THE INLAID TILES OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.[1]

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As York is supreme in glass, so Westminster may be regarded as supreme in mediaeval tiled pavements. The series of eight floors, which are the subject of these notes, are of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manufacture; whereas at Great Malvern the best period of tile-work[2] was in the time of Richard Dene,[3] who became prior in 1457, almost two hundred years after the floor of the Westminster chapterhouse was in place. The chapterhouse floor at Westminster is the only tiled pavement which has come down to us intact from the thirteenth century, a period elsewhere represented chiefly[4] by some few tiles in the museum at Beaulieu, in the retroquire at Winchester, in the so-called leper's chapel at Christchurch, and by the magnificent remains of the Chertsey floors now in the British Museum collection.[5] Of these remains, the letter-tiles at Beaulieu and the rose-window design common to Beaulieu, Winchester, and Christchurch, are closely akin to designs here, while the figure-tiles of Chertsey shew clearly enough the inspiring influence of their Westminster archetype.

At Westminster, then, this chapterhouse floor must

[1] Read before the Institute, 4th October, 1910.

[2] See below, the chapel of St. Catherine.

[3] *Victoria County History of Worcestershire*, ii, 143.

[4] The old pavement of Salisbury chapterhouse, dating approximately from 1270, was replaced at Burges's restoration with a replica floor manufactured by Minton. Valuable fragments of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century tiles have already been recovered at Lesnes, in the exploration now proceeding. Some excellent specimens of thirteenth-century tile-work are preserved in the Hotel de Ville museum at Dijon. The *Revue de l'Art Chretien* for 1904 (xv, 349–355) gives an article by M. Chappee on the "Carrelage de l'abbaye de Champagne," emphasising the importance of the Cistercians as tile-makers in the thirteenth century. In vol. i (1905), p. 251, there is a supplementary note by M. Cloquet on the thirteenth-century tiles of Saint Maur de Glanfeuil.

[5] There is no external evidence for dating these collections. Mr. Lethaby gives circa 1270 as the date of the Chertsey tiles (*Westm. Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, 48). Manwaring Shurlock, who discovered them, argued from the square-topped helmets represented that some, at least, must be earlier than 1250 (H. Shaw, *Examples, etc.* section on Chertsey). But the feature may be the result of archaism, deliberate or unconscious.

claim a preponderating but not an exclusive appreciation. Seven other Westminster floors are partially or wholly preserved, to which certain characteristics, foreign to the chapterhouse floor, are common. The tiles of these seven floors are thinner in substance and poorer in design. The glaze has kept well, but the inlay is shallow. Few vary from the size of four inches square. Few, though some exceptions are noted below, appear to be of other than fourteenth-century workmanship. The subjects attempted are chiefly heraldic; chevronels, fesses, chequers and the fleur de lys predominate. They are badly laid, and no four-tile design is complete: only the roughest groupings are discernible. At most, certain parallel lines, bounding an area miscellaneously filled, give a simple symmetry of disposition.

I. THE CHAPEL OF ST. BENEDICT.

The altar steps now lead up to the tomb of Frances, countess of Hertford. Before this monument lie some two hundred and thirty tiles of the four-inch type. Beyond four parallel courses running to the altar-front there is no attempt at arrangement. The floor has been slightly patched with modern tiles,[1] but it dates as a whole from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century. The designs favour the earlier dating, the character of manufacture the later. The floor was therefore probably in place before the burial of Curtlington in 1333, the first abbot to lie in the chapel dedicated to the founder of the order.[2] Apart from the large single fleur de lys pattern, which gives no clue to dating, the designs which favour the hypothesis of thirteenth-century manufacture are the double-headed eagle[3] and the Knights Templars' double cross, both peculiar to this floor. The eagle is either the cognisance of Ferdinand II, or of Richard earl of Cornwall,[4] who was a claimant against Alphonso X for the imperial

[1] These resemble the tiles with which the pavement of the chapel of St. Faith was "made good" in 1865: see below, p. 41.

[2] Stanley (*Hist. Mem.* 333, in 8th ed.) holds Curtlington's to be the first burial in the chapel, but Sir John Shordich already lay there (Flete, ed. Robinson, 123).

[3] This eagle also occurs on a shield in the arcading of the north aisle of the quire, next to the fleurs de lys semees of St. Louis.

[4] Richard in 1250–1260 gave a cope figured with the eagle to Exeter cathedral (G. W. Eve, *Decorative Heraldry*, 105).

title. The cross patriarchal of the Knights Templars can scarcely be later than 1312, when that order was dissolved. It occurs here not far from a tile bearing the three chevronels of Clare, recalling perhaps the marriage of Joan of Acre[1] to Gilbert de Clare at Westminster in 1290. The tile bearing the three leopards of England occurs here, and in the muniment room, whose floor is of uncertain date.

II. MISCELLANEOUS TILES WITHIN THE CHURCH.

The chapel of St. Benedict is alone among the apsidal chapels in retaining a portion of the figured tile pavement, which all probably once had.[2] In the chapel of St. John Baptist some forty large tiles survive, worn to the quick, before the tomb of Lord Hunsdon. In the ambulatory a batch of similar tiles, together with a few smaller specimens, lie before Lord Bourchier's tomb. Elsewhere in the ambulatory, for example at the foot of the Aymer de Valence tomb, and also before the original iron screen of Simon Langham, some four-inch tiles hold their ground against the throng of sepulchral slabs,[3] but they have only done so at the cost of their surface. At the bases of the royal tombs of Henry III and of Eleanor on the north side of Saint Edward's chapel, there lie in the interstices between these bases and those of the piers a small number of tiles, preserved by their position. These are all of the four-inch type, and represent not a tile-floor anterior to the Ware pavement, but rather the result of an afterthought, when the idea of repairing the damage done to the original pavement in building the tombs was beyond the ambition of the fourteenth century. The level of the floor of the chapel, kept in the case of the tiles at the foot of Eleanor's tomb, is lost by those round Henry's, which lie upon the higher plane of the great slab on which that monument is raised. Unfortunately the tiles are

[1] Joan had been born at Acre, whither Eleanor of Castile accompanied Edward I on his crusade. I am indebted to the Rev. H. F. Westlake for this suggestion.

[2] W. R. Lethaby, *Westminster Abbey and the King's Craftsmen*, 29.

[3] Cf. M. Chappee (loc. cit.) " La coutume d'inhumer dans les eglises a ete une cause de ruine pour beaucoup de carrelages."

better glazed than figured, so that a rose design, a gyronny, and a whorl of mascles are alone discernible. In the case of Edward I, it is in keeping with the temporary character of the tomb that the space between it and the pillar to the west is only roughly floored with some cement, which, however, has not obliterated the fragment of the early inscription which runs out from under the north-west base.

If the surface of the floor in the eastern limb of the church has produced little, an examination of the north transept and nave is even less fruitful. In regard to the south transept, the first printed mention of the abbey tiles notes the presence of four large specimens before the altar of St. Blaise.[1] These have now disappeared, although to be noted by Malcolm they must have survived the demolition of the altar by James Gibbs, and the erection of Matthew Prior's monument about 1723.[2] Either they were lost in 1873 when "a vacant space of pavement"[3] was fitted with a memorial slab under dean Stanley, or in 1876, "when we paved anew, with proper twelve-inch lozenge work, the whole of Poets' Corner unoccupied with gravestones."[4]

The investigation of the main body of the church has proved so barren, so far as flooring-tiles are concerned, that the reasonableness of the search must be justified. That large areas were at one time paved with tiles is indicated by a reference in the sacrists' rolls. Expenditure on paving the church is an annual item in the sacrist rolls of Peter Combe. Thus, in the roll of 1385–1386, 8s. is paid "in m. tegulis emp' pro emendac' paviment' in ecclesia" with 10s. for carriage, and 12s. is spent "in ij cubatoribus conduct' pro paviment' coram veterem crucem [in the north transept] et paviment' versus host' domini regis in ecclesia," and in 1389–1390 6s. 8d. is paid for another thousand tiles ("pro m. tegulis pro pavimento").

[1] Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, i, 89. In Dart's plan the old stone screen is shewn to have been to the east of the present wall, so that tiles lying at the base of the pillar would have been "before the altar."

[2] See Henry Poole's invaluable series of notes beginning in the R.I.B.A. *Journal*, 2nd Jan. 1890 (p. 113).

[3] The R.I.B.A. *Journal* for 3rd April, 1890 (p. 281). The Clerk of the Works, Mr. T. Wright, remembers the tiles in place. A fine fagment of a 10-inch glazed tile, bevelled in the mediaeval manner, is built into the north top step of St. Benedict's.

[4] The R.I.B.A. *Journal* for 2nd January, 1890 (p. 113).

This year, however, we find that 53s. 4d. is spent "pro grad' marmor' in ecclesia," which must be the steps before the high altar, for in a Westminster chronicler we read that on 21st August, 1392, the king came "ante magnum altare," and there "super grados marmoreos devote genuflexit."[1] After this we read only of marble paving for a time. In 1391–1392, 1000 feet "de paviment' marmor' prec. ped' $3\frac{1}{4}$d." cost in all £13 10s. 10d. In 1392–1393, 1080 feet are bought at the same price, but in 1393–1394, 614 feet are bought at $3\frac{1}{2}$d. a foot. In the next four years to the turn of the century, no less than 2544 feet of Purbeck paving is laid down at the second price of $3\frac{1}{2}$d. a foot. The rolls for the next years are lacking, but in 1411 we still find 100 feet of marble bought at $3\frac{1}{2}$d. In 1440–1441 the quire was paved, but we are not told with what. Tiles are mentioned again in 1433-1434, "in emend' pavimenti in ecclesia et in claustro cum tegulis ad idem empt' 5s. 3d." This becomes almost an annual charge later on. Thus in 1441 we read "In c magn' pavyngtil' emp' pro ecclesia et claustro cum cariag' per aquam, 7s. 6d." In 1445-1446 200 feet "pavyngtile" were bought for 11s. 8d. and this continues an annual item with occasional variants.[2]

What motives brought about preferential use of stone? Certainly not economy, since the extracts given shew how greatly the cost of the stone exceeded that of the baked clay. We must then surmise that the old tile floors in the church had been found to wear badly. The workmen who had made and laid the chapterhouse floor had done nothing with tiles in the church itself, and the next generation had not ventured beyond the smaller sizes of tile, wholly unsuited to a large expanse of floor. With the decay of manufacture in the fourteenth century, the alternative lay between these small figured tiles and the large coarse brick-slabs, glazed but unstamped. Neither would stand prolonged usage without considerable care (in the chapel of St. John Baptist, the original cement has worn better than the tiles which it binds together), so that recourse

[1] Robinson, *An unrecognised Westminster Chronicler*, *Proc. Brit. Acad.* iii, 30, 31.

[2] E.g. 1448–9, 200 pavyngtyle; 1449–50, 100; 1450–1, 100; 1451–2, 100; 1453–4, 200; 1455–6, 250; 1456–7, 200; 1457–8, 50; 1458–9, 100; 1471–2, 500; 1472–3, 500; 1473–4, 500; 1481–2, 100.

was had in parts of the church[1] to the expensive but permanent method of flooring with stone. A note may be placed here concerning the use of the word *tegula* to guard against a confusion of roofing with paving tiles. The Latin for a roofing tile is *tegula*, used absolutely, or *tegula canilla*,[2] or *tegula cavata*,[3] or *tegula pro tect'*. *Tegula* is not, it would seem, used generically for a paving tile, which is always *tegula pro pav'* (if merely glazed), or *tegula picta*,[4] if inlaid. The earliest reference to paving tiles in England that I have met with does not use *tegula* at all, but *imbrex*.[5]

III. THE CHAPEL OF ST. FAITH.

The second floor of inlaid tiles *in situ* is that at the east end of the chapel of St. Faith. The western portion of the floor was repaired with a miscellany of modern tiles in 1865, when Henry Poole[6] records "taking up the pavement of the slype, and making good with new encaustic tiles made to assimilate with the old ones by grinding off the glazing." The dormitory passage above the west end preserves a floor of some three hundred fourteenth-century tiles, less worn than the stone steps which led down through the wall to the spiral stair.[7] Plainly the steps were in use for some time before the tiles were laid. The chequey and the lozengy pattern together with the three leopards shield are common here as in the muniment room. The east end of St. Faith's is paved with much

[1] Mr. Lethaby (op. cit. 29) tells us that Purbeck slabs were used to floor the ambulatory in Henry III's time.

[2] i.e. hollowed or fluted tiles. 18d. is the price of a hundred. Pipe Roll of 1267–8, cited in Scott, *Gleanings*, 254.

[3] e.g. Fabric Roll of 1253, 3rd week, printed in *Gleanings*, 240.

[4] Cf. J. E. Nichols, *Gothic Tiles*, 4, citation from *Rot. Claus.* 22 Henry III, 19 (1237–38). Mand' est . . . quod parvam capellam apud Westm. tegula picta decenter paveari faciatis. The little chapel in question is not, however, as he thinks, in the monastery, but in the palace. Cf. the order for 100 tiles for the king's chapel in the third week of January, 1253 (*Gleanings*, 240).

[5] *Proc. Archaeol. Inst.* 1845. Winchester. King Aldred intended to adorn the east apse "deauratis imbricibus" (*Wolstani, rita S. Ethelwoldi*. Mab. v, 612). Nichols deplores the practice of antedating tiles, and adds that they are called Norman only because they were first noted in Normandy at the palace of the dukes at Caen, where they were found and described by Ducarel in his *Anglo-Norman Antiquities*, fo. 1767. In the Gough collections in the Bodleian Library there is a coloured drawing, c. 1700, of a Caen pavement. Possibly the earliest figured tiles in England are those now preserved in the south-east wall of St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, one of which is supposed to portray Edward the Confessor.

[6] The R.I.B.A. *Journal* for 6th Feb. 1890, p. 160.

[7] This stair is shewn in Dart's plan.

worn tiles of the usual four-inch type. Two or three animals are here figured, but owe their curious felicity to the chances of the kiln rather than to art. A horsed knight, to the east of the south buttress, recurs in the Pyx chamber.

IV. THE MUNIMENT ROOM.

The tiles which cover this large area are mainly of the four-inch type. The glaze of many is still brilliant, but the designs are not ambitious. The floor was laid before the partition bearing the painting of Richard II's white hart was erected, since the tiles are complete beneath it. Some few years ago, when a fragment of the great beam upon which the partition stands was removed, a perfect little tile bearing the shield of the three leopards was exposed. Other designs are a series of concentric circles, the three chevronels of Clare, the chequers of Warren,[1] the lozenges of Fitzwilliam, the gyronny,[2] four fleurs de lys meeting at the centre, a petalled flower, and a lion rampant, and a species of anchor. No scheme of arrangement appears beyond certain parallel lines running north and south. Some fifty tiles of similar character lie behind the small door which gives access from the muniment room down a short flight of steps across the south transept.

V. THE PYX CHAMBER.

The floor here is one of extreme irregularity; a considerable depression[3] occurs to the west of the central

[1] Early fourteenth-century tiles, bearing the devices of Clare and Warren, occur in the museum at York, and also on the floor of St. John's chapel in Wells cathedral church (A. J. Jewers, *Wells Cathedral, its Monumental Inscriptions and Heraldry*, 115-117). Here also occurs the double-headed eagle displayed without being on a shield, which the author interprets as the cognisance of Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II. The alternative claim of Richard of Cornwall, for which Mr. Eve's authority has been used above (see note on p. 37) might be worth similar consideration at Wells, where Richard's proper arms, a crowned lion rampant within a bordure bezantee, are noted by Mr. Jewers (p. 116). Among the fragments of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century tiles found at Stanley Abbey, Wilts. (*Archaeologia*, lx. 314) occur the double-headed eagle, the arms of Clare, and the lozengy coat; but these resemble those at Wells more than those at Westminster, in that the shields are set lozenge-wise on the tiles, and the interstices filled with floral designs.

[2] Cf. A. 57 in the British Museum collection.

[3] This depression has now disappeared, the floor having been levelled in November, 1910.

pillar, and elsewhere the level varies freely. Portions of the pavement exhibit some scheme of laying, but old tiles have been liberally used for purposes of patching. Many of these old and larger tiles have lost their designs completely; a few are part of a surplus from the chapterhouse. Of the later smaller tiles many are merely glazed, and the rest bear either the designs met with in the muniment room and in St. Benedict's chapel, or some grotesque animal, a swan, a dragon, or a horse. Purely heraldic designs here are the vair ancient, the chequey and lozengy coats. The history of this floor is not entirely conjectural, if two excerpts, one from the close rolls, and another from the pipe rolls, are allowed to have reference to the Pyx chamber. The question of their appropriateness must be dealt with in some detail, since, if it were possible to establish their bearing upon the floor of the Pyx chamber, a strong argument would be forthcoming for the identification of that chamber first with the chapel of St. Dunstan, and later with the king's treasury.

The first extract is from the Close Roll, 43 Henry III (1259), membr. 11.

Rex dedit fratri Roberto procuratori capelle Sancti Dunstani subtus dormitorium Westm' ad eandem capellam paviendam totam tegulam que remansit de pavimento capituli Westm', et que nunc est in berfrario[1] eiusdem loci, et mandatum est magistro Johanni de Glouc' cementario et aliis custodibus operacionum ecclesie Westm' quod eidem procuratori dictam tegulam ad predictam capellam paviendam sine dilacione habere fac'. T. R. apud Merton, xx die Aprilis.

The structure now identified with the chapel of St. Dunstan, which at present serves as the Westminster school armoury, has a wooden floor, beneath which there is no reason to suspect the presence of tiling. Nor is it strictly "subtus dormitorium."[2] The Pyx chamber on the other hand is properly "subtus dormitorium," has certainly been fitted up as a chapel, and is paved in part with a surplus of chapterhouse tiles. The hypothesis which these facts suggest is that upon its conversion into the king's treasury the dedication in honour of St. Dunstan was

[1] The belfry, which is being roofed in the fabric roll of 1253, stood at some distance to the north of the west end of the nave (*Gleanings*, 234). The regular storehouse of materials was there.

[2] Subtus, however, may be used loosely of proximity.

transferred from the eleventh-century building to the site just mentioned.

But was the Pyx chamber the king's treasury? Tradition has always maintained the identification, but in Harrod's paper[1] the identification of the chapterhouse undercroft with the king's treasury was urged. This alternative has met with wide acceptance, but the evidence of the respective floors has gone for nothing. The Pyx chamber is, as we have noted, partially floored with a number of small four-inch tiles. The chapterhouse undercroft, on the other hand, was paved for the first time some four years ago.[2] Now the Pipe Roll for 32 Ed. I makes it certain that in 1291[3] one chamber, "the treasury beneath the chapterhouse," was paved with tiles and generally repaired at the king's expense.

Johannes le Convers reddit computum de vi li. xis. id. de remanente compoti sui de diversis operacionibus Westm' sicut continetur in Rotulo principali In thesauro nichil. Et in domo Thesaurarie garderobe regis subtus capitulum Westm' paviendis hostiis et aliis reparandis in eodem anno xix cviis. xd. per breve regis.

If it be granted that the account would not be rendered for work not done, the reference cannot be to the untiled undercroft of the chapterhouse. We are thus driven to identify the Pyx chamber with the chamber "subtus capitulum," the *subtus* then being here used loosely, or the exact position of the Pyx chamber in relation to the chapterhouse being unknown.[4] But what chamber would

[1] *Archaeologia*, xliv. 373, ff.

[2] The Clerk of the Works tells me that the surface was then found to have been carefully prepared for a paving that was never executed.

[3] In residuum London, on the Gloucester membrane. The passage is misquoted by Burt (*Gleanings*, 290), who takes the year of the Pipe Roll (1304) as the year of the repairs. It is plain that the real year of the repairs was 1291, twelve years before the great robbery (1303). A previous attempt at robbery had been made in 1299 (see the deposition in Palgrave, i, 288). Apparently a yet earlier attempt had been made in 1296 (Patent Roll of 24 Ed. I, in *Cal. of Pat. Rolls*, 218). I am indebted to Dr. Armitage Robinson for the last two references.

[4] Elsewhere its position is loosely described as "infra claustrum," "juxta claustrum monachale" (Palgrave's *Kalendars and Inventories*, i, 166, 169), or "deinz le clousture" (iii, 222), or simply "infra Abbatiam Westm." (i, 169). *Infra* means nothing more than *within*, cf. "infra thesaurarium" (iii, 106). The wardrobe accounts of 27 Ed. I give "subtus capellam monachorum." Widmore's citation (p. 155) from the *Weekly Intelligence* for 6th June, 1643, when parliament is stated to have sent one Marten to the "room in the cloisters" to see that dean Williams had not removed the crown, and to burn the copes, surely favours the identification of the Pyx chamber with the treasury.

John le Convers restore in the monastery at the king's charges if not the royal treasury? The presence in the Pyx chamber of a number of four-inch tiles contemporary in workmanship with those of St. Benedict's chapel, makes it probable that we have here the work of John le Convers in its original situation.

A word must be added as to the surplus of chapter-house tiles now in the Pyx chamber. None of the fine animal designs seem to have been included in the surplus except one specimen of the fish. Plainly the number of the large tiles required was computed with care, since their making was a serious matter. The designs now visible in the Pyx chamber on the surplus tiles are chiefly of the simpler type, such as the four-ringed fleurs de lys, and the naturalistic floral border-tile. When Sir Gilbert Scott explored the cellar to the north of the Pyx chamber, he found among the debris on the floor not only documents but "fragments of encaustic tiles of beautiful patterns, similar to some of those in the chapterhouse, and the glaze so fresh as to lead one to think they had never been trodden upon."[1] It is a matter of deep regret that these fragments, invaluable for museum purposes, have not been preserved. As the case stands, the collection of architectural fragments now in the dorter undercroft contains few satisfactory specimens of the abbey tiles. Two only call for remark, both found in dean Stanley's time in a blocked inner window in the north-west tower. The first bears the design of three large keys, the second a mounted man not unlike the huntsman of the chapterhouse floor. Both are roughly designed, but may date from the thirteenth century. How they came into Hawksmoor's tower is beyond conjecture.

VI. ST. CATHERINE'S CHAPEL.

The infirmary chapel, in ruins since 1571,[2] retains no floor *in situ* beyond some seven much weathered tiles on the north of the altar-step. Sir Gilbert Scott makes no mention of finding tiles there, but Mr. John Thynne remembers some portion of a pavement at the east end.

[1] *Gleanings*, 52.

[2] Widmore, *An History of the Church of St. Peter, Westminster*, 142.

Moreover, in the brick wall of the canon's house adjacent on the south are embedded some sixty-three tiles which in all probability came from the floor of St. Catherine's. In the infirmarer's roll for 1388-9 occurs the item of seven thousand tiles purchased for the paving of the chapel, the floor of which had been raised in level during 1387. In view of the date of the demolition, this floor did not see two hundred years' service, but fifty-eight of the sixty-three tiles embedded in the wall are probably all that now survive in a decipherable condition. These fifty-eight are of the normal four-inch type, and unambitious in design. The best are figured in plate VIII in *Gleanings*, reproduced in Mr. Francis Bond's *Westminster Abbey*, 288, as "tiles in chapterhouse." The design of two birds facing each other also occurs at Salisbury, at Romsey, and in the York Museum. The remaining five raise a nice problem. They are considerably larger, and two of them are made with the same stamp as two of the five[1] so-called dossel tiles in Malvern priory church. These five at Malvern form one oblong panel, the sides bearing each a strip of architectural design, the intervening space being filled with various inscriptions and symbols. Thus the uppermost bears in the centre the date of manufacture, ANNO R.R.H. VI XXVI (Sept. 1457—Sept. 1458). The second tile is figured in the corresponding space with the instruments of the Passion. The third bears the sacred monogram;[2] the fourth the royal arms; the fifth the pelican vulning itself. Now of these the third and the fifth are made with the same stamp as two in the wall of the canon's house. We are at liberty to regard these two as the remainder of a complete set sent from Malvern, a cell of Westminster,[3] as a specimen of their fifteenth-century revival of the art, and placed in the infirmary chapel. A parallel case is presented by the discovery in St. Mary's abbey at York[4] of several tiles from Repton, notably that bearing the rhyme against the untrustworthiness of executors.

[1] These are figured in J. E. Nichols's *Gothic Tiles*, pt. iii, p. 2.

[2] For the popularity of the cult of the name of Jesus in the late fifteenth century see Dr. Armitage Robinson's article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Ap. 1907, p. 71, f.

[3] Widmore, op. cit. 33.

[4] Shelf T in the York museum. The tiles are discussed in Rowe's paper published in the *Trans. Assoc. Architectural Societies*, 1879, and in *The Reliquary* for 1867–8.

VII. THE DEANERY AND FRATER.

Two other floors, besides that of the chapterhouse, remain *in situ*, but are not accessible for a complete examination. These are the pavements of the abbot's old *camera*, and of the frater. That of the *camera*, situated in the Deanery over the south-west entrance to the cloisters, is now under a boarded floor. The whole is severely worn, and the two small traps which give access to specimen areas disclose designs of a petalled flower, with scarcely a trace of glaze. The abbot's accounts shew an outlay on repairing this chamber in 1362, a date which the tiles might well bear.

The pavement of the frater lies under eighteen inches of soil, which serves no purpose beyond the nurture of rough grass. Three slight excavations, made in August, 1910, confirmed the suspicion that the bulk of the tile floor is still in place. The portions uncovered were, like the fabric of the frater, of different periods. The floor seems to extend only some fifteen feet to the south of the north wall. Of these fifteen feet, the southern four or five are paved with large solid tiles, which have lost both glaze and pattern.[1] Several of these were cracked and blackened, possibly in the great fire of 1298.[2] To the north of these, the first floor had gone, and in place of it was found a variety of ill-laid inferior work, dating from the fourteenth century. Notable among these was a tile, some five inches square, figured with a cockscomb or fool's head, encircled by the inscription RICARD' ME FECIT. This is identical with a tile found in Little Marlow abbey.[3] A third with the same design and inscription is in the British Museum collection. The peculiar state of the frater floor suggests that it was at one time boarded over, an inference that could easily be checked by examination. Indeed, a complete exploration of the frater would present few difficulties and would certainly be fruitful.

[1] One bore indications of having been figured with a large shield, like the royal tiles in the chapterhouse. Another fragment bore a sharp-jawed lion addorsant regardant, comparable with the two lions in the north of the chapterhouse floor; the sharp jaws recalled those of Simon de Montfort's double-tailed lion in the spandrel of the nave. This last fragment was technically remarkable, as the artist had furrowed the edge of the inlay to emphasise the outline.

[2] A small fagment of carved wood, partially burnt, was also discovered.

[3] No. 56 in J. E. Nichols's illustration, op. cit.

VIII. THE CHAPTERHOUSE.

We may now proceed to attempt a reconstruction of the history of the chapterhouse floor. This pavement is, as we have noted, unique, not merely in the excellence of its character, but also in the fact that it remains to this day as it was first laid, with the exception of certain repairs and of one triangular space to the south-west. Its date of manufacture can be fixed with some precision. The chapterhouse "must have been begun concurrently with the church. Matthew Paris speaks of it as 'the incomparable chapterhouse' under the year 1250, and indications in the fabric accounts prove that it was completed as a structure by 1253."[1] The laying of a floor of such delicacy would be the final act in the completion. The extract from the close roll of 1258-9, requiring the delivery of the surplus tiles to the proctor of St. Dunstan's chapel, has already been dealt with. An interval of six years is thus given during which the tiles were laid, and, quite apart from documentary assistance, the internal evidence of the designs would be sufficient to assign the work approximately to the same date.

Where were these tiles made[2]? There is no known reference to a Westminster kiln,[3] and a kiln is not readily demolished. No traces of a kiln have been discovered closer than Cannon Street.[4] Again, the fine sand of Westminster would be admirable for purposes of glazing; but there is no clay bed accessible in the vicinity. Yet the clay of which these tiles are made is of the best, and contains no iron to cause discoloration as in the case of the tiles of Jervaulx abbey.[5] The presence of the fish, the portraits, and the inscriptions demand the supposition that, if the manufacture was not local, the subjects are in part topical. As to their method of manufacture, the design was first

[1] W. R. Lethaby, op. cit. 45.

[2] That the later tiles were brought by water is shown by the phrase "cum cariag' per aquam" in the sacrists' rolls for 1441–1442, 1471–1472. Possibly they were brought from the Southwark shore, possibly down stream from Windsor: see next note.

[3] Close Roll, 43 Henry III (1259), membrane 12 gives "Mandatum est custodi foreste Regis de Windes' quod faciat habere custodibus operationum Regis Westm' propinquius aque Tamisie quo fieri poterit ad quemdam rogum apud Westm' inde faciendum." The author of the manuscript index to the rolls of the period has taken *rogum* as meaning a kiln.

[4] For tiles discovered here in 1851, see British Museum collection, A. 150–152.

[5] Brit. Mus. collection, 83–109.

THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH OF S[T] PETER AT WESTMINSTER: CHAPTER HOUSE PAVEMENT.

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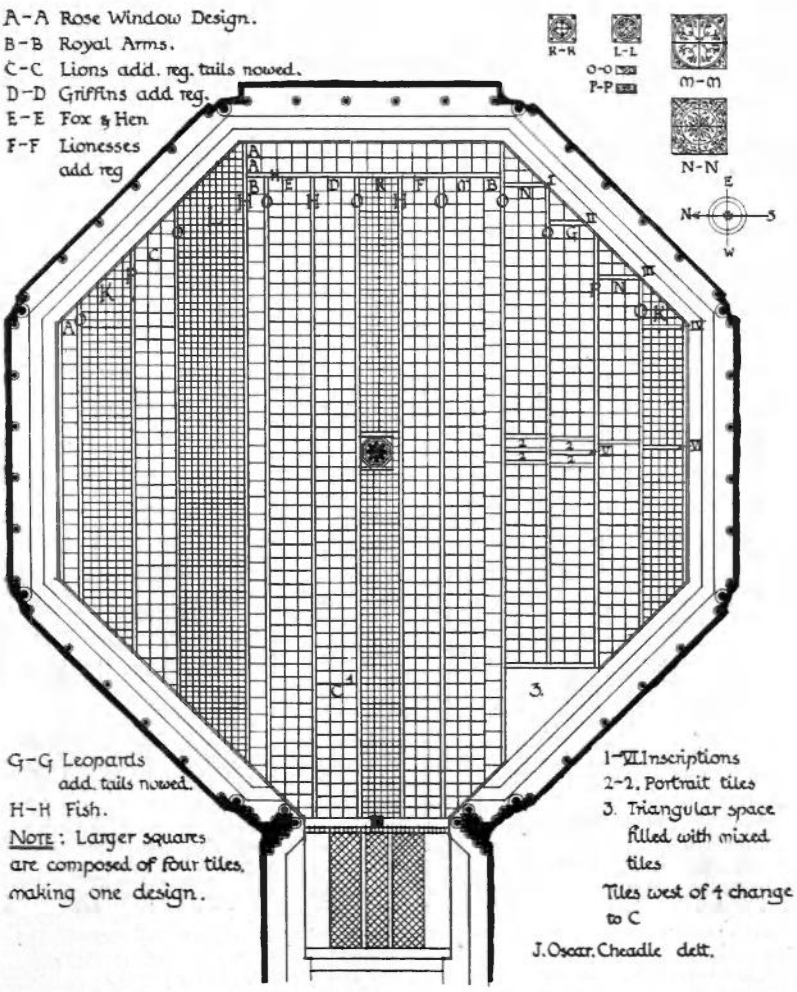

FIG. I.

carved in relief on wooden stamps.[1] These were impressed on the soft red clay which stood ready in a mould[2] of the required size and depth. In the case of the large tiles the inner sides of the moulds converge so as to give room for the cement between as well as beneath the tiles, without interference with the desired contiguity of their surfaces. For letter tiles, a strip of clay was stamped with a series of stamps of one letter, and afterwards divided.[3] The pattern, thus indented in the red brick, was then filled with an almost liquid white clay. The surface was then scraped with a sharp instrument, perhaps planed with the even edge of a slate.

A considerable period was allowed for the whole to dry; and this being completed, the surface was sprinkled with silver sand and lead filaments, and then fired in the kiln. This firing was a long and critical process. Any defect in the making[4] would now manifest itself inconveniently. If fired too little, the glaze would be imperfect; if too long, the surface would be blackened.[5] The tiles having emerged satisfactorily from the kiln, the delicate work of the *cubator*[6] began. Certain characteristics of the laying may be gathered from the disposition of the floor, and as no other floor in England to my knowledge has the arrangement intact, these methods deserve some notice. The area dealt with is an octagon some 50 feet in diameter, surrounded by tiers of stone seats, except on the side of the entrance (fig. 1), which is in breadth slightly narrower than the eastern side directly facing it. This narrowness is effected by lengthening the

[1] The kindred art of misericord carving is only slightly represented, so far as the thirteenth century is concerned, at Westminster; but the simple floral design on the carving of the misericord seat now exhibited in the dorter undercroft bears a close affinity to the larger floral patterns in the chapterhouse floor.

[2] The mould, if of wood, was coated with a solution which would minimise the adhesion of the clay.

[3] Two or three such strips, fired but still undivided, remain in the collection at Beaulieu.

[4] For example, had the clay not been rammed home in the mould, the resultant air spaces would have a tendency towards cracking the surface. Again, the process of contraction is dangerous, the tiles having a tendency to curl with the heat. The red clay shrinks more than the white, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in 6 inches being the normal contraction of the red, which thus clasps the inlay more closely. Of the reverse process, where red is inlaid in white, there are no examples at Westminster. The inlay in this case has a tendency to come away from its channels owing to its having contracted to a greater extent than the matrix.

[5] Many of the replicas supplied to Scott by Minton for patching the floor have been overbaked.

[6] *Cubator*=the mason; *tegulator*—the workman who tiles the roof.

adjacent north-west and south-west sides, and it enhances the aspect of the interior from the entrance. This structural device gave the first principle for the disposition of the floor, that the various designs should be enclosed between courses of narrow edging tiles running east and west, so as to lead the eye up to the eastern row of seats, which are raised above the rest fittingly to accommodate the principal officers of the monastery.

This system of longitudinal parallel edgings to the

FIG. 2. GRIFFINS ADDORSANT REGARDANT ($\frac{1}{4}$).

various groups of tiles is only once departed from, if we except the triangular space to the south-west, which will be discussed later. This infringement of the general rule is caused by a transverse course of edging tiles running across north and south some twenty feet to the east of the central pillar. The pillar is thus situated in an oblong rectangular area almost the length of the chapter-house, and eighteen feet in breadth. In the chapterhouse of St. Alban's abbey a similar, but smaller, space[1] was called the *judicium*. If the analogy be permitted,

[1] Mat. Paris, cited by Rock, *Church of our Fathers*, ii, 212.

this area provided the clear place necessary for the exercise of discipline. But there is no evidence for the modern conjecture that the pillar served as a whipping-post. The tiles to the west of the pillar have retained their glaze exceptionally well. The lectern may have stood there, and protected their surface, but the convenience of the position is open to question.

Two other points may be noted in the disposition of the pavement. First, the laying began on the north side. This is an inference from the omission of the row of fish, which, on the analogy of the north side, should have occurred on the south side beside the royal tiles. The omission of this row was probably due to the exigency of space as the laying proceeded southwards. Moreover, the tiles to the south are of a more elaborate description, and it is here that the portraits and inscriptions occur.

Secondly, there is a definite method of bordering the pavement where it meets the surrounding stone steps. Thus at the start a course of simple edging tiles is laid so that the great rose patterns shall not suffer by being too close under the stone step. Next, as the obtuse angles of the octagonal area open out, the interstices between the square-shouldered tiles and the edge are filled with a triangular tile bearing five stars, which is made especially to suit the position. Where these are not used, pieces of tiles with angular designs are employed. Nowhere except in the triangular space to the south-west, is a tile bearing an animal design broken up to fill the crevices. In the case of the central pillar, a new type of obstruction had to be met. Here any slovenly work would go far to mar the general aspect. Great care is therefore taken to secure neatness, and the octagonal base of the pillar[1] is ringed with thin plain roofing tiles placed on edge, and the exposed edge is even glazed.

Now the triangle of later miscellaneous tiles, which has a base of 10 feet 6 inches along the south-west side,

[1] How far did Sir Gilbert Scott renew the pillar? It was standing intact when he began the renovation of the chapter-house, as his words and illustration prove. But the surface is singularly perfect, with the exception of the upper lip of the trefoiled stringcourse round its base. This is perished, as on the base of the apsidal pillar nearest the tomb of Edward I, on the side adjacent to the north ambulatory. Even if the whole chapterhouse pillar, including the base, is a restoration, Professor Lethaby assures me that the tile edging to it need not have been disturbed

contains on its northern side four such roofing tiles placed similarly on edge. It is a fair inference from their presence, as also from the heterogeneous character of the tiles laid within the triangle, that there stood here also an obstruction jutting out from the step in the original structure. What was the nature of this obstruction ?

The monastic historian, Flete, writing about 1460, notes the existence of a tomb on the south side of the chapterhouse at the entrance.[1] This tomb he regards as part of the original structure ; its substance is marble, its contents, the translated remains of Ethelgoda, Hugolin, Edwin and Sulcard. Of the two inscriptions which he notes, the first deals with Hugolin alone, and is written on the wall above his tomb.[2] The second mentions all four persons, and appears on a leaden tablet at the foot of the tomb.[3] From the wording of this second inscription it is clear that the remains retain indications of their individual identity. Ethelgoda is the smallest. Hugolin has his head broken. Sulcard is larger than Edwin. The evidence of the floor points to this triangular space at the south-west side as the site of this tomb. Beside the feature of the four tiles on edge, the tiling here has marked peculiarities. Of the nine patterns miscellaneously exhibited within this space three do not occur elsewhere, and are later in character than the rest of the floor. A parallel is supplied in the case of Salisbury chapterhouse which is known to have been greatly influenced by the Westminster design. There, when Clutton was engaged on the repair of the floor, enough of the old pavement was left to shew " the original arrangement of every panel except one pair of the smallest, which are left blank " in Henry Shaw's plate.[4] The inference then is that at Salisbury

[1] Flete (Camb. Ed. p. 83). (Edwini) " ossa . . . a claustro praedicto una cum aliis in novum domum capitularem ibidem sunt translata, et in tumba marmorea, ut hodie cernitur, honorifice sunt sepulta ; videlicet ad introitum domus praedictae parte australi." The tomb was in the chapterhouse itself, for when Flete wants to say " before the entrance " he does so quite clearly. Cf. p. 129. Bircheston lies " ante introitum locutorii domus capitularis, juxta ostium dormitorii."

[2] Versus scripti in pariete supra tumbam de praedicto Hugolino.

Qui ruis injuste, capit hic, Hugoline, locus te ; Laude tua clares, quia matyribus nece par es.

[3] Scribitur in tabula plumbea infra marmoream :

Iste locellus habet bis bina cadavera clausa :
Uxor Seberti prima, tamen minima.
Defracta capitis testa clarens Hugolinus
A claustro noviter huc translatus erat.
Abbas Edwinus et Sulcardus cenobite.
Sulcardus major est : deus assit eis.

[4] Op. cit. plate xxiii.

also a triangular structure existed at one time in the chapterhouse, although it is difficult to imagine the nature of a tomb of that shape. The bodies must have lain, as in the case of Henry III, within the tomb itself,[1] and not beneath it as in the later case of Richard II. Burials in chapterhouses were not unusual.[2] Jocelin de Brakelond gives a notable scene, in which the abbot Sampson is taunted by the sub-prior in chapter with the better traditions of abbot Ording who lies in the monks' midst.[3]

Very little is actually known of the history of the chapterhouse from its erection to the suppression. On 29th March, 1298, it barely escaped the fire which had its beginning "in minore aula palatii," and "abbatiae vicina aedificia devoravit."[4] Not until 1351–1352 is there any mention in the rolls of parliament of the Commons deliberating in the chapterhouse. In 1376–1377, 1384 and 1394–1395 they met there, while Littlington was abbot; and they assembled in the frater in 1397, 1403–1404 and 1414–1416, after which date there is no record of their meeting in the abbey. The sacrists' rolls for 1422–1425 indeed mention parliament, but not in such a way as to require the assumption that it met elsewhere than in the palace. In 1422 the chapterhouse was the scene of the great Benedictine meeting convened at the instance of Henry V to discuss the condition of the order. Sixty abbots and other superiors, together with three hundred monks, assembled there under the presidency of William Heyworth of St. Albans, the premier abbot.[5] On 11th February, 1531, Convocation here[6] passed in silence the amended clause of the preamble to their address "Quantum per legem Christi licet, supremum caput," and voted £100,000 to stay the threatened writ of praemunire. After the suppression, no mention of the chapterhouse is forthcoming until we come to Wren's

[1] A slight excavation of this triangular space in the Westminster chapterhouse was authorised in May, 1910. The walls of the crypt being 17 feet in thickness, the larger part of the floor rests on them and not on the vaults. Only solid masonry was reached.

[2] Cf. the discovery of three stone coffins in the chapterhouse of Stanley abbey. *Archaeologia*, lx, 507.

[3] *The Chronicle*, etc. King's Classics ed. 152; cf. Note on the five coffins of abbots discovered, 247.

[4] *Flores Histor.* (Rolls Ser.) iii, 104.

[5] Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii, 413–427.

[6] James Gairdner, *A History of the English Church in the Sixteenth Century*, 108.

report of 1713, in which "the consistory" is referred to as "no contemptible fabric." It has been in use as a Record Office probably since the time of queen Elizabeth, drastic alterations having been made in its structure. The vaulting was assisted to fall, a flat ceiling substituted, and a gallery added. Round the walls ran large presses for holding the documents, and a wooden floor was laid upon the tiles. A print now in the chapterhouse, reproduced in *Gleanings*, shows these details, together with two open trap-doors of uncertain date, through which a glimpse of the pavement might be obtained.

It was not, however, until January, 1841, that the tiles were carefully examined. Then Cottingham, having been commissioned to repave the Temple church, took up some portions of the boarding in the chapterhouse, and secured a number of designs. From these the firm of Minton, who were now doing their best and earliest work, made a series of reproductions on a smaller scale than the originals, but excellent in technique, and with these the Temple church was paved. These reproductions include some copies of the portrait tiles, and of a selection of the animal and floral designs. In the case of one pattern, the border only was kept, and the lamb and flag substituted for the eight griffins (see fig. 2). No attempt, however, was made to reproduce the inscriptions.

After Cottingham had thus turned his discovery to account, the boarding was replaced; but the publication of his report[1] attracted attention. When J. E. Nichols published his book of tile designs in 1842, and Henry Shaw secured the splendid typography of Pickering for his similar volume in 1858, both drew largely upon Cottingham's work at Westminster.

In 1863 Sir Gilbert Scott was engaged by parliament to restore the chapterhouse. Unfortunately, he has left no detailed record of his dealings with the floor. Upon removing the boarding, he evidently found portions of the pavement in a bad state; these he patched with several hundred replica tiles made by Minton. This

[1] *Archaeologia*, xxix. H. Shaw also gives Cottingham's conjectural plan of half the floor, which is incorrect in several particulars. It omits the second series of portrait-tiles and all the inscriptions, while it adds a row of the fish tiles on the south side which is not in place on the floor.

process was inevitable, but Minton's work[1] was now very inferior to that of twenty years before; none of the replicas matched their originals in colour or texture, while the designs themselves suffered, the largest lion of the royal

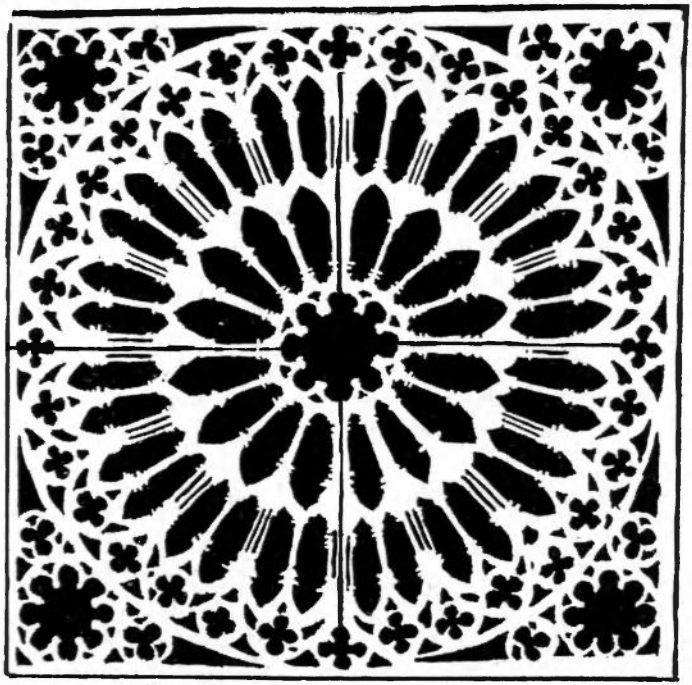

FIG. 3. THE ROSE-WINDOW DESIGN ($\frac{1}{1}$).

arms being now endowed with two left eyes. Scott also renovated the tiling of the steps leading up to the chapter-house. The designs for these new tiles were presumably copied from older patterns in the same situation, but only five of these originals survive, on the back of the top step to the north of the entrance pillar.

Appended are some notes upon the individual designs:

[1] It is unfortunate that Sir Gilbert Scott did not stipulate for the preservation of the broken or defaced tiles which their replicas replaced, and it is also to be regretted that the manager of Messrs. Minton's London office has not seen his way to supplying any information from the books of the firm as to their contract with Sir Gilbert Scott, or their earlier dealings with Mr. Cottingham.

illustrations are given where the tile is capable of satisfactory reproduction.

1. The rose window design (fig. 3).

Four impressions from the same stamp, each giving a segment, go to make up the rose-window design. The subject is a favourite one with tile-makers. Another rose of a simpler earlier form occurs on tiles at Christchurch, and in the small collection at Beaulieu. In the British Museum, no. 244 in the catalogue, is a section of an elaborate rose-window tile, found at Chilton Foliot, and no longer practicable as an architectural plan. Elsewhere, the rose-window design occurs on drawings of mediaeval shoes. On a wall of St. Stephen's chapel there appeared figures of the fourteenth century wearing shoes so embellished, the roses in this case having, like the chapterhouse tile, a trefoil in the upper corners.[1] Chaucer's debonair priest wears shoes similarly decorated.

> With Powles windows corven on his shoes,
> In hosen red he wente fetishly.[2]

The design being cut away, the bright colour of the stocking would show in its frame like stained glass. Innocent III found in the fashion a symbol of the *disciplina arcani*.[3] Use has been made of this chapterhouse design to reconstruct the south transept window in its original form by using as a model the old north transept rose, which "stood in the very van of Gothic development."[4] No published drawing of this tile design is minutely accurate. In Wren's drawing the moulded capitals of the pilasters do not stand out sideways, as on the tile. Even Mr. Lethaby's illustration resembles the Minton reproductions more nearly than the original tiles. Three details supply a criterion by which the authentic tiles may be distinguished from the replicas.

[1] Rock, *The Church of our Fathers*, ii, 198, where a woodcut is given. Cf. Strutt (1843 ed.), v. 48.

[2] *The Millere's Tale*, 132, 133; cf. Rot. liberat. 2° anno Johann. memb. i, where king John orders boots for his consort "fretatus de giris."

[3] Rock, op. cit. ii, 196.

[4] Lethaby, op. cit. 73, where the influence of the north transept rose at Westminster both at home and abroad is discussed, and the pitiful history of its transformation given. We may note especially its influence on the east rose of St. Paul's, since the design on the shoe of Chaucer's clerk is thus connected with that upon the chapterhouse tile.

(1) The third whole quatrefoil in the originals is misformed, its left arm inclining upwards, its right arm downwards.

(2) There is no band round the base of the pilasters.

(3) Of the two bands round the pilasters at the springing of the arch, the upper does not overhang the lower.

FIG. 4. A FLEUR DE LYS DESIGN ($\frac{1}{4}$).

2. The fleur de lys design (fig. 4).

Although not occurring in its simplest form in the chapterhouse, the fleur de lys underlies most of the free-hand designs. The emblem is common to all the other abbey floors, as indeed in most series of fourteenth-century tiles. Apart from the ease and grace of the design, its popularity is due to the double purpose which the symbol

served. Primarily its significance is religious rather than heraldic.[1] A coffer spangled with fleur de lys was borne in procession by the emperor at Constantinople on Christmas night. It occurs on the seals of all cathedrals dedicated to the Virgin, and to the end of the twelfth century it continues to appear as a religious symbol on tombs. Its first heraldic use is said by de Galway to be on the reverse of the seal of Philip Augustus in 1180. On the royal English coat it does not appear until Edmund of Lancaster, Henry III's second son, married Blanche of Artois in 1275.

3. The fish design (fig. 5).

The symbolism of the fish, if it is right to regard it as more than a decorative design, is a matter of much speculation. It is easier to say what it is not than what

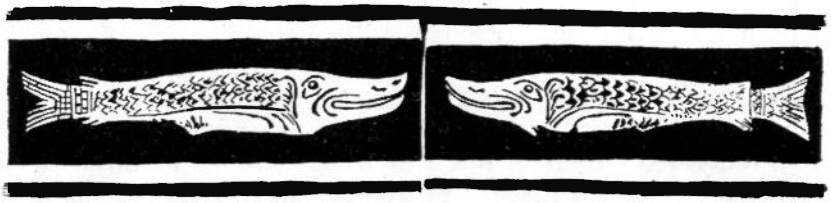

FIG. 5. THE FISH DESIGN ($\frac{1}{4}$)

it is. The thirteenth century is much too late for the ἰχθύς emblem. Nor is the miraculous draught here represented, since the number of one hundred and fifty-three is reached with a row to spare. Other conjectures may be tabulated.

(1) The enclosing bands of fish represent the almost insular position of the abbey ; and the fact that the fish face each other is a reminder that the river is tidal.

(2) The fish is to be regarded as a salmon. Then the clue lies in the annual tithe of salmon presented in the frater by the Thames fishermen, a custom founded on the recorded injunction of St. Peter on the night of the consecration of the church. The abbey's claim to this tithe had been challenged in 1231, by Martin, rector

[1] M. de Galway, *Dictionaire du Blason.*

of Rotherhithe:[1] the case ended in a compromise, and would be fresh in the monastic mind.

(3) But this most unbending fish is surely not a salmon.[2] The portrait is that of a pike or luce, than which no device is more common in the popular canting heraldry of the thirteenth century. If so, to which bearer of the name does the luce here refer? The candidates are (*a*) Any one of the three papal Lucii, the last in 1256 being not long since dead; (*b*) Simon de Luca, archbishop of Dublin, Henry III's agent with the pope; (*c*) One of the distinguished family of the Lucies. The seal of Lesnes abbey[3] bears a canopied virgin between two upright luces in memory of the founder, Richard de Lucy, chief justiciar under Henry III, but beyond the fact that his son Godfrey, bishop of Winchester, was consecrated in St. Catherine's chapel by archbishop Baldwin seventy years before the date of the tiles, that branch of the family seems to have been altogether unconnected with Westminster. As for the Charlecote Lucies, William Lucy was knighted by Henry III, and his son Fulk Lucy, attaching himself to Simon de Montfort, was deprived of, and subsequently regranted, his estate; but this had no more to do with Westminster than had the satire of Shakespeare upon their descendant, who with his three luces in every quartering appears as Mr. Justice Shallow in the Merry Wives of Windsor. Three further lines of solution are suggested by the appearance of the fish on the coat of Aymer de Valence, by the name of abbot Berkyng's mother, Lucia, and by the entry[4] which records in the close roll for 1250 the stocking of the palace fish-ponds with a hundred luces by Godfrey de Liston. It may not be disproportionately imaginative to see in these fish a reference to the traditional foundation of the abbey by the legendary king Lucius in the second century.[5]

Returning to facts, we may note that as the fish lie head to head, two wooden stamps, a right and a left hand,

[1] Flete, 67.

[2] Cf. Flete's citation from Giraldus Cambrensis, "Salmo e saliendo naturaliter nomen accepit, . . . Caudam ipsam ore comprimunt" (pp. 67, 68).

[3] In the muniment room collection at Westminster.

[4] Rot. Claus. 34 Henry III, m. 7.

[5] The Lucius legend occurs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* of c. 1150, which also contains the Sebert story (Flete, introd. 2-3).

were required for their manufacture, only the alternate fish being from the same die.

4. The fox and cock design (fig. 6).

These are confined to the inner area of the chapter-house. The fox is depicted as leaping up at the cock. If there is here again a local significance, it may be that the cock represents St. Peter's monastery and the fox, as at Christchurch, the friars, whose rivalry in the middle

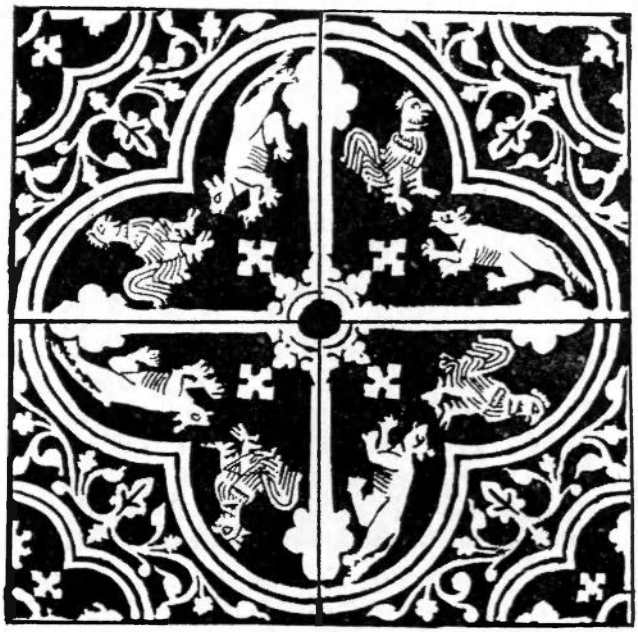

FIG. 6. THE FOX AND COCK DESIGN (¼).

of the thirteenth century was bitterly resented by the old religious foundations. More probably art is here "the handmaid of morality," and the tile illustrates the Aesop fable inculcating vigilance, or is inspired by the romance of Reynard the Fox. We may compare the adventures of the fox sculptured on the drum of the central pillar of the Salisbury chapterhouse. The popularity of emblems of the virtues and vices was largely due to the wide reading of the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius. At Canterbury these

appeared on round "dalles" of stone[1] incised and filled in with a dark pitch cement, the earliest form of figured tile.

5. The lion design (figs. 7 and 8).

Lions or leopards in all forms occur on the chapterhouse tiles. The three on the great four-tile design of the royal arms[2] (fig. 8) are the finest in all art. Singularly like them are those that occur in the thirteenth-century glass in the west window at Salisbury. A small replica of this royal tile, four inches square, was found under the

FIG. 7. THE LION DESIGN ($\frac{1}{4}$).

beam of the muniment room partition. There, however, the leopards are reversed, no allowance being made for

[1] This process is said to have been introduced by William of Sens in 1175. Similar cheese-like stones are to be seen in Notre Dame at Saint-Omer, and in the museums of Dijon and Sens, where they are called Gallo-Roman.

[2] England owes her leopards to Richard I, whose first seal bears one lion, and the second three leopards. The heralds, it is said, would only allow one lion on a coat on account of his native fierceness. Where more are depicted, they must therefore strictly be called leopards. When the emperor Frederic married Isabel, Henry III's sister, at Cologne in 1235, he presented to his new brother-in-law three leopards, "Misit ergo imperator regi Anglorum tres leopardos, cum aliis donariis pretiosis, quibus regiones non abundant occidentales; cui etiam contra regem Francorum consilium promisit et auxilium opportunum" (Roger of Wendover. Rolls ser. iii, 112). The appropriateness of the gift probably appealed to all parties, except to the bishop of Exeter, who was charged to bring the leopards home.

the reversal of the die. But lions in all imaginable attitudes, passant, gardant, regardant, addorsed, with tails crossed, and manes square or curling, occur on these tiles (fig. 7). In the south-west triangle a lion rampant occurs on four tiles, badly defaced. A German student of bestiaries, who came to study in the chapter library, told me

FIG. 8. THE ROYAL TILES ($\frac{1}{5}$).

that the lion is often the emblem of Christ, and that the following are some of the reasons given by the authors: (1) The lion in retreat upon the mountains brushes away its footprints with its trailing tail: so Christ dissembled His greatness in His humble birth. (2) The lion sleeps with open eyes: so only the human body of Christ died at the crucifixion. (3) The lion cub is born apparently

dead: thus is typified the resurrection. (4) The lions' strength symbolises the strength of Him who could overcome the devil.

6. The "supporters" on the royal tiles (fig. 8).

It is only by a violent anachronism that these figures can be called "supporters." On the left side is a centaur, or rather a man-lion, wearing a close-fitting thirteenth-century cap surmounted by a cross, and brandishing a quarterstaff. On the right hand of the shield is a centaur proper, similarly armed but bareheaded. Beneath their hoofs is something resembling conventional water. I have no clue to their significance, if indeed they have any. A similar centaur occurs on some fourteenth-century *carrelage* in the Musée des Monuments Français. The centaur was generally used as the posthumous badge of king Stephen. Artistically there is genius in the quarterstaves with their slight variation of length and angle, both curved as if to take the weight of the shield. The chimaera in the upper part of the spandrel occurred also on the wall of the painted chamber in the palace.

7. The minstrels and the hunting scenes.

It is high time that special attention were paid to the two sets of figured tiles that lie due south of the centre pillar; for they stand in need of special study and preservation. In subject and style they bear a close resemblance to the picture-tiles of Chertsey. The following are the scenes displayed:

(*a*) The minstrels, playing the harp and the viol respectively (fig. 9). At Chertsey, in one of Tristram's adventures, a lady is shown playing a similar harp. The fiddle may be compared with one on the margin of MS. 2 B. 7 in the British Museum.[1]

(*b*) The hunting scenes, three in number.

(i) The huntsman rides out, blowing his horn, and holding in his right hand the lure of feathers upon which

[1] Cf. also the fiddle held by the middle figure in the thirteenth-century *Histories of the Old and New Testament* (Harleian Library, 1526-7 in Brit. Mus.). The illustration is given in Strutt, plate 52. Plate 53 (Harl. Coll. 4751) from a Latin Natural History of the thirteenth century shews a hunting scene similar to those on the tiles next considered. On the huntsman's head is a low cap tied under the chin, and round his neck is a horn, hanging by a strap, as on the tile.

his falcon will return to perch. He wears a low flat cap; his feet are in square stirrup-irons. The short bridle obscures the bit, but the headstall of the horse across the forehead and round the neck is clear, and so also is the girth and the dog on the further side, nose to earth. The whole may be compared with the seal of Simon de Montfort,[1] on which a huntsman is shown winding his horn, with his dog on the further side of the galloping horse; the trappings are very similar from headstall to girth, but the bit and bridle are fastened with a double jointing, which is not apparent on the Westminster tile.

FIG. 9. THE MINSTRELS ($\frac{1}{4}$).

(ii) The huntsman's ally, the archer, with bow and quiver, round cap set far back, and long shoes. The illustrations to Matthew Paris give similar accoutrements and attire. The archer has just loosed his shaft, and his left hand holds his tough bow strongly. On one of the Chertsey tiles, Tristram is armed with a similar bow, and the inscription above the picture, not in Norman, but in best Picardy French, calls the bow "Qui ne faut."

(iii) We follow the shaft. It has pierced the quarry's neck, and the huntsman's dog is in at the death to support

[1] Illustrated in Green's *History of England*, i, 291.

his master's claims. In the British Museum collection, A. 123 shows a similar scene, but of most inferior technique. In Lyson's *Gloucestershire Antiquities*, plate 74 gives a tile in the vestry of the mayor's chapel at Bristol which bears a similar stag.

8. The portrait tiles.

In the chapterhouse of Jumièges a remarkable series of tiles bearing portraits was employed to decorate a tomb of thirteenth century. Drawings of these may be seen in Gough's collection in the Bodleian Library. In the British Museum the three great Chertsey portraits, 31 by

FIG. 10. THE QUEEN ($\frac{1}{4}$).

9 inches, the masterpieces of English tiling, correspond closely with those at Westminster.

(*a*) The king. Both here and at Chertsey a king is shown. At Westminster it is almost certainly Henry III, to whom the one decipherable inscription refers. In the Cotton manuscript, Nero, D 1, Henry is portrayed with his court; he wears as here a beard, and as here has a dog beside him. His crown on the Westminster tile is peculiar, but can be paralleled in the Cotton manuscript, Tiberius, A III. Both at Westminster and at Chertsey he wears a jewelled brooch upon his breast.

(*b*) The queen, Eleanor presumably (fig. 10), is seated on a wooden or stone settle with a low back and a trefoil at

each end, as in the case of the king's throne. She is crowned, and her whole attention is claimed by the falcon who has left the leather bracelet, his proper perch on her left wrist, and is seated on her bare hand. Hence he regards his august mistress, awaiting a look or gesture of command. At Chertsey it is not a falcon but a squirrel that is the queen's playmate, and the royal lady whose mourning figure survives on the north side of queen Philippa's tomb at Westminster also fondles a squirrel.

The queen at Westminster allows her hair to fall on her shoulders, and her dress touches the ground, except that the outer robe falls short over her right knee, showing the long underskirt. The artist is at his happiest with the exquisite folds of the drapery.

(*c*) The ecclesiastic, whose portrait is reproduced on each side of the queen, is clothed elaborately. He wears a low mitre with a short broad tail, an alb under a chasuble of the early full shape and an amice. At the foot of the chasuble, the broad end of a stiff square vestment appears, which apparently must not be taken for the two ends of a stole. From his left forearm hangs a maniple, and a pastoral staff of peculiar design is in his left hand. In the head of the staff is a circular indentation for a jewel. The right hand, apparently gloved, is raised to bless, the two smaller fingers being turned across towards the thumb. He is shod not with the sandals of a subordinate but with the slippers of a dignitary. His settle is a solid construction, pillared like those of the king and queen, but the seat is ornamented with diagonal lines, not with a plain oval as is the queen's, nor with the king's quatrefoil within an oval.

In the Chertsey group the corresponding figure is that of an archbishop, for he wears the pallium.[1] Presumably then the Chertsey archbishop is Boniface of Savoy, who, as uncle to the queen, is a person of sufficient eminence to be seated between Henry and Eleanor.

If it is an abbot who takes the same high place at Westminster, the period of manufacture (1250–1260) provides three candidates for the portrait, Richard of Crokesley, Philip of Lewesham, and Richard of Ware.

[1] The few merely episcopal sees with the right of the pallium are confined to Gaul.

Crokesley died at Winchester in 1258. The Poictevins, who attributed their banishment to him, were suspected of causing his death. Philip of Lewesham was advanced from the priorate to fill his place, but died the same year. The corpulency which made him shun the journey to Rome for confirmation is not a characteristic of the person portrayed. Ware succeeded him in 1258, but by then the pavement must have been at least near completion, and it is scarcely likely that the new ruler would replace the old on the tiles. Ware was, however, in high favour with Henry III, who granted him two annual fairs in the sanctuary, a market at Tothill, and a third fair for two days at the feast of St. Mary Magdalen.

But the identification with Richard of Crokesley is more satisfactory, fulfilling both the conditions of date and royal favour. And since we have no monument of so notable a man, the simple facts of his career and posthumous influence may be gathered here. His surname shews him to have come from Suffolk. His christian name he shared with his predecessor and his almost immediate successor. He came to Westminster to be under Berking, at the time of whose death he held the post of archdeacon, a title indicative of the abbey's freedom from episcopal control.[1]

He was unanimously elected abbot on 16th December, 1246, the day of archbishop Edmund's canonisation by Innocent IV. Flete gives as an especial ground for his preferment beyond his personal adequacy for the post, his high favour with Henry, "tum quia domino regi . . . erat familiaris et acceptus." Henry had such regard for him that the dignity of his new post was exalted, and the abbot was allowed to celebrate "pontificaliter per omnia missam." Crokesley was "beati Edmundi devotus amator et indefessus"; and to him he built a chapel by the north door. He stood well with the king, but lost favour at one time through attempting to gain certain plenary powers from the pope.[2] After twelve years' prosperous rule, he died at Winchester in the session of parliament. He was buried in his own St. Edmund's chapel, on the demolition of which he was

[1] Widmore, 64.

[2] Mat. Paris, p. 972, describes Crokesley at some length.

removed to the chapel of St. Nicholas, where he lies under a plain marble slab. His grave was opened in the time of Henry VI, and he was found " integraliter pontificalibus indutum in lapide magno et concavo positum." His anniversary was to be kept with a bell-ringing, the service said in copes, a large dole to the poor, and in the frater with a feast to the brethren of bread, wine, etc. Seven pounds sterling he left to be spent annually on this, and a half-mark to be divided among the abbey servitors. A mark more was to cover one sanctuary lamp before the cross in the Tothill chapel, and a candle at mass before the altar of St. Mary Magdalen. The total annual cost of carrying out these and other injunctions in his memory, amounting in all to £48 6s. 8d. was to be met from his bequest of the manors of Hampstead and Stoke with other rents earmarked for the same purpose. These and further provisions, though hedged with an excommunication, and confirmed by Alexander IV, were modified after ten years under the licence of Clement IV.

It has been noted that the figure is not wearing a pallium. But it may be that the portrait represents an archbishop, since Westminster would not have conceded to any but the pope the archiepiscopal jurisdiction typified by the right to wear the pallium within its confines. There is only one archbishop to whom Crokesley would have ceded this place. The name of Edmund Rich stood for much in Crokesley's life. On the day of his canonisation Crokesley had been raised to the abbacy. He had built a chapel for St. Edmund wherein he had desired to lie. It had been Crokesley who turned Henry's mind from the disfavour which had brought about Rich's final retirement to Pontigny; it was Crokesley who, in 1251, preceded the king to France to prepare the way for the royal pilgrimage to the exile's shrine.[1] The King's second son was called Edmund, to whom the pope granted the ruinous title to the kingdom of Sicily. Can it be that in the conjunction of these tiles we have Crokesley's record of the conciliation he had effected ?

[1] Widmore (p. 66) citing M. Paris, p. 816.

9. The ring design (fig. 11).

The story, which is also illustrated on the carving above the coronation chair, is fully given in Flete, together with the fact that the ring itself was removed from St. Edward's finger on the night of his translation, and placed in the relic-treasury by abbot Laurence, but it is not enumerated in the Edwardian regalia in the fourteenth-century inventory.[1]

10. The inscriptions.

Shurlock's splendid work on the tiles of Chertsey broke down almost completely in face of the fragments of in-

FIG. 11. THE RING ($\frac{1}{4}$).

scriptions. Two or three words of good Picardy French, and a word that appeared to be Latin, BACULO, were all of the old legends that remained. For the rest the letters were either indecipherable or misplaced. Apparently at Chertsey they were already trying the new system of tile-writing, that is, cutting the inscription *en bloc*. So also at Hereford occurs an alphabet tile, going from A to M. The old system, as represented by Beaulieu and Westminster, was to make a series of letter stamps, then to manufacture with each of these a number of duplicate letters, punched successively on a narrow strip of clay, and then to build up a sufficient supply of alphabets. These strips, after being inlaid, but before firing, were cut into small cubes.

[1] *Westm. Abbey, Munim. Coronat.* iii.

After firing they were sorted into a compositor's box, and thence picked out as the inscription proceeded. Each letter had its line of white above and below which must join those of its new neighbours, and so an inscription was spelt out and the floriated finials indicated the end of the line. This system had the decorative advantage that the letters were each a little work of art, but both at Beaulieu and here it has issued in fatal misplacements. At Beaulieu quite a number of admirably formed letters have been recovered, one or two initials being of remarkable size and quality, but not a word has come down complete. In the chapterhouse here, six considerable inscriptions remain, but after a great deal of washing and tracing and magnifying, only one is even conjecturally solved. And this is the more tantalising in that there are quite a number of letters obtainable with study. There is, moreover, enough to shew that the inscriptions are in Latin hexameters, that the two halves of each line end with an assonance, and that conventional contractions are employed. Notwithstanding all these data the inscriptions remain unread. I have had them put on lantern slides, which Mr. Augustus Spencer allowed me to try on a very powerful lantern at the Royal College of Art. Here and there we gained the motive of a new letter, but nothing beyond this. Any further attempt will have to proceed on the principle of measuring the breadth of the letter blocks: an I for instance is on a narrower block than an S. A very similar type of lettering occurs on Eleanor's tomb, so that there should be no great difficulty in arguing with certainty from the slightest mark upon a letter brick, though the brass letters are cursive and more delicate. But when all is done, there is the fear that letters have become misplaced. Were they in their original positions, they would not have worn so unevenly. Yet no legible letter is upside down, and the stops are in their proper places, so far as a judgment can be formed.

Let us take the six inscriptions in succession: the numbers correspond with those on fig. 1.

I. Has thirty-four blocks.

· ·SPOS · F[?] · ·SI · · ·SI · D[?] · ·C · · · · · · ·
O · · U +

The last letter is probably the abbreviation of ORUM.

II. Has twenty-nine letters.

· ·A[?]REXHENRICS · · T·I · · T · TIS AMI ·

For this Dr. Armitage Robinson's conjecture is QUA [?] REX HENRICUS S[AN]C[TA]E TRINITATIS AMICUS.

We may compare the inscription given by Sporley:[1] "in literis lapideis et deauratis per circuitum feretri sancti Edwardi . . .

Homo, causam noscere si vis
Rex fuit Henricus, sancti praesentis amicus."

III. Has twenty-nine letters and a finial block, which is placed on its side, with the result that the horizontal band which should be above it has the false appearance of an I.

·R[?]P . . . .B[?] · · ·T[?] · V · ·E·TE[?] · · · ·MAVIT

The last word must be AMAVIT, in which case the previous V must indicate a similar first conjugation perfect in the third person singular to give the rhyme.

IV. Has thirty-three blocks.

· · N[?] · C[?] · IS[?] TN[?]R[?] ·O · ·ESSIS · PE · · ·V[?] ·G · · · +

V. This inscription runs between two rows of the picture-tiles. The certain letters are as follows:

H RESONAN · C · T U · TIC · R · IS · MVM +
·IT · · · · · · ·M A · AQ · · · · · ·I · · · ·

Fifty-two letters in all. The first T and the only S are small letters occupying only the lower part of the brick. The letter after the first T (represented here by a U, the letter most approximate in modern type) is presumably the contraction for US. The verse therefore begins "hic resonant ca(n)tus . . . cervi." The first three words then refer to the huntsman with his horn or to the minstrels, or to some fashion of having singing from this spot in the chapterhouse (the last hypothesis being quite unauthenticated). If "cervi" is right, then the verse refers to the pictures, and here deals with the stag. We are put in

[1] Given in Dr. Robinson's edition of Flete, 114, n.

mind of abbot Ware's inscription on his pavement ten years later :

> Sepes trima : canes et equos hominesque subaddas
> Cervos et corvos, aquilas, immania cetae. . .

The two M's before the stop are of different shape, the second being the normal pointed M, the first a peculiar rounded letter. The stop itself is also to be seen on the first and fourth inscriptions.

VI. Has thirty-three bricks, but as only one letter and two finials are legible, it must be here considered as hopeless.

The difficulty is that we have no clue to the subject of the verses. If the theme is philosophical like the Ware pavement, it is probably beyond reconstruction. It may even be magical, like the tile inscription at Shrewsbury and Malvern, which also occurs on the great bell at Kenilworth, " Mentem sanctam spontaneum honorem Deo, et patriae liberacionem." Were it not that a medical receipt of a fifteenth-century monk had found its way into the British Museum (MS. Add. 12195), the unfortunate inquirer might study long before he recognised in this formula a spell against an outbreak of fire.

Our survey of the Westminster tiles is thus completed. It has been made under various difficulties, chief among them being the inexperience of the student. But it may serve to draw the attention of competent archaeologists to a pavement which has more than an antiquarian interest, for the tiles which compose it have been executed with a power and an energy of outline which will not be lost upon the appreciator of early English art.