

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

OCTOBER 1916—MAY 1917

WITH

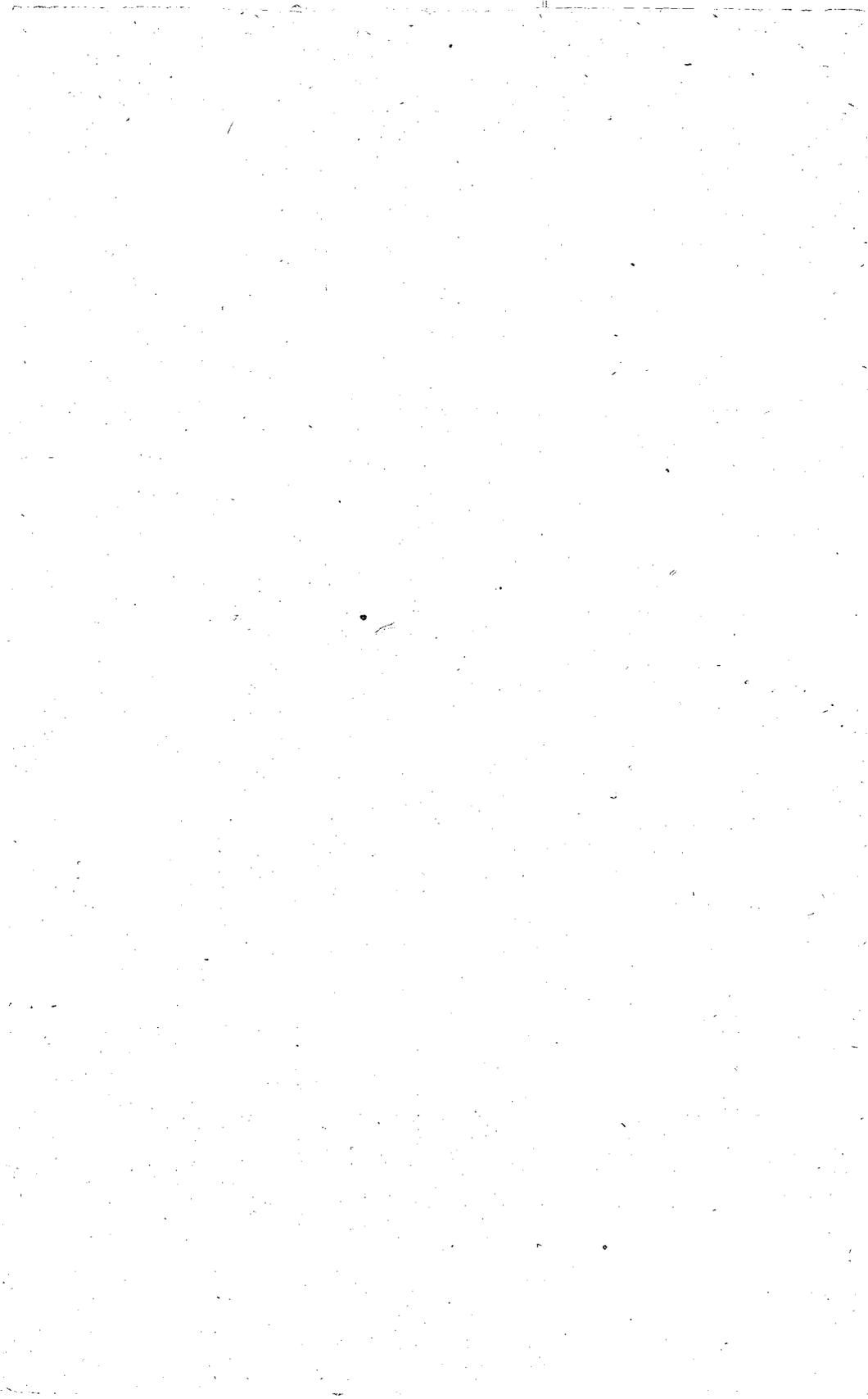
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VOL. XXI.



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THE TWELFTH-CENTURY PULPITUM OR ROODLOFT
FORMERLY IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ELY ;
WITH SOME NOTES ON SIMILAR SCREENS IN ENGLISH
CATHEDRAL AND MONASTIC CHURCHES.

By Sir WILLIAM ST JOHN HOPE, Litt.D., D.C.L.

(Read 7th May, 1917.)

It has long been known that, until it was destroyed by Mr James Essex in 1770, there was standing in the cathedral church of Ely the twelfth-century stone screen that anciently formed the western boundary of the monks' quire.

None of the histories of Ely gives any picture of the screen, and until quite lately nothing was known of it beyond the plan shown by Browne Willis¹ and the notes published by Bentham². These last are reprinted in the Rev. D. J. Stewart's monograph on the cathedral church³, with a reference to 'a rude sketch still existing in the British Museum.' But Mr Stewart gives no authority for this, and the sketch has been as elusive as the lost screen.

For some time past Mr Aymer Vallance has been collecting materials for a history of English screens and screenwork, and while looking through some volumes of drawings in the British Museum he fortunately lighted upon the sketches of the Ely screen, made by Essex himself before it was taken down and broken up. These sketches can be identified by the title "the old Roodloft at Ely," and consist of three pages of pen-and-ink

¹ *A Survey of the Cathedrals of Lincoln, Ely, Oxford, and Peterborough* (London, 1730).

² James Bentham, *The History and Antiquities of the Conventual and Cathedral Church of Ely*, 2nd edition (Norwich, 1812), Addenda, 3.

D. J. Stewart, *On the Architectural History of Ely Cathedral* (London 1868), 43.

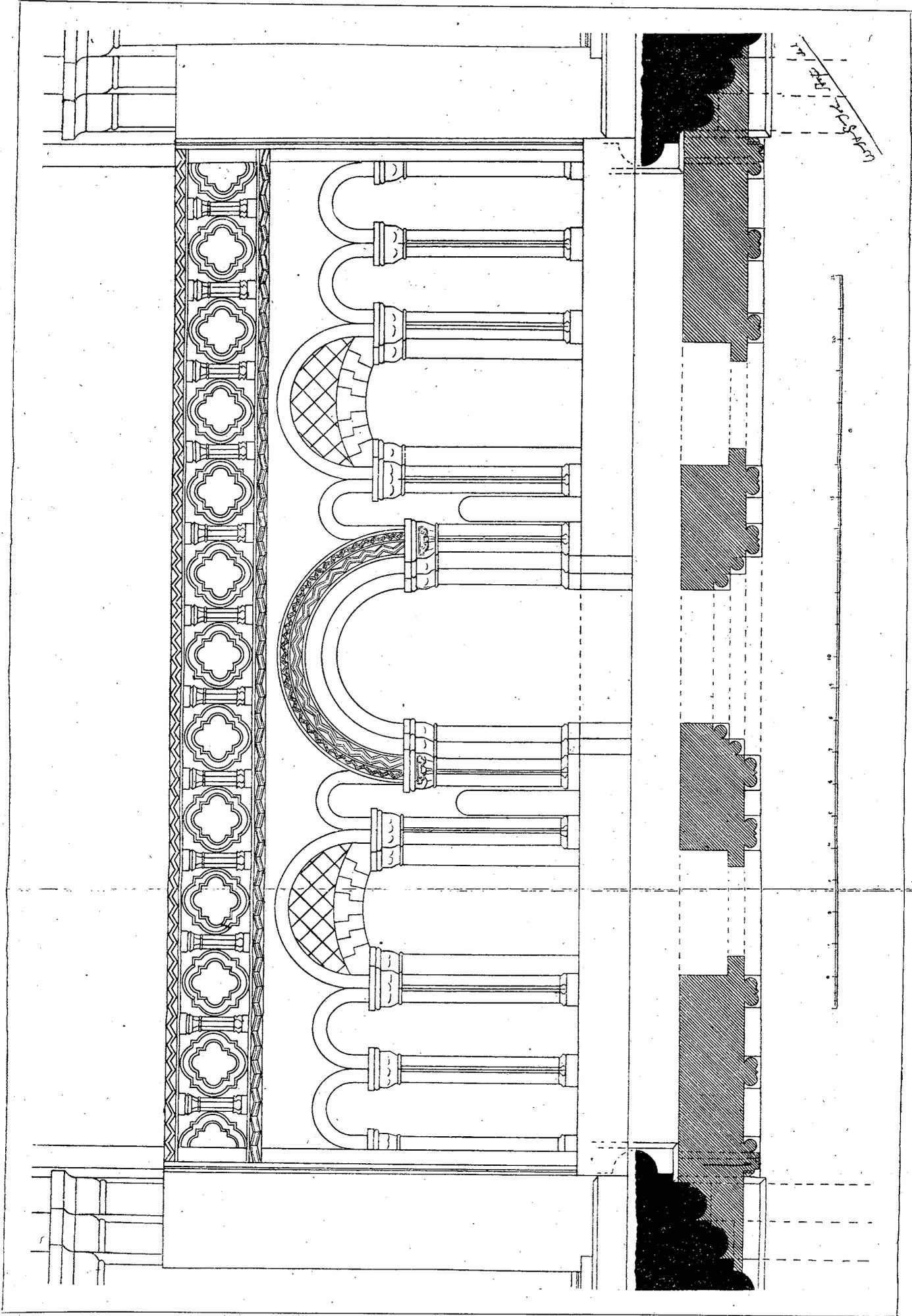


Fig. 1. The roodloft or *pulpitum* formerly in the Cathedral Church of Ely, as restored from Essex's sketches

drawings of details of the screen, with their dimensions¹. These were not enough to enable any proper drawing of the screen to be reconstructed, but Mr Vallance has found in another volume² an unnamed pencil-sketch of part of the elevation which supplied the missing data. Mr Vallance has further most kindly entrusted to me photographs of all four sketches, and from these I have ventured to reconstruct the diagram reproduced in Fig. 1 (Plate I). The sketches are reproduced in Figs. 2-5.

This recovery of the plan, design, and arrangement of the Ely screen forms an important chapter in the history of quire screens. It will therefore be more convenient to discuss the subject at large, and to describe the Ely example in its proper place.

Solid screens bounding the quire westwards were not the rule, and so need not be looked for in parish churches, but are peculiar to churches of monastic or collegiate foundations, or to those served by regular or secular canons.

It is also necessary to observe that no proper appreciation of the subject can be had without a full understanding of the use to which churches were put, and therefore of the reasons why such screens were set up.

This question of use leads to a distinction that must be drawn between churches of monks and regular canons on the one hand, and those of a college or secular canons on the other hand. Their services were of course not unlike, but owing to the difference in manner of living, the churches of the secular chapters were not used in quite the same way as those of men and women who observed a different time-table, and followed a stricter rule than a set of statutes. Both seculars and regulars regarded the quire and presbytery as their private chapel, but whereas the seculars admitted layfolk to their services, the monastic orders discouraged this, and the Cluniacs, Cistercians, Carthusians, and White Canons, as well as the orders of nuns, did not admit strangers even into their churches, except as a special favour.

This liberty of access by layfolk mattered little in a secular

¹ Add. MS. 6768, pp. 122-4.

² Add. MS. 6772, p. 196.

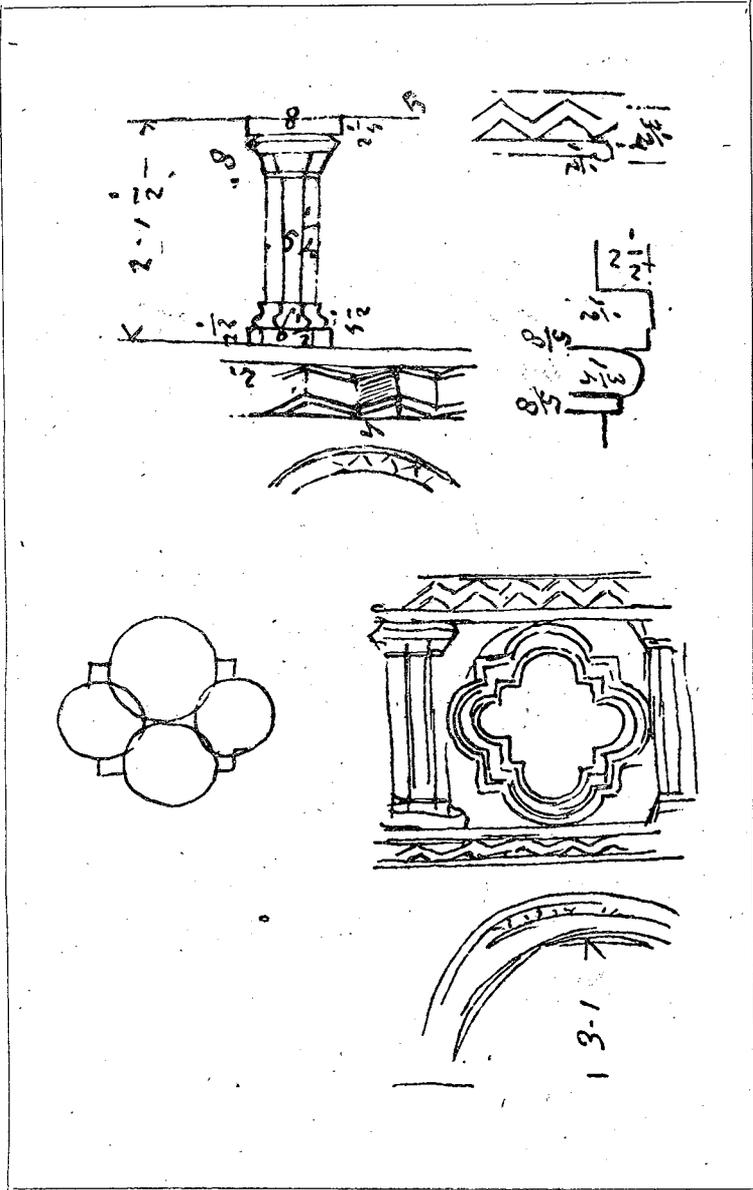


Fig. 2. Sketches by James Essex of parts of the quire screen formerly at Ely

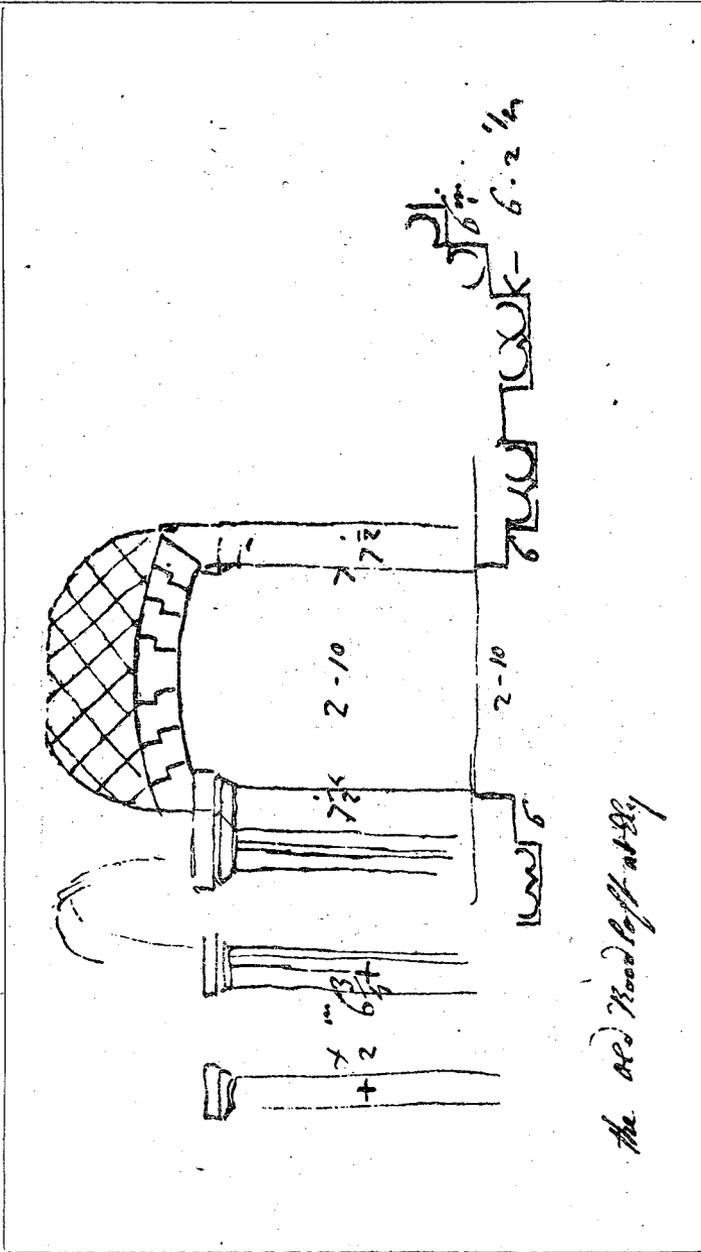


Fig. 4. Sketch by James Essex of part of the quire screen formerly at Ely.

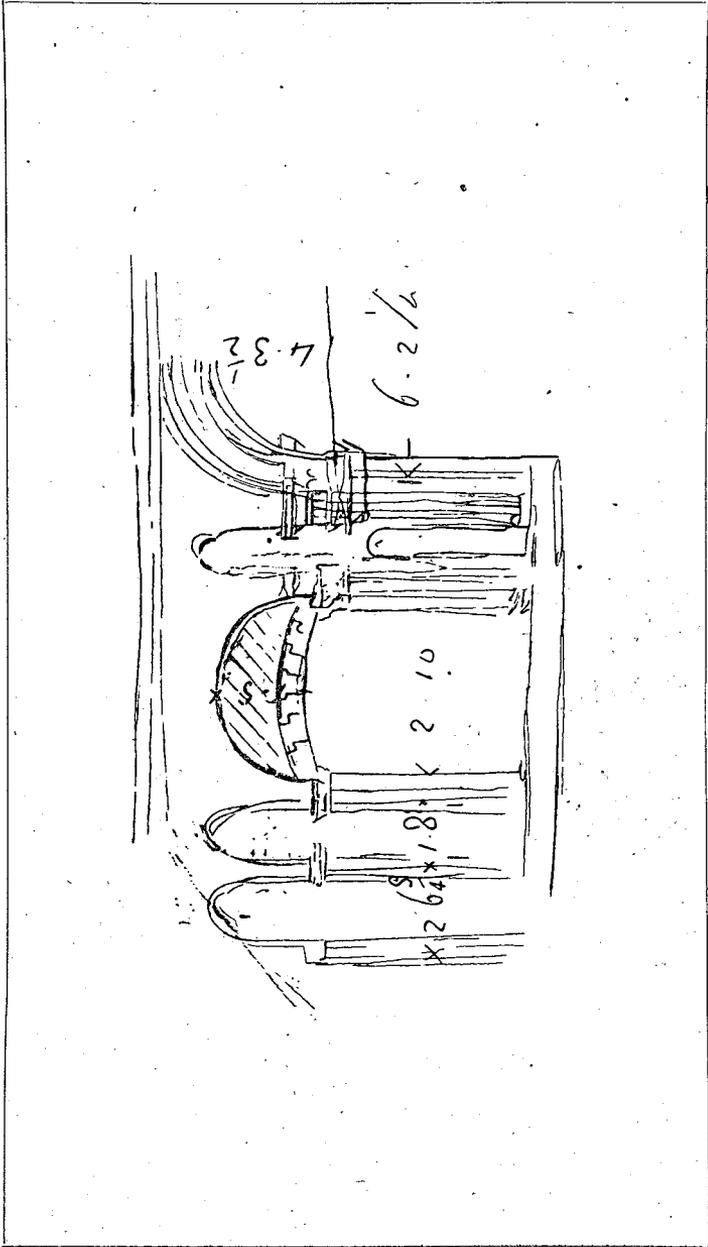


Fig. 5. Sketch by James Essex of part of the quire screen formerly at Ely

church, and accordingly the arrangement of the screens is simple, being confined practically to the enclosure of the quire and presbytery, and the protection of any standing shrine behind the high altar.

But in a monastic house the privacy of the monks, nuns, canons, or friars, who lived in the adjoining cloister, and their freedom of access to the church for the night offices and other services, demanded that their quires should be more closely screened from visitors and be accessible at all times without hindrance. The way in which this was sometimes done, when there were shrines to be visited, as at Christchurch Canterbury, and at Rochester, called for the exercise of some ingenuity, but before continuing the subject a retrospect is necessary in order to introduce other factors.

There can be little doubt that the origin of the solid screens at the western boundary of our quires is to be found in the early practice of the Christian Church of the ceremonial reading of the epistle and the gospel at mass from special lecterns or ambons.

A very early ambon of the sixth or seventh century is preserved, though not in place, in the church of St Apollinare Nuovo at Ravenna, in the form of a marble pulpit standing on pillars. In the duomo at Ravello, though the quire itself has gone, both ambons remain apparently in their places in the nave, below the quire platform: the twelfth-century epistle desk on the north side, with its mosaics of the story of Jonah; the later gospel desk on the south, with its stately ascent, and six supporting pillars resting upon lions. Another fine gospel ambon of the same type stands in another church at Ravello, that of St Giovanni del Toro, and there is yet a third at Scala hard by. A fourth, also of the twelfth century, with its front pillars resting upon lions, exists in the Benedictine abbey church of la Trinità della Cava in the same district. All have a marble eagle to carry the desk for the book, and in the gospel ambons the eagle of course faces north.

The next step in the evolution of the screen may be seen in the cathedral church of Salerno, where the quire and its enclosure are intact. The quire is here shut in westwards by

two high walls of the twelfth century, decorated with marble and mosaic, and connected by a metal screen with gates that give access to the quire. Both walls are thick enough to contain stairs within, ascending to the contemporary epistle and gospel ambons that stand just outside to the west. These ambons, like the staircases, are of marble and mosaic. The epistle ambon on the north is carried upon four pillars and has a projecting semicircular front facing south. The larger and loftier gospel ambon opposite stands on eight pillars. Both the Ravello gospel ambons, that at la Trinità della Cava, and this at Salerno have provision for an altar beneath.

I do not know of any early instance where the next step is exemplified, of combining the two ambons into one loft, from which the epistle and gospel continued to be read. It will be convenient, therefore, to turn to this country, and see what connexion can be established between the Italian ambons and the English solid quire screens.

In the customals and statutes of English churches the Latin name for the solid screen bounding the quire westward is *pulpitum*¹. Its use is definitely fixed in the secular churches, as well as in those of collegiate rank, as the place, loft, or gallery, from which at stated times the epistle and gospel were read; it was also used for minor purposes.

Inasmuch as the monastic orders do not seem to have used the *pulpitum* in quite the same way, it will be desirable to deal first with those in the churches of secular canons.

The important document known as the Consuetudinary of Sarum, though embodying much older rules, is considered by the best and latest authorities to date from about 1210. It must, therefore, have been used in the cathedral church of Old Sarum.

Many of the rules laid down in the Consuetudinary are set out at greater length in the Salisbury document known as the Customary, which seems to have been compiled and elaborated

¹ At Exeter the accounts for its reconstruction from 1317 onwards call it *la pulpytte*, and at Ripon Minster as early as 1354-5 it is called "la purpitle." In the fifteenth century the screen and loft in the old chapel of St Edward and St George in Windsor Castle was likewise called "la pulpete."

from the older forms during the first half of the fourteenth century.

From these two sources it can be shown that the *pulpitum* was used :

- i. For the singing of the lessons at mattins,
- ii. For the reading of the epistle, the singing of the gradual and the alleluya, and the reading of the gospel from an eagle desk on Sundays and all great days ; also
- iii. For the lesson at mass.

It was likewise used :

- iv. For certain functions, when a station was made before the cross or rood that stood above it, as in the Sunday and other processions, and for the singing of the genealogy at mattins on Christmas Day.

When the gospel was not read from the eagle in the *pulpitum* it was read in the presbytery at the lower step of the altar from a desk prepared for it, turned towards the north.

It only remains to add that, as the customals and the rubrics in the service books show, this use of the *pulpitum* at Salisbury was followed at Lincoln, York, Exeter, Hereford, and Lichfield, and it is to be presumed in every other cathedral and collegiate church of secular canons in this country.

The reading of the gospel from a desk surmounted by an eagle, as was the rule at Old Sarum and Salisbury, has its origin in the eagle desks that are so conspicuous on the ambons, and no doubt every church that could afford it had such a one upon the *pulpitum*.

Another of the "ornaments of the church" that in many cases stood in the *pulpitum* was a pair of organs, though for this again the evidence is often but negative. At Exeter a charge *circa Organa claudenda* occurs in the fabric roll for 1286, but the organs are not mentioned again until 1460, and for small repairs in 1479-80. In 1513-4 the large sum of £164 15s. 7½d. was spent *pro Novis Organis in pulpito*¹, so that not only the new

¹ *Compotus predicti domini Johannis Maior Clerici Operis hoc anno pro diversis Rebus emptis et expensis factis, ut patet per unum quaternum Inde factum et super hunc Compotum ostensum pro Novis Organis in pulpito.*

In Expensis [as per lost schedule] xlii. li. iiij.s. vj.d. ob. qa. ; Empeio Stagni,

instrument, but probably the older one that it replaced was set up therein. Various entries in the accounts prove that as early as 1408-9 the organs in Ripon Minster stood 'in le purpytyl¹'; and in 1482 dean Thomas Heywood gave to the cathedral church of Lichfield² the *magna organa in pulpito* which cost £26 3s. 4d.

In a few rare cases, where floor space was limited or otherwise occupied, the *pulpitum* seems to have held an altar. This was so in the old chapel of St Edward and St George in Windsor Castle, since materials for, apparently, a wooden altar *in pulpito* are accounted for in 1382-3.

The old chapel of King's College, Cambridge, also had an altar in the *pulpitum*, as appears from a charge in 1503-4 "pro cirpis pro capella in the Rodeloft"; the two nave altars mentioned in 1476-7 probably stood against it, like two similar altars at Windsor. The church of Stoke-by-Clare College likewise had an altar in the roodloft in 1534.

The *pulpitum* was in every case surmounted, usually upon a beam that crossed the church above it, by the great Rood with its attendant images of Our Lady and St John, and sometimes other figures. Every English example was unhappily destroyed in the sixteenth century, but references to the making, painting, or mending of them are to be met with in accounts, and other notices of them will occur presently.

How far back it is possible to prove the existence of a *pulpitum* in an English church is an interesting question.

The earliest example so far for which documentary evidence is available was set up in Beverley Minster by Ealdred archbishop of York between the years 1060 and 1069:

Above the quire door he also caused to be made a *pulpitum* (or loft) of incomparable work of bronze and gold and silver, and on either side of the

xxxiv. li. x.s. v.d.; Ferramenta, iiij. li. vij.d. ob.; Liberacio denariorum (to Laurence Playssher) lxxj. li. Total, clj. li. xv.s. vij.d. q^a.

[Added:] M^d de x li. datis Lawrencio Playssher per decretum Capituli
ex Rewardo citra hunc comptum . . . summa x. li.
M^d de l plankis emptis de Johanne Gryneway et Resolut.
Domine de Devonshere iiij. li.
Expense Organorum cum Regardo clxiiij. li. xv. s. vij. d. q^a.

¹ J. T. Fowler, *Memorials of Ripon* (Surtees Soc. 81), iii. 137, 161, 162.

² *Archaeologia*, lii. 638.

loft he set up arches, and in the middle above the loft a higher arch carrying on its top a cross, likewise of bronze and gold and silver, skilfully fashioned of Teutonic work¹.

This metal screen at Beverley is not described because a *pulpitum* there was a new thing, but on account of its exceptional character; and it may be assumed that Ealdred's own minster at York also had a *pulpitum* befitting its higher dignity.

At Osmund's church at Old Sarum and Remy's minster at Lincoln, both hallowed in 1092; at Chichester, finished about 1120; and at Lichfield, Southwell, Hereford, and the hospital of St Cross near Winchester, there was in each church a short presbytery with the quire extending westwards under the crossing formed by the middle tower to a *pulpitum* under its western arch, or in the first bay of the nave.

At Wells, in the new church begun and planned by bishop Rainald (1174-91), the quire extended under the tower and into the first bay of the nave, where the stalls abutted against a *pulpitum* between the first pair of piers, with flanking screens in line across the aisles. Against or under the *pulpitum* were two altars, one on either side the quire door, and another pair, right and left, against the nave piers. In the side screens were doorways, referred to in a Statute of 1297 as the *hostia de la Karole*, that is, of the enclosure. All parts of the church eastwards of the bishop's entrance from the cloister were thus completely shut off from the rest of the nave.

This line of screens at Wells has given way to other arrangements due to the enlargement of the building eastwards, but it apparently represented the original scheme, and the evidence for its existence is quite clear².

The placing of altars against the *pulpitum* may be looked upon as a normal feature: the reason being, that despite the admittance of layfolk into the presbytery, the services there

¹ "Supra ostium chori pulpitum opere incomparabili, aere, auro, argenteoque fabricari fecit, et ex utraque parte pulpiti arcus, et in medio supra pulpitum arcum eminentiorem crucem in summitate gestantem, similiter ex aere, auro, et argento, opere Theutonico fabrefactos erexit." *Chronica pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, Digby MS. 140.

² C. M. Church, *Chapters in the Early History of the Church of Wells* (London, 1894), 322-8.

were those of a quire and not of a parish church. Many, too, of these minsters and cathedral churches, including Old Sarum, Lincoln, Chichester, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon, contained altars for parishioners who had an earlier or prescriptive right therein. Now the obvious place for a parish altar was outside the presbytery, and against such a backing as the *pulpitum* that blocked the eastern end of the nave. The fact, too, that this had the quire doorway in the middle, allowed a second altar to be added when necessary.

Attention has already been drawn to the altars beneath the gospel ambons in Italy, and it is quite possible that Ealdred's metal screen at Beverley had altars under its loft.

At Old Sarum the first church, that hallowed in 1092, was enlarged and extended by bishop Roger between 1103 and 1139. In this building, as recent excavations have shown, the quire extended under the new tower westwards to a solid stone *pulpitum* filling the first bay of the nave. In its thickness were stairs to the loft above, and flanking the quire door, on a platform one step below the quire, but two steps above the nave, were two altars. As at Wells there were screens in line with the *pulpitum* across the aisles to complete the barrier between the two halves of the church.

The next change was the removal of the *pulpitum* from the western side to the eastern arch of the tower, on account of the enlarged quire and presbytery obtained by the extensive rebuilding of the eastern limb. This was begun at York by archbishop Roger between 1154 and 1181, and followed in his new work at Ripon. St Hugh did much to enlarge his minster at Lincoln between 1192 and his death in 1200.

At Lichfield, Beverley, and Southwell, the extensions all belong to the early part of the thirteenth century, while at Salisbury the new church begun in 1220 provided in its laying out for presbytery and quire in the eastern limb. At St Paul's in London the eastern limb was twice enlarged in the thirteenth century. The new work at Exeter dates from about 1270, and that at Wells from the middle of the fourteenth century.

On the completion of the quire and presbytery at Salisbury about 1260 there was set up under the eastern arch of the tower

a beautiful *pulpitum* of Purbeck marble. It was about 12½ ft. deep, with two stairs in its thickness, and towards the nave were seven niches on either side the quire door. Above the niches was a parapet to the loft panelled in twelve divisions¹. The niches were originally filled with images of kings, but that did not hinder the setting up below them of a pair of altars, to the north and to the south of the doorway. During the building of the buttressing arches under the tower early in the fifteenth century these altars were taken down and set up on each side of the nave against the tower piers, where they remained. There is some evidence of a third altar, of the Holy Cross, in the rood loft itself.

The new presbytery and quire at Exeter were in building from about 1270 to 1308, and sufficiently completed in 1309–10 for the stalls of the older quire to be set up in the new one. The existing *pulpitum* of stone against which the stalls abut was begun in 1317. In 1318–19 the marble pillars were paid for, more marble was bought, and two altars with marble fronts made. In 1319–20 various iron bars were bought, and in 1323–4 ironwork for its doors and carved heads for the vault. In 1324–5, tiles were bought for the floors; twelve images for the two end panels, ten little images, and an image *in angulo*, were likewise made, all for the decoration of the loft. Lastly, in 1324–5, an iron bar was wrought for carrying the great cross, which was apparently the old rood formerly in the church. The altars under the loft were fenced by enterclosets of iron made in 1323–5.

Of about the same date as the Exeter *pulpitum* is the stone screen at the entrance of the quire at Lincoln. The doorway is here flanked on each side by four tall groined and canopied arches, divided midway by carved brackets for imagery. Below these is rich diaper work, but the similar decoration above the

¹ This was all swept away by Wyatt in 1789 and replaced by a creation of his own, but the wall of niches was preserved and set up in the north-east transept, where it may still be seen. Owing to the more recent growth of the idea that our ministers should "play at being parish-church," Wyatt's screen in turn has gone, and been replaced by an open erection designed by Sir G. G. Scott, who was more responsible than other modern "eminent architects" for the destruction and obliteration of the traditional medieval arrangements of our great churches.

brackets is a late eighteenth-century insertion, and may represent the blocking up of niches that were originally filled with images, perhaps seated figures of kings. There is no trace nor record of any altars. The screen extends backwards for $12\frac{1}{2}$ ft., the thickness being filled on the north by the broad stair up to the loft, and on the south by a vaulted chamber and other features. The quire entry has a flat ceiling carried by a skeleton vault.

The *pulpitum* at St David's was built in the days of bishop Henry of Gower, 1328-47. Its west face seems originally to have had an altar with a reredos of imagery on either side the quire entry, but that to the south was destroyed for the insertion of bishop Henry's tomb. The present way up to the loft is outside at the north end, and clearly the result of modern alteration. The so-called "sanctuary screen" of wood now in the quire just east of the stalls is in the main of the same date as the *pulpitum*, and seems to have been moved from the line between the first piers of the nave, where it stood upon a platform of three steps as a fence to the nave altars, like the iron grates at Exeter.

The stone *pulpitum* at Wells follows in date the completion of the new presbytery and quire by bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury (1329-63), and had a series of five pedestalled and canopied niches with images of kings on either side of the quire entry, and a loft above with panelled front. The middle section of the screen was unhappily brought forward by Mr Salvin in or about 1854 to make more room for a larger organ on the loft.

The stone *pulpitum* which stood in place at Chichester until its removal just before the fall of the steeple in 1861 is credited to bishop John Arundel in 1477. Despite its late date, it was of the Exeter type, with three deep vaulted recesses for the quire entry and two flanking altars, behind which were the stairs up to the loft. The *pulpitum* is preserved at present in the detached bell-tower, but ought of course to be replaced in the church.

The well-known *pulpitum* in York Minster, with its fine array of images of the kings, was begun before 1478 by William Hyndley, master mason. He was working upon the screen with a dozen other masons certainly until 1504, but it was apparently not finished until 1515, when his successor and ten masons were

still working upon it, and the last of the images, that of King Henry VI, was painted. There were no altars against the screen. The great rood seems not to have been set up until 1518.

The system of screens in collegiate, as distinguished from cathedral, churches, is not altogether clear.

Collegiate churches were either (i) partly collegiate and partly parochial, or (ii) wholly independent of any parochial rights, and in no way connected with a parish church.

The first group, which was by far the larger, included

(a) churches like Southwell, Fotheringhay, and Tattershall, having (apparently) a *pulpitum* only at the entrance of the quire, with altars beneath or against it; or

(b) cross churches like Ottery, Ripon, and Howden, with a *pulpitum* for the college under the eastern arch of the crossing, and a second screen with the parish altar against it under the western arch¹.

The first group also includes a third class

(c) of churches like Manchester, Edington, and Irthlingborough, which seem to have had an open wooden roodscreen of the parish church type with a wide loft on top that could be used as a *pulpitum* by the college.

The stone *pulpitum* in Southwell Minster is of early fourteenth century date, and belongs to the Exeter type, with the loft carried by a tall open arcade with three deep recesses behind, having flat ceilings and skeleton vaulting. The middle recess forms the quire entry, and opens into a lobby whence stairs ascend right and left to the loft. The side recesses probably held altars as at Exeter, in which case one may have been the parish altar of St Vincent. The front is flanked by two tall niches, and surmounted by a cornice and pierced parapet.

The "purpytle" in Ripon Minster is contemporary with the quire stalls, which are dated 1494, and has four canopied niches on either side the entry, with a row of twenty-four lesser housings above. There are no recesses for altars, but the pedestals in the two outermost niches are raised on panelled blocks that suggest small altars in front. All the images are gone.

¹ This section, as will be seen later, forms an interesting link between the single secular screens and the double or compound monastic screens.

The stone *pulpitum* in the collegiate church of Howden is also late fifteenth century. It is under the eastern arch of the middle tower, and shows towards the nave the quire entry with a row of niches on either hand, and a loft with panelled front, partly of open work, above. The images now in the niches have apparently been brought from the ruined quire, and do not belong to the screen.

The *pulpitum* in the collegiate church of Tattershall is the latest of the secular examples. It is a solid structure of stone, and has on the west side three broad arched recesses, of which the middlemost contains the quire entry; the side recesses held altars. The stairs up to the loft are formed in the thickness of the screen on the north side, and in the south side is a room lighted by three quatrefoil openings towards the nave. Towards the quire, now that the stalls are destroyed, there shows a blank wall with a doorway in the middle, with the panelled and crested front of the loft above. Over the entrance this is corbelled out as a three-sided oriel towards the quire, like the lofts at Lincoln and Ripon. This interesting screen was built at the costs of Robert Whalley, canon, in 1528¹.

The second group, of churches that were wholly collegiate, included those of destroyed colleges like Rotherham, Pleshy, and Stoke-by-Clare, many of the college chapels at Cambridge and Oxford, and chapels-royal like St Stephen's in the palace of Westminster and that in the castle of Windsor.

Of the arrangements of St Stephen's chapel nothing is definitely known, but it seems to have had an isolated quire with *pulpitum*, etc. like that in the cathedral church of Albi in France.

The Windsor chapel was ordered to be built for the king in 1240, but was entirely refurnished between 1350 and 1353 as the chapel of the newly-founded Order of the Garter. It was in plan a parallelogram, some 70 ft. long, perhaps with an eastern apse, and had towards the west end a *pulpitum* shutting off a shallow antechapel which contained within enterclosets two *altaria bassa* or *exteriora*.

Many of the college chapels at Cambridge resembled that at

¹ *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd S. xviii. 289-293.

Windsor in plan and arrangement (except that none had an apse), and all seem to have had like it the usual minimum of three altars¹. This was certainly the case in the fourteenth-century chapels of University Hall, Trinity Hall, and Pembroke, in the fifteenth-century chapels of King's College and Queens' College, and in the early sixteenth-century chapel of Christ's College; and probably at Gonville Hall, St Katharine's Hall, King's Hall, and Buckingham. (afterwards Magdalene) College, which are known to have had chapels of similar simple plan². At St John's College the church of St John's hospital, which became its chapel, was planned like a friars' church, with a narrow division with steeple over between quire and nave, but was altered in an interesting way to conform to the college type³.

A similar type of chapel prevailed in some of the Oxford colleges, but in William of Wykeham's New College the ante-chapel is a short nave with aisles of the same height, thus

¹ The scholars of Peterhouse at Cambridge used at first as their chapel the adjoining parish church of St Peter outside Trumpington Gates, but about 1350 this was largely rebuilt and rededicated in 1352 in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The new building, which is still in use, though now only as a parish church, is an aisleless parallelogram of six bays. The three easternmost formed the college chapel and were divided from the rest by a *pulpitum* or roodloft with two altars against it, which were not hallowed until 1443. Beyond the enter-closes of these altars, and in the same line, two chantry chapels were built outside between the buttresses: one in 1443, the other about 1515. The rest of the building served as the church of the parishioners. Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge*, i. 50, etc.

² For this and other information on college chapels, see Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge*, etc. (Cambridge, 1886), and particularly the chapter on The Chapel in vol. iii. 484-501.

³ By an indenture dated 20th June 1516 Thomas Loveday of Sudbury, co. Suffolk, carpenter, covenanted to make twenty-four stalls in the new chapel after the same pattern as those in the quires of Jesus College and Pembroke Hall, "and a Rodeloft after and accordyng to the Roodloft and Candell beame in the said Pembroke Hall in Camb. or better in every poynt, wyth imagery and howsyng, such as shall be mete and convenient for the same warks." Willis and Clark, ii. 243.

As in the old chapel of Peterhouse, the two "lowe altars" against the *pulpitum* had chapels in line with them on either side between the external buttresses: that on the north of Hugh Ashton (ob. 1522); that on the south of Dr John Keyton, c. 1533.

affording room for two other altars besides those against the *pulpitum* at the entrance of the quire. The same arrangement was adopted at All Souls, Magdalen, and Queen's Colleges¹.

Before passing on to the second part of this paper a few words may be said as to the directions given by King Henry VI in 1448 with regard to the "rode-lofts," as he calls them, to be set up in the chapels of his projected colleges at Eton and Cambridge.

In the Cambridge chapel there was to be

a reredos beryng the Rodeloft departyng the quere and the body of the church, conteynyng in length .xl. fete, and in brede .xiiiij. fete².

This reredos, which was to be of stone, was duly begun, as the existing remains show, but it was not proceeded with, and eventually was replaced, in the days of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn his queen, by the magnificent Renaissance wooden roodloft which still adorns the chapel. The organs apparently were not set up on it until 1606.

The directions as to the Eton chapel are fuller:

Item, in the saide Quere oon either side xxxii stalles and the rode loft there, I wol that they be made in like maner and fourme as be the stalles and rodeloft in the chapell of saint Stephen atte Westminster, and of the lengthe of .xxxii. fete and in brede clere .xii. fete of assise³.

This scheme was superseded by another, called the "kynges own avyse," for a chapel on a larger scale, containing the direction:

And behynde the Provostes stall unto the qwere dore .vj. fote, for a wey in to the Rodelofte for redyng and syngyng and for the Organs and other manere observance there to be had after the Rewles of the Church of Salesbury⁴,

which confirms in an interesting way several of the points already dealt with. Further on in the "avise" is a direction for

ij Auters in the body of the seid Church to be sett on every side of the qwere dore;

thus bringing the arrangement into line with others that have been noted.

¹ See a paper by Mr Aymer Vallance in *The Archaeological Journal*, lxxvii. 329.

² Willis and Clark, *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge, and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton* (Cambridge, 1886), i. 369.

³ *Ibid.* i. 354.

⁴ *Ibid.* i. 366.

Neither of the screens at Eton projected by King Henry was ever begun, but twenty-seven years later, when the chapel was nearly finished, a new roodloft of wood and quire stalls were contracted for by Walter Nicholl of Southwark, "karver."

The history of the *pulpitum* and its adjuncts in churches of monks or canons regular is by no means so clear as in the case of secular or collegiate churches.

A large number of churches of Black Monks and Black Canons were shared with parishioners who had rights in them. This led to a mutual division of the building whereby the quire part became the church of the convent and the nave that of the parish. Such a division is strikingly illustrated by churches like Bridlington, Binham, Wymondham, and Crowland, where the conventual part has been ruined or destroyed, while the parochial section of the nave has remained in use.

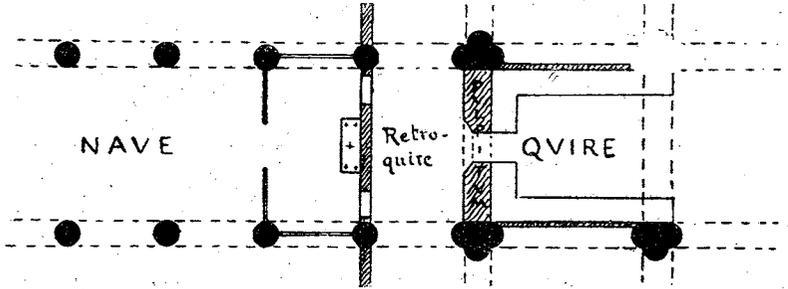
This division was necessitated by a further consideration. Churches of secular canons had not any dwellings attached to them, and only a few had even a cloister. But a monastic church was that of a community which abode under its shadow, in buildings ranged about a cloister adjacent to it. The cloister alleys moreover were to a large extent lived in, and were not mere covered passages about a burying ground as at Wells and Salisbury and Lincoln.

Owing to this intimate relation between church and cloister the quires in the monastic churches largely maintained their original places under the crossing and down the nave, while the secular quires have in every case been moved eastwards; the latest example being in recent years at Hereford, despite the shortness of its presbytery. An original *pulpitum* on the eastern side of the crossing, as at Durham and Bardney, is therefore exceptional, and although many monastic quires were moved eastwards later, in every case the *pulpitum* stood at first under the western arch of the crossing or further west athwart the nave.

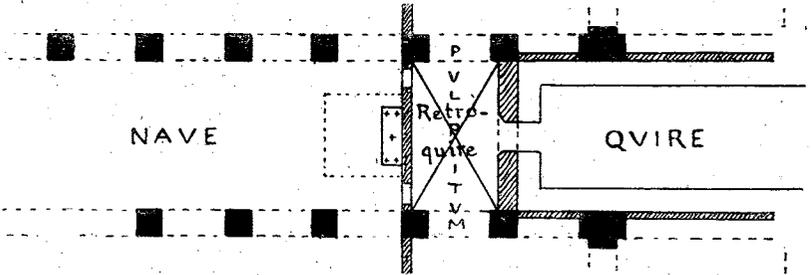
But neither at Durham nor Bardney nor anywhere else did the *pulpitum* stand alone as a solid structure with the quire entry. In a monastic church it consisted of either

- (i) a solid screen like that at York, but with a space in

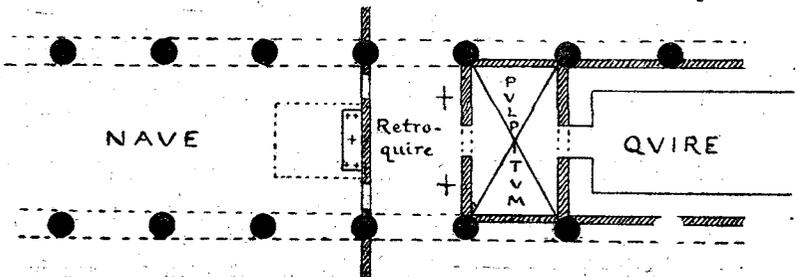
front, bounded by a second screen, usually a bay to the west, against which stood the nave altar between two doorways; or



(ii) of two such screens, or two parallel walls, a bay apart, connected by ceiling over the intervening space, with the nave altar placed against the combined structure; or



(iii) with the nave altar detached from such compound *pulpitum*, and placed against another screen-wall a bay in advance of it.



In all three forms the doorways that flanked the nave altar opened into the space behind; and the wall against which the altar stood served as its reredos and generally had over it the great Rood.

In line with the roodscreen, as the altar-wall may be called, were other screens crossing the aisles, if the church had aisles, and the altar was guarded in front by yet more screens, or by an enterclose like that recorded at Durham.

This multiplication of screens was evidently brought about by practical considerations: one being the more effectual barrier thereby interposed between quire and nave; and another, the creation of the area forming the retroquire.

The retroquire was generally directly opposite to or accessible from the entrance into the church from the cloister, and was used for various purposes: among the Cistercians for the *minuti* (or monks who had been let blood) to sit in during such services, as they had to attend; at Bury St Edmunds as the place for penitents under *gravis culpa*, who were not allowed in quire; and at Durham it contained, as elsewhere, a long form for such brethren as were *extra chorum* to sit upon. Sometimes an altar or altars were set up in it.

Of the three classes of barrier-screens that of which there are most examples may first be dealt with, where the quire is or was wholly east of the crossing.

At Durham and Bardney this has been the case from the beginning of the twelfth century, but both churches replace earlier structures¹, and elsewhere, as at Christchurch in Canterbury, Rochester, Castleacre, and Crowland, a later rebuilding or extension of the presbytery has been followed (as in the case of the great secular churches) by a removal eastwards of the old quire. In all these cases the *pulpitum* is or was under the eastern arch of the middle tower, and the roodscreen under the western arch: the tower area thus formed the retroquire. In no church are both screens now standing, but the traces of them may often be found on the piers, while at Bardney, Castleacre, and elsewhere, their remains have been uncovered by excavations.

¹ Walcher's church at Durham, which was also cruciform in plan, is definitely stated by the monk Rainald to have had its quire under the crossing.

Both an earlier and a later *pulpitum* at Durham seem to be described in *Rites*.

From this notable record it may be gathered that there was a *pulpitum* contemporary with the first fitting up of the quire in the twelfth century, decorated with two tiers of images of kings and bishops with "scriptures" under.

This earlier *pulpitum* was rebuilt or new-faced by prior John Wessington (1416-46), who is credited with the making of "*le Rerdoose ad ostium chori*" at a cost of £69 4s. It is thus referred to in *Rites*:

In the former part of the quire of either side the west dore or cheife entrance therof without the quire dore in the lanthorne were placed in there severall roomes one above another the most excellent pictures, all gilted veye beautifull to behould of all the kinges and queenes, as well of Scotland as England which weere devout and godly founders and benefactors of this famous Church and sacred monument of St. Cuthbert to incite and provoke there posteritie to the like religious endeavours in there severall successions whose names hereafter followeth.

Of the corresponding roodscreen *Rites* gives a very detailed description:

In the body of the church betwixt two of the hiest pillors supportinge and holding up the west syde of the Lanterne over against the quere dore ther was an alter called Jesus alter where Jhesus mess was song every fridaie thorowe out the whole yere. And of the backsyde of the saide alter there was a faire high stone wall and at either end of the wall there was a dore w^{ch} was lockt every night called the two Roode Dores for the prosession to goe furth and comme in at, and betwixt those ij dores was Jhesus alter placed as is afforesaide, and at either ende of the alter was closed up wth fyne wainscott like unto a porch adjoyninge to cyther roode dore...and in the wainscott at the south end of the alter ther was iiij faire almireh...and in the north end of thalter in the wainscott there was a dore to come in to the said porch and a locke on yt to be lockt both daie and nighte: Also ther was standing on the alter against the wall aforesaid a moste curiouse and fine table with ij leves to open and clos againe all of the hole Passion of our Lord Jesus christ most richlye and curiously sett furth in most lyvelie coulors all like the burninge gold...the w^{ch} table was alwaies lockt up but onely on principall daies. Also the fore part of the said porch from the utmoste corner of the porch to the other, ther was a dore wth two brode leves to open from syde to syde, all of fyne joined and through carved worke. The hight of yt was sumthinge above a mans brest and in the highte of the said dore yt was all stricken full of Irone pikes y^t no man shold clymme over...Also there was in the hight of the

said wall from pillar to pillar the whole storie and passion of o^r Lord wrowghte in stone most curiously and most fynely gilte and also above the said storie and passion was all the whole storie and pictures of the xij apostles verie artificiallye sett furth and verie fynely gilte contening frome the one pillar to thother...and on the hight above all theses foresaide storyes frome pillar to pillar was sett up a border very artificially wrowght in stone wth mervelous fyne coulers verie curiouslie and excellent fynly gilt wth branches and flowres...the worke was so fynely and curiously wrowghte in the said stone yt it cold not be fynelyer wrowght in any kynde of other mettell, and also above the hight of all upon the waule did stande the most goodly and famous Rood that was in all this land, wth the picture of Marie on thone syde and the picture of Johne on thother, wth two splendent and glisteringe archangeles one on thone syde of Mary and the other of the other syde of Johne, so what for the fairness of the wall the staitlynes of the pictures and the lyvelyhoode of the paynting it was thought to be one of the goodliest monuments in that church.

Also on the backsyde of the said Rood before the queir dore there was a Loft, and in the south end of the said loft the clocke dyd stand, and in under the said loft by the wall there was a long forme w^{ch} dyd reche from the one Rood dore to the other, where men dyd sytt to rest theme selves on and say their praiers and here devyne service¹.

Of the date of this roodscreen nothing is known, but it may have been a rebuilding by prior John Wessington of one that had accompanied the twelfth-century *pulpitum*.

The division between the eastern and western parts of Durham was completed, on the south by a screening off of the first bay of the aisle to form a porch or entry from the cloister into the transept², and on the north by a lofty wooden screen filling the arch between aisle and transept. This is described in *Rites* as a trellis extending almost to the height of the vault, with its top "stricken full of Iron pikes of a quarter of a yerd long to thentent y^t none should clyme over it," and in it was "a trellesdoure w^{ch} did open and close wth two leves like unto a falden dor³."

Though both the Durham screens have unhappily gone, the screens full of imagery existing at Canterbury and York enable

¹ *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc. 107), 32-4.

² In an earlier state of things the cloister doorway was in the west wall of the transept, as was also the case at Ely, and the arch in the south aisle was then probably closed by a trellis-screen like that in the north aisle.

³ *Rites of Durham* (Surtees Soc. 107), 37.

an idea to be formed of the appearance of the *pulpitum*¹. The lost roodscreen, too, can be paralleled by existing examples, notably by that at Crowland, which stands with its two doorways complete, under the western arch of the crossing. The west face is quite plain, save for a frieze of quatrefoiled panels, and was probably covered with wainscoting. On the backside the doorways have carved spandrels and the face of the wall is covered with panelling with traceried heads, all of rich fourteenth century work, surmounted by a deep frieze of shields and quatrefoils.

The arrangement of the screens at Bardney² is known only by their remains as disclosed by recent excavations. The *pulpitum* is represented by the base of a thick wall just west of the eastern crossing piers, against which the quire stalls were returned. The roodscreen, with the nave altar on its western face, was not under the western arch of the crossing, but between the first pair of the nave piers, with another screen, perhaps with a doorway through, in line with it across the south aisle. Another screen, with an altar against it, crossed the north aisle, but not quite in the same line as the roodscreen. The building of this line of screens at this point across the nave was evidently to allow the cloister doorway to the south to open directly into the retroquire behind them.

At Castleacre, when the site was excavated in 1889, the bases of both screens were found. That of the *pulpitum*, under the east arch of the crossing, consisted of two parallel walls, about 3 ft. apart, with a recess on either side of the quire entry, probably for wooden stairs up to the loft. The wall of the roodscreen extended under the west arch of the crossing, and was 26 in. thick, with a stone bench along its eastern face. The jambs of the two doorways had been torn out, but the base of the nave altar remained on the west side and the extent of its platform could be fixed by the limits of the tile paving. There

¹ Those at Ripon and Christchurch Twynham were of the same type.

² In later times the screen arrangements at Glastonbury seem to have been similar to those at Bardney, but the westward position of the roodscreen was ruled not only by the cloister doorway but by the great flight of steps at the end of the nave that led up to the level of the quire and presbytery.

was apparently a fence screen between the first pair of piers, and north and south there was a chapel in each aisle. That to the south, which filled two bays, was so planned, like Durham, as still to allow access to the church by the cloister doorway.

Other examples of the Durham arrangement existed, but as the result, like Castleacre, of later changes, at Christchurch in Canterbury, Christchurch Twynham, Milton Abbas, Carlisle, Rochester, and Hexham, where the *pulpitum* is left in each case; also at Boxgrove, Tynemouth, Waltham Holy Cross, and Wymondham, where the wall of the roodscreen with its two doorways is left.

The existing screen arrangements at Christchurch, Canterbury, deserve extended notice on account of their history and recorded dates.

In Lanfranc's days the monks' quire was in the nave, but after the rebuilding of the eastern arm under archbishop Anselm by priors Ernulf (till 1107) and Conrad (till 1126) the quire was moved eastwards of the great tower, where it occupied the same area as now. It was shut off from the aisles, the historian Gervase says, by a wall built of marble slabs¹, which was probably returned across the west end and had the quire entry through it.

The area of the great tower now became the retroquire, and Gervase describes how "a *pulpitum*" (or "screen with a loft" as Professor Willis translates it) "in a manner separated the aforesaid tower from the nave, and on the nave side it had in its middle the altar of the Holy Cross. Above the loft was a beam placed athwart the church, which sustained the great Rood and two cherubim and images of St Mary and St John the Apostle."² Gervase further notes that "from the (north) cross (or transept) to the tower and from the tower to the quire many steps ascended, but from the tower there was a descent through a new door into the south cross; there was also a descent from the tower into the nave through two doors (*per duas valvas*)."

¹ The moulded base of this remains.

² It is interesting to compare this description with that of the Rood, etc. at Durham given in *Rites*.

All these steps were due to the new quire being raised, as it still is, upon a lofty undercroft; otherwise the arrangements correspond with those at Durham.

The screen described by Gervase escaped the fire, for he recounts how the monks "put together as well as they could an altar and a station for themselves in the nave (*aulā*) of the church where they could wail (*ejularent*) rather than sing the day and night hours" and that they placed the relics, etc. which they had rescued as reverently as they could "in the nave at the altar of the Holy Cross." The brethren he says "remained in grief and sorrow for five years in the nave (*aula*) of the church, separated from the people by a low wall (*muro parvulo*)," an arrangement that was evidently deemed indecent.

The twelfth century *pulpitum*, or whatever formed the western boundary of the quire, seems also to have escaped the fire and to have continued in use in the new work.

The way through it was apparently open, for one of archbishop Robert of Winchelsey's statutes in 1298 enjoins the prior immediately to have constructed

a fair and strong wooden door with a strong and decent lock at the entry of the quire towards the west [with a fitting lock] so that it can be shut; and let it be kept and shut at the proper times lest free ingress through the quire be open to anyone passing, and so that greater security by this means may be provided for the upper part of the church, where great peril could often threaten.

The archbishop also directs that

the two small doors placed under the great loft between the body of the church and the quire, through the two sides next to the altar under the great Rood of the church, shall remain shut, except by reason of divine service, or the unavoidable egress and ingress of a minister is imminent, or in time of solemn processions¹.

In 1304-5, following upon the setting up of new stalls in 1298-9, prior Henry of Eastry effected "the reparation of the whole quire with three new doorways and a new *pulpitum*." Of these doorways the northern *ostium presbyterii* remains; the *pulpitum* with the third doorway is also in being, though

¹ R. Willis, *The Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (London, 1845), 110, where the Latin text is given in the notes.

masked eastwards by the present returned stalls, and westwards by a later facing with images of kings¹.

The facing with the images of the kings is one of the recorded works of prior Thomas Chillenden, 1390-1-1411, who is credited, among other good deeds, with "the nave of the church...with the apparatus of the stair and the *pulpitum* there," etc. This reconstruction of the nave possibly involved the rebuilding of Anselm's roodscreen, but the altar of the Holy Cross was duly replaced against it.

In the time of prior Thomas Goldston II, between 1495 and (probably) 1501, the buttressing arches were added to the great tower, and it is reasonable to suppose that the altar of the Holy Cross was then removed: probably into the chapel in the north aisle vacated in 1455 by the transfer of the altar of Our Lady into her new chapel east of the north transept. Here, apparently, the altar remained until the Suppression. It is described in the sacrist's account for 1531-2 as *altare sancte crucis in navi ecclesie*, but this applies equally well to the position of the old Lady chapel, which is itself described in the list of Chillenden's benefactions as *in eadem navi*. In the great inventory of 1540 the altar appears for the last time as "the crosse aulter."

When the buttressing arches were finished the western arch was filled, not by a roodscreen and its altar, but, as shown in Dart's view, by a lofty iron grate carried up to the springing and standing three steps above the nave floor. Mr Vallance has pointed out the curious fact that it "should have been fitted with two gates, having an intermediate barrier of iron-work between them; precisely on the plan of the former roodscreen²." These openings would have served as of old for the passage of the Sunday and other processions. The grate was left standing until 1748, when it was taken down and parts of it transferred to the south and west porches, where

¹ The east face of prior Henry's *pulpitum* was temporarily uncovered by Sir Gilbert Scott, who in 1875 contributed to *The Archaeological Journal* (xxxii. 86-88) a detailed account, with excellent illustrations, of its design and arrangement and coloured decoration.

² *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vi. 193.

they still remain¹. The ironwork seems to be of prior Goldston's time.

A few words must be said as to the flanking screens at Canterbury. Until 1455, when the new Lady chapel was first used, the east end of the north aisle had formed the Lady chapel ever since Lanfranc's time. On the transfer of the altar it may be assumed that the wall against which it had stood was left to continue the line of the roodscreen barrier; and it would of course so serve even if the Holy Cross altar were set up in front of it. On the south side the arrangement was different, and the arch into the transept was open for the passage of pilgrims. But the existing wall down the side of the great flight of steps, and a door therein, formed the southern boundary of the retroquire, and an iron grate with gates stood athwart the quire aisle at the top of the steps to the upper church.

The mid-fourteenth-century *pulpitum* at Christchurch Twynham in Hants has been well described in *The Archaeological Journal* for 1848 by the late Mr Benjamin Ferrey². It is of stone, and stands 6 ft. in advance of the eastern piers of the crossing. It has a plain plinth, with a deep band above of cusped quatrefoils with shields, upon which stand two series of canopied niches or housings, now empty, five on either side the quire doorway in the middle. The doorway has a horizontal lintel like the old Salisbury screen. Above the housings is a second but continuous row of twelve shorter niches, of which the two middlemost are narrower than the rest. Owing to the projection of the screen westwards, both tiers of niches are returned across the ends, as at Wells and Exeter. Within the entry on the north side is an ascending flight of steps to the loft. The corresponding roodscreen under the western arch of the crossing has been destroyed.

The eastern part of the church at Rochester was rebuilt on a much larger scale during the first quarter of the thirteenth century, and in 1227 the quire which formed the western half of the new work was used for the first time. The monks'

¹ See *Archaeologia*, lxii. pl. xliii.

² Vol. v. 142-5 and plate opposite p. 73.

massive oak forms of that date remain, and the eastern side, also of wood, of the *pulpitum*. This is wainscoted for several feet above the backs of the stalls, and was once decorated with painting. Above the wainscoting is an arcade, originally open, of small trefoiled arches carried by slender octagonal shafts, now boarded up and painted. The whole was surmounted by a moulded rail. The doorway was square-headed, and the stalls right and left of it, of the bishop and the prior, seem to have had canopies with carved figures of angels. There was no tower over the crossing until late in the thirteenth century, and soon after that was built the western face of the *pulpitum* was reconstructed in stone, with a moulded doorway in the middle and a recess for an altar under its northern half. The southern half probably contained the stair to the loft. The screen now has a flight of ten steps from the crossing up to the doorway, and its old plain front has been covered with modern imagery, but originally the steps probably formed a platform across its width, as at Canterbury.

When the tower was built preparations were made for a tall stone screen athwart its western arch, which accordingly has the bases of its shafts stopped at the level of the top of the screen. Against the screen, which represented an earlier one, probably on the same line, stood the parish altar of St Nicholas. This altar is named in a charter of 1107 and remained in the nave until 1423, when, following upon the usual quarrel, it was transferred into a new church for the parishioners which was built outside. After this there is no further record of a nave altar and it is possible that the screen was removed at the same time. Henceforth the rood seems to have stood upon a loft in front of the large arched recess in the north transept, and various wills from 1480 onwards refer to it. The altar within the recess was known as the rood altar and later as the altar of Jesus.

The only other wooden *pulpitum*, except one at Carlisle of which I have no notes, is that under the eastern arch of the crossing of the priory church of Hexham. It is of late fifteenth or early sixteenth-century date, being the work of prior Thomas Smithson (1491-1514), and has to the front five compartments,

the middlemost of which forms the entry to the quire. The other compartments stand upon a stone plinth and are panelled as to their lower parts and have elaborate flamboyant tracery above. Over the compartments is a groined cove carrying the front of the loft, which has a row of twenty-one housings for images, all now gone. The loft down to 1859 was reached at either end by a stone vice, and was originally 8 ft. wide with a panelled front coved out towards the quire with a polygonal bay in the middle like the screens at Lincoln and Tattershall. The total height was 17 ft. and the depth $5\frac{1}{2}$ ft., but in recent years these dimensions have been altered to make more room for the organ. The whole *pulpitum* was richly decorated with painting and gilding, remains of which may still be seen¹.

Whether there was a nave in being at the Suppression of the priory, and whether it contained a roodscreen or parish altar, are questions that I have not yet been able to solve, but apparently the parish church was a separate building to the south east. There is, however, preserved in the priory church a series of painted and traceried panels, with five others at a higher level breaking forth pulpit-wise, of late fifteenth-century work, which is called "the old pulpit." It is $15\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, and in a plan made by John Carter about 1780, is shown standing against the wall then blocking the east end of the nave². It is suspiciously like the upper part of a roodscreen.

Of cases where only the western screen is left, mention has already been made of that at Crowland. Reference may, however, also be made to those at Boxgrove, Tynemouth, and Dunstable, as well as to the peculiar example at Wymondham. The western screen is also left at Waltham Holy Cross, and a few other places.

¹ Both screen and loft have suffered drastic treatment at the hands of the "restorers," as may be gathered, first, from the descriptions and illustrations in Mr C. C. Hodges's monograph on the priory church (*The Abbey Church of Hexham* (1888), 47, 48 and pls. xliii-xlvi), and secondly from a paper by Mr Aymer Vallance on "The Pulpitum and Rood-Screen in Monastic and Cathedral Churches" in the *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vi. 185-200.

² C. C. Hodges, *The Abbey Church of Hexham* (1888), 47 and pls. xlvii-xlviii.

The parish church of Boxgrove was given in the first quarter of the twelfth century to a small priory of Black Monks brought hither from the abbey of l'Essay in Normandy, who seem to have begun to the east of it a cruciform church. The work was resumed after a considerable interval late in the century, when the tower was carried up on new piers and the parish church rebuilt to form the nave. In the middle of the thirteenth century the priory church was greatly enlarged by a rebuilding of all east of the transepts.

The monks' quire was probably at first under the tower, with the *pulpitum* in the first bay of the nave, and the rood-screen between the second pair of piers. When the eastern arm was rebuilt the quire was moved into it, and the *pulpitum* re-erected under the eastern arch of the tower. But the rood-screen, being the barrier between the monks and the parishioners, kept its place in the nave. After the Suppression the grantee, Lord La Warr, seems to have transferred the monastic church to the parishioners, who thereupon continued the roodscreen wall up to the vault and pulled down their own church west of it. It thus happens that the roodscreen forms the lower part of the present west wall of the church. I have not seen it for some years, but it has a round-headed doorway at each end and the altar space between has a recess in the wall right and left of it. The wall is apparently of the twelfth century. In line with it across the south aisle (there is no aisle to the north) is another wall closing up the arch, but with a fourteenth-century doorway in the middle (now blocked).

About 1195 the priory church of Tynemouth in Northumberland was considerably enlarged and extended east of the crossing. The quire seems at first to have been in the nave, but was now moved into the new work and the *pulpitum* set up in the eastern arch of the tower. The line of the rood-screen was also moved eastwards, but only to the west side of the tower, where the new screen yet stands in the middle of the ruins of the church. It is a thin wall of stone, of no great height, showing to the west a plain surface against which the nave altar stood, with a round-headed doorway right and left. On the eastern face the doorways have between them an

arcade of five narrow pointed arches carried by detached shafts, standing upon a bench-table. The wall is surmounted by a stringcourse, and has raised upon it the remains of a rubble wall, probably to form a division between the monks' church and the parish church in the nave¹. There are no traces of the *pulpitum*.

The roodscreen that formed the division between the parish church and that of the Black Canons at Dunstable is a stone wall which has towards the nave traces and remains of the altar and its reredos, with the usual flanking doorways, all of late fourteenth-century date. The wooden fence-screen to the nave altar is also preserved, and has lately been moved back from the west end of the church to its probable original place².

The screen arrangements in the priory church of Wymondham were somewhat unusual. The twelfth-century tower over the crossing seems either to have collapsed or been taken down early in the fifteenth century, and in its stead a new tower was built directly over the retroquire, which occupied the first three bays of the nave. The north and south walls of this new steeple were formed by walling up all the openings of arcade, triforium, and clerestory and then building up a square tower surmounted by an octagonal belfry. The eastern side of this rested upon a lofty arch spanning the church, and the western side upon a solid wall starting from the floor. This wall is perfectly bare for the whole height towards the nave, and the altar that stood against it was flanked, as far apart as possible, by two very small and narrow doorways opening eastwards. This thick western wall of the tower thus forms the roodscreen³. The *pulpitum* stood on the line of the western arch of the earlier tower.

The next class of screen consisted of two parallel walls, with the retroquire that formed the intervening bay roofed or ceiled over to form the *pulpitum* and roodloft. The eastern

¹ See a paper by Mr W. H. Knowles, F.S.A., on "The Priory Church of St Mary and St Oswin, Tynemouth, Northumberland," in *The Archaeological Journal*, lxvii. 1-50.

² See a paper by the late Mr Worthington G. Smith, with illustrations, in *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.*, 2nd S. xxiii. 154-7.

³ See the plan of the church in *Archaeologia*, xxvi. pl. xxx, opp. p. 292.

wall had the quire entry in the middle, but the western wall had two doorways, one at each end, with the nave altar between them on its front. Above the screen was the great Rood.

From the earliest example that can be described having been at Ely, screens of this form may be said to belong to the Ely class.

The monastical church of Ely was begun by abbot Simeon (1081-93), continued by his successor, and finished in the days of the third of the bishops of Ely, Geoffrey Ridel (1174-89).

The stalls of the monks extended under the middle tower and into the first bay of the nave, and there abutted against a *pulpitum* which filled the second bay and had the cloister entrance directly to the south¹. The *pulpitum* in question is that which forms the main subject of this paper.

The western face of the screen was of stone, and had the altar of the Holy Cross in the middle, with the procession doors on either side. Before this altar the second bishop, Nigellus or Neel, was buried in 1169, and not improbably the screen was set up early in his episcopate, which began in 1133.

The front of the screen had other screens, also of stone, in line with it across the aisles², and the Cross altar was protected by screens within the flanking arches and by another in front of it between the next or third pair of piers.

The altar of the Holy Cross is mentioned in the Sacrist's account for 1291-2, and served as the altar of the parish of St Peter until 1360, when, in consequence of the usual discord produced by the simultaneous performance of the monastic and parish offices within so short a distance of each other, a separate church was built for the parishioners against the north wall of the nave (since destroyed). In the record of its consecration by bishop Simon Langham (1362-66) it is called the church of St Cross. But the altar in the nave remained, and is still referred to in later accounts as *altare ad crucem*.

The *pulpitum*, or at any rate the western face of it, escaped

¹ There was however, as at Durham, an earlier cloister entrance into the south transept.

² There are housings for images which were connected with these on the pillars in both aisles.

destruction when the middle tower collapsed in February 1321–2, but the plan of the church published by Browne Willis in 1730 (Fig. 6, Plate II) suggests that the eastern side had undergone alteration when the new stalls were set up in the octagon, since they abut against it in an unusual way. The same plan shows a vice in each end of the retroquire, but differing in size and form, and apparently a row of posts behind the west wall. The posts were probably for the greater security of the organ that stood upon the loft, but they may have been connected with the seats placed in the western part of the loft for the bishop, dean, and prebendaries, when sermons were preached in the nave. This may also explain why there were two stairways up to the loft.

The *pulpitum* as shown in Browne Willis's plan remained in place until 1770, when the stalls were moved eastwards into the presbytery. The screen was not however moved with them, but taken down and broken up.

James Essex, the architect responsible for this unnecessary act of barbarism, made, as has already been noted, a number of sketches of parts of the screen before its destruction, from which it has been possible to restore it on paper (Fig. 1, Plate I)). Essex also wrote a description of the screen for Mr James Bentham's *History of Ely* in which he says:

The front of it was a solid wall, pierced with three doors, and decorated with small pillars and feint arches, behind [? above] which was a low arcade which supported the rood loft, the walls or battlements of which are composed of open-work of little pillars and circles. The way up to this gallery was by a stone staircase, on the north side, still remaining¹.

From the limits of the limewash on the piers, which was not added until after the *pulpitum* had been set up, it can be seen that the front wall stood immediately to the west of the vaulting shafts, with its face almost flush with the inner shafts of the nave arches, and that it was 2 ft. 6 in. thick. Its extreme width was 32 ft. 9 in. and its height from the floor 14 ft. 6 in.

According to Essex's sketches the wall had a plain base or plinth of masonry, upon which stood the arcade and doorways.

¹ James Bentham, *History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Ely*, 2nd edition (Norwich, 1812), Addenda, 3.

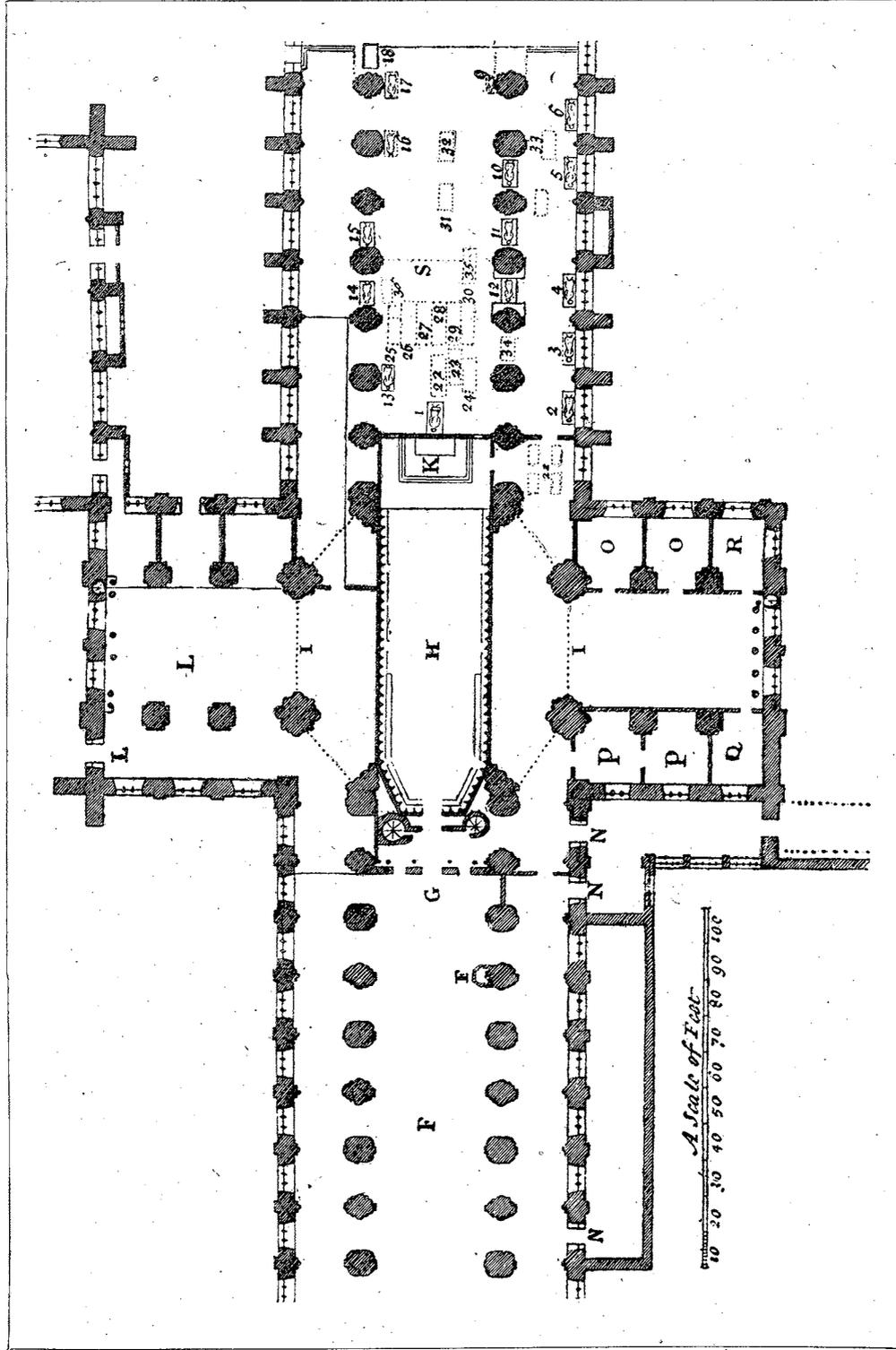


Fig. 6. Part of Browne Willis's plan of the Cathedral Church of Ely, showing the positions of quire and pulpitum down to 1770

The large middle opening is shown cut down to the floor to form the quire entry, but the two side openings retain their original level. The altar platform must therefore have extended in front of and beyond them and was perhaps two steps high. The middle opening was like a tall doorway of three orders and $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. span. Originally however it must have been a recess, in front of or within which stood the altar of Holy Cross, and its narrowness is quite in accord with what is known of the size of twelfth-century altars. The recess was flanked by two tall and narrow stilted arches, with shallow niches of half their height at the back, and beyond them were the rood doorways. These were 2 ft. 10 in. wide, and $6\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the sill to the springing. The outer arch had apparently a plain roll resting on grooved shafts, but there was an inner arch springing from square jambs with capitals like the outer shafts. This inner arch was segmental, with a single row of voussoirs joggled together, and the space above was filled in, tympanum fashion, with squared blocks of *opus reticulatum* set lozengewise¹. From the rood doors to the vertical member next the piers the wall space at each end was covered by two tall and round-headed "feint arches" as Essex calls them. The outer member of the altar recess seems from his sketch to have been carved with two concentric rows of zigzag mouldings.

At about $11\frac{1}{2}$ ft. from the floor was the open parapet to the loft. It was just 3 ft. high and consisted of a row of thirteen pierced and moulded quatrefoils, alternating with small clustered shafts. These stood upon a string-course with zigzag moulding, and along the top edge was a similar moulded string-course, but of different pattern.

The nave altar probably survived the suppression of the monastery, but was afterwards removed, its platform taken away, and the recess opened out to form a more convenient quire entry than the smaller side doors. Whether these were

¹ In the north aisle of the infirmary hall at Ely is a doorway with similarly joggled lintel and tympanum filled in with *opus reticulatum* of somewhat unusual pattern. But apparently it is somewhat later in date than the *pulpitum* and has an outer moulding like that used by the builders of the added stage of the Galilee.

then walled up is not known; Browné Willis shows them as open.

Of the same class as the Ely *pulpitum*, and apparently of even earlier date, was that at Winchester.

Here the quire, as it does yet, extended under the tower and into the nave, where the stalls abutted on a *pulpitum* filling the second bay. Owing however to the crypt that underlies presbytery and quire, the *pulpitum* stood upon a raised platform, with steps at each end up to the retroquire, and others, now in two series of four, from the nave altar down to the nave level. The cloister doorway opened directly opposite the retroquire.

From the existing state of the nave piers north and south of the platform it is clear that the *pulpitum* was a contemporary work with them.

According to Rudborne, bishop Walkelin, the first builder, 1070—1097-8, was buried "in navi ecclesie ad gradus sub pulpito in quo" he notes "erigitur crux argentea magna Stigandi archiepiscopi cum duabus imaginibus argenteis magnis, ad pedes videlicet Willelmi Gyffard quondam Wyntoniensis episcopi," who succeeded Walkelin and died in 1128-9.

The eleventh-century *pulpitum* seems to have survived the alterations made by William of Wykeham, and continued down to the reign of king Charles I, when it was superseded by a classical screen wall designed by Inigo Jones with bronze effigies by Le Seuer of king James I and king Charles I. This was removed in 1820, and replaced by a "Gothic" screen designed by Mr Garbett, on which however the images of the kings were retained. This screen in its turn was destroyed by Sir G. G. Scott and a new thing, copied from the fourteenth-century stall canopies, erected behind the returned stalls. The bronze images of the kings were then set up on either side of the great west door¹, where they still remain. The pieces of the Inigo Jones screen, after lying for years in the triforium, were offered in February 1909 to the Mayor and Corporation of

¹ A similar treatment was meted out by Sir Gilbert Scott to a fine classical organ screen in Beverley Minster with figures of King Athelstan and St John of Beverley.

Winchester, but were then too fragmentary to be used, and the doorway eventually found its way to Cambridge, where it has been built up in the new Museum of Archaeology.

Stigand's silver rood existed down to the Suppression, and is thus described in an undated inventory of that time :

Item in ye body of ye church a gret crosse and the image of Christ & marie & John being of plate silver and partlye gilt¹.

Concerning the dedication of the nave altar, and the various transverse and protection screens in connexion with it, no information at present is forthcoming.

The only example of the Ely class of screen now standing is at St Albans. Here the whole church seems to have been built by abbot Paul of Caen, who ruled from 1077 to 1093, and it was hallowed in 1115.

The quire of the monks occupied the space under the great tower and two bays of the nave, a position it always retained despite later changes east and west. The stalls abutted against a *pulpitum* filling the third bay. This had against it a rood altar, which was hallowed by Godfrey bishop of St Asaph in 1163 or 1164.

Early in the thirteenth century the *pulpitum* seems to have been rebuilt.

In 1323 part of the south side of the nave fell down, and apparently involved the *pulpitum* in its ruin. The rebuilding of the arcade was finished about 1345, under abbot Michael of Mentmore, for whom

Dan Hugh archbishop of Damascus hallowed three altars in the south part of the church newly builded, namely of St Mary, of St Thomas archbishop of Canterbury and St Oswin, and of St Benet and other doctors.

There are reasons for supposing that these altars stood severally under the three westernmost of the newly built arches.

Following on this work came the existing front of a new *pulpitum*. It is about 3 ft. thick and of clunch, and has in the middle a row of niches for images as a reredos to the altar, with a canopied lavatory at the south end. Above the reredos is a range of seven housings for more images. Right and left of the

¹ C.C.C. Camb. MS. CXI. 355.

altar are the rood doorways, which still retain their carved and panelled wooden doors. Over each doorway is a row of four panels with cusped heads, and beyond them was similar panelling below for half the height and then two more housings above like those over the altar. At the north end this arrangement was disturbed by prolonging the wall northwards and inserting a reredos with groined canopy in place of the panelling. Two more, but taller, niches have been added beyond the original two, and another of the first type at the end, making an uneven group of five. The whole height is about 20 ft. and it is finished along the top by an ornamental cornice and cresting. The eastern face is covered with panelling.

Most of the plans of the church down to Lord Grimthorpe's destructive "restoration" show two ancient steps that formed the platform on which the *pulpitum* stood. They crossed the nave and its aisles just east of abbot Paul's fourth pier, but are now represented by three modern steps on the western side of the pier.

In the Annals of John Amundesham, who flourished during the first quarter of the fifteenth century, is the following note :

In the body of the church are three altars placed in order before the Holy Cross in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, of all the Apostles, Confessors, and of St Benet, and of St Thomas the Martyr and St Oswin, which altars were removed and reverently placed as we see by the care of Dan Thomas Houghton formerly sacrist of this church, who out of devotion of the Holy Cross caused the Rood Mary and John to be painted curiously...and the three altars under the aforesaid Cross were hallowed by the bishop 'Horrensis,' of the kingdom of Hungary, in the time of Dan William Heyworth abbot¹ [1401-20].

¹ "In corpore Ecclesie sunt tria altaria coram Sancta Cruce seriatim situata in honorem Beate Virginis Marie omnium Apostolorum Confessorum Sanctique Benedicti Sancti Thome Martyris et Sancti Oswini que altaria amota fuerunt et ibidem prout cernimus reverenter locata per industriam Domini Thome Houghton quondam Sacriste hujus ecclesie qui ob devotionem Sancti Crucis Crucifixum Mariam et Iohannem curiose depingi fecit.

"Et ibidem altare coram ymagine Beate Marie Virginis diligentia et sumptibus Fratris Willelmi Wyntershull Eleemosynarii huius monasterii erectum directum et toto suo tempore honorabiliter sustentatum...et consecrata fuere tria altaria sub Cruce prescripta per Horrensem Episcopum regni Hungarie tempore Domini Willelmi Heywurthe Abbatis."

John Amundesham, *Annales Monasterii Sancti Albani* (R. S. 68), i. 448.

This entry seems to imply that the three altars hallowed about 1345 were removed from beneath the arcade and set up in a row against the new *pulpitum*; but there is some question as to their order. John Amundesham uses the word *seriatim*, which would place the altar of Our Lady under the enriched reredos to the north, the altar of St Benet in the place of the rood altar in the middle, and that of St Thomas and St Oswin to the south, probably under the arch, so as to leave the aisle free for processions.

But in a preceding description of the altars and monuments in the church brother John notes the burying places of certain monks "in the nave within the enclosure there very near to the altar of the Holy Cross." If therefore the cross altar had been set up against the new *pulpitum* we must place the altar of Our Lady in the north aisle against a screen now destroyed, and St Benet's altar under the reredos; or else regard the latter as merged in the Holy Cross altar.

The Black Canons' church of Haughmond Abbey in Shropshire, which was rebuilt in the middle of the twelfth century with an aisleless nave, had a quire under the crossing and extending down the nave as far as a thirteenth-century screen wall. This had the cloister entrance just to the west, opening into the retroquire, which was formed by ceiling over the interval to a second screen about $8\frac{1}{2}$ ft. west of the other. Against this second screen was the nave altar on top of a flight of steps. Owing to the considerable rise of the site eastwards there must have been other steps in either end of the retroquire from the rood doors to a platform before the quire entry¹.

We now come to the third type of screen-barrier, that in which a *pulpitum* filling up the bay west of the quire has another screen-wall a bay in front of it, against which the nave altar was placed.

The object of this arrangement seems to have been the interposition of as much space as possible between the nave altar and the quire.

This class is not now represented by any complete standing

¹ See *The Archaeological Journal*, lxvi. 292-3.

example, but from remaining component parts and the evidence derived from excavations there is no difficulty in reconstructing the arrangement.

From the earliest recorded example occurring in St Austin's Abbey at Canterbury this may conveniently be called the St Austin's type. The quire here was under the great tower, though there were no stalls until 1292, and the *pulpitum* consisted of a thin wall just west of the tower piers and a thicker wall parallel with it a bay to the west with the interval roofed over and closed in by a wall at each end. In this interspace there were probably the stairs to the loft overhead, and in the middle of each cross wall was a doorway leading towards the quire. The next bay formed the retroquire, and had from the first an altar to the south of the quire door. On the west was the thick solid wall of the roodscreen with the rood altar towards the nave and its two flanking doorways. In line with this were screens across the aisles, and that on the north had an altar against it. *Pulpitum* and roodscreen both stood on a platform raised several steps above the nave. There is nothing left to show how the nave altar was fenced or screened, and the foregoing description is based on the evidence of the strong foundations discovered during recent excavations.

The *pulpitum* with its adjuncts at St Austin's was the work of abbot Hugh Flori, who in 1091 succeeded Wydo, the abbot who completed the nave. The great rood had been given to the church in 1064 by archbishop Stigand, and is described as "crucem magnam argento undique coopertam in navi ecclesie super pulpitum erectam."

In 1267 Adam Kingsnorth, chamberlain of the abbey, provided the painted decorations of the *pulpitum* ("comparavit picturam pulpiti").

The rood altar is not named until 1224, when abbot Hugh II is stated to have been buried "in navi ecclesie prope altare sancte Crucis in parte boreali." In 1498 a Canterbury citizen willed to be buried in the abbey church before the image of the Holy Cross in the nave¹; and in 1501 a small bequest was left to the light of the Holy Cross where the mass of the Name of

¹ *Arch. Cant.* xxxi. 44.

Jesus shall be celebrated¹. Here we have an interesting parallel to one of the uses of the rood altar at Durham.

An early thirteenth-century MS. with directions as to lights, etc. at St Austin's mentions those "super trabem ad pulpitum," and "super le rebat ubi in precipuis festis ewangelium legitur², which may also have been in the *pulpitum*. The same authority also mentions the organs, but without any indication of place.

In the abbey church of St Peter at Gloucester the quire, as at St Austin's, was under the tower, and abutted against a wall just west of the tower piers. From this a loft extended to a thick screen between the first pair of pillars, with a doorway in the middle and stairs up to the loft in its southern half. There were walls in line with the front across the aisles. Between the second pair of pillars, as the stonework shows³, was the rood-screen with the nave altar, and the roodbeam above. North of this in front of the barrier-screen in the aisle was a deep chapel, and south of it another of like depth, but less width, with apparently a passage for processions between it and the aisle wall. Under the south end of the retroquire was the tomb of abbot John of Wigmore, who died in 1337 and was buried "ante salutacionem beate Marie in ingressu chori in parte australi quam ipse construxit cum pulpito *ibidem*, ut nunc cernitur⁴."

¹ *Arch. Cant.* xxxi. 45.

² *Customary, etc.* ii. 276.

³ The second pair of piers have each a new stone inserted in the sixth course from the top, facing each other, and probably mark the place of the roodbeam. Above this line there is a decided break in the vault, the part to the east having but a rudimentary longitudinal rib, while to the west the rib is fully developed. The vaulting corbels are also larger and more elaborate. East of the line, too, the levels of the pillar bases are all at a higher level.

⁴ The screens at Gloucester have now been reduced to an organ loft on the site of the *pulpitum*, but the old arrangement can be laid down from the plans published by Browne Willis in 1727, and that by John Carter issued by the Society of Antiquaries eighty years later. Neither shows the roodscreen, but Browne Willis has the flanking chapels, which had probably become pews, and a step across the church just west of them. He also shows the *pulpitum* as complete, with an ascent under it of four semicircular steps up to the quire door; also a shallow enclosure of some kind behind the north chapel. By Carter's time the chapels had gone and the *pulpitum* front wall been replaced by a row of posts carrying the organ loft. But the screens across the aisles were

As there are no marks of a fence-screen upon the pillars, the nave altar was probably guarded by a grate or enterclose, as at Durham.

The arrangement at Malmesbury resembled that at St Austin's and had the quire under the great tower. The stalls abutted westwards against a thin wall with a doorway in the middle: this still exists and is *temp.* king Henry VII as shown by his arms. The bay west was roofed over from the wall to a light stone screen which was continued across the aisles. The middle part of this has gone, but the aisle sections remain, with doorways through them. The two bays in front formed the retro-quire, which was enclosed westwards by the roodscreen with the nave altar between the third pair of piers: there were also screens in line across the aisles, with chapels filling the bay before them. The line of the roodscreen is indicated by the little stone closet for the organs that served it, which projects from the triforium on the south side.

There must have been a fence-screen of some sort before the nave altar, but as there are no marks of one upon the pillars it was probably an enterclose, as at Durham, with a way past each side to the rood doors¹.

The Arroasian canons' church of Lilleshull Abbey in Shropshire had a curious arrangement of screens.

The quire here was from the beginning under the crossing and returned on the west against a stone *pulpitum*, 6 ft. 2 in. thick, of the twelfth century. This had been provided for from the first, as well as the stone walls that backed the stalls, and stood at the east end of an aisleless nave which had in the first bay

left, and behind the northern one his plan shows a flight of steps which look ancient where Willis shows only an enclosure. These steps suggest that the *pulpitum* loft extended northwards as far as the cloister doorway. By 1807 the steps had also been changed, to two before the quire door, and four across the nave, on the old line of the *pulpitum* front. The steps have again been altered in recent years.

In 1273 one of the monks, Adam of Elmley, died and on account of his holy life was buried "coram altari Sancte Crucis in magna ecclesia ad petitionem populi." This seems to refer to the rood altar, but the dedications of those north and south of it are at present unknown.

¹ H. Brakspear in *Archaeologia*, lxiv. 422, 424.

the cloister doorway, and opposite it another into a porch or entry into the north transept. About 1330 a second screen, also of stone, but only $26\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick, was built 23 ft. away from the *pulpitum* in the second bay, perhaps on the site of an earlier screen of wood. It had against its western face, on either side of the middle doorway (which was 5 ft. 8 ins. wide), what the Suppression inventory describes as "in the Body of the Church ij Altars inclosyd wyth oke," and over its line are the holes for the beam and wooden cove of "the Rodlofte." At $31\frac{1}{2}$ ft. westwards the rest of the nave was completely cut off by a solid wall 3 ft. thick and of some height, but not bonded into the side walls. Against it is an altar platform of three steps extending right across the nave¹, and on the edge of the lowest step was a wooden screen. At the west end of the nave, which was five bays long, was a wide arch into a western tower, also filled by a screen, possibly of stone and not wood. Just east of this screen was the western entrance from the cloister, and in the north-west corner of the nave the doorway to a vice to the upper works.

As the church was purely conventual it is difficult to see what reason there was for building a wall across the nave. The Suppression inventory does not throw any definite light on the matter, but it mentions "the Chapelle of saynte Michaëlle newe made by the abbott," which may refer to the westernmost altar, and its recent formation might account for the barring of the usual way for the Sunday procession.

At St Austin's, Gloucester, Malmesbury, and other places that might be cited, the quire was under the tower. But sometimes the stalls extended further west, and at Norwich the *pulpitum* filled the third, and at Westminster the fourth, bay of the nave.

As regards Norwich I was able to lay before the Society of Antiquaries in 1899 the results of certain excavations which dean Lefroy had allowed me to make in the nave².

These showed that the *pulpitum* was represented by the

¹ The uppermost is 7 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. broad, the next 3 ft. $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., and the lowest 7 ft. $7\frac{1}{2}$ ins.

² *Proceedings S. A.*, 2nd S. xvii, 353-63.

existing parallel walls that support the organ loft, and had on its western face two altars towards the retroquire which formed the next bay. South of the retroquire was a chapel filling the aisle bay.

West of the retroquire, between the fourth pair of piers, was the thin foundation for the roodscreen, which no doubt had against it the nave altar with its flanking doorways. The bay in front was enclosed as at Ely by screens across the arches on each side and by another between the fifth pair of piers, and had a chapel south of it in the aisle, and under the north arch the chapel and tomb of Sir James Hobart (*ob.* 1516).

The nave altar was originally that of the Holy Cross, but by the end of the thirteenth century it had become known as that of St William. In 1445 bishop Thomas Brouns desired in his will to be buried in the upper part of the nave *prope medium altaris sancti Willelmi*, and left 100 marks *ad faciendum altare ante sepulturam meam et unum Reredoos*. Apparently the roodscreen formed the reredos in question.

The *pulpitum* can also be dated by another will, that of bishop Walter Lyhert in 1472 :

Sepulturam meam eligo in navi ecclesie mee Cathedralis prope et ante ostium meum novi operis mei vocati a Reredosse prout ibidem pro sepultura mea ordinatum est.

And immediately in front of and under the doorway of the *pulpitum*, between the two altar sites, we found the bishop's grave and coffin in 1899.

Ever since the rebuilding of the abbey church of Westminster in the thirteenth century the quire has filled the first three bays of the nave; the fourth bay was and is filled by the *pulpitum*, and the fifth bay formed the retroquire. This, like Norwich, contained two altars and was enclosed between the fifth pair of piers by the roodscreen with the altar of the Holy Cross and the procession doorways. In line with the roodscreen were other screens across the aisles.

While the quire was in building in 1250-1 Edward of Westminster was ordered to cause "(the *or*) a great cross to be set up in the nave of the church of Westminster and to buy two angels in fashion of cherubim to be placed on either side of

that cross!." The purchase of the cherubim only suggests that the rood was an old one removed during the quire works and now set up again.

Certain directions in abbot Richard of Ware's Book of Customs (which was begun in 1266) enable the various altars in the nave to be identified with some degree of certainty. According to this authority the sacrist was bound to keep five lamps burning continually in the church :

- (i) one before the altar of Holy Cross in the nave ;
- (ii) another before the altar of the blessed Paul and the image of the Crucified "to which, for the sake of devotion and to pray, and to kiss the feet of it, people were wont to go up by steps on one side and go down on the other" ;
- (iii) a third before (*ante*) the old altar of Our Lady ;
- (iv) a fourth before (*coram*) the altar of the Holy Trinity ;
- (v) the fifth before (*coram*) the altar of St Benet.

The place of the altar of the Holy Cross has already been noted. The altar of St Paul, I think, as does Mr Lethaby, was on the *pulpitum* itself, and since there was no difficulty about two stairs to the loft, the crucifix which was venerated by the people was probably that set up in it by Edward of Westminster. The altars of Our Lady and the Holy Trinity² would be those in the retroquire, and the former is called old because a new Lady chapel and its altar had been set up elsewhere since 1220. The fifth altar for which the sacrist had to find a light, that of St Benet, may have been that in the aisle south of the Cross altar which was later called St Helen's. There does not seem to have been any altar against the wall crossing the north aisle, because it was so close to the north doorway of

¹ 1250-1. "Mandatum est Edwardo de Westmonasterio sicut Rex alias mandavit quod... mangnam [*sic*] eciam crucem collocari faciat in Navi ecclesie Westmonasterii et emat duos Angelos in modum Cherubyn ex utraque parte illius crucis collocandos. Teste, etc. iiij die Febuarii." Close Roll, 35 Henry III, m. 19. [I am much indebted to Mr M. S. Giuseppi, F.S.A., for this extract.]

² Dean Robinson has called attention to a curious passage in the Customs as to the visit of the *minuti* (or monks who had been let blood) to the altar of the Holy Trinity. This can be explained quite satisfactorily if the retroquire were used by the *minuti* in the same manner as the Cistercians when *extra chorum*. *Archaeologia*, lxii. 90, 91.

the nave; and it was probably pierced by a doorway corresponding to the "trellesdoure" at Durham.

The churches of the White Monks formed a class quite separate from those of the Black Monks and Canons, on account of the peculiar way in which they were used. The eastern part contained the quire, etc. of the monks; the part west of the cross screens in the nave formed the quire of the lay brothers; and if the church had aisles, both quires were shut off from them by continuous screen-walls in front of the pillars, against which the stalls were placed. For the public or outsiders there was no room whatever in a church of this sort.

Some of the finest of our ruined abbey churches belonged to the Cistercians, and although the screens have been pulled down in every one, their foundations, or remains uncovered by excavation, or the cuts and holes for them in pillar or wall, enable their arrangements to be made out with some certainty.

Owing to the characteristic short presbytery of the earlier Cistercian churches the monks' quire was under the crossing, and often extended into one or two bays of the nave; and, except at Rievaulx, with its long eastern limb of later date, there is no English Cistercian church in which the quire was east of the crossing.

The monks' quire was bounded westward by a wall. This was generally either quite thin and perhaps in some cases a wooden partition, or it was a mass of masonry from 5 to 7 ft. thick with the quire door in the middle and stairs in its thickness to a loft above.

In the latter case it formed the *pulpitum*, and had two altars against it, at Dore, Valle Crucis, and Strata Florida, and perhaps at Tintern, Waverley, and Calder. At Jervaulx the altars stood upon platforms and were enclosed by screens, which was probably the normal arrangement; the bay to the west was probably screened off to form the retroquire.

When a thin wall bounded the quire it always had another and thicker one of masonry a bay west of it¹, and the intervening space served as the retroquire and was ceiled over to form the loft of the *pulpitum*.

¹ At Hayles, a late example, the walls were only 6 ft. apart.

At Kirkstall, Furness, Bindon, Roche, Revesby, and in probably almost every other example of this compound screen, it had against its western front a pair of enclosed platforms with altars, and at Furness and at Fountains there were others in the aisles as well, forming thus a row of four. Jervaulx seems also to have had a like row of four altars, but it is not clear that they were part of the original arrangement¹.

The retroquire of a Cistercian church was an important feature, since it was not only the place where the old and infirm monks could sit to hear the services, but for those who had been blooded and were released temporarily from full attendance in quire. When therefore the *pulpitum* was a simple one, another screen-wall stood west of the altars to enclose the retroquire. At Clairvaux in 1517 the retroquire held thirty-four seats for those who used it, and on the west face of the screen-wall was an altar of the Trinity with the great rood above it. A like arrangement certainly existed at Fountains, and the base of the roodscreen and its altar was found by Mr Roland Paul at Abbey Dore; but without further evidence it is not safe to say that only one altar was the rule. As a matter of fact there do not seem to have been any lay brothers after the Great Pestilence of 1349 in any English house of White Monks, and their quires were accordingly cleared away. At Fountains the nave seems henceforth to have been used only for processions, and there still remain under the turf the parallel rows of square white stones upon which the monks and novices stood during the station before the rood in the Sunday procession.

At Fountains, Buildwas, and Tintern, and apparently Furness, there is evidence that a pair of organs stood upon the loft of the *pulpitum*. Both Fountains and Buildwas seem also to have had a second pair of organs in a western gallery, and at Meaux it is definitely recorded that in 1396 there were *organa majora in occidentali fine ecclesie* as well as *organa minora in choro*.

¹ The Suppression inventory of Dieulaeres Abbey in Staffordshire has "iiij. alters of alebaster in the bodye of the churche; the crusifyxe; xij candlestyks of latenn before the same; j particion of tymber in the body of the churche." *Archaeologia*, xliiii. 215.

It is not possible in the limits of this paper to describe every monastic *pulpitum* or roodscreen which is left to us, or for which there is architectural or documentary evidence, but only those that illustrate the various points raised. This I hope has already been done. There remains however one important question: that of use.

It has hitherto been assumed by most writers on the subject, including myself, that the *pulpitum* of a monastic church was used in the same way by monks and regular canons as the *pulpitum* at Salisbury or Lincoln was by the canons secular of those churches. But this view is not borne out by the documentary evidence available, and it is also curious that no monastic *pulpitum* has arched recesses for altars in front like those at Southwell, Exeter, and Tattershall, which are apparently directly descended from the altar spaces under the Italian ambons.

The Constitutions addressed by archbishop Lanfranc to his prior Henry at Canterbury contain no directions as to the reading of the gospel or of the genealogy, or anything else from the *pulpitum*, and the *pulpitum* itself is not even mentioned. The ancient customs of the Cluniac monks are equally silent. The White Monks, even on feasts of twelve lessons, read the gospel from a desk at the altar, and apparently did not use the *pulpitum* for any ceremonial purpose. The Black Canons, at any rate at Barnwell, read the lessons at mattins daily from the *pulpitum*, and the White Canons read the genealogy from it on Christmas Day.

On the other hand there is evidence to show that the monastic orders, instead of reading the gospel from the *pulpitum*, used a gospel desk standing at or near the north end of the high altar.

An eagle desk is so shown in the drawing of the Westminster presbytery made for abbot Islip's obituary roll, and it is described in the Suppression inventory as "a fair lecturne of latten be the high altar." The corresponding Ely inventory also has "to the high altar a standyng lecture of latten with an egle." Colne Priory in Essex had in the quire in 1536 "an egle of latten desk fashion for to redd the gospel at," and Osney

Abbey nigh Oxford had "j dext of brasse with a Egle in the quire." The priory of Holy Trinity at Ipswich in 1536 likewise had in the quire "a deske of latten to rede the gospell at¹," and Ixworth Priory (Suffolk) had "in the Churche at the high Altar a lecturne of latten²." At Christchurch Canterbury, prior Thomas Goldston II, 1494-5-1517, "Analogium quoque sive aquilam eneam proprijs impensis procurari fecit." It is entered in the inventory of 1563 as a "lectron of latten wth a picture of an egle" and was probably the gospel desk, since there was also "a lectron and four stoles of Iern for the rectors of y^e quier³."

So far I have not come across any instance of an eagle desk by the altar of a secular church.

It must not however be assumed that these eagle desks were always used for the reading of the gospel. William More, prior of Worcester from 1518 to 1535, on one of his visits to London brought thence in 1522:

ij grete dextes wyth ij egulls on to be in y^e quyur, the other to y^e hye Awter to rede y^e gospell apon with iiij candilstycks,

for which he paid £15 13s. 3d.⁴

At Durham, too, *Rites* tell us that:

At the north end of the high altar, there was a goodly fine letteron of brasse where they sung the epistle and the gospell, with a gilt pelican on the height of it. ...Also ther was lowe downe in the quere another Lettorn of brasse (not so curiously wroughte) standing in the midst against the stalls...with an eagle on the height of it, and hir winges spread a broad wheron the monkes did lay their bookes when they sung their legends, at mattens or at other times of service⁵.

The Durham gospel pelican was an unusual form of desk, but it is paralleled by another which happily exists in the cathedral church of Norwich and is used now to read the lessons from.

Many of the monastic inventories describe not only the eagle desk, but the organs also as being "in the quire." What

¹ *Suffolk Hist. of Archaeology*, viii. 9.

² *Ibid.* 27.

³ Legg and Hope, 229, 123, 176.

⁴ John Noake, *The Monastery and Cathedral of Worcester* (London, 1866), 167, and *Journal of Prior William More* (Worcester Historical Society, 1914), 153.

⁵ *Rites of Durham*, 13, 14.

this precisely means is somewhat uncertain. At Leighs Priory in Essex in 1536 they had "a payre of orgaynes over the quyre." This may mean in the *pulpitum*, but other places were available, as the following description of the organs in the quire at Durham shows:

There was 3 paire of organs belonginge to the said quire for maintenance of gods service, and the better selebratinge therof one of the fairest paire of the 3 did stand over the quire dore only opened and playd uppon at principall feastes, the pipes beinge all of most fine wood, and workmanship verve faire partly gilted upon the inside and the outside of the leaves and covers up to the topp with branches and flowers finely gilted with the name of Jesus gilted with gold...also there was a letterne of wood like unto a pulpit standinge and adjoyninge to the wood organs over the quire dore, where they had wont to singe the 9 lessons in the old time on principall dayes standinge with their faces towards the [9 altars altered to] high altar.

The seconde paire stood on the north side of the quire beinge never playd uppon but when the 4 doctors of the church was read, viz. Augustine Ambrose Gregorye and Jerome beinge a faire paire of large organs called the cryers.

The third was dayly used at ordinary service¹.

From another and later source we learn that:

The third pair of organs were called the White Organs, they were placed on y^e South side of the Quire towards y^e Vestry house, and were most, and indeed dayly, used at ordinary sirvice, in the times of Queen Elisabeth and K. James I².

Other churches, Ely for example, had likewise more than one pair of organs in the quire, and the priory of St Osyth in Essex had "a grete payr and a lytle pare of organs in the Rodeloft"; the description in *Rites* therefore shows how they may have been used; it also suggests that the Durham *pulpitum* was an organ loft which was sometimes also used for ceremonial purposes.

There is evidence that the monastic *pulpitum*, like the collegiate instances already noted, sometimes contained an altar, as it undoubtedly did at Peterborough in 1540.

Only a few words can be said as to the screen arrangements of the Black and White Nuns, and of the four Orders of Friars.

So far as the available evidence goes there was little

¹ *Rites of Durham*, 16, 207, 208.

² *Ibid.* 162, 299, 300.

difference between their types of screens and those already described.

Most nuns' churches were under the same roof as, or attached to, parish churches, and although generally much smaller, had screen divisions similar to those of monks and canons in like case.

The Suppression Surveys of twelve small Yorkshire priories¹, of which all but one were houses of nuns, afford a few interesting details.

In five churches of Black Nuns, besides the high altar, Thicket had "ij in the quyre and one benethe"; Wilberfoss had "ij alters in the quere and one benethe," and the parish church was "adjoyninge to the same at the nether ende"; Yedingham had "the hygh alter, and one alter in the quere, and ij in the churche"; Arthington, a Cluniac house, had "a roode lofte of tymbre," but only the high altar is named. Nunkeeling had "a hye alter, ij alters in the quere, and one in body of the churche," and it is expressly noted that "it stonddith at the nether end of the parish churche of Nonnekelynge, and the walles and the rooffe are alle hole of one story...and there are ij doorys by the hygh alter for to go and come into the parish churche."

In six churches of White Nuns, Handale had "a high alter, ij alters in the quyer, and one benethe in the quere"; Esholt had "a roode lofte bytwene the quere and the chauncell," but only the high altar is named; Wykeham had, besides the high altar, "ij alters in the quyer, and ij in the body of the churche"; Baysdale had a "high alter, ij alters in the quere, and one benethe": Swine, which was the nave of a parish church, had "one alter in the quere, and ij alters benethe in the body of the churche"; Kirklees had a "high alter, ij alters in the quere, and ij benethe."

The twelfth church, Grosmont, was that of a house of Grandmontines, and had a "high alter, and ij alters in the body of [the] churche."

It will be seen that in nine churches there were, besides

¹ These have been printed by Mr William Brown, F.S.A., in *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, ix. 197-215, 321-333.

the high altar, one, two, and in a single instance three, altars in the quire, but no hint is given as to their position.

The two altars in the naves of four churches probably stood against a *pulpitum*, with the quire entry between them; the single nave altar in five churches apparently stood against a second screen or roodloft, with the usual flanking doors.

All the buildings concerned have unhappily been destroyed, or "restored" out of recognition, so nothing but some future excavation can carry the matter any further at present.

Friars' churches seem usually to have had two cross-walls between quire and nave, carried up to support a belfry or steeple like that of the Grey Friars at Richmond, the Grey Friars of Lynn, the Black Friars of Norwich; or in the churches of the Charterhouses of London and Mount Grace.

The area beneath the steeple was entered directly from the cloister, and had the quire door under an eastern arch, and another door westwards into the nave, where it was flanked by two altars¹.

It has not been possible in the foregoing paper to deal with the transverse screens of several important churches, on account of the difficulty in deciding to which group they belonged. It may be easy enough to locate the *pulpitum*, but to discuss its character and the arrangements westwards of it cannot be done when the screens have been destroyed and any marks of them effaced.

Thus at Tewkesbury, where the quire filled the crossing and the first bay of the nave, the *pulpitum* may have been (i) a solid screen, or (ii) a loft filling the next bay like St Albans. This latter alternative seems the more probable, because another screen wall, with the nave altar against it, certainly stood between the second pair of piers and had other screens in line with it across the aisles. Behind the pillars are plain traces of

¹ In 1509 Thomas Pickering of Yorkshire willed to be buried in the Grey Friars within Newgate at London, "in the ambulatory before the choir." *North Country Wills* (Surtees Soc. 116), i. 82.

The Suppression Inventory of the White Friars' church at Newcastle-on-Tyne has: "Item the parclose overwhart the church and also all the parclose aboutes the roode chapell," which suggests a double screen or *pulpitum* at the quire entry of the Ely type. *Archaeologia*, li. 71.

the winding stairs against them that led up to the roodloft, and the whole arrangement stood upon an existing step or platform which crosses the church in the third bay.

At Bury St Edmunds there is definite record that, following upon the rebuilding of the nave, Dan Hugh the sacrist, who came into office about 1180,

Pulpitum in ecclesia aedificavit, magna cruce erecta, cum imaginibus beatae Mariae et S. Iohannis sibi allaterantibus¹,

but nothing is known about the nave altar or any others west of the *pulpitum*. The fact that the *retroquire* was beneath it (see *ante*, p. 39) suggests that the arrangement followed either the Ely or the St Austin's type.

At Worcester, despite the great extension of the church eastwards in the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the quire kept its original place under the crossing and in the first bay of the nave until after the Suppression. Differences in the levels of the pier-plinths suggest that the second bay was filled by the *pulpitum*, and that the third pair of piers had the roodloft between them with a step west of it. All the old arrangements were destroyed in 1550, when the quire was moved eastward of the tower, but a record of new quire-stalls in 1379, following the vaulting of the crossing in 1376, and the making of a new *pulpitum* in 1381, gives a probable date for the earlier arrangement.

At Peterborough the stalls probably occupied at first the space under the crossing and the first bay of the nave, returning against a *pulpitum* set up during the last quarter of the twelfth century by abbot Benet. New stalls, perhaps the first of a permanent character, were set up in the time of abbot Walter, 1233-45, who gave 10 marks towards the cost and much of the timber. Leland records that in the days of abbot Robert Kirton, 1496-1528,

He set up in the Church the *Crucifixorium* or Rood-loft, now standing at the entrance of the Quire, though placed something lower than it was at its first erection.

This remark may point to a removal of the *pulpitum* from the first to the second pair of pillars, thus adding a bay to the

¹ M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge, 1895), 153.

quire. Browne Willis shows a thin screen on this line, with a thick wall across the south aisle. Between the third pair of pillars, as the marks of it show, was another cross-screen, and probably the third bay was ceiled over as at Ely. The Suppression inventory mentions the roodloft and an altar that was in it, and "an altar" in the body of the church, which may have been the nave altar.

At St Bartholomew's Priory in Smithfield the quire, at the Suppression, was under the crossing and in the first bay of the nave; it abutted against a thirteenth-century *pulpitum* which evidently filled the second bay, since the existing east wall has corbels on its western face for the floor of the loft¹. But all beyond has been destroyed.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that, although the difference between the secular and monastic transverse screen systems continued throughout, as soon as the quires were moved eastwards of the crossing a common form of *pulpitum* came into fashion. The early type, with arched recesses for altars, as at Exeter and Southwell and Chichester, continued purely secular, but that with its western face covered with housings for images is to be found not only in secular churches like Salisbury, Lincoln, Wells, York, and Ripon, but in canons' churches like Christchurch Twynham and monastic churches like Durham and Christchurch at Canterbury. Screens of the Ely and St Albans type, which formed the western barrier of the quire, seem also to have been decorated with imagery, but in the other types the *pulpitum* face was more or less plain, owing to its being masked by the other screens west of it.

.PS. Mr A. Hamilton Thompson has most kindly favoured me with two interesting items from episcopal visitations that bear on the use and arrangement of screens.

The first concerns Thomas More, dean of the collegiate church of Irthlingborough in 1442:

¹ See *Archaeologia*, lxiv. plate III, and p. 166. Recent discoveries of a small window and a doorway at the triforium level above the line of the existing *pulpitum* wall seem to show that at one time the *pulpitum* filled the first and not the second bay.

Item quod ipse decanus sit senio contractus et non possit subire onera sibi incumbencia, petit igitur in sui relevamen...quod ebdom-darius observet pulpitum dominicis diebus, dicendo preces communes et exequendo alia ibidem exequenda¹.

It has already been noted (*ante*, p. 33) that Irthlingborough apparently had a screen like that at Manchester which served as the collegiate *pulpitum* and the parish roodscreen, and this entry seems to point to such a use.

The other entry is found in a visitation of the Black Canons' priory of Laund in Leicestershire, in 1440:

Frater Iohannes Leche...dicit quod mulieres habent nimium accessum in ecclesia canonicorum intra clausuram et tanto approximant ostio chori quod canonici non possunt exire nisi respiciendo vltum ad vltum. Petit igitur ut decetero non intrent clausuram illam sed audiant missas in navi ecclesie extra clausuram².

On this is founded the following injunction:

Item quod decetero mulieres alique de prope morantes non ingredientur clausuram inter navem et superiorem partem sive chorum ecclesie ad missas audiendas sed ita provideatur ut missas huiusmodi audiant in navi antedicta³.

Who the intrusive ladies were it is not easy to suggest, since the priory church of Laund was wholly conventual, and the parish church was some distance away. But the quire was evidently bounded westwards by a double or compound arrangement of screens constituting the *clausura*, from whence the ladies were henceforth to be shut out; there was also a nave altar outside the *clausura* at which they could hear mass.

¹ Alnswick Visitation MS. f. 7.

² *Ibid.* f. 97.

³ *Ibid.* f. 98 b.

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