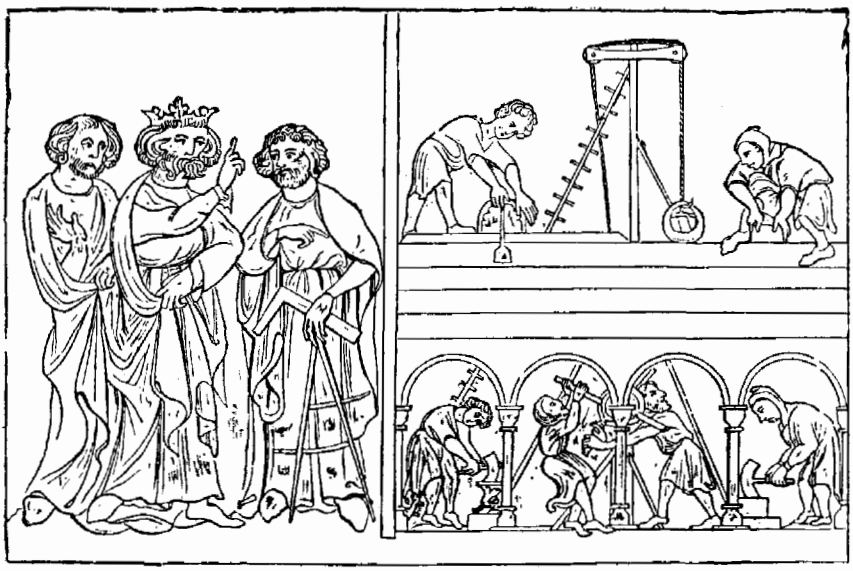

Fig. 74.—The Employer, The Master Mason, Freemasons, Setters, and Labourers.

or could until a few years ago, as also on the west front of Wells and Peterborough. The modern fashion of plain stone walls and neutral-tinted interiors has so impressed upon our minds the idea of a monotoned interior as the normal and proper thing that it is easily forgotten how completely repugnant to the mediaeval mind such a church would have been. The Romanesque church, with large areas of plain wall surface and drum-piers, with its wooden ceilings, and the severities of its vault unbroken by the multitudinous ribs and bosses of later days, offered an ideal opportunity for polychromatic decoration on a bold

scale. The coating of plaster which covered wall and vault, and which 'restoration' has so often removed, was designed to fair-face the inequalities of the stonework and form a ground for the colour which was to be spread over the whole building. The sedulous exhibition of every mortar joint and constructional expedient was no ambition of the mediaeval designer.

In our old buildings many remains of their coloured decoration, both pictorial and conventional, are still to be seen; and where these are found they should be regarded not as exceptional pieces of work but as an indication of the intention of the whole. The ideal was a unity of colour with construction throughout; and though designs varied greatly, the relative smallness of their parts when compared with the whole, and the customary breaking up of mass, avoiding large pieces of plain colour, imparted to the work, even when of different periods, an effect of unity. Ambition was only satisfied when the church was aglow with polychromy from end to end, though it was seldom that funds allowed of such complete decoration. Effigies and statues were not invariably coloured, even though the tomb or niche to which they belonged was brightly painted.

The palette of the mediaeval mural painter, though limited, was a positive one, following the principles of heraldry in its prime. Considering that a greater freedom in range of colour was used in contemporary pictorial composition, it is probable that the limitation in decorative work was to some extent intentional, but within its compass infinite variety was possible: yellow ochre and red, sang-de-bœuf and vermilion, blue, black, white, green, and gold.

Unbroken areas of strong colour were not popular, but large masses of pale colour are found. Strong colours were broken with diaper, sprig, or arabesque, powdering the whole with a fine pattern, the object and result of which was to give the effect of a half-tone, without losing the brilliancy and freshness of the pure colour. The most usual contrasts were black or gold on red, gold on green or blue, white on red, or a deeper tone on a self-ground. Mouldings were frequently picked out in contrasting colours, the shadows of the hollows being accentuated, and red and green used for the rounded members. In the 'Chapel of the Guardian Angels' at Winchester black is profusely used to

deepen hollows. Sometimes instead of the divisions of the different colours running parallel with the mouldings, the same colour was taken across the whole of the moulded member, as in a door or window jamb, the same tint being used for rounds and for hollows, but with different colours for adjacent stones; there are examples of this at Rochester. Gold was used for salient points, bosses, pendents, and arrises. White when in conjunction with colour was chiefly employed for small shafts and minute details, and for separating tints. In early work, red or yellow were mostly used on walls and yellow or blue on ceilings.

Norman forms of design in mural painting were generally bold and coarse; in large bands of black and red saltires, stars and pellets in red on a plain gound, and the outlining of false jointing in dark colour on a lighter-coloured plaster. In Rochester, one of the most interesting churches for the study of mediaeval polychromy, the whole of the Norman work was coloured a warm pale yellow, the face-mould of the vault ribs being now painted a deeper tone of the same colour. In the tympana of the triforium arcade careful examination will disclose traces of the original colours in the carving. Much colour-work is to be seen in Westminster, Winchester, Durham, Canterbury, Norwich, and Ely. In the last-named rare examples of painted foliage on Norman stone capitals remain. It seems likely that in some cases foliage was originally painted on the flat surface, and at a considerably later date carved in.

From about the middle of the thirteenth century the style of design used in mural painting becomes of greater interest. The wall and vault surfaces are frequently covered with ably designed and executed arabesques of a flowing character. Excellent work remains in the crypt at Rochester and in St. William's Chapel there; in the latter the arabesque is done in dark colour on a deep red ground. In the Chapel of St. Andrew at Canterbury, on the vault is an open flowing design in red ochre. In the same chapel there is an effective wall pattern of earlier character, broad vertical bands of red ochre separated by equal spaces treated with large rosettes. In the crypt there is valuable material for study.

Ribs and shafts are commonly found decorated with alternate sharply contrasting colours, barber-pole fashion, red and white, black

and white, in small shafts, and the popular mediaeval combination of red and green. Wooden ceilings were generally either painted over the whole of their surface, often in blue powdered with gold stars, the ribs checkered and the bosses gilded, or left plain but for the bosses and an occasional monogram.

Whitewash was much used at all periods of the Middle Ages, both in conjunction with coloured areas and alone. It was used not merely as a preservative but because the mediaevals took an obvious joy in making their buildings look as bright and as new as they could. The patina of age, overlaid upon old stones by the slow centuries, is painted from a palette whose colours they would have obliterated, if they could, with a dab of the whitewash or ochre brush. At Canterbury, as in many other places, are entries indicating the amounts spent upon limewhiting various parts of the monastery: *in dealbacione claustri xxvijs. jd.*, in 1236; in 1237, *pictor et colores cum dealbacione claustri xxiijs. ij ob.*; in 1469–70, *in lathamis conductis pro albacione capituli xijd.* A sum "approximately equal to £400 was spent in two years in whitewashing the quire alone".[1] Sculpture and colour were combined, as they were by the Greeks, capitals were often picked out in colours, gilded as at Evesham,[2] or painted in one colour, as may be seen in the fourteenth-century cap in Rochester.

Along with patterned forms of decoration and the profuse use of heraldry were figure subjects, varying from single figures to large compositions embracing the entire legend of a saint. This is too wide a subject to be discussed here, but attention may be drawn to the fine early painting of St. Paul in St. Anselm's Chapel, Canterbury, dating from about the beginning of the twelfth century, reminiscent of classical work in its drapery and pose, and curiously prophetic of early Renaissance practice in the over-muscled anatomy; to the large painting in the north quire aisle in the same church; to the Chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, Winchester, which with the remaining colour (*c.* 1225) of warm and glowing hues gives some idea of its original brilliancy, and to the Chapel of the 'Guardian Angels' and the Lady Chapel close to it; to the 'Wheel of Fortune' in Rochester, as well as other figure work there; and to the

[1] *Inventories of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 114, Hope and Legg.
[2] *Monasticon*, ii. 6.

celebrated paintings at St. Albans. At Westminster much painting of the highest importance has recently been brought to light.

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The fabrics and hangings of the great monastic church repeated in other texture the varied colours of wall and window. In Cistercian churches, where mural painting, elaborate pavements, stained glass and the like were forbidden, hangings were at first reduced to a minimum, and even the altars were only allowed to be painted in one colour. This prohibition as to colour and elaboration of work was constantly repeated and as continually disregarded, as the evidence of the buildings themselves shows. In the greater Benedictine and Augustinian houses richness of furnishing was a source of pride.

A complete set of hangings for a chamber of importance was known as 'salle' or 'halling'. These hangings consisted of three sets of pieces: the *dosser*, for the wall behind the dais or high table; the *costers*, for the sides; and the *bankers*, for the dais and chief seats. At Canterbury the Black Prince bequeathed his halling to the cathedral. This set consisted of the dosser, eight pieces of costers, and two bankers of ostrich feathers of black tapestry with a red border of swans with women's heads.[1] These pieces of tapestry were eventually cut up to make altar hangings, and some of them, much worn and frayed, remained until the Suppression, a century and a half after the death of their donor. The kind of hangings more usually found would be like those at Pipewell, where the parlor had hangings "of green saye", and the hall chamber " of red and yellow saye".

In monasteries which possessed wealthy patrons there might be found brocades from Baghdad and the East, but most of the needlework and embroidery was of native industry, this craft being one in which England was supreme. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries English embroidery was celebrated throughout Europe, known as 'the English work', and largely exported from London. The finest remaining piece is fortunately still in England,[2] though after many adventures, the famous cope (*c.* 1300) which belonged to the Brigettine convent of Syon in Middlesex.

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[1] *Inventories of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 97, Hope and Legg.
[2] South Kensington Museum.

In the design and decoration of altars every endeavour was made to impress and astonish the mediaeval mind, that combination of astuteness and credulity, superstition and stark realism. The plate and jewelled ornaments at Winchester may be taken as indicative of those possessed by the wealthiest monasteries in England, and in their prime these were said to have been unsurpassed in splendour by any in Europe.

At Winchester, "the nether part of the High Altar being plate of gold garnished with stones, the front above being of broidered work and pearls, above that a table of images of silver and gilt, garnished with stones; above the altar a great cross and image of plate of gold, garnished with stones". For this altar there were eight different hangings, "some of them precious". Amongst other pieces of value were a "crosse of gold full garnished with emeralds"; a "fine crosse of gold with jewels"; a "shrine of plate of gold with precious stones"; a "crosse of silver and gilt with emeralds and sapphires"; "three chalices of gold"; and, lumped together as in the days of Solomon, "of silver, vessels innumerable".

At Canterbury, when Erasmus had been shown all the ornaments, plate, and jewels of the shrines and altars, his comment was, "You would say Croesus and Midas were beggars, if you saw all that wealth of gold and silver." As a contrast to such glories may be quoted the letter of Layton and Gage to Cromwell from Battle, an abbey which the Conqueror had endowed with every possible privilege: "The implements of householde be the wurste that ever I se in abbey or priorie, the vestyments so olde and so baysse, worne, raggede and torne, as your lordship would not think, so that veray small money can be made of the vestrye." The last few words form an illuminating comment upon the motives underlying the Suppression.

In the great majority of abbeys and priories scattered through the countryside there would be little found to resemble the possessions of the great cathedral priories.

The most striking single object to be seen in any church, and then in only a few, was the great seven-branched *candelabrum* which on certain occasions stood before the High Altar. The cost of these candlesticks was enormous and only the wealthiest communities possessed them. None remain in England. Abroad, examples of the twelfth century re-

main at Essen and of the thirteenth century at Milan. The latter is 4 metres 50 centimetres high. These great candlesticks are referred to in St. Bernard's *Apologia*, *c.* 1129, where he describes with scorn the *candelabrum* given to Cluny by Matilda, Queen of Henry I: "Instead of candlesticks, we behold great trees of brass, fashioned with wonderful skill, and glittering as much through their jewels as their lights."

The oldest candlestick of this kind in England was that at Winchester, *c.* 1035; St. Augustine's, Canterbury, had one *c.* 1091–1124; and Christ Church, Canterbury, was given one by Conrad (1108–1126). Bury St. Edmunds had one *c.* 1200. They were also possessed by Westminster and Durham, and by the secular churches of York, Hereford, Lincoln, and Salisbury.[1]

Even if allowance be made for some natural exaggeration by the author of the *Rites of Durham*, the *candelabrum* in that church would appear to have been on an unusually large scale. This candlestick, he says, "extended almost the breadth of the quire", some thirty-eight feet, and "in longitude that did extend to the height of the vault, wherein did stand a long piece of wood reachinge within a man's length to the uppermost vault roofe of the church, whereon stood a great long square taper of wax called the Pascall, a fine conveyance through the roof of the church to light the taper with all". This candlestick was polished by "the children of the almery".

The ordinary lights of the church were cressets, standards, and hanging circular candelabra or lamps known as *coronae*, which in some instances were highly elaborate and of great size, "wheels studded with gems and surrounded by lights", and often made of silver.

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The monks' stalls in quire were of the kind known as 'misericords', with hinged seats to fold upwards, affording some support to a weary man standing during the long hours of the offices, who could lean back against them. Misericords can be seen in numerous churches in all parts of the country, monastic, collegiate, and parochial. In many of the latter they appear to have been removed there from some adjoining monastery. The underside of the misericord was frequently carved with conventional or amusing designs. (See tail-piece.) The seats of the novices

[1] *Inventories of Ch. Ch. Canterbury*, p. 49, Hope and Legg.

were in front and slightly lower than those of the monks. Incorporated in the quire stalls at Rochester is some of the oldest remaining stall-work, which retains traces of its paint. Of interest also is the later wooden 'vestry' in the same church, covered with ochre now faded to a rosy-red, patterned with occasional flowers.

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Apart from the furnishings of the church itself, the most elaborate piece of work was the *Analogium* or lectern, which stood in the middle of the chapter-house.[1] At Fountains the socket for the desk remains. Much labour was spent in the design and making of the chapter-house lectern. At St. Albans in the thirteenth century the school of craftsmen there had made one which was so splendid that the jealousy of Henry III was aroused, and he ordered Master John of St. Omer to make another for Westminster which should if possible outdo the lectern at St. Albans. This was made at St. Albans, and is said to have employed nearly 150 craftsmen—masons, carvers, marblers, painters, and smiths—for over a year. St. Albans had a unique renown for craftwork in the thirteenth century; and Walter of Colchester the sacrist, already mentioned in these pages, was frequently employed outside his own abbey. Amongst other work which he did was the famous shrine of Becket at Canterbury, and the almost equally well-known paintings at Westminster. It is an illuminating consideration that neither of these proud monasteries possessed craftsmen whom they considered sufficiently able.

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The dorter in larger monasteries, both in England and abroad, was divided in later days into separate small chambers or cubicles, with a wide passage down the middle. At Durham the cubicles were boarded under foot and the central passage tiled, and: "At either end of the said Dorter was a four-square stone, wherein was a dozen cressets wrought in each stone . . . to give light to the Monks and Novices." At Cistercian Clairvaux, the mother of Fountains, in 1517, the cubicles were about seven feet by six feet, and had a bed, a little cupboard, and a table for writing; the doors had a pierced panel "by which each was able to see his companion". The beds were low, of the truckle-bed kind; oak bedsteads appear to have been coming into use about the end of the twelfth

[1] Carthusian chapter-houses were furnished with an altar.

century, at which time they were introduced into St. Albans—and had blankets, coarse pillows, and straw palliasses; though by the fifteenth century things had become considerably improved, the prioress's chamber at Kilburn having "a standing-bed with four postes of wainscot, pillowes of down covered in fustian, flaxian and canvas sheets".

The frater was generally simply furnished, most of the pieces being arranged so as to be movable, in order to allow of easy cleaning of the frater. Tables were supported on trestles, with forms for seats, chairs being confined to the High Table. In some cases the tables were raised on platforms against the walls. The two most important objects in the frater were the customary piece of wall painting over the High Table, and the pulpit from which the reader for the week read during meals. This 'pulpytt' was very often merely a portable wooden desk, but in some houses, as in Beaulieu and Chester already mentioned, they were permanent works and form beautiful examples of mediaeval art. At Winchester in addition to rushes on the floor, which were changed seven times a year, there were also mats.

In the guest-house the hosteller was charged to keep the furnishings and equipment clean and sweet; and was bidden to provide—even to writing-materials, as at Barnwell—everything the guest might require. There were to be plenty of bedclothes, fresh rushes on the floor, and the silver spoons, porringers, cups, lavers, and basins scrubbed and bright. The general appearance of the guest-house was to be not only presentable but pleasant and attractive.

These were instructions given in an Order which was well known for its hospitality, and in a convent which was renowned for keeping this up to a high standard. In the ordinary small religious house of the countryside, provision would be of rough-and-ready nature for the guest of no special importance.

Conclusion

During the years which saw the resettlement of Europe after the Dark Ages, Benedictinism may be fairly described as the nurse of mediaeval civilisation. The cloister formed almost the sole abiding security of the scholar and the kindly patron and refuge of the artist. Thrones were easily upset, and the patronage of kings, valuable when afforded,

was spasmodic and uncertain. Monasticism, on the other hand, though the fortunes of individual houses varied, as an institution must have appeared in those early days to possess almost the permanence of things eternal.

The dark arch of the Black Death through which the Middle Ages passed in 1349 marks a point at which tendencies already in existence begin to show increased acceleration in their development; and from the effects of the pestilence in numbers alone monasticism lacked the resiliency to recover. Outside the walls of the monastery there was no longer forthcoming the supply of novices to recruit the depleted ranks. Rachel was mourning for her children, and there were fewer to spare for the monkish habit. To many of those who felt the call of the religious life, the habit of a friar, who was still in the busy world though not of it, offered a more lively and attractive path to salvation than the cloistered life of the Cistercian or the solitary cells of the Charterhouses. Personal ambition, while unacknowledged, might yet be satisfied in the power of the village confessional, in the demagogic oration, and in the increasing influence of the university class-room; and in the many cases of ill-feeling between monks and friars the latter had the ear of the people, and were unencumbered by the deadweight of tradition which deprived the monastic system of the elasticity imperative to the continued survival of any organism.

The increased attention devoted to the parish church, together with the growing attraction of chantries, deprived the Regular Orders of the financial support which in an earlier day would have been theirs. Architectural rivalry and the great cost of maintaining vast buildings, greater carelessness in domestic management, increase in expenditure following impossibly lavish hospitality, rashly granted corrodies, all helped to undermine and impoverish. Bad administration was frequent. In the fifteenth century financial difficulties were becoming almost universal, and long before the opening of the sixteenth there were few religious houses which could afford to disregard ways and means. In numerous cases there were heavy debts, which, for reasons already given, could not be discharged. There were some cases, though few, where administration was good and the revenues actually increased.

But neither the mortality of the Black Death nor the antagonism of

the friars nor the money question severally or collectively explain the difference between the monasticism of the sixteenth century and that of the twelfth. The enthusiasm had gone; as enthusiasm will when over-organised and by organisation kept alive beyond its natural span. The keen flame which animated the Orders in their early days now flickered uncertainly. The spirit failed. Had the earnestness remained which drove the wandering communities of the tenth century to and fro through the desolate forests of Normandy, which sustained the monks of Byland, Fountains, and Waverley through semi-starvation, doubtless the material difficulties would have been overcome. But the seat of Peter had been empty, and the body of Christendom riven by the Great Schism. The scar remained.

Thus when Henry VIII, furious against Rome at the refusal of his divorce from Katharine of Aragon, prepared to vent his rage and satisfy his greed upon the monasteries of his kingdom, they were unable to offer to the proposals presented to them the firm front that undoubtedly would have been shown three centuries before. They were easy victims; and upon those few courageous individuals who withstood his claims Henry took a bitter vengeance, even personally superintending its execution, as at Glastonbury, or as in the case of the monks of the London Charterhouse, leaving them to die in chains tied to dungeon pillars.

Popular prejudice was aroused by plays, sermons, satires, and the circulation of stories to the discredit of the Orders, but not at first with entire success; a considerable number of the convents suppressed under the Act of 1536 being re-founded as blameless. In the north of England the rising of 1536, known as 'the Pilgrimage of Grace', was a protest against the dissolution of the religious houses of the north. It was put down with much bloodshed in the following year. In general, in the north and in the country districts the populace supported the religious houses. In the south, as an individual instance, at Bayham Abbey, Sussex, after the ejection of the Premonstratensian canons the populace offered to put them back again.[1] In the towns feeling was hostile, as in many cases (Chester, Norwich, Bury St. Edmunds, and others) it had been for generations; since "those centres of commerce and industry which

[1] *Sussex Arch. Collections*, vol. ix.

had grown up round the walls of great abbeys and cathedrals found that though the Church was ready to nurse the child, she was not prepared to allow freedom to the man".[1]

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Monasteries whose annual value was less than £200 were suppressed under the Act of 1536, the greater under the Act of 1539, and their property granted to the king. Then began the scramble for the spoil. All buildings were surveyed and reported upon; the church and conventual parts of the buildings being "deemed superfluous", and those which were adaptable to farm use "assigned to remayne undefaced".

A delight was taken in the destruction of magnificent architecture; as at Lewes, where John Portinari, an engineer, urged on by Thomas Cromwell, "in eight or nine days" completely destroyed one of the finest churches in England. Building materials were sold, bells and lead melted down, plate and jewels weighed and sent to the King, and upon the property of the monasteries, granted by him to favourites of the Court, the wealth of the new nobility was founded.

That a drastic measure of reform in English monasticism was most urgently needed, few, if any, would venture to deny; equally few, it may be supposed, will be found to defend the motives underlying, or the methods employed in its total suppression.

[1] *England in the Age of Wycliffe*, p. 163, G. M. Trevelyan.

Christ Church Priory, Hampshire. Misericord.

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INDEX OF NAMES AND PLACES

A. = Augustinian. Ch. = Carthusian.
B. = Benedictine. P. = Premonstratensian.
C. = Cistercian. Cl. = Cluniac.
N. = Nunnery.

THE END