

## BRISTOL CATHEDRAL.

By EDWARD W. GODWIN, F.S.A.

It is not my intention to give a detailed description, or to illustrate to any extent the many interesting features of the Church of the Abbey of St. Augustine, now the Cathedral of Bristol. Mr. Britton's work has already, to a great extent, supplied both the one and the other. My object is rather to regard the structure as the church of a large monastery, so that, while we dissect its various styles, we may at the same time investigate those scattered remnants which surround it and which partake more essentially of the conventual and domestic character. By proceeding in chronological order we shall endeavour to obtain an approximation to the authentic history of the whole.

As a matter of course we must expect to find traditions mixed up with the early history of the abbey; and, although we know the name of its founder and the date of its dedication, archæology is not fully satisfied unless we fairly estimate the traditional and documentary evidence concerning its origin.

Leland tells us of St. Augustine's Black Canons outside the walls, and of a chapel in the large area in which was buried St. Jordan, one of the disciples of St. Augustine.<sup>1</sup> Camden gives a similar account describing "the large area" as a "green plain shaded all along the middle with a double row of trees, among which is a pulpit of stone and a chapel wherein they say that Jordan, companion to St. Austin the English apostle, was buried."<sup>2</sup> Mention is also made of St. Jordan's Chapel in a roll in the possession of the Dean and Chapter, wherein the sacrist of the abbey accounts for money received from the *pyxis* of St. Clement adjacent to the

<sup>1</sup> "Ibique in magna area sacellum in quo sepultus est S. Jordanus, unus ex discipulis Augustini Anglorum Apostoli."

Leland, *Itin.* (vol. v. fol. 64.)  
<sup>2</sup> (C. 600.)

chapel of St. Jordan "in the green place."<sup>3</sup> As the entry was made so late as the year 1491-2, the edifice must have been standing in Wyrcestre's day, but, although he particularizes the "large area" or "green place," he nowhere alludes to either the chapel or the shrine. The tradition is that St. Augustine visited Bristol and preached upon the spot afterwards chosen by Fitzhardinge for the site of his abbey, and that he left Jordan, one of his disciples, to carry out the object of his visit.<sup>4</sup> But, whatever may have been the motive for selecting this site, it is evident that Fitzhardinge could not have fixed upon a situation more agreeable or more suited to the purpose. It appears that he obtained this ground as part of the manor of Billeswick, which he purchased of Robert, Earl of Gloster.<sup>5</sup>

The Monastery of St. Augustine was founded in 1142, and was so far advanced in 1148 as to be ready for consecration.<sup>6</sup> On the ides of April in the same year, six monks from the Monastery of Wigmore were inducted into the new building, and Richard, one of their number, was appointed abbot.<sup>7</sup> In 1155 the king conferred upon Robert Fitzhardinge the forfeited estates of Roger de Berkeley, and by this means the founder of St. Augustine's was enabled to provide for the abbey to a much greater extent than at first contemplated, for, by a charter preserved at Berkeley Castle, he gives all the churches belonging to Berkeley, with the chapels and all their appurtenances, to the abbey. The deed is undated, but must have been executed in the reign of Henry II., mention being made of "dominus rex Henricus" and "Henrici regis avi sui."<sup>8</sup> The date must therefore be between 1155 and 1170, in which latter year Fitzhardinge, then a canon of St. Augustine's, died. From these circumstances we may, I think, conclude that in 1142 the monastery was begun; that in 1148 the church was consecrated, and the domestic buildings sufficiently advanced for the accommodation of six monks, and that, on the accession of Henry II. (1155),

<sup>3</sup> "Et de 22d. receptis de hujusmodi oblationibus provenientibus de pyxide Sci. Clementis juxta Capellam Sci. Jordani in viridi placea ibidem."

<sup>4</sup> Seyer conjectures that Augustine's celebrated conference with the British bishops was held on the same spot.

<sup>5</sup> Smythe.

<sup>6</sup> Stowe, Godwyn.

<sup>7</sup> Leland's Itin. vol. vi., p. 49:—

"A° 1148, 3 Idus Apr. die videlicet Paschæ, fundatio monaster' S. Augustini Bristol', et congregatio fratrum ejusdem per Dnm. Robertum filium Hardingi." Here *fundatio* must refer to the convent as a *society*, and not as a building.

<sup>8</sup> Barrett's Hist. of Bristol, p. 272: Monast. Angl. ed. Caley, vol. vi., p. 365.

Fitzhardinge was enabled, by the grant of the forfeited Berkeley estates, not only to increase its endowment, but to complete the building, and that, too, in a more elaborate style than was at first designed. The Norman remains are therefore, I conceive, of two different dates. To the earlier (1142—1148) belong the vestiges of the old church and the abbot's lodgings; to the later (1155—1170) may be referred the great gateway with its attached postern and the chapter-house. From this time, until the commencement of the fourteenth century, not a single document, so far as I am aware, occurs relative to the buildings and the alterations in progress during that period. Abbot Knowle was elected in 1306, and the earliest evidence we have of the works which he began is a document<sup>9</sup> dated at London on the 11th of the kalends of July, 1311, which states that "*ecclesia ejusdem monasterii a piis ipsius fundatoribus antiquis temporibus ad cultum divinum opere sumptuoso constructa, dudum propter ipsius antiquitatem et debilitatem pro majori parte funditus diruta, in parte residua gravem minatur ruinam; ad cujus fabricæ restorationem plures sumptus apposuerunt et ampliores apponere oportebit in opere ibidem noviter inchoato,*" &c. On account of this the Bishop of Worcester granted the church of Wotton.<sup>1</sup> Now the words of this deed inform us that the greater part of the church was utterly demolished, and that the remainder threatened to fall down; and immediately after this is an allusion to the great cost of the rebuilding of the church, which is also described as "*the work newly begun,*" for the completion of which more money was required. There is no difficulty in perceiving that the *eastern portion* of the church was the "*greater part which had been utterly demolished*" (pulled down), and that the work newly begun was the rebuilding of the same. Abbot Newland distinctly states that Knowle "*built the church which is now<sup>2</sup> standing from the ground,*" and laid the foundations of the king's hall and chamber, and the frater. This, however, appears to be a mistake. That Abbot Knowle *began* the church, and that it was proceeded with much in accordance with his design, there can be very little doubt, and we can readily believe that he began the domestic buildings above enumerated, for he seems

<sup>9</sup> Lib. Alb. Wygorn., 6. f. 20.

<sup>1</sup> Confirmed by Pat. 5 Edward II.

<sup>2</sup> John Newland, compiler of the his-

tory of the monastery, was abbot 1481—1515.

throughout to have directed his attention more to the removal of old buildings, and the remodelling of the entire abbey, than to the completion of any particular part. Knowle died in 1332, and was succeeded by John Snow, who has been supposed to have considerably promoted the new works, from the fact of his having been the only person, with the exception of Fitzhardinge and his wife, and of Robert, Lord Berkeley, annually commemorated as a benefactor. It was during his government that the monastery was raised to the dignity of a mitred abbey. He died in 1341, and was succeeded by Ralph Ashe, in whose time the plague visited Bristol. In 1353 William Coke, the sub-prior, was elected abbot. In 1363 he resigned in favor of Henry Shellingford, or Blebery, and in the same year, Maurice de Berkeley obtained from Urban II. a papal bull granting forty days' indulgence to every person who should hear mass in the Church of St. Augustine, or say kneeling three Ave Marias, or should contribute towards the repair of the said church, the same "being then ruinous."<sup>3</sup> Such a description as this could only apply to those portions erected by Fitzhardinge, and to which I shall presently allude.

In 1428—1473,<sup>4</sup> Walter Newbury was abbot, and must have been engaged in building some portions of the monastery, for, in 1466, the convent obtained a lease of one of the Dundry quarries from the Bishop of Bath and Wells, and it appears that John Ashfield was "master of the *new works*" from 1472 to about 1491.

William Hunt, the next abbot, governed from 1473 to 1481. During all this time Ashfield was "master mason." In 1475 the abbot advanced 101*l.* 18*s.* 7*d.* In 1476 he paid 52*l.* 2*s.*, and this is the last debt to him which appears. In 1480 the prior and convent granted an obiit and mass to be celebrated to his memory "in a certain new chapel of the Blessed Virgin Mary" at the east end of the church, because he had erected at his own cost many great houses and other buildings, "as well in divers manors" belonging to the monastery, as in the abbey itself, and had made anew the covering of the whole church, including the battlements and pinnacles, the timber, lead, and other necessities, and had granted to the monastery gifts and benefits of no small value.

<sup>3</sup> Evidently "the remainder" which Abbot Knowle threatened to fall down in the time of

<sup>4</sup> Reg. Wyg.

1481—1515, John Newland (alias Nail-heart) was abbot. In the first year of his government the convent had contracted a debt to him of 242*l.* 1*9s.* 8½*d.*<sup>5</sup> In 1491, Prior John Martyn was master of the works,<sup>6</sup> and in the same year it appears that the choral service was performed in the Elder Lady Chapel, so that the presbytery must have been unfit for use. In 1492, stone was received from Dundry in large quantities. The accounts of the year specify “ragges” (for filling in the walls), as well as ashlar or freestone. In 1498 the accounts show an increase of expenditure, from which we may presume that further works were in progress.

The later ante-reformation alterations or additions have been ascribed to the Abbots, Eliot, Somerset, and Burton. Their works speak for themselves, and will form their portion of the chain of monumental evidence which I shall now proceed to examine.

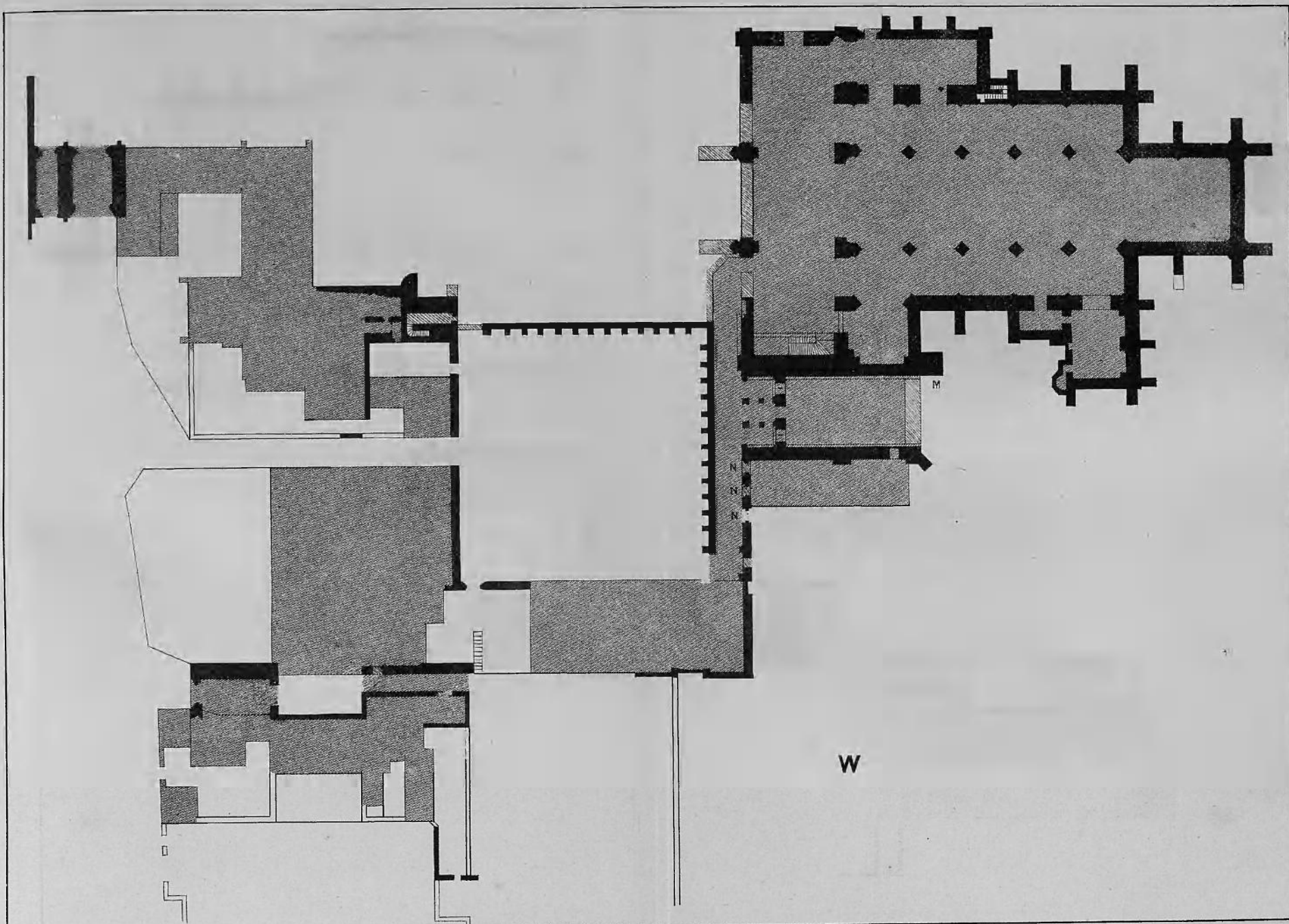
The remains of the monastery (plate 1) consist of the great gateway, with its postern, attached to which are some fragments of domestic buildings; the gateway, and other vestiges of the abbot's lodgings; the chapter house; a fragment of the fraternity, and other domestic buildings; portions of the upper and lower cloisters, and part of the church; the latter in its present state comprises only the central tower and transepts, two chapels east of the latter, the presbytery, with north and south aisles, a Lady Chapel in continuation of the presbytery, and a double chantry chapel, with a vestibule on the south side of the south aisle.<sup>7</sup> I have already stated that Norman work of two different dates exists, for, although Fitzhardinge was in all probability the author of both, yet there is a marked difference between the architecture of the original foundation (1142—1148), as seen in the church, cloisters, and abbot's lodgings, and the semi-Norman or transitional character of the chapter-house and great gateway. It is the sparing and judicious economy of the “Provost” of Bristol contrasting with the lavish and almost extravagant richness of the later works of the Baron monk. The remains of the Norman church are by no means apparent to the ordinary observer. They consist of

<sup>5</sup> From accounts in the possession of the Dean and Chapter.

<sup>6</sup> “Magister novi operis.”

<sup>7</sup> I use these terms architecturally

and not according to any arrangements which the incomplete state of the church may have rendered necessary.



GROUND PLAN OF EXISTING BUILDINGS, OLD & MODERN.



a small staircase in the north aisle, a great portion of the walls of the south transept, the base of the walls in the north transept, and the lower part of the tower piers. These last, although transformed to something like the character of Perpendicular work, are constructively Norman, and it will be seen by the plan, fig. 1, plate 4, that it required but little alteration to reduce the Norman section to its present form, which I conceive to have been effected not by grafting in new work, but by the much easier process, in this case, of cutting away the old. The portions which I suppose to have been cut away are shown black in the figure, the lighter shade indicates Knowle's addition. It will be seen that on the sides A, A', a greater proportion of Norman work is shown as cut away than on the corresponding and opposite angles B, B'; the reason of this is explained by the old Norman walls of the transepts; the axis N, of these walls (and consequently, I suppose, of the old piers) not coinciding with the axis of the present pier R, which is further inwards, as shown by dotted lines; whilst the axes both of Knowle's respond, W, and the later molding on the Norman pier, S, neither coincide with one another, nor with the axis of the old pier, M, as also shown by the dotted lines. The diagram shows us that the object of this alteration was therefore not only to lighten the piers, but to widen the tower, so that its inner face might be brought more into line with Knowle's new and wider choir and the contemplated nave. This was done by cutting away from the side A, but then the respond B, A', must be made like the respond A, B', which has been cut away upon its *inner* face; but this other by a good mason would not be so treated, because the projection, A, must be made equal to B'. But B' is fixed by the old wall of the transept, which communicates with the aisle through the arch P; so therefore they cut the Norman pier away at A', and thus brought the internal measurement of the tower from 29 ft. 4 in. (W. Wyrcestre) to 30 ft. 8 in. from north to south, leaving its length from east to west very nearly what they found it, viz., 29 ft. The exterior of the south transept exhibits its earlier Norman character in a very decided manner. In its western wall may be seen a blocked up doorway, with its nook-shaft, and plain soffit, indicating the early work of the "Prepositor." This doorway, from its situation and Wyrcestre's notes, appears to have been a temporary entrance

to the first Norman church, which extended only as far westward as the present building.

When the Norman nave and its aisles were built, this entrance to the church would have been blocked-up, and a new doorway constructed in the usual position entering from the end of the east cloister into the south aisle. The flat pilaster buttresses at the angles of this transept ; the set-off in the wall, indicating the level of the old parapet,—below this the jamb of a plain Norman window, and the plain gable window seen over the roof of the chapter-house, set in a rough wall still retaining marks of the steep pitch of the old roof, are of the same date. The Norman work of the north transept is confined to the coursed masonry below the Early English jambs of the great north window, and possibly the core of the buttresses ; for the buttress above the Elder Lady Chapel exhibits a chase in the stone-work, showing the pitch of the Early English roof, which is further shown by a projection in the Early English buttress at the east end. Inside the south-west angle of the south transept, may be seen a Norman cushion-shaped corbel supporting the later capital of the Perpendicular vaulting. The Norman work of the staircase alluded to is disclosed only on the inside, where some corbel heads, of the roughest character, are to be seen. There are no *visible* vestiges of the Norman nave or its aisles *in situ*, except a portion of the foundation of the north wall lately exposed ; but, some years ago, Mr. Pope, an architect resident at Bristol, in removing some old houses which had been erected on the site, discovered remains of the south wall of the south aisle, which, according to Mr. Pope, consisted of three or four bays ;<sup>s</sup> pierced by widely splayed windows of a plain Norman character, with vaulting shafts or piers between, arranged in pairs with distinct capitals under a continuous abacus. A rather mutilated specimen of these coupled capitals is in Mr. Pope's possession : the shafts must have been about 6 in. diameter, and the abacus about 18 in. long (plate 4, fig. 2). The position of the foundation of the north wall lately exposed to view at the west end of the north transept closely corresponds to Wyrcestre's measurements. In the course of making the excavation there were brought to light some Early English fragments of moldings and the

<sup>s</sup> William de Wyrcestre's measurements would give *four* bays between the western "belfray" and central tower.



mailed arm of an effigy, together with a great number of molded stones, averaging 7 inches deep, and bearing the late Norman section shown in plate 4, fig. 3.

In Lower College-green there are many fragments of Norman character scattered about, and some Norman masonry at the north-west angle of the cloister, but there is nothing of the first period save the lower or abbot's entrance which in itself demands attention. If the sections of the two arches constituting this entrance be compared with the jambs of the chief gateway of the abbey, a decided change of character will be perceived (plate 5, figs. 4, 5, 6). This is more obvious on comparison of the works themselves, where we cannot fail to observe how much poorer the labours of the older hand appear when contrasted with the high finish of the free-mason's handicraft.

It was in this part of the monastery that a dungeon, or place of torture, was discovered by the falling-in of a floor in 1744 ; it was situated under one of the apartments used by the bishop, and in it were discovered some bones and several iron instruments ; the only apparent means of entrance or exit was by an arched passage just large enough to admit one person : an arrangement which reminds us of the "*lanterna*" of the Cluniac Priory of S. Pancras, Lewes, figured in the twelfth volume of the *Archaeological Journal*.

Before describing the features of the later Norman, it may be well to notice one or two peculiar circumstances connected with it. If we turn to page 289 of William de Wyrcestre, we shall there find the length of the chapter-house given as "56 gressus," or 29 feet longer than it now is, which would thus include three bays instead of two. The construction of the south-east angle, as seen at the time the present east wall was built, places beyond doubt the veracity of Wyrcestre's statement, which is further supported by the corbels in the buttress marked M, plate 1, evidently intended to carry the wood-work of the gutter. I have said that the great gateway belongs to the reign of Henry II., and owes its elaborate character indirectly to that monarch, through the grant of the Berkeley estates to Robert Fitzhardinge. Although, however, it presents a fair specimen of rich Norman work, and probably retains its original proportions and design, there are one

or two minor points of arrangement and detail which are scarcely what we should expect to find in Norman work, and which, combined with the exquisite "finish," indicate the reconstruction of this gateway as amongst the later ante-reformation works in progress. Thus the hood-moldings which surround all the arches are not only of Perpendicular section, but at the crown of the arch are mitred in to the confessedly Perpendicular string-course of the same section ; whilst the jointing of the masonry in the south-western jamb is not continuous, but the outer order breaks joint with the other, and the courses are nearly double the usual height of Norman masonry ; so that the so-called Norman gateway of College-green is no Norman gateway, but a Perpendicular restoration of the old work.

We have, I believe, discovered enough of Fitzhardinge's work to warrant the opinion that, notwithstanding the numerous superincumbent transformations that have occurred, the original ground-plan has formed the nucleus, and that a great part of the present cathedral is raised upon the foundations of the Norman church. I presume then, that the church, as finished by Fitzhardinge, contained a nave with north and south aisles, a central tower with north and south transepts, a presbytery with north and south aisles, and a *via processionum*. It does not appear quite clear, that there were ever any apses to the east ends of the transepts, because of the shortness of the cross-aisles and the stairs from the dormitory in the south transept, although there is room enough for a mere recess as at Shrewsbury and Buildwas. I will endeavour to trace the various alterations and additions which have from time to time been effected. As the space beneath the central tower always formed part of the "Choir of Monks" in Norman churches, it may be presumed that the arrangement or subdivision of the screens was like that existing at Winchester and Gloucester Cathedrals, and that the Architectural Choir consisted of the tower and two bays of the presbytery—leaving the eastern bay for a "*via processionum*." Scarcely, however, had the intentions of the founder been carried out, when we find a Lady Chapel was built east of the north transept, as at Canterbury, which since Knowle's time (when a new Lady Chapel was added at the east end of the church) has always been known as the "*Elder Lady Chapel*." From this I conclude that the

east end of the first church was square, otherwise the choir in the thirteenth century would be longer than the later choir of Abbot Knowle's work. This erection of a side Lady Chapel broke at once the simplicity of the old Norman arrangement. The absence of all documents forces us to have recourse to the moldings and other characteristic features, as guides in ascribing a date to this early addition. It will be seen on reference to plate 5, figs. 7 and 8, that the moldings are of the very boldest and earliest form of section, consisting of alternate rounds and hollows, with few intermediate fillets. The pillars, of Purbeck marble, are all detached, and the carved work in the capitals and in the spandrels of the arches is of the stiffest kind. In fact, the whole character of the north wall, a great part of the casing on the south side (I say a great part, because, as I think I shall be able to show, the two sides of the chapel were originally alike in all points of construction), and the arch-opening to the north transept, indicate a very early period of Gothic architecture, and may probably belong to the first ten years of the thirteenth century. An interesting fragment of the same character occurs built-up with *Decorated* work in the south aisle and forms the base of a monument. There are one or two features about this exquisite specimen of *Early English* work which should not remain unnoticed. The pinnacle at the north-east angle may be mentioned as a good example of a date anterior to the general adoption of these constructive beauties, and three of the triple lancet windows in the north wall present examples of that peculiar form which preceded the grouping of two or more lights under one arch, for here, although the double order occurs in the jambs, the mullions or dividing piers have only a simple chamfer corresponding with the inner order, and the outer chamfer of the jambs passes distinctly over each arch and thus appears to be *in suspensura* over the central one. It is rather singular that the fourth or easternmost is the plainest, having only the simple chamfer in the jambs, and I have, therefore, a doubt as to the originality of the jamb section in the others, for these might possibly have been reworked at a later period. The original roof of this chapel must have been of a very lofty pitch from the sinking which is still visible on the face of the east buttress of the transept, and the projecting weather-course against the west face of

the base of the Early English pinnacle at the north-east angle of the chapel.

The irregular connection with the transept yet remains to be explained. It will be seen, on referring to the plan, that the north wall of the transept is splayed in order to admit the pier of the *Early English* arch; this wall, then, we might naturally imagine to be of an earlier date, and consequently to belong to Fitzhardinge's work; this, however, is only partly the case, for there remains sufficient to show that the whole of the wall above the window cill has been rebuilt some time during the reign of Henry III., a great part of the buttresses and their base molding, the cill and string-course on the exterior, as well as the internal jamb, molding, and shafts of the great north window, being decidedly *Early English*, but of a more delicate and advanced character than that of the Elder Lady Chapel.<sup>9</sup> The splay of the transept wall is stopped a little above the springing of the chapel arch by an Early English arch buttant, which thus provides a square angle for the groining of the transept. In short the very existence of this is alone sufficient to show that the *Norman* wall had been cut away to receive the pier of the *Early English* arch, and subsequently in great part rebuilt,<sup>1</sup> the splay being of necessity retained. While the north transept was rebuilding, other works, apart from the church, were in progress. The beautiful doorway in the south-west corner of the cloister (fig. 9), and some small fragments between the church and the great gateway, are evidently of the same time. Now, under whose government did these two distinct works proceed? The Lady Chapel at Winchester Cathedral was built by Bishop Godfrey de Lucy, between 1202 and 1204.<sup>2</sup> The Early English work at Lincoln dates from 1200 to 1220. Salisbury Cathedral was fit for service in 1225, and I think it can scarcely be objected that Bristol was behindhand in architectural progression, seeing the very high position it held at this time amongst the cities of England, and the favourable light in which all orders of

<sup>9</sup> A few fragments of molding, belonging to this advanced or more highly developed Early English, have been dug up in the excavations made this year (1862) on the north and west sides of the church. The tracery was inserted in 1704.

<sup>1</sup> The masonry below the window cill is fine Norman coursed work, above the cill Early English rubble work, and the whole finished with late decorated coursed work.

<sup>2</sup> Willis Win. Cath. p. 37.

religion seemed to view her. Comparing these buildings, then, with the Elder Lady Chapel at Bristol, there is every reason to assume it to have been erected during the life of the third abbot, John, who governed the monastery from 1196 to 1215. The expense may possibly have been defrayed by Robert Berkeley,<sup>3</sup> by whose munificence, Dugdale informs us, the possessions of the house had been much increased. The Early English work of the transept is so inconsiderable, and this, again, so mutilated and transformed, that we are left almost without a chance of ascertaining its date. It seems highly probable, however, that the rebuilder of the north transept was also the author of the domestic works of this period. William de Bradestan, who was abbot from 1234 to 1237, commenced the church of St. Augustine the Less, in 1235. Two years after this, at the visitation of the Bishop of Worcester, the character of the house was by no means of a high standard, for the prior and other officers were removed owing to the lax state of discipline that prevailed, upon which the abbot resigned. It will be scarcely necessary to show, from these circumstances, the improbability that de Bradestan was the author of the works in question. It remains, therefore, to decide whether they are anterior to 1234 or subsequent to 1237. By a comparison with other buildings, whose dates are proved, it may, I think, be concluded that the rebuilding of the transept and the other alterations alluded to were effected soon after the accession of Abbot Long, who governed from 1237 to 1264. Barrett says that this abbot was buried in the north transept, which, if true, adds a slight but peculiar weight to this conclusion.<sup>4</sup> We have still to feel our way for a few more years, unassisted by any documentary evidence. The east wall and window of the Elder Lady Chapel, with its groined roof, the *benatura*, and the buttresses and parapet, are of pure Geometrical character, and evidently belong to the reign of Edward I. Singularly enough, too, the builders of that time were guilty of certain licence in their restorations, just as we sometimes are, for the whole of the Early English work above a certain level, which is clearly marked by the change of

<sup>3</sup> He must have been about forty years old at the time (1205) to which I would refer the building of the chapel.

<sup>4</sup> There is a much-worn sepulchral slab in this transept assigned by Barrett

to Abbot David (ob. 1234). The design consists of a head in high relief, and below this a floriated cross. The design is clearly late Early English, if not Decorated.

masonry, has been rebuilt. Now it appears that John de Marina governed, or rather *misgoverned*, the house from 1276 to 1286. For although the Bishop of Worcester, at his visitation in 1282, found all well, "tam in capite quam in membris," yet there was an exception which evinced the misgoverning spirit of the abbot; for the bishop observed that "the house was injured by his non-residence." There was, too, a debt of £300, with which the convent was burdened, and de Marina was given to splendid entertainments apart from the abbey, all which would doubtless prevent the monks from incurring further debts on account of their buildings. The bequest of the second Maurice, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1282, and the visit of the king, on the Christmas of the following year, with the presents then made by Edward and his retainers, more than compensated the monks for the losses they had sustained through the extravagance of their abbot; and the last three years (1283—1286) of de Marina's abbacy were spent in comparative quiet. To him or his successor, Hugh de Dodington (1287—1294), the roof and east window of the Elder Lady Chapel—a chapel east of the south transept—together with other fragments of Early Decorated, may fairly be ascribed.

It here becomes a question whether the idea of rebuilding the choir was not already in the mind of the thirteenth century builders; for, on looking carefully at the south side of the Elder Lady Chapel, we see that the whole of the first Early English work has been reconstructed. In order to bring in two arches of communication to the choir aisle, there has been a wholesale shifting of the last bay of the lower arcade eastward, the upper arcade corresponding to the windows on the opposite side has been cut short, and a string-course (fig. 10) of the same character as the vaulting ribs has been built in. In 1311 the church of Wotton was appropriated to St. Augustine's, to augment its revenues on account of the buildings then in progress. We may conclude from this that Abbot Knowle commenced the work soon after his election (1306). From this time, as I have before shown, to the dissolution in 1539, the builder seems to have been almost constantly employed upon it. The condition of the church at the accession of Abbot Knowle may be briefly described as Norman, with an Early English north chapel east of transept, which latter had also been in great part rebuilt



in the advanced Early English style, and an Early Decorated chapel east of the south transept. In a word, the opening of the fourteenth century found the mass of the building of the two styles, Norman and Early English, but with two phases of each style; for the building of 1148, that was "so far advanced as to be ready for consecration," was only the choir with its aisles and transepts; whereas the nave, with its aisles and western towers, was erected at the same transitional period as the chapter-house and great gateway; for, as I have before said, the vaulting shafts of the aisles were coupled under one abacus, and the capitals themselves bore evidence of a parentage akin to that of the great gateway and chapter-house. Here, then, was a building in every sense ripe (at least as far as the eastern half) for any experiments in the new style which the art-patron, Edmund Knowle, might choose to make, for I have little doubt that he contemplated no less an experiment than an entirely new church from east to west, using the Norman foundations, and even the walls above ground, wherever available: whatever may have been the actual extent of his work, that which now remains convinces me that it is but part of one bold continuous project, which, if carried out to the full length, would doubtless look full of design and originality, although, like many old and new works of the same class, by no means pleasing. In order to arrive at some conclusion as to the extent of this Decorated rebuilding, the new internal arrangements caused by it, and the general aspect of the monastery soon after, I must refer to William de Wyrcestre. His first reference to the abbey is at page 188, in Nasmith's edition: "Sanctuarium locum Sancti Augustini ab oriente ubi introitus sanctuarii est in occidentem ad portam extremam ad intrandam curiam abbatis de officiis domorum, granariorum, pistorum, pandoxatorum, stablaorum (*sic*) pro dominis, etc., continet 360 gressus eundo juxta ecclesiam Sancti Augustini." At p. 233 we find the following measurements:—

"Longitudo ecclesiæ navis fratrum<sup>5</sup> Augustini continet 30 virgas vel 54 gressus [90 ft.]. Longitudo chori ecclesiæ fratrum Augustini, viz., chorus, continet 30 virgas. Latitudo ejus continet 9 virgas vel 16 gressus [27 ft. or (gressus of 20") 2'6—8"]. Longitudo chapter-hous 24 virgæ [72 ft.]. Latitudo ejus 8 virgæ [24 ft.]. Longitudo claustri

<sup>5</sup> An evident mistake for *canonicorum*.

continet 30 virgas [90 ft.]. Latitudo ejus continet 3 virgas<sup>6</sup> [9 ft.].

At p. 242 is a distinct heading :—"Ecclesia canonicorum Sancti Augustini. Dominus Ricardus Newton Craddok miles, justiciarius de communi banco, obiit A. C. 1444, die Sanctæ Lucie, 13 die Decembris. Capella Sanctæ Mariæ in longitudine continet 13 virgas [39 ft.]. Latitudo ejus continet 9 virgas et dimidium [28 ft. 6 in.]. Spacium sive via processionum a retro altaris principalis coram capellam Sanctæ Mariæ continet 5 virgas. Chori longitudo de le reredes (*sic*) principalis altaris usque ad finem chori continet 29 virgas, incipiendo a fine predicti spacii [87 ft.]. Latitudo tam navis chori quam duarum elarum chori continet 24 virgas<sup>6</sup> [72 ft.]. Capella decens edificata in boreali<sup>7</sup> parte elæ chori continet in longitudine . . . virgas."

Again, at page 289 :—"Chorus ecclesiæ Sancti Augustini Bristoll continet in longitudine 64 gressus<sup>8</sup> ultra capellam Beatæ Mariæ [at 16" = 85'—4"]. Latitudo navis chori cum duabus alis continet 50 gressus<sup>9</sup> [at 16" 66'—8"]. Latitudo et longitudo quadratæ ex omni parte continet 22 gressus [at 16" = 29'—4"]. Longitudo de le frayter-hous 26 gressus [34'—8"]. Latitudo ejus continet 16 gressus [21'—4"]. Longitudo antiquæ ecclesiæ 80 gressus, belfray 2 [106'—8"]. Latitudo ejus continet 64 gressus [85'—4"]. Longitudo de le chapiter hous continet 56 gressus [74'—8"]. Latitudo ejus continet 18 gressus" [24'—0"].

It is a satisfactory fact that the discrepancy between these measurements, when applied to the building in its present state, is of the most trivial character. I fear that Wyrcestre's Itinerary is not appreciated at its full value: his notes certainly require to be well digested, and, what is more, compared with the actual remains to which they refer. Thus the suggestions and doubtful comments made by Professor Willis and Mr. Freeman at the meeting of the Archæological Institute at Bristol, in 1851, might have been rendered decisive by a reference to Wyrcestre's notes at p. 242. The simpler character of the vaulting in the three eastern bays, and the additional moldings to the transverse vaulting-rib, which

<sup>6</sup> The extreme internal width, including recesses.

<sup>7</sup> The Early English chapel.

<sup>8</sup> Taking the gressus at 16", this would

be the length between the screens.

<sup>9</sup> The width between the bench tables, or on the floor.

separates the richer from the plainer work, are corroborative evidence, if any such were required. The simple fact, that no groove or other indication of an altar-screen or reredos was found on the inner faces of the eastern piers, is fully explained by Wyrcestre's measurements, which fix the reredos a little eastward of the piers, so that the altar would stand immediately under the arch. The western screen, according to the same authority, stood in the same relation to the western bay of the choir as the reredos did to the eastern. Reducing Wyrcestre's notes to measurements of feet and inches, we have (p. 233) a nave 90 feet long, or (as at p. 289) 106'—8" by 85'—4"; for I take it for granted that the "*antiqua ecclesia*" means the Norman nave. The difference in these two lengths is 16'—8", which would be about the width of the Norman aisles, and would therefore be the square of the western "belfrays," supposing these to occupy the last bay of the aisles. The width 85'—4" is evidently taken outside the walls, including buttresses and everything, as the jambs of the west windows in the transepts show, as also the termination to the string-course and base-mold, but, better still, the newly exposed foundation wall. It is to be observed that the north transept window is placed out of the centre of the vaulting compartment: the result is an awkward crippling of the main vaulting ribs. On going outside the reason is at once evident, the window having been pushed out of the way of the aisle wall.

The length of the choir is the next measurement, which is given (in p. 233) as 90 feet, (in p. 242) as 87 feet, and (p. 289) as 85'—4", the last dimension being in paces, and the others in yards. Now, if the screens are taken into the account, and the probability of the reredos being sufficiently thick to allow for niches, and the western screen possibly arcaded, or also enriched with niches, there will be no difficulty in reconciling all three dimensions. The width of the choir occurs only once (p. 233), viz., 27 feet; but the Lady Chapel is given as 28½ feet; the Lady Chapel is really 30'—9" between the walls. The lesser dimension of Wyrcestre is probably obtained by measuring on the ground between the bases of the piers, a method which he not unfrequently adopts.<sup>1</sup> The length of the Lady Chapel he

<sup>1</sup> It is just possible that the side screens were within the piers, and that

Wyrcestre measured the width of choir from screen to screen.

gives as 39 feet, and between this and the reredos occurs a space of 15 feet for the "via processionum." The whole width of choir and aisles he makes 72 feet (p. 242), measuring by the yard; and again he gives it (p. 289) as 66'—8" by the gressus or pace; which latter corresponds exactly with the measurement on the floor, and consequently between the bench tables. The chapter-house by the yard measures 72'×24' (p. 233), but by the pace 64'—8"×24'; this increases the chapter-house by one bay further east than at present, which, as I have before said, was further borne out by the groining at this end at the time of restoration. The divisions of the groining enable us to decide upon the shorter dimensions, as the length of the chapter-house *per se*, and the additional 7'—4" might be regarded as an eastern recess or apse for the abbot's throne, or, more likely still, as including the total length "extra muri." The exact dimensions very closely correspond to Wyrcestre's figures: the width is 24 feet between the bench tables on the floor, or between the vaulting shafts. The cloisters he gives as 90'×9'; the refectory, or "frayter-hous," as he calls it, is unfortunately the only other portion of the abbey which he measures, and he makes it 34'—8"×21'—4", a size which would seem to refer this building to the Norman, or at least the Early English period. There is a fine Early English doorway on the south side of the cloister square, the usual position of the refectory; and, if the "frayter-hous" was connected with it and carried out in the same spirit, it must have been a beautiful little building.

To return to Abbot Knowle's work. It is evident that in Wyrcestre's time (A.D. 1480) there existed a Norman nave with aisles, and, as the central tower and transept-roofs are now Perpendicular, it is fair to assume that Knowle's work did not extend much beyond the remodelling of the eastern part of the choir, with its two aisles and Lady Chapel. The evidence of the painted glass<sup>2</sup> shows that Knowle must have completed thus much of his projected plan.<sup>3</sup> The double chantry chapel<sup>4</sup> at the south-east, and the Newton Chapel

<sup>2</sup> Trans. Arch. Inst., Bristol, vol. p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> Of works apart from the church, the only remembrance of Abbot Knowle that I know of is a small doorway on the

west side of the upper cloister, and the upper part of the ruin close to, probably a fragment of, the King's hall.

<sup>4</sup> By a deed dated April 25, 1348,

at the south-west, though raised upon the older Decorated building to assimilate with Knowle's work, are both apparently of the same age, and are very late in the Decorated style: the former bordering very close upon the flamboyant, and the latter returning to somewhat of the form of the geometrical, but with unmistakable signs of the approach of the last great Gothic change which occurred about the middle of the fourteenth century. These I should refer to Knowle's successor, Abbot Snow (1332--1341), to whom I should also attribute the Decorated work of the transepts and the western bay of the south choir aisle; for the section of the window-arch and the tracery of the transoms have enough change in detail to prove the difference of date, although the windows generally are copies of Knowle's work. It is possible that Knowle may have begun the north transept; his string-course, vaulting shafts, and trefoiled abaci are continued here, although not in the south transept; this may, however, be the work of his successor in continuation of the new design, in fact, under the same master builder. The western bay of the south choir aisle is still more unlike Knowle's work. The vaulting shaft is not detached, as are the others, nor is the string continued; the vaulting is different from the rest, being nothing more than a plain pointed barrel vault running across the aisle, upon which the ribs are placed, being merely imitative, to match the other bays, where they really serve a practical object, and strengthen the longitudinal intersections which give such lightness to these aisles. The moldings, too, of these ribs are more clumsy than in the other compartments, and the whole bay looks bungled. It is indeed surprising what awkward arrangements the mediæval builders would sometimes indulge in rather than take down old work; nothing could better illustrate this than the arches communicating between Knowle's aisles and the transepts. On the south the arch is of the same Late Decorated style as the western bay of the aisle. Now, as the Norman respond has been cut back to the line of wall,

Thomas de Berkeley founded a perpetual chantry in the abbey for his soul and the soul of Margaret his wife, who died in 1337, and whose death might therefore have given occasion for this chapel. The doorway from the choir

aisle to the vestibule of this chapel exhibits in its inner arch (pointed) a sectional form exactly identical in dimension and contour with the Norman fragments discovered in the excavations lately made, and represented in pl. 4, fig. 3.

it follows that, in order to get the wall-arch in line with the vaulting-arches or ribs, the respond on the other side against the tower-pier should have been equally cut back ; this, however, would have weakened the pier too much, and so, in order to keep the arch in line, it was corbelled out on one side in the manner as we now see it. In the north aisle the arch is later in style, feebly molded, and the difficulty is obviated in precisely the same mean and feeble way that we might expect from the moldings, by crippling the arch so as to make its point coincide with the centre of the aisle, and, consequently, out of its own. We have now arrived at the middle of the fourteenth century, at which time it appears that there were fourteen monks, besides the abbot, prior, and sub-prior, or nearly three times the number of the original foundation. It is not likely, therefore, that the monastery would be long content with the old Norman nave and towers ; indeed, as early as 1360 the 4th, Maurice, Lord Berkeley procured a bull to obtain benefactions towards rebuilding the church. Internal disorder, however, seems to have kept the work of rebuilding in abeyance, for it is not until the Perpendicular style had become established that we meet with any further alterations of the Norman structure, and even up to Wyrcestre's time the old nave ("antiqua ecclesia") was still standing. Abbot Hunt<sup>5</sup> (1473—1481) appears to have been diligent upon the fabric ; he recast the lead on the roofs eastward of the tower, and made other considerable repairs. To Newland, or Nailheart, as he was called, the abbot who succeeded him (1481—1515), we may with confidence attribute the rebuilding of the central tower upon the Norman piers, the remolding of these piers, and the first constructional interferences with the old nave by removing the eastern bays and commencing the work of rebuilding by building the abutting arches to the new tower. In the year 1491 the choral service was performed in the Elder Lady Chapel ; the rebuilding of the tower and the consequent interference with the choir would be a reasonable cause for this removal ; besides, I can scarcely

<sup>5</sup> Although there appears a lease of Dundry quarries in 1466, and a "master of the new works" (John Ashfield) from 1472 to 1491, it by no means follows that the new works were altogether con-

fined to the church, for Abbot Hunt is especially commended for his attention to the domestic buildings, and the barns, houses, and other "costly buildings" in the manors belonging to the monastery.



imagine that Wyrcestre, who is so particular in noting new works, would have passed by the tower and reconstruction of the nave without remarking these parts of the fabric. Nor is the sectional form of molding any evidence in this instance of an earlier date, as from Knowle's time to the end of the fifteenth century the change was not so very great in this particular. Upon the completion of the tower the abbot seems to have directed his attention to the north transept. The groined roof,<sup>6</sup> a four-light window in the east wall of the transept over the Elder Lady Chapel, and new arches opening from transepts to the nave aisles, and to the north choir aisle already mentioned, with new screens for the choir and reredos for north aisle, besides sundry works about the abbot's lodgings, are all the work of this abbot.

In 1492 stone was obtained from Dundry, and the accounts of that time describe both freestone and ragges, and carriage of the same to the "porch of the old church,"<sup>7</sup> showing that the Norman work westward was as yet untouched. Newland died in 1515, before he had accomplished a tithe of that which he had evidently intended. The transepts were left in an unfinished state, and only so much of the Norman nave had been taken down as would allow for the new abutting arches to the tower. Abbot Elliot (1515—1526), recognising the importance of his predecessor's work, carried on the rebuilding so far as his short reign allowed him. Amongst his works I should cite the vaulting of the south transept, which springs at a higher level than any of the rest. His statue, in conjunction with that of Newland, occurs in the upper part of the great gateway, which I presume to have been rebuilt from the ground by Elliot.

We come now to a question which materially affects the discussion as to the destruction or removal of the nave. It will be remembered that Wyrcestre gives the length of the cloister as 90 feet (30 virgas). Now, if that dimension were taken in the eastern walk against the chapter-house it would closely correspond with the present structure, supposing the wall of the nave to be *in situ*. The old cloister,

<sup>6</sup> In this roof are bosses carved with various subjects: the instruments of the passion occur amongst them, also a heart pierced with two swords, sometimes

ignorantly supposed to be Nailheart's *rebus*.

<sup>7</sup> This I have taken in my plans to mean a western porch or galilee.

which Wyrcestre measured, would have therefore consisted either of three sides inclosing a square garth, the most likely arrangement, or its northern walk would have been 9 or 10 feet in advance, or south, of the Perpendicular cloister erected after Wyrcestre's time. In either case, whoever built the present cloister must have erected the north walk partly upon the foundations of the old Norman nave, which, consequently, must have been taken down before the reconstruction of the cloister. Now the north walk, although blocked up internally, is, as regards its elevation, comparatively perfect, and shows by the character of the masonry at the west end, that the whole cloister was rebuilt (or in process of rebuilding) at one and the same time. It is clear that this act concerning the cloisters indicates either that the nave and aisles were to be entirely given up, or that the new works should only embrace a new nave with remarkably narrow aisles, or with the side wall built partly on the thin cloister wall and partly overhanging the cloisters, perhaps on arches. Either of the latter courses appears more consistent with the monastic character of the time, than the permanent reduction of the church to the one-sided sectional character it now presents; for, looking at the design of the eastern portion, where the aisles and choir are equal in height, and where the only features of architectural importance externally are the loftiness and boldness of the windows, it is by no means improbable that the later rulers of the abbey should have conceived the idea of departing from the old plan devised by Abbot Knowle, although it had been adopted and partly carried out by Newland. The question is, who was the builder? Elliot we know to have done much in his time, refitting the choir and rebuilding in an elaborate manner the great gateway.

The small or lower cloister, which divided the abbot's lodgings from the infirmary, must have been re-erected about the same time, the fragments which remain corresponding with the upper cloister; and I have little doubt that all these works are attributable to the Abbot Elliot; that he removed the nave and aisles to make way for his new plan; that he moved the choir eastward into Knowle's Lady Chapel as a temporary arrangement; that in doing so he found it necessary to renew the stalls and wood-work; that he rebuilt the two cloisters in a more elaborate style;

and that he intended to finish his work by the addition of a still more elaborate nave. Had not death cut short his reign, and dissolution so soon overtaken the house,<sup>8</sup> his successor would naturally endeavour to complete and render serviceable that portion of the church, viz., the eastern arm and transepts, which he had transformed. Thus, Abbot Burton added his crest with his initials to Knowle's Lady Chapel reredos, to render it doubtless a little more ornate, since it was to serve as the reredos of the high altar.

Of the works executed since the Dissolution the substitution of an organ-screen for the rood-loft and old screen was perhaps the greatest. The wretchedly-debased windows of the east cloister, and the west and great north windows, remain as witnesses of the architectural spirit of that time. Taking leave of the church for the present, I shall proceed to examine the monastic buildings.

The Bishop's Palace was built south of the choir on the site marked W. on the plan. (Plate 1.) This was evidently the site of the Infirmary, called in Mr. Bindon's map in the Bristol volume of the Institute's Transactions, "the abbot's lodging and chapel," which being on the lower part of the hill was sheltered by the abbey church. Fragments of the infirmary chapel may possibly be found in the ruins of the palace, although I regret to say I have not been successful in discovering any. The lower cloister communicated with the upper or the west side, through the beautiful Early English archway still standing; and, as there is a passage-like room east of the refectory, in continuation of the upper eastern cloister, it is not unlikely that there existed at one time a communication on this side also. The abbot's lodgings were either on the west or south side of this lower cloister, and doubtless, like the chief apartments of most early domestic buildings, on an upper floor level with the principal or upper cloister, which is about 10 ft. above the lower level. The king's hall, chamber and frater (or guest-house?), would, according to Newland, be in Knowle's style, and, as is usual, near the great gateway, the ground immediately

<sup>8</sup> The fact of two sides of the cloister, though so late, having been destroyed, seems to argue an unfinished state. Such

a state, indeed, as that in which Elliot left most of his work.

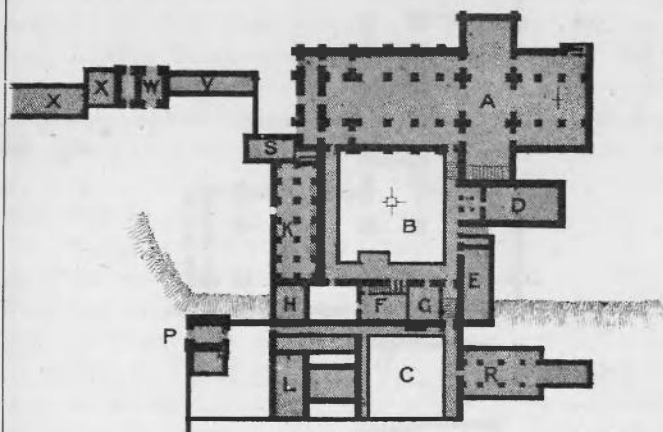
adjoining the great gateway, and for some considerable distance around it, being occupied by the "officiis domorum, granariorum, pistorum, pandoxatorum, stablaorum (*sic*) pro dominis," &c. Ascending to the upper cloister, the most important feature is the chapter-house. I have already alluded to this as a specimen of rich late Norman, and shown, by William de Wyrcestre, its original ground plan : but there is a point in the construction which exhibits such a decided irregularity, and such a wilful departure from that great principle of Norman construction, which ever comprehended the true function of the pier, and dignified it accordingly, that I am inclined to refer the building of the chapter-house to two periods. It will be seen on looking at the building, or by the engravings in Britton's work, that the *lower* arcade of the chapter-house is continued along the walls of the vestibule, and is of a markedly plain character, identical with the eleventh century arcade in the same position at Worcester Cathedral. The distinction, however, between this kind of arcade and all the other Norman arcades, both here and elsewhere, is not altogether one of date, inasmuch as the former is not constructional in any way, but might have been worked after the plain coursed wall had been erected, and was probably so worked ; whereas the lower arcades inside the great gateway, as indeed nearly all arcades in richer and later Norman, are constructional, and built in with the walls as they proceeded. The springing-line or impost of the vaulting-ribs and main arches is neither level with the impost nor with the crown of the arcade, but most awkwardly placed midway between the two. Then the arcade is continuous, no space being left or provision made for a vaulting shaft (as shown in Britton's view), or even for a corbel like that in the great gateway ; but the capitals are let in, so that what at first sight appears to be a rude wall-shaft is nothing more than the vertical molding of the plain and (as I take it) earlier arcade, of which the capitals of the later work have taken possession. Moreover, the quoins or angles of the vestibule towards the cloisters are built up with but a small bond into the wall masonry ; the result has been that the ordinary settlement of new work taking place, the quoins have given way and separated from the main wall, showing a very decided joint the whole height of the arcade ; so

that there can be no doubt that Fitzharding, as *prepositor*, began his chapter-house in the same inexpensive style as the eastern part of the church, and that seven years afterwards he completed it in the rich and elaborate Norman we now see. Before leaving the cloisters, it is interesting to notice the change which seven years and the estates of Berkeley could effect on the architecture of that time in the doorways or arches marked N. on the plan (plate 1). The jambs are square, with plain semi-cylindrical shafts attached, and the arches are of two plain orders, whilst in the vestibule and chapter-house the shafts are almost as thickly clustered as in Early English work, and the arches are not only molded, but in some instances pointed. I have said that the cloisters are the work of Abbot Elliot, but there is abundant evidence to show that there have been designs for at least three cloister roofs, besides the present one, there being three series of corbel-heads at different levels; the lowest and at the same time the earliest is seen in two huge angle-corbels, which evidently supported a vaulted roof, probably of the latter part of the thirteenth century; the other two series are well represented, the lowermost of them being apparently of Knowle's time, and the upper belonging to the last rebuilder, Elliot. The present roof is comparatively modern. At the north-west angle of the cloisters, within an area of about 20 ft. square, occurs one of those most interesting fragments which may be occasionally met with in abbey ruins, that seem to exist for no other purpose than to exhibit to us the peculiar language of the architectural history and the conservative character of mediæval builders. Attached to the west side of the cloister, and running westward, with its north wall in an exact line with the south wall of the church, is a narrow building of two stories, exhibiting in the wall (which is in line with that of the church) well-defined Norman coursed work; in its west wall, a blocked-up semicircular-headed Early English doorway, which was once entered from the west cloister, and a blocked two-light window of the same style over it and above the Norman work, and inserted into it, broken but most decided relics of Knowle's style, which indicate that either this abbot or his successor began to rebuild the nave at the western end, commencing the work by cutting into the Norman domestic buildings (possibly the prior's lodgings),

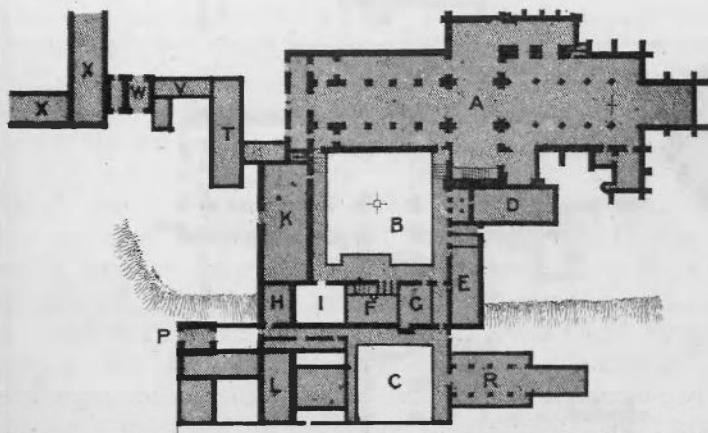
westward of the old church, so as to increase the length of the nave by one bay. These fourteenth century portions consist of a triple angle vaulting shaft, a set-off for the triforium passage, a doorway and staircase to the same, a returned and re-entering angle of the passage, and a fragment of molded window-jamb. The junction of the Norman masonry and decorated vaulting shaft is so decided that I have shown it in plate 5, fig. 11. In plate 2 I have given two plans: the upper plan showing the whole monastery as I suppose it to have been finished by Fitzhardinge; the other, as I suppose William of Wyrcestre to have seen it. In plate 3 is a series of plans illustrating the successive changes which have been made in the ground-plan and internal arrangement of the church only. In the first the plans have been derived from existing old walls, from Wyrcestre's measurements, and from a general study of monastic plans, as well as from the modern buildings on the ground, which it is not unfair to assume have been erected on old foundations wherever possible. One of the most important features, considering the small size of the abbey, is the second or lower cloister.<sup>9</sup> To all monasteries of any extent this second cloister is always an expected annex to the centre or common court for the infirmary, abbot's lodgings, and cemetery; thus, at Peterborough, Gloucester, Westminster, and Canterbury, we can still trace it with the infirmary placed much the same as I have placed it here, except that at Gloucester and Canterbury everything is north of the church. At Westminster the little cloister court measures 70' + 60'; at Gloucester, about 50 ft. square; here it would seem to have been even larger, probably 75 ft. square, and I have no doubt was intended to be in almost every respect a repetition of the upper cloister.<sup>9</sup> The difference in the size of the churches makes this second cloister more striking, and shows the manner of man Abbot Elliot was. Bristol at its greatest never exceeded 300 ft. in length, while Gloucester is over 400 feet, Peterborough is 470, Westminster 520, and Canterbury a few feet longer. The arrangement of our small abbey was then in every important feature as complete as that of the most noble monasteries of the Middle Ages. It seems strange, at first sight, that it should be so, when we remember that the number on

<sup>9</sup> A second cloister-court, nearly as large as the principal cloister, may be seen at Haughmond Abbey, Salop.





SUPPOSED PLAN OF THE NORMAN ABBEY.

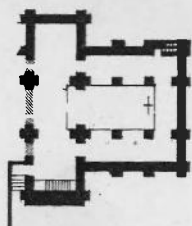


PLAN OF THE ABBEY TAKEN FROM EXISTING BUILDINGS & W<sup>m</sup> DE WYRCESTRE.

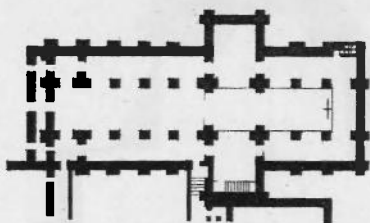
ABBAY OF S. AUGUSTINE. BRISTOL.

Pl. 3

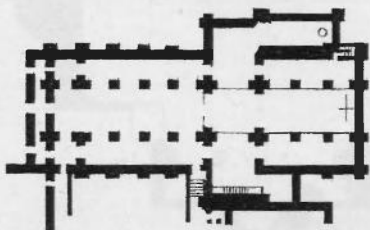
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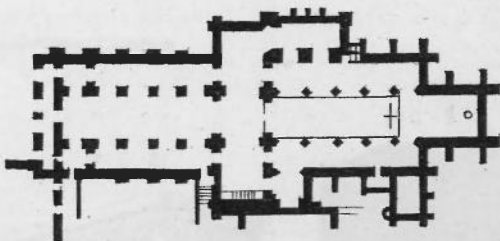
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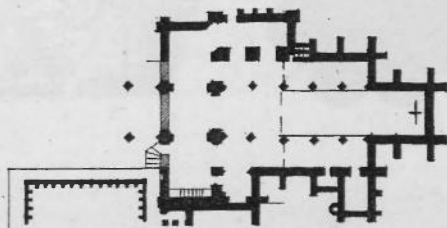
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1306.

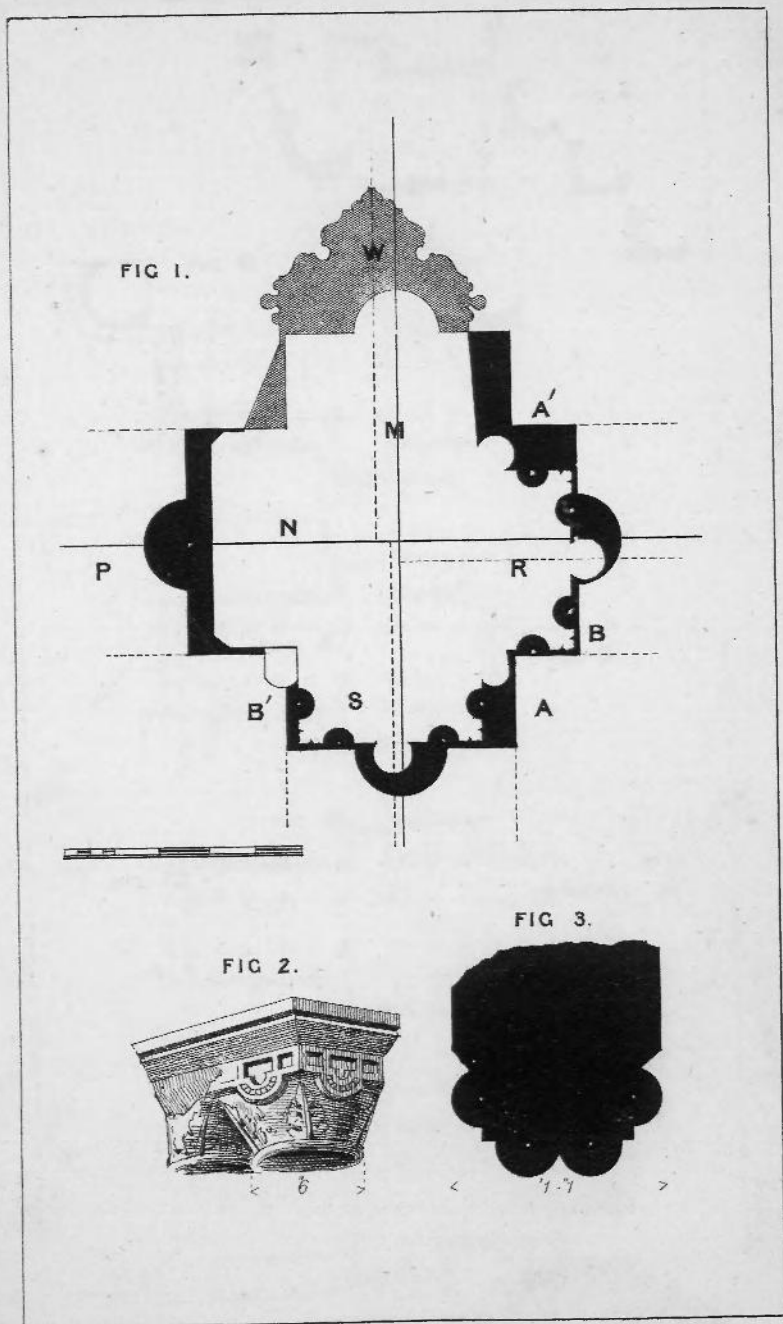


1526.



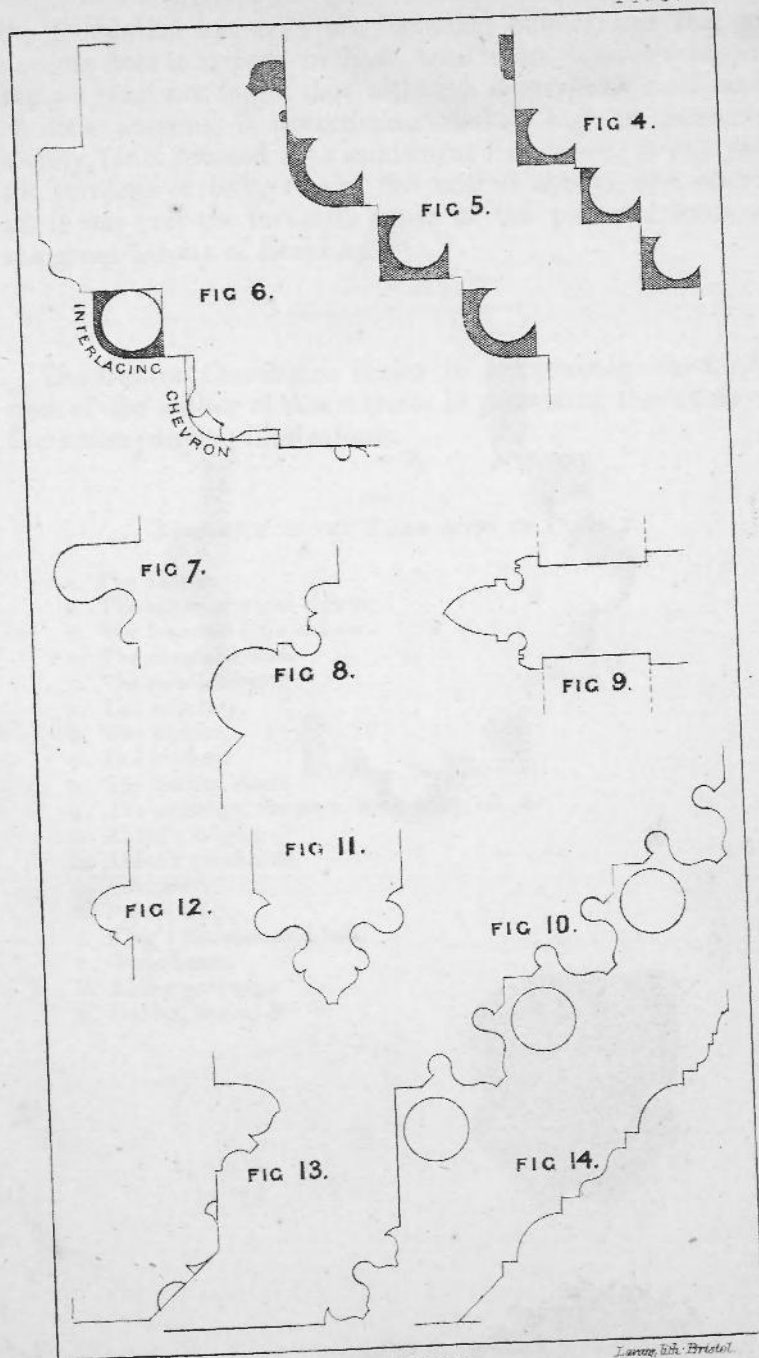
*Lovans bth Bristol.*

THE ABBEY CHURCH SHEWING CHANGES IN THE  
GROUND PLAN FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO THE  
DEATH OF ABBOT ELLIOTT.



NORTH EAST TOWER PIER.

*Lavers, Lith. Bristol.*



the foundation was only six, including officers, and that at no time does it appear to have been more than seventeen. But we must not forget that, although numerically small and of little account, it nevertheless ranked high in monastic society, for it boasted of a semi-royal foundation, it enjoyed the privilege of being one of the mitred abbeys, and, above all, it was ever the favourite house of the powerful lords of the great barony of Berkeley.

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The Central Committee desire to acknowledge the kindness of the author of this memoir in presenting the whole of the accompanying illustrations.

REFERENCE TO THE PLANS GIVEN IN PLATE 2.

- A. The church.
- B. The upper or great cloister.
- C. The lower or little cloister.
- D. The chapter-house.
- E. The calefactory.
- F. The refectory.
- G. The parlour.
- H. The kitchen.
- I. The kitchen court.
- K. The cellarage, for corn, beer, wine, oil, &c.
- L. Abbot's lodgings.
- P. Abbot's gatehouse.
- R. Infirmary.
- S. Prior's lodge.
- T. King's chamber and hall.
- V. Guest-house.
- W. Abbey gateway.
- X. Stables, barns, &c.