

## NOTES ON NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

By the Rev. D. J. STEWART.

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

[Deeply as they regret another name being used in connection with the following contribution, the Council of the Institute have much gratification in placing it before the members. For many years it had been their most anxious wish that their late much valued and distinguished friend should have enriched the Journal with the elaborate and carefully-prepared discourse delivered by him to the Institute in the Cathedral of Norwich, on July 30, 1847.<sup>1</sup> The many and varied occupations of the active and energetic mind of the late Professor Willis interfered with his original intention to put that discourse into shape for printing, and of late years his failing health seemed to deprive the Council of any expectation of their hope being realised.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See "Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, 1847. Norwich," p. viii.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Where the stalls now return.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>5</sup> "Aº mxcvi. Norwicensis ecclesia fundata est a Domino Herberto episcopo."

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

<sup>6</sup> "Postea predictus Herbertus episcopus



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

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

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

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

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

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

Eborard succeeded in 1121, who loving his monks of Norwich with all affection, began the work of the church where Herbertus had left it, and as the old people relate, wholly completed it. He died in the year 1149.<sup>8</sup>

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

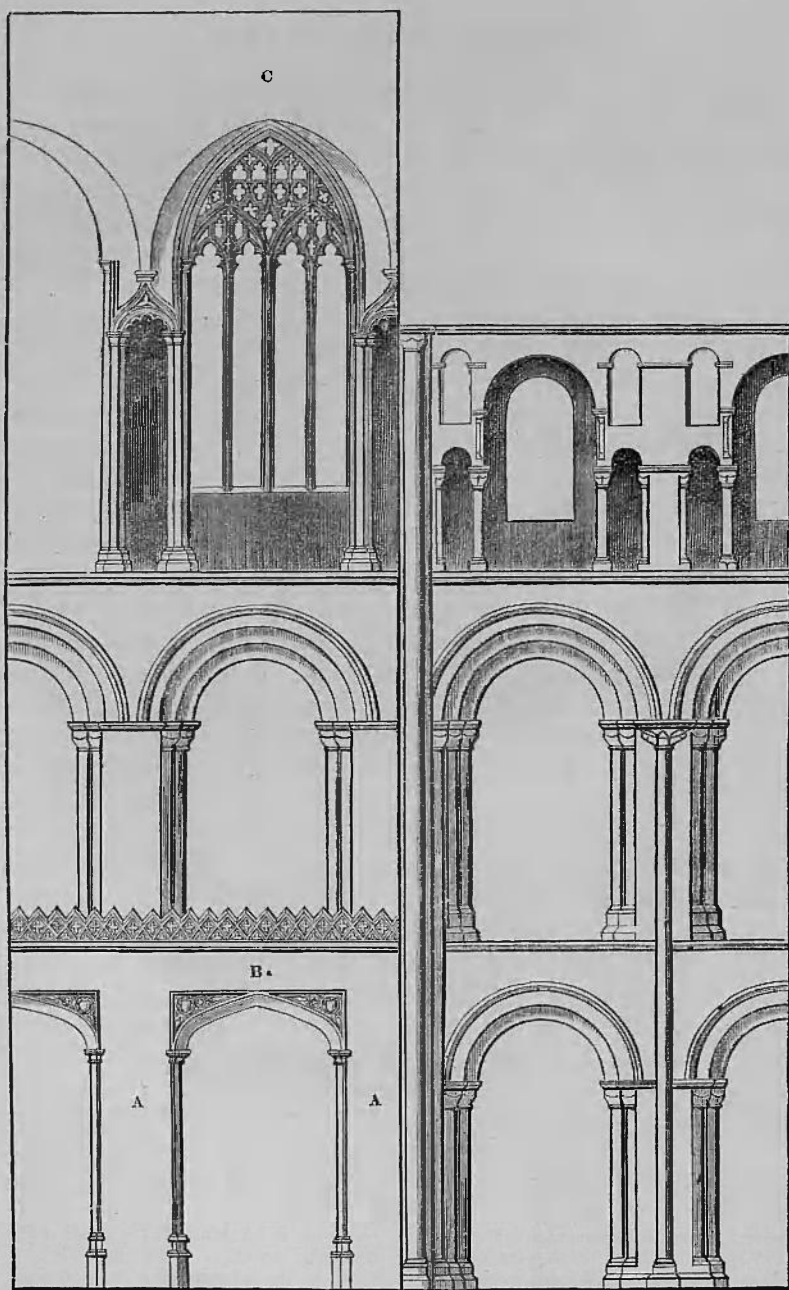
patu duas partes decimarum dominicorum suorum nonnulli vero terciam partem monastico predicto contulerunt et in illo tempore fere omnes minute decime quas monachi Norwyci nunc tenent donate fuerunt." Reg. 1<sup>m</sup>. f. 22. See Croyland, Pet. Bles., p. 118, Gale, vol. i.

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

ardus episcopus monachis suis Norwyci plura bona contulit, &c. . . . Reg. 1<sup>m</sup>. f. 23 b.

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

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



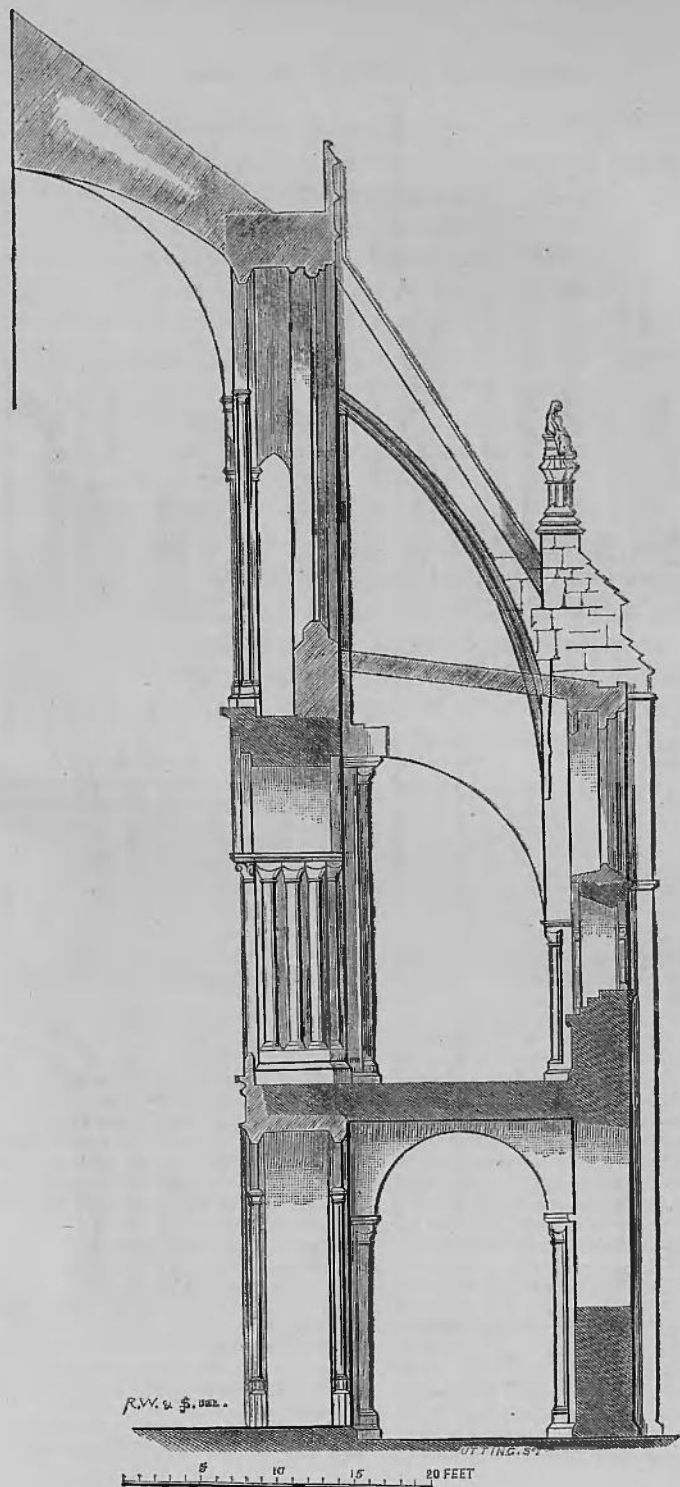
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NORWICH CATHEDRAL. The Presbytery in two states.

A. A. Mural canopy-work.

B. Ornamental panels and shields.

C. Groined vaulting.



NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

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

The fire is placed by Cotton in the year 1171.<sup>2</sup>

John of Oxford succeeded, in whose time in consequence of the many wrongs and annoyances to which he subjected the convent, there arose a discord between him and the convent (A.D. 1173),<sup>3</sup> which lasted his whole life. Nevertheless, it is said by some that during this period of discord he caused the Infirmary house of the monks of Norwich to be built. He also remitted to the whole diocese the tax which Herbert had imposed on every messuage for the building of the church.<sup>4</sup> This is the account given of him in the "Registrum Primum." Cotton says simply<sup>5</sup> that he finished the church which Herbert began, and built an infirmary and did much good for the monks. It is plain from the above that he wound up the building affairs, and that in his time the building-tax had become unnecessary. Part of the Infirmary remains, consisting of a few piers of a very florid Norman character, and of the springing of the arches. The character is perhaps rather earlier than that usually assigned to so late a portion of the twelfth century.<sup>6</sup>

The Norman church being now completed, we have

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

<sup>2</sup> A° mclxxi. Ecclesia Norwici com-busta est.

<sup>3</sup> Cotton places his consecration in 1175.

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

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

impotent thereto belonging," p. 338.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> "Pandulphus . . . consecratus est Aº. Dº. 1222. . . . Hic archam cum reliquiis monachis dedit." (Angl. Sacr. I., p. 410.)

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



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

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

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

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

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

<sup>9</sup> “Anglia Sac.” I., p. 399.

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

But the most detailed account of this fire is contained in the chronicle of the mayor and sheriffs of London, termed the "*Liber de Antiquis Legibus*."<sup>2</sup> In this narration we are presented with the citizens' view of the matter, from

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the year 1647 the "Leaden Steeple"

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

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

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

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

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

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

"1491. Comp. Edm<sup>d</sup>. Derham de officio sacristi.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

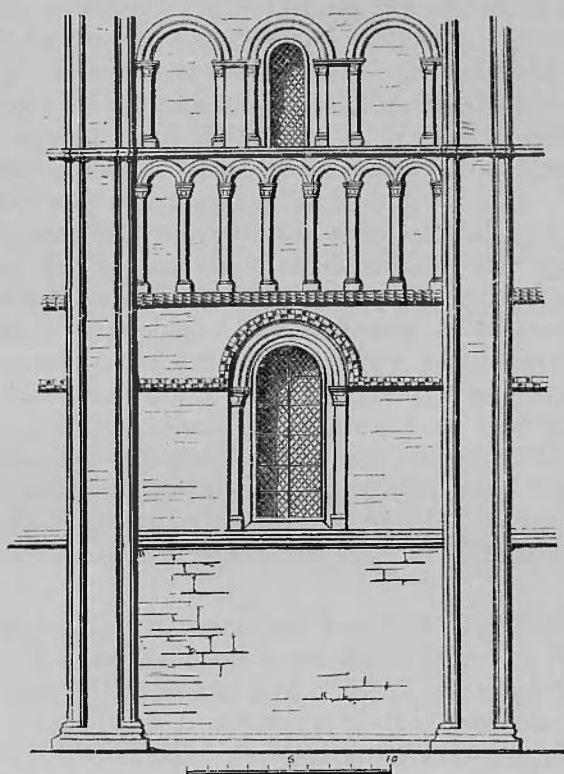
<sup>5</sup> "Rolls of the Sacrist" for 1432, 1439, 1482, 1486.

an account of this clock.

<sup>7</sup> Cotton, "Annales," p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> See Arch. Journ., vol. xii., p. 177, for





SCALE OF 10 FEET

NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

Nave—North Side. Exterior.

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

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

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

<sup>8</sup> Angl. Sacr., “*De Episc.*,” p. 412.

<sup>9</sup> “*Chron. T. Wikes*,” A<sup>o</sup>. 1278, p. 107.

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

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

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

The entries are as follow :—

“Compotus Expensarum Turris magni.

“In xvij. caretatis plumbi cum expensis xl. li. xij. d. In xv. caretatis plumbi cum expensis xxxij. li. In xxij. caretatis plumbi cum expensis lij. li. iiij. s. In x. caretatis plumbi et x. clavis cum expensis, xx. li. vj. s. vij. d. q<sup>a</sup> ob. In x. caretatis plumbi cum expensis xix. li. xv. s. vj. d.

“Summa C. lxx. li. vij. s. j. d. ̄.

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

“Summa xlvij. li. viij. s. v. d. ob.

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

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

In the following year, 5*l.* 14*s.* 8¾*d.* were expended in the wages of workmen, chiefly sawyers, including 13*s.* 4*d.* on account of Peter Koc, and 5*s.* for his gown. In the

next four years the sums so expended were respectively 5*l.* 19*s.* 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; 2*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.*; 3*l.* 2*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*; 6*l.* 16*s.* 7*d.* In the sixth year more workmen were engaged, including plumbers and painters, and the expenses were 8*l.* 9*s.* 8*d.*

The total of the entries described above is 248*l.* 0*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, not including the food and drink of the workmen; and there can be no doubt, as the work is wholly of timber and lead, that it was a spire for the great central tower which thus occupied the time from the 29th June, 1291, to Sep. 8th, 1297. In the roll of 1300 (12th year of Prior Henry de Lakenham) we have "expensæ de le Berefrey anno secundo" (the roll of 1299 is lost); this consists of masons' work, and amounts to 60*l.* 13*s.* 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, and a similar entry in 1301 amounts to 66*l.* 19*s.* 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and to the same nearly in 1304 and 1307; the last being mixed with carpenters' work to a very small amount. The charges in all these cases relate only to materials, such as Barnack and Caen stone, calyon, lime, scaffolds and so on, without any indications of architectural terms or ornaments. It must be presumed that this *Berefrey* is the Berefrius of the narrative, which is supposed to have stood near the Erpingham gate; but in 1304 and 1305 there are similar entries of masons' work under the head of "Expensæ Campanilis," upon which 61*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.* and 44*l.* 3*s.* 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.* were expended in these two years respectively. It is a question whether the name *Berefrey* and *Campanilis* were applied indifferently to the same work, or whether the entries under the latter name relate to the repair of the stonework of the central tower, or, lastly, to some other *campanile* about the cathedral which may have disappeared.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Angliæ" per Rob<sup>m</sup>. de Boston (to 1368), Sparke, 136.)

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

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

"1362, 36, Ed. 3.—Ventus vehemens, Nothus Auster Africus, tanta vi erupit quod flatu suo domos altas, ædificia sublimia, turres et campanilia arbores et alia quæque durabilia et fortia violenter prostravit pariter et impegit, in tantum, quod residua quæ modo extant sunt hactenus infirmiora" (T. Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, Rolls Series, vol. i. p. 296).  
"1361.—In that same yere was a saint Maurys day

The greute winde and earthquake mervelous

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

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

The damage caused by this high wind was apparently not

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

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

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

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

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



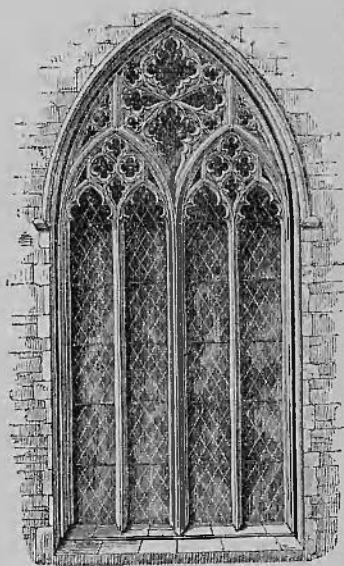
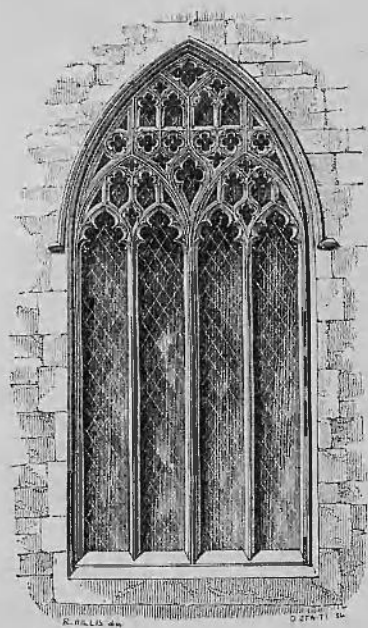
repaired for many years, according to the accounts of the monastery. In 1453 money was spent "in emendatione fenestrarum in superiori parte campanilis et in capella beate Marie post magnum ventum;" in 1460 £42 were paid for making three severies, "in le sowth ele in plumbo vitro opere cementariorum et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

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

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

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

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



NORWICH CATHEDRAL. Presbytery Windows, c. 1360.

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

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

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

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

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

*Probat' x<sup>o</sup> Dec. 1449. Regr' Stafford, fo. 178, 6 (from Blomfield, p. 377).*

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

<sup>6</sup> "Sepultus in excelsiâ sua cath' in

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Fig. A.

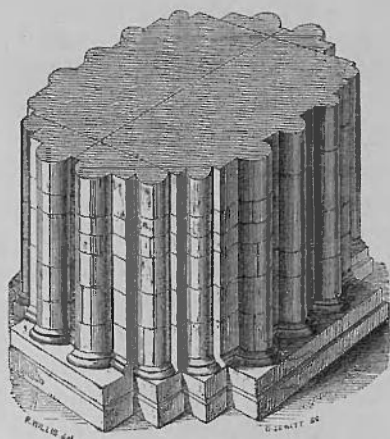


Fig. B.

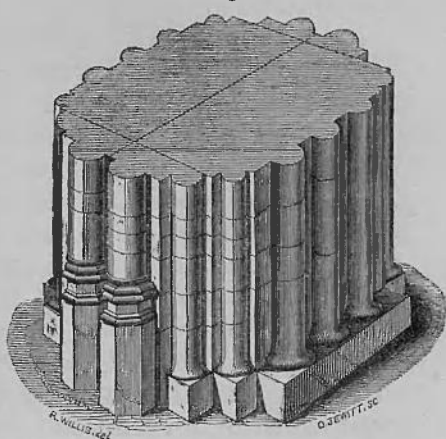


Fig. A. shows the original state of the lower part of the piers, and Fig. B. the present state.

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

<sup>1</sup> "Sepulchrum meum eligo in navi ecclesie mei cathedrali prope et ante ostium meum novi operis mei vocati a *reredosse* prout ibidem pro sepultura mea ordinatum est." Blomfield, p. 381 (in "Register Wattys," fo. 51, 6).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

"1466. Compotus fratris Willielmi.

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

"Reparacione ecclesie occasione combustionis, solut' Roberto Wolde pro opturacione fenestrarum in campanili cum arundine empt' et ligaturis x<sup>d</sup>, Johanni Everard pro reparacione ij panett in voltis juxta oratorium domini episcopi, in gross' v s. It' eidem pro opere suo in pavimentis diversis ij. s. x. d. Simoni Deynes fabro pro ij ancor' factis pro ordinacione tecti ecclesie ij. s. vj. d. Item Willelmo Howlett carpentar' cum sociis suis pro opere suo in choro et ad parvum altare, ad mensam propriam<sup>4</sup> vj. s. iiij. d. ob. Item ij. laborant' in mundacione chori, cum mensa vj. d. In iiij. rabettyng' iiij<sup>e</sup> ped' et ij quart' de mensul' sarratis, ij. s. viij. d. In mille lednale ij. s. In v<sup>c</sup>. clavis diversorum sort' ij. s. In iiij. mille laterum cum cariagio xiiij. s. viij. d. Item sol' offic' m celarii et celarar' pro mensa diversorum operancium<sup>5</sup> ij. s. vj. d. It' Roberto Everarde pro cariagio meremii x. s. Item pro cariagio meremii de viridi orto in sacristariam viij. d. Item pro candelabris ferreis ad ymages compassionis et Sancte Sithe<sup>6</sup> preter staurum v<sup>d</sup>. In emendacione soudelett' et barr' ij. d. Item, pro pessula ad parvum ostium, ij. d. Item, pro ferramentis pro velo preter staurum ij. d. In aliis minutis iiij. d. In vitriacione xj fenestrarum in campanili lv. s. In emendatis barris et soudelettis, vj. d. In broddis vj. d. It' latamo et servientibus ejus per ij. dies et dim' cum mensa, ij. s. v. d. In stipendiis ij. sarratorum lath' per j. diem et dim. xvj. d. ob.

Summa cxv. s. x. d.

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

<sup>4</sup> "Ad mensam propriam," at his own table, i.e., his own expense for food.

<sup>5</sup> i.e., paid to the officers of the Monas-

tery for the food of divers workmen.

<sup>6</sup> St. Osith.

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

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

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

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

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

Blomfield asserts that Goldwell<sup>7</sup> made the vault of the presbytery. "He received of his predecessor's executors 2200 marks for dilapidations, with which and other money added of his gift he finished beautifying the Tower, made the noble stone-carved roof of the Quire in the same manner as his Predecessor had done the nave, and fitted up the chapel under the Arches on the sides of the Quire, but more particularly adorned that in which he was buried."

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

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

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

<sup>7</sup> Blomf., p. 384.

<sup>8</sup> The following passage quoted by Wharton from Weaver evidently alludes to this chapel:—"R. Nix ecclesie Nor-

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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